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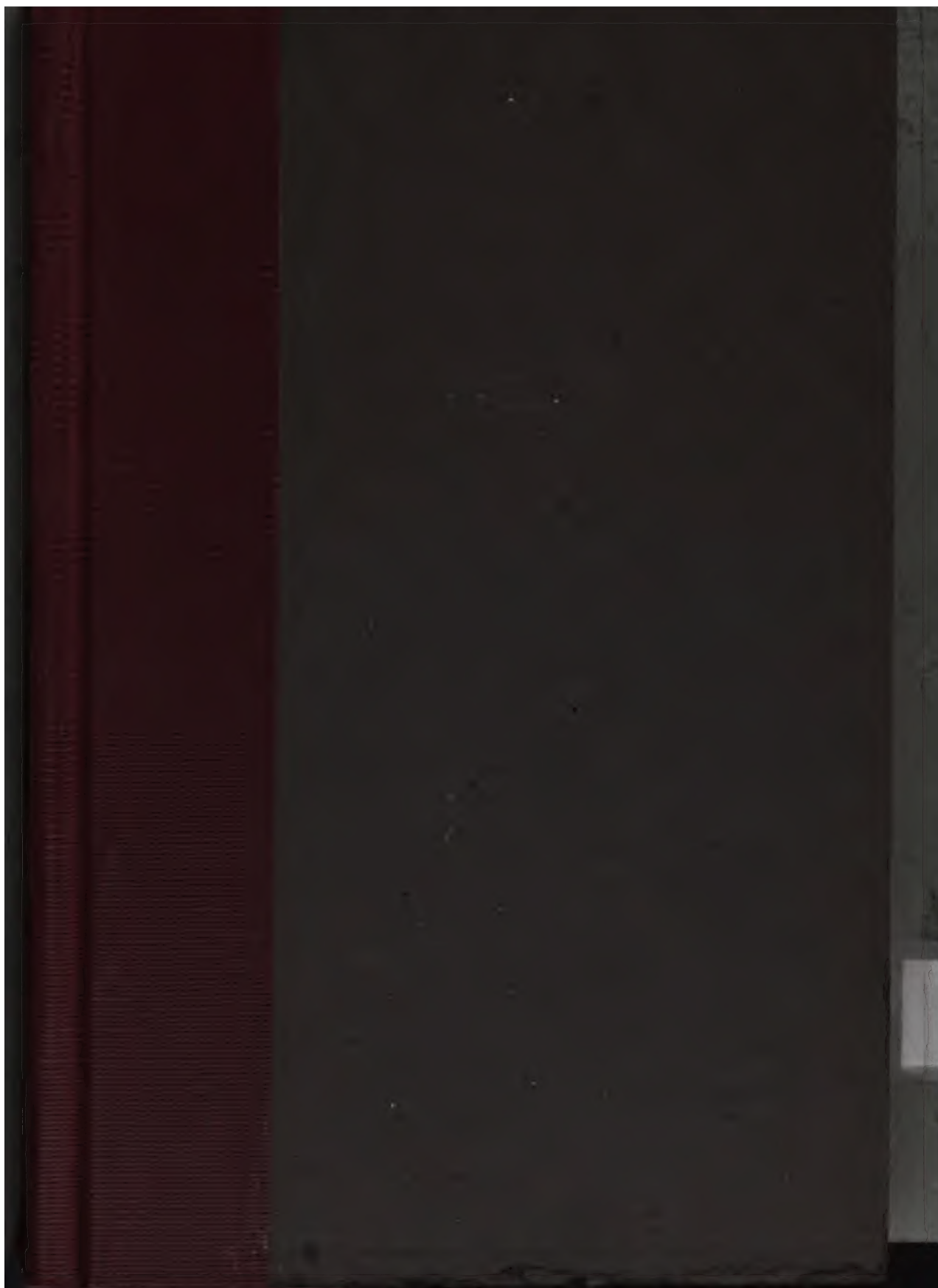
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THE CONFIRMATION AND DEFENCE OF THE FAITH.¹

THERE are many of us who are conscious that the excellent works which were written in defence of the Christian Faith by Butler, and Paley, and others, do not really appeal to the minds of men in the present day; and that much of the traditional apologetic is not relevant to the questions which are being forced on our attention. This paper attempts to shew how this has come about, and while it does not profess to put forward a new apologetic, it is an endeavour to point out the direction in which we shall do well to look for it. Perhaps it may seem paradoxical, but I am inclined to think that the defenders of the faith have laid too much stress on the resemblances between Science and Religion, and that it is in facing their real differences that the best hope of an ultimate reconciliation lies. That is at all events the principle which underlies the present paper.

I

The first great difference is this—that Science starts from the Particular and Religion from the Universal; they begin at opposite ends. In the face of this difference it is idle to assert that there is no conflict between Science and Religion—that since Truth is one, true Science and true Religion cannot conflict. For this maxim gives no help to those who are anxiously asking ‘What is truth?’ and fail to find a completely convincing answer. To the man of deep spiritual conviction, Religion is *the* Truth,

¹ A paper read to the members of the Salisbury Branch of the Society of Sacred Studies, June 27, 1907.

while Science seems to be a mass of changing opinion. To the careful student of Nature, on the other hand, Science gives a body of carefully built up Truth which is verifiable in all its details—while Religion seems to rest on personal impressions which may be very vivid, and yet mistaken. The whole tone and atmosphere is so different in the two spheres of thought that we cannot take either one or other as the type of Truth, and the standard of Truth which we will apply all round. It is not possible to reassure any earnest man by this platitude about the identity of religious and scientific truth. This identification may be looked for as an ultimate result; but we need guidance in a world where our scientific knowledge is incomplete, and our religious knowledge partial.

We may, however, get one step forward if we note one reason for the difference between religious belief and scientific attainment in the fact that they start at opposite poles. Science begins with the particular, with observation and generalization, and seeks for the Universal. Our Religion begins with the Universal—One God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible—and seeks to recognize a universal element—the Divine Purpose—in all particular incidents. The two approach the problem of the Universe, and the explanation of it from opposite sides, and so they seem to lie in different planes. They do not fit together; they appear, at all events, to be mutually inconsistent. Not only are the aspects different, but neither aspect is fully apprehended, so far as our intelligence is concerned. We need not be surprised at the difficulty we feel in combining the two sides accurately. All we can hope to do is to recognize the differences between the two modes of thought; we may perhaps find that, just because they are so different, they serve to supplement one another.

II

Even at the risk of some repetition it may be worth while to point the contrast with the habit of mind I deprecate more definitely. In the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries the differences were minimized or overlooked. There was a tendency to try to *blend science and religion*, by using so far as possible common terms, and bringing both under common ideas;

we can now see that such attempts at forming an amalgam were premature, and did not do justice either to Science or to Religion.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the world had been impressed by the advance of Natural Science, and the recognition of similar forces as operative under similar laws throughout the physical universe, and it seemed possible without irreverence to think and speak of the Divine Being in terms borrowed from Science. There is, as we say, Universal Causation, and then we seem to bring Science and Religion into line by speaking of God as the great First Cause. From the religious point of view this attempted accommodation to the scientific habit of mind is unsatisfying, because the conception of the Deity which is thus accentuated is so meagre; it is emptied of all that calls forth devotion or inspires to duty. The attitude of such men as William Law and John Wesley to the Rational Theologians of the day elucidates the defectiveness of such religion. The scientific conception of a cause is that of an invariable antecedent; a First Cause does not necessarily suggest either Reason or Goodness; it does not involve ideas either of Purpose or of Love. The view which it sets before us of the Universe is inadequate; it seems to reduce the whole to mere mechanical regularity, if we set ourselves to find natural law in the spiritual world. Science does not give us appropriate conceptions to apply either to the nature of God, or to the course of the world, as they appear to the religious consciousness.

There is a similar defect in this amalgam, when we view it from the side of Science. In making particular observations the observer has definite data before him—actual phenomena which he can verify over and over again. The Law of Universal Causation is a postulate without which he cannot proceed in his work; but it is a postulate, and not something which he has proved by his researches. He uses it as a help to understand the material universe better; but to take the principle, as writers on Natural Religion did, as a basis on which to build an elaborate system of thought, is a different matter. Scientific men in the eighteenth century were quite ready to use the principle in this fashion; but the advance of empirical science in the last century has brought about a change. The modern student is dissatisfied with such speculation; he seems to be taken away from actuality altogether, and to be dealing with words and phrases rather than

things. It is all in the air and unverifiable; it may be quite sound, but he feels that he does not know. In the eighteenth century Natural Religion could be taken for granted, as a body of truth which only the irrational would deny; the apologists of the day were engaged in arguing that Revealed Religion is congruent with Natural Religion and therefore is also reasonable. They aimed, as it were, at superimposing Supernatural Religion on a basis of Natural Religion. In our times it is Natural Religion that is called in question, and that seems unconvincing. Men are not certain that it is concerned with actualities at all, or that there *is* anything which corresponds to the terms used. Since the foundation of Natural Religion is thus shaken, attempts to base on it the fabric of Christian truth are necessarily unsatisfactory. The demonstrations which Natural Religion supplies may seem to be quite plausible, but they do not come home to any one as really settling the matter in dispute, and setting it at rest. They only give the opponents of Christianity an opportunity for displaying their ingenuity in dialectics, like naughty children.

III

Dismissing thus such attempts at blending or co-ordinating scientific and religious truth, we may try to note the fundamental differences between scientific apprehension and religious conviction as intellectual acts. It is enough to say that scientific apprehension occurs through the senses and the intellect; the data of science are particular occurrences in space and time, perceptible to eye and ear and touch, that can be measured and weighed, and in many cases repeated. We need not raise any question as to the reality of the external world, or the reliability of our perceptions; Science rests on the observations of particular senses combined by our intelligence. But religious conviction is of an entirely different order; it has to do with the relation of a human being as a whole to the Universe as a whole. It is not something given by any particular channel, but is a change in the consciousness of self, which gives a different character to all mental and moral activities. Religious conviction arises from the reaction of Self upon a Not-Self, which may be recognized as merely a group of opposing and conflicting forces with which it is hopeless to try and live in complete harmony; this is the

attitude of Fetichism. Or the Not-Self may be regarded as One—so that there is a possibility of entering into definite relations; and as good—a Not-ourselves-that-makes-for-Righteousness. Such conceptions of the Not-Self arise, immediately and directly, in the mind of a man who is not merely conscious of himself as a man, and a lord of creation, but as having defied a Universal Order—and as sinful—or as reconciled to the Universal Order, and as accepted with God. This is the fundamental datum in the Jewish and in the Christian religion; it may be described as felt, or as the awakening of consciousness, but it is certainly not a perception of the senses; it is a conviction as to the relations of the human personality with the totality of things, not the observation of any particular fact. Particular events may be the occasions of awakening it, but they cannot be more.

Hence it follows that the phraseology of the senses and the intellect, in which we speak of the apprehensions of Science, are not the best in which to describe the convictions of Religion. We may find it more convenient to speak in terms of Will rather than in those of Intellect. The religious man is conscious of his own Will as opposing the Universal Will—the Will of God—that is the sense of guilt. Or again, he may be conscious of himself as striving to discover the Universal Will, and to bring his own into accordance with it—that is the effort to consecrate his life. But this goes to the root of human nature, and gives a sense of reality that is far deeper than any particular apprehension of colour or sound. So long as man is conscious of himself as a person, so long as he finds himself in a Universe of which he can think as a whole, he is bound to be, in some sense, religious; he is compelled to take account of the relation between the little world, which is constituted by his thinking power and his will, and the great world in which he lives and moves and has his being. Such self-conscious activity has the highest certainty; Descartes found, in the analysis of his self-consciousness a proof of his own existence, and then tried to establish the existence of God as an inference from the element which resulted from his analysis. But the reaction of the human will against the Totality of things is also a fundamental fact in self-consciousness, and carries with it a sense of reality to which no particular external observation, however often repeated, can attain.

IV

So far for the character of Scientific apprehension and of Religious conviction; we must touch very briefly on the progress of each, and here again the differences are noteworthy. The co-ordination of such convictions into a body of religious truth must also be very different from the co-ordinating of particular observations into a body of scientific truth. It is of course true that Religious Conviction—like the other contents of human consciousness—has striven to find expression, partly in the world of action, and partly in literary forms. It does not remain a personal conviction merely, it externalizes itself. Sacrifices and rites and vows are one mode of expression, while another is found in sacred books; and so religious consciousness comes to be uttered in the world of sense, in place and time, it can be the subject of scientific treatment, and there is a Science of Religion. But this Science cannot be precisely similar to other humanistic studies, since the data are less complete. The expression of the religious consciousness is rarely, if ever, adequate; we may not have insight enough to read through the expression to its full religious significance. The widow's gift of two mites was an occurrence in place and time, which could be accurately reported upon by any bystander; but divine insight was needed to appreciate the deep devotion which found expression in that act. So with all the utterances of religion in speech or in act; we need, not merely to get at the precise form of expression, but at the religious content, the value. Ordinary critical methods can take account of the terms of expression or the nature of the act, but its value can only be appreciated from a religious standpoint: spiritual things must be spiritually discerned.

The constant expression of religious consciousness—however inadequate it may be and to whatever misapprehension it may give rise—does give rise to the diffusion of religious opinion and the growth of religious institutions and traditions. There is a heritage of religious thought which is analogous to the heritage of scientific thought—but with a difference. In Science there is an accumulation of fact, a making of many books, and a heaping up of information on many subjects; doubtless a developement of faculty also takes place, but it is not the thing we habitually note,

and it is difficult to gauge. In the progress of Religion the reverse is the case; there is less interest in the accumulation of particulars than in the change in the human mind itself, and the new attitude which is taken from entering into this religious heritage, or from holding it with greater intensity. The opinion of others may be taken up and verified as a fresh conviction by other men. This living consciousness is the outcome of religious progress, not embodied in storehouses of information, but diffused in many forms of expression and exemplified and appropriated in other persons, so that they are transformed by the renewing of their mind. Men thus come to know themselves as parts of a moral and spiritual world, whereas in scientific advance we continue to look at the order as external to ourselves. In the religious consciousness there is a new creation.

It follows from this that while Science can never be complete, Religion may attain its highest form. There must always be new particulars to be observed and examined and described by Science, but the religious consciousness may reach the final form of which it is capable under mundane conditions. We habitually recognize this about the philosophic or artistic consciousness; much as we may admire Mr Herbert Spencer, Mr Whistler, and Mr Bernard Shaw, we do not necessarily think them greater as philosophers and artists than Plato, Velasquez, and Shakespeare. In the capacity for thinking and feeling and expressing that thought and feeling in appropriate forms, the men of the present day do not seem to excel those of some periods of the past. In the same sort of way there may have been the most complete apprehension, possible to man, of the relation between the human will and the divine, and the most perfect harmony between the two. As Christians we hold that this not only may be so, but that it has been so, and that in the person of the man Christ Jesus, the human religious consciousness attained its perfect type. In Him there is not only the conviction of intimate union with the Eternal God, but a unique power of expressing the content of His consciousness in word and act. The content of His consciousness is most fully exhibited to us in the Gospel of St John; in reading it we may feel His perfect sense of union with His Father, His perfect confidence in offering Himself as an ideal for His brother men, and His readiness to train them through the gift of

His Spirit. In His consciousness the human and the divine are reconciled; by participating in His consciousness of God, by having it awakened in themselves, all men may come to know themselves to be the Sons of God. The expressions of His consciousness, whether in word and doctrine or in work and act, are recorded for us that we may appreciate them and make them our own. The main elements of His statement of the relations between the individual man and the Universe—or in other words, of the Christian religion—are to be found most obviously in the words of the Catechism which summarize the gist of the Creed. I believe in God the Father who made me, and all the world; in God the Son, who has redeemed me, and all mankind; and in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God. This is our Christian faith, which occupies such a different plane from scientific investigation and its results. In what sense is it capable either of Confirmation or Defence?

V

The Confirmation of religious truth is necessarily different from that which we look for in the realm of Science. The confirmation of scientific truth is found by the repeating of some experiment, or by the verifying of some forecast; the confirmation of religious truth is found in the new intensity in which it takes hold. There is much diffused religious opinion in the world—held at second-hand, and believed with more or less assurance—like the favourable opinions of our Lord's teaching which were entertained by the people of Samaria; conviction is like the first-hand knowledge of those who have heard Him for themselves. There may be confirmation in the fresh conviction with which some religious truth comes home to those who have long been earnest in their religious duties, and confirmation, too, in the first awakening of religious conviction in another mind. The doubting of St Thomas was for the confirmation of the faith; because his conviction, after eight days of hesitancy, is a startling instance of the recognition of spiritual power as revealed in Christ. Men who find in themselves, in their own experience, the blessedness of those to whom the Lord imputeth not their sins, have set to their seals that God is true. Men who have broken through some evil habit, or advanced in self-discipline, through reliance on the aid of God's

Spirit, have tasted the powers of the world to come: they are in themselves the evidence of Christ's promise being fulfilled. This conviction of the reality of spiritual power within, seems to be a demonstration of the possibility of spiritual power in the world without; as St Paul felt when he argued from the rising from sin to the rising from the dead. The consciousness of a creative force within is a conviction which does not and cannot remain merely subjective; it is an inspiring power, and finds expression in this as in every other age in the fruits of the Spirit, and the works to which they prompt. Christian experience, renewed in each generation, is the abiding confirmation of the Faith.

Such confirmation of the faith need not be, perhaps it cannot be, an exact repetition of the first conviction; but rather the proving of the old power under new conditions and circumstances. It cannot be given to one human mind to grasp the whole range of the relationship between the finite and infinite as it has come home to millions of Christians of many different races and temperaments. The conviction in each individual consciousness is limited and partial; it is in the experience of the Church as a whole that the religious truth which was manifested in the person of Christ is confirmed in all its parts. There is a great heritage of traditional belief and devout practice which has been handed down, and is embodied for us in the Prayer Book; so far as any part of this body of religious belief becomes a real conviction to any of us, it is confirmed in personal experience, and is set forth as a living power.

VI

And now as to the Defence of the Faith; there have been two notable periods of Christian apology—one in primitive times, and one in the eighteenth century. The aim in the two cases was different; in the eighteenth century they sought to prove the truth of Christianity, positively; the early apologists had been content to try and disarm the prejudices against it. Justin Martyr and others could not attempt to shew that their religion exactly fitted with ordinary belief and practice; they admitted that it was quite different, but they tried to shew that despite these differences it was neither mischievous nor foolish. In the

circumstances of Modern Society we shall do well to follow these earlier writers in their humbler aim ; we shall be wise not to set ourselves to demonstrate the strength of our own position, and to denounce those who do not accept it ; but we may endeavour to get them to go with us, so far as they can.

1. There is, to my mind, little contact between Science and the Christian Faith ; except at one point. The postulate of Science is so closely allied to the fundamental belief of all the Higher Religions. The unity and uniformity of Nature, which Science postulates, is an external form of the belief in the Unity and Fixity of Purpose of the Inner Principle of the Universe. The difficulties to which the belief in this uniformity gives rise are not merely between Science and Religion ; they rise within the sphere of Religion itself. The apparent conflict between the fixity of the Divine Purpose and the possibility of Divine Forgiveness is the problem of the story of Jonah. The religious man feels the same difficulty, which prevents so many from accepting the Incarnation and Resurrection, but he feels it in another form. Huxley is said to have said that there was no great difficulty about miracles as such, but only about the insufficiency of the scientific evidence for every particular miracle. To the religious mind there is difficulty about apparent caprice on the part of the Deity, when the content of the spiritual truth involved in and expressed by the miracle seems inadequate. It is not easy to see of what the miracles of Elisha were signs.

2. There is more contact, and therefore, perhaps, more apparent opposition, between Christianity and many forms of non-Christian Philanthropy in the present day. Those who are eagerly anxious to improve the condition of the poor, or to regenerate society, are apt to be irritated with the inertia of professing Christians, and to doubt the earnestness of religious men who do not join with them in demanding drastic reforms or revolutionary measures. We can never disarm this suspicion by attempting to go as far as possible on their road, but only by trying to make our own aims clear. We can insist that we are at one with them in regarding the welfare of the people as the great object of all legislative and administrative activity—but we may make it clear to ourselves, and to others, that we differ as to the means to be employed. We believe a change in men is needed, and not merely

a change in conditions, and that the extent to which a change of conditions will, in and by itself, produce an improvement in men is limited ; and secondly we hold that the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, which have their roots in the Christian religion, are the most effective motive powers for producing the needed improvement in men, and ultimately in conditions. Those who cultivate them are still the salt of the earth. It is by accentuating the difference of our view from that of the Socialist—not by glozing over differences—that we can hope really to understand each other's position, and to win each other's respect.

3. It is equally desirable, in all religious discussions, to maintain the fullest sympathy with all those who have lived and are living in the profession of the Christian faith in any form ; but we cannot do this unless our enthusiasms are distinctively Christian. We are so apt to plume ourselves on the enlightenment of our age, and to speak disparagingly of the Christianity of bygone times. There appears to be a temptation to many professing Christians in the present day to find a form of expressing their belief which shall make it as little alien as possible to ordinary non-Christian minds ; in so far as we succeed in finding such a mode of expression, we may have emptied it of all its force, and removed it very far from the Gospel of Christ. What we desire to defend and maintain is the faith once delivered to the saints, in all its power, because in all the fullness of its content, as we can find it in Christian writings and Christian lives and Christian conduct. We can watch it as a living thing in the history of the last nineteen hundred years, and note the various forms in which it expressed itself, and the influence it exercised on the world. But we do not care to sever a portion of it, which is in accordance with the common sense of mankind, or satisfies the religious needs of some individual, and treat this as an irreducible minimum on which we will take our stand, and which we will defend at all hazards. By so doing we are sure to lose our sense of union with the Christians of other ages ; we are in danger of disavowing those who were, as a matter of fact, our fathers in Christ. There are some aspects of the faith of the Church which evoke response in one age, and some in another ; we are not wise to cast aside that which we do not personally appreciate, or

to disparage expressions of Christian Faith which are alien to our own temperaments. None of us can take upon himself to analyse what is essential in the Christian Faith; if he does, he will only lay stress on the aspect which commended itself especially to one place and time. It is not by trimming our doctrine to suit our surroundings, but by trying to enter as fully as possible into the consciousness of our Master—as He lived and died upon earth, and as He is reigning now—that we hope to maintain the full range of Christian truth.

4. Still more is it necessary to accentuate the Christian position in literary and historical discussions; there may be a non-religious study of sacred books, when there is no effort to read through them to the living faith which they served to express. The incidents and occasions in the developement of religious consciousness, which are the subject of critical study, are of interest; but they are not of fundamental importance in regard to the faith itself. The literary setting of a conviction is the subject of literary criticism—of merely secular study; the date at which the conviction was first put on record, and the person to whom it was attributed are comparatively unimportant from the religious standpoint. The Old Testament represents Abraham as the first person who had a conviction of God as the Keeper of a Covenant; and the conception thus introduced has found a response in many minds. The existence of this faith as a power in the world is shewn by the whole history and literature of Israel; and it must have had some beginning—in some particular mind. If we know the details of that awakening to clearer religious conviction, and the definite circumstances of place and time in which it occurred, so much the better. If literary critics decide that there are no good grounds for regarding Abraham as an actual personage, there is, after all, but little loss in finding that the account of his convictions and conduct is illustration and not biography. It is well that we should appreciate the faith of Israel, but the precise occasions which called it forth first of all, the precise dating and locality, are matters of very little importance indeed, so far as Religion is concerned.

Starting from the full knowledge of the relations between God and Man, which is given us in the person of our Lord, we can feel the deep religious interest of the Old Testament, and trace

anticipations and adumbrations of truth, which went beyond the full apprehension of those who uttered them, and thus were prophetic. We need to cultivate a power of sympathetic insight in order to appreciate their religious convictions, and we ought to keep the developement of this faculty in view all the time in pursuing sacred studies. To pursue sacred studies in the same fashion as if they were secular—to treat sacred writings as literary and historical documents and nothing more—is a very inadequate interpretation of our ordination vows. By the habit of devoting constant and exclusive attention to the literary setting and form of expression, we may run some risk of deadening our appreciation of spiritual truth. It is on this account that I am in doubt as to the wisdom of applying the method of examination as a stimulus to engage in sacred studies; since it tends to leave the religious aim of such studies in the background. Paley is said to have reduced the Christian religion to a form in which it could be written out in examination, but this seems to be the least of his claims to our respect. I am not confident that the multiplication of examinations—either the Honour Examinations at the Universities, or the Divinity Groups in the Local Examinations—does much to develop the habit of mind which is necessary for insight into spiritual truth, or effective defence of the Christian Faith.

W. CUNNINGHAM.

CEPHAS AND CHRIST.

THE single authority of the Gospel according to St Matthew is but lightly esteemed by modern critics. His insistence upon the correspondence of events which he records with the precedents of ancient history and prophecy is the mark of an alien. Some of the sayings of Jesus, again, which he alone reports, are uncongenial to those whose Christ is not Jewish but human—if not also human and not divine. And others are reckoned to be just figments, illustrative only of the writer's interest in current developements of ecclesiastical order.

To this latter class the saying, *Thou art Peter, and on this Petra I will build my Ecclesia*, has at last been relegated.

Once—and for long enough—it was a vantage-ground, for which rival systems of Christian ecclesiasticism contended. It was warrant and refutation by turns for the authority which they claimed. By turns it was buttress and petard for their strongholds.

But now, on the one side at any rate, there are some to say that their opponents are in the right of it—and no matter.

At cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt
 Contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinquunt,
 Instabiles animos ludo prohibebis inani.
 Nec magnus prohibere labor . . .
 Hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
 Pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt.

It cannot be authentic, because it is 'impossible to maintain that Jesus founded any distinct religious community'.¹ And so the interpretation of *this Rock* is merely an academic question. 'The old Protestant interpretation that by the "rock" is meant not Peter's person but his faith'² is certainly false, and may be abandoned *with safety*.³ And even if the Roman Rock be that on which the Ecclesia shall be built, St Matthew is no master to dictate words, in which men must swear fealty to the Pope of Rome.

¹ Prof. Schmiedel in *Enc. Biblica* col. 3105.

² *ibid.*

³ Bengel *ad loc.* Tute haec omnia dicuntur : nam quid haec ad Romam !

But such a classification of this saying is by no means certain. The terms employed are Jewish rather than Christian. The combination alone is new; and that is a legitimate advance upon previous usage. Jesus came to *call* the Jews; and if ever—not necessarily in this case—He used the Greek language, Ecclesia was the natural designation of those who responded and followed Him. That He should discriminate between the real and the nominal Ecclesia was inevitable, whether He rested upon His own experience or upon that of His predecessors. Not now for the first time many of the people felt no need of conversion to God, and only the remnant returned.

It is, indeed, a real difficulty that Jesus should speak of '*my* Church'. For the present it must suffice to urge that as the convener of a true assembly of Jehovah He might choose His way of asserting His right in it and over it. The Lord's ownership is not thereby impaired any more than in the case of the Sovranty, which is 'mine' as well as God's.¹ As Rabbi Jesus had His disciples, as Master His slaves, and as House-lord His household.² Such partial parallels are apparently impotent to affect the conviction which assumes that the Church is always the later Christian Church; but they may serve as a plea for suspense of an adverse judgement in the matter of the authenticity of the saying.

And if it be possibly authentic, it seems worth while to consider whether a third interpretation is not at once safer and more certain than either of those already indicated.

Augustine, at any rate, has no doubt at all:—

Christ is the Rock (*Petra*): Peter the Christian people . . . 'Thou, therefore, art Peter (he says); and upon this Rock which thou hast confessed—upon this Rock which thou hast recognized, saying Thou art Christ the Son of the living God—I will build my Church': that is, 'upon myself the Son of the living God I will build my Church.'³

I. THE PEOPLE'S OPINIONS OF JESUS.

And Jesus went forth with his disciples to the villages of Caesarea Philippi; and on the way he was enquiring of his

¹ John xviii 36 and iii 3, 5. Compare 1 Cor. xv 24, 25, 28.

² Matt. x 25.

³ *Sermo* lxxvi 1.

disciples saying, Whom say men that I am? They said to him, Some say, John Baptist; and others say, Elijah; and others, He is one of the prophets.—Mark viii. 27 f.

By his choice of tenses St Mark seems to indicate that this enquiry is intended merely to lead up to its successor; and that both the first with the response given to it and the second are just the occasion and the setting of St Peter's declaration. 'He was enquiring . . . they said . . . he was enquiring . . . Peter says.'

According to St Luke,¹ who does not give the name of the place, Jesus had withdrawn from all His followers—professed disciples and expectant beneficiaries alike—in order that He might pray. This is a natural interpretation of the primitive narrative of St Mark, in which, after the interrogation and instruction of the disciples, the crowds are summoned to hear what fate the followers of the Nazarene prophet must face. The time had come when they must choose between God's Messiah and their own, between the Son of David and the Son of Man. Their hope, that Jesus was one who might be made King by violence, that the hosts of heaven should be summoned to the aid of a Galilean insurrection, had been crushed by the flight, which followed His most convincing miracle.² But His evident authority had emboldened and encouraged them to follow still, if haply it might somewhere be turned against other than the spiritual forces of wickedness which ravaged the Holy Land. This lingering, flickering hope Jesus was about to extinguish by word and deed. At the time they paid little heed to His words, and were therefore overwhelmed with consternation when they were accomplished. They had thought that this was He who should deliver Israel.³ Not until He had actually suffered on the cross did they realize that His kingdom was not one of the kingdoms of this world, that the sovereignty which He proclaimed was not His but God's. And even when He had risen from the dead, and had satisfied them by many signs—here a little and there a little—that He was Himself, but no longer, as before He seemed to be, a man among men, they asked Him, 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?'⁴ In their own

¹ Luke ix 18.

² Luke xxiv 21.

³ Mark vi 30-46, John vi 1-15.

⁴ Acts i 6.

persons they must share the sufferings of the Messiah, before their hopes could be purified and purged of selfishness and selfish patriotism. Suffering, each testified to his fellows, that the servant was not above his master but must help to fill up the deficiencies of the Messianic sufferings.

Long enough He had been with them : now it was expedient for them that He depart. Their faith, to which their presence testified, had grown deeper and stronger. They had been with Him in His temptations, and had been tested and tried therein themselves. Surely they had come to know Him better than the crowds, who only hoped to be healed from bodily infirmities. To none had He avowed Himself to be the Messiah. Devils had recognized Him ; and He had bidden them hold their peace. By deed and not by word He revealed Himself to be at once the Saviour and the way of Salvation. 'Men believe their eyes more than their ears,' as Seneca said. Plato and Aristotle and all the divergent crowd of sages drew more from the manners than from the words of Socrates. *Magnos viros non schola Epicuri sed contubernium fecit.* But of the disciples of Jesus only Peter knew Him and proclaimed Him as the Messiah. The rest were disillusioned. Even Peter seems to expect that the Recognition will lead to a sudden reversal of fortune—that Jesus will throw away His disguise, will bend the bow of the Son of David and slay the suitors who vex and oppress His Bride. There was indeed a *Peripeteia* bound up with this Recognition—not such as Peter expected, but one conformable to Aristotle's definition, 'a change by which a train of action produces the opposite of the effect intended.'¹

The account which the disciples give of the opinions current among the crowds who still attend Him, or among mankind generally, so far as it has taken cognizance of Jesus, seems to be a summary of an earlier and fuller report submitted to Herod :

And Herod the king heard (for the name of him became notorious) and he *was saying*, 'John Baptist has risen from the dead and there-

¹ Aristotle *Poetics* xi. The best form of Recognition is coincident with a reversal of fortune. . . . The Recognition of persons combined with a reversal of fortune will produce either pity or fear ; and actions producing these effects are those which tragedy represents. (Butcher's translation.) So Peter expostulates with Jesus as if pitying Him, and the disciples follow Him fearing even before the *Peripeteia* is actually accomplished.

fore the powers are active in him': others said 'It is Elias': others 'A prophet like one of the prophets'. But Herod when he heard *was saying*, 'John whom I beheaded arose.'¹

It may be that the present summary has been added to serve as a foil for Peter's insight. But the rest presumably shared one or other of the popular ideas of Jesus. And perhaps they departed justified rather than Peter. In any case it is in the manner of Jesus to elicit men's opinions and to expose their self-contradictions. He did not always employ the method of teaching indicated by the formula 'It was said to them of old . . . but I say to you'. Rather He inclined to use the Socratic method, and therein to reduce men to perplexity, in order that they might be moved to think out afresh their traditional creed. For Socrates

did not come forward with any counter-theories: he declared expressly that he had none to propose and that he was ignorant. He put questions to those who on their side professed to know and he invited answers from them. His mission, as he himself described it, was to scrutinize and expose false pretensions to knowledge. Without such scrutiny he declared life itself to be not worth living. He impugned the common and traditional creed not in the name of any competing doctrine but by putting questions on the familiar terms in which it was confidently enunciated and by making its defenders contradict themselves and feel the shame of their contradictions.²

To this description of the teaching of Socrates it must suffice here to add that he also anticipated death and refused to evade it.

He is John Baptist.

The theory that Jesus was John Baptist is ascribed definitely to Herod by St Mark (Mark vi 16), and St Matthew is content to follow him. St Luke, however, corrects the ascription, which is probably the result of a misunderstanding on the part of some receiver of the tradition. With better knowledge of the original, or perhaps of the character of the Herods, he says, unambiguously, 'Herod the tetrarch . . . was puzzled because it was said by some, "John has been raised . . ." and he said, "John I beheaded: who

¹ Mark vi 14-16.

² Grote *Plato* vol. i pp. 256 f.

is this concerning whom I hear these things?"¹ Other popular conjectures are irrelevant here. Perhaps they were added for the sake of completeness by the narrator. If they were reported to Herod, he took his stand upon facts as he knew them, and passed over, as a Jewish fancy with which he had little sympathy, the possibility of any return from the dead.

Whoever believed that Jesus was John Baptist might be misled by the mystery which hid his fate,² or take refuge in the thought that Jesus had received a portion of his spirit. In any case the belief indicates a certain narrowness of outlook and a neglect of the facts of past history as they are recorded in scripture.

He is Elias.

Others held that He was Elias. And they at least did not forget the past, which must repeat itself. A Jew untainted by foreign superstition, whose conscience was free from remorse for unjustifiable homicide, might shrink from the thought that a slain man could be raised, before the general resurrection, though all things be possible with God. But to such an one the fact that Elias did not die at all but was translated or removed by God, proved beyond all doubt that in due course he must reappear on earth. The greatest prophet is not exempt from the common lot of death.

This reappearance of Elijah was foretold by Malachi. By the mouth of His messenger God had said :

Remember ye the law of Moses my servant . . . Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. And he shall turn³ the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a ban.⁴

From the last of the prophets the chief of the Sages, Jesus ben Sira, inherited this tradition and enriched it. In the Hymn of the Fathers he recites the wondrous deeds of Elijah, and assigns to him not merely the function of Conversion described by

¹ Luke ix 7, 9.

² The Synoptic tradition gives prominence to the account of John's death and presumably attached importance to it.

³ ἄν LXX ἀνοκαταστήσει.

⁴ Mal. iii 23 f (iv 4 f).

Malachi, but also that of Restoration which belongs to the Servant of Jehovah pourtrayed by Isaiah :

Who was recorded for reproofs in their seasons
 * To pacify anger, before it brake forth into wrath,
 To turn the heart of the father unto the son
 And to restore the tribes of Jacob.¹

The ' fathers ' and ' children ' of Malachi are presumably the past and present Israelites. If these are to be reconciled with those, they must be obedient to the law; for the lapses of their ancestors are forgotten and their sanctity assured by their antiquity. Or it may be a question of teachers and pupils. But ' the father ' and ' the son ' of ben Sira can only be God and Israel. For the Sage, therefore, this Elias who is to come has a greater part to play. He shall mediate between Jehovah and His adopted son, and further he shall by his mediation achieve the Restoration of those offenders who were punished by exile. And this latter function belongs, as has been said, to the Suffering Servant. It is written :

And he said unto me, Thou art my servant ; Israel, in whom I will be glorified. But I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and vanity : yet surely my judgement is with the Lord, and my recompense with my God. And now saith the Lord that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, and that Israel be gathered unto him : (for I am honourable in the eyes of the Lord, and my God is become my strength :) yea, he said, It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel : I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.

Thus the messenger or forerunner of Jehovah is also His Servant—and there is no Messiah to come.

After the prophet the sage. After the sage the scribes. Such of the Scribes as still looked for Messiah taught that *Elias cometh first and restoreth all things*. This teaching is based on the prophecy of Malachi as it is interpreted by the Greek translator, who says in effect ' Read not, He shall turn again this to that, but, He shall *restore*.' But the Restoration for which they looked was, the prophet foretold, universal, and not only

¹ Ecclus. xlviii 10, cf. Luke i 17.

national. After the vision of the transfigured Jesus accompanied by Moses—the first and typical prophet—and Elias, the disciples propounded to their Master this doctrine of the Scribes as a problem.

And they *were asking* him and *saying*, 'The Scribes say, "Elijah cometh first." He answered and said to them, Elijah cometh first, that he may restore everything. And how is it written of the Son of Man? Is it not that he should suffer much and be crucified? But I say to you [—whatever the Scribes may say—] Elijah hath come and they did with him all that they would, as it is written of him.'

Here is fresh cause of perplexity. The four disciples seem to have discarded that part of the tradition which spoke of the Restoration of all things; for of this¹ they see no sign. Jesus reaffirms it and adds that Elias has come. How then—they might well ask—must the Son of Man suffer—who is this Son of Man? If John Baptist is Elias, why must he suffer? It would seem that Jesus accepted the identification of Elias with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah. For, according to the history, Elijah was not maltreated by his enemies. Though he despaired of his life and entreated God to take it away, he was preserved until he had appointed his own successor and anointed Hazael and Jehu.² Then he was taken up into heaven for that he was exceeding zealous for the law.³

It may be that Herod and Herodias correspond to Jezebel and Ahab, and succeed in fulfilling the intentions of their prototypes. It may also be that men in exercise of their freewill have frustrated God's plan for the time, or at least have hidden the superficial evidence of its success.

The extant authorities, from whom the Messianic Hope of this generation must be reconstructed, are fragmentary and discrepant. The vague figures of their dreams are apt to dissolve into one another. God was pleased to sum up all things in Christ, and His people had attempted to piece together His earlier messengers—all the more readily, because some of them were anonymous and others did not die.

¹ Peter still regards it as future after the final ascension of Jesus: Acts iii 21.

² 1 Kings xix.

³ 1 Macc. ii 58; 2 Kings ii.

He is one of the Prophets.

The expectation of a prophet like one of the prophets is based upon the promise given to Moses: 'I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them as that I shall command him.'¹

Such was the authority of Moses that men hoped for the prophet in the height of their prosperity no less than in the depth of their despair. When the Hasmonaeans triumphed, 'the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high-priest for ever, *until there should arise a faithful prophet.*'²

The crowds, who only needed a leader to embark upon another futile and fatal revolt against Rome, said to Jesus, 'What sign then doest thou, that we may see and believe thee? What work doest thou? Our fathers ate the manna in the desert, as it is written "Bread from heaven he gave them to eat." Jesus said therefore to them, "Verily, verily, I say to you, not Moses gave you that bread from heaven . . ."'³

And Christians like Peter and Stephen appealed to the same promise, joining hands with the Galilean peasants, with the guerrillas of Simon and with Philo the Alexandrine Jew. The promise was yoked with a warning against disobedience as also with a sign by which the prophet should be known.

And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto the words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. If the prophet, which shall speak a word presumptuously in my name which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, that same prophet shall die. And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him.

They desired then a faithful prophet who should do what Moses did, and some believed that they had found him in Jesus. In his reference to this form of the Hope Philo says:

¹ Deut. xviii 18: cf. *ib.* 15.

² 1 Macc. xiv 41: cf. *ib.* iv 44-46.

³ John vi 30 f.

Since in all men there is planted a passion for knowledge of the future and by reason of this passion they turn to sacrifices and all forms of divination in the hope of discovering certainty thereby—but these are full of uncertainty and are always self-detected—; such means therefore Moses strenuously forbids them to follow. But he says that, if they are truly pious, they shall not go wanting knowledge of the future. No, suddenly appearing a prophet divinely inspired shall give oracles and say nothing of his own—for not even if he says can he comprehend it, if he be really possessed and rapt—but all his teaching shall pass through him as if another were prompting him. For the prophets are God's interpreters: he uses their organs to signify his will.¹

He is Jeremiah.

St Matthew inserts a fourth opinion, which is perhaps a closer definition or a particular form of the third: 'Others said, Jeremiah or one of the prophets.' The view that Jeremiah was the promised prophet like Moses is expounded in the Midrash. In a document incorporated in the Second Book of Maccabees it is told on the authority of 'the records' or 'the writing' how Jeremiah bade the tabernacle and the ark follow him to the mountain, whence Moses beheld God's heritage, and hid them there, until God should gather the People's ingathering.² Later in the body of the same book Judas relates to his followers a vision which he had seen:

And the vision of that *dream* was this: *He saw* Onias, him that was high priest, a noble and good man, reverend in bearing, yet gentle in manner and well-spoken, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, with outstretched hands invoking *blessings* on the whole body of the Jews: thereupon *he saw* a man appear, of venerable age and exceeding glory, and wonderful and most majestic was the dignity around him: and Onias answered and said, This is the lover of the brethren, he who prayeth much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah the prophet of God: and Jeremiah stretching forth his right hand delivered to Judas a sword of gold, and in giving it addressed *him* thus, Take the holy sword, a gift from God, wherewith thou shalt smite down the adversaries.

Finally, in illustration of this idea of the present activity and future return of Jeremiah the congener of Moses, one may quote

¹ *de Monarchia* i 9 (ii p. 221 f M).

² 2 Macc. ii 1-8.

a passage of Philo in which he ranks Jeremiah almost on a level with Moses. In his revelation of the mystery contained in the mystic rite of marriage¹ he quotes Jeremiah :

For though I was initiated into the great Mysteries in the School of Moses, nevertheless when I saw Jeremiah the prophet and realized that he was not only a mystic but also a competent Adept I did not hesitate to frequent him.²

But, as will appear later, the whole scene recalls—fulfils—a scene in the life of Jeremiah, which in itself justifies, if it did not suggest, the identification of Jesus with Jeremiah.

These then are the categories in which men have placed Jesus. But with this reply from His disciples He is not content, and He probes their minds until He elicits from Simon a definition which is capable of containing and including all the rest—provided always that it be taken wiselier than the speaker meant, like all prophetic utterances. For John, Elias, and the Prophet were certainly not Messiahs in the sense which the word conveyed to their ears. And on the other hand, Jesus was surely not merely—if at all—the Messiah, Son of David, for whom Simon looked and was to look.³

II. PETER'S CONFESSION OF HIM.

And he was enquiring of them, 'But ye—whom say ye that I am?' Peter answers and says to him, 'Thou art the Messiah.' And he rebuked them that to none they should say it of him.

Alone of all the Twelve, Simon confesses that this Jesus is the Messiah. In the Johannine account he is made to say, when the Twelve are asked if they also will depart, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of the life of the world to come. And we have believed and known that *thou art the Holy One of God.*'⁴ But the disciple, whom Jesus loved, had seen the other Apostles rise to share the faith of Peter: his record anticipates the general enlightenment consequent either upon this declaration or upon the Resurrection. As yet only Peter can say, 'Thou art the Christ.'⁵

¹ Compare Eph. v 32.

² Philo *de Cherub.* § 14 (i p. 147 f M).

³ John xviii 10 f.

⁴ John vi 68.

⁵ This point is brought out very clearly in St Matthew's report of our Lord's response.

Of the four reports of this confession St Mark's is the shortest. St Luke has the normal phrase, 'The Christ of God,' that is, 'the Lord's Anointed'. It is natural to suppose that the discrepancy is due rather to abbreviation than to amplification of the original. The curt brevity of St Mark can hardly arise from a reverential avoidance of the Holy Name; for the other three evade successfully the technical offence of naming Jehovah. It is rather appropriate to a watchword or symbol, in which is retained all that is essential and nothing else.¹ Christ soon became a proper name.

But St Matthew gives a still fuller phrase: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' Some support for this addition might be derived from the report of St John. But whether it be really part of the original utterance of St Peter or not, it recalls a Scripture which might well have been coupled with this inspired word.

By the mouth of the prophet Hosea God reaffirmed the promise, which He had made to Abraham, and said, 'It shall come to pass that, in the place where it was said to them, Ye are not my people, it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God. And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together and they shall appoint themselves one head and shall go up from the land'; and again, 'Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God and David their king.'

Jesus and His disciples were travelling through the district of Caesarea Philippi. The town was built in honour of Tiberius Caesar by Philip, the son of Herod the Great, on the site of a village which had been named Pancaas for the great god Pan. It was a place where everything cried aloud to the Jews, that they were not the people of Jehovah, that for their apostasy they had been delivered to other overlords. The living God had left them to the dead idols and to mortal kings.

And here Peter is enabled to designate the head of this company as the Messiah, whom the scribes called the Son of David, and whose presence is a pledge that God no longer averts His face from them. Great Pan is dead: Herod and Caesar are passing away. As in the ancient days the Living God, for whom the soul of the Pious

¹ Compare Κύριος Ἰησοῦς of St Paul.

thirsted, is among them. Twelve men out of the tribes of Israel have been taken—for every tribe a man.¹ And one of them is inspired to assert that he of whom the prophets had spoken is come. Doubtless his prophetic insight is as fitful as that of John Baptist; but it is real insight, and not a superficial, facile guess. In the homeless outcast, whose followers are deserting him for want of more loaves and fishes, Peter has found once more, and now more surely, the Christ, to whom his brother led him long ago. His fellows might acquiesce in Hillel's decision—Israel has no Messiah to look for, because they have already eaten him in the days of Hezekiah²—and take refuge in one or other of the popular theories with which they were familiar. Peter follows in the steps of John Baptist and plays the part which tradition assigned to Elias: he recognizes the Messiah as such, who else was unconscious of His own vocation. The reward of Peter and of those who followed his lead was that they should learn what the Messiah must suffer.

The secret which was thus revealed through Peter must not be divulged as yet. His faith was not yet perfected by temptation, nor could it receive as yet its final corroboration. The seed must still be sown in weakness and in secrecy.

III. THE REPLY OF JESUS TO SIMON'S CONFESSION.

Jesus answering said to him, Blessed art thou, Simon bar Jona; for flesh and blood did not reveal to thee, but my father which is in heaven. Moreover I also say to thee, Thou art *Peter*, and on this *Petra* I will build my Church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven.

The concluding promise that his binding and loosing shall be ratified by God is given elsewhere to others also.³ In neither case does the present context of the saying affect the natural meaning of the words as spoken by a Jewish Rabbi. *To bind is to forbid; to loose is to permit.* Whoever performed these chief

¹ Jos. iii 10 ff.

² *Sanhedrin* 99a.

³ Matt. xviii 18.

functions of the spiritual directors of the time in accordance with the Will as revealed in Scripture, or thence deduced, hoped with some show of reason that his decision would be valid. If it is valid it must be confirmed by God.

This promise then is merely a certificate that so-and-so is a competent scribe. Its fitness to the circumstances of Peter's declaration may be gauged by the fact that he proceeds to bind the Messiah from the suffering which God had ordained for Him.

The penultimate promise of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven need not necessarily imply more. The Kingdom of Heaven is, roughly speaking, equivalent to Eternal Life; and this from the human point of view is—or is attained by—Knowledge. The Scribes or Lawyers of the Jews had taken the key of Knowledge—how much more truly the Scribes of the Nazarenes.

But both this sentence and this promise would be far more fitly addressed to Jesus the Messiah by Jehovah.

Remains the impotent gates of Hell—my Church—building—this Rock and Rock—bar Jona and the rest.

A. *Bar Jona.*

It is a small point that Simon is here styled *son of Jona* and not *son of John*. But the difference is not necessarily insignificant. Simon's own name had been changed to Cephas or Peter by way of encouragement; and now his patronymic is changed by way of warning.

For the sake of orientation and the acquisition of the right view of such matters it will be well to heed what Philo says 'Concerning the Change of Names'. In the tract which bears this title he describes the fate of one who scoffed at such trivialities, and indicates his own adhesion to the scriptural theory of their importance.

Lately (he says) I heard of a godless and impious man mocking and making game of symbolism who dared to say, 'Great indeed and excessive are the boons which Moses says are offered by the Ruler of the Universe! The addition of an A or an R to the name!'

This scoffer soon afterwards came to be hanged for a slight and trivial cause—and so he deserved to die. When God changed Abram's name He said in effect, 'For what cause dost thou, Abram, *lofty father*, seek out the quires and circuits of the stars,

and hast thou leaped so far from earth up to aether?' Such nature-study is fruitless if it bring no gain of virtue. The change of name imports desertion of physiology for ethical philosophy: the meteorologist becomes Abraham, the *father of an elect sound*. Sara *my authority* becomes Sarra, *princess*. Jacob *supplanter* becomes Israel, *man seeing God*. But Jacob is still called Jacob and not Israel; for he is the practiser of virtue, and his new name comes not from God Himself but from God's Word. Isaac, the second of the three originators of the Race, retains his name intact. But Joseph is surnamed Psonthomphanêth by the king of the country: *Addition* becomes *Mouth-judging-in answer*. And his brother Benjamin *Son of Days* is called by his mother *Son of my pain*—as it is written, Rachel died in child-bed. But when God bestows a change of name it is really a symbolic reformation of character. Such things—letters, syllables, names—are tokens of powers, small of great, material of real, apparent of secret; and the powers in good dogmas, in true and pure thoughts, in betterments of soul, are tested and tried.

As is the mother so is the daughter. The sequel shews that Simon was ready to do what Jonah the prophet did, and is therefore fitly called the son of Jonah. It is written, 'The word of the Lord came unto Jonah the son of Amittai saying, Arise go to Nineveh that great city, and cry against it. . . . But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord.'

Jerusalem was as dangerous to Jesus and His followers as ever Nineveh was to Jonah. But in both the summons to repentance must be sounded, though death await God's herald. Nineveh was a great city of three days' journey; and on His way to Jerusalem Jesus said, 'To-day and to-morrow I journey and on the third day I am perfected.' Indeed, Jesus Himself draws out the parallel, saying, 'The Men of Nineveh shall rise in the judgement with this generation and condemn it; for they turned to the proclamation of Jonah, and behold more than Jonah here.' The daughter of Zion shall be summoned to God's judgement seat along with the types of wickedness which she contemned. So it is written in the book of the prophet Ezekiel, 'As I live, saith the Lord, Sodom thy sister hath not done . . . as thou hast done. Neither hath Samaria committed half of thy sins: but

thou hast multiplied thine abominations more than they, and hast justified thy sisters by all thine abominations, which thou hast done . . . they are more righteous than thou ; yea, be thou also confounded and bear thy shame, in that thou hast justified thy sisters.'

B. *The Blessing of Simon.*

Son of Jonah, or son of John, Simon is declared blessed or happy, as being the recipient of a direct revelation from God. So of the disciples, as distinguished from those without, Jesus says, 'Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear.'¹ And again, 'I give thanks to thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hidden these things from wise and prudent and revealed them to babes.'² The Father alone knows, recognizes the Son. If Peter therefore says, Thou art the Christ, his recognition is not his own but inspired. So God's rule holds true that secrets are revealed to the humble.³ Like them, like the patriarchs,⁴ and like Paul, Peter was pupil and disciple of none. Humanly speaking he was self-taught, which is to say that he was taught of God, had been schooled by the Sovranty of Heaven. He could say with Homer's bard :

Self-learned am I and in my heart God placed all ways of song.

No date is affixed to the revelation alleged to have been granted to Simon. The reference may well be to the time of his first acquaintance with Jesus. Andrew may have been mediator of it—for God works with human instruments as His instruments. 'Flesh and blood' intervened perhaps. It is written that Andrew brought him to Jesus, having said, 'We have found the Messiah.' But it is written again, 'No man can come unto me except the Father which sent me draw him.'⁵ *Qui facit per alium facit per se.*

C. *And I moreover say to thee.*

God said to Simon by the mouth of Andrew or another, This Jesus is the Messiah. That is the revelation whenever

¹ Matt. xiii 16 = Luke x 23.

² Matt. xi 25 = Luke x 21 ; compare Dan. ii 23.

³ Ecclus. iii 19.

⁴ Philo *de Abrahamo* ii p. 2 M.

⁵ Contrast with this the saying, 'I, if I be lifted out of the earth, will draw all men unto me.'

and however made. To this revelation Jesus—if the record be trustworthy—appends a saying of his own—and *I moreover to thee say* . . .

The combination of particles *καὶ δέ* and *moreover* is not common in the historical books of the New Testament,¹ and is not above suspicion.² There is Latin and Syriac authority for the omission of *δέ*; and probably the combination is due to an untimely reminiscence of the familiar phrase *But I say to you* (*ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν*), which introduces our Lord's corrections of previous revelations. Otherwise *Κ* might have come from the preceding *Ι*.

But even so, the phrase *and I to thee say that thou art* . . . is an unnatural one. It is fitting that if a change of speakers be intended, *ἐγώ* should be inserted for emphasis. But it is strange that *σοι* should have so prominent a place, if the person addressed is still Simon the same as before. Perhaps *ΚΕΓΩ* *COI* has been evolved out of *ΑΕΓΩ* *CYEI*, and perhaps *ΑΕΓΩ* should be written *ΑΕΓΩ*. If this be so, the content of God's revelation to Simon has been disguised as a saying of Jesus; and, without appealing to any presumed Aramaic original, one may, with some show of reason, restore

Blessed art thou Simon son of Jona (though thou be); for not flesh and blood but my heavenly father revealed to thee, saying, 'Thou art Peter and on this *Petra* I will build my Church.'

D. *Thou art Peter.*

According to St John it was Jesus Himself who conferred the name Peter or Cephas upon Simon. But according to St John Jesus affirmed that He spoke only what He heard from the Father,³ as became a faithful prophet. And further it is to be noted that in cases of change of name the formula *thou art* indicates rather that which is to be discarded than that which is conferred.⁴ One almost expects an authoritative annulment of the earlier christening of Simon—'Thou art Peter: thou shalt be called bar Jona, or worse.' But as yet Peter is not degraded

¹ Matt. x 18, xvi 18; John vi 51, xv 27; Acts iii 24, xxii 29.

² In Matt. x 18 *καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε, τε* seems to be an obvious emendation of *δέ*, if it be retained at all.

³ John xvii 8.

⁴ John i 42 *σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου· σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς.*

from the position, which his name attests. Only there is a note of sad irony—perhaps a despairing challenge—in the words *Thou art Peter*. Later, on the brink of his repudiation of Jesus, it is said:

Simon, Simon—Peter no more—behold Satan hath requisitioned you to sift you as wheat: but I prayed for thee that thy faith should not fail . . . and do thou—since fail it must for a season—turn some time and confirm thy brethren.¹

St John's account of the gift of a new name to Simon shews that the word used then was not the Greek *Petros* but the Aramaic *Cephas*. So here the collocation of *shall prevail over* indicates an original Aramaic saying in which there was a play upon the senses of the root KPH.

The Hebrew has no word corresponding in sound and sense to *Cepha*; but the cognate *Cephim* is found once in the prophecies of Jeremiah and once in the Book of Job.

Thus saith the Lord, The whole land shall be a desolation . . . The whole city fleeth for the noise of the horsemen and bowmen; they go into the thickets and climb up *upon the rocks*²: every city is forsaken, and not a man dwelleth therein.³

And of the former estate of his triumphant enemies Job says:

They are driven forth from the midst . . . in the clefts of the valleys they must dwell in holes of the earth and *of the rocks*.⁴

The prophecy of Jeremiah is about to be accomplished, and soon must Jesus pass through the experience of Job:

Now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I disdained to set with the dogs of my flock⁵. . . And now I am become their song, yea, I am a byword unto them. They abhor me, and stand aloof from me, and spare not to spit in my face.⁶

The root, then, has appropriate associations, and is fitted to denote the proper foundation for a community, which must be called out from the people. *The rocks* are the antithesis of the city, the home of outcasts and the refuge of those who flee from

¹ Luke xxii 31 f.

² Jer. iv 27, 29.

³ Compare Mark vii 27.

⁴ LXX ἐν τῶν πετράς ἀπέβησαν.

⁵ Job xxx 5 f.

⁶ Job xxx 1, 9 f; compare Matt. xxvi 67.

doom—as it is said, ‘Then let them which are in Judaea flee unto the hills.’¹

But—rightly or wrongly—primitive exegesis would not be content with the associations of the cognate word, whose meaning is identical with that of the word actually employed. Puerile as the reasoning may seem to modern ears similarity of sound despite dissimilarity of sense, justifies the adducing of extraneous helps to interpretation. In this particular case there is the word *Caphaph* to bend or to be bent, and its pendant *Caph* hand, which naturally present themselves and offer their services for the elucidation of this mystery. *Cephas*, the Rock, may chance become one of the *Cephoophim*, ‘them that are bowed down whom God raises up.’² And again *Cephas*, the Rock, may be delivered *into the hand*, of his enemies; as it is written:

I have forsaken mine house, I have cast off mine heritage, I have given the dearly beloved of my soul *into the hand of her enemies.*³

The actual word *Cepha* is not common in the oldest Targum in the sense of Rock. But the Targum of Onkelos employs it in a very prominent and important passage as the equivalent of *Sēla*, or Rock, from which Moses drew water for the children of Israel.⁴ It is in reference to this Rock that St Paul says that he drank of the spiritual rock following and the Rock was Christ. Similarly, in the Jerusalem Targum of the Song of Moses *Sēla*, the Rock whence God fed His people with honey,⁵ is *Cepha*. And *Cepha* stands for *Sēla* in such passages as: ‘the Rocks a refuge for the conies’⁶—‘I will place my foot upon *the rock*—a man shall be . . . as the shadow of a great *rock* in a well-land.’⁷ But when *Sēla* is used figuratively of God, it is represented by *Cepha* in the Targums; nor yet is its frequent companion *Šūr*, whether it be used literally or metaphorically.

On the other hand *Cepha* is used of a precious stone in the Targum of Proverbs⁸, and this sense of *stone* seems to predominate in Palestinian Aramaic.¹⁰

¹ Mark xiii 14.

² Ps. cxlv 14.

³ Jer. xii 7.

⁴ Num. xx 8, 10, 11.

⁵ Deut. xxxii 13.

⁶ Ps. civ 18.

⁷ Ps. xl 3.

⁸ Is. xxxii 2.

⁹ Prov. xv

¹⁰ So e.g. in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (edited by Dr A. S. Lewis) Gen. ii 12 *ܘܫܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ* = אבן השדה, Deut. xiii 10 *ܘܫܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ* = באבנים. See *Schulthess Lexicon Syriaco-Palaestinum* sub voc. *Lapis* (λίθος, perraro πέτρα).

In spite of this evidence it is reasonable to attach importance to the Greek rendering of St Matthew, and to be guided thereby in the search for a Scriptural antecedent to this *Petros—Petra*. Thus one arrives at the word *Şūr*, which satisfies all our requirements.

In the first place *Şūr* signifies *Rock* or *Hill*; as it is written :

For from the tops of *the rocks* I see him,
And from the hills behold him.
Lo! a people dwelling alone
And not accounting itself as one of the nations.¹

Here the congregation of Israel may fitly be described as an *Ecclesia*—a body called out from the nations of the world. Rabbinic exegesis connects *the rocks* with Israel rather than with the spectator. 'Under *rocks* the Fathers are to be understood: as it says, Hear ye, O mountains, the controversy of the Eternal.'² And a parable is added :

When God in the beginning wished to found the world he found no foundation until the Fathers came into being. Like a King that would build a city . . . who found at last a great Rock.³

Secondly, *Şūr* is not only a name of God—as it is written, *the Rock his ways are perfect*,⁴ and again, *who is a Rock except our God*⁵—but also the name of a prince of Midian,⁶ and of a Gibeonite.⁷

Thirdly, on the analogy of the Scripture, *Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful*, *Şūr* is transferred to Abraham, the putative father of Israel, as it is written :

Hearken unto me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord: look unto the Rock whence ye were hewn . . . look unto Abraham your father . . . for when he was but one I called him, and I blessed him, and made him many.⁸

Lastly, while *Şūr* is never rendered by *Cepha* in the Targums, its proper equivalent is the assonant *Tāqīph*, the Strong One, when it is used as a proper name of God.⁹

¹ Num. xxiii 9.

² Mic. vi 2.

³ *Schemoth R.* Par. xv (Wünsche p. 107).

⁴ Deut. xxxii 4.

⁵ Ps. xviii 32.

⁶ Num. xxv 15, &c.

⁷ 1 Chron. viii 30, ix 36.

⁸ Is. li 1 ff.

⁹ See (e.g.) Targum of Onkelos Deut. xxxii. The Septuagint and Vulgate render *Şūr* in such cases by *God*.

E. *And on this Rock.*

The use of the demonstrative adjective *this* indicates that the Rock on which the Ecclesia shall be built is some present Rock. Only the eyewitnesses of the scene can ever have known certainly what it was, or have guessed with any degree of confidence at the speaker's meaning. For only they saw to whom or to what the finger of Jesus pointed at the time.

In accordance with the Parable of the Two Houses some firm foundation must be intended, which shall stand in the time of temptation and distress. Or, if the imagery of that Parable is to be adapted to suit its employment in other connexions, this Rock must be that on which the foundation rests. Indeed, it does not seem impossible that St Luke's modifications of it may have arisen from his knowledge of a current identification of the foundation with the Apostles,¹ and the rock with Christ himself.

There is always a tendency to assume that the same figures have always the same significance in Scripture.² And one may reasonably suppose that St Luke, if he held this view, and Augustine, who certainly held it, would have agreed that St Paul's dictum, *The Rock was Christ*, was ample warrant for it. But there is a certain simplicity about the Augustinian view, *I will build upon myself*, which may be partly responsible for its present neglect.

In regard to the two interpretations which appear to hold the field, it would be difficult to add anything to the criticisms which the champions of either have heaped upon the other. But it does not seem unfair to say that a form of words is an inadequate base for the Ecclesia, and that the faith of Simon is even now more like a reed than a rock. On the other hand, the only solid piece of evidence which favours the Roman view is the fact that immediately afterwards Peter is described as a stumbling-block to Jesus. From this it is a fair inference that Peter is in some sort a *Petra*, if only a rock of offence. But this being so, the

¹ Eph. ii 20; Apoc. xxi 14.

² See e. g. Cyprian *Test.* ii 16 (Quod et idem lapis dictus est) 'Hic est lapis in Genesi quem ponit Jacob ad caput suum . . . lapis in Exodo super quem sedit Moyses . . . lapis quo David frontem Goliae percussit . . . lapis quem . . . statuit Samuel.' Before these *historiae* he cites Is. xxviii 16, Ps. cxvii 22 f, Zach. iii 8, Deut. xxvii 8, Jos. xxiv 26, to prove his thesis.

saying might more fitly be interpreted thus: And against this rock—this embodiment of Satan as it is soon seen to be—I will build my church as a man builds siegeworks against a rebel town.¹

A fourth explanation may be hazarded. It is one which would be more acceptable in the first than in the twentieth century of this era. Six days' journey off there was the Mountain of the Transfiguration. For a caravan to reach it—and to reach the side whence it could be climbed—may well have called for devious wanderings, which would account for much of the distance implied. Perhaps it was not even the objective of the consequent march. In any case it does not seem to be incredible that *this Rock* was the peak of this mountain near and far enough to impress the spectator with a sense of obvious sanctity. Gerizim or Zion or Tabor—one of the everlasting hills—is the fit site for the worship of Jehovah. There on the summit, guarded on this side by spurs and scree and scars, the chosen witnesses of the Transient Glory may well have thought that Jesus began to build or rebuild the immaterial Church.

But this Church, whose Service shall be rational and spiritual, can hardly be built upon a rock of this creation. If Jesus is speaking and speaking for Himself, *this rock* must be Jehovah: if Jehovah be speaking—though by His mouthpiece—Jesus, as the Christ, must be *this rock*. Augustine—a Daniel come to judgement—is able to identify builder and foundation. But his interpretation has merits which are independent of this confusion of thought (as moderns would reckon it). *This rock, my church*, and the introductory formula, *and I moreover to thee say*, unite to plead against the infallibility and impeccability of the received Greek text. *This rock* and *my church* suggest that the real speaker must be Jehovah, though Jesus be His interpreter.

After all this is only translation—Greek. *And* here may stand for *but* and connect contrasted things. In such a case the second thing is rightly placed—for the sake of the requisite emphasis—immediately after the conjunction. It is as if one should say: Thou art Petros (Art thou Petros). But on this Petra (on the true Petra) will I build my Church. Other foundation can no man lay save that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.² To whom

¹ Compare (e. g.) Deut. xx 20 οἰκοδομήσεις χάρακον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν = בְּנִית מִצּוּר עַל־הָעִיר.

² 1 Cor. iii 11.

approaching, a living Stone by men rejected, but with God elect, precious; ye also as living stones are being built, a spiritual house, into a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For it is contained in Scripture:

Lo, I place in Zion a stone elect, head of the corner, precious, and he that believeth thereon shall not be ashamed.

To you, then, the preciousness who believe; but to unbelievers, Stone that the builders rejected, this has become the head of the corner, and stone of stumbling and Rock of offence: they stumble and disobey the word.

Of the rock, whence the ancient Ecclesia was nourished, Philo said:

Now these things—prudence, temperance and piety—are truly food of the soul capable of sucking, as the Lawgiver says, Honey from rock and oil from solid rock. He indicates God's wisdom as the solid and undivided rock, which is nurturer and fosterer and nursing-mother of them that aspire to immortal life. . . . Elsewhere he calls this rock Manna, the Divine Logos, eldest of things that are.²

St Paul's proposition, 'Now the Rock was the Messiah,' is rather an axiom accepted by Philosopher and Pharisee at Alexandria and in Palestine.

The difficulty is that, as the text stands, one is thus compelled to identify the Builder and the Rock.

I will build my Church.

Confronted by the veil of the *Greek* text, the reader must grope blindly after the interpretation of these Sayings. We see the enigma dimly and darkly as in an ancient mirror. Already an emendation of the intermediary has been suggested which affects the prefatory formula and redeems this, else suspicious, phrase *my church*.

But the unusual combination of particles is perhaps less impressive; and an emendation of the latter suspect may prove a more attractive road to the same conclusion.

¹ 2 Pet. ii 4-8.

² Deut. xxxiii 13 וינקחו רבש מסלע ושמן מחלמיש צור and he made him suck honey out of the crag and oil from the flint of rock. Philo *Quod det. pot.* xxxi 1 p. 213 M, LXX ἐθήλασαν μέλι ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεῆς πέτρας.

The order of words in the Origenian text, which is followed by modern editors, corresponds exactly to the English order: *I will build my church*—οικοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. This order is almost as natural in Hellenistic Greek as in English. The genitive of the possessive pronoun precedes the word upon which it depends, being the equivalent of a possessive adjective.¹ If this be the true form of the original Greek version of the saying, it might be suggested that the genitive ΜΟΥ was a corruption of the dative ΜΟΙ; but the pronoun could not be replaced by a noun.

But the Codex Bezae, which often receives support from pre-Origenian authorities, reads *the church of me*, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μου. And if this reading be preferred, ΜΟΥ might well be derived from ΚΟΥ=κυρίου of the Lord. At any rate this is the proper place for ΜΟΥ in translation-Greek. In Aramaic the pronoun could not stand before its noun unless it were in the dative instead of the genitive case. And if one can recover tentatively the original language it is a reasonable conjecture that *my church*, ܘܠܗܐ or the like, is really a corruption of ܘܠܗܐ Church of Jehovah.

Read, then, either :

My father . . . revealed to thee saying ' . . . On this rock will I build my church ' ;

or :

And I say (but I say) 'On this rock will I build the Church of Jehovah'.

If, however, neither emendation be accepted, one may adduce the fact that the person or personality of a prophet who speaks in the name of Jehovah is apt to disappear, leaving God and His people face to face. The speech of St Stephen, which deals with the question of the temple, supplies an example: 'As the prophet says, Heaven is *my* throne and earth *my* feet's footstool.' Read in the light of this, the Greek text has the sense secured by the former of the proposed new readings: God is the builder of His own church, and Christ is this Rock.

The word *Ecclesia* is, being anatomized, a *Calling-out*. And

¹ Matt. vii 24 δοῦναι ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους, 26 πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους : viii 8 ἔσα μου ἐπὶ τὴν στέγην εἰσελθῆς : xii 50 αὐτός μου ἀδελφός : xvii 15 ἐλέησάν μου τὸν >16ν : xxiv 48 χρονίζει μου ὁ κύριος.

so it was not often used in the Septuagint to describe the Congregation of Israel. But it does occur as a rendering of *Qahal* in the Greek version of Deuteronomy, once in the context of the promise of the Prophet,¹ and once at the beginning of a list of persons proscribed from entering *the Assembly of Jehovah*.² So far as sound goes—and the seventy translators were not averse from preserving, if possible, that part of a word's virtue—it is the natural equivalent to adopt.³ But it suggested the idea of a righteous remnant, called out from the general assembly, as the sheep from the fold in the parable.⁴

When the prophets had established the doctrine of Election and delivered it to the Pharisees the word came by its own, uniting as it did in itself the old and the new conceptions of God's People.

Ecclesia, then, is the *Qahal*, which consists of the Chosen People, and belongs to Jehovah.

Familiarity has dulled the edge of the collocation *build a church*. Apart from the appropriation of the word *church* to a material handmade structure (albeit of the new order) the metaphor of building is established and accepted. St Paul uses it as moderns speak of edification: 'He that prophesies builds the church.'⁵ For this use there is ample precedent.

Banah, to build or to rebuild, is used figuratively of the establishment and continuance of a household in the Old Testament generally, and by Jeremiah in reference to the restoration of Israel after the exile. The latter use is more obviously a possible source of this present phrase. Thus it is written, 'Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel.'⁶

But the former use must also be taken into account, though it require that the Assembly be regarded as, in some sort, a House or Temple.

It is an easy transition from the *Qahal* to the *Haikal*

¹ xviii 16.

² xxiii 1.

³ The Curetonian Syriac has $\omega\lambda\alpha\chi$ here and in Matt. viii 17, where the Sinaitic has $\beta\lambda\omega\sigma$. If the later word correspond to $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$, it may be noted that this is equivalent to $\beta\eta\tau$ by Gematria: $20 + 50 + 60 + 5 = 100 + 5 + 30 = 135$. As $\beta\eta\tau$ unlike a $\beta\eta\tau$ can belong to a man such as Dathan, Abiram, and Job.

⁴ John x 3 $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\beta\lambda\omega\sigma$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\beta\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\phi\alpha\sigma\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\delta\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$.

⁵ 1 Cor. xiv 4.

⁶ Jer. xxxi 4 $\omega\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\sigma\omega$ $\sigma\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\omega\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\eta$.

from the Assembly to the Temple. The Hebrew words are not equivalent by the later Gematria, which adheres to the numerical value of letters. But the sound of the letter Qoph is not easily distinguished from that of Kaph; and the transposition might be the unconscious achievement of the most careful scribe. To build a Temple is the function of Messiah, if he be Son of David. And the new Temple, which shall surpass the Temple of Solomon, Son of David, is in no wise a temple made with hands, but such as is worthy of Jehovah.

The *Qahal* is the true *Haikal* of God. Is it only at Jerusalem that men may worship Him? Then, since no temple may be built elsewhere—save in Egypt, the Jews of the Dispersion must choose between substitutes and a suspension of the Worship. So the Pharisees taught that God was present in the Synagogue as in the Temple. And Paul the Pharisee wrote to those whom he had won over to the Judaism of the Nazarenes from the heatheness of Corinth, that they should not attempt a combination of the rival religions which they had embraced in succession. 'For we are the temple (NAOC) of the living God: as God said, "I will dwell in them and walk therein and I will be their God and they shall be my People (AAOC); and separate yourselves, saith Jehovah, and touch not that which is unclean and I will receive you".'

The Assembly is the rational Temple, and must therefore be built. If it is to endure, then according to the parable of the two houses, it must be built upon the rock, which either is or supports its foundation.

For the prophets and the Pharisees, with whom were the Nazarenes, the Temple at Jerusalem was superseded, before it was destroyed. Jesus saith to the woman of Samaria, Believe me that the hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. Ye worship that which ye know not: we worship that which we know: for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: for such doth the Father seek to be his worshippers.

The central sanctuary had served its purpose in the war waged against idolatry. But in Galilee and in the Dispersion the Synagogue was the necessary Tabernacle of Jehovah.

For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

It remains to ask how and of whom is it said, 'The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it'? The last word is ambiguous; it may refer either to the Rock or to the Ecclesia. If *this Rock* be distinguished from *Simon the Rock*, it becomes easier to regard it as the heir of this promise rather than the Ecclesia.

The gates of Hades or Sheol stand for the power of death. Readily they open to all comers; but none may go out.

Facilis descensus Averni:
Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

Hezekiah, whom some—long after—pronounced to have been the Messiah, said, when he lay dying as he thought, 'In the tranquillity of my days I shall go into the gates of Sheol.'¹ For him there was little hope of any resurrection, general or particular. Even the Sage who wrote in the name of Solomon found faith to say: 'Thou hast authority over life and death: and thou leadest down into the gates of Hades, and thou leadest up.'²

Though the Rock pass in through the inexorable portal, it is written, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.' To Jesus Christ the gates of Death opened in fear, and the warders of Hades saw Him and shuddered.³ He then, who, according to Scripture, must suffer and be the first to rise from the dead, the crucified and risen Messiah, is the true Rock upon whom the Church of God shall be built, and against whom the gates of Hell shall not prevail.

'In parables'—Justin said in his controversy with Trypho: 'the Christ was proclaimed Stone and Rock through the prophets.'⁴ The word *Cepha* covers and contains both Rock and Stone. And there is an echo of *Cepha* in this promise, 'The gates of Hades shall not conquer it.' For the Greek word *κατιχύουσιν*, *shall conquer*, is that which the Septuagint uses

¹ Is. xxxviii 10.

² Job xxxviii 17 LXX.

³ Sep. xvi 13.

⁴ Justin *Dial. c. Tryph.* § 113.

render the Hebrew *ḥsq*.¹ And the Aramaic equivalent is furnished by Onkelos, who uses *Tqph*.

This echo would seem to require the identification of the ambiguous *αὐτῆς*, *it*, with *this Rock*; and to endorse the present connexion of the verses as original.

Or if the mechanical accumulation of evidence from the Septuagint and the Targum of Onkelos be unacceptable, there is *Caphah*, a still more faithful echo of *Cepha*, which might well have been used in the sense of *conquer* by one acquainted with the oral Targums or the language of the Rabbis.

J. H. A. HART.

¹ The simple verb *λαχέω* is more common because the conservation of the original sound is not obscured by the prefix.

NOTES AND STUDIES

PAPIAS ON THE AGE OF OUR LORD.

IN a former article in this JOURNAL (July 1907, vol. viii p. 590) I have argued that certain calculations which placed the Birth, Baptism, and Passion of Christ in the years 9, 46, and 58 were made by Hippolytus in his youth, with the help of the imperial chronology of Tertullian, and that they were based on no ancient tradition. But it appeared that Hippolytus must have appealed to tradition for some other part of the statements attributed to him by the independent witness of Alexander of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, and Annianus. From their confused testimony it would seem that he based his assertions on 'tradition' from 'one who had known the Apostles'. This in a disciple of Irenaeus suggests that he had used the book of Papias. The points which might with some probability be supposed to be grounded on Papias were found to be three only: (a) that the Annunciation took place on the same day of the week as the Resurrection and the Creation of light (Alexander and Annianus); (b) that Christ was seven months in the womb (Epiphanius, from 'tradition'); (c) possibly the two lines of Dom Morin's fragment of Alexander:—¹

*Feria vj annuntiatus, feria j natus,
feria v baptisatus, feria vj passus,*

provided that we harmonize this with *a*, by conjecturing *feria j annuntiatus, feria vj natus*.

I added that these three points are to be found together in a fragment of Victorinus, which I had on independent grounds recognized as probably dependent on Papias, perhaps verbally.

§ 1. *Hippolytus and a fragment of Victorinus.*

I quote the passage of Victorinus's fragment *De fabrica mundi* from the only MS²:—

fol. 72 b 'Ecce ¹septem cornula (cornua) agnuli, ²septem oculos di, ³septem oculi stagni (agnuli), septem oculi, ⁴septem sp̄s, ⁵septem faces ardentes ante thronum dei, ⁶septem candelabra aurea, ⁷septem o·viculae, ⁸septem mulieres apud

¹ *J.T.S.* April 1906, p. 459.

² Lambeth 414 (originally 851 in the Library of St Augustine's, Canterbury). This MS, used by Routh and others, had been lost sight of, and I should have been unable to collate it, but for a letter from Mr A. Souter in the *Athenaeum*, Aug. 20, 1904, p. 240, mentioning that he had found it, with the help of Dr M. R. James's *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*. The fragment will be found in Routh's *Reliquiae sacrae* iii, reprinted in Migne *P.L.* vol. v.

Esaiam, ⁹ septem ecclesiae apud Paulum, ¹⁰ septem diacones, ¹¹ septem angeli, ¹² septem tubae, ¹³ septem signacula libri, ¹⁴ septem septimanae quibus pentecosten concluditur, ¹⁵ septem septimanae apud Danihelum, item quadraginta tres septimanae apud Danihelum, ¹⁶ apud Noe septem omnia munda in arca, ¹⁷ septem vindictae de Cain, ¹⁸ septem anni remittendi debiti, ¹⁹ lucerna cum septem orificis (-ciis), ²⁰ septem columnae sapientiae in domo Salomonis.

¹ Nunc igitur de inenarrabili gloria dei in providentia videas memorari; tamen ut mens parva poterit conabor ostendere. Ut Adam illum per septimanam reformaverit, atque universae suae creaturae subveniret (*subveniret*), nativitatem filii sui Iesu Christi domini nostri factum est. Quis itaque lege dei doctus, quis plenus Spiritu sancto, non respiciat corde ea die Gabrihel angelum Mariae virgini evangelizasse qua die draco Aevam seduxit; ea die Spiritum sanctum Mariam virginem inundasse qua lucem fecit; ea die in carne esse conversum qua terram et aquam fecit; ea die in lacte esse conversum qua stellas fecit; ea die in sanguine qua terra et aqua foetus suos ediderunt; ea die in carne esse conversum qua die hominem de humo instruxit; ea die natum esse Christum qua hominem finxit; eadem die esse passum quo Adam caecidit; ea die resurrexit a mortuis qua lucem fecit.

² Humanitatem quoque suam septimano (*septenario*) numero consummat, nativitatis, infantiae, pueritiae, adulescentiae, iuventutis, perfectae aetatis, occasum (-sus). Iudaeis quoque humanitatem suam etiam his modis ostendit, cum esurit, sitit, cibum potumque dedit, ¹ cum ambulat eas esse scit (*et sedet!*), cum super cervicalem dormivit. Cum autem freta aut procella (!) pedibus ingreditur, ventis imperat, aegros curat, et clodus (-dos 2 m.) reformat, caecos [*visu, mutos*] eloquentia instituit ² videte dominum se esse nuntiari eiusdem (*eisdem*).¹

Before this passage there is a comparison of the seven days with the seven heavens and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, partly to be quoted later. The long list of sevens is found twice in St Cyprian (*Testimonia* i 20, and *ad Fortunatum* 11). But St Victorinus is not quoting from him, as I hope the appended note will clearly shew ².

¹ *Sumit* is wanted. I suppose *edit* will not do with *potum*, even in Victorinus.

² We may perhaps read 'caecis visum, mutis loquelam restituit'. Routh suggested; 'Forte excidit "surdos fecit audire et mortuos restituit," leaving the gift of speech to the blind as needing no emendation! But we want a seventh miracle. Perhaps 'freta pedibus ingreditur, ventis aut procellis imperat'. Or else 'caecis visum, surdis auditum, mutis loquelam'.

³ I give the two passages of St Cyprian. The text of that from the *Testimonia* is that of the MS L, from Hartel's apparatus; that of the *Ad Fortunatum* is Hartel's text, except that I read *Petrum* for *petram* (a mere slip of S, corrected by the second hand):—

St Cyprian *Testim.* i 20 'Item in Basi[li]on primo: "Sterilis septem peperit, et quae plurimos habebat filios, infirmata est." Filii autem ecclesiae septem sunt, unde et ⁹ Paulus ecclesiis septem scripsit, et Apocalypsis Ecclesias septem ponit, ut servetur septenarius numerus, ut ¹⁰ dies septem quibus Deus mundum fecit, ¹¹ ut angeli septem, qui adstant et conversantur ante faciem Dei, sicut Raphael angelus in Tobia dicit, ¹² et lucerna septiformis in tabernaculum martyrii, et ¹³ oculi Domini septem qui mundum specularunt, ¹⁴ et lapis cum oculis septem, ut Zacharias dicit, et ¹⁵ spiritus septem, et ¹⁶ candelabra in Apocalypsi septem, et ¹⁷ columnae septem super quas aedificavit domum sapientia apud Salomonem.'

Idem *ad Fortunat.* 11 'Quid vero in Machabaeis septem fratres, et natalium

Victorinus next applies the seven days to the Humanity of Christ, shewing that He sanctified the days of the week by certain events; then we hear of seven ages and of seven human and seven divine works.

The passage is corrupt and dislocated. Somewhat earlier in the

pariter et virtutum sorte consimiles, septenarium numerum sacramento perfectae consummationis implentes! Sic septem fratres martyrio coherentes, ut primi in dispositione divina ^a septem dies annorum septem milia continentes ut ^a septem spiritus et ^b angeli septem qui adsistunt et conversantur ante faciem Dei, et ^c lucerna septiformis in tabernaculo martyrii, et ^d in Apocalypsi septem candelabra aurea, et ^e apud Salomonem columbae septem super quas aedificat domus sapientia, ita et istic septem fratrum numerus, ecclesias septem numeri sui quantitate complexus, ^f secundum quod in primo Regnorum legimus sterilem septem peperisse. Et ^g apud Esaiam septem mulieres unum hominem adprehendunt, cuius invocari super se nomen exposcunt. Et ^h Apostolus Paulus, qui huius numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit. Et ⁱ in Apocalypsi Dominus mandata sua divina et praecepta caelestia ad septem ecclesias et earum angelos dirigit. Qui nunc istic numerus in fratribus invenitur, ut consummatio legitima compleatur. Cum septem liberis plane copulatur et mater, origo et radix, quae ecclesias septem postmodum peperit, ipsa prima et una super Petrum Domini voce fundata.'

If we number the members of Victorinus's enumeration, from 1 to 20, they recur in Cyprian thus, *Testim.* 9, a, 11, 19, 2, 3, 4, 6, 20; *ad Fortun.* a, 4, 11, 19, 6, 20, c, 8, 9, b. The addition in Cyprian which I have marked *b*, is not really an addition,—the seven Churches and seven angels of the Apocalypse,—for Victorinus discusses them at length in his commentary on the Apocalypse, and here he may be supposed to refer to all the sevens in the first chapter of the Apocalypse under the heading *septem candelabra*. The addition marked *a* is precisely what Victorinus is commenting upon, viz. the seven days of creation. The addition in *ad Fortunatum*, c, 'sterilis septem peperit' is the point on which the passage of the *Testimonia* comments. The whole list in *ad Fortunatum* is to illustrate the seven Maccabees. A very simple consideration will now demonstrate that Victorinus has not used Cyprian. The treatise *ad Fortunatum* is later than the *Testimonia*; it gives most of the same sevens, adding the *sterilis septem peperit* which is the text of the sermon in the former work. Both treatises cite the seven days which form the text of Victorinus's sermon, but are not in his list. But Victorinus has neither of Cyprian's texts,—neither the *sterilis septem peperit* nor the seven Maccabees. Yet if he had made up his list out of St Cyprian's two lists, these two members of the enumerations were just those he could not have avoided giving. On the other hand Cyprian adds nothing to Victorinus except precisely the two points which give occasion to his two lists. It is clear, therefore, that Victorinus did not borrow from Cyprian, but that Cyprian has twice employed a source which Victorinus has followed more closely and completely. Whether the points given by Victorinus which are not in Cyprian were added by the former, or found in the source, we cannot, of course, know. All we know is that Cyprian borrowed from a source in which all the sevens were used to illustrate the seven days. (As Papias lived but a few miles from Laodicea and Colossae, he was in a Pauline circle. The idea that he knew nothing of St Paul is fortunately long since superannuated; and there is nothing impossible in his having put the epistles of St Paul to seven Churches as a parallel to those of St John as in the Muratorian fragment.) On the sources of the *Testimonia* see J. R. Harris in *Expositor*, Nov. 1906.

fragment we find 'Die quinto terra et aqua foetus suos ediderunt', else one would have suggested in this passage *aer* or *aera et aqua*; for birds and fishes belong to the fifth day, and beasts to the sixth. Of the sixth day the earlier passage has, as ours has, 'Ac sic Deus hominem de humo instruxit.' A little later, the comparison of the seven days with the seven gifts supplies us with another list, the former of the following columns; the second column gives the list in our passage:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. cum lucem fecit. | 1. qua lucem fecit. |
| 2. cum caelum. | |
| 3. cum terram et mare. | 3. qua terram et aquam. |
| 4. cum solem et lunam caeteraque clara. | 4. qua stellas. |
| 5. cum terram ac mare excitat, | 5. qua terra et aqua foetus suos ediderunt. |
| 6. cum hominem finxit. | 6. qua {hominem de humo instruxit.
hominem finxit. |

Evidently it is the second day that is omitted. The Incarnation is on the first day, the Nativity, with the Passion, on the sixth. Between these there are wanted four stages of growth in the womb to correspond to the four intervening days; in fact, only three stages are mentioned, for *in carne esse conversum* comes twice over. The succession, milk, blood, flesh, was a commonplace. We find it in St Augustine:—

'Sex, novem, duodecim, decem et octo, haec in unum fiunt quadraginta quinque. Adde ergo ipsum unum, fiunt quadraginta sex: hoc sexies, fiunt ducenta septuaginta sex. Dicitur autem conceptio humana sic procedere et perfici, ut primis sex diebus quasi lactis habeat similitudinem, sequentibus novem diebus convertatur in sanguinem, deinde duodecim diebus solidetur, reliquis decem et octo diebus formetur usque ad perfecta lineamenta omnium membrorum, et hinc iam reliquo tempore usque ad tempus partus magnitudine augeatur. Quadraginta ergo quinque diebus addito uno, quod significat summam: quia sex et novem et duodecim et decem et octo in unum coactis, fiunt quadraginta quinque, addito ergo, ut dictum est, uno, fiunt quadraginta sex. Qui cum fuerint multiplicati per ipsum senarium numerum, qui huius ordinationis caput tenet, fiunt ducenti septuaginta sex; id est, novem menses et sex dies, qui computantur ab octavo calendas aprilis, quo die conceptus Dominus creditur, quia eodem die passus est, usque ad octavum calendas ianuaras, quo die natus est. Non ergo absurde quadraginta sex annis dicitur fabricatum esse templum, quod corpus eius significabat, ut quot anni fuerunt in fabricatione templi, tot dies fuerint in corporis Domini perfectione.' (*De Diversis Quaestionibus, ad Simplicianum* 56 'De annis quadraginta sex aedificati templi', begun A.D. 388.)

The same ingenious calculation is repeated by St Augustine in his *De Trinitate* (iv 5 n. 9).¹ Only there he merely makes $46 \times 6 = 276$

¹ The Ven. Bede, *In S. Ioannis evang. Expos.* ii 20, copies St Augustine *Ad Simplicianum*, almost word for word; he begins 'Tradunt enim naturalium scriptores rerum'. He adds another explanation of the forty-six years from Augustine *Tract.*

days equal to the nine months from March 25 to December 25 (of these dates he says 'sicut a maioribus traditum suscipiens Ecclesiae custodit auctoritas'), and he says nothing of the milk, blood, and flesh, the 6, 9, 12, and 18 days. In fact these only make 45, not 46, and *addito uno, quod significat summam* was an awkward expedient. From what medical authority St Augustine got these numbers of 6, 9, 12, 18, I do not know; but they were not known to Victorinus, for they cannot be made to give consecutive weekdays. Similarly Victorinus cannot have meant March 25 and December 25, which cannot fall on the same weekday. His only point of contact with Augustine is the series: milk, blood, flesh, growth. We get the following scheme:—

1st day : Annunciation.	Creation of light.
Fall of Eve.	
2nd day : Conversion into flesh (?).	" " heaven.
3rd day : " " milk.	" " earth and water.
4th day : " " blood.	" " stars.
5th day : " " flesh.	" " (beasts) birds and fishes.
6th day : Nativity and Passion.	Formation of man.
Fall of Adam.	
7th day :	(Day of Rest.)
1st day : Resurrection.	Creation of light.

But whether this diagram is so far correct or not, at least it seems that even more is wanting. We should have expected to be told again that Christ was taken prisoner (!) on the fourth day, Wednesday, as Victorinus had said already: 'Homo Christus Iesus, auctor eorum quae supra memoravimus, tetrade ab impiis comprehensus est. Itaque ob captivitatem eius tetrade(m) . . . superpositionem facimus.'¹ And if so, we might suppose that the Baptism was mentioned on the fifth day, e. g.: 'ea die baptizatum esse Christum qua terra et aqua foetus suos ediderunt.'

The repetition of the first day looks like an interpolation, and cannot be retained unless we change *resurrexit* into *resurrexisset*.

X in Ioann. ii 19 no. 12 (where that Doctor is borrowing from Pseudo-Cyprian *De duobus Montibus Sina et Sion* 4 p. 108), to the effect that 46 = 'Αδάμ = α' + δ' + α' + μ', i. e. 1 + 4 + 1 + 40! Bede repeats the former explanation in a Homily, Bk. i 22; and we find the same over again in the *Chronicon Palatinum* cap. 12-13 (Mai *Spicilegium* and *P.L.* 94, 1167). This chronicle is directed against the Easter calculations of the 'Scotti', i. e. St Columbanus, without doubt. The first eleven chapters are from John Malala, and so is the list of Emperors (col. 1172-4). As this list ends with the ninth year of Justin II, it is clear that the chronicle of Malala must have ended at that date. It is worth while noting this, in case it has not been pointed out before, for the date of Malala is usually spoken of as doubtful, and the end of his chronicle (abridged) is lost in the Bodleian MS, the only one.

¹ Epiphanius (*Haer.* 52, 26, clearly not from Hippolytus, but from the authority from whom he got his own chronology) says Ἐλλαμβάνεται δὲ τῆ τρίτῃ τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρας, i. e. Tuesday! (Cp. *Didaskalia* 21.)

But the passage as a whole gives the three points which Hippolytus seems to have derived from Papias. It gives Sunday, the first day of Creation and the day of the Resurrection, as the day of the Annunciation. It applies to the growth of the humanity of Christ in His mother's womb the seven days of creation, thus suggesting, though not stating, that the period of gestation was seven months. Thirdly, as to the four days in the two lines of Dom Morin's fragment, it explicitly gives the right weekdays for the Annunciation, Nativity, and Passion, though it omits to mention the Baptism.

Now it cannot but seem remarkable, not to say startling, to find just these very points given in a single passage, when we remember that the weekday ascribed to the Nativity is unique, and that the seven months of gestation are only found (so far as I know) in Epiphanius. If we can find sufficient reason for believing that Victorinus is reproducing a passage of Papias, we shall have found an ample explanation of the mysterious appeals to the Apostles which we found apparently attributed to Hippolytus.¹

§ 2. *Victorinus borrowed from Papias.*

It is certain that Victorinus in his Commentary on the Apocalypse borrowed largely from Papias.² Indeed his millenarian conclusion to

¹ It seems hardly necessary to point out that this passage of Victorinus and the other tiny fragment which cites Alexander are quite independent of one another, though the former seems to quote directly the source to which the latter goes back indirectly.

² This is seen in the pre-Hieronymian form of the Commentary, as yet unpublished. Hausleiter (*Theol. Literaturblatt* April 26, 1895, p. 199) pointed out that Victorinus quotes Papias about St Mark. Prof. Rendel Harris (*Expositor* x 895, 5th series, vol. i, 'A new Patristic fragment,' p. 453) has said: 'The proof of the borrowing must be left until Prof. Hausleiter's edition comes out; but in the meantime he has published sufficient text to enable us to recognize that the writer was following a biblical argument for Chiliasm which made the same quotations as Irenaeus, and was in harmony with the interpretations given by that Father. At the same time it is pretty certain that he is not retailing Irenaeus, of whom he shows himself, as far as we can judge at present, quite independent.' I have transcribed the Vatican MS Ottobon. lat. 3288 A from a photograph; it contains the Commentary on the Apocalypse in a form as yet unaltered by Jerome. An elaborate comparison with Irenaeus has convinced me that Prof. Harris is certainly right. That Irenaeus is using Papias in Bk. v ch. 25-36 is obvious, not only from the chiliastic matter, but from his actual citations of 'the presbyters' from time to time (30, 1; 33, 3; 36, 1), while he appeals to Papias by name in 33, 3. Besides, Eusebius iii 39 implies that Irenaeus followed Papias, while the fragment of Philip of Side (I) published by De Boor asserts it (*καὶ Πάπιας δὲ περὶ τὴν χιλιουταετηρίδα σφάλλεται, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἐπιφάνιος*), and perhaps so does Photius (Bibl. 232). The latter seems to be quoting Maximus Confessor, or the source used by him (*Schol. in Dionys. Areop. 'de eccl. hier.'* 7).

that work (omitted in St Jerome's revised edition of it) was clearly based upon Papias, just as was the similar disquisition in the fifth book of St Irenaeus. Detailed resemblances are not wanting in other points. Victorinus—in the original form of his work—quoted Papias on Mark: 'Marcus interpres Petri ea quae imminere (= in munere) docebat commemoratus conscripsit sed non ordine[m] et incipit prophetae per Esaiam praedicatio.' Again Victorinus makes the 24 elders mean the 24 books of the O. T.; and this is expressly attributed by Mommsen's catalogue ('Cheltenham list') to 'the Presbyters' (of Papias, no doubt).¹ Again St Victorinus's comparison of the four beasts with the four Gospels, before St Jerome altered it, was parallel to that of St Irenaeus, and yet a detailed comparison prevents us from supposing it to be borrowed from St Irenaeus; at least so it has seemed to me after very careful study. There are other reasons for attributing this to Papias. It is not necessary to shew at length how the twenty-four books of the

¹ Mommsen's list has: 'Sed ut in apocalypsi Iohannis dictum est: "vidi xxiiii seniores mittentes coronas suas ante thronum," maiores nostri probant hos libros esse canonicos et hoc dixisse seniores.' I cannot agree with the ingenious translation of the last words, proposed independently by Zahn and Turner: 'that the 24 elders signify this.' I doubt whether *dixisse* (why not *dicere*!) could mean this, and I feel no difficulty in taking *seniores* in two different senses, in the first place as 'the Elders of the Apocalypse', in the second place as 'the Presbyters of Papias'. I translate: 'But as it was said in the Apocalypse of John "I saw 24 elders casting their crowns before the throne", our predecessors prove these books to be canonical, and that the Presbyters said this.' We have here two stages of tradition: *maiores nostri*, and behind them *seniores*, which was well understood to mean men who had known the Apostles. Dom Morin has called attention to Victorinus's remark (*J. T. S.* 1906, April, p. 456), but not to all the three passages. They read thus in the pre-Hieronymian version (I cite from a photograph of MS Vat. Ottobon. lat. 3288 A): 'xxiiii seniores habentes tribunalia xxiiii libri prophetarum et legis referentes testimonia iudicio. sunt autem xxiiii patres xii apostoli duodecim patriarchae' (*fol. 6v. and 7r.*), and 'alae testimonia *** veteris testamenti sunt librorum ideoque xxiiii sunt tot numero quidet (i. e. quot et) seniores super tribunalia' (*fol. 7v.*), and 'sunt autem libri veteris testamenti qui excipiunt xxiiii quos in epithomis Theodori invenimus'. For *excipiunt* (the sign for *ur* has been accidentally omitted) the *Bibl. Cassin.* (v 1 p. 7) gives *excipiuntur*, no doubt the right reading, whereas the text in *Bibl. Max. PP.* has *accipiuntur*, and that of Migne (Gallandi) has *recipiuntur*. All these printed texts have *invenius*, which probably represents St Jerome's text. Is it possible that Jerome, not knowing any more than we do what were the *epitomae Theodori*, changed *invenimus* to *invenies*? I daresay Zahn is right in thinking the *excerpta ex Theodoto* to be meant (*Forschungen* iii p. 129), and Sanday (*Stud. Bibl.* iii p. 138) has agreed with him. Now Dom Morin has arrived independently at the same view. I do not accept Zahn's argument that there *must* have been a list in a lost portion of the *excerpta ex Theodoto*, but it is possible. And I am ready to accept as quite possibly true Dom Morin's suggestion that the Muratorian fragment is a portion of that work, rather than of the *Hypotyposes*, as I formerly tried to shew, *Rev. Bén.* July, 1904.

O. T., the four Gospels and the seven Epistles of Paul are mystical numbers likely to be borrowed from a common source. We saw the seven Epistles taken by Cyprian and by the *De fabrica mundi* from a common source, and in the Commentary on the Apocalypse Victorinus enlarges upon the same point. (Of the Muratorian fragment I wish to say nothing here.) The four Gospels and the four beasts occur together in the earlier part of *De fabrica mundi*.

So far I have been summarizing at length an argument which implies that Victorinus and Irenaeus have in many places copied Papias independently. This will be admitted as fairly certain in the case of the chiliastic passages; as to the other points a longer disquisition would be needed. It must be added that it is probable that Victorinus, if he used Papias, would sometimes copy him word for word; at least we know that he treated Origen in this way:—

'Taceo de Victorino Petabionensi et ceteris, qui Origenem in explanatione dumtaxat Scripturarum secuti sunt et expresserunt' (Jerome *Ep.* 71, 2).

'Nec disertiores sumus Hilario, nec fideliores Victorino, qui eius (sc. Origenis) tractatus non ut interpretes, sed ut auctores proprii operis transtulerunt' (*id.* *Ep.* 84, 7).

Now there is much in the *De fabrica mundi* which it is impossible to suppose borrowed from Papias, but there is much which seems most likely to come from him. Not only the long list of sevens, which St Cyprian also gave, but the preceding list of fours may well be his. The proof rests upon the fact that Papias was the first of the long line of Greek fathers who occupied themselves with the seven days of Creation, as we learn from Anastasius of Mount Sinai:—

λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ Παπίου τοῦ πόνου τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου, τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος, καὶ Κλήμεντος, Πανταίνου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἱερέως, καὶ Ἀρμμανίου εὐφροσύτου, τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρώτων συνειρητῶν ἐξηγητῶν, εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν νοησάντων (in *Hexaem.* i, the Latin only, in P.G. 89, col. 860).

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοτεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξηγητῶν, λέγω δὴ Φίλων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμόχρονος, καὶ Παπίας ὁ πολὺς ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ φοιτητής, ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης . . . καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς πνευματικῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεώρησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενοι (*ibid.* vii).

It does not seem clear (or even very likely) that Anastasius had read Papias, though his contemporary and fellow fighter against Monotheism, St Maximus Confessor, had the book. It may be that he took this information from Clement (whose dissertation on the subject will have been in the first book of his *Hypotyposes*¹), or from some other early writer. The application of the seven days to the Church will doubtless have made the seventh day the millennium, proving the

¹ In the *Hypotyposes* Papias was used; at least the story of the writing of St Mark's Gospel is mediately if not immediately from him. Pantaenus was cited by name (Euseb. *H. E.* v 11).

identity by the familiar saying that 'one day with the Lord is as a thousand years',¹ which we find thus cited by Justin and Irenaeus (who both evidently founded their chiliastic theories on Papias) and by Hippolytus.

We must now look at the whole passage from *De fabrica mundi*, quoted above, and detail the reasons for believing it to be founded on Papias.

1. It has been shewn to give exactly the information which Annianus, Epiphanius, and Alexander led us to believe was ascribed by Hippolytus to 'one who knew the Apostles', apparently Papias.

2. The *De fabrica mundi* does interpret the seven days as referring to the Church, precisely in the way we should expect from Papias, according to the account of Anastasius, the seventh day being the millennium. The passage is corrupt, as usual: we are told of Old Testament worthies who broke the Sabbath:—

¹ Ut verum illum et iustum sabbatum septimo milliario annorum observaretur. Quamobrem septem diebus istis Dominus singula millia annorum adsignavit, sic enim cautum est: "in oculis tuis, Domine, mille anni ut dies una" (Ps. 89). Ergo in oculis Dei singula millia annorum constituta sunt, septem enim "habet oculos Dominus"² (Zech. iv 10). Quapropter, ut memoravi, verum illud sabbatum "erit septimo milliario annorum in quo Christus"³ cum electis suis regnaturus est' (*Apoc. xx 4*).

Here we find the obvious citation of Psalm 89, and of the *locus classicus* from the Apocalypse, and all that *a priori* Papias should have said. The parallel with Irenaeus is very close.⁴

3. But Anastasius says 'of Christ and His Church'. How can the seven days be interpreted of Christ? The fragment will tell us. The

¹ From Ps. lxxxix 4, not from 2 Peter iii 8.

² The MS has 'habet oculos Domini'.

³ So Routh for the manuscript reading 'et septem milia anni in quo xps'. Migne (following other edd. 1) omits *in*, which is in the MS.

⁴ *Haer. v 28, 3* ὅσαι ἡμέραι ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελείται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ἡ γραφή: 'καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 5' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 5' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ' (Gen. ii 1, 2). τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων ἀγγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς ἔφη ἐν 25 ἔτος ἐστίν. Cp. Justin *Dial.* 81 p. 295, where the Psalm is quoted and then the text of the Apoc. is referred to. In a fragment of Methodius (*ap. Pitra Anal.* iii 610) which Zahn (*G. K.* i 313 note) thinks genuine, the citation is from 2 Peter, and the reference to Apoc. follows as usual. The 'thousand years as one day' is also found in Barnabas 15, in Iren. v 23, 2, in Hippolytus on Daniel, in the fragments of Hippolytus against Caius, &c. What Victorinus has to say on Apoc. xx 4 will be found given by Haussleiter, in the *Theolog. Literaturblatt*, 26 April 1895, col. 196, from the Ottob. MS.

same passage goes on to say that 'the seven heavens agree with the seven days', and so do the seven spirits with the seven heavens.

'Auctor autem totius creaturae Iesus,¹ verbo cognomen est ei . . . Hoc igitur verbum, cum lucem fecit, sapientia vocatur; cum caelum, intellectus; cum terram et mare, consilium; cum solem et lunam caeteraque clara, virtus; [cum] terram² et mare excitat, scientia; cum hominem finxit, pietas; cum hominem benedixit et sanctificat, timor Dei nomen habet.'

If this is not thought to be a direct application to Christ, we shall find a better one in the passage already cited, emendated, and discussed; we saw the growth of His human Body in the womb applied to the seven days of the week; we saw that His 'humanity was consummated' by seven stages of life, from birth through childhood to manhood and death; that it operated in seven kinds of divine works and seven kinds of human works.³ And all this was in illustration of the hexaëmeron of creation, thus exactly corresponding to the statement of the monk of Sinai.

4. The reference to Eve will need a longer handling: 'ea die Gabriel angelum Mariae virgini evangelizasse qua die draco Aevam seduxit.' The doctrine that Mary corresponds to Eve is found in Justin *Dial.* 101 p. 327 c (he knew and used Papias's work, I think), in Irenaeus iii 22 and v 19 (he made great use of it), in Tertullian *De carne Christi* 17 (where Irenaeus is certainly the authority), and in Epiphanius and the later Fathers. Now Irenaeus may have elaborated what he found in Justin, or we may simply say that it was already a preacher's commonplace, or we may think that both used a common source. But in any case what we find elaborated by Justin may very well have been hinted at by Papias. One point, however, is of itself interesting; it is the use both by Justin and by Victorinus of the 'Western' interpolation in Luke i 28 *καὶ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ ἄγγελος εὐαγγελίσσατο αὐτὴν καὶ εἶπεν*. The authorities for this variant are A 229 262 * 2^o 6^o syr^p Justin; b Ado, Victorinus (*evangelizavit*); a e ff³ l (*benedixit*)⁴. Remark how varied is the evidence: Greek-Western, African and European Latin, Syriac. It is impossible to doubt that D has here, as often, lost the original Western reading of its parent.

¹ The MS has '*auctoritatem totius creaturae iustus*'; the correction is Walker's.

² *cū* is added by the second hand; the first hand wrote *terrae*, the second hand changed *e* to *m*.

³ This would have made a good excerpt for the Fathers of the seventh century to quote against the Monothelites. St Maximus seems to have known Papias's book (though perhaps Anastasius of Sinai did not), and one is surprised he did not notice this passage.

⁴ I do not know that the readings of Justin and Victorinus have been chronicled until now, at all events the latter. That of Ado (viii id. Octobr.) was given by my friend and confrère Dom Quentin in his most interesting paper on Codex Bezae in *Revue Bénéd.* Jan. 1906.

But the reading of Victorinus is particularly noticeable, because there is no reason, I think, to connect his readings in general with those of the *Codex Veronensis*, which alone gives *evangelisavit*. He perhaps often translated his quotations from a Greek Bible, but in the present passage he is more probably literally rendering his source. His source for the whole passage was not Justin, but his likeness to the parallel passage of Justin is remarkable:—

Justin: Παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εὐὰ καὶ ἄφθορος, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφειος συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε· ἰπίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελισομένη· αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλω . . . ἀπεκρίνατο· Γένοιτό μοι . . . καὶ διὰ ταύτης γέγιννηται οὗτος . . . δι' οὗ τὸν τε ὄφιν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοιωθέντας ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καταλύει.

Victorinus: ea die Gabriel angelum Mariae virgini evangelisasse qua die draco Leviathan seduxit.

Victorinus has not emphasized like Justin (and Irenaeus, &c.) the virginity of Eve when she fell, but he mentions that of Mary. The parallel is between the speech of the angel and that of the serpent. And the rare *evangelisavit* gives a further resemblance.

No doubt the connexion would not be obvious, were it not that we had already brought home the Victorinus passage to Papias with great probability. It seems that Justin may have been developing the same passage of Papias which Victorinus has used.¹

5. Let us turn to the condemnation of Papias by Eusebius: Σφόδρα γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὥσάν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται (*H. E.* iii 39); 'to judge by his own words, Papias was of very small understanding.' One naturally takes this to mean 'to judge by the silly chiliastic interpretations he puts forward'; but it might also mean: 'to judge by his own words about himself,' or more literally: 'if I may so speak, taking the expression from his own words.'

¹ The sentence of Victorinus is so short that he could not parallel the whole of Justin's passage; one would suppose the simpler and shorter to be nearer the original thought. Justin's idea of Eve listening to the serpent, Mary to the Angel, is implied by Victorinus. Irenaeus has greatly developed the thought, especially in the notion of the disobedience of Eve retracted by the obedience of Mary, after the model of Romans v 19. Attention must be called to the *draco* for *serpens* in Victorinus; he is of course thinking of the *δράκων* in Apoc. xii 3; consequently he probably thinks of the woman in that chapter as Mary. But there is no direct trace of this thought in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, where he says of the woman 'ecclesia est antiqua patrum et prophetarum et sanctorum apostolorum', etc. The dragon is the devil, 'diabolus est, angelus refuga,' etc. The child is 'He who was born without seed'; the Mother is therefore the Virgin Mother, representing the Church. I suppose this is the usual interpretation both among the Fathers and the moderns. But it is curious that Victorinus in the chiliastic ending of his Commentary conversely calls the dragon of the Apocalypse 'anguis'.

Turn back to *De fabrica mundi*, at the beginning of the quotation given above: 'Nunc igitur de inenarrabili gloria Dei¹ in providentia videas memorari; tamen ut mens parva poterit, conabor ostendere.' Now *mens parva* is the most exact translation possible of *σμικρὸς νοῦς*. Is it possible that Eusebius, in his vexation at the obstinate millenarianism of a sub-apostolic writer, seizes upon an expression used by Papias of himself in quite commonplace humility, and brutally declares that it is just the epithet which suits him? 'For indeed he had a very "small mind", if I may use his own expression.' I think it at least worth while to make the suggestion, and the reader can laugh if he likes.

6. Then we have had the proof that Victorinus and Cyprian were both using an earlier writer on the number seven, who probably was commenting on the seven days; and considerations as to the numbers 4 and 24 were attributed to Papias.

7. Lastly, the words of *De fabrica mundi* about the seven ages through which Christ passed seem to be the very words upon which St Irenaeus founded his notion that our Lord lived to the age of fifty or thereabouts. This will furnish the matter of our last section.

§ 3. *St Irenaeus on the age of Christ.*

The well-known passage of St Irenaeus runs as follows:—

ii 22, 4-5 'Triginta quidem annorum existens cum veniret ad baptismum, *deinde magistri aetatem perfectam habens*, venit Hierusalem, ita ut ab omnibus iuste audiret² magister; non enim aliud videbatur et aliud erat, sicut iniqui qui putativum introducunt; sed quod erat, hoc et videbatur. Magister ergo existens, magistri quoque habebat aetatem, non reprobans nec supergrediens hominem, neque solvens [suam] legem in se humani generis, sed omnem aetatem sanctificans per illam quae ad ipsum erat similitudinem. Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare: omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, *infantes et parvulos et pueros et iuvenes et seniores*. Ideo per omnem venit aetatem, et *infantibus infans factus*, sanctificans infantes; in *parvulis parvulus*, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes aetatem, simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus et iustitiae et subiectionis; in *iuvenibus iuvenis*, exemplum iuvenibus fiens et sanctificans Domino, sic et *senior in senioribus*, ut sit *perfectus magister in omnibus*, non solum secundum expositionem veritatis, *sed et secundum aetatem*, sanctificans simul et *seniores*, exemplum ipsis quoque fiens; deinde et *usque ad mortem pervenit*, ut sit "primogenitus ex mortuis", "ipse primatum tenens in omnibus", "princeps vitae", prior omnium, et praecedens omnes.'

I have italicized certain words for convenience in referring back to the passage.

¹ Cp. Irenaeus iv 38, 1 *ἐν τῇ ἀφθάτρῃ αὐτοῦ δόξῃ*, Latin 'in sua inenarrabili gloria'.

² Harvey makes the astounding comment: 'The Claromontane reading *audiret* followed by Massuet makes no sense!' Of course it means 'was called', like *καλούω*, of which it is the rendering, and like 'hear' in Spenser, Milton, etc.

Though many of the early Fathers, or most of them, held that our Lord's public ministry lasted only one year, St Irenaeus thinks this opinion heretical. At the beginning of this chapter he had shewn it to be inconsistent with St John's Gospel. In the passage I have quoted he states that though Christ was 30 at His Baptism, He did not come to Jerusalem to teach until He had attained the *magistri perfecta aetas*, for it would have been against His own law to preach when younger. The age of forty is meant.

St Irenaeus goes on, He wished to save and sanctify all ages, *infantes, parvulos, pueros, iuvenes, seniores*. Here are five ages enumerated, apparently as exhaustive. He takes them up again, *infantes, parvuli, iuvenes, seniores*. This time *pueri* are omitted, and he makes it clear that *seniores* are in 'the perfect age of teacher', 'sic et senior in senioribus, ut sit perfectus magister in omnibus . . . , sed et secundum aetatem.' One point is added, death, which Christ also sanctified. The scheme will be one of seven stages, if we supply 'birth', as the mention of death obliges us to do.

1°	2°
1. (nativitas).	
2. infantes.	infantes.
3. parvuli.	parvuli.
4. pueri.	
5. iuvenes.	iuvenes.
6. seniores.	seniores or perfecti.
7.	mors.

In English it would seem extremely odd to say that man's life is divided into (1) babyhood, (2) childhood, (3) boyhood, (4) youth, (5) grown-up age. We should expect this last to be developed into 'prime of life', 'middle age', 'old age', 'senility or decrepitude', if the first four divisions are to be balanced. Of course 'youth' lasted longer in the view of the ancients. A Roman was technically a *iuvenis* until 46, when he became a *senex*. Cicero makes old age follow incontinently upon youth: 'Citius adolescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adolescentiae obrepit' (*De Senect.* ii). St Benedict makes fifteen years the limit of infancy: 'Infantum vero usque quindecim annorum aetates . . .' (Reg. 70). Sallust calls Caesar *adulescens* at 33 or 35 (*Cat.* 49). Varro counts *pueri* up to 15, *adulescentes* up to 30. Cicero calls Cassius an *adulescens* at 34; he applies the same word to Brutus and Cassius at 41, and to himself when consul at 44 (*Orat.* ii 2; *Phil.* ii 44 and 46). We cannot give Greek examples, as we cannot tell what Greek words St Irenaeus used.¹

¹ Probably *infantes, parvuli, pueri, iuvenes, seniores* render βρέφη, νέησιοι, παῖδες, νέοι, πρεσβύτεροι, but one cannot be at all certain. *Prima, perfecta* and *provecior*

But such considerations do not destroy the difficulty. The key seems to lie in the fact that Irenaeus makes *senior aetas* the *perfecta aetas*. The four kinds of youth do not represent four-fifths of human life, they are four stages on the way to perfection, *τελεία ἡλικία*, and no account is taken of the descent, the decline which begins after this. It would be an imperfection, not assumed by Christ. Irenaeus continues:—

'Illi autem, ut figmentum suum de eo quod est scriptum "vocare annum Domini acceptum" affirmant, dicunt uno anno eum praedicasse et duodecimo mense passum, contra semetipsos oblitī sunt, solventes eius omne negotium, et magis necessariam et magis honorabilem aetatem eius auferentes, illam inquam proveciore, in qua et docens fruatur universis. Quomodo enim habuit discipulos si non docebat? Quomodo autem docebat magistri aetatem non habens? Ad baptismum enim venit nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tanquam triginta annorum: (ita enim qui eius annos significavit Lucas posuit: "Iesus autem erat quasi incipiens triginta annorum" cum veniret ad baptismum), et a baptisate uno tantum anno praedicavit; complens tricesimum annum passus est, adhuc iuvenis existens, et qui necdum proveciore haberet aetatem. Quia autem triginta annorum aetas prima indolis est iuvenis, et extenditur usque ad quadragesimum annum, omnis quilibet confitebitur; a quadragesimo autem et quinquagesimo anno declinat iam in aetatem seniore, quam habens Dominus noster docebat, sicut Evangelium et omnes seniores testantur qui in Asia,' etc.

The heretics, he says, make our Lord preach just 12 months from His entrance upon His 30th year; so that He lived only 30 years complete, and was but a youth.¹ For 'every one will agree' that the first maturity of youth (*aetas prima indolis iuvenis*, ἡλικία ἡ πρώτη ἡθους νέου, I suppose) is 30, and it (i. e. *aetas indolis iuvenis*) extends to 40. Then begins a decline into *aetas senior*, ἡλικία πρεσβυτέρα, 'older maturity or manhood,' until 50.² I presume *indoles iuvenis* will be

aetas will be πρώτη, τελεία and προβεβηκυῖα (?) ἡλικία. St Basil, *Hom. in Ps. cxiv* 5, has παιδίον to 7 years, παῖς to 14, ἔφηβος to 21.

¹ It would seem to be assumed that the Birthday and Baptism day were the same, as indeed the Easterns kept them on January 6, until at the end of the fourth century they borrowed the Western Christmas. Did Irenaeus, or did Ptolemaeus, already set down January 6 for both events? Certain Basilidians placed the Baptism on that day (Clement *Strom.* i 21 pp. 407-408 Potter).

² Harnack has taken *aetas senior* to mean literally old age, *Greisenalter*, and not merely (as it does) 'older age', and he supposes that Irenaeus is trying to minimize this testimony (*Chronol.* i 335 note): 'The Presbyters of Asia Minor had witnessed that Jesus had arrived at old age, as a tradition received from John: Irenaeus believes, on the ground of the Gospel of John, that He arrived at an age of 40-50 years, and seeks to harmonize the two traditions.' The careful exposition I have given is enough to shew that this incredible view is not correct. Zahn was right in his reply (*Forschungen* vi 63 note). It is clear that Irenaeus is not minimizing the witness of the Presbyters, but strains it to the uttermost. 'As he has forced the testimony of the fourth Gospel to say more than it really does say, so also he may have strained the testimony of "all the elders" in the same direction' (Lightfoot *Supernat. Relig.* p. 247).

from about 20 till 40; *aetas* (= ἡλικία) is 30-50. They overlap, and 30-40 is therefore ἡλικία ἡθους νέου, the manhood of youth, as opposed to the older manhood 40-50. The 'perfect age', or 'perfect age of a teacher', is 40, while the 'first *aetas indolis iuvenis*' is 30. Similarly in iii 3, 3 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ must mean 'in the first decade of manhood' or 'in early manhood', that is about 30-40, or 30-35, and cannot mean less than 30, at which point St Irenaeus has set the beginning of ἡλικία in its youthful period.¹ The whole system is as follows:—

1. [Nativitas]	
2. infantes	0-10.
3. parvuli	10-20.
4. pueri	} ἡθους νέου 20-30.
5. iuvenes	
6. perfecti or seniores	} ἡλικία 30-40 (30 Manhood begins).
7. mors	
	40-50 (40 Perfect age).

But there is a confusion of thought in that Irenaeus makes it an imperfection not to have arrived at near 50, although the 'perfect age of a teacher', the 'more necessary and honourable age' of 40 begins a *decline* towards 50, so that 40-50 is a less perfect period. I can only suggest that he has misunderstood a system which made the sixth stage not a period, but a perfect age attained.

We now come to the authorities for this view of Christ's age, Scripture and Tradition. Tradition is taken first:—

sicut evangelium
et omnes seniores testantur,
qui in Asia apud
Iohannem discipulum Domini
convenerunt id ipsum
tradidisse eis Iohannem.
Permansit autem cum eis
usque ad Traiani tempora.

καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν,
οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῷ
συμβεβληκότες
παραδιδάσκειν [ταῦτα]² τὸν Ἰωάννην.
παρέμεινεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι
τῶν Τραϊανῶν χρόνων.

'Quidam autem eorum non solum Iohannem sed et alios Apostolos viderunt, et haec eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de huiusmodi relatione. Quibus magis oportet credi? Utrumne his talibus, an Ptolemaeo, qui Apostolos numquam vidit, vestigium autem Apostoli ne in somniis quidem assecutus est?'

Beyond all question Irenaeus is quoting from Papias; we have only

¹ See additional note at the end of this article.

² ταῦτα is not found in the citation by Eusebius (though Rufinus has *haec*), nor in Syncellus, but (*teste* Grabe) in Nicephorus. Zahn suggests that *id ipsum* rather renders ταῦτά or ταῦτό (*Forsch.* vi 61 note 3).

to compare v 33, 3, where Irenaeus thus introduces the saying of the Lord about the vine with ten thousand shoots:—

'quemadmodum Presbyteri meminerunt, qui Iohannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo . . .'

And after the citation he continues:—

Haec autem et Papias Iohannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet in quarto librorum suorum, sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.

In the former sentence we have 'the Presbyters who saw John', just as in our own passage οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη . . . συμβεβληκότες. But the second sentence explains that this witness is written in the book of Papias. Zahn (*Forschungen* vi p. 89) has insisted that the καί means that Papias 'also' witnessed, i. e. that Irenaeus confirms the oral testimony of the Presbyters by the additional written witness of Papias. This seems to me quite impossible. Irenaeus means 'not only did they witness the fact, but also Papias has consigned their testimony to writing'. We know that this was precisely what Papias claimed to have done. But Papias was one of them, a 'hearer of John'. Now St Irenaeus is trying to make the most of his evidence. We need not suppose that here, or in v 30, 1; 33, 3; 36, 1, where 'the Presbyters' are cited, Papias had made any special quotation from 'the Presbyters'. But his Preface (Euseb. *H. E.* iii 37) claimed their authority in a general way for his doctrine, and he himself was one of them to St Irenaeus. Consequently St Irenaeus is ready to quote any remark of Papias to which he happens to take a fancy, as a tradition witnessed by 'all the Presbyters who consorted with John in Asia'.

I suppose that for the age of our Lord he depends on a passage of Papias,¹ which he presumes to rest not merely on the authority

¹ Another point, in itself of great importance, suggests that a written authority is here quoted. The words Παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων (where αὐτοῖς means 'the Presbyters who knew John') occur again in iii 3, 4 'Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν θεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθῆς ἔστι τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως. The repetition of this phrase word for word suggests, or rather implies, that it is a verbal citation from a written source. The way in which it is inserted as an ablative absolute in the second passage is a confirmation of this, when considered in connexion with the awkwardness of αὐτοῖς, which now refers vaguely to the members understood in ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία. It is besides to be expected that Papias will have somewhere mentioned to what late date John conversed with the

of that disciple of John, but on that of all the disciples of John; for indeed, if one disciple of John testified that our Lord lived to the age of fifty, or nearly, all of them must have known this, and the testimony of Papias could not be isolated.¹

And he was no doubt strengthened in his view by the fact that it was St John who in his Gospel shewed that Christ went up for more than one passover to Jerusalem (as Irenaeus had just proved), and against St John who testified that He had taught at Jerusalem publicly, i.e. as a 'perfect master'. St Irenaeus now clinches the argument by shewing that St John represents the Jews as recognizing that Christ's age was between forty and fifty. I give this remaining portion of our passage in a note.²

The argument is very forcibly put. We can well conceive that to

Presbyters. (Perhaps Papias had *παῖρ* for *πρωτῶν*.) I take it that the phrase is certainly borrowed from the book of Papias.

¹ A perfectly clear reference to the Prologue of Papias is contained in the words: 'Quidam autem eorum non solum Iohannem sed et alios Apostolos viderunt,' for they are based on Papias's declaration that he used to ask the Presbyters what this and that Apostle used to say. (Of course Irenaeus never thought of identifying 'Presbyters' and 'Apostles' in that sentence, as several moderns have done, e. g. Zahn, Bardenhewer, Michiels. But that point I cannot deal with here.) These references to the Prologue seem to me to imply that Irenaeus found in the passage of Papias which he employed no definite appeal to the Presbyters, so that the bishop of Lyons was driven to fall back upon the general appeal in the Prologue to Apostolic tradition through the Presbyters.

² 'Sed et ipsi qui tunc disputabant cum Domino Iesu Christo Iudaei apertissime hoc ipsum significaverunt. Quando enim eis dixit Dominus: "Abraham pater vester exultavit ut videret diem meum, et vidit, et gavisus est," responderunt ei: "Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, et Abraham vidisti!" Hoc autem consequenter dicitur ei qui iam xi. annos excessit, quinquagesimum autem annum nondum attingit, non tamen multum a quinquagesimo anno absistit. Ei autem qui sit xxx annorum diceretur utique: "Quadraginta annorum nondum es." Qui enim volebant eum mendacem ostendere, non utique in multum extenderent annos ultra aetatem quam eum (eam, *Harvey*) habere conspiciebant: sed proxima aetatis dicebant, sive vere scientes ex conscriptione census, sive conicientes secundum aetatem quam videbant habere eum super quadraginta; sed ut non quae esset triginta annorum. Irrationabile est enim omnino viginti annos mentiri eos, volentes eum iuniorem ostendere temporibus Abrahae. Quod autem videbant, hoc et loquebantur; qui autem videbatur non erat putativus sed veritas. Non ergo multum aberat a quinquaginta annis; et ideo dicebant ei: "Quinquaginta annorum nondum es, et Abraham vidisti!" Non ergo anno uno praedicavit, nec duodecimo mense anni passus est. Tempus enim a trigesimo anno usque ad quinquagesimum numquam erit unus annus, nisi si apud Aeones eorum tam magni anni sunt deputati his qui apud Bythum in Pleromate ex ordine resident, de quibus et Homerus poeta dixit, et ipse inspiratus a Matre eorum erroris: *οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ' Ἰοῦν καθήμενοι ἠγοράων- το Χρυσίῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ* [quod Latine ita interpretabimur: Dii autem apud Iovem considerantes tractabant aureo loco].'

Irenaeus it seemed simply invincible, and that it strengthened him in what was apparently a misunderstanding of the words of Papias.

§ 4. *Papias on the Age of Christ.*

What did Papias really say? I have already indicated that the answer seems to lie in the short passage of Victorinus *De Fabrica mundi* of which I have said so much.

'*Humanitatem quoque suam septenario numero consummat, natiuitatis, infantiae, pueritiae, adulescentiae, iuventutis, perfectae aetatis, occasus.*'

On the last word Routh remarks: 'De morte vox interdum adhibetur.'

The parallel with the system of St Irenaeus is exact, and it confirms our suspicion that in the sixth place, of the alternatives *senior aetas* and *perfecta aetas*,¹ the latter was in Irenaeus's source and not the former:—

<i>Irenaeus</i>	<i>Greek (?)</i>	<i>Victorinus</i>	<i>Age</i>
1 [natiuitas]		natiuitas	
2 infantes	βρέφη	infantia	[0 - 10]
3 parvuli	νήπιοι	pueritia	[10 - 20]
4 pueri	παῖδες	adulescentia	[20 - 30]
5 iuvenes	νέοι	iuventus	30 - 40
6 perfecta aetas	ἡλικία τελεία	perfecta aetas	c. 35?
7 mors		occasus	

a. It need hardly be pointed out that Victorinus is not using Irenaeus. He is engaged in a discourse on the mystical number seven, whereas there is nothing in the passage of Irenaeus which suggests seven. We only made up seven stages by combining two lists of five, adding the necessary *natiuitas*.

b. There is a difference of translation in 3 and 4, *parvuli* and *pueri* being represented by *pueritia* and *adulescentia*. But Victorinus used the abstract nouns, and there is none corresponding to *parvuli*; he was

¹ I have put 35 as the *ἡλικία τελεία*, though Irenaeus attributes the age of 30-40 to the preceding stage, so that the number reached should be 40; for if *ἡλικία* *ἡνὸς νέου*, early manhood, is from 30-40, and 30 is the first year of it, 35 may be taken roughly as its perfection. Again, the dictum of Psalm 89 (90) was so well known that we expect the perfection of life to be half of the 70 years of man's age. But against this it may be urged that the highest point of perfection will be just where decline begins, i. e. 40. But all this is according to Irenaeus. We have no reason to suppose that Papias intended any exact divisions. To make up the number of seven he was obliged to make four periods before *aetas perfecta*, but we need not suppose that he meant them to be exact decades. It is sufficient to realize that any age between 30 and 40 could be represented as perfect maturity of manhood.

practically obliged to use *pueritia*, and to find another word such as *adulescentia* for the next stage.

c. Thus the two systems are undoubtedly identical. They apply to Christ four stages of growth and one of perfection, besides birth and death. The system is not a popular or heathen one, but was obviously invented to suit the life of Christ.

d. Clearly Victorinus and Irenaeus are dependent on a common source. We have already seen that the source of Irenaeus is as good as stated by him to be the book of Papias. We thus gain a singular confirmation of our attribution to Papias of the longer passage of Victorinus from which this sentence is taken.

e. Irenaeus is a bad witness to the original form of the passage, for in the first place he has not quoted the seven stages right off, and in the second place he has misunderstood it.

f. Victorinus on the contrary gives the passage very shortly but clearly, and emphasizes the number seven. Now the whole system was obviously made up for the sake of that mystical number, and in order to shew that Christ sanctified all that is perfect in humanity, and that His humanity was perfect. It would seem *a priori* likely, therefore, that Victorinus has preserved the passage in its original setting, as one out of a number of mystical sevens, and as a part of the application to Christ of the seven days of creation which Anastasius of Mount Sinai knew Papias to have elaborated.¹

I conclude, then, that Victorinus and Irenaeus have used the same passage of Papias. Irenaeus has misrepresented it; Victorinus has given it faithfully. If our conjecture about *mens parva* was justified, we may even believe that he has given an almost verbal rendering from the Greek. Further, if that conjecture stands, the passage is a concoction of Papias's own 'little mind', and he did not base it on tradition. And if this be so, we need only suppose that Hippolytus and Irenaeus were misled by the prologue to believe that all Papias's statements rested on the witness of the Presbyters. It was not unnecessary for Eusebius to draw attention to the fact that Papias himself spoke slightly of his own assertions, and did not set them all up as Apostolic traditions.

It is easy to see how Irenaeus was led into an erroneous interpretation

¹ *Humanitatem suam consummat*, 'He makes perfect His human nature by these stages,' reminds us of St Irenaeus's 'deinde et usque ad mortem pervenit, ut sit "primogenitus ex mortuis", "ipse primatum tenens in omnibus", "princeps vitae", prior omnium, et praecedens omnes'; where it is meant that Christ became first of all men, young or old. Similarly Irenaeus says elsewhere (iii 18, 7): 'Quapropter et per omnem venit aetatem, omnibus restituens eam quae est ad Deum communionem.'

of Papias's harmless mysticism, by his desire to go as far as he could against the heretics, and by his mistaken explanation of 'Thou art not yet fifty years old'. I infer from all this argument that Papias was more credible than Irenaeus, though probably less interesting, and that there is no reason to suppose that 'the Presbyters' were a 'Gesellschaft betrogenen Betrüger'.¹

JOHN CHAPMAN.

¹ So Corsen called them, *Monarchianische Prologe*, T.U. xv 4 p. 109.

Additional note on the date of the birth of St Irenaeus.

St Irenaeus tells us (iii 3, 3) that he had seen St Polycarp *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν φασίᾳ*. Harnack thinks 15 was the age, i. e. the same as *παῖς ὡν ἔτι*, the age at which Irenaeus saw Florinus, then a courtier, in company with Polycarp. Prof. Gwatkin rightly pointed out that this was too young for the word *ἡλικία*, and preferred 20 (*Contemp. Rev.* 1897, pp. 221-226). Indeed *ἡλικία*, when used absolutely for an age, means manhood, military service. But we have seen that Irenaeus had defined it only a few pages back as beginning at 30! Here *πρώτη φασία* will be much the same as *aetas indolis iuvenis* which begins at 30. As I have shewn in the text, Irenaeus certainly means that he was over 30 at the end of his intercourse with Polycarp. He implies 'I was not a mere boy, I was in my early manhood, though it was long ago'.

Now the death of Polycarp is usually placed in 155. (I myself argued in *Revue Bénéd.* 1902, 145-149, that we must date it 166, if Schmid's chronology of Aristides was right. But Ramsay and others are so positive that Schmid is wrong, that I presume we must follow Waddington.) Therefore Irenaeus was born before 125, indeed hardly later than 120; for there is no reason to suppose that he was in Asia at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom, and tradition represents him as engaged in lecturing at Rome at that time. If we placed his birth c. 140 with Harnack, he would have been only 37 when he became bishop, and only about 44 when he published his great work! Yet he evidently writes as an old man, giving his recollections of a past now in danger of being forgotten.

On the other hand he says that the Apocalypse was written in Domitian's reign, *σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς*, 'almost in our own generation,' as contrasted, I suppose, with such ancient writings as the Synoptic Gospels and Pauline Epistles (c. 50-70). I hardly think a man born under Hadrian (117-138) would speak thus, but one born in the last years of Trajan (97-117) would naturally do so. I therefore take it that Zahn's date, 115, twenty years after the Apocalypse, is not far wrong (*Forschungen* vi 29 note). If Irenaeus was born in 116 he was a 'boy' of 14 if Florinus came with Hadrian in 129 to Smyrna (*ib.* 30); he was 39 at the death of Polycarp, whom he may have seen for the last time some years before; he was 61 when he became bishop, a probable age; and he was about 68 when he published his great work, c. 184, after many years of work at it. If Florinus was born in 110 or 112, he might live to be excommunicated by Victor (191), though Zahn may possibly be right that he was already dead when Victor wrote.

PROLEGOMENA TO THE *TESTIMONIA* OF
ST CYPRIAN. II.(See *J. T. S.* vi [January 1905] 246-270.)

§ 6. THE OLD LATIN FORMS FOR THE NAMES EZEKIEL AND DANIEL

I COMMENCE this second portion of prolegomena with a supplementary note bearing on points raised in the first instalment of the series.

In § 1 (pp. 252, 253), I stated my belief that St Cyprian quoted the Book of Daniel with the formula 'apud Danihelum' ('Danielum'), and expressed a suspicion that the well marked variants 'Ezechielem', 'Ezechiel' might represent two separate attempts to get rid of a third and unfamiliar form 'Ezechielum', since the latter appears to have been the reading of the lost Verona MS, V. I should like now to call attention to the evidence of the MSS of some other Latin fathers, which seems to me to prove the point to demonstration in the case of Daniel, and in the case of Ezekiel at least to justify the enquiry.

In the Greek the forms of the two names are of course indeclinable, Ἰεζεκιήλ Δανιήλ (the form διὰ Δανιήλου in codex Bezae, Matt. xxiv 15, is doubtless due to the influence of the Latin column 'per Danielum'): and when the Latin translators of the Bible had to introduce the names into a new language, the proverbial three courses were open to them. They might either leave them, as in the Greek, without any distinction of case-endings: or they might Latinize them as proper names of the second declension, Ezechielum,¹ Ezechieli, Ezechielo, Danielum, Danieli, Danielo: or again in the third declension, Ezechielem, Ezechielis, Ezechieli, Ezechiele, Danielem, Danielis, Danieli, Daniele. And combination of these variations is so far possible that individual writers will as a matter of fact be found to use the name of the one prophet with case-endings, and of the other in the indeclinable form.

(1) In the New Testament the name Ezekiel never occurs, and that of Daniel only once, Matt. xxiv 15 'the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet': for in the parallel passage of St Mark, xiii 14, the true reading omits the reference to the name of Daniel, and it is not found in either the Vulgate or the leading Old Latin MSS.

¹ Let it be noted once for all that, even where the cases are declined, the nominative always reproduces the Greek form: Ezechielus, Danielus, are never found. It may be well to make it clear further that I am on this occasion taking no notice of variants in orthography.

For St Matthew the authorities are as follows (*h* is not extant here):—

a Daniel	<i>a b ff</i> ₂
per Daniel	<i>e q</i> Iren. $\frac{1}{2}$
a Danielo	<i>f ff</i> ₁ <i>g</i> ₁ Vulg.
per Danielum	<i>d h</i> Iren. $\frac{1}{2}$

The statement of authorities in this single passage is already enough to create the presumption that both the indeclinable form and those of the second declension are older than the forms of the third declension. Yet, owing I suppose to the influence of the Vulgate Old Testament, the editors of the Fathers have hitherto almost with unanimity refused to admit the second declension to a place in the text. Even in the case of the most modern editions, it is ordinarily from the apparatus rather than from the text that the following considerable body of evidence has been amassed. I have no reason to suppose that the forms of the third declension are not original in Augustine and Jerome: but in the eleven authorities that I now proceed to cite they find singularly scanty support.¹

(1) Cyprian (outside the *Testimonia*):

ad Fortunatum § 8 (Hartel 329. 9) 'apud Ezechiel'.

ep. lxi § 12 (761. 11) 'per Ezechielem' E M P *ex silentio*, 'per Ezeziel' Q, 'per Ezechielum' B.

ep. lxx § 1 (767. 16) 'per Ezechielem' L M P Q *ex sil.*, 'per Ezechielum' C R.

¹ It would not be candid to pass over without notice or discussion the evidence of Tertullian: but it seems to me so entirely *sui generis* that it will best be treated in a note. So far as the evidence of most of the MSS can be trusted, Tertullian certainly used the forms of the third declension (I quote only those treatises which have appeared in the *Vienna Corpus* vols. xx, xlvii): *de ieiunio* 9 'redeo ad Danielelem . . . dedit deus Danieli', 'Daniel in lacu leonum esurienti', 10 'suadet Danielis quoque argumentum': *de oratione* 25 'quod Daniheli legimus observatum': *de anima* 48 'trina illa cum Daniele fraternitas': *de pudicitia* 7 'puto Ezechielis est vix': *de carnis resurrectione* 22 'secundum Iohalem et Danihalem', 29 'accipe Ezechielem', 30 'Ezechieli revelatur': *adversus Marcionem* iv 10 'ipsi Danihel revelatus filius . . . ex instrumento Danihelis . . . apud Danihelis prophetiam', iv 16 'per Ezechielem', iv 17 'sequentia Ezechielis'. But there are three things to be said: (1) in two cases, *de ieiun.* 9, *adv. Marc.* iv 10, the indeclinable 'Daniel' is given in the MSS for the dative: (2) in the only first class MS of Tertullian, the codex Agobardinus (Paris. lat. 1622), though it is true 'cum Daniele' is found once, *de anima* 48, yet 'Danihelum' is also found once, *scorpiace* 8 'Danihelum . . . feritas leonum devorasset': (3) Tertullian's general fondness for giving to Hebrew names case-endings according to the third declension robs his evidence of much of its weight. We find in him 'Israhelis', 'Israhele', 'Aaronem', 'Samuelem', 'Saulis', 'Sionis', and the like, which can hardly have been ever in general use in Latin Christian circles, and were certainly not used by St Cyprian.

ep. lxxv § 3 (811. 21) 'Ezechielem et Danielelem' E I M *ex sil.*, 'Ezechielem et Danihelum' Q.¹

[Test. iii 20 (137. 3, 5, 15: a passage found only in W, therefore not genuine, but doubtless a very early addition) 'Danihelum' *ter* W, 'Danielem' *ter* Hartel.]

(3) *de Pascha computus*, of A.D. 243, § 13 (Hartel, appendix 261. 1) 'angelum Dei meminimus Danielo dixisse'.

(4) Irenaeus, Latin version of, according to the readings of the Clermont MS (the oldest and by far the best MS of Irenaeus: the editors give consistently the third declension):

adv. haer. IV xx 10 'per Aezechiel'.

I xix 2 'et Danihelum autem hoc idem significare'.

IV xx 11 'sicut in Danielo scriptum est'.

xxvi 1 'Danihelo prophetae dicebatur'.

'quemadmodum dictum est a Danihelo'.

V xxv 2 'per Danihel prophetam' Matt. xxiv 15.

xxv 5 'quae a Danihelo prophetata sunt'.

'per Danihelum [Danihelo C*] prophetam' Matt. xxiv 15.

'Danihelo autem angelus Gabrihel exsolutionem visionum fecit'.

xxvi 1 'quae a Danihelo uisa sunt'.

(5) Lucifer (ed. Hartel: vol. xiv of the Vienna *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*). The solitary MS is Vat. Reg. 133, saec. ix-x.

227. 16 'dicit Deus ad Ezechielem'.

229. 13 'percorre reliqua Ezechiel prophetae'.

164. 8 'accipe quae referat Danihel liber' ('Danihel' is presumably genitive, and not nominative, here).

24 'praestitit . . . Danihelo deuotissimo suo'.

165. 28 'numquid uel hos . . . per Danihelum Spiritus sanctus inauditos damnauit? legimus etenim gloriosum Danihel dixisse'.

167. 5 'per Danihel audierunt'.

273. 18 'considera . . . sanctissimi etiam prophetae Danihelis librum'.

It may be doubted whether the vagaries of usage here are due to scribes or to the author himself: I rather suspect that Lucifer wrote

¹ I may illustrate the defectiveness of our printed texts from *de op. et el.* § 11 (Hartel 382. 8), where the editor prints 'Danieli', though the apparatus notes 'Daniel S, Danihel WG': I can add from my own inspection of F, the fifth-century MS at Turin (G v 37)—I do not know whether or no it has survived the fire—that it too has 'Daniel', though Hartel's silence would have suggested that it read 'Danieli'.

'Ezechiel' and 'Daniei' indeclinably throughout, and not only, as the MS makes him do, in four out of the eight passages.

(6) Hilary, if we may generalize from the very small number of instances I have been able to find in the Commentary of the Psalms—the only part of Hilary that is yet published in the *Vienna Corpus* (vol. xxii)—used the indeclinable form for Ezekiel, the forms of the second declension for Daniel.

in ps. lxx § 15 (259. 11) 'ad Ezechiel'.

cxviii PHE § 3 (508. 2) 'ad Danielum'.

cxix § 4 (561. 14) 'secundum Danielum'.

cxix § 3 (599. 7) 'in Danielo'.

cxxxviii § 44 (775. 8) 'in Ezechiel dictum'.

(7) Optatus (ed. Ziwsa: vol. xxvi of the *Vienna Corpus*).

The construction of a consistent text for Optatus is particularly difficult, because only one of the older MSS, Remensis 221, saec. ix ineunt. (R), is complete: a Petersburg MS, saec. v-vi (P), contains the first two books: an Orleans fragment, saec. vii (A), the first part of the seventh book: a Paris MS, saec. xi (C), half the sixth and the whole of the seventh. But it will be seen that the net balance of evidence in favour of the forms of the second declension is incontestable.

i 2 (4. 11) 'per Ezechielum prophetam' P.

ii 5 (40. 18) 'in Ezechielo propheta' P R.

ii 24 (61. 13) 'in Ezechielo [Ezechilo P*] profeta' P.

26 (66. 10) 'per Ezechielem prophetam' P *ex silentio*.

iii 3, 10 (75. 15, 76. 5, 94. 13) R alone is extant of the four MSS named, and gives on each occasion (as it does elsewhere for Ezekiel, except 40. 18) the third declension.

vii 1 (164. 7) 'per Ezechielum prophetam' A C.

(164. 16) 'per Ezechielum' A C.

iii 3 (79. 18, 21; 80. 15, 16, 21): in these passages, the only ones which help us with Daniel, R is again the only older MS extant, but this time its evidence is preponderant for the forms of the second declension: 'Daniei' ablative, 'Daniei' dative, 'Danielis' (*ex silentio*) genitive, 'Daniei' dative, 'Daniei' ablative.

To sum up the evidence for Optatus: P $\frac{2}{4}$, A $\frac{2}{2}$, C $\frac{2}{2}$, give Ezekiel in the second declension, against R $\frac{1}{7}$; but R itself gives Daniel $\frac{4}{6}$ in the same declension, and we cannot doubt that Optatus, in spite of his editor, used the forms of the second declension for the names of both prophets.

³ It is instructive to note that the Benedictine editor of Hilary was struck by the manuscript evidence for 'Danielum', 'Danielo': compare his notes *ad loc. cit.* (ed. Verona, i 387, 427, 453).

(8) Ambrose apparently used the indeclinable forms: see for instance in Schenk's edition of the commentary on St Luke's Gospel (vol. xxxii, part 4, of the Vienna *Corpus*) 234. 18 'ad Ezechiel', 463. 7 'secundum Danihel'.

(9) Tyconius *Liber Regularum* (ed. Burkitt in *Texts and Studies* III i). The two MSS used by the editor are Remensis lat. 364, saec. ix (R), and Vaticanus Reginae 590, saec. x (V): the former he is no doubt right in preferring on the whole, but he appears to have unduly depreciated the value of the latter.

p. 32 l. 13	Ezechielum V	Hiezechielum R ² (** * zechielem R*)
34 15	Ezechielo V*	Hiezechielo R ¹ <i>supr ras</i> : Ezechiel V ²
40 13	Ezechielo V	Hiezechielo R
43 30	Ezechielum V*	Ezechihelum R V ²
65 16	Ezechihel V	Hiezechiel R
73 11	Ezechihelum V	Hiezechielem R
74 11	Ezechihelum V	Ezechielem R
74 16	Ezechihelum V	Ezechielem R
77 15	Ezechihelum V	Ezechielem R
p. 2 l. 15	rubric IN DANIELO R	
67 9	Danihelum V	Danihelem R (quotation from Matt. xxiv 15)
77 19	Danihelo V	Danihele R (quotation from Ezech. xxviii 3)
79 7	Danihelo V	Danihele R " " "
79 7bis	Danihelo V	Danihele R

Here the one MS gives both prophets regularly in the second declension, with occasional support from the other; and considering the obvious tendency for the substitution of the better known forms (better known, that is, at the time the MSS were copied), it may confidently be claimed that, like his African contemporary Optatus, Tyconius used the forms in the second declension only. The editor, however, has preferred the third declension throughout.

(10) *Speculum* or *m* (ed. Wehrich, vol. xii of the Vienna *Corpus*). For Daniel the form 'Danihelo' is supported by all the MSS, and is beyond question: for Ezekiel the MSS, as so often in the *Speculum*, fall into two groups, S (which is, it may be noted, the same MS as A of St Cyprian's *Testimonia*) always supporting the indeclinable 'Ezechiel', while the other MSS alternate between 'Ezechiel' and 'Ezechielo'. But in no case is there any question of the forms of the third declension.

(11) Eucharius (ed. Wotke, vol. xxxi of the Vienna *Corpus*). The oldest MS of the *Formulae*, S—Sessorianus lxxvii, now in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele—gives once (with one other MS) 'in Ezechielo' 22. 7, though once also it appears to support the 'in Ezechiele' of the rest, 59. 22.

(12) The *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* (ed. Bratke, vol. xlv of the

Vienna *Corpus*) gives clear evidence of the survival of the older usage well on into the fifth century: 34. 12 'Ezechielum prophetam': 13. 1 'auctorem Danihelum', 42. 9 'apud Danihelum', 52. 4 'lege Danihelum'.

The net result of this enquiry is, up to a certain point, very clear. Not till after the middle of the fourth century—if we except the confused and uncertain evidence of the MSS of Tertullian—do any indubitable traces of the forms in the third declension emerge. Perhaps Ambrosiaster is the earliest author that can be cited on this side¹: it is not till the fifth century that the new type predominates. Of older authors the indeclinable usage is that of Lucifer and Ambrose, in other words of Italy in the fourth century. On the other hand the *de Pascha computus*, the Latin translator of Irenaeus, Optatus, Hilary, the Speculum, and probably Tyconius, use the second declension in the case of Daniel, and I cannot doubt that we ought to add St Cyprian to this list: for Ezekiel the indeclinable form seems to be that of Irenaeus and Hilary, but the second declension has the support of the Africans Optatus and Tyconius, and this consideration must exercise a reflex effect on our estimate of the probabilities of its correctness in St Cyprian.

On the whole, then, in the case of Daniel the evidence, both in the Cyprianic MSS and in the early Latin fathers generally, in favour of the forms in the second declension is sufficient to remove all ground for hesitation. In the case of Ezekiel the evidence for the parallel forms, whether in St Cyprian or outside, is definitely less: it is possible that other authors besides St Hilary and the translator of St Irenaeus used the second declension for the name Daniel without doing the same thing for Ezekiel: and though I think it probable that St Cyprian wrote 'Ezechielum', I should still a little doubt whether the conclusion is certain enough to warrant an editor in introducing this form into the text.

§ 7. ORTHOGRAPHY OF PROPER NAMES IN THE BIBLICAL TEXT OF THE *TESTIMONIA*.²

[Since the publication of the first part of these Prolegomena I have re-collated myself the Crawford-Manchester MS (X), and have added

¹ I learn from Mr Souter that there is evidence both for the indeclinable form 'Ezechiel' in the ablative, *Quaest.* xli 1, cvi 9, and for the second declension 'Danihelo' in the dative, *in Rom.* iii 31, *Quaest.* xlv 14.

² Names occurring only in the formulae of quotation of biblical books are excluded, as having already been dealt with in § 1 of these Prolegomena. References given within square brackets are to passages where the names are given in St Cyprian's language and not in a definite quotation.

to my list (vi 247, 248) the readings of a second Oxford MS, U, Laurentianus misc. 105, saec. x.]

Aaron: see 'Aron'.

Abdenago (Dan. iii 14, nominative) 121. 14: 'Abdennago' U.

Abel [45. 21, nominative]. The name occurs also in St Cyprian in oblique cases without case-endings: accusative 421. 24, 660. 6, 668. 4.

Abennezer (1 Reg. vii 12, nominative) 84. 1. 'Abenezzer' P 'Abbenezir' R 'Abeinnezer' U.¹

Abraham, Abrahæ.

nominative 'Abraham' [43. 17]: 43. 18 ('Abram' R): 128. 9: 150. 13 ('Habraham' X*): 166. 6 ('Abraha' P 'Habraham' X).

vocative 'Abraham' 67. 8: 134. 10 ('Habraham' X*).

accusative 'Abraham' 54. 2: [67. 7 ('Abraam' P²): 127. 19 ('Habraham' X).

genitive. (1) 'Abrahæ' 44. 2 ('Habrahæ' L* 'Habrahe' M): 113. 7 ('Habrahæ' T*). (2) 'Abraham', only in the phrase 'of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob', and therefore probably by assimilation to the two indeclinable names: 87. 1 (Exod. iii 6: 'Abrahæ' P 'Habraham' R*): 145. 3 (Luc. xx 37: 'Abrahæ' P 'Habraham' X).

dative 'Abrahæ' 44. 3 ('Habrahe' M): [52. 15].

ablative 'Abraham' 44. 4 ('Abrahæ' R): 58. 16.

Among other early authorities, *z* has 'Abraham' in the ablative ²/₂, 'Abrahæ' in the genitive and dative, except Mc. xii 26 'Abraham . . . Isac . . . Iacob', thus exactly agreeing with St Cyprian. In Priscillian again the genitive is 'Abrahæ' except in *tract.* ii (37. 15) 'deus Abraham deus Isac deus Iacob'. This is a distinction which has escaped the notice of the new *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, and vitiates an otherwise valuable collection of material.

In Tyconius the ablative is 'Abraham' (ed. Burkitt 29. 15, 17), the genitive and dative regularly 'Abrahæ'.² The Lyons Heptateuch gives 'Abrahæ' usually, 'Abraham' occasionally, for the genitive and dative.³

Acha or Achas 73. 21 (Is. vii 10: acc.) 'Acha' A* L* *ut uid.* 'Achas' O U 'Ahas' M 'Achoz' B 'Achaz' A² L² P T W X 'Achab' R: 74. 1 (Is. vii 12: nom.) 'Acha' A² 'Adchas' A* 'Achas' M O U (V), 'Achaz' A² B L P T W X, 'Achab' R.

It might be doubted here whether 'Achas' was not rather the right

¹ Hartel should, I think, have printed the words 'et appellauit nomen eius Abennezer id est lapis auxiliator' as a quotation. That 'lapis auxiliator' was actually in use as an equivalent of *λίθος τοῦ βοηθοῦ* is proved by Jerome's notice in his version of Eusebius's *περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων* 'Abenezzer quod interpretatur lapis adiutorii [the Vulgate phrase] siue lapis auxiliator'.

² I believe I have noticed one exception, but I cannot lay my hand on it.

³ I reckon the numbers to be for the genitive Abraham ⁴/₁₅, Abrahæ ¹¹/₁₅, for the dative Abrahæ ¹⁰/₁₅, Abraham ¹/₁₅.

ding than 'Acha': but the analogy of 'Iona' and 'Iuda' is in favour of the latter alternative. On the other hand 'Achas' is found in *de Pascha computus* § 11, and in Matt. i 9 according to *k* 'Iothas uir Achaos et Achas genuit Ezechian' ('Achaz' *af* Vulg.: def. *b d e*).¹ The oldest (sixth century) MS of Eucherius of Lyons—vol. xxxi of the *Antiqua Corpus*, 142. 21—gives 'Ahac', perhaps for 'Acha'.

adam nominative [45. 20]: 152. 9 *bis*.

accusative 158. 4.

There appear to be no passages from which the form of the genitive dative can be established: but presumably 'Abraham' 'Abraham' and its parallel in 'Adam' 'Adae'. The ablative 'Adam' occurs 17.

egyptus 39. 1 ('Egipt.' T): 39. 9: 46. 23: 68. 15: 69. 13 ('Egipt.' W): 75. 2: 90. 16.

ethiopum 68. 15 ('Ethiopum' P).

malec or **Amalech** [83. 14]: [83. 16]: [89. 10]: 89. 12: 89. 15: 19: 90. 2. 'Amalech' is the form always given by A L O T, 'alec' by X and (where extant) P: R U give now one, now the other. 'alec' is also given by S (cod. Paris. lat. 10592, saec. vi) in the *ad unatum*, 330. [18], 23, 331. 3, 6: so too the Lyons Heptateuch with the exception that I have noticed except Num. xiii 30.

Compare 'Enoc' and 'Melchisedech'.

annas: accusative 'Annam' [53. 5].

anania 151. 2. So A L P R T W: 'Ananias' only in B M O U X. 'Ananias' is the name of the Damascene Christian of Acts ix 10-16 in the Fleury palimpsest.

aron [38. 22]: 89. 17. The reading 'Aron' rests on few, but those most ancient, authorities: in the first case A V, in the second A, in *ad Fortunatum* (331. 1) S. With these agree not only the Lyons Heptateuch, but also the Munich and Würzburg fragments of the O. T.: so the sixth-century MS of Eucherius (42. 2). As in the case of *saac*, Beelzebul, Bethlehem, I believe the first Latin translators actively avoided the double vowel, as alien to the genius of their age. An alternative form, prompted as I think by the same instinct, 'aharon', which is found in the earliest MS of Optatus (ed. Ziwsa 24. 1, 2) and at least sometimes in the unique MS of Lucifer (ed. Hartel 18, 211. 1).

assyriorum 69. 12 ('Asyriorum' R).

sarias 151. 2.

bal 39. 11: 39. 12. In the former instance 'Bahal' is supported by B M P^s U (V), in the latter by A P U (V). The other MSS have 'bal', except R*, which both times gives 'Bal' ['in Itala et in

¹ Add from the *Thesaurus linguae latinae Jordanes Romana* §§ 52, 53.

vetustioribus codicibus fere semper Bahal scribitur' *Theo. Lat. lat.*].

The Lyons Heptateuch has always 'Bahalim' or 'Bahal': 'Bah also in Priscillian (19. 13), Lucifer (94. 21, 95. 19: 218. 2 'ser Bahal': 224. 3 'excelso illi Bahal': but 223. 19 'Bahali et soli lunae').

Belzebul 172. 2. So AOV and possibly L²: 'Beizebul' 'Belzezul' B 'Beelzebul' RW 'Belzebul' L³ PX 'Beelzebul' MT

'Belzebul' is read by *dhk* in this passage (Matt. x 25), 'Velzebul' by *b*, 'Beelzebul' by *af*. Similarly the Greek authorities, so far as have them, are divided only between Βεεζεβούλ and Βεελζεβούλ: St Jerome in the Vulgate, and the Syriac Versions, agree independently in the rendering 'Beelzebul', this must be treated as an intentional departure from the Greek on the ground of the Hebrew form. The occurrence of the form 'Beelzebul' in Latin may confidently be ascribed to the influence of the Vulgate. The *Thesaurus* indeed quotes Tertullian *adv. Marcionem* iv 26 'quem Beelzebul . . . dixerat'. I ought, I think, to have been possible to divine the truth even before the appearance of the Vienna edition (1906): in any case we now know that throughout the passage Tertullian wrote 'Belzebul' 'Beelzebul'

Bethel 68. 12. 'Bethel' P, 'Betlem' R, 'Bethleem' W.

Bethlem. So AOPR in [60. 21]: LMPRX in [77. 3]: LMPTUX in 77. 4: PU in 77. 8: ATUWX (and L 'Bethlem') in 98. AX, wherever they do not give 'Bethlem', give 'Betlem'. 'Bethleem' (the Vulgate form) is only supported by LUWB in [60. 21], O in [77. 3], BO in 77. 4, LMORTB in 77. 8, MO in 98. 15. 'Bethlehem' the evidence is slighter still, M in [60. 21], B in [77. BR in 98. 15.

k has 'Bethlem' ²/₅, 'Bethleem' ²/₅; *e* 'Bethlem' (once 'Vethlem') *a* 'Bethlem' (once 'Baethlem') ⁷/₈; *ff*₂ 'Bethlem' ²/₃, 'Bethleem' ¹/₃. It seems safe to conclude that, as in the case of 'Belzebul', the early Latin translators avoided the double e as contrary to the custom of the language: but the correction to 'Bethleem' was made early, for it is found in *bd* Lucifer. Note that St Cyprian is more consistently correct in this case than *k*.²

¹ Similarly in all the editions hitherto printed Ambrosiaster, *Questiones ex* is made to say 'in Beelzebul eiciebat daemonia': but Mr Souter, in his forthcoming edition for the Vienna Academy, prints 'Belzebul' with one MS only, that the best, of his author.

² The *Thesaurus* adds for 'Bethlem' *Itinerarium Burdigalense* p. 598 and Hieronimus *in ps. cxxxi* 13: in the passage cited from Paulinus of Nola *ep. xxxi* § 3 the only MS also gives 'Bethlem'. The Latin Irenaeus IV xxxiii 11 is quoted for 'Bethleem': but I notice that in III xvi 4 the Clermont MS has 'in Bethlem natus Iudae', while the editions give 'in Bethleem natus est Iudae'.

Daniel 155. 15: also, for the title of the book, [42. 15]: [84. 5]: [92. 17]: [121. 13]. For the form in the oblique cases see § 1 of these Prolegomena, and § 6 *supra* (p. 62). The balance of evidence appears to favour the form 'Daniel' in St Cyprian without an aspirate (so in 155. 15 A M P U W X: 'Danihel' L O R T)¹: and so too Priscillian ²/₂. On the other hand in the oblique cases the preponderance of evidence is for the aspirate, both in St Cyprian, see § 1 above, and in most other early writers. See below, 'Emmanuel,' 'Gabriel,' 'Rafael,' etc.

David nominative [83. 21]: accusative 146. 5: genitive [60. 20], 72. 15, 72. 21, 73. 2, 74. 3, [75. 19], 76. 15, 77. 1: dative 49. 8, 75. 21, 76. 9. In no instance is there any variant in the orthography of the name, or any case-ending.

Efrata or **Efratha** 77. 4 (Mic. v 1 [2]). Here again the variations are puzzling, and the decision between them difficult: A has 'Efrata', R 'Efrata', O 'Efratha', P X (and T *in ras*) 'Ephrata', L M U B 'Ephratha': W is defective: why Hartel prints 'Efrata' I cannot say. The *Altercatio* (20. 1) copies St Cyprian at this point, but its MSS are divided between 'Efratha' (probably right), 'Efratha', 'Eufrata', and 'Euffrata'.

The Weingarten MS of the Prophets has 'Efrata': in Hilary *in ps. cxxi* the editor gives 'Ephrata', but the oldest MSS either 'Efrata' or 'Efratha': similarly in Ambrose *de Iacob* ii 7 the edition has 'Ephratha', the earliest MSS 'Efrata', 'Efrata', or 'Efratha'.

Efrem or **Effrem** 54. 15: 54. 16: 69. 16. Hartel gives 'Efrim' each time, but apparently without any sort of authority: the only doubt between 'Efrem' (so always A P T*: and on the first occasion L R W, on the second R U, on the third B L O U X) and 'Effrem' (so always b T²: and on the first occasion B X, on the second B L M W X, on the third M W).

The Lyons Heptateuch uses predominantly the form 'Ephrem'; but that in St Cyprian has no more authority than M ¹/₃ O ²/₃ R *in ras* ¹/₃. Priscillian gives 'Efrem' ²/₃. Hatch-Redpath's Concordance to the LXX cites Old Latin authorities for 'Efrem' 'Ephrem' 'Eufrem' 'Aefrem' 'Ephraem' 'Efrain'—but for the last four there is only one instance apiece. The very rarity of the form 'Effrem' inclined me to believe it genuine in St Cyprian: I had found it elsewhere only in one MS of the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* (ed. Bratke 53. 5: in 23. 1 all the MSS have 'Efrem'), which here as often elsewhere is copying the *Testimonia*. On the other hand I now see that in St Ambrose *de Ioseph* § 7 'Efrem' is the reading of the oldest MSS, 'Effrem' of the later MSS: the Vienna edition still gives 'Ephraem'.

¹ Compare also *de op. et el.* 11 (382. 8), where the two oldest MSS, FS, both have 'Daniel': Hartel wrongly leaves it to be inferred that F has 'Danieli'.

Eleazar 165. 10 (Luc. xvi 25). So LO* P U V W X: 'et Lazarus' M, 'Lazarus' A B R (and T *in ras*): compare the fuller statement of evidence collected by me in *J. T. S.* ii 600-602, *Cypr. Ep.* lix § 3, *Tert. de idol.* § 13, *de anima* § 7, *Iren.* (cod. C) II xxxiv 1, III xiv 3, Paulinus of Nola *Epp.* xiii, xxxiv, *Carm.* xxxi 584, Prudentius *in exsequiis defunctorum* l. 38, and among MSS *c e* as well as the two Spanish MSS CT of the Vulgate. To these I can now add evidence from MSS of Eucherius of Lyons (33. 20, 'Eleazarus' one good MS: 113. 26, 'Eleazaro' the oldest MS).

It is interesting to note that where Hartel does give the forms 'Eleazar' 'Eleazarum'—for the Eleazar of 2 Maccabees, *ad Fort.* 341-20, 342. 1—the oldest MSS have 'Eliezer' 'Eliezerum'.

Elias or **Helias** [40. 7: 3 Reg. xix 10]. A has 'Haelias' (so *a* in Io. i 25): L² M P T 'Helias': L* O R U X 'Elias', and this form is so uncommon that it must probably be original. It cannot have come in from the Vulgate, for in the New Testament at any rate the aspirate is almost universal in Vulgate MSS. Even among the Old Latin MSS 'Elias' is extraordinarily rare: it is never found in *a* or *d*, once in *f* (Matt. xvi 14), once in *ff*₂ (Matt. xxvii 49), possibly once in *k* (Marc. viii 28), three times in *b*, four times in *e*. Nor is it in Priscillian, who so often agrees with the best orthography in St Cyprian: *tract.* lii (47. 8) 'Helias in Regnorum ait'. But on the other side the fifth-century fragment of the *de opere et elemosynis* (Turin G v 37) has 'Helias' once (382. 7), if I may trust my notes, but 'Elias' certainly three times (386. 17, 19, 25)—a fact not mentioned by Hartel.

[**Elisabeth** ('Elisabet' P V) 73. 9 (Luc. i 41). But the name is omitted by LX (U*?), and is therefore probably not genuine in St Cyprian's text. In view of the controversy which has raged round the names 'Mary' and 'Elisabeth' in Luc. i 46, it is important to notice the perhaps not unrelated variations in verse 41. 'Elisabeth' is given twice in the ordinary texts, but the witnesses are divided as to the exact point where the first occurrence should be marked: *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῆς Μαρίας ἢ Ἐλισάβετ* [al. *ἢ Ἐλισάβετ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῆς Μαρίας*], *ἐσκήρτησεν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου ἢ Ἐλισάβετ*. Codex D, however, adds both in the Greek and Latin a third mention of the name Elisabeth by substituting, for the middle clause, *ἐσκήρτησεν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς Ἐλισάβετ τὸ βρέφος αὐτῆς*. 'exultavit in utero Elisabet infans eius': while on the other hand the African Latin, as represented by both *e* and St Cyprian, omits the name after 'impleta est Spiritu sancto', and as represented by St Cyprian omits it (as we have just seen) on the first occasion also. Now if the original Latin version omitted the personal names so frequently in this narrative, it becomes possible that the name Mary may have been

omitted by it in verse 46; and the name Elisabeth may then have been inserted there, as in verse 41, at the second stage in the history of the version. This would, it seems to me, entirely explain the presence of the name Elisabeth in verse 46 in *ab* Iren. lat. Niceta. Certainly in verse 46 the name Elisabeth is not found in the earliest Latin version, any more than in the earliest Syriac: it has no claim to be considered a 'Western' reading of the best attestation.]

Emmanuel 71. 14 (Matt. i 23): 74. 6 (Is. vii 14). In the first case the evidence is clearly preponderant for this form: 'Emmanuhel' is given in the first case only by LT (against A M O P U V W X), in the second by A L O (against M P T U V X *b*). R has both times 'Emmanuhel'. Hartel's 'Emanuel' in the second case is doubtless a misprint.

In Matt. i 23 'Emmanuhel' appears to be the best attested form in the Vulgate, 'Emmanuel' in the Old Latin (so *abfk* Priscillian $\frac{1}{2}$: 'Immanuel' Priscill. $\frac{1}{2}$, 'Inmanuel' *d*).

Enoc [45. 21]: 158. 11. So both times A P X, and in the first instance R, in the second U*: the rest have 'Enoch'. In *de mortalitate* 23 (311. 16, 18) Hartel gives 'Enoch' without variant.

The Old Latin has 'Enoc' in Luc. iii 37 (*abeff*₂; *d* has 'Aenox', D Αἰνώχ), where 'Enoch' is the Vulgate form. Priscillian too has 'Enoc' $\frac{2}{3}$.

Esau 68. 13.

Euua 152. 9 (1 Tim. ii 13). So A P, and apparently W: O X have 'Aeua', the rest 'Eua'. Priscillian has 'Euua' $\frac{2}{2}$: and so too the best MS of the *Quaestiones* of Ambrosiaster. See also 'Leuui'.

Fennana [53. 5: 1 Reg. i 2 Φεννάνα]. So L O P U V W: 'Gennana' A, 'Fennena' M B, 'Fennenna' X, 'Fenenana' R. Hartel (against all his MSS) 'Fenenna'.

Filippus 151. 6 (Act. viii 37) A X: 'Philippus' L P R T U, 'Phylippus' O.

The form 'Philippus' is not only that of the Vulgate, but of most Old Latin MSS of the Gospels and Acts. Yet there appear to be traces of a very early stage when the Greek Φ was represented by the vernacular Latin F. So the Fleury palimpsest in Acts vi 5: *k* $\frac{1}{2}$ (Matt. x 3), *k* $\frac{1}{2}$ (Matt. x 3): *d* once only (Mc. iii 18): *ff*₂ once only (Jo. xiv 8: but 'Pilippus' twice Jo. xiv 22): *bf* sporadically in the episode Jo. i 43-48: and I believe this to be genuine in St Cyprian.

Gabriel [72. 14]: [75. 10]. So on the first occasion A O U X, on the second A P T U: 'Gabrihel' the first time L P R T, the second L O R X.

The name occurs only twice in N. T., Luc. i 19, 26: *abd* all have 'Gabriel', *e* 'Grabriel', *ff*₂ 'Grabiel'.

Gog 75. 1 (Num. xxiv 7). The phrase 'exaltabitur quam Gog ipsius regnum' is the exact equivalent of the LXX ἐψωθήσεται ἡ Γὼγ βασιλεία [αὐτοῦ], but it caused difficulty both to Hartel, who obelized 'quam' and to the scribes of several of our MSS: thus for 'Gog' we have besides the 'Cogi' of X, in R 'Quod', in B 'Gens', in M² 'Gygans', in O² 'quia Magog'.

Goliae (genitive) [83. 21].

Gomora 44. 13 (Is. i 10): 146. 16 (Gen. xix 24). For the case-endings see below under 'Sodoma'. In the orthography there are three variant forms, 'Gomorra' (= Greek), 'Gomora', and 'Gomurra': (1) 'Gomurra' A X, 'Gomora' V, 'Gomorra' the rest: (2) 'Gomurra' A, 'Gomora' R, 'Gomorra' the rest. The authority for the single *r* is in appearance slight; but it is so markedly confirmed by the best Old Latin witnesses that I have little hesitation in replacing it in St Cyprian's text. For the Lyons Heptateuch has 'Gomora' 'Gomoram', 1/4: 'Gomora' 1/4 (Matt. x 15): Priscillian 'Gomora' 1/4 (tract. i: 7. 25).

Helcana [53. 4: 1 Reg. i 1]. So L P R T: 'Elcana' A, 'Helchan' B M² O U W X.

Heli [50. 17]. 'Eli' M R: 'Elin' apparently O (possibly 'Eliam' O*): 'Heliam' U.

Helias: see 'Elias'.

Herodis in the genitive twice, 77. 8: 98. 15. In the former passage M* gives 'Herodes'.

Hiericho: see 'Iericho'.

{ **Hierosolima** 77. 9 (Matt. ii 1): 98. 16 (Matt. ii 1 again).
{ **Hierosolimis** 86. 3 (Io. iii 28: the words 'eis qui missi sunt ab Hierosolimis ad me' are found in *e* Cyprian, but in no other authorities).

For the feminine form 'Hierosolymam', though Hartel prints it both in 77. 9 and in 98. 16, there is little to be said: the ending in -ma is found in *a b d f k*, the ending in -mam is the reading of the Vulgate. And the presumption thus created is borne out by the grouping of the Cyprian MSS: for the neuter we have in 77. 9 A B L* or ²O* P U, in 98. 16 A L O U V X: for the feminine in 77. 9 L* or ²M O² R T X, in 98. 16 B M R T W.

Hierusalem vocative 44. 14: accusative [37. 13], [44. 5], 45. 10, 85. 22, 90. 6: genitive 85. 14: ablative 46. 11, 46. 14, 57. 21, 84. 25. As between the declinable and the indeclinable forms of the name, St Cyprian's bible no doubt simply followed the variations of the Greek text between 'Ἱερουσαλήμ' and 'Ἱεροσόλυμα'. The indeclinable form is that which he himself employed, as the two references [37. 13], [44. 5] suffice to shew.

Priscillian uses only 'Hierusalem' (2/3 from the bible, 1/3 in his own references).

With regard to the orthography, there can be little doubt that *i* is correct in the penultimate as against *y*: it has in its favour 77. 9 A B O R X, 86. 3 A L M O R X, 98. 16 A L O R W X (in the first two passages *W* is not extant). And though the Old Latin MSS of the Gospels for the most part give consistently 'Hierosolyma', *k* on the other hand gives 'Hierosolima' ^{9/12}. It is more difficult to decide between *o* and *u* in the third syllable: *u* has, I think, little authority outside St Cyprian in our earliest witnesses, and is perhaps due to assimilation to the form 'Hierusalem', but it has the support of A M X in 77. 9, of A M in 86. 3, and of W X in 98. 16.

Hur: see 'Or'.

Iacob 46. 7: [52. 18]: 54. 8: 58. 16: [67. 12]: 68. 11: 69. 8: 74. 18: 76. 15: [83. 8]: 84. 23: 85. 7: 87. 2: 108. 4: 145. 4. All cases, except the vocative, are represented: nor is there any variation to record.

Iericho 86. 11 (Jos. v 13). So B O P T X and *ex silentio* V: 'Ierico' M*: 'Hiericho' A L M³ R U. The combination A L is rarely not decisive: but 'Hiericho' is clearly the later (Vulgate and some Old Latin), 'Iericho' the earlier, orthography, at least in the Gospels. 'Iericho' is supported by *a* ^{1/4}, *b* ^{1/4}, *d* ^{4/8}, *e* ^{3/4}, *f* ^{2/4}, *k* ^{1/1}, *ff* ^{1/8} ('Iherico' ^{1/8}), and by the Lyons Heptateuch as well. [Jerome *de situ et nominibus* ranks 'Iericho' under the letter *i*, but then he does the same thing with 'Ierusalem'; so that he may have been simply copying the Greek arrangement of the names under *iota*.]

Iesse 56. 5: 76. 5. 'Iessae' O* or ² P R in the first instance, L P R in the second.

Iesus (Iesum, Iesu).

(1) Iesus Naue. (nom.) 82. 19: [83. 14]: 86. 11: 86. 15: 89. 19. (acc.) [45. 16]: 45. 16: [82. 17]: [86. 7]: 89. 12.¹

(gen.) 90. 2; but 'eius' is perhaps right here, see note ³ further on.

(abl.) [83. 16]: [89. 11].

(2) Iesus sacerdos. (nom.) 78. 19. (acc.) 78. 17. (gen.) 82. 15.

(3) Dominus Iesus Christus. (nom.) 70. 11: 73. 2: 77. 7: 79. 8: 98. 14: 98. 19¹: 99. 3: 111. 15: 111. 18: 113. 6: 149. 19: 159. 5: 173. 4.¹

(acc.) 72. 17: 73. 15: 76. 13: 82. 2: 124. 5.

¹ The words 'dixit Moyses ad Iesum' in 89. 11 are part of the quotation: in Prolegomena § 3 (*J. T. S.* vi 263) I wrongly gave them (following Hartel) as part of the lemma. The same is true of 98. 19 'dixit Iesus' (Jo. xviii 36), and 173. 4 'dixit Iesus' (Jo. xix 11): in both cases *e* has 'dixit' with St Cyprian for the Greek ἀνεκρίθη.

gen. 22. 13. 2. 14. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

For all instances of the nominative the form *iesus* is correct, as all of the genitive and dative the form *iesu*. For the accusative the form *iesum* is equally correct in all instances under (2) and not as was in the two instances under (1) which belong to the 2d and 3d of *iesum* 22. 13 and 24. 1. For the nominative of *iesus* from the book of *Genesius* about *iesu* Name was shown to be right *Prilogmentia* § 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Prilogmentia has in the nominative form *iesus* Name 22. 13. 24. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

iesu 22. 13. 24. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

For the nominative I give in each case *iesus* (but Hartweg in citing L for the same form in 24. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.) and *iesum* possibly be right for though it has it only once (Matt. xi 18), it is predominant form in L and *Prilogmentia* has it.

iesum is the form of the accusative given by M¹ T¹ in 24. 8 further *Prilogmentia* § 2. J. T. S. vi 128, on the formula *cetera lo* *nom* or *cetera iesum*.

iesu, nominative, and *iesu*, genitive 22. 13 (Matt. xii 39). For the genitive *iesu* there is no variant: for the nominative L alone (P is defective) with *iesu*, as against *iesus* of the rest. *iesu* is read here by L and in verse 41 by the best MSS of Iren.

¹ The opportunity may be taken here in passing of ribbing St Cyprian's to Hartweg's strange reading which the apparatus criticus shows to be no more *Domini iesu nostri Christi*. LOPRTUX⁸ read *Domini iesu Christi*: B¹ V, *Domini nostri iesu Christi*.

² In 22. 14 A reads *Hiesum Name* for *iesu Name*: and in 149. 19 the MS has *ihesu* for *iesu*—apparently correcting *ihesu* into *iesu*. In 90. 2 I T U X read *ciesu* for *iesu*. I am afraid I have not exhaustively noted the *et* *iam* *v.* the normal contractions *ihesu ihesu ihesu*: but my impression is that the *et* *iam* *v.* distinguish the sacred name from the others by confining to it the *et* *iam* *v.* contracted forms. Certainly for Joshua the name is generally written in and at least in most of the MSS I can speak definitely for L in the form *iesu* I do not think *ihesus* ever occurs.

But all that is here written must be tentative until we are in possession of final word on the subject in Dr Ludwig Traube's treatise on the *Nomina S* *OM* what Dr Traube's too early death means to his friends and to the *caus* *learning*, I cannot trust myself to speak: it is some small satisfaction to I that the treatise to which I have referred was left by him all but ready publication.

(*Haer.* III xxi 8 'plus quam Salomon aut plus quam Iona habere' codd. AC, IV ix 2 'plus quam Salomon et plus quam Iona donat hominibus' codd. AC, IV xxxiii 4 'plus quam Solomon aut plus quam Iona habebat'): and I do not doubt that it is the true reading in St Cyprian. Compare 'Acha' ('Achas') and 'Iuda' ('Iudas').

Iordanen or **Iordanem**, accusative, 56. 8 (Is. viii 23 [ix 1]), 'Iordanem' AWX, 'Iordanen' LMOPRTU. The ending in -en is supported in the Gospels by *dk* and predominantly by *abeff*, as well, in the Heptateuch by the Lyons MS, and, though it is true that in orthography AWX is a strong combination, is perhaps right here. But, if so, the reading -em requires explanation: and I am inclined to believe that 'Iordanem' is the true reading in the Vulgate, though nowhere accepted by Bishop Wordsworth. The evidence is as follows: Matt. iii 5 F of the Vulgate and the best MS of Augustine *de consensu evangelistarum*¹: iii 13 LMX* of the Vulgate and Aug.: iv 15 BEJ (HQ) of the Vulg.: iv 25 BJQ and the best MS of Aug.: xix 1 M and the St Gall fragments (saec. v-vi) of Vulg. and the best MS of Aug.: Marc. iii 8 GMX (not St Gall) of Vulg.: x i GMRTV Ept. of Vulg.: Jo. i 28 GM of Vulg.: iii 26 BGM of Vulg.: x 40 GJM of Vulg. The authorities are few but weighty: for MJ and the St Gall fragments are the oldest Italian MSS of the Vulgate Gospels, and the combination GM is a particularly good one. It seems possible that St Jerome tried to introduce the Latin form of the declension, but that custom, in this as in other small matters, ultimately proved too strong for the change.

Ioseph. nom. 54. 14: 54. 16: 54. 17. voc. 72. 14. acc. [53. 3]: [72. 14]. P ordinarily gives 'Iosef'; L in the Old Testament references (pp. 53-54) 'Iosep', X three or four times (but not always in the same places as L) the same form. Priscillian, however, has 'Ioseph' both in O.T. and N.T.: and the Lyons Heptateuch appears to have 'Iosep' only once. 'Iosep' is found in one MS (Reichenau, saec. viii) of Primasius in Apoc. vii 8: and also (I owe the reference to Haussleiter's Primasius) in the pseudo-Cyprianic *de laude martyrii* 29 (Hartel appendix 50. 10) according to our MSS LQ.

Isac [52. 17] AMO*P: 54. 8 AL*MO*T*: 58. 16 AOPRT: 87. 1 APT*: 127. 20 ALPR: 145. 4 ART: [166. 8] AO*P. So also our oldest MS (S) in *de bon. pat.* 10 (Hartel 404. 5). Compare above 'Aron'.

There can be little doubt that the form 'Isac', given consistently by A, is genuine in St Cyprian. It is found also in the fifth-century palimpsest of Leptogenesis, Milan Ambros. C 73 inf. (p. 79) 'et dixit

¹ Prof. Burkitt has pointed out that this treatise, composed about 400 A. D., uses the Vulgate text of the Gospels: and it is now accessible in a critical edition in the *Vienna Corpus* vol. xliii.

Isac'. The Lyons Heptateuch has it always: so has Priscillian ^{1/2}—I notice it once in Lucifer (211. 31) and in one (7th cent.) MS of Eucherius (111. 9: 173. 7). More than once the diorthota of the best MS of Tyconius substitutes 'Issac' for 'Isaac' (13. 10, 20: 29. 25). Of the Old Latin MSS of N. T., *abdek* (*ff*) and the Fleury palimpsest have 'Isac' wherever they are extant: *fg* and the Vulgate have 'Isaac'—that the St Gall fragments of the Vulgate Gospels have 'Isac' ^{2/2} is a mark of the traditional spelling surviving in an early Vulgate MS.

The Jew Isaac, contemporary of pope Damasus, probably spelt his name 'Isac', for 'Isatis' is found in the genitive, 'Hisacem' in the accusative, in references to him: Morin, *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* (1899) iv 101 n. 1.

Istrahel 39. 8: 39. 11: 40. 9: 40. 19: 41. 2: 44. 20: 45. 7: 46. 20: [[66. 14, 66. 16, 67. 5]]¹: 67. 17: 68. 19: 69. 8: 72. 1: 74. 19: 77. 6: 81. 2: 82. 23: 83. 2: [83. 25]: 89. 15: 126. 1: 152. 13. All cases except the vocative occur, and there are instances of case-endings. The spelling 'Istrahel' is given consistent by A (save where the abbreviation *Ishl* is employed, 41. 2, 44. 20: 67. 5, 67. 17, 72. 19, 152. 13), though the second hand has corrected to 'Israhel' in 68. 19, 69. 8, 74. 19, 77. 6, 81. 2: but I do not think 'Istrahel' is found in any other MS. 'Israhel' is regular in L O P R U X, 'Israel' in Hartel.

'Istrahel' is universal, I think, in the Lyons Heptateuch, in Priscillian, in *a* and *b*: *d* varies between 'Istrahel' and 'Israhel'. *ff* has 'Istrahel' ^{19/20}, 'Strahel' once (Luc. iv 25) and 'Israel' thrice. The specially African authorities for the Gospels appear to affect 'd' rather than 't': for while the Fleury palimpsest has 'Israel' ^{2/2}, *e* has regularly 'Isdrahel', while *k* varies curiously between 'Isdrael' ^{2/10}, 'Isdrahel' ^{2/10}, 'Isdraehel' ^{1/10}, 'Israel' ^{1/10}, 'Istrahel' ^{1/10}. In Eucherius of Lyons 88. 1, 160. 23, the sixth-century MS has 'Istrahel': and the same form occurs twice in the Karlsruhe MS of Pelagius on St Paul (Souter *The Commentary of Pelagius* p. 15).

Istrahelitae 70. 15 A*: 'Israhelitae' A²L O P R T (U). See preceding paragraph. The Lyons Heptateuch gives always 'Istrahelitae'; in Io. i 47 *a b* have 'Istrahelita', *e* 'Isdrahelites'.

Iuda or **Iudas**, patriarcha. nom. 148. 19. voc. 54. 21: 55. 1. gen. 45. 10: 46. 20: 77. 1: 77. 5: 85. 14. abl. 55. 3. In all the

¹ These three references come from a passage which is of doubtful authenticity, as it is absent from the MSS L P R V X B. It is, I think, the only passage in the *Testimonia* about which it is impossible to say off-hand that it is genuine or spurious. It distinguishes itself from the obvious interpolations, not only by the relative number of MSS which contain it, but by the presence of the proper keyword of the chapter, in this case 'manus Domini' (67. 4).

oblique cases the form 'Iuda' is without variant, and I have assumed that in 55. 1 'catulus leonis Iuda' (where all MSS, including V, give this form) the case meant is vocative. If so, the only instance of the nominative is in 148. 19 (Gen. xxxviii 15), and here P alone gives 'Iuda', the rest 'Iudas' (A* 'iudicas'). In spite of the adverse testimony of the best MSS, I suspect 'Iuda' may be right: compare 'Iona' (and perhaps 'Acha') above.

The Lyons Heptateuch has 'Iuda' (in the nominative) once only, Gen. xxxvii 26: elsewhere always 'Iudas'. Priscillian ap. Orosium (*Commonitorium* § 2, 153. 20) has 'Iuda' nom.: in his own *tractatus* he happens to use only the genitive ('Iudae' ¹/₄, 'Iuda' ²/₄) and ablative.

Iudas traditor. nom. 80. 4: dat. [173. 9]. In the former passage 'Iudas', in the latter 'Iudae' are without variant.

Iudaea (**Iudeae**). gen. 77. 8: 98. 15 (both Matt. ii 1). abl. 57. 21 (Is. iii 1). In the ablative the termination in -aea is certain (so ALP UX): in the two other passages, 'Bethlehem of Judaea,' there is more variety of text. Some MSS—in 77. 8 MPX; in 98. 15 MOR WX²—give 'Iudae', which is certainly wrong and perhaps derived from Vulgate MSS, in which 'Iudae' is a common reading. 'Iudaeae,' on the other hand, is hardly represented at all either in the MSS of St Cyprian or of the Vulgate: it would seem that there was an instinctive aversion to the four vowels or double diphthong. In 77. 8 L, in 98. 15 X, give 'Iudae': but the converse reading 'Iudeae' appears to be right both in the Vulgate (ABFHJTYZ*) and in St Cyprian (77. 8 ABOTU: 98. 15 ALTU²). If V b are quoted in both places from Latini's notes in favour of 'Iudaeae', this is decisive as against their reading 'Iudae', but not decisive in the matter of orthography between 'Iudeae' and 'Iudaeae'.

At the same time the evidence of the older Old Latin MSS is rather in favour in this passage of 'Iudaeae' (a d k) than of 'Iudeae' (b f g).

Lasarus: see 'Eleazar'.

Leui (157. 17: Mal. iii 3). So AP: and see above on 'Euua'. The rest have 'Leui'.

Lugd. gives 'Leui' in Exodus, 'Leui' in Num. Deut. Jos.: in Genesis both forms appear. I have found 'Leui' also in f at Luc. iii 29, and of the apostle in one early MS of Eucherius (144. 4): it occurs also in the best MS of Ambrosiaster's *Questiones*.

Lia [53. 1]. Most of our MSS read here 'Liam' ('Lia' O), but MPT* 'Lian', which may possibly be right. But Lugd. gives the accusative 'Liam'.

Mannasse gen. 54. 17 (Gen. xlvi 17). The MSS vary: A 'Manasse', P 'Manasses', X 'Manassem', LMORTU 'Manasse'.

The double n is given by A only of our MSS: but it corresponds to the Greek *Μαννασση* of the codex Alexandrinus of the LXX, and appears in two of the three forms, 'Mannasse' 'Manasse' 'Mannase', used by the Lyons Heptateuch. The case-endings in the Lyons Heptateuch are very puzzling: outside Genesis only the genitive is found, and that always in -e: but in Genesis we have nom. 'Manasses' $\frac{2}{3}$, acc. 'Manassem' $\frac{2}{3}$, 'Manasse' $\frac{1}{3}$, genitive 'Manasses' $\frac{1}{3}$ (or if 'Manasse' in Gen. xlvi 20 is genitive and not dative, $\frac{1}{3}$). In Priscilla¹ the nominative is in -es (101. 13), ablative in -e (102. 4), genitive in -e (51. 5) but this refers to Manasse king of Judah.

Maria (Mariam, Mariae). voc. 76. 12: acc. 72. 15, [75. 1 ~~15~~]; gen. 73. 9.

Melchisedech. [45. 24]: 50. 17. In the former passage P has 'Melchisedhaec': in the latter W 'Melchysedech', PUX 'Melchisedec', T 'Mechisedec'. See also 'Amalec' 'Enoc'.

Misac 121. 14. B 'Misach'.

Misahel 151. 3.

Moses nom. [38. 3] LX*: 38. 23 L: [39. 1] L: 43. 1 L: [45. 13] L: [51. 5] L: 51. 16 L: [83. 13] L: [86. 18] L: 86. 22 L: 88. 17 L: 89. 11 L: 89. 14 L: 145. 2 L P. All other MSS have 'Moyses'.

Mose voc. 86. 24 (Exod. iii 4) LT*: 'Moysen' X, 'Moysen' U, 'Moyses' the rest.

Mosen acc. [37. 18] L ('Mosem' X): 39. 5 L: [46. 3] L: [51. 8] L: [80. 23] L: [89. 11] L: 90. 1 L ('Moysen' X*): [90. 13] L: 92. 7 L: [106. 20] LT* ('Moysin' X*): 126. 8 (not L): [178. 9] L. The rest 'Moysen'.

Mosei gen. 43. 5 ('Mosy' L): 89. 16 L ('Moysen' W): 89. 18 L² ('Moses' L* 'Moysis' O* 'Moysen' X). The rest 'Moysi'.

Mosi dat. 51. 17 LR: [146. 1] L. The rest 'Moysi'.

No name in the *Testimonia* is more doubtful than this, the commonest of them all. After much hesitation I have elected to follow what is practically the consistent testimony of L, reinforced very occasionally by some other MS.¹

With regard to the spelling, 'Moyses' predominates not only in Old Latin but in Vulgate MSS: and we can therefore hardly explain the 'Moses' of L as due to Vulgate influence. But 'Moses' is universal in $\frac{2}{3}$: and Bishop Wordsworth shews that it was the original reading of the Vulgate, though it is represented only in a minority of the MSS.² We have therefore here the not very usual phenomenon of a feature of the earliest Latin version, obliterated in all later forms of the

¹ In the spelling of the name of Cyprian's correspondent, the Roman presbyter and confessor, the 'Moses' of L is supported also by Q: see 545. 2, 565. 4, 576. 2.

² To those used by Bp. Wordsworth I can add the St Gall fragments $\frac{2}{3}$.

Old Latin but reproduced by St Jerome. And on the strength of the agreement with *k* I venture to think that L here represents alone the true text of St Cyprian.

Having followed L in the orthography, it was natural to follow it in the case-endings. Only the vocative and genitive come here into question: about the nominative in -es, the accusative in -en, and the dative in -i there is no doubt, and the ablative is not represented in St Cyprian's quotations. For the vocative in -e, L is supported by T* X, and this form agrees with the Greek: but the Lyons Heptateuch has 'Moyses': I do not know any other authorities which cite the vocative case. For the genitive in -ei, L has again support from WX, and the form is occasionally found in the Old Latin MSS—*e* in Matt. xxiii 2, *d* in Luc. xxiv 44.

Perhaps it may be worth while to add something about the varieties of declension under which the name 'Moses' ('Moyses') appears in Latin authorities.

(1) *k* is quite unique with nom. 'Moses' ('Mosei' ¹/₄), gen. 'Moseos', dat. 'Mosi', abl. 'Mose'.

(2) The other Old Latin authorities are, except in regard to the ablative (there is no instance of the vocative in N. T.), more or less consistent with one another in the following declension—

nom. 'Moyses' ('Moysi' *e* in Luc. ix 30: 'Moeses' *b* in Mc. xii 19: 'Moyses' oldest MS of Eucherius).

acc. 'Moysen' (Fleury palimpsest 'Monsen' in Act. vi 11, 'Mossem' in Act. vii 44).

gen. 'Moysi' ('Moysi' *e* in Matt. xxiii 2, *d* in Luc. xxiv 44: 'Moysis' *k* in Matt. xxiii 2: 'Moysen' Lugd. ²/₃, Num. iii 1, x 29).

dat. 'Moysi'.

abl. 'Moysen' *a* ¹/₃, *b* ¹/₃, *d* ¹/₄ (and 'Mosen' ¹/₄), *e* ¹/₃, *f* ¹/₃, Lugd. ¹/₃, Fleury palimpsest ¹/₁: 'Moysi' *a* ¹/₃, Lugd. ¹/₄: 'Moyses' *b* ¹/₃, *c* ¹/₃, *f* ¹/₃, Priscillian (but not in quotations) ¹/₃.

(3) The Vulgate has systematically the declension 'Moses', 'Mosen', 'Mosi', 'Mosi', 'Mose'.

The two most remarkable features of this evidence are the ablative form 'Moysen', and the genitive 'Moysi'—the latter so persistent and universal as to have been left unaltered even by St Jerome. What the explanation of this form is, I am quite unable to say.

As to the orthography in -o and -oy, it corresponds of course to the difference between the Greek forms *Mωσῆς* and *Mωσοῆς*. On Dr Hort's principles there could be no doubt that the latter is the correct form in the Greek Testament: in the Gospels and Acts *Mωσ.* is given by AC pretty regularly, by NL occasionally, but by B only thrice (Lc. xvi 31, Jo. ix 28, Act. xxvi 22) and by D only thrice. On the

other hand, there can be equally little doubt that *Μωσῆς* corresponds more closely to the Hebrew *Mōsheh*. This correspondence would of course explain sufficiently the appearance of 'Moses' in the Vulgate = St Jerome may have restored it from the Hebrew, as in the case of 'Beelzebub'. But it leaves unexplained the 'Moses' of *κ* (and, if I am right in relying here on L, of St Cyprian): are we in presence once more of a case of the original reading of the Greek Testament having to be restored from the African Latin?¹

Nabucodonosor 121. 14 (Dan. iii 16). So A W: the rest 'Nabuchodonosor', except X (and C in Ep. vi § 3 [483. 13]) 'Nabugodonosor'. In *ad Fort.* § 11 (337. 12) S has 'Nabucodonosor', R 'Nabucodonossor' (and so also in Ep. vi), V apparently 'Nabucchodonosor'.

Natham acc. 49. 7, 75. 20 (both quotations = 2 Reg. vii 4). This reading is only that of R in 49. 7, A R in 75. 20, as against 'Nathan' ('Natan' ²/₂ X) of the rest: but it is supported by Priscillian *tract. iii.* 50. 13 'Natham profetam' (cf. 50. 21 'in uerbis Nathae profetae').

Nazoreus or **Nazareus** 83. 2 (Act. iv 10): 165. 13 (Act. iii 6). For 'Nazoreus' we have in 83. 2 A* T* U *δ*, in 165. 13 A: for 'Nazareus' (-aeus L) in 83. 2 L M O P B, in 165. 13 L M O P U B T* V W²: for 'Nazarenus' in both places apparently R T², and also in 165. 13 W* (yet I suspect that 'Nazoreus' may have been W's original reading): it is clear, therefore, that Hartel's 'Nazarenus' cannot stand, and the problem is to decide between the two other forms. But this cannot be done without looking somewhat further into the whole question.

Four Latin variations of the name occur: 'Nazoreus' 'Nazareus' 'Nazorenus' 'Nazarenus'. Of these the second and third are independent attempts at conflation between the other two: *Ναζωραῖος* and *Ναζαρηνός* are the only ultimate Greek originals. The triumph of the form 'Nazarene' has been so complete both in Latin and English that it is not easy to realize that not only do both forms go back to the New Testament writers themselves, but that two out of the four Evangelists used exclusively, and a third by preference, the form *Ναζωραῖος*. Our Authorized Version, indeed, paraphrases with the noun 'of Nazareth', except in Matt. ii 23 'he shall be called a Nazarene' and Acts xxiv 5 'the sect of the Nazarenes': the Revised Version is less consistent, adopting 'Nazarene' also in Matt. xxvi 71, Mc. xiv 67, xvi 6, but leaving 'of Nazareth' elsewhere. But it is to the Vulgate that we really owe the word 'Nazarene': and St Jerome uses 'Nazarenus' to the exclusion of all other forms, save in Matt.

¹ My colleague, Mr A. E. Cowley, tells me that the form *Μωσῆς* may be due to the erroneous etymology from the Coptic (*Μω* = water: *εσης* = such as are saved) found in Josephus *Ant.* II ix 6, cf. *contra Ap.* i 31.

'Nazareus,' where we may suppose that his knowledge of the Bible led him to reproduce the exact form used by the artist, rather than definitely to interpret the word as equal in weight to 'Nazarene'. For the rest the conjecture may be permitted if it is wished to make a distinction between 'Nazarenus'—'Nazarenus' in the literal and biblical sense, 'of Nazareth'—and 'Nazareus', in which he was in the habit of employing in reference to the popular Judaeo-Christian sect.¹

As has already been indicated, there is no such uniformity in the Greek text of the Gospels. St Matthew (ii 23 : xxvi 71), St John (i 7 : xix 19) as well as the Acts (ii 22 : iii 6 : iv 10 : vi 14 : [ix 5] : xxiv 5 : xxvi 9) use invariably *Ναζωραῖος* : St Mark as regularly (x 47 : xiv 67 : xvi 6) *Ναζαρηνός*. In St Luke's Gospel alone the usages vary between the two : iv 34 *Ναζαρηνός*, xviii 37 *ναζωραῖος*, xxiv 19 *Ναζωραῖος* A D Sahidic, *Ναζαρηνός* N B L. And up to a certain point this diversity of usage is reflected in the Old Latin although it is complicated further by the cross-forms 'Nazareus' and 'Nazarenus'. I do not think anything short of a table will make the matter clear.

	'Nazareus'	'Nazareus'	'Nazarenus'	'Nazarenus'
ii 23	<i>abq</i>	<i>fk</i> Vulg.		
vi 71		<i>f</i> ₂	<i>q</i>	<i>abfkh</i> Vulg.
i 24			<i>dq</i>	<i>beff</i> ₂ Vulg.
x 47	<i>ff</i> ₂ <i>q</i> *		<i>dq</i> ²	<i>abfkh</i> Vulg.
v 67	<i>f</i> ₂		<i>dkq</i>	<i>af</i> Vulg.
i 6	<i>f</i> ₂ <i>k</i>		<i>q</i>	Vulg.
v 34			<i>eff</i> ₂ <i>q</i>	<i>abdf</i> Vulg.
ii 37	<i>bdfff</i> ₂ <i>q</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i> Vulg.

The forms 'Nazarenus' first emerge, so far as I know, under this name in Jerome's *Haer.* xxix *Ναζωραῖοι*, and Philaster *Haer.* viii 'Nazaraei'. Jerome's references to them are frequent : *de Viris* § 3 about the Hebrew Gospel 'mihi a Nazaraeis . . . describendi facultas fuit'; *Comm. in Matt.* xii 13 'in quo utuntur Nazaraeni [*lege Nazaraei*] et Ebionitae'; *Ep.* cxii ad num § 13, the Ebionites 'quos vulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant'; *Comm. in Matt.* xi 'Nazaraei hunc locum ita explanare conantur', xi 1 'evangelium quod in sermone conscriptum legunt Nazarei'. On the other hand he uses 'Nazareus' when speaking of the inhabitants of Nazareth, *Comm. in Matt.* xiii 54 'ultitia Nazaraenorum'.

An interesting passage is the reference to Nazareth in the *de situ et nominibus* of the Acts, unde et dominus noster atque saluator Nazaraeus vocatus est; sed et veteres quasi pro opprobrio Nazaraei [one MS "Nazorei"] dicebamus, nec Christianos vocant'. But we cannot tell how far in this case the form is influenced by the original Greek of Eusebius: nor can we be at all certain as to our only authority for the Greek text, Vatic. gr. 1456 saec. xii, has reproduced it correctly, *Ναζαρέθ, ὅθεν ὁ Χριστὸς Ναζωραῖος ἐκλήθη καὶ Ναζαρηνοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν*.

	'Nazoreus'	'Nazareus'	'Nazorenius'	'Nazarenus'
Lc. xxiv 19	<i>d</i>	<i>bff</i> ₁	<i>f</i>	<i>a e</i> Vulg.
Io. xviii 5	<i>befq</i>			<i>a</i> Vulg.
	7 <i>bfq</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i> Vulg.
xix 19	<i>eff</i> ₂ <i>q</i>			<i>a b</i> Vulg.
Act. ii 22	<i>d</i>	Iren.		Vulg.
iii 6	<i>d</i> Cypr. <i>codd</i> A	Cypr. <i>codd</i> L V etc.		Iren. Vulg.
iv 10	<i>d</i> Cypr. <i>codd</i> A etc.	Iren. Cypr. <i>codd</i> L etc.		<i>h</i> Vulg.
vi 14	<i>d</i>			<i>h</i> Vulg.
ix 5				<i>h</i> Vulg.
xxii 8				Vulg.
xxiv 5				Vulg.
xxvi 9				Vulg.

On a review of the evidence and of the probabilities as a whole I think that the reading of A in St Cyprian, 'Nazoreus', has good claim to be considered original.

Neptalim 56. 7 (Is. ix 1 [viii 23]). VPU 'Nepthalim': and this with remarkable regularity, is the reading of the Lyons Heptateuch [not, as Hatch-Redpath say s.v. *Νεφθαλείμ*, 'Nepthalim']. But 'Neptalim' is also given by Primasius in Apoc. vii 6.

Noe [45. 22].

Or 89. 17 (Exod. xvii 12). So A U V W X* *b* (M*? R*?): and so V in *ad Fort.* 8 (331. 1). This is indubitably right against 'Ur' of L M² R² X² and 'Hur' of BT: O omits.

Paulus 127. 13.

Petrus 165. 11.

Pilatus 99. 3.

Pontici [148. 16]: [148. 23]: [149. 6]. See Prolegomena § (J. T. S. vi 258).

Rachel or **Rachiel** [53. 2]. A has 'Rachiel', *b* 'Racel', the rest 'Rachel'.

Lugd. has 'Rachel' [Hatch-Redpath, s.v. *Ραχήλ*, wrongly '*Lugd. Rachael*']—generally indeclinable, but sometimes 'Rachelem' 'Rachelis' 'Racheli': only in Gen. xxix 6 'Rachae'.

Rafaël or **Rafahel** [53. 16]. X has 'Rafaël', AT 'Rafahel', L (PU 'Raphael', R 'Raphahel'.

Rebecca [166. 7], dat. **Rebeccaë** 51. 22. For the dative in 51. 2 PR give 'Rebecchae'. Lugd. has regularly 'Rebecca' 'Rebeccam' 'Rebeccaë': Priscillian, in the nominative, 'Rebecca.'

Sabain 68. 15 (Is. xlv 14). So A O P R T U W X and perhaps L* 'Sabaim' L², 'Sabam' B M², 'Sabann' M*. *Σαβαίιν*, N*.

Sabaoth 44. 11 (Is. i 9): 57. 21 (Is. iii 1): 68. 14 (Is. xlv 14): and probably elsewhere. In the first and third passages X has 'Sabahot', in the first M 'Saboth', in the third R 'Sabath'.

Samuel or **Samuhel** [53. 6]: [53. 9]: [84. 1]. The MSS vary as follows—

53. 6 'Samuel' A L P U: 'Samuhel' O R T X: 'Samuehel' M.

53. 9 'Samuel' L P R T U X: 'Samuhel' A O.

84. 1 'Samuel' P U: 'Samuhel' A L O.

Sarra [52. 16]. So too the Lyons Heptateuch and Priscillian.

Satanas, acc. **Satanan**. 144. 1 (Act. v 3): 145. 13 (1 Cor. vii 5): 173. 6 (3 Reg. xi 14: Hartel gives the reference as xi 23, but that verse is absent from the text of B, whereas xi 14 is found in both the A and B texts). The first two passages are in the nominative, and present no variant: the third is in the accusative, and here the form 'Satanan' is guaranteed by A L O P R U (V) W X (possibly 'Satana' X*), as against 'Satanin' M 'Satan' B. Hartel against all his MSS 'Satanam'.

Sedrac 121. 14. So A M* U, and Σεδράχ LXX: 'Sidrac' L O P R* T W X, cf. Vulgate: 'Sedrach' B, 'Sidrach' R*.

Sileas 127. 13 (Act. xvi 25). So all our MSS, except P* and the second hands of M O R. So in Act. xv 27 the MSS of Irenaeus (III xii 14) have 'Sileam', the editors 'Silam'. For further evidence in favour of 'Sileas' see Souter *A Study of Ambrosiaster* p. 208.

Sina: see 'Syna'.

Sion 44. 10: 46. 10: 46. 13: 82. 6 (omitted by A): 84. 24: 90. 17: 93. 5: 95. 3: 96. 15: 97. 6. In these passages the accusative genitive and ablative cases are represented: and nowhere is there any variant in the indeclinable form.

In Tertullian a declension of the name with case-endings is found: but Priscillian has 'Sion' in dative (84. 13) and ablative (66. 8).

Sodoma nominative 44. 12 (Is. i 9)—no variants on 'Sodoma . . . Gomorra'.¹ **Sodoma** or **Sodomam** accusative 146. 16 (Gen. xix 24): here A U V X δ (L²?) give 'Sodoma et Gomorra', L* M O P R T W 'Sodomam et Gomorram'.

The root of the difficulty appears to lie in the fact that in the Greek O. T. Σόδομα was a neuter plural, Γόμορρα a hybrid between neuter plural and feminine singular. The declension Σόδομα, acc. Σόδομα, gen. Σοδόμων, dat. Σοδόμοις, is without exception in the Greek of both Testaments. On the other hand Γόμορρα makes its accusative invariably Γόμορρα (Gen. xiii 10, xix 24; Amos iv 11: Is. xiii 19: Hier. xxvii 40), but its genitive as invariably, at least in the Old Testament, Γομόρρας (Σοδόμων [καὶ] Γομόρρας Gen. x 19, xiv 2, 8, 10, 11,

¹ For the orthography see under 'Gomora' above, p. 74.

xviii 16, 20, xix 28: Deut. xxxii 32: Is. i 10).¹ In the New Testament Rom. ix 29 and Jude 7 are nominative: 2 Pet. ii 6 follows the LXX use, *Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας*: but in Matt. x 15 we find, besides the traditional form, a double attempt at assimilation, *Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρων* in **NB** *abcf* Vulg., 'Sodomae et Gomorrae' in *ff, k* Iren. lat. (IV xxviii 1).

This assimilation to the feminine form is in fact characteristic of the earliest Latin version, and that not only in the genitive, but throughout the declension. Priscillian has 'Sodoma' in the ablative (7. 24): Tyconius has 'Sodomam et Gomorram' in the accusative (85. 3), and Ambrose 'Sodomae . . . Gomorrae' in the genitive *de Elia et ieiunio* 14. The Lyons Heptateuch is not quite consistent: but it has for the nominative 'eversa est Sodoma et Gomora' in Deut. xxix 23, and for the accusative 'super Sodomam et Gomoram' in Gen. xix 24. It seems clear that where both names occur together, the earliest translators habitually treated them together as feminine: and this is so rare in later authorities that the neuter is much more likely to have been substituted for the feminine in the Cyprianic MSS than *vice versa*. On the witness of the MSS alone one might have accepted 'Sodoma et Gomora': but the outside evidence, when brought into consideration, seems almost decisive for 'Sodomam et Gomoram'.

Solomon [167. 1]: 173. 7 (3 Reg. xi 14). The name is regularly declined in -em, -is, -i, -e.

With regard to the orthography, I expressed myself with some confidence in the first section of these Prolegomena (*J. T. S.* vi 251) as to the correctness of the form with *o* in St Cyprian. I am not inclined to retract that view: but it may be useful to bring into account here some notice of the evidence at large, which makes the variation between 'Solomon' and 'Salomon' almost more baffling even than that between 'Moses' and 'Moyses'. In the first place the witness of the Greek Old Testament is in direct contradiction to the witness of the Greek New Testament. In the latter *Σολ-* is practically universal: in the former the witness of **AB** in the Books of Kings and of **NB** (though not of **A**) in the titles of the Sapiential Books, and of **ABC** (but not of **N**) in the text of the Song of Songs is regularly for *Σαλ-*. The Hebrew (I am told) offers no assistance in deciding: in the text as it was vocalized the first vowel is the weak *shewa*, which corresponds rather to *e* than to *a* or *o*.

I confine myself, therefore, to a brief statement of Latin evidence. Of the Old Latin MSS of the Gospels and Acts, *abdehqqff*, and the

¹ In Hier. xxiii 14 (for *ὡσεὶ Γόμορρα* of the rest) **N** reads *λαδὶ Γόμορα*—apparently an indeclinable genitive. This is also the only occurrence of the single *ρ* in the great uncials.

Fleury palimpsest have (without exception save once in *a* and once in *h*) 'Solomon': so too Priscillian ²/₃, and the sixth-century MS of Eucherius: so also the best MS of the *Quaestiones* of Ambrosiaster. On the other hand *k*, just as in the case of 'Moses', distinguishes itself from the other Old Latin MSS by giving 'Salomon' ⁵/₈: and so *f* and the printed texts of the Vulgate.¹ Again, therefore, as in the case of 'Moses', we have *k* with L of St Cyprian against the majority of the older Old Latin witnesses: but I feel a little less inclined on this occasion to accept the combination as pointing to the genuine reading in St Cyprian. If a reason is wanted for attaching more importance to the 'Moses' of L than to its 'Salomon', it may be found in the distinction that the name Solomon is mentioned as a rule in the *lemmata*, the name Moses in the text: and it is in the biblical text that the supreme importance of L indubitably lies.

Syna or **Sina** 92. 10 (Exod. xix 11, accusative): 179. 4 (Exod. xix 18, nominative). In both cases A T have 'Syna', the rest 'Sina'. Lugd. invariably 'Sina'.

Thamar 148. 18 (Gen. xxxviii 14, nominative). So all our MSS: in the dative, Gen. xxxviii 13, Lugd. has 'Thamari'.

Thomas 70. 10 (Jo. xx 28), nominative: **Thoman** or **Thomam** [70. 9], accusative. A O R U give 'Thomam': L M P T* W X 'Thoman'. The name occurs in N. T. twice in the accusative, Mc. iii 18, Lc. vi 15: and the authorities are about evenly divided, for 'Thoman' *a* ²/₃, *d* ²/₂, *g* ¹/₂, for 'Thomam' *b* ¹/₁, *e* ¹/₁, *f* ²/₂, *ff*. The Vulgate has 'Thomam' in St Mark²: in St Luke the MSS are about equally divided between *m* and *-n*.

Tobiae 109. 4 (Tobit ii 2), dative. M has 'Tobias', but Q₁ the sister MS of M, agrees with the 'Tobiae' of the rest.

Ur: see 'Or'.

Zabulon 56. 7 (Is. viii 23 [ix 1]), genitive. 'Babulon' R*?

Zacharias 72. 18 (Luc. i 67). Priscillian (47. 7, 12: from Luc. xi 51) has 'Zaccharias'. (Cf. Prolegomena § 1, *J. T. S.* vi 254.)

C. H. TURNER.

¹ I do not feel quite certain that 'Solomon', in spite of the small authority for it, may not be right in the Vulgate N. T. 'Solomon' is read by the St Gall fragments ²/₃, and by G M (an excellent combination) in St Luke and St John, and by G in Acts. And there seems no possible doubt that 'Solomon' is the true reading throughout the *Chronicle* of St Jerome, which preceded by only three or four years his translation of the Gospels.

² Yet even there 'Thoman' is the reading of the Harley Gospels (Z*) and of the St Gall fragments.

THE BISECTION OF BOOKS IN PRIMITIVE
SEPTUAGINT MSS.

(Ἐκάστη ζυγῆ βίβλος μία EPIPHANIUS.)

SOME years ago the present writer attempted to prove in the pages of this JOURNAL¹ that the Greek versions of two of the Prophetical books (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) contained indications that each book was divided into two parts for purposes of translation. In both cases a change of style was found to take place about half-way through the book.

In the present paper some evidence will be given of a rather similar kind with regard to three other books of the Septuagint. The facts here to be stated differ from those in the case of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in that they appear to indicate a division of books not for purposes of translation, but merely for purposes of *transcription*. The differences found to exist in the earlier and later portions of the books are purely orthographical, not differences of rendering. Their importance consists in their witnessing to a practice of copyists, at a date far earlier than that of our oldest MSS, of dividing the several books of the Bible into two nearly equal portions: the two portions may, it is suggested, have been written on separate rolls. The uncials have, in a few orthographical details, faithfully transmitted to us the spellings of an earlier age, and give us some insight into the *format* of the archetypal MS or MSS of which they are descendants. The clues, so far detected, are few, but so striking as to demand explanation. The recurrence of the change in orthography at nearly the same point in three books (Exodus, Leviticus, Psalms) representing two of the divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures, taken together with the fact that a change of translators occurs at about the same point in two other books representing the third (prophetical) group, seems to establish the existence of the practice beyond a doubt. The evidence as regards the first three books will now be considered.

Exodus. The clue here is found in the use or disuse of the form *ἐάν* for *άν* with the relative pronoun *ὅς* (*ὄσους, ὄσους*) or with a conjunction (*ἦνίκα*). Dr J. H. Moulton has already called attention² to the fact that the papyri enable us 'to determine the time-limits of the peculiarity [the use of *ὅς ἐάν*, &c.] with fair certainty'. To the papyri evidence we will revert later. A casual glance at the opening chapters of Exodus

¹ Vol. iv pp. 245 ff, 398 ff.

² *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, Prolegomena 42 f.

would not suggest that the use of $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ($\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$) had any secrets to reveal. In the first half of the book both forms are used, apparently indiscriminately. But, if the investigation be carried on to the end of the book, it will be found that the forms with $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ are entirely absent from Codex B in the second half, while there is only a single instance of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in this part of the book in the two other uncials used in the Manual Cambridge edition (*ἡνίκα ἔάν* 34²⁴ AF). The break comes between 23¹⁶, where BAF read $\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$ and 23²², where BF read $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ (A and 'Lucian' have the relative without particle), and BAF $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$. We need have little hesitation in fixing on 23²⁰, the section beginning $\text{Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου}$, the concluding section of the 'Book of the Covenant', as marking the point where the second scribe in the archetype began his work. Excluding $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, which are always so written throughout the book, the occurrences of the forms with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and with $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in the two parts in the three main uncials are as follows:—

Part I (Ex. 1 ¹ —23 ¹⁶)	$\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, etc.	$\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$, etc.	Total.
B	7	14	21
A	11	10	21
F	7	8	15
Part II (Ex. 23 ²⁰ —end)			
B	19	0	19
A	17	1	18
F	16	1	17

In Part I $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is in most cases supported by at least one of the three MSS, in six instances by all three of them.¹ The evidence strongly suggests that in the parent archetype of all three MSS two scribes were employed, the second of whom used only the forms with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$: the first either wrote $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ only (the examples of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in the uncials being due to later scribes), or he used both forms interchangeably. It should be added that the common ancestor of MSS containing such different types of text as are found in B on the one hand and in AF on the other must be very much older than those MSS: we are carried back to a MS which cannot well be later than the first century A.D. and may be even earlier.

Leviticus. Turning to Leviticus, we find almost exactly the same condition of things with regard to these forms. Both $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ appear in the first half, $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ having preponderant authority in B and A: in the second half $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ almost entirely disappears. The break seems to come at the end of chapter 15: it might be placed a few

¹ The evidence of the uncials is borne out by the fuller evidence available in Holmes and Parsons. Only one of the cursives, 32, sometimes supported by a few others, shews a tendency to write $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in Part II.

verses earlier. The occurrences of the two forms in the MSS are as follows¹ :—

Part I (Lev. 1 ¹ —15 ³³)	ὅς ἄν, etc.	ὅς ἐάν, etc.	Total.
B	21	32	53
A	24	27	51
F	39	14	53
Part II (Lev. 16 ¹ —end)			
B	48	7	55
A	44	8	52
F	45	9	54

The examples of ἐάν in Part II of Leviticus are rather more numerous than in the corresponding part of Exodus. It is noticeable, however, that three out of the seven examples in B and four of the instances in AF fall within the last nine verses of the book. The passages where ἐάν occurs with the relative in Part II are as follows :—18²⁹F, 20⁶BA, 21¹⁴B, 21¹⁸AF, 22³⁰F, 22⁴F, 23¹³A, 24¹⁵BA (in this passage the reading ἀνὸς ὅς ἐάν καταράσθηται is undoubtedly a corruption, through loss of the letters AN, of ἀνὸς ἀνὸς ἐάν καρ., which is read by FGM and most of the cursives), 25⁴⁴F, 27³⁶AF, 28³BAF, 28³BAF, 28³BAF. It will be seen that Part II BAF unite in reading ἐάν only in the concluding verses : the form might owe its existence there to the hand of a διορθωτής who made a cursory perusal of the last page of the MS.

The test applied to Exodus and Leviticus does not appear to yield similar results in other LXX books, with the possible exception of the book immediately following, viz. Numbers. Up to the end of the Balaam episode (24³³) ὅς ἐάν and ὅς ἄν alternate in the MSS : after that point AF have twelve instances of ἄν and none of ἐάν. B, however, continues to write both forms up to the end of the book. If the evidence of AF proves anything here, the division comes at rather a later point than is usual elsewhere.

Psalms. The evidence in the case of the Psalter is a little more complex. On the one hand, we are fortunately in possession of more than one clue, suggesting a primitive division of the Greek book into two parts. On the other hand, the distinction between Parts I and II is not attested by all the uncials, and in the case of two Psalms in Part I (20 and 76 according to the LXX numeration) the orthography is not uniform with that which elsewhere characterizes that Part. The change in the orthography is attested by B in all the three criteria to be mentioned, while there are not wanting indications that N and A are also descended from an archetype containing the two modes of spelling, though the distinction between the two parts has become,

¹ ὅς ἄν, ἄν ἄν are excluded as before : ὅπου ἄν does not occur.

in the course of transmission, somewhat obliterated. The orthography of the seventh-century MS T remains unaltered throughout.¹ The combined evidence seems to indicate that a break was made in the parent MS at the end of Psalm 77 (78 Heb.). The clues which have been detected (there may of course be others) are three in number and are as follows :—

(i) Nouns in *-ία* (Part I) or *-εία, -εία* (Part II).

Part I, Psalm 19 ⁷	<i>δυναστεία</i>	NA	<i>δυναστεία</i>	B*	}	
[20 ¹⁴	"	B*NAU]	"	B*T		
64 ⁷	"	N	"	B*N		
65 ⁷	"	"	"	B*		
70 ¹⁶	"	N	"	B*N		
73 ¹³	"	N*	"	"		
77 ⁴	"	N	"	B*T		
77 ²⁴	"	"	"	B*N		
Part II,	79 ³	B	"	NT		}
	88 ¹⁴	BA	"	NT		
	89 ¹⁰	BNA	"	T		
	102 ²²	B	"	N*		
	105 ³	BA	"	NT		
	111 ⁸	BA	"	NT		
	144 ⁶	BT	"	N*A		
	111	BA	"	NT		
	113	B	"	NT		
	146 ¹⁰	BA	"	NT		
	150 ³	B	"	NAT		
Part I,	25 ⁸	AU	<i>εὐπρέπεια</i>	B*N	}	
	49 ³	N	"	B*AT		
Part II,	92 ¹	B	"	NAT	}	
	103 ¹	B	"	N*		
Part I,	8 ³	<i>μεγαλοπρέπεια</i> —	<i>μεγαλοπρεπία</i>	B*NA	}	
	[20 ⁶	"	B	NA		
	28 ⁴	"	NU	B*AT		
	67 ²⁸	"	"	B*N		
	70 ³	"	"	B*N		
Part II,	95 ⁶	"	BN	AT		
	103 ¹	"	"	AT		
	110 ³	"	NA	T		
	144 ⁶	"	B	NAT		
	111	"	B	NAT		

The evidence of R, the Greek text of which is written in Latin letters, is ambiguous or valueless in orthographical matters (see Dr. Swete's text, vol. ii p. x). It is not clear whether it distinguishes between *-εία* and *-ία*.

(ii) The examples given in Dr Swete's Appendix where B writes *αι* for *ε* are limited to Part I, the last occurring at 77¹³: from 29⁵ onwards to the point where A fails (49¹⁹) B is in every case supported by A.¹ The last instance in B of the converse change (*ε* for *αι*) occurs at 74⁴. The instances are as follows:—

(a) *αι* for *ε*: 23^{7,9} ἐπάρθηται, 29⁵ ἐξομολογείσθαι BA, 30²⁵ ἀνδρίζεσθαι BAU, 31¹¹ ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι BA, ib. καυχᾶσθαι BA, 32¹ ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι BA, 32² ἐξομολογ(ε)ῖσθαι BA, 33⁹ γεύσασθαι BA, 42² μαι BA, 47¹³ διηγῆσαισθαι BA, ¹¹ θέσθαι BA, ib. καταδιέλεισθαι BA, 48³ ἐνωτίσασθαι BA, 57²⁵ ἐργάζεσθαι, 58² μαι BN, 61⁴ ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ¹¹ προστίθεσθαι, 64¹³ παιδία, 67⁵ ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι, 75¹³ εὔξασθαι, 77¹³ παιδίω :

(b) *ε* for *αι*: the examples occur in 9²³ (with A), ²³, ²⁴, 13³, 14⁴ (with A), 44⁸, 54²³, 71⁷ (with T), 74⁶ (with T).

(iii) The insertion or omission of the syllabic augment in ἐφραίνων affords a third clue: in ψ 76, as already stated, the orthography attested by the principal MSS is that which is elsewhere limited in these MSS to Part II.

Part I,	15 ⁹	ἠέφρ.	BAU	εὔφρ. N	}	
	29 ⁹	"	B*ATU	" N		
	34 ¹⁶	"	BA	" N		
	44 ⁹	"	BNAT			
	72 ²¹	"	BN*			
	[76 ⁴	"	T	" BN]		
Part II,	88 ²³	"	T	" BNA		}
	89 ¹⁴	"	T	" BNA*		
	"	"	T			
	91 ⁸	"	T	" BNA		
	93 ¹⁸	"	A	" T		
	96 ⁸	"	AT	" BN		
	104 ²⁸	"		" BNAT		
	106 ³⁰	"	AT	" N		
	121 ¹	"		" NAT		

Two results so far have been obtained. (1) The slight but significant differences in orthography between Part I and Part II of the three books under consideration seem to indicate a division of the clerical labour of transcription, not a change of translators. This is quite clear in the Greek Psalter which has a somewhat peculiar vocabulary running right through the book. In Exodus and Leviticus no indications have been noted of a new style beginning at the points where the change in orthography takes place. In Exodus, however, it should be stated that the last six chapters have been held by some critics to be the work of a

¹ It should be added that A has other instances of the interchange of *αι* and *ε* in both parts of the Book.

second translator.¹ (2) The division of the Greek books into two parts, made or found already in existence by the scribes of the lost archetype, is based in each case on the same principle. Bulk, rather than subject-matter, is the determining factor. Each book is divided into two portions of nearly equal volume: the break is in each case placed *a little after* the middle point.

The Masoretes, we know, among other laborious calculations, ascertained which were the middle words in each book of Scripture: the points of bisection are indicated in our printed Hebrew Bibles. We may, thus, compare the Masoretic division of the books with that of the early scribes of the LXX. In each case it will be seen that the Greek scribes make their division a little later than the Masoretes. In Exodus the MT division comes at 22⁷, that of the Greek copyists at 23¹⁹. Leviticus² is divided by the Masoretes at 15⁷, by the LXX scribes at 15². In the Psalter the Greek division is made irrespectively of the early partition into five books: on the other hand, it should be noted that the Masoretes place the middle of the book in the very same Psalm which closes Part I in the LXX, at the thirty-sixth verse of ψ 78 Heb. (71 LXX).³

Let us now consider the form and appearance which the parent archetype or archetypes of our uncial MSS must have presented. The common ancestor of BAF carries us back, as was said, to a period much earlier than the fourth century A.D. That century witnessed the transition from papyrus to vellum as the material used for literary writings.⁴ Before that change took place there is reason to suppose that the MSS of Biblical (and secular) writings were 'usually small, containing only single books or groups of books', 'small portable MSS of limited contents'.⁵ If we find, then, that the scribes of a primitive ancestor of BAF, in fixing the limits of their clerical labours, have taken the single book (not any larger collection such as the Law) for the unit, this is only what we should expect. The papyrus roll did not, as a rule, contain more than a single book. We may contrast with this division

¹ Robertson Smith ap. Swete *Introduction* p. 236.

² It may be noted, though the coincidence is no doubt accidental, that the LXX division of Leviticus (1-15: 16-27) corresponds with a division of the book into an equal number of Synagogue lessons according to the arrangement of the Babylonian lectionary (five lessons in each part). See Ryle *Canon of O. T.* 236.

³ According to another calculation, attributed in the Talmud to 'the ancients', the middle point was placed two verses later: *Kiddushin* 30a cited by Strack in Hastings BD iv 729 b.

⁴ Kenyon *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* 121.

⁵ Westcott and Hort *Introduction to N. T.* 10, 268. Cf. 223.

of labour the large portions of Scripture transcribed *en bloc* by the three¹ scribes who produced Codex Vaticanus or the two² hands of the Codex Alexandrinus. But may we not go further and say that the employment of two scribes for each book suggests that the unit was not the single book, but the half-book, in other words that at least Exodus, Leviticus, and the Psalter occupied two rolls apiece? As Dr Kenyon says,³ 'no papyrus roll of Homer hitherto discovered contains more than two books of the Iliad', i.e. on an average about 1,500 hexameter lines. Now, the shortest of the three LXX books under consideration, Leviticus, contains (according to the Stichometry of Nicephorus)⁴ 2,700 *στίχοι*, i.e. nearly twice the ordinary complement of a papyrus roll, the *στίχος* being the length of a hexameter. A subdivision of even so short a book as Leviticus is therefore perfectly natural.

The MS of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* affords an illustration of the division of a literary work and the employment of several scribes. There we find at the end of the first century A.D. a division into four rolls, upon which four scribes have been employed. Three of the scribes are responsible for a roll apiece: the remaining roll is partly the work of the fourth scribe, partly of two of the others.⁵

Now, it has been shewn elsewhere that the Greek books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel are divided in just the same way into two parts, the break occurring in each case, as in Exodus, Leviticus, and Psalms, a little after the middle point: but with this distinction, that the break in the Prophetical books introduces a change of style and a second translator, not merely a change in orthography and a fresh scribe. It appears probable, therefore, that the practice of writing each of these two Prophetical books on two rolls goes back to the date of their translation, the second century B.C. It seems a natural inference that a division of Exodus, Leviticus, and the Psalter, made on the same principle, which must in any case go back some centuries earlier than the date of Cod. B, should also be referred to the time when the translations were first made, i.e. to the third and second centuries B.C.

It is, of course, not necessary to ascribe the same antiquity to the

¹ Swete *O.T. in Greek* vol. i p. xix.

² Dr Kenyon tells me that one hand wrote the Octateuch, the Prophetical books, Maccabees, and Job-Sirach: a second hand wrote the remaining books.

³ *Op. cit.* 122.

⁴ The number is supported by several cursive MSS. Swete *Introduction to O.T.* 346, 349.

⁵ Kenyon's edition, pp. x ff. The rolls, it may be noticed, decrease in size, the first two being longer than the last two.

actual orthography which we have traced to the parent of our uncial MSS. If the practice of copying the several books on two rolls apiece continued for some centuries, the spellings which characterize the two parts of Exodus, for instance, may be the spellings of scribes of some intermediate date, say between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. It will be worth while to examine two of the orthographical distinctions in the light of the large range of evidence obtainable from the papyri, namely, the writing of $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$ and the interchange of ϵ and α .

(i) $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ — $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$.¹ An investigation of the papyri, made independently of Dr Moulton's, and with the advantage of some recent publications (the Hibeh Papyri and the Leipzig collection of 1906) which were not available when he wrote, gives the following results.² The addition of + to a number indicates that, where a form is repeatedly found in one and the same document, the number of occurrences in that document have not been counted: ++ indicates that there are several such documents. Moulton's abbreviation for centuries, viz. iii/B.C.=3rd century B.C., is adopted.

	$\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, etc.	$\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$, etc.
iii/B.C.	43 ++	(?) 4 ³
ii/B.C.	32 +	6 ⁴
i/B.C.	3	6 +
i/A.D.	5 +	39
ii/A.D.	13	79 ++
iii/A.D.	5	13 +
iv/A.D.	7	12 ++

It appears from these statistics that in iii/ii/B.C. down to 133 B.C. $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$ was practically universal: at that date $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ begins to come to the front, and from i/B.C. onwards is always the predominant form. The figures in both columns decrease in iii/iv/A.D., when the use of the indefinite relative in any form appears to have been going out. Papyri of i/B.C. are unfortunately very scanty. Until the appearance of Grenfell and Hunt's latest volume, the Hibeh Papyri, $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ might almost have been called non-existent before 133 B.C. We now know that it was a possible, but very unfashionable form, in the third century B.C.

¹ Cf. J. H. Moulton *op. cit.* 42 f; Mayser *Gramm. der Griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* 152 f.

² The Berlin Papyri have not been completely examined for the period from i/A.D. onwards. But such a large number of documents have been investigated for this period that this omission could not affect the relative proportion in the use of the two forms.

³ Hibeh Papyri 96. 10 and 28 $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta$, 259-258 B.C. (NB. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta$, where $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}$ is hypothetical, occurs in the same context, line 9): *ib.* 51. 3 $\delta\varsigma$ [$\acute{\epsilon}$] $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, 245-244 B.C.: Petrie Pap. Part II 39 (g)? iii/B.C.

⁴ None earlier than 133 B.C., the earliest being Brit. Mus. Pap. vol. ii 220 col. 2, lines 6 and 8.

The last third of ii/B.C. (133-100 B.C.) was a period of transition when both forms appear in one and the same document. To the period or to the following century might very well be ascribed an archaic type of our LXX uncials written by two scribes, one of whom wrote $\delta\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and the other $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$.

(ii) The interchange of ϵ and $\alpha\iota$ appears in some dozen instances in papyri dated B. C., beginning about 165 B. C.,¹ but does not become common till towards the end of i/A. D. The examples of this interchange in Part of the Psalter might therefore conceivably go back to the autographs though we should perhaps be safer in referring them to scribes of a slightly later date.

A further question remains. Did the bisection of the books, which in two cases at least goes back to the time of the Greek translators, originate with them, or did they find it already in the Hebrew originals? We cannot of course answer this question with certainty, but it seems to the present writer that there are some grounds for believing the practice to have been taken over from the Hebrew MSS. Two considerations in favour of this theory may be mentioned. (1) The Masoretes, at a much later date, calculated the middle points of the separate books. The motive for counting the number of words or of letters in a complete book is obvious, namely, to preserve the text from interpolations or omissions. The motive for bisecting the books is not so clear. May not this practice, which they appear to have inherited from an earlier age,² have arisen out of a primitive custom of transcribing each book on two separate rolls? (2) It may be accidental, but if we calculate the lengths of Parts I and II of the five books, which have been considered, *in the Masoretic text*, we find that the division is made on a definite principle. Part I bears practically the same proportion to Part II in each case. Part I, it appears, exceeds Part II by an amount equal to a fraction varying between one-fourteenth and one-sixteenth of the whole book. If, on the other hand, we make the same calculation *from the Greek text* in the Codex Vaticanus, this proportion is lost; in the longest of the books in the B text the excess of Part I over Part II is less than in the case of the shorter books. Of course this argument is open to objections, in particular to the objection that the MT does not exactly represent the Hebrew which the translators had before them. But the fact remains that we *can* trace a certain principle in the division of the books if we take the Hebrew text as our criterion. The following table, shewing the number of pages in an ordinary Hebrew printed Bible

¹ See Mayser *op. cit.* 107.

² See note 3 on p. 93.

occupied by Parts I and II of the five books, will indicate what is meant. The books are arranged in order of length.

	Pages.	Total.	Excess of Pt. I over Pt. II.
<i>Psalms</i>			
Part I (1-78 Heb.)	50½ }	93½	7½
Part II (79-end)	43¼ }		
<i>Jeremiah</i>			
Part I	49 }	92½	5½
Part II ¹	43½ }		
<i>Ezekiel</i>			
Part I (1-27)	44½ }	83½	5½
Part II (28-end)	39 }		
<i>Exodus</i>			
Part I (1-23 ¹⁹)	38½ }	72¼	4½
Part II (23 ²⁰ -end)	33¾ }		
<i>Leviticus</i>			
Part I (1-15)	27 }	50½	3½
Part II (16-end)	23½ }		

In conclusion, it is suggested that we may find in this primitive practice of allotting two rolls to a book a clue to the origin of the tradition (ὡς ᾄδεται λόγος), which first appears in Epiphanius, that the translators were divided into pairs, and that *to each pair was allotted a single book*. This appears to describe fairly accurately what happened in the case of two books: in the case of others the Greek text seems to warrant merely the existence of a pair of scribes. Epiphanius's words² will bear repeating here: ἐκάστη δὲ ζυγῆ βιβλος μία ἐπεδίδοτο, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἡ βιβλος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου Γενέσεως μὲν ζυγῆ, ἡ Ἐξοδος τῶν νῶν Ἰσραὴλ τῆ ἄλλῃ ζυγῆ, (τὸ) Λευιτικὸν τῆ ἄλλῃ καὶ καθεξῆς ἄλλῃ βιβλος τῆ ἄλλῃ.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

PS. In Exodus a further distinction between Part I and Part II is afforded by the appearance in the latter of the unclassical ἐναντι (for ἐναντίον). The statistics for the two forms are as follows:—

	ἐναντι		ἐναντίον	
	Part I	Part II	Part I	Part II
B	1	16	36	14
A	0	20	37	8
F	1	21	21	7

¹ Ἐναντι in Part I is confined to 6¹³ B, 6³⁰ F: elsewhere BAF or BA (where F is wanting) consistently write ἐναντίον. In Part II, on the

¹ Omitting chap. 52, which appears to be a later addition (see *J.T.S.* iv 260). Parts I and II are the portions in the Heb. corresponding respectively to chaps. 1-28 and 29-51 in the Greek version.

² *De mens. et pond.* 3. The passage is quoted in Wendland's edition of Aristeas, p. 140.

other hand, there are only four passages where the three MSS combine in reading *ἐναντίον* (25²⁰ 33^{13, 19} 40²⁰): *ἐναντι* occurs in 24¹⁷ A, 27²¹ A F, 28¹⁹ B A F, &c.

The distribution of the two forms in the remaining books of the Pentateuch is noteworthy. Genesis consistently has *ἐναντίον*. **Εναντι* is the predominant form throughout Leviticus and Numbers: in Deuteronomy it is written almost invariably by AF, while B usually has *ἐναντίον*.

In the historical books later than the Pentateuch both forms give place to *ἐνώπιον*.

SOME NOTEWORTHY READINGS OF THE FLEURY PALIMPSEST.

THE most striking reading in the Catholic Epistles is found in 1 St John ii 28, 29 *Et nunc filii manete in eo ut cum uenerit fiduciam habeamus et non confundamur ab eo. In praesentia eius si nostis eum qui fidelis est scitote quoniam omnis qui facit ueritatem de eo natus est.* 'And now, children, abide in Him, that when He shall come we may have confidence, and not be put to confusion by Him. If in His presence ye have known Him who is Faithful, know that every one that doeth the truth hath been born of Him.'

The text as given in the Palimpsest obviates two difficulties of the Received Text: (1) The apparent redundancy of *in praesentia*, which is in the Authorized Version mistranslated 'coming'. (2) The expression 'born of Him' in the Received Text can only refer to the Christ, and there is in the New Testament no parallel to the expression 'born of the Christ'. In the text of the Palimpsest 'born of Him' refers naturally to the Father (*qui fidelis est*).

Again, the terms *qui fidelis est* and *qui facit ueritatem* are strictly cognate, while the latter phrase is peculiarly Johannine and occurs elsewhere in the Epistle (i 6) and also in the Gospel (iii 21).

The subscription to 1 St Peter, *Incipit apostoli petri ad gentes epistola secunda*, is worthy of note as regards the authorship of 2 St Peter—especially since the text of the Palimpsest in the Catholic Epistles appears older than the text either of the Acts or of the Apocalypse. The old abbreviation *n̄* (= *non*), found also in *k*, remains in the Catholic Epistles, but disappears in the rest of the Palimpsest. So also 1 St Peter v 5 *minores natu*, which has been corrected by a later hand to *adulescentes*.¹ In fact, the Palimpsest was badly handled in its

¹ The old form *pos* = *post* survives in 2 S. Peter i 15, but has been made to disappear elsewhere. Also *anim* is found for *enim*, *mendas* for *mendax*, *Salutaris* for *Saluatoris*.

phrasing by a sixth-century Vulgate corrector. This good man found the MS containing many expressions that in Jerome's edition were expressed in language more in keeping with the genius of the fourth century, and every one of these he punctiliously reduced to the norm of the Vulgate, often drawing a tell-tale line through the original text.

In Acts vi 2 the Palimpsest reads *discupierentur*, with which may be compared *discupiuntur* in the Codex Bezae. Scribener asserted without reservation that *discupiuntur* was a mere blunder for *despiciuntur*, but the accession of *h* to *d* disposes of this explanation. The cause of the contention between the Greeks and Hebrews, according to *d* and *h*, was not that the Grecian widows received too little attention, but that they received too much attention from the Hebrew ministrants.

The reading in Acts xiv 14, as I discovered last March by re-examining the MS with the aid of two new photographs, is *nos homines sumus uestri corporis*¹; 'We are men with your body.' This would be a sufficient and forcible reply to the ascription of Godhead to the Apostles. The Received Text ('of like passions') is intrinsically less probable, inasmuch as Jupiter and Mercury were 'of like passions' with men, but the Lycaonians could never have supposed them to be 'of like body'.

To speak of the wording of the Palimpsest must be to draw attention to the number of Latin words it contains which were current in the classical writers of the first and second centuries of the Christian era. Thus *maiores natu* = *seniores*, *minores natu* = *adulescentes*; *Proculus* for *Prochorus* is a name well known in Roman history; *praetor*, *tribunus*, *legatus*, *quadriga*, *imperator*, as Berger has noted, are all truly Roman. Rome itself, as in the Muratori Fragment, which belongs without question to the second century, is called *urbs* ('the City'). *intestabilem* (Acts xiv 17) retains the early popular meaning of the word which we find in Plautus.

I have already referred to the agreement between *h* and quotations from Irenaeus. It is probable that the texts of both *h* and *d* come from Irenaeus's Monastery at Lyons. Certainly the accession of *h* to *d* Iren. has done much to vindicate the faithfulness of the so-called Western Text.

Since the appearance of *Old-Latin Biblical Texts* No. V, I have received two corrections of my work from Mr A. V. Valentine Richards, which I am sorry escaped me when revising Berger's edition: In Acts ix 18 the reading is *tintus* not *untus*, and in the same chapter (at verse 21) *ut finctos* should be *uti uictos*—*f* and *i* being exceedingly alike in the Palimpsest. The former correction will necessitate replacing the

¹ It is noteworthy that *corpus* occurs again in *h* (2 St Pet. i 13, 14) where the Vulgate has the more refined *tabernaculum*.

conjecture *unti* (Acts xviii 8) by *tinti*. *Tingere* for *baptizare* is found in Tertullian and Cyprian, and once even in Ps.-Aug. *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 127. It is an early Old-Latin word which in the fourth century ceased to be used, probably owing to the restriction of *tinctio* to heretical baptism. Its occurrence in *h* lends further support to what has been said about the antiquity of many of the words found in the Palimpsest and altered in the Vulgate.¹

E. S. BUCHANAN.

THE NICENE CREED IN THE CODEX MURATORIANUS.

MR BUCHANAN has done good service in recalling attention to the complete contents of the Milan MS that contains the Muratorian fragment on the Canon: and as I myself have had its version of the Nicene Creed in print for some years, awaiting publication in my *Ecol. occ. monumenta*, I naturally took the opportunity of comparing Mr Buchanan's transcript with my own, and found five divergences between us, of which two were serious. Mgr Mercati has been kind enough to examine the MS at these five points, and I think it better to publish the results in the JOURNAL rather than to stereotype them, so to say, in the apparatus of my book.

1. (fol. 75 a, l. 22) 'In unum deum iesum christum': 'in' is cancelled (as I thought) in the same way as 'caeli' earlier in the line. Dr Mercati holds that the alteration is certainly intentional, and that there can be no question of accidental injury to the letters.

2. (l. 28) I had read 'salute', not 'salutē': and Dr Mercati sees no trace of the sign of abbreviation.

3. (l. 32) I had read 'de substantia': but Dr Mercati agrees with Mr Buchanan that it should be 'de substantiā'.

4. (fol. 75 b, l. 3) Mr Buchanan prints what would be a quite unique reading 'fictus': but Dr Mercati tells me that 'factus', as I had read it, is certainly right.

5. (l. 4) I had read 'conuertibile ut uid', Mr Buchanan 'conuertibilē': Dr Mercati decides that the latter is correct.

May I just add in conclusion that there is no foundation for Mr Buchanan's suggestion (p. 539) that the inscription 'liber sancti columbani de bobio' implies that the archetype of the MS actually belonged

¹ It is difficult, for example, not to believe that *conprobator* is earlier than *con-sentiens*, *effigies* than *figura*, *multa plebs corinthiorum* than *multi corinthiorum*, *arteficio lectari* than *scenofactoriae artis*.

to St Columban personally? The same inscription is, so far as I recollect, universal in all Bobbio MSS: and it means no more than that the book belonged to the monastery of St Columban at Bobbio.

C. H. TURNER.

MARK i 1 AND THE REVISERS.

THROUGH a correspondence which I have had lately with the Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society about the true reading in Mark i 1, my attention has been called to the fact that both Palmer and Scrivener give Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ as the reading underlying the Text of the Revisers. I likewise did so on the margin of the Greek Testament, which I prepared for the Bible Society:

‘SR^t Χρ. υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.’

But surely this is one of the cases of injustice done to the Revisers, of which I spoke in this JOURNAL, April 1904, p. 461. Certainly, the Revisers did not intend to support the latest of three variants here in question, that which is called ‘Syrian’ by Westcott-Hort, but the other, which these editors style ‘pre-Syrian’, attested by the MSS N^a BDL, the reading υἱοῦ Θεοῦ without article. Of course the difference is not one of sense, but of principle. It needs to be remembered that the editions of Palmer and Scrivener frequently do not mention readings, which are much better attested than those of Stephanus, and can just as well claim to correspond to the Revised Version.

I cannot enter here into the discussion of the question, which is the true reading in this passage, (1) Gospel, alone, with no genitive, or (2) Gospel of Jesus (28*), or (3) Gospel of Jesus Christ (N^a 28* 255*), or (4) Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God (without article); the last reading, with article, does not come into competition. But I may point out that the omission is now also attested by an Armenian MS: see Plate viii in the *Atlas zum Katalog der armenischen Handschriften* of the University of Tübingen, 1907. In this MS, written in the year 1113, after a copy of the year 893, ‘the Son of God’ is omitted by the first hand, and supplied by a later hand on the margin. Whether this is the case also in other MSS of the Armenian Version, I do not know. At all events Dean Burgon’s statement (*The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels* p. 286), ‘The clause is found in *all* the Versions’, needs now a little limitation; and it seems worth while to point out, that while the two readings υἱοῦ Θεοῦ and υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ make no difference of sense and have been treated almost generally as one, Westcott-Hort shewed their usual accuracy on this point also, clearly distinguishing between the two, styling the one pre-Syrian, the other Syrian.

EB. NESTLE.

REVIEWS

THE FALSE DECRETALS.

Étude sur les Fausses Décretales. Par PAUL FOURNIER (Extrait de la *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* vii n^{os} 1-4; viii n^o 1. Bureaux de la Revue, Louvain, 1907).

IN the studies collected in this monograph, M. Fournier discusses anew the chief historical problems pertaining to the Isidorian Collection—its aim, its date, the place of its origin, and the influence which it exerted on Pope Nicolas I. The two main ideas of the compiler clearly emerge from an examination of the documents which he fabricated. His object was firstly, and chiefly, to defend the rights of bishops persecuted and dispossessed by the powerful of the earth, and secondly to oppose anarchical tendencies by insisting on fixed principles of ecclesiastical organization and discipline. M. Fournier has given an able and logical exposition of these principal tendencies; but his chief service here lies in the developement of the second. Pseudo-Isidore lays stress on the absolute fixity of diocesan circumscriptions which he is at pains to connect with the first centuries of Christianity, and his recurrent attacks on the institution of *chorepiscopi* come under the same principle. The limits of date, as it always seemed to me, were settled with virtual finality by Hinschius as A. D. 847-852, and the conclusion is sustained by M. Fournier. The prior limit is fixed by the convincing proof of Hinschius that the False Capitularies of Benedictus Levita were a source of Pseudo-Isidore. M. Fournier does not touch on the False Capitularies (on which Seckel is issuing important articles in the *Neues Archiv*), except so far as to record his view that they originated not in the arch-diocese of Mainz but in West Francia. Nor does he discuss the *Capitula Angilramni* by means of which Hinschius endeavoured to restrict more precisely the prior limit of the False Decretals. In regard to the posterior limit, he argues successfully (against M. Lot) that A. D. 852 is established by the reference in the Synodal Statutes of Reims and the closely connected Capitula of Hincmar. He points out too that the *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, for which the latest possible date is A. D. 856, was composed under the influence of the False Decretals.

The place of origin is a more difficult question. The contest lies

between the arch-dioceses of Mainz, Reims, and Tours. The claims of Mainz, of which Wasserschleben was the most weighty advocate, were rejected by Hinschius with forcible arguments which have since been reinforced by Lurz; and it is not too much to say that Mainz is definitely 'out of the running'. Hinschius made out a plausible case for Reims; there are a number of passages in the False Decretals which seem remarkably appropriate to the famous case of the deposition and imprisonment of Archbishop Ebbo. This view is sustained by Lot and Lurz, who consider it probable that Pseudo-Isidore is identical with Vulfadus, one of the Reims clergy, who were opposed to Hincmar. M. Fournier's criticisms of this theory exhibit its weakness. He proves in the first place that four documents bearing on the affair of Ebbo, and circulated in his interest by the party of Vulfadus (namely the *Narratio Clericorum Remensium*, the false Bull of Gregory IV reinstating Ebbo, the *Apologeticum Ebbonis*, and a second *Apologeticum* published by Werminghoff in the *Neues Archiv* vol. xxiv, 1900), are posterior to A. D. 853; the years to which the False Decretals belong A. D. 847-852 were a period of calm so far as the Ebbo controversy was concerned. This objection is by no means conclusive. Far more important is the consideration that the theory of the composition of the Decretals by Vulfadus in the Ebbo interest fails to explain the character of the Collection; it leaves out of account the concern of the compiler for ecclesiastical organization and its territorial foundations, which M. Fournier, as we saw, has justly emphasized. He also makes the point that, on this theory, Hincmar could not fail to know that the False Decretals were aimed at him, and his attitude must then appear inexplicable. But more convincing than these objections is the successful demonstration—and this is the most important part of M. Fournier's inquiry—that the claim of the arch-diocese of Tours satisfies all the conditions of the problem. The rising of the Breton duke Nomenoe in 845 and his victory over Charles the Bald had been followed by an ecclesiastical revolution in Brittany, of which the object was to render the Celtic peninsula independent spiritually as well as politically, and emancipate the Breton Church from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Tours. There were four bishops who were specially obnoxious to the duke. He caused them to appear before an irregular synod (c. 848), and forced them under the menace of death to confess themselves guilty of simony. The synod then deposed them and they went into exile. Nomenoe replaced them by creatures of his own, created new bishoprics, set up a Breton metropolitan at Dol, and virtually established a national Church under his own supremacy. He took no notice of the protests of Pope Leo IV, and the affair caused a great sensation both at Rome and throughout Gaul. The persecution of the four bishops 'sequestered

from their flocks', the curtailment of ecclesiastical independence and the disarrangement of ecclesiastical organization by the initiation of a secular prince, are facts corresponding to the motives which must have suggested the composition of the False Decretals. It is also obvious that the conditions of the Breton Church explain most satisfactorily the persistent attacks of Pseudo-Isidore upon *chorepiscopi*. For it was on this Celtic soil that the institution of *chorepiscopi*, generally ordained by only one bishop, most conspicuously flourished; and here too there were districts spiritually served not by priests subject to bishops, but by monks subject to abbots. The Tours hypothesis has been defended by Langen, Simson, Duchesne, and others; but M. Fournier has presented it in a more convincing form than any one else. That Pseudo-Isidore belonged to the diocese of Le Mans was rendered probable by Simson, and this view is strengthened by M. Fournier's proof that certain apocryphal documents concerning ecclesiastical troubles in this diocese date from the years 846-856 and offer a remarkable analogy with the False Decretals (viz. the spurious Bull of Gregory IV dated Jan. 8, 833, and the *Memoriale* inserted in the *Gesta Aldrici*).

In regard to Nicolas I, M. Fournier holds that, as is generally supposed, the Pope's attention was called to the Isidorian documents in 864 by Rothadus, but is inclined to think that he never had the whole Collection before him, but only the texts of some of the *decreta* contained in the forged letters. But he argues with considerable force against the view of A. V. Müller that the Decretals exercised an influence on the general canonical ideas of Nicolas, though his acquaintance with them can be detected in some phrases which he used. It is difficult to believe that the passage in Migne *P. L.* 119 c. 901 (*absit enim . . . eloquiis adornatam*) is not intended to suggest that the original copies of the Isidorian Decretals were preserved in the Pontifical archives at Rome, although formally, as M. Fournier points out, it only lays down the principle that the *Dionysio-Hadriana* is not an exhaustive collection of genuine papal constitutions. But in any case this guarded protection of the forgeries does not prove that they revolutionized or extended this Pope's conception of ecclesiastical law. We are all the more prepared to accept this conclusion, as the Père de Smedt has shewn that in the tenth century the Popes made very little use of the False Decretals; and, so far as we can see, it is not till the Gregorian period that they begin to play an ecumenical rôle.

J. B. BURY.

EARLY LATIN MONASTIC RULES.

1. *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, von HERIBERT PLENKERS, D.Ph. (Munich, 1906.)
2. *Das Pactum des hl. Fructuosus von Braga*, von ILDEFONS HERWEGEN, O.S.B. (Stuttgart, 1907.)

DR PLENKERS'S study forms the third part of the late Prof. Traube's series *Quellen u. Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*. It is a work of considerable importance for the study of early Latin Monastic Rules. St Benedict Aniane, who played a conspicuous part in the monastic revival of the days of Charles the Great and Lewis, made a collection of all the Latin Rules known in his day, whether of Latin origin or translated. This collection he called the *Codex Regularum*, and it formed the basis of the volume of Rules published under the same title by Holsten in 1661 in one volume, and expanded into six volumes by Brockie, 1759. It is practically certain that Holsten's edition was based on an imperfect copy made in 1466, now in Köln; hence three or four of the Rules, including St Benedict's, had to be supplied from other sources, and do not represent Benedict Aniane's text.

Quite recently a superb copy of the *Codex Regularum*, dating from the middle of the ninth century, and belonging to St Maximin's of Trier, has been acquired by the University of Munich. Plenkers gives an account of this MS, and indicates the portions of Holsten's edition wherein the text is not that of the original Codex of Benedict of Aniane, — i.e. the Rules of Benedict, Augustine, Cassian, and Caesarius *ad Virgines*.

Having collected the Rules, Benedict reorganized the same materials, so as to arrange them in the form of a commentary on St Benedict's Rule: this work he called *Concordia Regularis*: it was edited by Menard, 1638, and is reprinted in Migne (*Patr. Lat.* 103). Several MSS exist, and Plenkers investigates their relations.

It is to be hoped that the *Codex Regularum* may be edited in the Vienna Corpus.

The second part of Plenkers's study deals with the MSS of St Benedict's Rule, and is in some measure the Prolegomena to the critical text which he has for several years been preparing. On a previous occasion I explained in some detail in these pages the chief facts concerning which an editor of the Benedictine Rule must arrive at a practical judgement (*J.T.S.* April 1902). Plenkers is an uncompromising adherent of Traube's views, and he here reasserts, with an absoluteness I consider far greater than is justified by the evidence, the view that

the Monte Cassino MS, from which are derived the group of Carolingian MSS, was indeed St Benedict's autograph. Be that, however, as it may, there can be little practical doubt that these MSS contain the best type of the text; and it is good news that their number is now reinforced by the copy of the Rule in the Trier *Codex Regularum*. Plenker makes various investigations touching the textual criticism of the Rule but the time to comment on them will be when reviewing his text of the Rule, which, it may be hoped, will not be delayed for long.

Dom Herwegen's study on the Pæctum of St Fructuosus is the fortieth number of the series of *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, edited by Prof. Stutz, of Bonn. The point of departure is a formal Pact, prefixed to the Rule of St Fructuosus of Braga (c. 650), laying down the mutual rights and duties of abbot and community, and the conditions on which the monks surrender themselves to the abbot's sway. He prints other examples of such Pacts, found in Spanish sources, and shews that the view that they afford evidence of the existence of mixed monasteries is without foundation. He shews, too, that these formal Pacts are inspired by the same ideas as the Visigothic laws, and that they are probably framed on the same lines as the oaths of fealty taken by the underthanes to their overlords.

A suggestion put forward by Herwegen—that the profession form in the Benedictine Rule is similarly inspired by the Roman military oath—has attracted a good deal of attention and is winning not a little acceptance. I do not think it can be admitted. The military oath ran:—' . . . omnia se strenue facturos quae praeceperit imperator, nunquam deserturos militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica.' St Benedict's profession form is: 'Promittat de stabilitate sua et conversione morum suorum et obedientia.' Obedience is in both. The promise not to desert Herwegen sets against stability—but this involves an interpretation of stability which I should not be prepared to accept wholly: this is, however, a difficult subject. To the oath not to avoid death for the republic, Herwegen parallels the vow of 'conversion' interpreted as the struggle till death against temptation and sin. The parallel seems far-fetched: and it is put out of court by the fact that in St Benedict's Rule the reading 'conversazione morum' is textually quite certain. 'Conversatio' must mean the same as *πολιτεία*, and the vow is not one of 'conversion', but of leading the monastic life. A few passages couched in the terms of warfare are no sign of any militarism in St Benedict, for the symbolism of warfare for the spiritual life has been a commonplace since St Paul. The view advocated in the late Abbot Maurus Wolter's *Praecipua Elementa*, that St Benedict's idea was not military, is true.

Dom Herwegen's study is a serious contribution to the history of

early Spanish monachism—a subject which, like all phases of early Spanish ecclesiastical life, is urgently calling for investigation. It is becoming recognized that in Spain there is little trace of the Benedictine Rule and none of Benedictine monachism during the Gothic period. Hence all fresh light thrown on the indigenous monachism of the Spanish peninsula is most welcome.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

THE MELETIAN SCHISM AND EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH.

Le schisme d'Antioche (iv^e-v^e siècle). Par FERDINAND CAVALLERA.
(A. Picard et fils, Paris, 1905.)

S. *Eustathii Episcopi Antiocheni in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham homilia Christologica* nunc primum e codice gronouiano edita cum commentario de fragmentis eustathianis. Accesserunt fragmenta Flaviani I, Antiocheni. (Parisiis, ap. A. Picard et filium, 1905.)

THESE TWO works are a contribution to our knowledge of the Church of Antioch during the fourth century. In the former of them M. Cavallera has unravelled the tangled story of the Meletian schism, which is the despair of the ordinary reader of Church history. The authorities are carefully marshalled and their relative value discussed, while a full bibliography supplies the chief modern references upon the subject. The book contains a full discussion of most of the important questions connected with the history, and exhibits signs of much thorough and patient research.

The real significance of the Meletian schism for the history of the Church in the fourth century is a question of importance alike for the general historian and for the student of Christian doctrine. Are we to explain it as the outcome of conflicting doctrinal traditions, or does its significance lie in the region of ecclesiastical discipline, e.g. the question of episcopal ordinations at Antioch? This is the antithesis which M. Cavallera sets before us. On the one hand there are those who, with Dr Harnack, see in Meletius a representative of the new Nicene party, which, while securing the triumph of the Nicenes, modified their teaching by interpreting *ὁμοούσιον* in the sense of *ὁμοιούσιον*. This view is combated by M. Cavallera, who, in his handling of it, shews acquaintance with the criticisms passed upon it by Mr Bethune-Baker in England and Dr Holl in Germany. His own contention is that the many attempts at a *rapprochement* between the parties at Antioch made during the period 362-381 shew that there was a con-

sciousness of the real orthodoxy of the dissentients and that *the* questions at stake were mainly personal questions affecting ecclesiastical discipline. M. Cavallera strongly defends the essential orthodoxy of Meletius, though perhaps he rather overstates his case and dismisses too lightly the evidence which connects Meletius with the Homoean party (pp. 95 ff). Possibly, too, he assigns too much weight to the language of those who, like Basil, were concerned to make the best of the doctrinal differences in their anxiety to bring about a reconciliation. But on *the* main question he makes out a good case, and he will be welcomed *as* an ally by those scholars who are of the opinion that the view of *the* developement of doctrine in the later stages of the Arian controversy propounded by Dr Harnack and others, rests upon a precarious basis.

In his Latin thesis M. Cavallera has brought to light an unpublished homily, the authorship of which he claims for Eustathius of Antioch. Appended to this are two supplements containing the fragments of Eustathius and of Flavian of Antioch. Our interest centres mainly in the new homily *in Lazarum, Mariam, et Martham*, found in the seventeenth-century MS *Gronovianus* 12 in the library at Leyden. The portion of the MS containing the homily is a transcript from an earlier MS of the tenth century, and the homily bears the name of Eustathius. What grounds are there for regarding this attribution as correct? M. Cavallera appeals to the close resemblance between a passage in the homily and a similar passage in Eustathius's homily *in Stelographiam*, in both of which there is the same curious comparison of Mary, the sister of Martha, to Jacob. This comparison, which is referred to elsewhere in the new homily, is apparently unique in patristic writings. A second line of argument depends upon the parallels between the Christological teaching of the homily and that of the other fragments of Eustathius. Finally, M. Cavallera applies the test of literary style, though this is not conclusive, as he admits that there are some few discrepancies of style and manner between this homily and the fragments. Of these arguments the second brings us to that which is the really crucial test in the present case. And there is one serious deduction to be made from it. M. Cavallera has adduced various parallels between the Christological teaching of the homily and that of the fragments. But in an appended note at the end of the homily (p. 51) he admits that certain doctrinal expressions (e. g. εἰς τῆς τριάδος, συνδοξαζόμενον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἀδιαίρετως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως) point to the possibility of interpolation. This fact demands a more searching investigation of the whole Christological teaching of Eustathius than M. Cavallera has attempted. Are the characteristic phrases of Eustathius's teaching found in the new homily? And, on the other hand, do the characteristic phrases of the homily appear in

the known fragments of Eustathius? On this point M. Cavallera does not satisfy us, and until he has produced fuller evidence on the point, the decision upon the authorship must remain doubtful, and the possibility that the homily is a later work with a pseudonymous title will remain open.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life, by W. R. BOYCE GIBSON. (A. & C. Black, London, 1906.)

THIS little book seeks to make better known to English readers a writer who enjoys a considerable reputation as a religious philosopher in Germany.

Mr Boyce Gibson, though he is alive to defects of detail in Eucken's system, enthusiastically commends it as 'a scheme of truth which in a very genuine sense of the term will be the philosophy of the future, if the future proves worthy of it'. He regards it as the ripe outcome of the speculative movement which proceeded from Kant, and hopes it may prove a meeting-point for all kinds of idealists.

Eucken's philosophy is called an 'ethico-religious idealism'. It sets out from the category of personality. Emphasizing the unity of the mind, Eucken sees therein an indication of the reality of a personal spiritual life, transcending the world of ordinary experience. His method of inferring this personal life from the activity of the mental unity is neither psychological nor intellectualistic, but what he calls noölogical. The absolute reality of a superhuman spiritual life in man, Eucken maintains, is the necessary presupposition for the development of spiritual personality by effort and deeds. Prof. Eucken has affinities with the voluntarist and pragmatist philosophers of to-day. 'Truth', he holds, 'is primarily and essentially a *personal* ideal. The ultimate criterion of truth is not the clearness and distinctness of our thinking, nor its correspondence with a given reality external to it; nor is it the systematic coherency of our knowledge, nor any other intellectualistic standard.'¹ But whereas other current philosophies dethrone reason in favour of will or feeling, Eucken demands that reason must give place to 'the heroic life'. Truth is consequently, for him, 'spiritual fruitfulness', as inwardly realized by the personal experient; and our conception of knowledge must be determined by the meaning we attach to life. It is in the intuitive certainties springing from heroic action that

¹ Boyce Gibson, p. 109.

we get our immediate experience of the world of spirit and of the presence of God. It is life, not meditation, that is to supply the solution of our philosophic problems.

Mr Boyce Gibson announces that one or two of Prof. Eucken's works are about to be translated into our language. They will doubtless be eagerly awaited by all readers of Mr Boyce Gibson's sketch of Eucken's philosophy: even by such of them as cannot at all accept the new conceptions of the nature of knowledge and truth, or trust to the security of what Eucken assumes to be axiomatic.

Ueber das Verhältniss der Religionsphilosophie zu anderen Wissenschaften, von OTTO PFLEIDERER. (Schwetschke u. Sohn, Berlin, 1906.)

THIS publication is a short lecture delivered at the Congress for Science and Art at St Louis, in 1904.

Prof. Pfeleiderer discusses the question whether there can be a science of religion. There cannot, he says, if religion be conceived as doctrine communicated by supernatural revelation, to be accepted in unquestioning faith. This is a position which scarcely needs now to be combated. Prof. Pfeleiderer, however, cites in opposition to it the results of recent psychological study of religious phenomena, such as inspiration and ecstasy, and of the science of comparative religion.

Kant und seine Vorgänger, von PROF. G. UPHUES. Schwetschke u. Sohn, Berlin, 1906.)

PROF. UPHUES has added one more to the already immense number of good books of which the object is to expound and criticize the Kantian philosophy. His work is able and clear. Besides stating Kant's position with regard to many of the larger problems dealt with in the *Critiques*, it sometimes traces the historical developement of Kant's doctrine, and points out his relation to certain of his predecessors: especially to Wolff and the British empiricists in the modern period, and to Plato among the ancients. Prof. Uphues has also endeavoured, here and there, to fill up a gap in the Kantian philosophy by following the lines of the system itself and making explicit some of its latent implications. Only a small part of the book is concerned with Kant's theological speculation; but to students who desire to investigate in some detail the foundations on which Kant based his philosophy of religion, the volume will be helpful.

F. R. TENNANT.

THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

A General View of the History of the English Bible, by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D. Third Edition, revised by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1905.)

DR ALDIS WRIGHT has placed all who are interested in the history of the English Bible under a deep obligation by his new edition of Dr Westcott's well-known Essay. It would be superfluous to speak of the merits of that Essay here. As the first serious attempt to trace to their sources the variety of elements which go to make up our A. V., and to present a systematic view of the internal history of the text, Dr Westcott's book marked a new departure in the study of the English Bible, and subsequent research has only tended to confirm in the main the accuracy and soundness of its writer's conclusions. That, however, there were not a few points requiring re-statement and expansion in the light of subsequent discoveries, Bishop Westcott himself clearly recognized, for he allowed the book for many years to pass out of print (1st ed. 1868, 2nd ed. 1872), and it was not until 1900 that, finding it impossible to undertake the task of revision himself, he entrusted it to Dr Wright, to whom, it is now interesting to learn, the original suggestion of the work was due. To the care and judgement with which this revision has been carried out almost every page of the new edition bears witness. 'Every statement and every quotation have been verified': the references to the older authorities have been made consistent with chronology (e. g. 'Luther's New Testament as contained in his Bible of 1534 could have had no influence upon Tindale's version of 1525'): and—a matter for which the student will feel very grateful—the passages cited from the older versions have been reproduced as far as possible in their original form and spelling. Nor is this all, but in addition to a large number of most valuable notes by way of correction and supplement scattered throughout the volume, and an enlargement of the Appendix dealing with the Revision of the A. V., Dr Wright has supplied three wholly new Appendices, the first illustrating the dependence of the Notes in Matthew's Bible upon Lefèvre's French Bible of 1534, the second reprinting some Notes on the Translators of 1611 from an interesting document preserved in Lambeth Palace Library, and the third containing an account of their method of procedure given by one of the English delegates to the Synod of Dort. It may be noted that the references in connexion with these Appendices require correction—on p. 336, p. 72 should be p. 71; on p. 343, p. 117 should be p. 113; and on p. 351, p. 118 should be p. 114. The result is a book which, within the limits laid down by its original writer, will be generally recognized as the standard authority on the

important subject with which it deals; while, as regards method and fairness and the most scrupulous regard for accuracy in even the smallest particulars, it will serve as a model to all subsequent workers in the same field.

A History of the Revised Version of the New Testament, by SAMUEL HEMPHILL, D.D., Litt.D. (Elliot Stock, London, no date.)

It is unfortunate that the last of the New Testament Revisers should have passed away without the publication of an authoritative History of their work. Nor can Dr Hemphill's book be said to do much to supply the want. It is not so much a History as a vigorously written Essay to shew how much better it would have been if the New Testament Revisers had adhered to the same method of procedure as the colleagues in the Old Testament Company, more particularly with regard to the number of *changes* introduced. Regarding this conclusion opinions may differ. In the meantime it is sufficient to notice that the writer has taken great pains to collect a number of passages in support of his position, especially from the writings of the Revisers themselves, and that his work cannot but prove useful to the future historian of the version.

G. MILLIGAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Growth of Christianity, London Lectures, by PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., LL.D. (A. & C. Black, London, 1907.)

DR GARDNER traces in this volume the 'baptism' of Judaea, of Greece, of Asia, and of Rome, the materialistic development of the Middle Ages, the revival of religion by the Reformation, and the theory of its development as discussed chiefly by Newman and Ehrhard—for he notices none but Roman Catholic writers in this connexion.

The work is beautifully written, and pervaded by a strong religious spirit, a strong aesthetic spirit, and a strong sense of a divine guidance in history. It starts from the usual 'critical' position, that the Gospels contain many things (the sacraments and the second coming for example) quite unlike the Founder's own teaching. 'The second generation' put into them very much what they pleased. But the chief part of the work is a broad historical survey; and much of this is admirably done.

By 'baptism' Dr Gardner means that the thoughts of successive ages were transfigured by Christianity. The Psalms hardly needed 'baptism'; but on the other hand, the Church never assimilated

Greek culture as it should have done. When the Gospel came to deal with Rome, it 'baptized' civic cults by exchanging heroes for saints, the worship of ancestors for a doctrine of purgatory; but ritual and government were 'baptized' rather into the Church than into Christ, and in the Middle Ages the sacraments were grossly materialized. But the spirit of the North was always mystic, so that the Reformation gives the other side of the truth. Unfortunately the Reformers made trouble for us by accepting the Bible and the Creeds just as they found them.

I make no criticism: I ask but one question. Dr Gardner speaks well and truly of 'doing the will of God': but is not Christianity summed up better by St Paul, who finds its living power in the love of Christ, who died for us and rose again that He might call forth our love?

H. M. GWATKIN.

The Religion of all Good Men, and other Studies in Christian Ethic,
by H. W. GARROD. (Constable, 1906.)

MR GARROD'S book reminds us of Hans Andersen's story of the king who walked naked in a procession, while his ministers and people sang the praises of the imaginary robes they consented in believing him to wear, till the illusion was dispelled by the shrill exclamation of a child, 'But he has no clothes on!' Living as the young among the young, Mr Garrod, with intrepid *naïveté*, raises a like cry with regard to the visionary Christianity (as he regards it), which many generations of Christians have consented to look upon as clothed with the beauty of holiness. The processions of the ages have agreed to reverence Jesus of Nazareth as Son of Man, or to worship Him as Son of God. 'He wore no such attributes,' says Mr Garrod, 'He never claimed Himself to be Son of Man, but to be the Forerunner of a coming Son of Man, a future Messiah.'

We have no space to discuss this paradox, but turn to some important deductions that Mr Garrod draws from his hypothesis.

Our Lord, he thinks, lived and taught in the expectation of a speedy 'end of the world', and it was in view of this that He promulgated His ethical system, obedience to whose precepts would lead to the dissolution, in any age, of what is called Society. But the precepts, he says, never have been obeyed, nor have those who call themselves Christians ever shewn honour to their brethren in proportion as they have sought to exemplify them in their tone and conduct. What really influences conduct and brings favour and repute is the Gothic code of morals, of which leading principles are chivalry and honour.

Now who, we may fairly ask, are in literature our favourite and typical heroes, regarded as gentlemen? Are they not such men as Don Quixote, Tennyson's King Arthur, Colonel Newcome, and John Inglesant? These are men who display the qualities of chivalry, or care and compassion for the weak, and honour, which is self-respecting dignity. But they combine them with certain traits of meekness, humility, and sweetness little known to the Goths, the salt with which Christianity seasoned society when it seemed likely to be shattered by conflicts between the self-assertive and the hustling. We can afford to make many concessions to Mr Garrod's paradoxical sauciness; that the Founder of Christianity has in the past been regarded too exclusively as 'The Man of Sorrows', too little as 'The Joyous Comrade'; that the gloom of the times somewhat saddened the tone of primitive Christian literature; that Paul's view of the flesh was tinged with asceticism, and that the Johannine literature sometimes seems to make a cleavage between the secular world with its varied interests rather than to invest these with its spiritual atmosphere; that the spirit of Bibliolatry has given undue weight to the influence of the Primitive period, as compared with the after development demanded by changed conditions; that this (shall we call it?) anachronistic Puritanism has a tendency to estrange the hearts of the young from what they are tempted to consider (as Mr Garrod testifies) as the mild and effeminate notes of Christian ethics.

Supposing all this to be granted, we need not abandon the claim of Christianity to have inspired heroism, as well as to have solaced sorrow. It may be that even now a wider, brighter view of Christianity is dawning upon us; for Christianity, like the world, is young.

J. HUNTER SMITH.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion, by J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1906.)

As this book is to be incorporated in the third edition of the *Golden Bough* it does not call for extended notice now. Moreover, it is only incidentally theological, unless Theology is to include the study of dead religions. This, however, must to some extent be admitted. The three oriental divinities named in the title seem to have been national variants or counterparts possessing essential similarity of character; and all three were believed to have died and risen again from the dead. The divine death and resurrection were dramatically represented at annual festivals; with weeping succeeded by transports of joy. Dr Frazer conceives that Osiris was a corn-god, and that what was signified was

the decay and revival of vegetation. The close connexion of the festivals with the seasons, and calendar dates, has suggested to some writers an astronomical explanation. Dr Frazer himself admits that at one period Osiris was identified with Ra the sun-god, and that his spouse Isis, although in the olden time a rustic corn-mother (p. 284), was the goddess of the Dog-star (p. 228).

A more important point is this, that the pagan festivals became Christianized. In midsummer customs, as still practised in Sardinia and Sicily, St John appears to have taken the place of Adonis; and this is but one instance of many. Dr Frazer says that 'when we reflect how often the Church has skilfully contrived to plant the seeds of the new faith on the old stock of paganism, we may surmise that the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was grafted upon a similar celebration of the dead and risen Adonis, which, as we have reason to believe, was celebrated in Syria at the same season' (p. 157). Apologists will have to meet Dr Frazer's entire argument.

GEO. ST. CLAIR.

Antilegomena. Die Reste der ausserkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Überlieferungen, herausgegeben und übersetzt von ERWIN PREUSCHEN. Zweite umgearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. (Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen, 1905.)

THIS volume contains all that was in the first edition of 1901, sometime since exhausted, and in addition several fragments of the earliest age which have been recently discovered; namely the new *logia* or *logoi* of Drs Grenfell and Hunt, the Gospel citations of the Syriac Teaching of the Apostles published in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* by Flemming, the Coptic fragmentary narrative of the Resurrection published by C. Schmidt, and a gospel fragment in the same tongue published by Jacoby. The first half of the volume gives the Greek texts, with the reconstructions and conjectures, where necessary, of leading scholars; the second half a German translation. There is an ample index of scripture references and an alphabetical list of notes and monographs written on the various documents. The first edition already contained Origen's citations of Celsus, Origen's citations of apocryphal gospels, the Gospel, Preaching, and Apocalypse of Peter, the Remains of the Ebionite and Hebrew Gospels, the citations preserved in II Clement and in the Clementine Homilies, the fragments of Papias, of the Presbyter of Irenaeus, of Hegesippus, the remains of the gospels known as of the Egyptians, Naassenes, of Philip, of Thomas, &c. The volume is indispensable to students of the first age of Christianity.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

The Problem of the Pentateuch, by the Rev. R. H. McKim (Longmans, 1907), consists of three lectures delivered by the author against the results of modern biblical criticism and, as is unfortunately too often the case with literature of this kind, does not take the trouble to examine with any patience the reasons which have led biblical scholars to depart from the usual traditional standpoint. It is clear that the author does not perceive the character of the Pentateuchal problems, and it is to be regretted that one so ill-equipped should have ventured to publish the one-sided arguments which confront us. An interesting foreword is contributed by the Dean of Canterbury, in the course of which he expresses his 'entire acceptance of the duty and the advantage of an unfettered application to the Holy Scriptures of the processes of sound criticism'. Although he objects to the almost unanimous conclusions which are deduced, he candidly admits: 'of course, if the new views were proved, we should have to accommodate ourselves to them, at the cost of the reconstruction of our faith in vital points.'

That this is both necessary and practicable is seen in the popular little introduction by the Rev. Theodore Knight, *Criticism and the Old Testament* (Elliot Stock, 1907). It is a book which those who are impressed by Mr. McKim's lectures should not fail to read. It removes many of the usual misapprehensions, and its sober and careful treatment of critical results is especially intended for the ordinary reader. Notice is taken of the bearing of biblical criticism upon the larger religious problems of the present day, and the writer hopes that his book may help to bridge the gulf which exists between the work of modern scholarship and everyday religion. Its general utility is increased by the addition of a bibliography which includes works especially helpful for those engaged in teaching the young.

Modern Old Testament research is conducted either in its relation to theology and in its bearing upon religious problems, or, more comprehensively, as a department of the study of ancient history, archaeology, and thought. Viewed in the latter aspect it assumes the character of a more scientific and technical discipline, and much of the work at the present day is devoted to the more thorough investigation of biblical problems in accordance with those principles of historical research which are regularly admitted. Hitherto the literary problems

have received the major share, perhaps an excessive share, of critical attention, and much labour has been spent upon analysis which could more profitably be devoted to synthesis and reconstruction. Nevertheless, we welcome the translation by the Rev. G. H. Box of Prof. Cornill's *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* (Williams & Norgate, 1906), a very fair representative of the moderate standpoint in German literary criticism. As compared with the well-known *Introduction* by Dr Driver, its account of Old Testament canon and text is much fuller, but its treatment of the literary questions is in every respect slighter and less informing. It lacks the array of evidence and careful argument which has made the Oxford Professor's work both indispensable and convincing to the student, and simply claims to be a 'handbook for students' which shall emphasize 'all the important factors that have co-operated in the development of Old Testament Method'. Although the book, viewed as an Introduction, suffers from the scantiness with which several 'introductory' literary problems are handled, Prof. Cornill's many valuable labours in Old Testament literary criticism make it a necessary work of reference, and English-speaking students will welcome its appearance in the new dress.

That there are literary problems which 'still call for final solution' (p. vi) cannot be denied, and it is to be feared that Prof. Cornill is not sufficiently cautious when he pronounces dogmatically upon questions which are still *sub judice*, questions, indeed, whose final solution bear seriously upon numerous minor subsidiary points. For example, there is reason to infer that the period from the middle of the 7th cent. B.C. downwards saw the writing and the redaction of a very considerable proportion of the biblical literature, and consequently the literary problems cannot be separated from the historical criticism of these years. Even if 'the hypercriticism of a G. d'Eichthal . . . and of a M. Vernes . . . may be passed over without further remark' (p. 64), the view that the roll found in the reign of Josiah may be identified with at least a portion of the present book of Deuteronomy is far from certain. The doubts expressed also by Havet (1878) and Horst (1888) have been more recently stated, quite independently and on different grounds, by the Rev. E. Day (1902) and by Prof. Kennett (*J. T. S.* July 1906), and some additional arguments could be adduced which, in my own opinion, combine to make the accepted view too difficult to be tenable. Moreover, in descending later to the period of Ezra-Nehemiah, it is to be regretted that Prof. Cornill's discussion of these books is unduly scanty and somewhat cavalier, and although one may not approve of the precise reconstruction advocated by Kosters, it is too much to say—unless, of course, the work of recent years (Kent, Torrey, Mitchell, G. A. Smith, &c.) has been in vain—

that 'we may rest assured that in Ezra-Nehemiah we have every reason to recognize an essentially trustworthy recital of the events narrated therein' (p. 254). It may suffice to refer to Prof. G. A. Smith, *Expositor*, 1906, July, p. 12 sq. as proof that there are chronological and other problems which it is not 'hypercritical' to acknowledge, and that attempts to solve them ought not to lose 'all claim to serious consideration'.

The failure to perceive the phenomena which appeal to others hardly warrants the use of the term 'hypercriticism', least of all from a biblical critic, however arbitrary or uncalled-for the views of others may at first appear. Literary criticism is still in its analytical stages and it is enough to refer to the traces of the repeated revision of P, to the admittedly late incorporation of a quantity of independent material, and to the recognized twofold redaction of D, as features of importance for the literary problems as a whole. It is now acknowledged that the last-mentioned extended over a long period (spanning the Exile in fact), and its twofold character is not only regularly admitted in Kings, but has been traced in Joshua (Albers, Holzinger, &c.), suspected in Judges (Budde), and may be plausibly recognized in the books of Samuel. To attempt to follow the complex editions of D through all its stages may be 'a useless task' (p. 67), but the exact relation between D and earlier material, whether incorporated by D or subsequently inserted, is so intricate (cp. Steuernagel on Joshua) that, until more is known, the criticism of the historical books, at least, can only claim to have touched the preliminary questions.

The thirty years in which the Wellhausen literary hypothesis has taken firm root have recently seen the rise of newer tendencies among those who have felt the necessity of probing biblical problems more deeply and comprehensively. It is true that in these advances the risk of error is increased through the scanty character of the evidence, and that little unanimity has been found among those responsible for them; working as they are chiefly on their own lines, that security which is obtained when results converge is still distant; only the fact that they agree that biblical criticism cannot remain in its present impossible position forbids us to treat them as ephemeral vagaries or, to use Cornill's term, as 'curiosities'. There is an increased tendency to assign more of the Old Testament literature to the Persian and even to the Maccabean age; the old Oriental 'astral-lehre' of Winckler has made great strides, especially through the popularization of the theory in the elaborate work of Alfred Jeremias; to these we must add the application of Winckler's theories to biblical history by Erbt, and Prof. Cheyne's unceasing labours at the text and traditions of the Old Testament. All these pursue to further limits principles or

results already commonly recognized, or present old and familiar tendencies in new forms. For example, in regard to Prof. Cheyne's *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* (A. & C. Black, 1907), it is hardly necessary to explain that the comparative method of research inaugurated by Robertson Smith in the department of Semitic religions can be profitably extended to other departments. The study of folklore and mythology, when undertaken with discrimination, allows the comparison of evidence from the most widely-severed races, and the comparative method will suggest the explanation of obscure features in one locality from the more complete form which they may take elsewhere. Further, it is repeatedly found that there is an inevitable and unconscious tendency to clothe historical tradition in a singularly unhistorical dress. Traditions of common origin will continue to change, and not only can the same tradition appear in different forms, but the same legendary or unhistorical dress will clothe different traditions. Historical research elsewhere does not ignore these features, and the treatment of the tales of the creation and deluge, or of the birth of Moses, not to mention other details, has led to the recognition that earlier forms of incidents or persons may underlie the present narratives in the Old Testament. It is precisely the recovery of the underlying traditions with which Prof. Cheyne deals in this book. But where we may suspect that any narrative gives us only a late or secondary form of a tradition, the recovery of the original must be necessarily hazardous, and its success will depend upon the validity of the evidence adduced. Even where it is possible (in other fields) to compare the various forms which the same tradition may take, the variation is such that it still remains doubtful whether it would be possible to give in detail the presumably original form of any particular narrative under consideration.

Prof. Cheyne's elaborate discussion of the narratives in Genesis and portions of Exodus illustrates, in the first place, the value of archaeology in its widest extent, and employs a vast amount of material from all sources (including even the recently published Assuan papyri) to support his numerous original suggestions. These follow upon the lines of his recent publications, in which he constantly urges the necessity of a more comprehensive treatment of biblical problems, while indicating the methods which, in his opinion, provide the best solution. Now, to take only one point, it is certain that notwithstanding the arguments of opponents of the theory of a South Palestinian or North Arabian Musri-Mizraim, the probability of the extension of the term outside the limits of Egypt proper cannot fairly be denied, and it is conceded by many who naturally do not commit themselves to any extensive inferences based thereupon. Also, as Prof. W. R. Harper wrote:

'Every year since the work of Robertson Smith brings Israel into closer relationship with Arabia' (*Amos and Hosea* p. liv). The movement of Arabian tribes into Palestine cannot be summarily rejected, and the importation of desert peoples into Samaria by Sargon in 715 B. C. is of some significance, partly in view of the age to which literary critics ascribe much of the Old Testament, and partly because the immigrants presumably brought their own traditions with them. Thus, there is something to be said in favour of the theory that Mus and South Palestinian clans once played a prominent part in biblical history, and Prof. Cheyne's views resemble those of other pioneering critics in the exaggeration of considerations which in a simpler form would not be devoid of plausibility or even probability.

But although there is a distinct tendency nowadays, with the aid of metrical theories, to resort to emendation and excision, Prof. Cheyne's conclusions necessitate the assumption that the Masoretic text has suffered to an extent which perhaps finds its nearest parallel in the frequent correction of unintelligible manuscripts by the scribes of the Carolingian Renaissance (and later)¹; and if this were accepted, one would be confronted with the further difficulty (which invariably arises in the presence of hopelessly corrupt passages) that no reconstruction of the earlier ruined MSS would be possible. Besides, historical research must allow that the particular tradition incorporated in any document is perhaps only one of several formerly extant. Thus, apart from parallels to the story of the Deluge among other peoples (pp. 125 sqq.), purely local forms have been found in Palestine and Syria, and only the strongest of reasons will force the necessity of seeking a north-Arabian or Jerahmeelite origin for the present narratives (p. 146). The present writer does not depart from his own views in the article 'Jerahmeel' (§§ 1-3) in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, and indeed certain evidence might suggest that Jerahmeel and allied clans played a curiously prominent part at some period of the biblical history or at some stage in the growth of the present literature; but the same evidence also suggests that their traditions were subordinated or excised, and it would be equally legitimate to look for the underlying traditions of immigrants from other quarters.

Consequently, since a distinction must naturally be drawn between the recognition of the deeper biblical problems and the best method of solving them, one must confess that Prof. Cheyne's theory, in the form stated by himself, not only raises many questions relating to biblical history and literature which invalidate those considerations which are legitimate and acceptable, but involves a reconstruction for

¹ See Langlois and Seignobos *Introduction to the Study of History* p. 76 note.

which no conclusive evidence is as yet forthcoming. Nevertheless, there is a growing feeling that biblical critics have not yet presented a reconstruction which satisfies all the evidence, and while those 'pioneers' who are responsible for the new advances of criticism are moved by common aims, it will be recognized that they are working on highly specialized lines, and appeal more to the co-operation of critical scholars than to the ordinary reader, who, even if acquainted with the necessity of criticism, may not appreciate the urgency for deeper research. As Prof. Cheyne has very truly observed: 'The problems of various kinds now before us are partly new, partly old questions which have lately become more complicated and difficult. The co-operation of critical scholars is therefore very much to be desired, as well as a more general recognition of the necessity of pioneering work' (p. vii. The whole paragraph is important).

A small pamphlet by Fr. Giesebrecht on *Jeremias Metrik* (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1905) gives the Hebrew text of those portions of the prophecies of Jeremiah which he holds to be metrical, with explanatory footnotes on the text, and a brief preface stating his attitude to the metrical problems. This interesting contribution to the 'new burning question of Old Testament Science'—to quote Prof. Cornill—will be welcomed by those interested in that question, and as Cornill himself has already shewn that this distinguishing feature of recent research properly holds a place in Old Testament 'introduction' (see his *Introd.* pp. 15-26), it is well to remember that scholars are not yet unanimous as to the extent to which the problems have been adequately solved.

Dr J. W. Thirtle, already known for an ingenious explanation of the titles of the Psalms, now publishes a series of 'critical studies in the Psalms and Isaiah' under the title *Old Testament Problems* (Frowde, 1907). The tradition of the men of Hezekiah who copied out the proverbs of Solomon forms a suggestive starting-point. The fifteen songs of the ascents or 'degrees' are then associated with the fifteen years added to Hezekiah's life when the shadow returned ten 'degrees' upon the dial of Ahaz. Following out the view of old John Lightfoot, these Psalms are placed in Hezekiah's reign, and naturally it is an easy step to the argument that the whole Psalter, 'in some of its most distinctive portions', is a reflexion of his age. Isaiah's turn comes next, and, denying the evidence for the partition of the book, Dr Thirtle identifies the 'servant of Yahweh' with Hezekiah. The Deutero-Isaiah leads to the book of Job, which was written to console Hezekiah in his illness, &c., &c. It will be evident how far Dr Thirtle may enjoy his claim to represent 'an alternative criticism of the Old Testament from which results of peculiar interest may be expected'

(p. v). The book has no arguments worthy of discussion, and the arbitrary views on 'adaptation' and the like are strange in one who is not friendly to scholarly criticism. The author has produced one of the curiosities of the day, and illustrates the danger of relying upon an uncontrolled imagination and an untrained intuition.

Prof. G. C. Workman, of Montreal, has written an earnest and helpful study of the problem of the *Servant of Jehovah* (Longmans, 1907). His thesis that the reference is to the Jewish Church or people 'viewed either temporally or spiritually' is worked out carefully, and his treatment of the fulfilment of the mission of the servant is highly sympathetic and stimulating. The book can also be commended for expository purposes. Special attention must be called, also, to the very elaborate proof of the late date of the Deutero-Isaiah, for, although the opinion of scholars is unanimous on the point, many will be glad to see the arguments on both sides restated in the complete possible manner. In this respect chaps. iii and iv are models of their kind.

The profound study of *The Samaritans*, by Prof. J. A. Montgomery, of Philadelphia (J. C. Winston Co., 1907), is the most thorough work that has ever appeared upon the history and literature of this interesting community. The author describes briefly the awakening of European interest, passes to a full treatment of modern conditions, and then traces the history from the fall of Samaria to the Mohammedan age. He collects all the references in the early writings (the Apocrypha, New Testament, and Josephus), and gives a very useful conspectus of the Talmudic evidence, including a translation of the interesting *Masseketh Küthim*. There is a good account of the theology of the Samaritans and their religious sects, and the concluding chapter deals at length with their language and literature. Illustrations, plates and maps illuminate the text; and a complete bibliography and several indexes give this monograph the necessary 'finish'. I have no space to refer to any of the more interesting points which Prof. Montgomery raises, but for Old Testament study perhaps the most valuable feature is the proof that the author's sub-title, 'the earliest Jewish sect', is thoroughly justified. Indirect light is thereby thrown upon the internal religious conditions in Samaria previous to the great schism, thus shewing how precarious is the not uncommon assumption of the low and degraded state of earlier thought in Palestine, and lending independent support to the recent views of Prof. Kennett regarding the position in Palestine during the Exile (*J. T. S.* 1905, pp. 169 sqq.; 1906, pp. 498-500).

STANLEY A. COOK.

A critical and exegetical commentary on the Book of Psalms, by C. A. BRIGGS, D.D., and E. G. BRIGGS, B.D., in two volumes (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906 & 1907), is a very useful addition to the International Critical series. The author tells us that it is the fruit of forty years of labour; and as would be expected, it is packed with erudition and critical research. After a note on the names of the Book of Psalms, the introductory sections deal with—*A* the Text, *B* Higher Criticism, *C* Canonicity, *D* Interpretation. In *A* are discussed the ancient versions, the poetry of the Psalter, divided and composite Psalms, and errors and glosses. The treatment of the second of these forms the outstanding feature of the work. Dr Briggs's theory, founded on the previous investigations of Anton, Ley, and others, is that every Psalm is composed of clearly marked strophes, each strophe consisting of measured lines. The measure is defined not by syllables but by tones—three, four, five, or six in each line. Every word, except for the most part monosyllables, contains one tone, a few long words, however, containing two. And each of these measured lines is divided by a caesura. He has brilliantly made the theory good as a general principle, and it adds a fresh delight to the study of the Psalter. But it will not detract from its value to say that in some cases the author has worked the theory with a too mechanical precision. He finds it impossible to admit that the poets of the Psalter ever produced a loose line or an unsymmetrical strophic arrangement. One may doubt this without denying the probability that the text suffered much from errors and glosses. An instance or two will illustrate the point. In xiv 3 after כר he adds כנ (from liii 4) to complete the pentameter. But in the next line, for the same reason, three out of the four monosyllables must be given a tone. Would it not be simpler to admit that the lines form, as they stand, a tetrameter couplet? In xxiv 4 כפים and אר are to be omitted, because 'a tetrameter couplet in the midst of trimeters is altogether improbable'. xxvii 9 requires some manipulation if trimeters are to be rigidly adhered to throughout the Psalm. כי must be read for עכרך (also required by *rhyme*), היית and אלהי must be omitted, and אל תמשי must be read with two tones. But if the latter is possible, אל תסתור and אל תסתור may also be read with two tones, and the strophe, with no emendations, will consist of four tetrameters, which (if Dr Briggs is right in omitting v. 10 as a gloss) stand artistically enough between two trimeter strophes. xxx 1–8, in the Masoretic text, are composed as follows:—v. 2, two trimeters; v. 3, a pentameter; v. 4, a tetrameter and a trimeter; v. 5, two trimeters; v. 6, two tetrameters; v. 7, a pentameter; v. 8, a pentameter and a tetrameter. Dr Briggs is led by his theory to reduce this to an exact system of tetrameters, by omitting vv. 3, 5, and 7 as glosses which adapt the Psalm to more general use,

and interrupt the strophic arrangement—by giving a tone to כִּי and לִי in v. 2, by adding נִשְׁמַח at the end of v. 4, and by omitting יְהוָה at the beginning of v. 8. It is not the theory of tonic measures that is here at fault, but the insistence on the unvarying regularity of the strophes. Symmetry could easily be retained in a variety of ways, and a different strophic arrangement could be reached by a treatment much less drastic. In cxix by means of emendations and transpositions an artificial arrangement is produced according to which the eight words employed to describe the Law all occur, once each, in every strophe; and all the lines in a strophe rhyme with the syllable η — or 'ִ. But the very large number of alterations which the theory requires makes one hesitate to accept it.

In *B* are discussed the different kinds of Psalms—'Song', 'Miktam', 'Maskil', the Psalms of David, the Korahites, Asaph, the Elohists and the Director, Hallel and Pilgrim Psalms, and also Doxologies and musical directions. And lastly, the evolution of the Psalter is traced to its final stage. In discussing the dates of the several Psalms Dr Briggs rightly lays considerable stress on their style and vocabulary in relation to those of other books of the Old Testament. He is led to assign them to ten different periods, i.e. the early, middle, and late monarchy, the exile, the early, middle, and late Persian periods, the early and later Greek periods, and the Maccabean period. In the first of these he places vii, xiii, xviii, xxiii, xxiv^b, lx^a, cx; of which he allows vii, xiii, xviii, xxiv^b, lx^a (apart from glosses) to be Davidic. cx he assigns to a poet, not later than Jehoshaphat, who 'lets David speak his hopes as those in which the people of the seed may join'. He holds that this justifies our Lord's argument in Mk. xii 36 f. To the Maccabean period he assigns xxxiii, cii^b, cix^b, cxviii, cxxix, cxxxix^c, cxlvii, cxlix.

In *C* are included some useful remarks upon the protestations of righteousness and the imprecations which occur in the Psalter.

D consists of a *résumé* of methods of interpretation, which forms a full bibliography.

It may seem ungracious, when so much has been provided, to ask for more. But it is difficult not to wish that the translation was smoother and more English. Accuracy is important, but it is distracting to meet with such renderings as 'And (flashed) flashes and made them rumble' (xxiii 14^b), 'Happy the people knowers of the sacred shout!' (lxxxvii 16), 'In generation of generations are Thy years' (cii 24^b). And—a matter of greater moment—the Introduction would be enriched if it included a more analytical study of the Messianic elements in the Psalter. The use made of the Psalms by our Lord and the Apostolic writers is fully tabulated. But, except incidentally in the commentary, there is little indication of the part which so many of the Psalms must have

played in expressing, and in some cases moulding, the national Messianic hopes

A. H. McNEILE.

The Zodiac, or the Cherubim in the Bible and the Cherubim in the Sky, by E. M. SMITH (Elliot Stock, London, 1906), is a book which, with its charts of the constellations, at first sight attracts us with a promise of scientific investigation; but in the first few pages we are plunged into a species of popular theology, recommended by much inconsequent reasoning. The author has read many books on Assyriology, and marked many resemblances between Bible facts and acts of astronomy and the calendar, but he has framed an erroneous theory to account for them. The 'coincidences' could not all be sustained; though many of them must be admitted. So early a writer as Hippolytus sought to refute the heresy that the Bible stories are astral allegories (p. 84). Our author believes that the story of the Fall is written on the sky (p. 196). The Eden story seems to be taken literally; Adam, Noah, Abraham, are accorded a real human existence; the literal Deluge is not called in question. Yet the early civilization of Egypt is accepted; and 3800 A. D. as the date of Sargon of Agadè; and the still more ancient records of Babylonia. The author believes that there was a primitive revelation, from which both Genesis and some of the Chaldean writings draw their inspiration; and that all human history follows a plan sketched by the finger of God in the Zodiac first of all.

The theory of the book is erroneous and fantastic. What then is the explanation of the coincidences or the frequent astral reference of Scripture phrase and illustration? It must be sought in the ancient background of thought against which the Scripture narrative is projected. There had been a worship in which the ritual marked the seasons of the year; the regularity of Nature revealed the will of heaven, time was measured out to men by stars and sun; the sun was lord of the year and representative of Deity. The full Zodiac was the full year of four quarters; and the cherubim united four in one to represent the deity. The worshippers came into relation with the signs, and the sons of Jacob became associated with the Bull, the Lion, &c. After long time the Ram sign displaced the Bull, through the precession of the equinoxes; and the ram of the flock assumed a deeper symbolic meaning in ritual sacrifice. We might soon get upon the track, and recover so much of the ancient background of thought as would serve to give truer definition and meaning to Bible records.

The constellation names and figures are so old that their origin is unknown; but we must conceive of very early astronomers devising them, not of angels unrolling a prophetic scroll.

GEO. ST. CLAIR.

Other books bearing on Old Testament study received since our last Chronicle are (1) *The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch* (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1906), two letters by Dr C. A. Briggs and Baron F. Von Hügel, in which these two distinguished scholars express their opinion of what is commonly regarded as the obscurantist policy of the Vatican in regard to Biblical study:—a concise and careful statement of high value as to facts and methods of investigation; (2) *Historic Notes on the Books of the Old and New Testaments* by Samuel Sharpe (Elliot Stock, London, 1907), originally published in 1858 and republished now, with the claim that it foreshadowed 'many of the modern conclusions as to the historic facts of the Bible history'; (3) *Old Testament Miracles in the light of the Gospel*, by A. A. Brockington, with an introductory note by the Bishop of Gloucester (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907), the aim of which is to shew that the miracles of the Old Testament cease to be 'difficulties' if they are brought into close connexion with the history of the New Testament and regarded as 'teaching signs', the Gospel sign being the 'distilled essence' of the Old Testament sign; (4) *Psalmi Poenitentiales*, by A. Ward (C. North, the Blackheath Press, London, 1906), a short exposition verse by verse of the meaning of these seven psalms; (5) *The Book of Esther*, with introduction and notes, by the Rev. A. W. Streane, D.D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1907)—a welcome addition to the series 'The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges'; (6) *Bible Lessons for Schools: Genesis*, by E. M. Knox (Macmillan & Co., London, 1907)—each lesson containing the story of one or more chapters of Genesis with the moral and spiritual truths to be deduced from them; (7) *The People's Psalter with Cathedral Pointing*, by the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole (Elliot Stock, London, 1907), which may be mentioned here because of the great value of the headings and divisions of the Psalms as aids to the true understanding of them, admirably fulfilling the purpose of the book as originally published, without pointing, in 1903.

J. F. B-B.

NEW TESTAMENT.

In *Der vorchristliche Jesus, nebst weiteren Vorstudien zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Urchristentums* (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1906) we have a remarkable work which comes from America by way of Germany; and its author, Professor W. B. Smith, of the Tulane University, could scarcely have lighted on a more competent translator than Pastor Lehmpfuhl when deciding to address himself to German readers. He will drive it home to them that attempts to derive Christianity from a mere man are doomed to failure; they are also given to understand that there can be no question of any historical personage as its founder. Discoursing of the combination 'Jesus Christ' he urges that neither title is to be explained of a human being of this earth, but that in their primary significance they must alike be interpreted of a deity—the former being more particularly Jewish, the latter half-foreign and suggesting the Diaspora. In his opening essay—we learn, by the way, that what he now publishes is but a first instalment, he is far more concerned to stimulate to reflexion than to score an easy victory—he enquires into the precise import of the phrase τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; it will not do, we are told, to explain it of events in the life of Jesus; it really points to a 'Jesuslehre' met with in various stages of developement, to a cult which obtained extensively amongst Jews, more particularly Hellenists, long before the Christian era. The author of Acts may labour to establish it that Jerusalem was the one centre from which a new religion was disseminated, but it is all in vain; the Gospels contradict him, he himself relates much which runs counter to his own theory; the 'we-sections' (apparently the diary of wandering preachers with connexions far and wide), together with other notices and allusions, are conclusive for a propaganda which had long been going on at many centres. That the question turns on pre-Christian theological conceptions is plain from the ancient Naasene hymn; it is highly significant that the name of Jesus is invested from the very first with all the magic power of the ineffable tetragram. What does the designation 'Jesus the Nazarene' really mean?—here, again, the thought can only be of deity, for (as is argued at greater length in the second essay) the word Nazarene has nothing whatever to do with the 'geographical fiction' Nazareth; it has its source in a Semitic root N-Ṣ-R; Jesus—Protector, Guardian, Saviour—is none other than the Eternal; conceivably the full original designation ὁ Ναζωραῖος really stands for N-Ṣ-R-J-H, 'Hüter Jahves oder Jahve der Hüter.' In the third Essay the meaning of the preaching 'God raised up Jesus' is discussed; the word ἀνάστασις, we are told, must be explained

of appointment to an office; only by the subsequent addition of *ἀναστῆναι* could the raising up be understood of resurrection. There are two other essays: in one of them (Der Säemann sät den Logos) the Parable of the Sower is held to be a modification or adaptation of Gnostic theories of the Creation; in the other (Saeculi Silentium) the Pauline Epistles are treated of—'up to A.D. 160 no one had any knowledge of the Epistle to the Romans'. But here I am not quoting from Professor Smith's trenchant pages; his book, eminently readable and displaying an abundance of research, will attract attention from the fact of its appearance under the aegis of Professor Schmiedel, who contributes a preface from which the borrowed words are taken. Dr Schmiedel will have the book taken seriously. He bids students recognize in one who writes to him, 'my vocation is mathematics, my avocation theology,' a man not easily refuted, a mathematician equipped with theological learning by no means at the command of every theologian, and scholarly in his methods. As I find him more than hinting that sooner or later he will take the field and join issue with Professor Smith himself, I refrain from attempts to criticize a work the contents of which I have sketched in rough outline. Dr Schmiedel's review should be interesting reading; has he not been saying recently: 'Meinem innersten religiösen Besitz würde kein Schaden geschehen, wenn ich mich heute überzeugen müsste, dass Jesus gar nicht gelebt habe?' To which, however, he was quick to add: 'Aber als Geschichtsforscher kann ich nur sagen, dass dazu keine Aussicht ist.'

H. L. JACKSON.

The Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology, by ERNEST F. SCOTT (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906), is a work that should be widely read, even by those who dissent from its conclusions, for it is probably the ablest summary of results of advanced criticism on the Fourth Gospel that has appeared in the English language.

Mr Scott assigns the date of the Gospel 'with a fair degree of certainty' to the first or second decade of the second century. The original Christian message had by that time unfolded itself into a larger significance. The great mind of Paul had worked upon it. There was a transition not only to a new age but to a new culture. There was a danger of the Gospel evaporating as a philosophy, or petrifying as a tradition.

The author of the Fourth Gospel presents the Sonship of Christ under two aspects which are radically distinct, although to appearance they are brought into harmony. There is, first, the metaphysical

conception, reaching back to Philo, and the Greek thinkers: but this is combined with another, which was derived immediately from the experience of faith. Even in the Prologue the historical narrative and the theological doctrine of the Logos are connected together by the introduction of John the Baptist into its heart. (Apart from this explanation the passage has to me always presented such an air of bathos as to suggest an interpolation.)

The vivid details which contrast so remarkably with the prevailing tone of mystical thought in the work are for the most part nothing but veiled allegorical allusions, and must be set down not to the accurate memory of an eyewitness but to the fine instinct of the literary artist.

In regard to Gnosticism the aim of the evangelist was, on the one hand, to counteract the incipient heretical teaching; on the other hand he seems to have accepted, at least partially, the chief principle of that system. The explanation is that Gnosticism was as yet a party within the Church, and that in all the philosophy and literature of the age we can trace ideas corresponding with those which found expression in that system. It is not improbable also that the Evangelist was influenced by a practical motive, that of regaining for the orthodox faith the more speculative minds which were gradually drifting away from it.

Mr Scott sees St Paul in Nathanael, and regards the omission of the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist and the substitution of that of the feet-washing as due to the author's insight into the spiritual meaning of Christianity and the danger he saw in the increasing reverence attached to the outward rite of the Eucharist.

The governing motive of the Gospel is the separation of men by their attitude towards the Light.

There are no references to authorities in Mr Scott's book. His views seem to be very much those of the Abbé Loisy.

In *Les Idées de M. Loisy sur le Quatrième Évangile*, by CONSTANTIN CHAUVIN (G. Beauchesne & Cie, Paris, 1906), we have an attempt to refute the views of M. Loisy as set forth in his work on the Fourth Gospel and in *Autour d'un petit livre*. M. Chauvin writes as an advocate, not as a critic, and can hardly be taken seriously as a seeker after truth. In spite of good intentions expressed in his Preface, there runs through his pages a certain polemical hardness unbecoming his lofty theme that contrasts unfavourably with the 'music, wit, and oracle' we find in the volumes of the devout and gentle-minded Godet, the quotations from whom form one of the most attractive features of the volume. M. Chauvin's style is

characterized by the chastity and lucidity we expect to find in French prose, and by a systematic method which makes his positions readily intelligible. The work is an excellent summary of the arguments in favour of the historical accuracy of the Gospel narrative. The advocate of course, necessarily glides over or suppresses facts that militate against his case. M. Chauvin brings out, for instance, with much force, the testimony presented by vivid details to the reality of the narrative. It is not his business to enquire why the author dwells on some details while omitting others that he might reasonably expect his readers to be anxious to learn. The *Pilgrim's Progress*, an acknowledged allegory, contains personal reminiscences and vivid details. M. Chauvin so frequently to range himself with the early disciples of our Lord who do not see the spiritual significance of their Master's words and deeds, that he speaks contemptuously of the passion for allegorizing. Yet our Lord, the great Parabolist, is often confessedly also an allegorist, nor, except as an advocate, is it easy for thinkers to find the significance of the details or to distinguish between fact and allegory. An example ready to hand is the Samaritan woman's abandonment of her water-pot. M. Chauvin thinks that she is the frivolous gossip who had asked for the living water as a kind of elixir, yet does not trouble to take it away with her. Dr Abbott, who supports his view by an illustration from Philo, holds the interpretation that now she has received the water of life she has no more need of the earthen vessel. 'See how these allegorists differ,' says M. Chauvin and his friends may exclaim; 'What is the leaving of the water-pot but the natural detail of an eyewitness observant of the Samaritan woman's haste?' This, however, was not the view of Origen, who imitates Philo in illustrating from the story of Rebecca. Some may find in the allegorical a relief from the literal interpretation of the story. With a few touches of his brush the Evangelist has painted a kind of Samaritan prototype of the *Wife of Bath*. The present writer finds some difficulty in believing that it was on such a personality that the Master bestowed profound truths that were to influence mankind in all ages, and he would gladly regard the story as an allegory and the Samaritan woman as a type.

There is, then, much to admire in the fullness and acuteness of M. Chauvin's advocacy; but, having regard to his supercilious attitude towards his co-religionist, and his one-sidedness, it must be said of his treatment of what perhaps is the greatest of all literary problems relating to what must be regarded as at least one of the greatest of the world's masterpieces

'Non defensoribus istis
Res eget.'

Jesus and Nicodemus: A Study in Spiritual Life, by the Rev. JOHN REID, M.A. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906), is a thoughtful and occasionally eloquent monograph of a homiletic nature, embellished with apt illustration from a wide range of literature. The author adopts generally the traditional point of view, regarding the conversation as historical. He has no reference to Dr E. A. Abbott's theory that the original Nicodemus was the official provider of water for the purposes of purification in Jerusalem, and hence a very appropriate character in a dialogue setting forth the doctrine of regeneration through something more than water. Mr Reid interprets the very difficult phrase ἐξ ὕδατος in ver. 5, as referring to the baptism of John the Baptist, on the ground that it must refer to something already known to Nicodemus. Our Lord is only repeating the words of John (Matt. iii 11) in another form, and recalling to Nicodemus the Fore-runner's words about repentance which the typical Pharisee had rejected. The word 'water', therefore, has not a universal but only a particular reference to the case of Nicodemus.

Mr Reid renders John iii 8: 'The Spirit breathes where He wills, and thou hearest His voice, but knowest not whence He comes or whither He goes: so is every one that has been born of the Spirit.'

He argues that πνεῦμα must have the same sense throughout the passage, *vv.* 3-8, that in no other passage in the New Testament is it translated 'wind', unless it be in Heb. i 7, where it is a quotation from the Old Testament. Had the translator understood the Aramaic word in the original as 'wind', he would have used ἀνεμος. By the use of the perfect tense δ γεγεννημένος the evangelist indicated a comparison between the Spirit and the Spirit-born. If it be somewhat forced to render πνέω 'breathe', it is still more forced to render πνεῦμα 'wind'. οὕτως indicates a comparison of manner and not of substance or character.

On this interpretation Mr Reid bases a commentary of much spiritual power and insight.

Homiletically the book is edifying in the best sense of the word; critically it is careful and thoughtful and the outcome of earnest study.

JOHN HUNTER SMITH.

The book of most permanent value which has been published since our last CHRONICLE is the first volume of Dr Hastings's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906). The book abundantly justifies itself, covering, as it does, a much wider range of ground than the *Dictionary of the Bible*, including many subjects

which do not properly come into a dictionary of the Bible and treat those that do from a different point of view. Especially valuable, in this way, are the articles that trace the history of variations in the manner in which Christ and the Gospels, and the ideas presented of them, have been interpreted in later times. Merely as examples of these articles I would mention Dr Knowling's 'Criticism' (Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* has been published since and is not generally accessible) and Mr R. S. Franks's 'Justification'.

To Dr Nestle and the Bible Society of Württemberg (Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart, 1906) we owe two attractive pocket volumes. The one volume is the New Testament in Latin according to the Clementine text of 1592, with *apparatus criticus* giving the variants in later editions and collations of the text of Wordsworth-Whitcomb to the end of Acts, and beyond Acts of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and the codd. Amiatinus and Fuldensis. An explanatory preface, the Eusebian sections, the Letter to the Laodiceans, and Jerome's letter to Damasus are prefixed. We have in this volume, accordingly, what has long been wanted, with the guarantee of Dr Nestle's name, and we gladly acknowledge a further debt of gratitude to him. The other volume is the same Latin text interleaved with Dr Nestle's Greek text. That a few of the Latin pages are unpleasantly crowded is an inevitable result of exact correspondence of the two texts page for page, and had the paper used been thicker the volume would have been too large for the pocket. The type and the binding are excellent, and a careful selection of bibliographical references is given in the margin.

The Fourfold portrait of the heavenly King as presented in the Gospels by Interpreter (Elliot Stock, London, 1907), is a new translation in modern English of the four Gospels, with, on the opposite page, the Authorized Version (to which notes shewing the changes made by the Revisers are appended), references to the Old Testament (the passages being usually given in full), and parallel passages in the other Gospels. The translation is divided into sections with explanatory headings and analyses, and there are tables of contents, Old Testament quotations, various charts, and a complete index of incidents in the life of Jesus shewing the Gospels in which they are narrated. Much that is given here can of course be found elsewhere, though not, as far as I know, so convenient a form, especially the Old Testament references and headings to the sections, which seem to me to be peculiarly valuable. The new translation, so far as I have tested it, has the merit of being scholarly and dignified, though the translator sometimes invades

province of the commentator, as, for example, when he renders *καὶ πατέρα ἰδίον ἔλεγεν τὸν θεόν* (John v 18) 'was also calling God his father in a peculiar and exclusive sense'.

Of Dr Harnack's *Lukas der Arzt* (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1906), which has not yet been noticed in the JOURNAL, an English translation has already been published (*Luke the Physician, the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles*; Williams & Norgate, London, 1907), and English readers can study for themselves the method by which Dr Harnack, largely helped by the works of Dr Hobart and Sir John Hawkins, maintains the traditional opinion that the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles are the work of the same author, and that he is Luke, the beloved physician and companion of St Paul. They can also see—and it behoves them to mark the fact—that this conclusion does not carry with it, for Dr Harnack, the belief that either work is historically trustworthy. Dr Harnack knows, of course, that many of the scholars and critics with whom he is usually classed will regard him as terribly reactionary; and he writes of those students, who are so wedded to preconceived and arbitrary theories of the origin of the books of the New Testament that they cannot see the plain facts of the case, in terms so scathing, not to say contemptuous, that had any English writer used them of the 'advanced critics' he would have been condemned as sunk in the slough of conservatism and that insularity from which, it is said, Englishmen can never quite extract themselves. It may be noted that Dr Harnack has not converted M. Loisy (*Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.* xii 2 p. 150).

Die Person Jesu im Streite der Meinungen der Gegenwart (Heinsius, Leipzig, 1906) is the subject of an address given by Dr Schmiedel at the general meeting of the Swiss Society for liberal Christianity last year. The address belongs to the class of fugitive literature, but a short summary of it may be of interest. Dr Schmiedel sets himself to consider three questions: whether Jesus really lived, whether He regarded Himself as the Messiah, and whether His ethical teaching is still suited to the present day. He answers all three questions in the affirmative. The first is decided mainly on the evidence of passages in the Gospels which at least one of the three synoptists has omitted or altered with a view to enhancing the majesty of the person of Jesus—passages which shew Him to have been 'in the full sense *man*'. That He regarded Himself as the Messiah is shewn by His answer to the Baptist (Mt. xi 2-6), the incident at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. viii 29 f), His question about the 110th Psalm (Mk. xii 35-37), His acceptance of Messianic privileges (Mk. x 35-40, Mt. xix 28), His entrance into Jerusalem riding on an ass

(cf. Zech. ix 9). His ascent to the question of the High Priest (Mk. x 61 f.), and the title on the Cross (Mk. xv 26). 'How can any one pronounce all this incredible, and still find anything credible in the first three Gospels?' He also accepts as a genuine saying of our Lord, and so as further proof that He regarded Himself as the Messiah, the prophecy that He would return to earth on the clouds of heaven, and insists with much emphasis that the belief of the disciples in the Resurrection must have been based on our Lord's own prediction. The 'Messianic consciousness' he thinks was a gradual development, in the course of our Lord's public active ministry, from His consciousness of His relation to God as a Son (a child), culminating in His conviction of the need of abrogating the law of Moses, which only the Messiah could change. He was, of course, an idealist, but not a visionary (or *Schwärmer*) in any bad sense of the term.

Nearly half the lecture is devoted to the consideration of the third question, and particularly to the decision of the problem how far Jewish belief that the end of the world was near affected the permanent work of His ethical teaching. Dr Schmiedel answers in effect, though with good many qualifications, that the fundamental principles of Jesus' teaching are capable of application to all conditions and for all time. The qualifications which he makes seem to me to amount often to a denial of the main thesis, as, for example, when he forbids us to found our conclusions on a single saying, such as the answer about the tribute-money, any theory as to the worth of the State, or to use the parable of the Talents in relation to the business of civic life. Wherever it is possible to grasp an ethical principle, it must surely be legitimate to give it the widest application. In this part of the discussion there is a good deal that is arbitrary: e.g. Dr Schmiedel says that 'Jesus cannot have said such things' as Lk. xvi 25, 1-9. The parables, certainly, are not free from difficulties, but other interpretations of them than those which Schmiedel gives are possible.

In *L'Origine du Quatrième Évangile* (Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1906) M. M. Lepin reviews carefully the theories of Réville and Loisy, compared with those of Holtzmann, Harnack, Jülicher, Abbott, and Schmiedel, and by a gradual exposure of flaws in their arguments, and a progressive narrowing down of the circle in which the author must be looked for, finds him at last triumphantly in the Apostle John. Whether we can accept this conclusion or not, the book has value as a review of previous criticism—on the whole, so far as I can judge, fairly presented, though some of this criticism is so provisional that the statement of Jülicher's position already needs correction from the last edition of his *Einleitung*.

An altogether admirable statement of the problems connected with the Fourth Gospel is furnished by Mr H. L. Jackson's *The Fourth Gospel and some recent German criticism* (University Press, Cambridge, 1906). Mr Jackson shews a singularly wide and thorough knowledge of the literature of the subject down to the time at which he wrote, and an unusual power of logical arrangement and discrimination of the evidence. To say that he finds it impossible to solve all the problems is only to say that he really knows what they are. There is no book on the subject which I should so confidently put in the hands of any one who desired to understand the present position of the Johannine question.

An Exposition of the Gospel of Mark, by the late William Kelly (Elliot Stock, London, 1907), is a reprint of articles published in 1865 and 1866 in the *Bible Treasury*, with introduction and notes mainly drawn from later papers of Mr Kelly in the same periodical, edited and enlarged so as to take account of later work by E. E. Whitfield.

In *The date of St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (University Press, Cambridge, 1906) Mr Douglass Round, accepting all Professor Ramsay's arguments on other points, argues for a date before the Council at Jerusalem. As one who felt, in Mr Round's words, that Dr Ramsay's 'brilliant work illumined what had been before a dark corner', that the 'North Galatian' theory lacked all evidence, and that it was impossible to reconcile the second visit of Galatians with the third visit of Acts, I heartily welcome Mr Round's effort to remove the 'burden' of the later date of the Epistle. He seems to me to have established a very high degree of probability for his contention that the $\tau\omicron\delta$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ of Gal. iv 13 is covered by the two visits paid to most of the Galatian Churches on the one Missionary Journey—going and returning; and if this explanation be accepted, a chief argument against the early date of the Epistle falls to the ground.

Dr H. J. C. Knight's *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Methuen & Co., London) is an altogether admirable addition to the series 'The Churchman's Bible', alike for scholarship, arrangement, insight into the writer's thought, and powerful and attractive expression of it. The essay on 'Christ and Slavery', with its warnings as to the danger of premature emancipation, with which the little volume concludes, adds greatly to its value.

The same writer's *The Temptation of our Lord, considered as related to the Ministry and as a revelation of His Person* (Longmans, Green, & Co., London, 1907), the Hulsean Lectures 1905-1906, belongs to the

class of books on 'Divinity' in the old English sense of the word, and takes at once a high place among them. In days when scholars are for the most part immersed in the study of the *origines* of Christian literature and institutions, such a book as Dr Knight's is peculiarly welcome and must be warmly recommended to the careful study of all who in any sense hold Christ's commission and believe that the principles underlying our Lord's own Ministry are the principles which His Church must endeavour to follow in all its work in the world. I give the purpose of the book in Dr Knight's own words (p. 64): 'the particular task I have set myself is this: to try so to interpret it [sc. the Temptation] as to shew the connexion between it and the Ministry which followed—a Ministry which is still being carried on by the Lord Ascended and His Body the Church. Or to put it otherwise: accepting the Baptism as the fixing of the great *end*, I seek to consider whether we have not in the Temptation the Lord's final human *sanction of laws* governing His accomplishing it and the *adoption of means* conducive to it and in harmony with those laws.'

Apologia, by Dr E. A. Abbott (A. & C. Black, London, 1907), is an explanation and a defence of the author's religious belief, and a summary of his recent works indicating the stages through which he has been led to his present theological position, in relation to some recent criticisms. Everything that Dr Abbott writes has charm and interest, but I do not think that his distinction between 'miraculous' and 'supernatural', or his view that there is no incompatibility between 'ordinary parentage' and 'spiritual uniqueness' is made easier or more generally acceptable by anything in this book. Dr Abbott writes (p. 70): 'the birth of Jesus of Nazareth involved a unique congenital act [viz. on the part of God] whereby there abode in Him all the Fulness of the divine Goodness. With all respect, and in no eristic spirit, I would ask how such a unique act of God, which overrides all that we know of the course of ethical development, differs from a 'miraculous' act.'

New Light on the New Testament from records of the Graeco-Roman period, by A. Deissmann, translated by L. R. M. Strachan (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907), is a reprint of Dr Deissmann's brilliant articles in the *Expository Times*, Oct. 1906—April 1907. Every one will be glad to have them in this more convenient form.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

PATRISTICA.

Die Apostolischen Väter, von F. X. FUNK. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. (*Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften als Grundlage für Seminarübungen*, herausgegeben unter Leitung von Professor D. G. KRÜGER. Zweite Reihe, Erstes Heft.) (Mohr, Tübingen, 1906.)

AMONG the cheaper issues of the Apostolic Fathers the smaller edition of Funk has taken an honourable place. His larger edition, in two volumes, appeared in 1901. The present volume is a second edition of his smaller edition, and has profited by recent research in the subject, which is copiously referred to both in the general and in the special introductions. Scripture parallels are given in the footnotes, but hardly with sufficient fullness; for example, no parallels are given for *τρέμων τοὺς λόγους* in *Didache* iii 8, *οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἴδια εἶναι* *Did.* iv 8, *ὑμεῖς δὲ (οἱ) δούλοι ὑποταγῆσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν* *Did.* iv 11, and several other passages. At the end is an index of scripture passages arranged according to treatises. The edition is most useful and extraordinarily cheap.¹

Index Patristicus sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum ex editione minore Gebhardt Harnack Zahn lectionibus editionum minorum Funk et Lightfoot admissis composuit EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Ph. D. (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1907.)

THE only bad thing about this book is the principal part of its title: it would have been less cumbersome and misleading in some such form as *Index in Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*. The idea and the execution of the work are so good that it is strange it did not appear long ago. Dr Goodspeed, the distinguished papyrologist of the University of Chicago, was impressed by the necessity for such a work at the present, when studying the vocabulary of the Greek New Testament under Dr E. D. Burton. He began the book more than five years ago, taking as his model—and a very good model too—the *Index Homericus* of Gehring. He has himself collected the material from the Fragments of Papias and part of the Epistles of Ignatius. The remainder of the work has been done by pupils under his controlling direction. The text used for the compilation was the third smaller edition of Von Gebhardt, Harnack, and Von Zahn, printed in 1900, but the fourth edition, that of 1905, has not been neglected; the fifth edition, that of 1906, appeared too late to be used. Material not printed in these issues, the Remains of the Presbyters and the fragment of Quadratus, is not indexed, but the readings of Funk (not, of course,

¹ Dr. Funk died in February of the present year.

the 1906 edition noticed above) and Lightfoot, where they differ from those of the German triumvirate, are recorded. A comparative table of the sections of the editors, where they differ, is provided in the preface. The index is an absolutely complete one of all the words and their occurrences in the Apostolic Fathers. I have tested it in scores of places and have found neither an omission nor a false reference. Its completeness may be illustrated by the fact that every *καί*, every *δέ*, every case of the article is indexed. It may be questioned whether it was necessary to include these. It is certain that it would take less time to read through all the Apostolic Fathers than to discover a passage by the help of the fact that one of the commonest words occurred in it. Yet there are advantages for the grammarian in this scrupulous completeness: it is remarkable, for instance, that *καίροι* occurs but once in the whole range of the Apostolic Fathers, *Diog.* 8, 3. Parts of nouns, adjectives, and verbs are kept by themselves: thus, all cases of the genitive singular of a word are given together, the treatises quoted coming in a constant order; the same is the case with the varied forms of verbs. Further, in adjectives, where the genitive plural, for example, has the same form throughout, the instances of the masculine are given by themselves, followed by the instances of the feminine, and then by the neuter. It would be impossible to exaggerate the value which the present work has for the serious student, not only of the Apostolic Fathers, but of the Greek New Testament itself. Students of vocabulary, grammar, and theology will find it equally precious, and deserves a hearty welcome from all such. It may be mentioned that a Latin index is provided of all such words as are not extant in the original Greek.

Clemens Alexandrinus: Zweiter Band, Stromata, Bücher I-VI, herausgegeben, im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Dr. OTTO STÄHLIN, Professor am k. Maxgymnasium in München [*griech.-christliche Schriftsteller*, Band 15]. (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1906.)

THE second volume of the Berlin Clement follows the first after a very brief interval, considering the magnitude of the task which Dr. Stählin has undertaken. The general features of the present volume are those of the first. There is one difference in the printing. In the first volume the numbers of Sylburg's and Potter's pages were given in the same type as those indicating the sections and subsections of the text. In this the sections and subsections are numbered in a thicker type, and are thus easily distinguished from the numbers referring to the pages of the earlier editors. The *Stromateis* of Clement is an excellent example of the paucity of manuscript authority for constituting

ae texts of the Greek Fathers, especially as compared with the generally abundant authority for those of the Latin Fathers. There is but one MS of the *Stromateis*, Laur. v 3, of the eleventh century, preserved at Florence: Paris B. N. Suppl. Graec. 250 (saec. xvi) is merely a copy of L. It is unfortunate that, owing to the loss of a leaf at the beginning of the MS, we do not now possess the opening paragraphs of the work: there are some leaves lost at the end also. L and M (= Mutinensis [saec. x-xi], containing the *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus*) were together in one library in the eleventh or twelfth century. The scribe of L wrote a part of M. This same scribe also wrote Urbinas 124, a MS of Dio Chrysostom. The greater part both of M and Urbinas was copied from MSS belonging to Arethas of Cappadocia. So it is natural to conjecture that we owe to him also the *Stromateis* of Clement.¹ To him we are further beholden for the Oxford 'Clarkianus' of Plato and 'Dorvillianus' of Euclid, as well as for the best MS of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius.² Our manuscript is very carelessly written, and Dr Kenyon, as the result of a study of its errors, has come to the conclusion that it was copied from a papyrus MS, which contained numerous abbreviations, and was damaged besides. The text bristles with errors, both in Clement's words and those of the authors he quotes. There is therefore a tempting field for conjecture, which has not been overlooked even by classical scholars. The present edition forms a reliable basis for further conjecture. The reports of the MS readings must be practically faultless, as besides the editio princeps, which was printed from this MS, the editor has been able to compare the collations made by G. Müller (for Dindorf), H. Heyse, and himself. The scribe has been guilty of omissions, but there appear to be no long interpolations. The editor gives a selection, about three pages long, of the errors in Dindorf's reports of the readings of L. The present edition is an admirable piece of work. In spite of the awkward textual situation the text has been made very readable. It has attained this excellence partly through the editor's own unsurpassed knowledge of Clement, partly by the help of conjectures from some of the most eminent Greek and patristic scholars of Europe, Professors J. B. Mayor, who also sent Jeremiah Markland's conjectures on Book I, R. Münzel, C. Weyman, E. Schwartz, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. In spite of all this help the editor has wisely obelized the text from time to time (for example, p. 24 l. 1, p. 25 l. 6, p. 28 ll. 11-12, p. 29 l. 12, p. 70 l. 6). The sources of the quotations are given with a fullness which will provide much valuable

¹ I take these facts from Stählin's first volume pp. xxxix to xlii; as he has there fully described L, he dispenses with a description in the present volume.

² See Gifford's edition of the last I p. viii.

material for the future commentator on the *Stromateis*; here the hand of the master Weyman has been at work, and it is unlikely that much has escaped him. On p. 25 l. 17 (I vii 38, 5), Ioh. 7, 17 is to be compared. The whole character of this book makes one long for the indexes, especially those of scripture quotations and of words. There is great need for a special lexicon to Clement; there is also a need for further study of Clement's scripture quotations (outside the Gospels). We may hope that Dr Stählin will not keep us waiting long for the rest of his epoch-making edition.

Λόγος Σωτηρίας πρὸς τὴν Παρθένον (*De Virginitate*): eine echte Schrift des Athanasius, von Lic. EDUARD FREIHERRN VON DER GOLTZ. Privatdocent an der Universität Berlin. (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1905.) [*Texte und Untersuchungen u.s.w.* N.F. xiv 2 a.]

THE present work is divided into three parts, preceded by an introduction and followed by indexes. The first part is occupied with the manuscripts of the *De Virginitate*, as it is commonly called, and their classification: a critically revised text is then provided complete. The second part discusses the contents and character of the work in general, the spiritual (*geistige*) relationship with the world of ideas of the Egyptian ascetics, the circumstances of life presupposed by the tract, its literary connexions, and finally the question as to the author. The final part is entitled 'Die Bedeutung des Traktats für unsere Kenntnis der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens'. In the study of the MSS the editor has profited greatly, as he fully acknowledges, by the articles of Bp Wallis in this JOURNAL (vol. iii, 1901-1902, pp. 97-109, 245-255), and has had the good fortune to find a much older MS of the *De Virginitate* than any hitherto known, one of the tenth or eleventh century, belonging to the Monastery of St John in Patmos. He has also examined, or had examined for him, far more manuscripts than any previous editor. His introduction, in which four groups of Athanasius MSS are distinguished, will be useful to future editors of Athanasius. His conclusion with regard to the present tract is that its text is best preserved in the Patmos MS, and that four other MSS (Basel [saec. xiv]; Oxford [saec. xv]; Venice [saec. xii (?)]; London [saec. xiii]) are independent of it, and sometimes give a better reading, although they represent various stages of intentional alteration. Perhaps the most important discovery he has made is that the liturgical passages, which were suspected, are the work of M (at Munich, saec. xvi) and G (at Geneva, saec. xvi), from the latter of which the *editio princeps* was printed. We are grateful for the new text, both for its own sake and for the sake of the passages of scripture quoted, some of them rather long, which are thus brought nearer the form in which the author of

the tract published them. One of the most important tasks for the textual criticism of the New Testament is to obtain the quotations of the Greek Fathers in the period 300-375 in as accurate a form as possible. The question whether the present tract is a genuine work of Athanasius or not is one which has long been disputed, and the present chronicler is in no way qualified to decide it. The manuscripts are unanimous in favour of the attribution, but it is a commonplace of Christian history that great names become attached to the works of those with whose activity they are sometimes contemporaneous. The tract must belong to Egypt and probably to the fourth century. Dr Von der Goltz might have compared the style and language of the tract in detail with that of the admittedly genuine works of Athanasius. How far, for instance, are the methods of citation of scripture enumerated on pages 88 and 93 to be found in his works? With this qualification it may be said that the editor has done everything that can be done to strengthen the case for Athanasius's authorship (pp. 114 ff). The value of his work is, however, in no way dependent on this theory of authorship. He gives us out of his stores of learning many valuable parallels to the statements of the tract on the life of virgins.

Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης (*De Sacerdotio*) of *St John Chrysostom*; edited by
J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN. (Cambridge University Press, 1906.)
[Cambridge Patristic Texts: General Editor—A. J. Mason, D.D.]

IT is an event of importance when a classical scholar of the calibre of Dr Nairn turns his attention to patristic scholarship and produces an edition of a Father's masterpiece. I may be permitted to express the hope that this is the first of many contributions to the subject from him. Patristic scholarship will benefit greatly by highly-trained faculties like his. The introduction occupies rather more than a quarter of the book, and deals with several subjects. The first is the character, date, and genuineness of the *De Sacerdotio*. On the question of date Dr Nairn takes the view that the work belongs neither to Chrysostom's diaconate (381-386), nor to a still earlier period, but that it was written after 386, and probably before 390. In support of this he produces a previously unused argument from a sermon of Chrysostom preached at Antioch, one of the *Homilies on Uzziah*, in which he refers to a work on 'priesthood' which he is to publish at a future date. Now, deacons did not preach at Antioch, and Chrysostom did not become a presbyter till 386. Therefore the treatise on the duties of a bishop is later than 386. The second part of the introduction is concerned with several points of Chrysostom's teaching illustrated by the *De Sacerdotio*: (a) the dignity of the priestly office, (b) the doctrine of the

Holy Eucharist, (c) penitence, confession, and absolution, (d) persecution of heretics, (e) the office of the Bishop. All this is admirable both in its brevity and arrangement, and full of interest. Some interesting illustrations of some of the points mentioned are afforded by the Christian inscriptions of Lycaonia which have been collected and will be published together. The third part of the introduction is devoted to other ancient treatises on pastoral theology, and the fourth to the style of the *De Sacerdotio*. Room might have been found somewhere for mention of the fact that Dr Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, in his *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care* praises and quotes Chrysostom's treatise (pp. 66 ff of the first edition, published in 1692). The identity of the Basil of the *De Sacerdotio* forms the subject of the fifth part of the introduction: he adopts the prevailing view that he was the Bishop of Raphanea, near Antioch. The sixth, and longest, part of the introduction discusses the history of the text. There the most important editions are named and passed under review, and Montfaucon gets his *coup de grâce*. (In addition to the Gaume and Migne editions of Chrysostom, yet another complete edition appeared in France last century, in the sixties. The edition contains a translation, and bears the name of an abbé as the editor, but I cannot recollect anything further of the book. It is not mentioned by Dr Nairn nor by Bardenhewer in his *Patrologie*: it must therefore be a rare book.) Of manuscripts we are given a long list, and thirty have been used for this edition: on p. li, l. 3 from foot, for *Olio* read *Oliv*; and on p. lii, n. 1, correct the curious error 'Baudin' to 'Bandini'. They are classified into four groups, and the best appears to be Cod. monac. gr. 354 (saec. xi): some MSS which may be of importance it has not been possible to examine. The Syriac and Latin versions are next referred to. The British Museum MSS of the former are enumerated, but no others, and of the old Latin version no MSS are mentioned. It is very possible that MSS of the latter still exist, as Chrysostom was a valued teacher in the Western Church early in the ninth century and earlier still.¹ The introduction concludes with a useful bibliography. The critical notes and explanatory notes are printed at the foot of the page according to the plan of the series. The critical apparatus is clearly arranged, and the explanatory notes are short and pithy. Many of the latter consist of translations of difficult words. This is as it ought to be, for the Greek Fathers receive much the same cold neglect at the hands of lexicographers as the Latin. The edition

¹ Cassiodorus in the sixth century valued him. He was used by Zmaragdus for his 'Expositio Libri Comitis', and is indicated by the marginal symbol τθ in his MSS. There are at least four ninth-century MSS of Chrysostom-Mucianus on Hebrews.

will be found admirably fitted for its purpose. An appendix is added on 'the bearing of the scriptural quotations in the *De Sacerdotio* on the textual criticism of the New Testament'. An examination of these is seen to bear out, as might be expected, the conclusion of Dr Hort as to the 'Syrian' character of Chrysostom's readings. Those interested in this question must now consult the second part of the first volume of Von Soden's great edition of the Greek New Testament, published somewhat after Dr Nairn's book, in which a much wider induction is used, also on the basis of the best MSS. Von Soden is of opinion that Chrysostom was himself the author of the earliest recension of what he calls the K (= *κοινή*) form of text. The present book is provided with useful indexes of subjects, scripture texts, and Greek words.

Kommodian von Gaza: ein Arelatensischer Laiendichter aus der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts, von HEINRICH BREWER, S. J. Phil. Dr. (Schöningh, Paderborn, 1906.) [*Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, herausgegeben von Dr A. EHRHARD und Dr J. P. KIRSCH, VI Band, 1 und 2 Heft.]

FATHER BREWER, professor in the Feldkirch 'Stella Matutina', the Eton of Austria, has made a reputation as an authority on ancient Athenian law, but is equally at home in the history and theology of the early centuries of the Church. His edition of the commentaries of 'Ambrosiaster' on the Epistles of St Paul, now in preparation, will, it is fair to prophesy, be one of the most noteworthy editions of any Latin work that have ever appeared. Meantime he has issued the present work on Commodian, which demands our attention. This the title at once arrests, as it sets forth in brief the striking thesis which the author proceeds to maintain. Commodian is not mentioned by Jerome in his *De Viris Illustribus*, but appears in the supplement to that work written by Gennadius between 467 and 469. The natural inference from this fact is that he is posterior to Jerome in date. Yet the fashionable opinion among scholars for a long time has been that he is our earliest Latin poet and belongs to the middle of the third century. Brewer begins his book by giving a full account of the history of modern opinion about Commodian's life and circumstances. The prevailing view is he was a resident in Africa, and that he became a bishop. Now, it is a safe canon that a Christian Latin work, written prior to Jerome's time and unmentioned in his list of biographies, must have been omitted for some good reason. But these critics have given no valid reason. It will not do to say that Jerome was ignorant of the existence of the work; the evidence tends to shew that he was ignorant of nothing in the realm of earlier Christian Latin literature.

The whole history of modern opinion on this subject shews an abject submission to views promulgated as recently as the seventeenth century. These views were based on wrong readings and wrong interpretations of the text of the *Instructiones*. The work was attributed to the period of Constantine till the *Dissertatio* of Dodwell appeared in 1698. It is with him that the modern view takes its rise. For the slight fluctuations in that view the reader must be referred to Brewer's book. His own conclusion is that Commodian wrote his poems between 458 and 466, and that his home was South Gaul. A brief account of his arguments must here be given, but the reasoning is so close that justice cannot be done to them in the space at my disposal. *Apol.* 805-822 shews that the author was acquainted with the occurrences at the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 A.D. His description is in accord with what the ancient historians tell us of these events. *Instructiones* ii 10 shews knowledge of an affair decided by Pope Leo in 458. The references to martyrdom in the poems are rightly referred to the treatment Christians received from the Vandals in South Gaul. Here and elsewhere in the argument the author makes the most striking and convincing use of the canons of fifth-century Councils in Gaul. *Apol.* 808 is referred to the crossing of the Danube by the Huns in 466, and this part of the poem is the latest in date of all the extant works of Commodian. (The erased word at the end of the MS of the *carmen* is expanded to *antichristo*, and the only objection I can think of to this view is that the *-christo* would probably be represented $\overline{\chi\rho\sigma}$, and there is thus too much space for *antichristo*.) Further, *Instructiones* ii 27 was composed about the year 462 and refers to circumstances in Gaul. *Instructiones* ii 28 is directly complimentary to Pope Hilarus (461-468), *Instructiones* i 32 is against Arvandus praefectus praetorio of South Gaul. There are many general considerations which confirm the dates just mentioned. The second chapter of the book discusses the circumstances of Commodian's life. The use of the word *ostare* (*Instructiones* ii 18, 15) = *oster*, which has passed into no other Romance language, points to Gaul: so does the use of the Gallic liturgy in *Instructiones* ii 35. The river referred to in *Instructiones* ii 9, 10 must be the Rhône, and a consideration of the reference to it indicates Arles as the place of his home. There he came into contact with the luxury of the place and with the deeds of Arvandus. There, and there only, outside Rome, could he acquire his knowledge of the canons of Gallic Councils and other official documents of the Church. But though his home was at Arles, he was a native of Gaza in Syria, from which country there were many residents in Gaul at the time. The internal evidence of the poems proves him to have been a layman at the time they were written, and one of the ascetics that lived 'in the world'. He was also at the

time of writing advanced in years, but had probably come from Syria to Gaul in early life, and had there received a good education to fit him for public life. In earlier manhood he lived an evil life, and entered Christianity probably through Judaism. Brewer next shews that Sabellianism, though somewhat changed from its earlier character, lasted into the fifth century, and that the so-called 'apologeticum carmen' is really misnamed, being not an apologetic, but a catechetical work. An able chapter follows on the religious views of Commodian, in which his dependence on Lactantius (and through him on the Book of Enoch), Hippolytus *Περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἀντιχρίστου*, Pseudo-Hippolytus *Περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου*, the *Apocalypse*, and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, &c., is clearly shewn. The subjects particularly discussed are demons and the last things. The fourth chapter is devoted to the models and imitators of the poet. It is pointed out in connexion with the Bible that Commodian is not entirely dependent on Cyprian's *Testimonia* for his quotations. The *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani* (date about 430) was known to our author and used by him. The Old Latin character of Commodian's New Testament quotations is illustrated. Borrowings from, among others, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Cyprian, *Disticha Catonis* (very striking) are pointed out. Naturally not all parallels are equally cogent. The final argument is a linguistic one. It seeks to shew that the author's language proves him a fifth-century writer. This chapter must have cost the author great trouble, as there is still no comprehensive guide to the study of the later Latin, and every new explorer must hack down the tangled growth which surrounds him and impedes his progress. This part of the proof is quadruple. First, words and meanings of words are produced in Commodian that cannot be paralleled before the beginning of the fourth century. Then the phonetics, the forms of words and syntactical forms are successively illustrated, and support the conclusion. Some fresh illustrations are given below to strengthen the argument. I have nothing to offer against it. The work ends with a good index, which will be useful to students of fourth- and fifth-century literature in general.

A few notes may here be added. Page 45, note 2, add a reference to Mommsen and Meyer's *Codex Theodosianus* ii p. 90; page 76, note 1, for 'quaerulos' read 'querulos'; page 93, note 3, for 'catholica' = 'catholica ecclesia', compare also C. H. Turner's *Monumenta* fasc. i page 15¹; page 98, note 1, for 'rector' = *bishop*, compare C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL vii (1905-1906) pp. 282 f; page 161, note 5, on 'Cod. Albig. 2' cf. C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL ii (1900-1901) p. 266 ff; page 221, a much fuller account of MSS of Gennadius's *Liber Ecclesiasti-*

¹ I have noted Ambst in 1 Cor. iii 15 (Migne xvii p. 211 c); Aug. *de bapt. c. Don.* several times.

corum Dogmatum was given by C. H. Turner in this JOURNAL vii (1905-1906) pp. 81-88 and viii pp. 103-114; page 281, note 1, compare *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti cx.xvii*, qu. 76 § 1 *saluator . . . nuptiarum uota . . . poculis honestavit*, 106 § 16, 115 § 50; page 293, on the text of Matth. v 22, add Cod. Bob.; page 294, on the text of Matth. xiii 24-30, add Codd. Bob. Monac. German.; Corbei. is dated by some saec. v; while, strictly, Cyprian's rendering is unknown, it may safely be assumed to have been identical with that of Bob. (cf. also p. 643, 17 H.); *lolium* and *avenae* together in Prosper may be due to imitation of Virgil's line (*Ecl.* v 37); page 295, on John xx 28, Vercellensis may be added to Colbertinus; page 311, compare *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test. cx.xvii* quaest. 114 § 31; page 324, Dr Sanday's article in *Studia Biblica* vol. i makes it pretty certain that the Pseudo-Theophilus commentary is the borrower; pages 328-329, the references Caesarius makes to chattering in church are frequent; add Ps.-Aug. *serm.* 265, 3 *in ecclesia stantes nolite uerbosari*; . . . *qui enim in ecclesia uerbosari uoluerit . . .*; 283, 1; 286, 5, 6; there are doubtless others in the many unpublished sermons Dom Morin has discovered; page 332, note 3 for 'Aetheria' we should probably substitute 'Eucheria'; pages 333 foll., the references are unfortunately to the sixth and not the seventh edition of Georges' *Handwörterbuch*—Benoist-Goelzer's *Dictionnaire* would have been better still—and not all the published parts of the new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* appear to have been accessible to the author; for instance, he could have added greatly to the examples of *adesse* = *esse*, and strengthened his argument; page 334 *besteus*, the *Thesaurus* is without Brewer's example from Gregory of Tours, but has instances from the *Acts of Peter* and the veterinary writer Chiron; page 337, add a reference to Watson in *Studia Biblica* iv p. 255; pages 339-340 *inspector cordis* is a translation of *καρδιογνώστης* (Ac. xv 8), found in Iren. III xii 14, *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 75 (79) § 2, 126 § 9, Aug. *Gen. ad Litt.* xi 34, *serm.* 91 § 5, 291 § 5, 352 § 5, Ps.-Aug. *serm.* 79 § 1 (cf. *conscientiae inspector* Ps.-Aug. *serm.* 62 § 10); page 341, *paupera* (fem.) occurs *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 124 § 1; of *pausare*, intransitive, I have the following examples: inscr. in Cabrol and Leclercq *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* I 1 p. ciii (of date prior to 325), which would appear to be the earliest instance discovered, Theodore Priscian (ed. Rose), index, *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 127 § 4, [Orig.] tract. (ed. Batiffol) p. 210, 10, Migne *P.L.* lxvii 1036 B; page 343, *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* has also got both *septimana* and *hebdomas*; page 346, note 1, Ambrosiaster also occasionally uses *diaco* (-onis),¹ e. g. *Quaest.* 101 § 4, and, if my memory serves me right, Pelagius

¹ For *διάκων* in Greek, compare Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* inscr. 672 (of the third or fourth century).

too: there can be little doubt that collation of better MSS will often restore it where editors have altered it; page 350, the similar sounds of *x* and *s* may be illustrated from MS *ff*² of the Gospels, see Buchanan in this JOURNAL vii (1905-1906) pp. 112, 116; page 351 *aduliscens* is not infrequent in MSS; e.g. *aduliscentas* is the reading of the (best) Metz MS in *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 127 § 34. It is surprising to find that the author has not availed himself of the numerous illustrations of metrical points on page 35 afforded by the *Heptateuch* of Cyprian of Toulon (ed. Peiper). There are misprints on pages 2, 23, 153, 160, 207, 263, 315, 323, 325, 340, 347. The index might have been fuller with advantage: for instance, the following references could have been added under 'Ambrosiaster': 82, 85 f, 98, 136, 150 f: and 'Predigten 182' and 'Regnum 48 n. 1' were worth inserting. The binder must be a rather out-of-date person, as the book falls to pieces when cut open.

Sedulius Scottus, von S. HELLMANN. (Beck, München, 1906.) [*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, herausgegeben von LUDWIG TRAUBE: Erster Band, Erstes Heft.]

THE present book, which actually appeared before the end of 1905, though it bears date 1906, is the first part of a new series which promises to be of great value and importance. The scheme was the product of the fertile brain of Traube, professor at Munich, whose early death on May 19th of this year is an irreparable loss to scholarship. He lived to see the issue of three parts, which form the first volume, and the completion (all but the indexes) of a fourth part, a valuable work entitled *Nomina Sacra*, by himself. It is to be hoped that the remainder of the attractive programme will be carried out, in spite of the master's removal. The first part comprises an introduction, a new critical edition of Sedulius's *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, a complete account of the solitary copy, at Cues on the Mosel, of the collection of extracts from earlier literature made by Sedulius, and finally a study of the use Sedulius made of Pelagius's commentary on the Epistles of Paul in his own commentary on these Epistles. Since this work has been published I have had special opportunities for careful study of it, particularly of the third part. This has only served to confirm the opinion of it I expressed early last year.¹ It is equally learned, accurate, and interesting. Previous editions of the *De Rectoribus* have been based on one MS; this is based on all, and will never probably be superseded. The book itself

¹ In the *English Historical Review* for April, and, for a review of the next book on the list, see the same *Review* for Jan. 1907.

is of great importance in the history of kingship, and has received due attention at the hands of Mr A. J. Carlyle in his *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*. The *Collectaneum* is a remarkable collection which has never been fully described before. It comprises many passages both from Christian and non-Christian literature. The third part of the book is perhaps the most important to readers of the *JOURNAL*. The author was induced by the fascination of the problem of the transmission of Pelagius's commentary, as treated by Zimmer in his *Pelagius in Irland*,¹ to go on from the discussion of the use of Pelagius made by Sedulius to the wider question of the general transmission of Pelagius's commentary. He is able to go beyond Zimmer, because he has collated the MSS of Sedulius's commentary, and has also studied an authority overlooked by Zimmer, the *Expositio Libri Comitis* of Zmaragdus. The result of his painstaking investigations, carried on in various directions, is to overthrow Zimmer's view that Pelagius is represented in an Irish tradition by his St Gall MS, and in a continental tradition by Pseudo-Primasius and Pseudo-Jerome. Hellmann proves, on the contrary, that the St Gall MS and Pseudo-Jerome belong to one class over against all the other authorities, namely Pseudo-Primasius, Zmaragdus, and Sedulius. He has been unavoidably hampered in his investigations by the terrible state of the printed text of Pseudo-Jerome, and it is all the more to his credit that his vision has pierced through the rubbish accumulated by successive printers (they cannot be called editors) of Pseudo-Jerome. I have gone over all the passages he quotes in the oldest MSS of Pseudo-Jerome. This has served to shew me in some measure what Pseudo-Jerome really is, and with this knowledge it has been possible to study Hellmann's lists afresh. The total effect has been to bring all the authorities closer together, and to isolate the real difference between the one recension and the other. While the SG—PI recension is sometimes right against all the other authorities, the recension has throughout suffered from both accidental and intentional corruption, and is on the whole inferior to what can be elicited from the other authorities. The Karlsruhe MS (Aug. cxix—saec. ix) is claimed by me as a touchstone, by which to test all other authorities, and Dr Mercati's timely discovery has proved that this MS represents a commentary existing at least as early as the sixth century.² A personal debt of gratitude is owing to Dr Hellmann for a valued companion in my studies. A reference ought to be made in conclusion to the splendid paper and printing used for the series of which it forms the worthy commencement.

¹ See the review by C. H. Turner in the *JOURNAL* iv (1902-1903) pp. 132-141.

² See the last number of the *JOURNAL* (vol. viii p. 529 ff).

Johannes Scottus, von E. K. RAND. (Beck, München, 1906.) [*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, herausgegeben von LUDWIG TRAUBE: Erster Band, Zweites Heft.]

THE second part of Traube's series has been written by an American pupil. The number of American philologists in close association with German enterprises is a pleasant and growing feature of international scholarship. One recalls the names of C. H. Moore, J. C. Rolfe, E. B. Lease, A. Gudeman, and to these must now be added the newer names of C. H. Beeson, editor of the *Acta Archelai*, C. U. Clark, future Vienna editor of Gregory the Great, and E. K. Rand. The last is already known favourably for his work on Boethius. He has here provided us with a critical edition of John's commentary on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius, and of the commentary on the same works by Remigius of Auxerre he has printed substantial extracts. Both were previously unpublished. The work is provided with the necessary introductions on the works themselves, their authorship, and the manuscripts in which they are contained. The MSS stretch back almost to the times of the authors; so there is not much question as to the text, and the critical apparatus is of necessity small. The work is welcome both for the sake of Boethius's text,—to which, however, it does not contribute much,—and also as the possible start of a complete edition of the works of John. The last edition, a really excellent piece of work for its time, that of Floss in Migne's *Patrologia* vol. cxxii, does not come up to the requirements of modern scholarship. The commentary of Remigius is not printed *in extenso*, because it seems to be fairly clearly made out that it depends greatly on its near predecessor, the commentary by John. John's commentary is mainly philological, but is interesting from a theological and historical point of view also, and shews quite conclusively that it has been unduly neglected, and discusses its contributions to thought at some length. The book is provided with various appendixes. One deals with John's glosses on Martianus Capella, and shews that Remigius quoted John's notes in his own commentary on Martianus. Others treat briefly the glosses of Heiricus of Auxerre on Augustine and Boethius; and John's relation to Pliny's *Natural History*. In connexion with Remigius's notes on Boethius, Rand, in order to prove that Remigius is their author, draws parallels from such Remigian works as the *Commentary on Genesis* and the *Homilies*. But Riggerbach has recently shewn, in Zahn's *Forschungen*, that these works emanate from Haymo, a monk of Auxerre, and that it is through confusion that the name of Remigius has become attached to some of them. It would seem, then, that we must attribute the commentary on Boethius also to this Haymo.¹

¹ Page 90, note 1, or *Parisius* read *Parisios*.

Der Portiunkula-Ablass : eine kritisch-historische Studie, von Dr PETER ANTON KIRSCH. (Laupp, Tübingen, 1906.)

THE present work is a reprint of an article contributed to the first and second numbers of the *Theologische Quartalschrift* for last year. The name of the author and the importance the subject has in connexion with St Francis guarantee it the attention it deserves. Sabatier began by doubting the historical character of this Indulgence, as the Bull conferring it does not exist and it is first attested half a century after its putative date, but he afterwards adopted the contrary opinion. It is not unparalleled for the Holy See to declare an Indulgence to be genuine that can be proved to be unhistorical. Kirsch devotes himself, therefore, to the question whether the Indulgence was granted by Pope Honorius III at the request of St Francis, and at the same time attempts to decide whether it was granted to him in the regular form of a plenary indulgence, or merely as a *toties quoties*. It is impossible for the present chronicler to discuss his treatment of these questions. It must suffice to record his conclusions, at the same time mentioning that original documents are largely quoted *in extenso*: 'as the result of this investigation it therefore follows that none of the testimonies, with which the Portiunkula-Indulgence comes into history, is based by the authority of a *confrère* or of a contemporary of St Francis. Rather we have to do all through with productions, which appeared in the penultimate or the last decade of the thirteenth century, shewing a misuse of the names of real companions of St Francis or of such persons as perhaps were once actually in relations with the Franciscan convent in Perugia.'¹ He further attempts to shew at what date the Indulgence actually was granted. As a result of a careful argument he places it in the period 1288 to 1295, concludes that it took its rise among the 'Zelanti' (or stricter) branch of the Franciscans, deriving its theological basis from Olivi's book '*An sit conveniens credere, &c.*', that there was a counter-movement against the Portiunkula-Indulgence in the Franciscan order itself, that the 'Breve' of Nicholas IV in favour of the Church of St Francis called the Portiunkula-Indulgence into being, and that a vision which one of the brothers had before entering the Order was at the root of the Indulgence. The treatment is most clear and interesting, and the most important steps in the argument are conveniently indicated by spaced type.

A. SOUTER

¹ Page 64.

DOGMATICA.

THE first volume of M. J. Turmel's *Histoire de la théologie positive* (Bibliothèque de Théologie historique: G. Beauchesne & Cie, Paris) reached a third edition within the year. The second volume (1906) carries the history on from the Council of Trent to the Council of the Vatican, but the author has found it necessary to postpone to a third volume his exposition of the doctrine of the mysteries, the sacraments, and grace during this period. The main subject of the book before us is, accordingly, the doctrine of the relation of Holy Scripture to the rule of Faith, the Church and its functions, the primacy in jurisdiction of St Peter and the infallibility of the Pope: and M. Turmel presents us with a clear statement of the arguments by which the views which prevailed in the Roman Church were supported. As such his book is of high value, whatever opinion be held as to the value of the arguments themselves and of the reading of the early history of the Church on which they so largely depend. M. Turmel fully realizes that on the eve of the Council of the Vatican the positive theology of the Church still bore the imprint of Bellarmine, and that the world of scholarship has not stood still since 1869. Results which seemed to be definitely established then have been called in question, and theories of which the old disputants had not even thought have been put forward and favourably received. But it is not the purpose of his book to take any part in 'controversies of which no one can yet see the issue'.

In *La Théologie de saint Hippolyte* (Bibliothèque de Théologie historique: G. Beauchesne & Cie, Paris, 1906) Père D'Alès gives us a fresh examination of the confused accounts of the life of Hippolytus and his controversies with Callistus as well as a clear and interesting review of his theological position on the evidence of his extant writings. He accepts the *Philosophumena* as the work of Hippolytus, with a brief but sufficient review of other theories, referring to Funk's treatment of the question: and he argues that, in the points at issue with Callistus, Callistus was always right and Hippolytus wrong. The charges of the latter were unfair, and what his own doctrine gained in precision, in comparison with the Apologists of the second century, it lost in soundness. He exposed himself in his doctrinal teaching to the charge of ditheism which Callistus made against him, while Callistus was not Sabellian, or Theodotian, or 'patricompassian'. In defence of Callistus Père D'Alès pleads the ambiguity of the terminology of the time. If we allow the plea, ought we not to give Hippolytus too some

of the benefit of it? And must we not allow, on both sides, some room for fluidity of thought as well as of expression?

On the disciplinary questions Père D'Alès takes the view, which has been general since Dollinger's great work, that Hippolytus was misled by his puritanic conceptions of the Church as the society of saints, and that Callistus was acting as the times required: though he also says, less fairly, that the doctrinal antagonism of Hippolytus was the real cause of his opposition to the disciplinary measures of Callistus.

He is disposed to think the *Syntagma* may have been a rapid review of heresies leading up to a fuller consideration of the teaching of Noetus, and that accordingly the *contra Noetum* is the conclusion of the work of which the pseudo-Tertullian *adversus omnes haereses* has preserved the substance, Praxeas being substituted for Noetus. (He repeats, by the way, Noeldechen's view of the dependence of Tertullian on Hippolytus, without however contributing much to the closer examination of the question to the need of which attention was drawn in *Texts and Studies* vii 1 p. 73 note.) More important perhaps is his suggestion that in bk. iv of the *Philosophumena* we have fragments of bk. ii dealing specially with astrology and bk. iii dealing with magic, as well as the original bk. iv, and that the evidence of Photius (*Bibl.* 48) shews that the *Philosophumena* was known as *the Labyrinth*, doubtless from the reference in bk. x ch. 5, and that the treatise against Artemon, called also *the little Labyrinth*, was the work of the same writer, namely Hippolytus, though Photius only knows him as Caius, reputed to have been a priest of the Church of Rome under Victor and Zephyrinus, and 'bishop of the Gentiles'—a strange phrase of which M. D'Alès finds the explanation in the anomalous position occupied by Hippolytus.

Not concerned to make up his mind whether Funk has proved his argument as to the late date of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, but unable to claim them as the work of Hippolytus, M. D'Alès leaves them out of consideration. The concluding pages of this valuable and interesting study give a sympathetic survey of the career and character of Hippolytus, to whom, despite his errors, full meed of discriminating praise is awarded for his intellectual brilliance, his zeal for the Church, and his genuinely pastoral spirit. M. D'Alès sees in his career three phases and adopts a corresponding classification of his works:—the first in which his activity is fully occupied with biblical works (on the Scriptures), the second marked by struggles on behalf of the Faith, the third in which personal polemics were dominant. The works of his later period lack the force of the earlier ones, because he had become 'a Churchman outside the Church':—an interesting classifica-

tion, but, as indeed M. D'Alès admits, artificial. 'Peut-être une information plus complète obligerait-elle à modifier cette division.'

Das Dogma von der Dreieinigkeit und Gottmenschheit, by Dr G. Krüger (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1905), is dedicated to Dr Harnack, and seems to be inspired by his view of doctrines as a degeneration of the simple faith of primitive Christians, a return to which will be the salvation of our own times. The whole history seems to me to be treated rather airily, but the book furnishes a convenient superficial survey of a long series of movements of thought, and I do not gather that more than this was its purpose.

Justins des Märtyrers Lehre von Jesus Christus, by A. L. Feber, S. J. (Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906), is a very complete study of the doctrine of Justin and of his position in relation to his predecessors and contemporaries. His real significance, and the influence of his work and doctrine in subsequent ages, is also ably described. I must be content here merely to draw the attention of students of the history of doctrine to this valuable investigation of a subject of great interest and importance.

La Théologie sacramentaire, by Prof. P. Pourrat (Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1907), aims at presenting a complete history of the idea of the sacraments and the development of thought in the Church in regard to them, including the theory of 'intention', and refuting by the way the erroneous views of liberal protestantism. Special attention is given to the doctrine of Augustine and the writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The book is one of the series to which M. Tixeront's *Histoire des Dogmes* and Mgr Batiffol's *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive* belong.

A second edition of *The Doctrine of God* (William Walker, London, 1905), by Dr F. J. Hall, Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, shews that his book was found useful by many who share his desire to conform in all respects to the Catholic Faith'. It deals summarily but adequately with the Science of Theology, the Church's Dogmatic office, Holy Scripture, and the nature and attributes of God alike from the general Theistic and the Trinitarian standpoint. His *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology* (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1907) is the first volume of a work planned on a much larger scale, to extend over many years. The point of view of the work is 'both catholic and Anglican'; that is to say, the writer recognizes that the Anglican mission is 'a catholic one, but to particular races, under

peculiar conditions'. He writes in this volume of the importance of theology in general, of systematic theology and theology as a science, and its relation to other sciences; of the natural and the supernatural of faith and reason, and faith and knowledge in view of sceptical objections; of the principles of study; of Anglican authority and conditions; of various forms of 'passing thought', Christian and non-Christian, and of theology practical and spiritual. The book concludes with a brief survey of the literature of dogmatic theology, ancient and modern. The author's learning and wide reading are as conspicuous throughout the book as is his fidelity to the point of view described above.

A work of a less conservative kind is one that also comes from America, *Freedom in the Church* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1907), by Dr A. V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. The sub-title of his book 'the Doctrine of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same according to the commandments of God' reveals a different point of view of Anglicanism. Dr Allen claims far greater freedom of enquiry for clergy and laity than Dr Hall, I imagine, would allow, and he claims it as an urgent need in the Church of America to-day. It is the freedom that was 'the one predominant motive of the Reformation in the sixteenth century which gave us the Book of Common Prayer' for which he pleads, with special reference to the interpretation of the vows of the Ordinal and the place commonly assigned to the Virgin-birth of our Lord in the evidences of His Person. In his view 'Romanism and Puritanism are more closely related in their deeper spirit to each other than is the Anglican Church related to either'. In working out his argument Dr Allen's eye for broad differences and contrasts—so conspicuous in his earlier suggestive book on *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, which was recommended to me more than twenty years ago by a great Cambridge (England) theologian—sometimes leads him to make statements that are, as they stand, untrue. They need, I mean, qualification; they do not tell the whole truth. But there seems to be enough in his book that is true and valuable for the times to justify the hope that it will be widely read by others than 'liberal' churchmen. It has already met with trenchant criticism in a pamphlet entitled *Freedom through the Truth* (Longmans, Green, & Co., New York, 1907), by the Rev. G. B. Johnson, Chaplain to the Bishop of Vermont, who finds in it many mis-statements and perversions of history, and regards it as advocating an essentially dishonest method of interpretation.

Sin, by the Rev. H. V. S. Eck ('The Oxford Library of Practical Theology,' Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1907), is an able and interesting treatment of a difficult question by one who realizes the full gravity of its issues, both as regards Christian doctrine and in relation to Christian life. The book is divided into three parts: original sin, actual sin, and the way of recovery. The spirit of the whole discussion is expressed in the following passage: 'This teaching' (that is, the traditional teaching of the Church), 'however its exponents may sometimes have exaggerated or distorted it, does not contradict any teaching of Science which can rightly claim to be of ecumenical or universal acceptance on such points as heredity, developement, the origin of the race, the reign of death. There may have to be—there will be—explanations on both sides, but until those explanations have been given and accepted, God forbid that we should say that Science and the Faith are contradictory.'

Much stronger meat is provided by Dr F. R. Tennant in the second edition of his Hulsean Lectures on *The Origin of Sin* (Cambridge University Press, 1906). He has modified a few phrases which had been misunderstood, and added a Preface and some Notes in which he replies to some of the criticisms which his theory has evoked, in particular those which suggest that his theory is incompatible with essential and fundamental Christian doctrines and unintentionally explains sin away. He denies that the term 'sin' can properly be applied to 'conduct which either *could not* have been other than it was, or at least, *knew no moral reason* why it should have been other than it was'; and he maintains that 'unconscious sin' is a contradiction in terms. He challenges his critics to meet him on this ground. *Pendente lite* some of them will probably be more ready to have inflicted on them his *reductio ad absurdum* of their position, and the conception of a 'Fall' not only of Man but even of Nature, than to give up the belief in original sin, in the traditional sense of the words.

Doctrina Romanensium de invocatione Sanctorum, by the Rev. H. F. Stewart, B.D., with an introduction by the Bishop of Salisbury (S.P.C.K., London, 1907)—a brief enquiry into the principles that underlie the practice of the invocation of Saints—is a timely little book for which a wide circulation may be hoped. Mr Stewart sees in the doctrine of 'Merit' the key to the problem, and traces simply and clearly, though with abundant underlying learning, the origin and the dangerous developement and outgrowths of the practice. 'Stay the beginnings: medicine comes too late' is the motto which the Bishop of Salisbury,

in his weighty preface, offers to 'all who love the Church of England as a true part of the Catholic Church, and who desire that it should be a witness to other Churches of Catholic truth'.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

The Atonement, by the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN ('The Oxford Library of Practical Theology,' Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1906), presents a useful survey of the language of the Old and New Testament upon the ideas of Atonement and Redemption. In a volume of such short compass as the present, intended for the instruction of the general reader, this was perhaps as satisfactory a way as any of dealing with so large a subject. Incidentally too it has enabled Mr Pullan to refer to some of the leading lines of thought upon the Atonement which have been traced out in the course of Christian history. But we miss in the book an adequate positive statement of the results to which this survey of Scripture has led the writer, and the concluding summary is far too meagre to make good this defect. In spite of this fact, Mr Pullan's criticisms and discussions contain much that is valuable and suggestive, and his view of the Atonement, so far as it may be gathered from the book, will appeal to many who find difficulties alike in the older theories of penal satisfaction and in the modern subjective theories which are prevalent to-day.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

**RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO
THEOLOGICAL STUDIES**

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, July 1907 (Vol. lxiv, No. 128: Spottiswoode & Co.). The future of the University of Durham—H. M. VAUGHAN St David and the early Welsh Saints—William Archer Butler—F. B. JEVONS Evolution and morality—The theology of the Wisdom literature—M. BRAMSTON The unpopularity of the Abbeys—Books about children—The New Theology—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1907 (Vol. v, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). E. RUSSELL John Watson—J. ROYCE Immortality—H. JONES Divine immanence—A. C. M'GIFFERT Divine immanence and the Christian purpose—BISHOP OF CLOGHER The sufficiency of the Christian ethic—J. L. THOMAS The free Catholic ideal—W. R. HUNTINGDON Tract no. xci—J. COLLIER Who is the Christian Deity?—W. W. FOWLER Religion and citizenship in early Rome—P. E. MATHESON Character and citizenship in Dante—S. A. BARNETT The religion of the people—J. J. FINDLAY 'What are you?' the child's answer—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July 1907 (Vol. xix, No. 76: Macmillan & Co.). J. H. A. HART Corban—I. LAST Sharshoth Kesef: the Hebrew dictionary of roots, by Joseph Ibn Kaspi—G. H. SKIPWITH 'The Lord of Heaven'—I. ELBOGEN Studies in the Jewish liturgy II—E. J. WORMAN Forms of address in Genizah letters—A. COHEN Hebrew incunabula in Cambridge—H. S. Q. HENRIQUES The political rights of English Jews II—Critical Notices.

The Expositor, July 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 19: Hodder & Stoughton). A. E. GARVIE The risen Lord—J. IVERACH Pantheism—F. C. CONYBEARE The newly discovered treatise of Irenaeus—J. H. MOULTON The Epistle of James and the Sayings of Jesus—J. MOFFATT Wellhausen on the Fourth Gospel—W. B. NEATBY Mr William Kelly as a theologian—N. H. MARSHALL The philosophical method of the New Theology.

August 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 20). W. M. RAMSAY The divine child in Virgil: a sequel to Professor Mayor's study—G. S. STREATFIELD The apologetic value of criticism—W. O. E. OESTERLEY The demonology of the Old Testament illustrated by Psalm xci—

J. IVERACH The relation of God to the world—N. H. MARSHALL The philosophical method of the New Theology—W. H. HOLDSWORTH Faith in the Fourth Gospel.

September 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 21). W. M. RAMSAY A Christian city in the Byzantine age—H. R. MACKINTOSH Christian theology and comparative religion—B. W. BACON The martyr apostles—J. H. MICHAEL The gift of tongues at Corinth—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK The dramatic development of the Fourth Gospel—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1907 (Vol. xi, No. 3: Chicago University Press). H. RASHDALL The motive of modern missionary work—Recent changes in theology in the Protestant episcopal church—A. C. M'GIFPERT Mysticism in the early Church—H. A. YOUTZ Three conceptions of God—B. W. BACON Acts versus Galatians: the crux of apostolic history—W. KÖHLER Modern Italy and Pius X—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1907 (Vol. v, No. 3: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Augustine's doctrine of knowledge and authority—W. H. JOHNSON Was Paul the founder of Christianity?—G. VOS The priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews—D. BEATON Thomas Boston—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Benedictine, July 1907 (Vol. xxiv, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. WILMART *L'Ad Constantium liber primus* de S. Hilaire de Poitiers et les *Fragments historiques (suite et fin)*—D. DE BRUYNE Fragments retrouvés d'apocryphes priscillianistes—G. MORIN Le commentaire inédit de l'évêque latin Epiphanius sur les Évangiles—L. GOUGARD Les conceptions du martyre chez les Irlandais—H. SCHUSTER L'abbaye de Farfa et sa restauration au xi^e siècle sous Hugues I (*suite et fin*)—D. DE BRUYNE Le dernier verset des Actes: une variante inconnue—G. MORIN I L'anamnèse de la messe romaine dans la première moitié du v^e siècle: II Un écrit de S. Julien de Tolède considéré à tort comme perdu—R. ANCEL Notes à propos d'études sur la diplomatie pontificale au xvi^e siècle—U. BERLIÈRE Lettres inédites des bénédictins de Saint-Maur au Cardinal Gualterio—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

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Boque dans l'Hodegos et le tome dogmatique d'Anastase le Sinaïte—
A. FIERENS La question franciscaine: Le manuscrit II 2326 de la
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 églises des chrétiens (tradition de l'arabe d'Al-Makrisi)—**E. TISSERAND**
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Analecta Bollandiana, July 1907 (Vol. xxvi, Nos. 2, 3: Brussels,
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 inédits 1 Narratio de monacho Palaestinensi; 2 Laudatio S. Poly-
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(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, September 1907 (Vol. viii, No. 3: Giessen, Töpelmann). J. KREYENBÜHL Der Apostel Paulus und die Urgemeinde—H. KOCH Zeit und Heimat des Liber de rebaptismate—F. CONYBEARE Epiphanius on the Baptism—P. DREWS Der literarische Charakter der neuentdeckten Schrift des Irenäus 'Zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung'—H. LIETZMANN Bemerkungen zu H. von Sodens Antikritik—Miscellen.

Theologische Quartalschrift, July 1907 (Vol. lxxxix, No. 3: Tübingen, H. Laupp). ROHR Schichten in der Apokalypse?—BELSER Zu Luk. 4, 23.—VAN BEBBER Der Brevierhymnus: En clara vox redarguit—MINGES Beitrag zur Lehre des Duns Scotus über die Person Jesu Christi—STOLZ Παροικία, parochia und parochus—Rezensionen—Analekten.

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The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

JANUARY, 1908

THE THEOLOGY OF DR DU BOSE.

SINCE the publication of *The Gospel in the Gospels*, it has been obvious that Dr Du Bose must be reckoned one of the foremost philosophical theologians of our time. *The Gospel in the Gospels* has been quickly followed by *The Gospel according to St Paul*, and by the republication of an earlier book, *The Soteriology of the New Testament*. There is now, therefore, considerable material for the estimate of Dr Du Bose's contribution towards a philosophy of the Christian religion.

That contribution takes the form of an unusually coherent system. It is true that the form of the books themselves is somewhat unsystematic, that the style is homely and at times slipshod, that there is considerable repetition, and that the outward appearance of great work is lacking. But through all this there emerges one coherent view of God and man, held with a singular conviction and clearness of grasp; and though this is often in the background, its influence is all-pervasive. Though the exposition is sometimes devoid of order, the thought is always clear and harmonious; and though the language may be homely, the thought is of such elevation that it often carries the language with it to real heights of eloquence. In no writer is there less attempt at fine writing; but high thinking must have its effect on the style in which it is embodied.

The theory which emerges from these books, in which it lurks as an ever-present major premiss, is really nothing less than a philosophy of the Christian religion. Christianity is true, because it recognizes the facts of human nature and illuminates them: it would be untrue if it did not spring from those facts, and were not necessitated by them. Dr Du Bose tries to shew in outline, what those facts are, that by themselves they con-

stitute a problem, that in the New Testament there is to be found a consistent body of truth, and that in this body of truth the solution of the problem is contained. The Christian revelation is true because it fits the facts of experience, and it is the business of the Christian philosopher to shew how it fits those facts.

'Men of profoundest thought and of sincerest life in our own time have, in spiritual and moral extremity, found salvation in Jesus Christ, simply because they discovered in Him what did not exist for them without Him—a meaning and a reason for human existence and human life. . . . To St Paul the Gospel is no new or disconnected incident or event in the history of humanity or in the course of nature. It is that which, for the first time, gives fulness of meaning to them both' (G¹ p. 18, P p. 27).

Dr Du Bose's contribution to Christian thought really consists in the development of this theme; and therefore it is rightly to be considered as philosophy.

Perhaps a few preliminary words should be said about the writer's relation, first to orthodoxy and heterodoxy in theology, and secondly to contemporary movements in religious philosophy. With regard to the first point, he gives us a very suggestive combination of orthodoxy and liberalism. Himself a believer in full catholic truth, he is prepared to learn from any quarter. On the one hand:—

'Truth is one and is a whole, and not seldom we can say that that which is less than truth is as untrue as that which is contrary to it. . . . In proportion as we conceive the Gospel of God in its entirety and in its immensity, in just that degree do all scriptural, as well as all truly Christian and catholic, statements of it, no matter how partial and seemingly contradictory in themselves, fall into their proper places and serve to magnify the greatness and harmony of the whole. . . . Mistake any one fragment or aspect of it for the whole, and all other fragments and aspects will be involved in confused and hopeless contention with it for the usurped position. Let the whole stand out for itself in its complete proportions, and every part falls of itself into its proper place, and is confirmed and supported in it by every other part' (G p. 4, pref. p. viii).

Completeness, catholicity, then, is vital, since what is less than the whole may, for that very reason, be positively antagonistic to

¹ I use the initial letters G, P, S to distinguish references to the different books.

it. It is this that was the justification of that process of exclusion,¹ by which the dogma of the Church was slowly built up.

But that which is the true method in one age is not necessarily so in another. And the method which Dr Du Bose adopts is, to use his own terms, one of 'inclusion' rather than 'exclusion'.

'So far from saying that only that is true which is the whole truth, I bring forward the complementary and not contradictory fact that that which has in it any part of the truth is so far true' (G p. 4).

We have to remember, though we are too apt to forget,

'that the so-called *whole* of truth is quite as apt to ignore or pervert the parts, as the parts are to be blind to the other parts and the whole' (G p. 7).

Consequently, for the proper appreciation of some particular aspect, we are often driven to 'some fragmentary sect', holding what we consider a mutilated conception of Christianity.

It is this consideration which dictates the form of *The Gospel in the Gospels*. It starts from the conception of Christianity held by so many leaders of thought both in Germany and in England,

'including now some of the greatest upon earth . . . men, among the greatest, and scholars the most learned, the most conscientious, the most devout' (G pp. 5, 9).

This Dr Du Bose calls 'the gospel of the earthly life, or the common humanity'.

'In the simple fact that Jesus Christ was the man He was, and lived the life He lived, they find as much of gospel and of salvation as, they think, humanity can or humanity ought to receive on this earth (G p. 5).

From this he gradually works up to full catholic views of the Work and Person of our Lord, shewing at each stage how the lower postulates and leads up to the higher.

On the side of religious philosophy, Dr Inge, in this JOURNAL, (vol. ii pp. 618-619), distinguishes two streams of thought in modern idealists; to describe which, he adopts Prof. Royce's titles, 'Ethical Individualism' and 'Monistic Idealism'. The view of the former school he gives in Prof. Howison's words:— 'The central and real meaning of the Christian religion lies exactly in the fact that the Creator and the creature are reci-

¹ Cf. *Lux Mundi* pp. 239-240.

procally and equally real, not identical; that there is a Fatherhood of God and a brotherhood of man; that God recognizes right in the creature and acknowledges duties towards him; and that men are accordingly both unreservedly and indestructibly real—both free and immortal.' And with this Dr Inge couples the plain man's view, 'that persons are fixed and mutually-exclusive units'. On the other side, 'we have on the same idealistic basis a revival of more distinctively *Greek* ways of thinking. The Logos-doctrine again becomes the centre of Christological and even of cosmological theory. Among the more ecclesiastical writers we find increased emphasis on divine immanence, on the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ, on sacraments as symbols, and a complete resuscitation—the more striking because partly unconscious—of the Eckhartian views of human and divine personality.' Profs. Howison and Royce are the protagonists of these two views in America. Among English theologians, Dr Rashdall (*The Theory of Good and Evil* bk. iii) holds a slightly modified form of the first view, and Dr Inge himself (*Personal Idealism and Mysticism* ch. 4) is a strong supporter of the second.

Now Dr Du Bose has affinities with both of these schools. But, if I interpret him rightly, what he really gives us is a reconciliation or synthesis of the two. And the reconciliation is to this effect: that both are true, but that they are not *equally* true, nor true in the same sphere.¹ They belong to different 'levels' of experience.

This is illustrated by the separate discussion, in the Second and Third Parts of *The Gospel in the Gospels*, of the gospel of the Work and the gospel of the Person. In the Second Part, the author is shewing what Salvation must be in the field of our ordinary experience, and on the basis of our familiar psychological distinctions. Here that reciprocity and co-operation between God and man, on which the Ethical Individualist insists, are necessary. In the Third Part, he is considering what deeper truths as to the

¹ Cf. Dr Sanday (*Life of Christ in Recent Research* p. 288) 'The opposing truths are not really *in pari materia*; they are not truths that can be held side by side; they belong rather to different spheres, and the reconciliation between them is to be effected, not by proposing the one as an alternative for the other, but by a careful delimitation of these different spheres'.

nature of God and man, seen not from the point of view of ordinary experience, but, as it were, *ex specie aeternitatis*, are seen to be involved in ordinary Christian experience when thought out; and here Monistic Idealism is the more adequate. But the two are not mutually exclusive. We must start with an anthropocentric, and end with a theocentric, view of the universe. But the process is continuous; and it is experience itself which compels us to theorize about experience.

The nature of this 'reconciliation' will, I hope, become clearer when we consider Dr Du Bose's exposition in more detail. The outline of that exposition I shall now attempt to give, using, as far as possible, the author's own words.

I

The nature of our problem is determined by the facts of our present existence; and, for us as for St Paul, the outstanding fact is the fact of Sin. St Paul's presuppositions are,

'that sin exists; that sin is universal, a race as well as an individual fact; . . . that nevertheless sin is not the true nature or law of humanity; . . . that humanity can be or become itself only through a redemption or salvation from sin and the death which is its consequence' (P pp. 58-59).

What, then, is the nature of sin? Dr Du Bose's psychology is very careful. In the *Soteriology* (pp. 52, 64) sin seems to consist in the bondage of the *ἑσώ ἄνθρωπος*, the real 'person' or 'self', who is always on God's side, to his 'nature' ('fallen nature', p. 64) or *σάρξ*. But this is not the whole truth. Elsewhere (G pp. 161-163) sin is said to consist in undue indulgence of *ἐπιθυμίας*, which are not themselves sinful, though they are the avenues of temptation. Environment by itself never produces sin in an individual. On the contrary, sin and holiness consist in opposite reactions on the same environment.

'Saints and sinners are made by opposite processes out of the same material. . . . Different personalities are not produced by different circumstances or conditions, but by different attitudes and actions under identical conditions. . . . Sin is something not ourselves in relation with which, in reaction with or against which, we ourselves become sinful, or else holy' (P p. 266, G p. 144, P p. 212).

The old distinction of Form and Matter is here applied; and

sin, to be really sin, must be so not only in its matter but in its form.

'An animal or an infant might perform an act materially identical with what would be in a responsible person the worst of crimes. But there would be no guilt or sin, because that is lacking which not only defines, but constitutes these, viz.: consciousness and purpose of choice' (G p. 143).

Sin, then, is personal, and

'originates not in our nature, or in our body, but in ourselves' (P p. 272).

This distinction in a man between 'an act of himself' and 'a fact of his nature' is precisely the differentia of personality.

'Personality comes only by self-generation; that which is not of the self in the man is not personal to himself. . . . It may be impossible in much that we are and do to separate between what is our nature and what is ourself, since the nature acts largely through the person and the person can only act with the nature; but we would not distinguish as we do, in consciousness and in our consciences, between what is of necessity and what is of freedom if both did not co-exist within us' (P p. 51, S p. 41).

But, though, for sin to be really a man's own and to be rightly imputed to him, it must be the choice of his own personality, there is a profound truth in the doctrine of Original Sin, i.e.

'such an inherited weakness for good and disposition to evil, not in ourselves properly but in our nature, as renders it practically impossible for us, in it as it is, to overcome evil and do good'. 'Sin and death are not individual but race facts.' Sin 'is in its actual operation certainly not an individual but a collective thing; it is in us as one man, in our solidarity as a race. . . . In the matter or material of it it is in us prior to any consciousness or knowledge of it, and therefore prior to any personal part in it of our own' (S p. 41, P pp. 158, 208).

¹ The word 'practically' tends to conceal the great difficulty. If it means less than 'wholly', is it necessarily impossible for the individual to save himself? But, if it does mean 'wholly', we seem to have passed to a different and inconsistent train of thought, in which the true self is wholly for good, in which sin consists not at all in the act but only in the subjection of the self, and in which the insistence on personal responsibility for sin disappears. Does not the solution lie in the separation of the *experience* of personal spontaneity from the *theory* of individual independence? If we make this separation, we need not fear a denial of our experience of what personal action means in an admission that the individual does not start with a clean sheet.

Sin is, in a sense, already existent in the individual, before it is conscious and personal.

‘We have been sinning materially, long before we have been doing so formally. That is, we have contradicted the spirit and transgressed the law of true and right being and living, long before the doing so was our own, or the sin of it was our own sin’ (P p. 211).

It is this universality of the sway of sin, and the impossibility of finding any individual or region of life in ordinary humanity which is sufficiently free from it to allow of a fresh start, that is, for Dr Du Bose as for St Paul, the crux of the difficulty.

Sin, then, is universal; and it is also fatal to the very being of man. Sin and death are so intertwined, that it is less true to say that sin deserves or causes death than that sin *is* death.

‘There are no consequences for us here or hereafter except such as not merely flow from but actually consist in what we ourselves are. . . . Just because life accepted is salvation, life rejected is damnation. Judgement executes itself or is self-inflicted. . . . The penalty of sin is sin itself; its curse is that it breeds more and more of itself,’ and the death and hell to which it is condemned are nothing but itself multiplied and left to itself’ (G pp. 148, 237, P p. 153).

Spiritual life is the only real or true life, and moral corruption is spiritual death.

Sin, then, is one of the basal facts of the universe, to which Christianity must have an application. But it is not sin by itself that constitutes the problem of life, but rather the fact that, though sin is inwound in the very fibres of man’s being, yet he is conscious of it *as sin*, and is capable of passionate loathing and repudiation of it, even while he is being mastered by it; ‘Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor’. ‘The good that I would that I do not; but the evil which I would not that I do.’ At the stage of ‘Law’, the will protests even while it surrenders. And the protest, though in a sense enhancing the

¹ Cf. James *Principles of Psychology* i p. 117: ‘We are spinning our own fates, good and evil, and never to be undone. Every stroke of virtue or of vice leaves its never so little scar. The drunken Rip Van Winkle, in Jefferson’s play, excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying, “I won’t count this time”. Well he may not count it, and a kind Heaven may not count it, but it is being counted none the less. Down among the nerve-cells and fibres the molecules are counting it, registering and storing it up, to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is in strict literalness wiped out.’

guilt, has its own significance and hope. It is this division within the personality which is the most striking feature of man's present existence.

'The duality more or less latent or patent in every moral personality . . . is neither an invention nor a discovery of St Paul. It has been in one way or another taken into account by every deepest thinker upon human nature and human life. It exists in us in natural potentiality, prior to any fact or experience of sin. So far therefore from being sin in itself, it is the ground and condition, as of sin too, so no less of holiness; for it is the ground of the possibility of any personal or moral activity and character in us at all. . . . The knowledge of sin is the only beginning of salvation. The knowledge of sin as sin is a moral and not only an intellectual conception; . . . it is a hatred of sin' (P pp. 189, 194).

The same idea is slightly expanded two pages further on.

'Suppose that the law, while it has failed to secure obedience and so to confer life, has nevertheless in the very act and by the very fact of convincing and convicting us of sin, taught us the meaning and obligation of holiness; suppose it has so brought us into the foretaste and experience of sin and its consequences as to impart at least a suggestion and prevision of holiness with its immunities and rewards; suppose it has gone yet further and has nursed and nurtured in us the sense of need and the ardent longing for holiness and life—if the law should go no further, will it not have already put us upon the road and created in us the necessary condition of salvation?' (P p. 196).

Owing to this internal division in our personalities, we are capable of identifying ourselves either with sin or with holiness. It is true that, 'what we need to be saved from is ourselves' (S p. 25). But it is still more true that,

'In my divided self, the true real I is in and with the self that hates, not in that which lusts after and does sin' (P p. 215).

What is needed for salvation, then, is simply restoration to our true selves. Yet sin is not merely natural, but personal. It is not only an enemy that beleaguers; it has its foothold within the fort, the garrison is untrustworthy. Thus it is that we are utterly impotent of ourselves to help ourselves. In ourselves we find—at least suggested—a standard, without the attainment of which we cannot be ourselves, yet which ourselves prevent us reaching. Hence a paradox. On the one hand, nothing can save us but a revolution, of which the self is not only

the theatre, but, in some sense, the cause; the demands of the **law** are inexorable. But, on the other hand, those demands are, **by** us, certainly unattainable.

‘ It would be a very low law that we could obey. . . . It is not a **spiritual** impossibility or even difficulty to know this much; that the **change** from spiritual death to spiritual life has got to take place in **ourselves** and to be an act of ourselves. . . . I am the furthest in the **world** from saying that we are sufficient of ourselves to put away our **sin**. But I am equally certain that it is only ourselves that can put **it away**. . . . We are made not for sin but for holiness, and not for **death** but for life. We are constituted by our nature not only capable of conceiving perfect holiness and eternal life, but under a necessity of recognizing these, if we reflect upon ourselves at all, as the true **expression** of our nature and the true exercise of our powers. And **that** which thus cannot but be a law to us we can know only as an **impossibility**’ (G p. 95, P p. 252, G pp. 150, 169).

This is the contradiction in experience, and it is this that the **Christian** scheme of redemption must solve.

‘ Now this paradox or antinomy within us, that only a completed **holiness** can be the meaning from the beginning or the full expression in the end of ourselves, and yet that such a holiness is something **hopelessly** unattainable by us, finds its perfect solution and reconciliation only in Jesus Christ’ (G p. 171).

It is thus that the fundamental problem for Christian philosophy **shapes** itself: what must be the qualities of a Salvation which is **really** to save?

II

There is a familiar classification of modern theories of the **Atonement** as Objective and Subjective,—according as they lay stress upon the work accomplished for us by Christ, or the work that we accomplish for ourselves. The whole point of Dr Du Bose’s argument is to shew that these are mutually necessary; and that either by itself is one-sided and unintelligible. In short **Co-operation**, the co-operation of God and man, is his watch-word. At the same time it is true that it is on the ‘ subjective ’ side, on the necessity of our share, that his accent falls most sharply. But this feature of the exposition does not appear to belong to any disproportion in the thought, but merely to the

fact that it is the side which seems to Dr Du Bose most to need emphasis at the present moment.

This two-sidedness is necessitated by the paradox of experience. A salvation that was not personal would not be salvation; yet the very fact that *we* need salvation makes it impossible for us to save ourselves. The efficacy of Christianity consists in this:—that it offers a salvation which is at once our own, and not our own; which is the joint work of God and man.

'What the Gospel of Jesus Christ reveals to us is this: that an obedience may be all ours and only ours, and yet be incapable of becoming ours in isolation or apart from that without which we are not even ourselves' (G p. 168).

It is in the unfailing sureness of touch with which he develops this position, that the most characteristic feature of Dr Du Bose's work consists.

Let me quote some of the many passages in which the necessity of our share in the work of our own redemption is pushed home.

'Nothing can be done merely to us or for us that will save us. To be loved, to be sympathized with and helped, to be shewn mercy and forgiven, to be the objects of the most unconditional divine grace are a very great deal. But these are the merest circumstances of human salvation, they are not salvation itself. . . . We can be recipients only as we are sharers and dispensers of the grace of God. . . . So far from God's purpose in Christ being to do anything for us or instead of us which therefore we are not to do ourselves, it is a call to us to be all, to do all, and to suffer all that Jesus Christ Himself is, did, or suffered' (G pp. 66, 67, 70).

The righteousness of Christ avails,

'not because it is an equivalent instead of, but because it is a guarantee for, our own personal righteousness in Christ' (S p. 117).

In St Paul,

'there is no hint or suggestion that the earthly experiences, the cross, of Christ are something instead of their own and not also their own. . . . The promise is not exemption from His experiences, but salvation and exaltation through His experiences' (P pp. 288-289).

It is fundamental to the understanding of the Gospel that we

should realize this, and Dr Du Bose never tires of emphasizing it. In salvation,

'our part, however secondary and subordinate to the divine part, is nevertheless the determining factor. . . . That Christ died for us is everything to us if it means our dying with Him ; it is less than nothing at all to us if His death and ours, He and we, are not, or are not to be, so conjoined. . . . The fatal misconception that the Gospel is something done for us or instead of us, and not something to be done in us and by us ; or, again, that it is something to be done only in us and not by us, is an error so great as practically to contradict the nature and neutralize the effects of Christianity' (P pp. 281, 171, 53).

These assertions are strong ; but they are justified by a consideration of the nature of salvation. If redemption through Christ is to answer to our need, then, to some extent at least, we can argue *a priori* from the nature of that need to the nature of redemption. If Salvation is to be salvation, it must be, negatively, the elimination of sin, and, positively, the production of holiness. If it is to be complete, it must be nothing less than complete holiness.¹ If it is to be *our* salvation, it must be a personal holiness, and, as such, conditioned by the nature of personal life. No declaration of pardon can suffice for us, which does not remove the necessity for pardon. The wonder of Christian salvation consists in no waiving or lowering of the standard of holiness to meet our weakness, but in such a succouring of that weakness as will enable it to rise to the full height of the ideal.

'He was not to lower the standard of personal perfection, but to raise it to its limit in infinity. . . . There are no allowances needed and there are no allowances whatsoever made for us under the Gospel of Jesus Christ. There was all the allowance in the world needed, and all made, in nature and under the law. Where that was demanded of us which we had not to give, and that required of us which we were unable to perform, there was need of overlooking, and passing by and condoning. But Christianity demands nothing of us that it does not give, and what it gives it cannot but demand. . . . It does not require an exercise of divine power to extend pardon ; it does require it to endow and enable us with all the qualities, energies, and activities that make for and that make holiness and life' (G pp. 68-69, 111, 175).

¹ 'There is no other possible Salvation from sickness but health, or from sin but holiness. . . . Certainly the full action of Salvation would be unrealized so long as there remains in man or man's condition anything to be delivered from which would be a Salvation' (S 10).

Now, when we bear in mind the nature of personality, and the distinction within a man of the 'natural' which comes to him from causes beyond his control, and the 'personal' in the production of which he himself has a share,¹ we must admit that such holiness can only be personal and gradual.

'Salvation can operate in us only through the natural and spiritual organs and activities of ourselves, our reason or intelligence, our affections or desires, our will, our acts and habits and character and life. The law of the action of all these requires all that time and environment have actually to offer to human experience in human life as it is. . . . It is the very condition and nature of the human spirit that it can come about only through itself. And it can come about through itself only by an act of original, self-determined, and permanent choice. . . . God cannot be the author of holiness or righteousness in persons in the same way in which He is the author of motion in things or of instincts in animals. They are caused immediately or without themselves, persons are caused (personally or spiritually) only through themselves, through their own self-causation. God can only cause my holiness so that I also shall be the cause of it. Otherwise it is not holiness, for holiness is a *personal* quality or character, i. e. one which is *self-caused*' (P p. 285, G p. 156, S p. 128).

These conditions must regulate our interpretation of salvation through Christ. It follows that,

'God cannot bless us with the spiritual and moral blessedness which our own nature demands, with which alone law and Gospel have to do, in which our very personality consists, apart from or without our own consciousness and co-operation in the matter. . . . To make sin not

¹ We do, as matter of familiar experience, distinguish different kinds of causation and different degrees of responsibility. There is a physical causation, such as the impact of one material body upon another, which is altogether below the level of conscious life. There is physical compulsion applied to a person, under which he acts consciously, but without volition. There is action in madness or under hypnotism, when a man acts with volition, but the action is not the result of real personal choice. And, clearly distinguished from all these, are those actions which we do attribute, in ourselves or in others, to such deliberate personal choice. Now in all these cases there is a *Because*. But not only does the particular cause differ in each case; the very meaning of causation varies. And in the last case, the *Because* which answers the question *Why*, must, at least partly, be the man himself. Now holiness must have this mark of personality or it would not be holiness. It does not however necessarily follow that, in some remoter sense, in the deepest truth of things, we should not, in order really to answer the *Why*, really to understand the *Because*, have to go further afield than the individual person of the agent. Our ordinary distinction in experience between personal and impersonal remains, whatever its metaphysical explanation.

death, if holiness is life, or to intervene between the sin and the death which it is, is no less a natural impossibility than a spiritual contradiction' (P pp. 114, 220).

To limit the possibilities of God by our own conceptions may seem to be very dangerous,¹ but it is in a sense necessary, if we are to reason about Him at all.

'When I say that God cannot do a thing, I mean simply that He cannot contradict Himself; He cannot, for example, do what is absurd or immoral. . . . God Himself cannot, by power working necessarily and immediately, work a righteousness in us, for then it would be no more a righteousness than the straightness of a stick or the movement of a falling body is righteousness' (P p. 176, S p. 85).

But all this is only one side of Christian truth. Nothing can satisfy our sore need that does not work a revolution in our inmost being. Yet we must ask, not only what is the nature of salvation, but what it is that makes salvation possible; since our own inability, unaided, to change ourselves is matter of universal experience. And however Christian thinkers may differ as to their interpretation of that work, they will all agree in answering that it is the work of Jesus Christ. Not Works but Faith, is the keynote of the Pauline teaching, and it is involved in the transition from Morality to Religion.

'Our righteousness is not to be made by us through obedience, but to be received by us through faith. . . . It makes a great difference whether we make our obedience the cause or the consequence of what we are; even all the difference of whether what we are to be is to be of ourselves or of God' (S pp. 80, 69).

The objective fact of the conquest of sin in Christ is logically prior to any subjective effect of that fact in us.

'The objective fact would create the subjective spirit. . . . Our obedience is not God's but ours; but though it be not God's, yet it is God Himself in us, enabling us to be ourselves and to render to Him what is ours. . . . We are not accepted as sons and righteous

¹ Cf. Dr. Sanday, l. c. p. 238: 'I have the greatest reluctance even upon what seem to be obvious propositions of morality, to lay down laws for the Almighty. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" is no doubt an axiom that stands absolutely fast. But it is another thing to say that we shall always be able to see what is right. The lines meet no doubt somewhere, but that meeting point may be beyond our ken.'

through being so, but are enabled to become sons and righteous through being made and treated as such' (G pp. 73, 168, P p. 284).

Thus much is involved in the very nature of Faith.

'If Christ were not first objectively our Salvation, He could never become subjectively our Salvation. The objective divine gift must precede the subjective human reception of it. . . . Faith does not create a fact, it only accepts one; the effecting or creative cause in our salvation is in God's act, which comes first and consists in His placing us in Christ for salvation. Our act of faith is only the apprehending or realizing cause, and could not take place at all if there were not already in God's act the thing to be apprehended and realized' (S p. 56, P p. 233).

Though, then, personal holiness is the ideal at which we must aim, our part in such holiness can only consist in a personal response to a stimulus from without; and that stimulus we find in the victorious Life and Death of Jesus Christ. And so, our very insistence on the subjective and personal character of our salvation leads us to postulate, as its presupposition, an objective salvation, which is the work of Another and not of ourselves.

In the *Soteriology*, Dr Du Bose brings out this point in another way. The necessity of an objective Incarnation as example is, apart from the fact of sin, deduced from the very distinction between 'persons' and 'nature', which was the basis of the argument for the subjective element.

'The very and sole principle of all acting upon the spiritual is through example, or objective standards. How can it be otherwise? If one is, through his own understanding, will, and free activity, i. e. through himself, to be made other than he is, he must be *shown* that other which he is to become. It must be made to him an object and end of obligation, aspiration, imitation. It must appeal to, move, influence, and transform him through, his reason, his affections, his conscience, his will. Why or how otherwise shall he set himself to become, or how can he be made, what *it* is? The thing which lifts man above all other beings of our experience, which makes him a rational being . . . is that he is a being capable of conceiving and being wrought upon by *ideals*' (S p. 131).

Neither objective without subjective, nor subjective without objective; neither grace without faith, nor faith without grace; neither God without man, nor man without God; avail unto human

salvation. The solution is found in co-operation and correspondence. So in the parable of the Prodigal Son; if reformation 'is to be accomplished, it must be by father and son in co-operation. And that co-operation must depend upon a personal attitude or disposition towards it on both sides. . . . The real and effectual treatment of sin is by its very nature a joint act or activity of God and man' (G p. 71, P p. 219).

This two-sided truth is further illuminated by, and is itself used to illuminate, the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith. The difficulty here is that the two parts, which are mutually necessary, seem to be divided in time, as Before and After. The one is accomplished before the other is begun. And not only so: owing to the formal freedom which includes the possibility of sin, it is uncertain whether the subjective response will ever take place. This difficulty is treated very fully by Dr Du Bose. Though nothing short of complete holiness is really salvation, the believer starts with a present peace, a status, to which his own character does not as yet completely correspond.

'Remission, or the putting away of sin, includes two ideas, or Perhaps more correctly two stages of the same idea. It means a real Putting away by the New Testament process of sanctification. But it also means the provisional putting away by the equally New Testament act of divine pardon or forgiveness' (G p. 132).

In the case of the prodigal son:—

'if the external status of father and son had not been restored first, there could not have come about the gradual healing and growth of internal and real unity. . . . (So) God has first in Jesus Christ established an objective status or relation of sons. Into this He receives us by an act of grace on His part and through no act of ours' (G p. 176).

Our appropriation of this relation and its results is in a sense subsequent and logically secondary.

'We are not accepted as sons or righteous through being so, but are enabled to become sons and righteous through being made and treated as such. . . . It is this being *treated as*, not on the ground of being righteous, but on the ground of a certain relation of faith to Christ's righteousness, upon which is laid the chief stress in St Paul's system' (P pp. 284, 71).

But, though this is true, it is by itself only a half truth, and is unintelligible and unjustifiable apart from the other half. In the

first place, as the last quotation suggests, the work of Christ is nothing at all to us without some dim, germinal effort of response on our side, which we call Faith; and which, though not itself complete holiness, is in some vital relation to complete holiness. The justification of the publican

'must of course be, not on the ground of his actually being so (sc. righteous) in life and character, but on the ground of his, at the time, occupying the right posture or attitude, the only right attitude possible for him, towards righteousness and at the same time towards his own conscious unrighteousness. . . . Where this exists in truth and sincerity, even though it be but the beginning of what is an infinite process, it is possible and right to accept and treat already as right that which as yet is only a first turning to and direction towards the right' (P pp. 72, 73).

And this is the only possible beginning of the gradual progress towards complete holiness; hence to treat this first step as standing for the whole process is not merely make-believe.

'Faith is therefore with a divine truth and propriety reckoned or imputed to us as being righteousness, for it is a necessary moment or stage in our righteousness. . . . To one who is ill or about to die, it would bring great present peace to know that he was brought into possession of certain cure and so of assured recovery and health. But the real peace to the sick man is health itself, and the wonderful comfort and peace brought to him by a sure faith in it and a certain hope of it is, in a large measure at least, only proleptic and anticipatory. In a large measure but not wholly so. The patient may find in his very anticipation and hope a real beginning and progress of the return of actual health, and so his possession and enjoyment may not be all wholly future; and the believer not only looks forward in faith and hope to the actual fruition of God and holiness and life, but has an ever increasing foretaste of them now' (P pp. 74, 129-130).

And secondly, we cannot understand the establishment of this objective status with our preliminary response apart from the ideal, the attainment of complete personal holiness to which it points. There is a sort of acquittal and removal of disability before our progress in holiness begins. But no removal of penalty which does not remove the sin itself can ultimately be of any use to us. Acquittal cannot, ultimately, be separated from real reformation.

'There is a vital and necessary connexion between the two things which has to be taken into the fullest account' (P p. 75).

Faith, as toward God, and Repentance, as towards our sin, are the characteristics of our earliest response, conditions without which Salvation cannot affect us at all. But what is involved in these?

'Repentance means nothing if it does not intend the whole of holiness, the complete putting away of sin; and it is ineffectual, it comes to nothing, if it is never to attain or accomplish that end. . . . Let us beware of stopping short with the Gospel of being accepted, and not going on to the real Gospel of being good. . . . We have heard it said, I am content to be a sinner saved by grace. In its truest and highest sense, to be a sinner saved by grace is to be one who having been a sinner is one no longer; to be content to be saved in and not from sin, to be saved and still a sinner, is no true contentment. . . . The response of the Gospel to the human sense of actual sin and unattainable holiness is not the half-grace of forgiveness but the whole-grace of redemption and deliverance' (G p. 150, P pp. 78, 102).

Mistakes here arise from partial and abstract views. It is essential, if we are to understand, that we should keep the whole Process and its goal in mind.

'St Paul has ever in his own mind the whole undismembered conception of salvation in Christ' (P p. 79).

And it is only in so far as we bear in mind this whole conception, that it is possible for us, as for him, to see at all the justice of the Preliminary status. Dr Du Bose is never tired of insisting upon the necessity of the Aristotelian principle of explanation through the End. A God-governed universe is a universe of rational Purpose. The 'one, far-off, divine event' does, in a real sense, determine every stage of the process; i. e. not only is the true nature of anything that which it becomes when perfected, but the earlier stages are really determined by the End, and can only be interpreted in the light of it. The Final Cause is both the end to be attained, and the purpose present in the mind of God from the beginning. Dr Du Bose finds the great principle that the ideal is the real, the final cause is the first cause, in the New Testament doctrine of Jesus Christ (cf. G p. 226, P pp. 297-298). On the one hand, development in Time, the gradual process of sanctification, is essential: on the other hand, there is a real sense in which the distinction of Before and After is transcended,

and that which we shall be determines our present status. Justification and Sanctification, though separated in Time, are vitally connected and interdependent.

'Justification and sanctification are not two things in themselves, they are one and the same thing viewed in different relations on our part to it. The thing is Jesus Christ our Righteousness. . . . The different relations to it on our part are, (1) that righteousness apprehended and appropriated to ourselves by faith, in all its completeness; upon which God treats us as actually possessing it; this is what is meant by our justification, or our status of present peace and fellowship with God; and (2) that righteousness, which is Jesus Christ Himself, through the constant association and participation of faith with Him, gradually but actually imparting Himself to us so as to become to us not only a righteousness in which we believe, but one which at least we begin to possess' (P pp. 150-151).

III

So far then the solution of the paradox with which we started is in terms of Co-operation. Holiness must, and yet cannot, be our own: it is therefore to be in part our own and in part Another's. And such a solution seems to harmonize with our ordinary experience and our familiar psychological distinctions. But, taken by itself, it is inadequate. That crippling which is the result of sin, and which makes it impossible for us to save ourselves completely, makes it just as impossible that we should, unaided, make one step on the way. That, after a small beginning by ourselves, we should be wonderfully helped and sustained by contact with the work of Christ, is only a mockery, seeing that it remains out of our reach. We cannot grow into the likeness of God, except in so far as there is something within us and on our side which is already godlike.

'There is no knowledge of God in Himself only, there is no knowledge of God in creation only, without the answering knowledge of God in ourselves also. The deep that answers to deep must be the same deep' (G p. 280).

And so, though Grace and Faith are both necessary for a man's salvation, we cannot treat them as two parallel but independent factors which may converge. In the first place, of course, they are not upon a level.

· 'While faith is the condition and *sine qua non* of any actual operation of grace, grace on the other hand is the ground or cause and pre-supposition of faith. Grace is therefore the *prius* of faith ; that which is to be believed must *be* before it can be believed ; the gift and the giving must precede the receiving and the reception ' (S p. 83).

But, beyond this, our very subjective response, though it must fulfil the conditions which distinguish personal from all other action, is the work of the Holy Spirit.

"Subjective response" as well as "objective communication" is needed as *coequal and co-ordinate part of the gift or grace of God*¹ (G p. 244). 'As it is the part and function of the Word to reveal to us the whole truth of God and ourselves, so it is the part of the Spirit to reveal to us from within, to open our eyes to see, the meaning and truth of the divine Word. The Word . . . is the principle and medium of objective revelation. The Spirit is that of subjective apprehension, comprehension, and appropriation. . . . There is no gospel or salvation for us which does not come by the Word through the Spirit. In a way we may say that that means, by God through ourselves ; but, in a more true way, it means that while our salvation must be of ourselves as well as of God, we owe the *ourselves* in the matter, as well as the divine part of it to God, Who there as everywhere else is All in all. . . . While we can be ourselves or moral or personal at all, only through our own wills, yet we can be any of these in the truest or highest or best sense only through something infinitely other and more than our own wills. . . . The holier one becomes the more one passes out of all dependence upon mere nature and all conceit of mere self. These are left behind in the growing experience of that which, while it is our ever growing selves, is ever more and more consciously not of ourselves' (G pp. 246-247, P p. 190, S p. 141).

Now if this, and no less, is the Work of Christ,² much is implied about His Person. He is not merely an individual man amongst other men, and separate from each of us in the sense in which we are separate from one another ; but in Him, in some deep mysterious sense, all humanity is summed up. To use the expression of another writer, He is not generically but inclusively Man. If His human life were simply an individual life, He could be to us

'only a historical example and an objective and remote influence. . . .

¹ Italics mine.

² The work of the Spirit is the work of Christ. 'The Spirit coming after Him was not to supply His absence but to effect His presence' (G p. 246).

No individual human being can be all that He is to all men (G p. 230, P p. 295).

But the opposite view is stated by Dr Du Bose with ringing clearness.

'The human self in Him was not that of only one of us, but of us all. It was not one man, but humanity that He was. . . . He was not a man, but man, all men and every man, the common humanity in which all are one and of which He is the essence and unity. . . . I would venture to affirm that no one who rises to this¹ height of the conception of Jesus Christ can for an instant tolerate the idea that His humanity was but that of an individual human person in whom God exceptionally revealed His presence and power. The Lord of glory was not an individual man in God; He was all humanity in God, because He was God Himself in humanity. The humanity in which God was manifest in the flesh was our common, our universal humanity. . . . (Hence) whatever He was or did in the name or on behalf of humanity, humanity itself did or became in His person' (G pp. 216, 219, 227, 260).

He, then, is not separate from us as we are from one another; and so it is that, both for us and in us, He wrought our salvation. And Dr Du Bose does not scruple to use language of identification. Christ *is* the true self of each of us. He speaks of Him as, 'the universal truth and reality of ourselves' (G p. 279).

'Christ is not another instead of myself, but is only my true, divine, selfhood and self. . . . Jesus Christ is not only the divine truth of every man but is the higher and diviner self of every man' (P pp. 179, 296).

This identification of Christ with the higher self of every man may recall some of the language of Mr Campbell against which Bishop Gore protests as pantheistic. But there is a very important difference of emphasis. Are we to say, Christ is nothing but the higher self of one and all; and so to take our conception of our highest selves as a criterion by which to limit our conception of Christ? Or are we to say, Our highest selves are nothing less than Christ? Here there is all the difference between lowering our conception of Christ, and raising that of humanity. But this is not all. Dr Du Bose has his own way of meeting the difficulty, and he expressly notices an objection.

'One says, "You lay great stress upon the view that our Lord was not a man, but man. I find this a difficult conception; does it not

¹ Sc. in the Epistle to the Colossians.

mean that humanity has a concrete real existence apart from the individual persons who are human, and that this Universal becomes visible in Christ? If this be so does it not lead us to a metaphysical Realism, not now generally held?"' (P p. 297).

The reply is that this universality of Christ's humanity is not to be understood except in the light of His Deity; and that it is indeed one of the best and most conclusive evidences of that Deity.

'The very universality as well as the very completeness and perfection of our Lord's humanity is the incontestable and conclusive proof to us of His coequal deity. . . . The concrete universal of humanity which may be found in Jesus Christ belongs to it not as humanity, but as God in humanity' (G p. 162, P p. 297).

Christ, then, is Man rather than *a* man, just because He is more than man. And the truth that Christ is our higher self is to be understood as part of the yet wider truth that God is the higher self of one and all. This is affirmed unequivocally by Dr Du Bose. He speaks of God,

'Who alone is our true or perfect self. . . . To come back to Him is to come back to ourselves. . . . I object to the words communion and fellowship simply as not going all the way of that unity of God and man in Christ which is the truth of the Holy Ghost. The truth of the spirit of God is the truth of the spirit of man. The *koinonia* is not real or complete so long as the spirits are two and not one. We have it in its completeness only as the eternal, personal Spirit of God is the actual personal spirit of man. . . . Nothing is more necessary for our Christianity than to make it clear that . . . God works in us to will and to do in the matter of our salvation *not in mere co-operation but only in actual identity*¹ with our own working out every jot and tittle of our own salvation' (G pp. 173, 73, P pp. 243, 244).

If all this be true, we have moved some way from the plain man's first unthinking conception of his personality, as something self-identical and self-complete. We have been led to a much more fluid conception, and to a much clearer assertion of the dependence of the human person upon others, and ultimately upon the Divine.

'Man is never from the first an individual but always a social being. He has his existence in, with, and through others. He lives and

¹ Italics mine.

becomes all that constitutes himself only in concrete relationships and in actual personal exchanges between himself and them. . . . Above all other being, spiritual being is a "being in relation", and in relations. . . . Christianity holds out to us the promise and the hope of a sympathy and a union with all things, with the mind and spirit and life of all things, which will make us infinitely more and greater than ourselves. . . . The task of realizing ourselves presupposes selves in us to realize, but we shall never be ourselves without the self-realization'¹ (G p. 26, P p. 20, G p. 93, P p. 277).

It is, then, most and last, with the Monistic Idealists that Dr Du Bose takes his stand.

'The Logos of our prologue justifies itself in this further respect that, whereas in the speculation of the world there had been more or less of dualism, this summarily and effectually excludes it. Dualism sees in the matter of the universe something independent of its form. Mind does not create or originate matter, but only shapes or forms, or informs, a matter existent independently of itself. Even Leibnitz could claim for the world only that it was the best possible out of the material available, a material independent apparently of God Himself. The Logos of Christianity is not only the formal or informing principle within things, but the things themselves exist only within it and are but the terms or the symbols of its self-expression' (G p. 251).

And yet it seems true to speak of his view as a 'reconciliation', because it seems to preserve most of that for which Ethical Individualists are, positively, striving. As the charge of Pantheism is that most commonly made by opponents against various forms of Monistic Idealism, and as it is certainly its characteristic danger and exaggeration, it is perhaps worth while to suggest a few points which clearly mark off Dr Du Bose's position from that of pantheists, or from that of those philosophers whose speculations seem to eliminate any other possible form of religion.

(1) If we have interpreted Dr Du Bose rightly, we see that, in its own sphere, he not only allows for, but actually insists upon, the distinction of 'persons' from the rest of nature, of personal and self-caused action from that which is in various degrees the result of causes beyond the agent's own control; and

¹ Cf. Dr Inge *Personal Idealism and Mysticism* ch. iv *passim*: 'Unification of the personality is a gradual process,' &c.

so, that he lays special stress upon individual responsibility. This is taken for granted; and a further examination of our ordinary consciousness can never simply contradict that which it sets out to explain.

(2) Dr Du Bose himself uses the doctrine of the Logos, i.e. the very doctrine which proves that a Christian philosophy must be fundamentally monistic, to mark the difference between Christian theism and pantheism.

'The propriety of the word Logos consists in the manner in which it distinguishes the principle of the Universe from God, while at the same time identifying it with Him. . . . The beginning of all distinction between a pantheistic and a theistic conception of the world lies in recognizing the world as the expression, not of God Himself—or, as we say, "of His substance"—but of His *Logos*, His Thought, Will, Word. The *Logos* of God, then, is not God (δ θεός); we distinguish Him. And yet certainly the *Logos* is God (θεός); we identify Him' (G pp. 253, 283).

This is a fruitful principle, which it is not possible to develop here.

(3) The ideal of Dr Du Bose is expressly marked off, as from Individualism on the one hand, so from Nirvana on the other.

'It is necessary that we shall become ourselves; but it is then no less necessary that we shall transcend ourselves, for in fact we never become ourselves until we have grown up from ourselves into oneness with God' (P p. 265).

On the other hand,

'we do indeed discard or lose ourselves in and for God in Christ, but it is only to find ourselves in all God is in us and we in consequence are in Him. . . . We shall no longer be ourselves or men, if to be spiritual means to cease to be natural, and is not rather the spiritualizing or divinizing, and so the glorifying or spiritually perfecting of the natural which is ourselves' (P pp. 245, 272).

(4) Theories of the universe are sometimes, perhaps, not very happily, classified as 'static' and 'dynamic'. If for the moment we adopt these terms, we must certainly put Dr Du Bose's theory in the second class. He would, I fancy, unlike Dr Rashdall, identify God with the 'Absolute' of philosophy. But he is as far as possible from taking the view of the Absolute

which is that of some philosophers, to whom he may possibly appear to be perilously near.

A moment guess'd ; then back behind the fold
Immerst of Darkness round the Drama roll'd,
Which for the Pastime of Eternity
He doth Himself contrive, enact, behold.

On the contrary, nothing is more striking than his insistence on the necessity of the whole process of human redemption to the being of God Himself.

'It is only in Christ that God not merely manifests what He is, but in His activity and self-expression through creation *becomes* what He is. . . . We speak of the incredible self-lowering or self-emptying of God in becoming man or in undergoing the death of the cross. Is the act in which love becomes perfect a contradiction or a compromise of the divine nature? Is God not God or least God in the moment in which He is most love . . . where before Christ, or where now otherwise than in Christ and in the cross of the divine suffering together with and for man, where in all the story of the universe was or is love so love, or God so God?' (G pp. 265, 272-273).

IV

Such I believe to be the main outline of Dr Du Bose's interpretation of Christian Theology. Perhaps something ought to be said about difficulties still remaining. To pick out verbal inconsistencies would be an easy but unprofitable task ; since they are generally due, not to confusions of thought, but to the fact that the thought is so rich and many-sided, and that, in individual passages, the writer often contents himself with emphasizing one side at a time. But perhaps this will not explain quite all the apparent discrepancies, more especially some of those in the *Soteriology*, where the contradiction seems more fundamental. Such passages as the following are difficult to reconcile with the general trend of the author's thought by the theory of 'levels'.

'What is natural to man is common to all men, because it belongs to the common nature. What is personal belongs to himself alone' (S p. 41). 'Things and their working are God, save in the case of the working of that one only thing which God has endowed with the awful

power of separating itself from Him in thought, will, and deed ; viz. personality' (S p. 48).

The fact is that Dr Du Bose has a fondness for verbal antitheses, which is rather dangerous, and perhaps this leads him sometimes to push differences a little further than they will go. But even if this be so, it does not really affect the coherence of the thought as a whole.

There is, however, a more serious difficulty, inherent in the thought itself, which I can only indicate here. There does not seem to be any necessary contradiction between the sense of individual self-identity in our moral experience and that ultimate inherence in Christ which seems to be postulated by philosophical considerations, as well as by much religious experience. They do not clash, for they belong to different spheres. But the antinomy, which for Dr Du Bose remains an antinomy, is that produced by the fact and nature of sin. The difficulty comes out in the discussion of the human sinlessness of Jesus Christ.¹ Dr Du Bose makes the very important distinction between *formal* freedom, the possibility of free choice between opposites, which characterizes imperfect human personality as we know it, and *real* freedom—'the freedom even from the possibility of disobedience', which is acquired in the end by the holy. But though *real* freedom is the goal, it can only be attained through *formal* freedom, i.e. through a genuine possibility of disobedience at a certain stage. The really free have '*obeyed away* the possibility of disobedience', but this possibility must once have been *real*, or the whole process becomes unmeaning. This difficulty, indeed, is seen in the consideration of our Lord's human sinlessness. This is a valid example on Dr Du Bose's view ; for 'He is unlike us in the *fact* alone of his sinlessness, not so in the *mode* of it' (S 199). Now, if we decline to put these two truths side by side, but, seeking a synthesis, merge the earlier in the later as less 'ultimate', do we not reduce the formal freedom to a mere illusion? What seems to be needed here is not simply the consciousness of freedom and suspense at the moment of action,

¹ The discussion of the true interpretation and significance of our Lord's human experience has a prominent place in these volumes, particularly in the *Soteriology*. The thought is characteristically bold and has provoked considerable criticism, but its discussion does not fall within the limits of this paper.

but, in some sense, the real *fact* of independence. Was the possibility of sin in Christ a real possibility? Dr Du Bose simply admits the antinomy.

'Construed from the divine side, I confess I see no place for any human formal freedom (*possibilitas peccandi*) in our Lord. The Logos incarnate in Him was, even as man, still the Divine Logos, and could neither have personally erred nor have miscarried nor failed in carrying out the divine work of human redemption and salvation' (S p. 197).

On the other hand, he continues, from the human side it is equally necessary to insist on the *possibilitas peccandi*. Now, if our Lord in the mode of His sinlessness, though not in the fact of it, was a type of all men¹, this difficulty is transferred to ordinary humanity, and its force is redoubled. For here we have no abstract *possibilitas peccandi*, but a very concrete fact of sin. Yet how is this to be reconciled with the view that man owes not only his opportunity, but his very power of rising to that opportunity, to God? How is it that this power of God, working not only upon but through man, is effective only in some cases and upon some occasions? Why, we must ask with reverence, does not the same grace of God, which availed unto holiness in Christ as man, avail also in us; unless our personality is in some ultimate sense independent, so that, in that independence, we fail where He did not fail?

On this side even Dr Du Bose does not seem to pierce the impenetrable darkness of the mystery by which we are confronted. But this is only to say that he does not solve difficulties which he nowhere professes to solve. We should not undervalue the light which he has given us, because, in some regions, darkness still remains. Only to this extent is it relevant as a criticism: that, in so far as the thought derives its impressiveness from its close-knit, logical coherence, the discovery of gaps which it does not fill must needs detract from its cogency.

In any case, to end on a note of criticism would be to obscure

¹ Cf. G p. 160: 'Our Lord in fact did not sin, not from necessity of His nature, but in the exercise of His human will'. And S p. 143: 'Whatever of divine there was or is then in the knowledge, power, or any other function of Jesus Christ *as man*, it is the communicated divinity of the Third Person of the Trinity, and not the original or underived divinity of the Second Person': i.e. His holiness, like that of all men, was through Grace.

the sense of admiration and gratitude which must be uppermost in the minds of most readers. For Dr Du Bose's achievement is certainly notable. The aim of the philosopher is to rationalize, to see all life and experience as instinct with reason. To the Christian philosopher, what is not moral is not rational, and his aim, therefore, is to see the facts of the Christian revelation, and all life and experience which they affect, as the direct expression of the character of God. No recent theologian has carried us further forward towards this ideal than Dr Du Bose; and for that reason he has rightly been hailed as not only a philosopher but a prophet. Can there be higher praise?

W. H. MOBERLY.

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THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY OF THE
BIBLICAL CANON ACCORDING TO THE
CONTINENTAL REFORMERS.

II. LUTHER, ZWINGLI, LEFÈVRE,
AND CALVIN.

IN my previous paper I urged again the familiar view that the Reform movement on the Continent received its initial impulse from the Humanists or Men of the New Learning who had revolted against Scholasticism. It would be a mistake, however, to confuse the two movements. They had in fact and in essence very little in common, and it has been a quite illogical process by which men like More, Erasmus, and others have been attacked because they did not openly join in the great campaigns led by Luther and Calvin.

It has been forgotten that the Reformers, notwithstanding their language on some occasions, were not really opposed to Scholasticism. What they objected to was the Scholasticism of the writers of the Middle Ages, while they had a scholasticism of their own quite as metaphysical as the other, and one which they clung to with desperation. Erasmus and his friends, on the other hand, were as much opposed to the new scholasticism as they were to the old, and perhaps more so. Hence it is irrational to blame them for refusing to accept this new metaphysic; when it was *a priori* reasoning and metaphysics of all kinds in theology to which they objected. And at the same time, as I said in my last paper, submission to the Church in the last resort was not contested even by the more daring Humanists.

Nothing can be more plain than the unconditional avowal made by Erasmus on this subject. In my previous paper I quoted his answer to the Sorbonne doctors. It is perhaps more effective to quote what he said in the privacy of correspondence with his friend Pirkheimer. He is protesting against Oecolampadius, the Professor of Theology at the University of Basle, who had written an introduction to his own Greek Testament, and having now joined the Reformers spoke of Erasmus as 'our Erasmus'. Erasmus felt that the phrase was compromising to him and by no means expressed his views, and he accordingly wrote as follows:—

'Illud inter amicos dixi, me posse in illius sententiam pedibus discedere, si probasset eam autoritas Ecclesiae, sed adieci, me nullo pacto ab ea posse dissentire. Ecclesiam autem voco totius populi Christiani consensum. An idem dixerint Hypocritae quorum meministi, nescio. A me certe sine fuco dictum est et ex animo, nec unquam de Eucharistiae veritate vacillavi. Quantum apud alios valeat autoritas Ecclesiae, nescio, certe apud me tantum valet ut cum Arianis et Pelagianis sentire possim, si probasset Ecclesia quod illi docuerunt. Nec mihi non sufficiunt verba Christi, sed mirum videri non debet, si sequor interpretem Ecclesiam, cuius autoritate persuasus credo scripturis canonicis. Fortasse plus vel ingenii, vel roboris est aliis, ego nulla in re tutius acquiesco, quam in certis Ecclesiae iudiciis. Rationum et argumentationum nullus est finis.'

This letter was written from Basle, and is dated 'postrid. Lucae, An. 1527' (*Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Basle 1529, p. 732).

This attitude of Erasmus was shared by many of the very prominent Humanists quite honestly, and explains the position they took in the controversies of the early sixteenth century, which has been much misunderstood. They were champions of a new logic, an empirical and inductive logic, and of a new literary culture, and by no means anxious to adopt a new scholastic metaphysics built up by Luther or Calvin and their scholars, which they doubtless deemed to have much less authority than the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and to be quite as much based upon limited premisses and an imperfect *a priori* logic.

The methods of Biblical exegesis, however, patronized by

the Humanists, were directly adopted and followed by the Reformers. These methods were not new. They and their results were borrowed very largely from those of Saint Jerome.

The first scholar north of the Alps who thus adopted them in a scholar's way in modern times, and must assuredly claim to have been the forerunner of Biblical studies in the modern sense, was Jacques Lefèvre, of Étapes, a person much too little known to English readers. His importance as a factor in the great changes of the sixteenth century must excuse my devoting some paragraphs to him. He was born at Étapes in Picardy about 1450, of humble parents, took his degree at the University of Paris, and in his early days devoted himself to private teaching. His ardour in pursuit of classical studies took him to Italy, and he soon became a Greek scholar of distinction. He was admitted as a professor at the College of Cardinal Lemoine at Paris, and there proceeded to edit a number of Greek texts, especially devoting himself to Aristotle's *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics*. In 1507 he entered the Benedictine abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés at Paris, and from that time he began to abandon his secular studies and to devote himself to theology. His first work in this new line was a parallel edition of the Psalter in five versions, with a commentary. This he finished in 1508, and several editions of it were printed. In his Hebrew studies for this work (*Comm. ad Ps. 114-15, &c.*), he tells us he was largely indebted to Reuchlin's *Rudimenta linguae Hebraicae*, which, as we have seen, was such a potent instrument in the initiation of Hebrew studies in Germany. Reuchlin and he, in fact, became close friends and correspondents. In 1512 he published at Paris a very remarkable work, especially remarkable considering its date, which preceded all the critical works on the Bible of Erasmus and the German Reformers. It consisted of a revised Latin translation of St Paul's Epistles, based largely on the Vulgate, with many corrections from the Greek, and printed in a parallel text with the Vulgate. Graf, in his life of Lefèvre, has given numerous examples of his new readings. The most remarkable features of the book, however, were the illuminating and singularly daring commentaries it contained, in which the old methods of scholastic exegesis were completely abandoned, and the text was discussed quite in

a modern way. So novel was it all that Lefèvre found it prudent to conciliate the authorities in a prefatory 'epistle' which was not quite ingenuous, and in which he claimed that he had ventured to some extent to correct the Vulgate, because in these Epistles the accepted Vulgate was not St Jerome's, but the text which that Father had himself corrected. Thus he says:

'Nos ad sacri Hieronymi translationem nihil ausos sed ad vulgatam aeditionem quae longe fuit ante beatum et gloriosum Ecclesie lumen Hieronymum et quam nobiscum ipse suggillat carpit et coarguit et quam veterem et vulgatam appellat aeditionem.'

He professes to prove this elaborately in the Apologia prefixed to the work itself, and headed 'Apologia quod vetus interpretatio Epistolarum Beatissimi Pauli quae passim legitur non sit translatio Hieronymi'.

In the commentaries following, the importance of which has never been quite appreciated, Lefèvre largely forestalls Luther's main contentions, those indeed with which his name is chiefly associated, namely, his views on Divine Grace and on the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In regard to the former, in his comments on the tenth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians fol. cxv he says:

'Spem habemus, crescente fide vestra in vobis magnificari secundum regulam nostram abunde in iis quae ultra vos sunt evangelizare non in aliena regula in iis quae prompta sunt gloriari. Qui autem gloriatur: in domino gloriatur. Non enim qui seipsum commendat ille probatus est, sed quem dominus commendat. Dei munere nonnulla parata Paulus habebat, quae superioribus Corintho regionibus praedicaturus erat, in quibus evangelizandis gloriari posset secundum mensuram ac normam donationis Christi. Sed id non est in se gloriari: sed in deo qui dat. Qui enim in aliquo gloriatur non quia in se est sed quia ab aliquo est, non propter se sed propter eum qui largitur, non in se sed in largiente gloriatur, et haec gloriatio vera et sancta est. Quam nobis largiatur Christus in omnia saecula benedictus: in quo solo universus gloriatur mundus.'

In regard to the mass, he says, in his commentary on the seventh and thirteenth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *op. cit.* fols. cxciii and ccvii:

‘Quod caeteri sacerdotes quotidie pro propriis peccatis et pro peccatis populi innumeris repetitis vicibus faciebant : Christus non pro propriis peccatis (ut qui peccatum non fecit nec inventus est dolus in ore eius) sed pro totius mundi una oblatione satisfecit unus et uice una : potentior innumeris infinitis iteratis hostiis. Ergo quae in ministerio sacerdotii eius quotidie peraguntur ; non tam sunt iteratae oblationes quam unius eiusdem et quae semel tantum oblata est victimae memoria ac recordatio. Haec (inquit) quotiescunque feceritis : in mei memoriam facietis, semel enim pro omnibus satisfecit. Neque aliud mysterium continet, quam ex praesentia corporis et sanguinis olim oblato illius divinae et omni-salvificae oblationis sanctificationisque memoriam, quae omni sacrificio et omni oblatione ad finem usque mundi deo est acceptior. Et hic sacerdos noster et haec victima non est a lege Hebraeorum instituta, sed a divino iusiurando quod non pro tempore legis fuit sed pro sacerdotio post legem. . . . Ergo in luce novi sacerdotis et novi sacrificii ambulantes : in ipsum semper intendamus, gratia eius illuminati qui est filius dei, solus in aeternum perfectus consummatusque sacerdos, qui nos lavit, nos redemit, aversos et odibiles nos convertit et reconciliat deo patri in memoria illa oblationis qua seipsum ei pro nobis obtulit. . . . Gratia quae confirmat cor doctrina Christi est. Cibi in quibus qui ambulaverunt non profecerunt : variae doctrinae et peregrinae quae dei sermonem non continent sed potius illi adversantur. Nam (ut scriptum est) non in solo pane vivit homo : sed in omni verbo quod procedit ex ore dei. Qui cultum habent tabernaculi : Iudaei sunt (de veteri enim tabernaculo id dictum est) qui non participant altari Christi. Et ideo potestatem non habent ut edant de altari Christi : id est ut vitalem doctrinae Christi cibum in se transferant, tanto minus et nos de doctrinis Iudaeorum et aliorum edere debemus sed debemus sequi Christum extra omnia castra, extra omnes alienas doctrinas et extra hunc mundum. Quod et Iudaeis monstrabatur in figura : nam vitulus qui fiebat pro peccato . . . extra castra comburebatur : indicium quod Christus qui immolaretur pro peccato mundi extra hunc mundum quaerendus esset. Et in huius rei argumentum : Christus dominus cum nos sanguine suo sanctificavit in monte Calvariae extra portam Hierusalem passus est. Extra ergo omnem doctrinam, quae celestis non sit et evangelica aut evangelicae assecla, quaerendus est Christus.’

I have thought it right to extract these passages, since they are virtually unknown to English readers, and are remarkable statements to have been publicly made by one who was professedly an orthodox person, in a work especially dedicated to a bishop. As Mr H. C. Lea says of Lefèvre's work, that it is

'the first example of casting aside the scholastic exegesis for a treatment in which tradition was rejected and the freedom of individual judgement was exercised as of right'.

Lefèvre's criticism was not always along lines afterwards approved by the Reformers, but was singular and detached. Thus, in regard to the way in which Adam's fall brought the penalty of death into the world and Christ's grace repaired the mischief, he did not hold with the predestinarianism of Augustine and of many of the Reformers, but was a champion of Free-will as the real cause of human sin; while on the other hand he held that man can do no good act by his own effort (*ad Rom.* vii 8 and ix 14), and he strove to reconcile the teaching of Paul and James on good works.

In other passages he sharply attacked the methods employed by the friars in their missionary work, in which they put the Scripture aside in favour of superstitious practices and crude stories of miracles, &c. *Inter alia*, he pointedly objected to converging so much attention on the stigmata of St Francis, while forgetting the real stigmata of Christ. He questioned the efficacy of prayers made in a language which men did not understand (*ad 1 Cor.* xiv and xvi), and the excessive self-mortification and the exaggerated fastings and abstinence which were deemed to be remedies for sins which the death of Christ alone washed out (*ad 2 Cor.* ii 16, iii 5-7; *ad Heb.* vi 6; *ad Rom.* xiv 13). While approving of celibacy among those who had a vocation, he strongly opposed its adoption among those who had not, and called attention to the fact that until the time of Gregory the Seventh, priests were allowed to marry once, while the practice still prevailed in the Greek Church (*ad 1 Cor.* vii 25; *Phil.* iv 1).

All this is very noteworthy, and not less so because Lefèvre never openly broke with the Church, nor was he ever driven out of it; while, as we shall see, his influence on the text of the Bible used by the French Reformers was paramount.

Let us now turn elsewhere. Four years after Lefèvre published his Commentaries just named, i. e. in 1516, Erasmus brought out the first edition of his Greek New Testament at Basle. It was an epoch-making work, which both directly and indirectly had a great effect on Biblical studies.

In the preface to this work Erasmus speaks with incisive keenness of the barren study of Scholasticism, which had paralysed theology for so many centuries, and his language on the subject is not less remarkable because it appears on the same page with profuse adulation of Pope Leo the Tenth to whom it was dedicated, and who (Epicurean as he was) doubtless sympathized with it all. In the same preface he addresses almost hyperbolic compliments to his Mecaenas, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, whose friends and associates were, it will be remembered, the group of scholars forming the English humanists—More, Colet, and the rest. Erasmus thus describes Warham and denounces Scholasticism in the same paragraph:

‘Ille apud suos, virtutum ac literarum omnium Mecaenas et antistes, Gulielmus Archiepiscopus Cantuarensis, totius Angliae non tituli tantum honore primas, ac tuae sanctitatis legatus, ut vocant, natus, cui meipsum quoque quantus quantus sum debeo, non modo universum studii mei proventum . . .’

This dedication is interesting in view of what follows. In his *paraclesis* to the pious reader, he says:

‘Christianis omnibus evangelia et apostolorum literae ita sanctae habeantur, ut haec prae illis non videantur esse sancta. Quid Alberto magno, quid Alexandro, quid Thomae, quid Aegidio, quid Ricardo, quid Occam alii velint tribuere, per me sane cuique liberum erit, nolim enim cuiusque imminuere gloriam, aut cum inveteratis iam hominum studiis dimicare. Sint illa quantumvis erudita, quantumvis subtilia, quantumvis si velint seraphica, haec tamen certissima fateantur oportet.’

In the second address, styled *Methodus*, he speaks more plainly:

‘Praestat paulo minus esse sophistam quam minus sapere in evangelii ac Paulinis literis. Satius est ignorare quaedam Aristotelis dogmata quam nescire Christi decreta. Denique malim cum Hieronymo pius esse theologus, quam cum Scoto invictus. . . . Quis enim omnino nodus dialectica subtilitate necti potest, qui non eadem subtilitate dissolvatur, si liberum fit utrisque, quod volet assumere. At simplices illae literae totius orbis populos pauculis annis innovare potuerunt. . . . Cui placent scholasticae conflictationes sequatur, quod in scholis receptum est. At si quis magis cupit instructus esse ad pietatem quam ad disputationem in primis et potissimum versetur in fontibus, versetur in his scriptoribus,

qui proxime biberunt de fontibus. Quod diminutum erit in syllogismis, id pensabit oratio. Et satis invictus fueris theologus, si eo profeceris, ut nulli succumbas vicio, nullis cedas cupiditatibus, etiam si a disputatione quodlibetica discesseris inferior. Abunde magnus doctor est qui pure docet Christum.'

Erasmus does not disguise his views about certain books. In his *Argumentum* at the head of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he explains why it is anonymous, and attributes it to the modesty of the Apostle, but he heads it 'ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ Beati Apostoli Pauli Epistola ad Hebraeos'. Jude is put immediately before Revelation.

Erasmus exercised very great freedom of criticism in his prefaces to the various Bible books. Thus, in his annotations to the Epistle of James, which he heads 'Annotationes in Epistolam Iacobi', he says :

'Apostolus non additur in his libris, quos ego viderim, nec in latinis emendationibus. Et fieri potest, ut nomen commune cum apostolo praebuerit occasionem, ut haec epistola Iacobo apostolo ascriberetur, cum fuerit alterius cuiusdam Iacobi, nam de hac quoque nonnihil est dubitatum. Idem accidit in duabus posterioribus, quae ob nomen commune Ioanni tribuuntur apostolo, cum alterius sint, autore Hieronymo.'

Of the Second Epistle of Peter, he says :

'De hac quoque secunda Petri epistola, cuius esset in controverso erat. Id attestatur Hieronymus in catalogo scriptorum illustrium his quidem verbis : Scripsit duas epistolas, quae canonicae nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque eius esse negatur, propter stilum cum priore dissonantem. At idem alias variat, nunc volens eam esse Petri, et stili dissonantiam reiiciens in interpretem, quo tum Petrus sit usus, nunc negans illius esse quod reclamatur stilus.'

In regard to the two latter Epistles of St John, Erasmus says :

'Constat inter autores, primam Ioannis epistolam eius esse Ioannis, quam Iesus dilexit plurimum. Caeterum duas posteriores, Ioannes presbyter scripsit, non Ioannes apostolus. Qua quidem de re prodidit Hieronymus in Catalogo scriptorum illustrium, his quidem verbis . . .'

About the Apocalypse, Erasmus writes :

'Quamquam in calce huius libri, nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros,

quae aberant in Graecis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex latinis adiecimus. Testatur divus Hieronymus Apocalypsim, ne sua quidem aetate fuisse receptam a Graecis. Ad haec quosdam eruditissimos viros, totum hoc argumentum ceu fictum multis conviciis insectatos fuisse, quasi nihil haberet apostolicae gravitatis, sed vulgatam tantum rerum historiam figurarum involucris adumbratam. Ut de his interim nihil dicam, me nonnihil moverunt cum aliae coniecturae, tum illae quod revelationes scribens tam sollicite suum inculcat nomen. Ego Ioannes ego Ioannes perinde quasi syngraham scriberet non librum, idque non solum praeter morem aliorum apostolorum, verum multo magis praeter suum morem, qui in evangelio modestiora narrans . . . Ad haec in Graecis quos ego viderim codicibus, non erat titulus Ioannis evangelistae, sed Ioannis theologi, ut ne commemorem, stilum non parum dissonantem ab eo quod est in evangelio et epistola. Nam de locis quos quidam calumniati sunt, velut haereticorum quorundam dogmata redolentes, non magni negotii sit diluere, haec inquam me nonnihil moverent, quo minus crederem esse Ioannis evangelistae, nisi me consensus orbis alio vocaret, praecipue vero autoritas ecclesiae, si tamen hoc opus, hoc animo comprobaret ecclesia, Ioannis evangelistae velint haberi, et pari esse pondere, cum caeteris canonicis libris. Iam Dorotheus Tyri episcopus ac Martyr in compendio vitarum prodidit Ioannem evangelium suum scripsisse in insula Patmos. Caeterum de Apocalypsi nullam omnino facit mentionem. Nec Anastasius quidem in suo Catalogo audent affirmare, opus hoc illius esse, tantum a se receptum a quibusdam tanquam illius opus. Equidem video veteres theologos magis ornandae rei gratia, hinc adducere testimonia, quam ut rem seriam evincant. Quando quidem inter gemmas etiam nonnihil est discriminis, et aurum est auro purius ac probatius. In sacris quoque rebus, aliud est alio sacratius. Qui spiritualis est, ut inquit Paulus omnia diiudicat et a nemine diiudicatur.

All this is very plain speaking from one who claimed to submit absolutely to the Church, and shews that Erasmus practised criticism without hesitation as freely as Luther himself. At the end of the New Testament there is appended an address to the reader by Oecolampadius, who this same year became professor of Theology at Basle, and who was afterwards such a vigorous champion of the Reformation. He speaks in this address in hyperbolic terms of Erasmus as 'plane sicut raritate eruditionis Phoenicem volucrem, ita et invicto animi robore phoenicem arborem hoc est palmam referat'.

In the same year, viz. 1516, there appeared at Delft a translation into Dutch of the Latin text of Erasmus's New Testament

which had the approval of Pope Leo the Tenth. The following year two notable steps were taken towards the Reformation. One of them, the nailing of Luther's theses to the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg, has been sufficiently appreciated. The other has hardly been noticed at all, at least in England; I mean, the publication of a second highly polemical work by J. Lefèvre, *de Maria Magdalena et triduo Christi disceptatio*. In this work Lefèvre aroused the greatest animosity of the monks and friars and of the doctors of the Sorbonne by what they deemed an attack on the Breviary, on the traditions of the Church, and on the veneration due to the saints, and they clamoured for the book to be put into the fire, and with it its author. Lefèvre in fact argued that the Church had been mistaken in making one famous saint out of two, and that the 'Peccatrix', Mary the sister of Martha, and Mary Magdalen out of whom Christ cast seven devils, were three different people. To this argument he added an appendix in which he claimed to shew also that Christ rose again on the third day during the daytime and not the night. In a second edition of this tract, in which he defended himself, he further questioned another view long held by the Church, and appealed on the matter from the Church in error to a better-informed Church. This appeal, it must be said, was a position rather trying to the orthodox of the period. He in fact claimed to refute the view that St Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin, had been married three times—to Joachim, to Cleophas, and to Salomas successively, and had had by each a daughter Mary; that these Marias had respectively married Joseph, Alphaeus, and Zebedee, and become the mothers (1) of Christ, (2) of St James the less, Joseph Justus, and Simon, and (3) of St James the greater and St John. He claimed to shew, in fact, that St Anne had only one husband, namely, Joachim, and one daughter, the Virgin Mary; and he argued that Salomas was merely Salome, the wife of Zebedee, transformed by mistake into a man.

Lefèvre was vigorously supported in these contentions by J. Clitov and Cornelius Agrippa and others, and found a more potent defender in Francis the First and his sister Marguerite, who sheltered him from the prosecution of the ecclesiastical officials.

What is perhaps more interesting for us is the fact that Lefèvre's memoir was answered at some length by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of Cambridge University. His reply was published in 1519. A complimentary letter prefixed to this answer, and addressed by a certain Didimus Lycoucarus, a student of Paris, to Nich. Metchalfe, S.T.P., Archdeacon of Rochester, begins as follows:

'Nisi virtutis (vir erudite) maior habenda esset ratio quam fortunae: cui patriam singuli suam debemus: vix aequo animo ferre ipse possem tantam omnium laudum excellentiam Angliae merito ascribi. Nam ut omittam Coletum, Linacrum, Paceum, Tunstallum, Morum, Latymerum, & Grocinum, Roscios omnis scientiae numeris absolutos: Qualis iam nunc istic in harenam descendit Milo? Qualis (inquam) prodit Episcopus?' (Fisher *de unica Magdalena* f. 1v.)

The second edition of Erasmus's Greek Testament was published at Basle in 1519. Basle was then the centre of the European printing and book trade, as Leipzig became later, and the necessities of seeing his exceptional book through the press, had in fact as early as 1515 taken Erasmus to Basle, where, as we shall see, his influence was very marked. Basle has some claims indeed to be the real cradle of the Reformation.

It was at Basle that the famous Council met between 1431 and 1443. Although its labours proved abortive it was the last concerted movement before Trent to reform the abuses of the Curia and the morals of the clergy, and it would seem as if the influence of its discussions lasted there into another generation. The University of Basle was founded by Pope Pius the Second in 1459, and it presently became a centre of the Humanist movement. A potent influence was exercised there in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Thomas Wittenbach, who was born at Biel in 1472, and became a professor, first at Tübingen, then at Basle, where he died in 1526. Of him, one of his pupils, Leo Judas, writes:

'E vobis prodiit nobis D. Thomas ille Wittenbachius, vir in omni disciplinarum genere exercitatissimus, et qui propter multiugam eruditionem omnibus istius saeculi doctissimis hominibus miraculo et stupori, et Phoenix quaedam habitus sit. Quo praeceptore Zwinglius et ego, uno eodemque tempore circa annum Domini 1505, Basileae literis operam navantes formati sumus. Nec solum in cultioribus disciplinis,

quarum erat callentissimus, sed in scripturarum quoque veritate. Ut enim homo ille praeter singularem eloquentiam acuto erat ingenio, multa quae posteris temporibus ab aliis prodita sunt praevidebat et praesagiebat, ut de Indulgentiis papisticis, et aliis rebus, quibus Romanus Pontifex stultum mundum aliquot iam saeculis dementaverat. Ex hoc hausimus quidquid nobis fuit solidae eruditionis, atque hoc ei etiam debemus.' (Pantaleon *Prosopograph.* iii 43.)

Wittenbach was a strenuous upholder of the new views and not only denounced the sale of indulgences at Basle, but also openly taught that the death of Christ was the only way to salvation. He was also an opponent of the celibacy of the clergy. (*Lebens Doctor Thomas Wittenbachs Bernerisches Manusoleum*, I. 1, etc.)

An eager pupil of Wittenbach's at Basle was Zwingli, who was born on January 1st, 1484, at Wildhaus in the Canton of St-Gallen. His nearest relations on both sides were ecclesiastics. Having gone to school at Vienna, he returned to Basle in 1502 when 18 years old, where he sat at the feet of Wittenbach. In 1506 he was ordained priest and appointed to the Church of Glarus. It has been the fashion for Lutheran historians to minimize the initial work of Zwingli as compared with that of their special hero, whom he undoubtedly forestalled in his defiant campaign against the Roman authorities.

Zwingli says of himself:

'Coepti ego Evangelion praedicare anno salutis decimosexto supra millesimum et quingentesimum, eo scilicet tempore, quum Lutheri nomen in nostris regionibus ne auditum adhuc erat. Sic autem praedicavi, cum Missa adhuc in usu esset Pontificiis. Evangelium quod in Missa legebatur, populo proposui explicandum; explicandum, inquam, non hominum commentis, sed sola Scripturarum Bibliacarum collatione.' (*Zwingli Opera* i p. 37.)

Wolfgang Capito says in a letter to Bullinger:

'Antequam Lutherus in lucem emergeret, Zwinglius et ego inter nos communicavimus de pontifice deiiciendo, etiam cum ille vitam degeret in eremitorio. Nam utrique ex Erasmi consuetudine et lectione bonorum autorum quaecumque iudicium tum subolescebat.' (*Gerdesius Introd. ad Hist. Evang.* i 117.)

The friendship of Zwingli with Erasmus and Capito, here referred to, was formed in 1515. The next year, while Erasmus was at Basle, and before he had heard of Luther, Zwingli

was transferred to Einsiedeln, and was there engaged in denouncing the pilgrimages which have always been such a feature of that place. It is clear therefore that Zwingli, in the earlier part of his career as a Reformer, owed nothing to Luther, and in fact was his predecessor. In 1518 Zwingli was appointed preacher at Zürich, and at once began to denounce the sale of indulgences, fasting, the celibacy of the clergy, &c., and at length the Pope called upon the people of Zürich to abandon him. This they refused to do, and the Council, after he had produced and defended sixty-seven theses, at a conference held at Zurich on the 29th of January, 1523, were so convinced by his eloquence that they separated the canton from the bishopric of Constance, and thus established the Reformation in a definite way there. This was followed by a series of other changes further emphasizing his separation from Rome.

While Zwingli and Luther disagreed materially about the true explanation of the Mass, and spoke of each other in consequence in terms hardly credible, they held similar views in regard to the Bible and its authority. In the first of the theses just named Zwingli said: '*Quicumque evangelia nihil esse dicunt nisi ecclesiae calculus et adprobatio accedat, errant et deum blasphemant.*' He thus repudiates very vigorously the notion that the authority of the Bible is in any way based on the tradition or authority of the Church.

In his memoir *De perspicuitate et certitudine vel infallibilitate verbi divini*, he speaks most plainly on the subject:

'Hoc verbum Dei,' he says, 'non invenies apud concilia et pontifices, sed in cubiculo tuo, ubi solus fueris cum Deo. Ora Deum, hauri ex Scriptura, noli quaerere ex Scriptura confirmationem sententiae tuae. Adi solum evangelium, abice nugas theologorum scholasticorum.' (Huldreich Zwingli *Werke*, Zürich 1828, i 66.)

Again he says:

'Ego certo scio me a Deo doceri; nam sensi eum. Ne autem quis mihi obiciat hoc verbum, intellege, quomodo sciam me a Deo doceri . . . Nunc certus sum sententiam Dei eam esse, quam intellexi. Nunc affer omnia mendacia et fictiones iuristarum, omnem simulationem cuculorum, omnem iram praelatorum inflatorum, omne venenum Romanum, omnem ignem Aetnae vel gehennae: non me convertes ad aliam opinionem. . . . Verbum Dei (id est, quod venit a solo Dei Spiritu)

summo opere honorandum neque ulli verbo tanta fides adhibenda est, quanta ipsi. Ipsum enim certum est, infallibile, lucidum, non sinit in tenebris errare, docet se ipsum, explicat se ipsum, illuminat mentem humanam omni salute et gratia.' (*ib.* i 74 sq.)

This being his theory, he did not shrink from applying it. Thus in regard to the Apocalypse, we have it reported that at the Berne disputation (ii p. 169) he said, 'Us Apocalypsi nemend wir kein kundschaft an, dann es nit ein biblisch buch ist.' Again, in his book *de claritate verbi Dei* p. 310, he says, 'Apocalypsis prorsus non sapit os et ingenium Ioannis. Possum ergo testimonia si velim reicere.' Here we have the subjective theory so characteristic of Luther's exegesis put in practice in its most extreme form, and it is plain in fact that Zwingli adopted Luther's test of Canonical authority, and stood in this matter on precisely the same platform as the latter did.

Let us now return again shortly to Lefèvre, who was carrying on a parallel campaign in France. It was about the year 1520 that he left Paris and took up his residence at Meaux, where the bishop was his friend, and where he worked at his commentary on the Gospels, which was finished in 1521. In this book he took up the same dogmatic position as in his work on St Paul's Epistles, but he had become bolder in his criticism, and in his appeal to God's grace and to the Gospel against the notion of the efficacy of good works. He prudently, however, avoided direct and dangerous attacks on the administrative abuses of the Church, nor was he entirely opposed to the old views. Thus he defended the doctrine of Purgatory, approving the scholastic distinction between *satisfactio culpae* and *satisfactio poenae*. In regard to the Eucharist, he emphasizes his former statements thus:

'Ubicunque sane Christus est, Christus incarnatus est: incarnatus autem sine corpore non est. Et magna est fides cognoscere Christum corporaliter esse ubi sacramentaliter est, sed maior est cognoscere eum absolute ubique corporaliter esse.' (*op. cit.*, ad *Joan.* iv 19. See also vi 47 and xx 19.)

The Sacrament with him was no Sacrament without Faith, but Faith could do much without the Sacrament.

Without denying the intercession of Saints and the efficacy of their invocation, which would have put him at issue with the

Church's regulations, he deemed it useless to apply vicariously when we can go directly to the fountain-head. While he maintained in a stronger form his views about liberty, grace, and good works, he strongly supported the unity of the Church, and opposed schisms and sects. But the union he defended was not the external union which meant union with the Chair of Peter, but union with Christ, who, he urged, alone had the power of the keys, which He deputed to all who built up His Church as well as to Peter. He deplored the decay of the Church, which could only be restored by the preaching of the Gospel everywhere among men: the rest was all vain. It is well to remember the vigour as well as the daring of this language at this date; published, too, not in the dominions of friendly Electors and other potent people in Germany, who were in full sympathy, but in the much more dangerous latitude of France. Lutheranism itself had meanwhile got a considerable foothold at Meaux among the work-people, and also among some of the preachers imported by Briçonnet the bishop, to whom Lefèvre's teaching was apparently not distasteful, while Lutheran books were openly sold in spite of the prohibitions of the Sorbonne doctors. In 1523 they issued a special order confiscating all Luther's works, and ordering them to be burnt, and prohibiting those of Erasmus; and a large number of propositions taken from Lefèvre's Commentary on the Gospels were condemned. He, however, refused to retract, and would have been imprisoned if he had not been protected by Marguerite, sister of Francis the First. Francis himself appointed a commission of prelates and doctors of theology, who examined Lefèvre's incriminated works. They found in favour of the accused, whereupon the king issued a letter filled with his praises, and forbade the Sorbonne to trouble him.

The defeat and capture of Francis the First at Pavia were unfortunate for the reforming party in France, and greatly strengthened the hands of the clerical conservatives at Meaux. The Bishop, afraid of the Sorbonne, himself, on the 15th October, 1523, issued a synodal, in which he forbade, on pain of excommunication, the reading or keeping of Luther's works, or the denial of the doctrine of Purgatory and of the Invocation of Saints. He pronounced anathema against preachers who taught Lutheranism, and withdrew licences from some of his own

Evangelical protégés among the preachers. When, however, he affixed papal indulgences, as well as printed prayers, to the doors of the cathedral they were torn off. The culprits were discovered and duly punished, but the bishop's former views and more probably his known secret encouragement of the Reformers were not forgotten. The Cordeliers openly charged him and his preachers with favouring heresy, and especially that he had encouraged French translations of the New Testament and the Psalter, and had even ordered preachers who were illiterate to read Lefèvre's translations of the Gospel of the day. (Graf *op. cit.* 104-109.)

Lefèvre now undertook a translation of the New Testament, which was sanctioned on condition that he followed the text of the Vulgate without change. The four Evangelists, preceded by an Introduction, appeared accordingly on the 8th of June, 1523, and the rest of the New Testament a few months later. They were published anonymously, but were undoubtedly the work of Lefèvre. We read in the Introduction:

'Sachons que les hommes et leurs doctrines ne sont riens, sinon de autant que elles sont corroborées et confirmées de la parole de Dieu. . . . Mais Jésus-Christ est tout.'

He went on to invite the simple and unlearned to read the actual words of the Bible without human paraphrase. If the Gospels contained difficulties which poor Frenchmen could not understand, why, he urged, was not this so with poor Greeks and poor Latins when they were written in those languages, and he asked why poor Christians should not be permitted to defend their faith from their Bibles, as poor Jews were wont to do theirs.

Lefèvre's New Testament was reprinted several times in 1524 and 1525. In February of the latter year he followed it up with a French Psalter, while the Bishop issued in French a collection of the passages to be used for Epistle and Gospel all the year round in the diocese of Meaux, which is also attributed to Lefèvre, whom the friars called 'le domestique et commensal de l'évêque'. All this was very distasteful to the authorities. One of the Meaux preachers after another was summoned by the Sorbonne and condemned, and on August 25th, 1525, it was expressly forbidden to issue translations of the Bible or of sections of it in the vernacular.

Lefèvre had at this time finished his commentary on the

Catholic Epistles, which he dedicated to the Chancellor Duprat. In it, while his phrases were more studied, he maintained his old views. He implored kings and powerful men to permit the free circulation of the Gospel, and recalled what Francis the First had already done in this behalf. In regard to the priesthood he says, 'Tous les fidèles sont des temples spirituels, des prêtres spirituels oints par le Saint Esprit pour qu'ils offrent leurs sacrifices à Dieu dans une conscience pure, et Jésus Christ connaît partout ces prêtres.' Those in orders were specially meant to teach the others, he said, and to administer the sacraments. In commenting on 1 Peter v 13 he associated Babylon and Rome; on the subject of good works and the Eucharist he reiterated his previous views. The friars and their patrons were naturally still further exasperated by these publications. Lefèvre and others, including the bishop, were cited with a view to being interrogated. Fifty propositions were abstracted from the exhortations in Lefèvre's editions of the Gospels and Epistles as heretical, including most of the principal so-called Evangelical views. They were declared to be 'inventions of the devil and heretical lies'. The finding was sent to the Inquisitors appointed by the Holy See. All this happened during the imprisonment of Francis the First at Madrid. On his return the King, while apparently not interfering to assist others, again threw his protection over Lefèvre. Some of his friends suffered various penalties or fled, while the bishop apparently adopted Cranmer's accommodating attitude under similar difficulties. He accordingly returned to his diocese, where he died some years later.

We will now revert shortly to Germany and its borders. Luther's New Testament, as we saw, was first published in September 1522, three months only before Lefèvre's. It was not long before it was translated into other languages. Notwithstanding Charles the Fifth's determined opposition to all Luther's works and the heavy hand he always kept upon Flanders, a translation of his New Testament into Dutch was published by Adrian Van Bergen at Antwerp in 1523. It contains Luther's prefaces to the New Testament and its several books, and the books are arranged in the order in which he printed them. Le Long says of the prefaces to the later Epistles of St. Paul in this Dutch New Testament:

'Zynde die van Mart Luther, gelyk ook die op alle de volgende Epistelen doch sommige, gelyk selfs dere Voorreeder, zyn aan 't eynde een weinig verkort; en die van Jacobus en Judas geheel nyt gelaaten.' (*Boekzaal der niederduytsche Bybels* 521.)

In 1525 there appeared a translation of the Old Testament into Dutch. It was published in four small volumes at Antwerp. The Pentateuch and the Psalms were translated from Luther's version, and it is singular that the historical books were not so also, since Luther's translation of them was now available. The other books, however, were translated from the Delft edition of the Vulgate of 1477. The Prayer of Manasses is given at the end of 2 Chronicles. The rest of the Apocryphal books are given in the order and position they occupy in the Vulgate, with Jerome's prefaces. At the end of Malachi we have the phrase 'Hier na sal volgen d'boeck der Machabeorum', but strangely none of these books is actually given in the text. A very curious thing about this Bible not previously noticed is that the concluding pages of volumes three and four are occupied with the royal arms of Henry the Eighth. What the explanation of this may be it is difficult to say, since in 1525 Henry was by no means friendly to schemes for Bible translation, and especially would a translation incorporating a part of Luther's work be distasteful to him. The printers of this Bible were Christopher and Hans Van Roemundt. The former had to flee from Antwerp the same year for printing a Lutheran book. He came to England and got into trouble for disseminating Tindale's New Testaments, and died in prison here in 1531. It may be that the addition of the English royal arms to this Bible was to facilitate its circulation in England.

In 1526 there appeared another complete Bible in Dutch, published by Van Liesveldt. It was in two volumes divided into three parts. The first volume, from Genesis to Canticles inclusive, followed Luther's translation, as did the New Testament. The second volume was also divided into three parts. The first contained the Prophets and Baruch, and the second the so-called Apocryphal books, and is headed 'De Boecken die van 't Canon niet en syn, dats te weten, dye men by den Joden in 't' Hebreusch niet en vyndt'. These are named 'derde en vierde Boek Esdre Thobias Judith Wysheyte Ecclesiasticus het xiii

en xiiii Cap. Daniels (welc niet in 't Ebreeusch, maer in Theodionis ouersettinge staet) en de twee Boeken der Machabeer'.

This was apparently the first Bible in a modern vernacular which the so-called Apocrypha were separated from the Canonical books and printed apart. The third part of this Bible consisted of the New Testament, and follows the text and order of Luther.

It thus came about that in Holland, as in Germany, Luther's theory of the Bible Canon was accepted by a large section of the reformers. Let us turn to Scandinavia. In 1524 there was published a New Testament in Danish at Leipzig, which was translated by Mikkelsen. In this New Testament the Gospels and the Acts were translated from the Latin version of Erasmus, while the Epistles and the Revelation were taken from Luther's New Testament, as were the general introduction and the introductions to the several books, and, what is more important, the order of the New Testament books was adopted. This was followed in 1526 by the first Swedish New Testament, which was published at Stockholm, and, while largely incorporating Luther's text, also incorporated his prefaces and adopted his order of the books. Thus Scandinavia (for Denmark then included Norway) was entirely committed to Luther's theory of the New Testament Canon.

Zwingli's views as to the supreme authority of the Bible made him, like Luther, an early champion of translation into the vernacular of his native land. In this work he was assisted by his friends Leo Judas, Pellicanus,¹ Caspar Grossman, and others. It was published in 1527-1529. In regard to such parts as had been translated by Luther, including the whole of the New Testament and the Old Testament from Genesis to Canticles, Zwingli's Bible was mainly an edition of Luther's text in Swiss German, with some emendations. This part of the Zürich Bible occupied three volumes, the first of which is alone dated, namely, in 1527. Esther is placed between Chronicles and

¹ Pellicanus was probably the best scholar. He was indeed a remarkable Hebrew scholar for the time. He was born at Ruffach in Alsace in 1478, and learnt Hebrew from a Jew who had become a Franciscan friar. In 1519 he himself became the head of the Franciscan convent at Basle, secretly adhered to Luther until 1526, when he became professor of Hebrew at Zürich, where he died in 1566. He wrote on Hebrew grammar, &c. Courayer thinks Reuchlin was much helped by him, and he greatly aided in preparing the Zürich Bible.

Ezra in the list on the title-page, but in the text it duly follows Nehemiah.

In addition to these books, Zwingli and his friends also translated Luther's text of the New Testament. And they not only followed Luther's text, but what is more important for us to remember, they followed his treatment of the books, arranging their names in the table of contents in the same order as he does. The earlier books are successively numbered from I to XXIV, while the Epistle to the Hebrews and those of James and Jude, with the Apocalypse, are put at the end unnumbered and in a class by themselves, separated by a space from the rest, and are printed together in the text. The Epistle to the Hebrews (again following Luther's plan) is not assigned to St Paul, while the Revelation is attributed to 'Sant Joannis des Theologes'.

It is therefore plain that Zwingli completely committed himself to Luther's theory as to the relative value of the New Testament books.

In regard to those parts of the Old Testament not as yet translated by Luther, the Swiss translators had naturally to turn elsewhere. The fourth volume of the Zürich Bible containing the Prophets was in part an original translation made by Zwingli, Pellicanus, and others. It is dated the 1st of March, 1529, and on its title-page we read 'durch die predicanten zu Zürich inn Teusch vertolmätchet'. They call themselves in the introduction 'wir die diener des Evangelii der Statt Zürich'. At the end of the volume we read 'End aller Propheten so vel by den Ebreern unnd bey den Altern under Biblische geschrift'. This phrase explicitly cuts the deutero-canonical books out of the Canon. The translation of the Apocrypha in this Bible formed its fifth volume. It was the work of Leo Judas, as we learn from the title-page, where we read :

'Diss sind die bücher die by den altē under Biblische geschrift nit gezelt sind, auch bey den Ebreern nit gefundenn. Neüwlich widerumb durch Leo Jud verteütschet.'

The titles of the books are given as follows:—

'I. Die zwey letzten bücher Ezra. II. Tobias. III. Judith. IIII. V. Das Büch der Weyssheit. VI. Der weyssman Ecclesias-

ticus. VII. Die zwey Bücher Machabaeorum. VIII. Die Histori von Susanah. IX. Die Histori vom Bel zü Babel.'

On the back of the title-page to this volume is the following Address to the Reader:—

'Gnad und frid dem Christelichen Läser. Dise bucher so hie der Biblischē angehenckt sind der meinung vō uns getruckt nit das sy in wārd un acht der der heiligen gschrift gleych gehalten werden söllind sunder das denen so auch liebe zü disen bücheren habend zelafen weder mangel noch klag wāre und das ein yetlicher funde das im schmackte: dann ob schon dise bücher under die Biblischen heyliger schrift bücher weder von den alten noch von uns gezelt sind doch vil ding darinn die Biblischer gschrift dem glauben und liebe keins wāgs wider strābend ja auch etliche iren grund in Gottes wort findend. Darūm habend wir dise zu gut gmeinem volck treuwlich verteütschet wiewol die exemplaria aus denē wir sy getolmetschet vast falsch un wirrig gewesen sind. Ye doch habend wir müglichen fleys ankert allen mangel un prästen zebesseren und zeersenē. Und das auss den examplarien die wir habēd: dañ Ebreische (deren sich etlich rāmēd) habend wir nit gehept. Was arbeyt aber und mūh wir geschluckt habind werdend die können ermessen die das Griechisch un Latinisch das alt tolmetzen und unsers zesamen vergleychend. Desshalb bittend wir alle froñen Läser sy wollind alle ding in besten verstōn un auss liebe urteylen un alles ir läsen zü Gottes lob und eer und seel heylichten.'

Although only two books of Maccabees are mentioned in the list on the title-page of this edition of the Zürich Bible, the third book is included in the text with the curious heading 'Das dritt büch Machabaeorum nach dem Graechischen (als der sibenzig spraachmeysteren edition vermag) recht tygenlich verteuschet'. This edition excludes the fragments of Esther, the Prayer of Azarias, the Song of the Three Children, and the Prayer of Manasses. On the other hand it includes the third and fourth books of Esdras.

At the end of the volume containing the Apocrypha we read:

'End dieser Bucher, so geschrift gemass doch nit als Biblisch, oder in gleychem wārd bey den Hebreē gehalten werdend.

Etlich wenig menden die sich zu tragen habend in disem werck findest du hiernach verzeychnet.'

This being the theory of the Canon contained in the Zürich Bible, it will be well to supplement it by an express statement of

the views held on the subject by Zwingli's close friend and ally, Oecolampadius.

Scultetus in his *Annales Evangelii* describes how the deputies of the Waldenses went in 1530 to Basle to consult Oecolampadius about the affairs of their Church. Oecolampadius deemed the matter too important to be decided at an interview and asked them to write down their case. The document was preserved among his papers. In this document they incorporated their creed, and *inter alia* they asked :

'Qui sacræ Scripturæ in utroque Testamento sint veri libri, ut dicunt, Canonici, etiam quæ ad horum declarationem essent nobis, ad nostramque & plebis utilitatem volumina emenda.' (*op. cit.* ii 305.)

To this Oecolampadius replied in writing. He said *inter alia* :

'In Canonicis scripturis annumeramus quinque libros Mosis, Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, quatuor libros Regum, duos Paralipomenon, unum Esdrae, unum Neëmiæ : & hi quidem historici sunt. Job, Psalterium, Parabolas, Cantica & Ecclesiasten Salomonis : Esaiam, Hieremiam, Ezechielem, Danielem : & duodecim Prophetas juniores, Hoseam, Joëlem, Amos, Abdiam, Jonam, Micheam, Naum, Abakuk, Sophoniam, Aggæum, Zachariam, & Malachiam, ut Scripturas a Spiritu sancto inspiratas habemus. Judith, Tobiam, Ecclesiasticum, Baruch, duos ultimos Esdræ, tres libros Machabæorum, duo capita ultima Danielis, non contemnimus : sed non divinam cum cæteris illis autoritatem damus. In novo Testamento quatuor Evangelia cum Actis Apostolorum & quatuor decim Epistolis Pauli & septem catholicis, una cum Apocalypsi recipimus : tametsi Apocalypsim cum epistola Jacobi et Judæ & ultimâ Petri, ac duabus posterioribus Joannis, non cum cæteris conferamus.' (*ib.* 313 and 314.)

This is the most explicit statement on the part of any of the early reformers except Karlstadt as to what the Canon was deemed by them to be, and it doubtless covers, at all events, the position of the Zürich Church. It will be noticed that the fragments of Esther, the Prayer of Azarias, the Benedicite, and the Prayer of Manasses are not mentioned in the Old Testament, nor the Epistle to the Hebrews in the New Testament.

Let us now revert once more to Lefèvre. In 1528 there appeared his French translation of the Pentateuch, and in 1530 that of the whole Bible, a most famous book, because it was the foundation upon which all future French Bibles were built up

It was styled on the title-page 'La sainte Bible en Francoys translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de saint Hierome conferee et entierement reuisitee, selon les plus anciens et plus correctz exemplaires'. It was published anonymously at Antwerp, and was printed with the imperial privilege of Charles Emperor of the Romans, King of Castille, &c., i. e. Charles the Fifth, who had caused it to be translated into French. It was approved by the Inquisitor and others of the theological faculty of Louvain, and was especially authorized by the Emperor and his Council.

In the Preface headed 'Prologue de tous les liures de la Sainte escripture, & de ceulx qui les ont mis par escript', we read that the Old Testament, according to the most common division, consists of four parts. The first contains the books of the law :

'Lesquelz (selon les docteurs des Hebreux) Moyses a mis par escript, exceptez huyt vers en la fin du Deuteronomie commẽceans : Et la mourut Moyses seruiteur, & cetera, iusques en la fin du liure.'

In regard to the books in the second division he says :

'Desquelz Iosue a escript son liure, & les huyt vers de la loy derniers. Samuel a escript les Iuges, Ruth, le premier, & le second liure des Roix. Ieremias a escript le troiziesme & le quattresme liure des Roix. Esdras a escript les deux de Paralipomenon, & les deux premiers liures du dict Esdras. Les homes de la grande Sinagogue ont escript Hester. Moyses a escript le liure de Iob. Il nest pas trouue qui aient escript les autres.'

Of the books of the third class he says :

'Desq̄lz Esaie a escript les trois premiers (i. e. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles). Le liure de Sapiẽce est escript selon les Juifz par Philo. Lecclesiastique a este fait par Iesu filz de Syrach.'

Of the fourth part he says :

'Desquelz Daud & dix prophetes ont escript les pseaulmes. Esaias a escript son liure. Ieremias a escript son liure, & les Trenes. Les hões de la grãde Synagogue ont escript Hezechiel, & Daniel avec les douze petis Prophetes, ascavoir, Oseas, Ioel, & ce. ¶ Parquoy entre tous les liures dessus dictz aucuns sont que lon ne trouue pas en Hebreu, ou qui ne sont point liures Canoniques : lesquelz toutesfois pour la bonne doctrine & Prophetie q̄ est trouuee en eulx, sont receus & approuvez de leglise. Comme le troiziesme & quattresme liures de Esdras, Tobias, Iudith, Sapiẽce, Lecclesiastique, Baruch, & les deux liures des

Machabees, dont le premier est trouue en Hebrieu. Et sont iceulx liures appelez Apocryphes, cest adire, desquelz l'author est incongneu.'

In regard to the New Testament books, the Epistle to the Hebrews is assigned to St Paul, while of the Apocalypse we read, 'Lapocalipse ou reuelation de *Sainct Jean dict Theologien ou Evangelist.*'

The chapters are headed with explanatory paragraphs. At the end of 2 Chronicles we have the prayer of Manasses, headed with the words 'Loraison de Manasses roy de Iuda, ou sa confesse: quant il estoit detenu prisonnier en Babilone, pour ses maulx, fort conuenable a tous penitēs: laquelle toutesfois nest pas en Hebrieu, & nest pas du texte de la Bible'. The third book of Esdras is headed 'Le troiziesme liure de Esdras le Prophete'. The fourth is headed 'Le quattresme liure de Esdras, lequel ne contient fors q̄ aucunes visions'. Judith is headed 'Le liure de Iudith traduit de la langue Chaldaïque'.

The fragments of Esther separated by Jerome are printed at the end of the book, with the heading 'Autre exēple dunes lettres qui ne sont trouuees en Hebrieu . . .'. Wisdom is headed 'Le liure de Sapience nest trouue nulle part vers les Hebrieux: aussy le lāguage ensuyt mieulx leloquēce des Grecz. Les Iuifs afferment iceluy estre fait par Philo: lequel est appelle Sapience, pour ce q̄ en iceluy est exprimee la venue de Christ, qui est la sapience du pere: & aussy sa passion'. Jeremiah is followed by Lamentations headed 'Les Threnes, ou les lamentations de Ieremie, qui sont appellees en Hebrieu Cinnoth'. Of Lamentations the Prayer of Jeremiah forms the fifth chapter. Then follows Baruch, headed 'Sainct Hierome. ¶ Le liure icy q̄ est appelle Baruch, nest pas trouue entre les escriptures canoniqs des Hebrieux: mais en la cōmune edition: semblablement le pistre de Ieremias. Mais po^r donner cōgnoissance a ceulx q̄ le lysent sont ilz icy escriptz: pource quilz annoncent pluseieurs choses de Christ, & de des derniers temps'. At the close of the seventh chapter of Daniel we read: 'Hierome. Jusqs icy lisons nous Daniel, au volume des Hebrieux: tout ce q̄ sensuyt, iusques en la fin du liure est trāslate de ledition de Theodotiō.'

Another edition of this Bible was published in 1534, and it was greatly changed in some respects, having a large number of

additional marginal notes, &c. In the prologue it is claimed that in this second edition a great many improvements are introduced in the translation. In it a special table of books occurs, in which the so-called Apocryphal books are distinguished by having their titles set back. Although the Prayer of Manasses is not named in this list, nor Lamentations and the Epistle of Jeremy, these books are duly contained in the text.

Simon, in regard to this translation, which in a note in a copy in the British Museum he unhesitatingly attributes to Lefèvre, says of him :

‘Lefèvre parloit le langage des protestans d’Allemagne avec lesquels il avoit des grandes liaisons, et qui vouloient qu’on lut dans les eglises l’écriture sainte en langue vulgaire, en un mot il tendoit a introduire la Reforme en France.’ (*Bibliothèque Critique*, lettre 15, p. 112, tome A.)

In spite of this fact, his Antwerp Bible, as we have seen, was brought out under the most orthodox auspices.

In 1530 there appeared a new edition of the Zürich Bible, with corrections, in one volume, in which the so-called Apocryphal books are printed at the end of the New Testament, and thus still more separated from their original position. In this edition the Third of Maccabees is duly entered in the table of contents and included in the text, but the other omissions above described are still maintained.

The following year another edition appeared with an introduction which Dr Nestle assigns to the pen of Zwingli himself. In this address we are told the books from Job to Canticles had been retranslated by the Zürich pastors. The initial list of Bible books in this edition is arranged not according to their order in the text, but alphabetically. In it the so-called additions to Esther occur for the first time in the Zürich Bible. They are entered as *Das ander büch Ester*, and the double entry is duplicated again under Hester. In the text these fragments of Esther are put among the Apocrypha, next to Judith, and thus entirely separated from the main text of the book, with the heading ‘Dises sind die Capitel die im Buch Hester in Hebreischem Text und Biblischer gschrift nit gefunden werdend Doch habends die Griechischen Tolmetschen auch die Latiner desshalb wir sy

auch hienach inn Tütsch habend wöllen setzen das niemants nichts mangle'.

In Zwingli's preface already named, the so-called Apocryphal books are thus referred to:

* Dise bücher sind mit den bücheren, der ersten ordnung nit in gleycher acht. Dann ob gleych vil waars unnd nutzbars (das zü fröñkeyt des läbens unnd erberkeyt dienet darinnen finden wirdt so sind doch nit alle ding so aussgestochen unnd lauter als in den vorgemälten. Ein bild unnd angesicht wirdt vil häller unnd eigentlicher in einem spiegelglass gesähen dann in einem wasser unnd in einem lauterem stillen wasser vil bass dann in einem betrübten unnd bewegten. Es mischet sich in denen bücheren offit vil eyn das sich der lauterem waarheynt nit wil zum gnöuwesten angestalten das fahlen gleycher sicht. Jedoch wöllend wir nichts verachtet haben daraus güts unnd nutzes gezogen mag werden. Es sol das gut dess bösen nit entgelten unnd sol der kaarn mit den sprüweren nit hingeworffen sonder auss den sprüweren geläsen unnd abgesünderet werden. Der läser sol thiin als das Bynlin das das best auss allen blümen saugt unnd zeücht und die reynen thier essend nüt unreynes sonder scheydend unnd sünderend das unreyn ab das gut brauchend sy inen zur speyss. Bewärend alle ding spricht Paulus was günt ist das nemmend an. Deshalb habend wir sy auch wöllen trucken das hieran niemants keynen mangel noch klag hette unnd ein yetlicher funde das seynem mangel liebete. Nun ists an dem das wir zum kurtsesten unnd in einer gmeyn anzeygind was in den bücheren dess alten Testaments gehandelt werde.'

In this Bible the so-called Apocryphal books follow immediately after Esther and complete the first volume. The second volume begins with Job and ends with Revelation, the last four books of the New Testament still following Luther's order. The third book of Esdras, which is the first of the so-called Apocryphal books, is headed 'Diss sind die bucher die bey den alten unnder Biblische geschriff nit gezelt sind ouch bey den Ebreern nit gefunden'. The books are given in the following order: 'Das dritt Buch Esdre. Das Vierdt Buch Esdre. Das Buch der Weyssheit. Das buch Ecclesiasticus das man nennen mag die weysen Sprüch Jesu des suns Sirach. Das buch Tobie. Der Prophet Baruch. Das buch das Judith heiszt. Das buch Hester (i. e. the fragments with the heading previously cited). Das Erst, das ander and das dritt buch Machabeorum respectively. Die schön histori Susannah, &c. Die histori vom Bild zü Babel,

vom Beel genañt'; concluding with the words: 'End dess ersten teyls des Alten Testaments mit Sampt den Büchern der gschrift doch nit als Biblisch oder in gleychem werd bey den Hebreern gehalten werdend', &c. The Song of the Three Children, the Prayer of Azarias, with the Prayer of Manasses, are still wanting in this Zürich Bible, which was published in 1531.

Zwingli was killed on October the 11th, 1531, at the battle of Cappel, and Oecolampadius, his friend and ally, died at Basle of the plague on December the 1st following.

Zwingli was succeeded at Zürich by Bullinger, and Oecolampadius at Basle by Myconius.

In 1529 there appeared at Wittenberg a Latin translation of Luther's Bible, as far as it had then been printed, i. e. of the Old Testament, Pentateuch-Kings, and the New Testament, with the books in the latter arranged in Luther's order.

In 1532 there appeared a revised version of Liesveldt's Dutch Bible, in which the prophetic books were translated from Luther's text. Luther's translation of the prophets came out that year.

In the table of contents at the beginning of this edition, after 2 Esther, we have the 3rd and 4th books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Hester, Job, . . . Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Canticles, Wisdom, the Prophets, the two books of Maccabees, the Story of Bel, and that of Susanna. The Prayer of Manasses is printed after Chronicles. The fragments of Esther are put at the end of the book, with an explanatory preface. Baruch is put after Lamentations, with a preface. The Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Children are omitted. While the New Testament books in the initial list are given in the old order; in the text they follow Luther's: the Epistle to the Hebrews is not assigned to Paul, but merely headed 'di Epistel tol den Hebreern'; James's Epistle is headed 'Sint Jacobs Epistel', Jude's 'die Epistel van Judas Thade'; while the Apocalypse is assigned to John the Theologian.

In 1534 there appeared three remarkable Bibles. One published by Egenolph at Frankfort was a new edition of the German Bible. In this edition it would appear that all that had been translated up to this time by Luther was incorporated, including his translation of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 Maccabees. The

rest of the so-called Apocrypha was taken over from Leo Judas's translation already named. The woodcuts in this Bible are supposed to be those which were used in Coverdale's Bible of 1535. The so-called Apocrypha are printed after Malachi, with a special title-page, and inscribed 'Apocrypha : Die Bucher so bei den alten under die Biblische geschriff nit gezilet sind Auch bei den Hebreern nit gefunden'. Baruch is put among the Apocryphal books, and not with Jeremiah. The additions to Esther are entitled in the list of books 'Siben Capitel Hesta'. Three books of Maccabees are given, but neither the Prayer of Azarias, nor the Song of the Three Children, nor the Prayer of Manasses. Luther's arrangement is followed in the New Testament.

A second notable work which was published this year was the first translation of the Bible into the Low German dialect, or Platt Deutsch of North Germany. This was the work of Bugenhagen, and was published at Lubeck. It was entitled, 'Die Biblie uth der uthlegginge Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth düdesche vlitich uthgesettet', and introduced Luther's Bible theories among the Lutherans of North Germany.

The third Bible, which was the most famous of all, was the first complete edition of Luther's own Bible, and included his first translation of the so-called Apocrypha as a whole. Previously he had only published certain detached books. It is noteworthy that in its contents it did not exactly follow the table of books which he had published in his Pentateuch, and neither the third nor the fourth book of Esdras is contained in it. He did not therefore follow the example of the Zürich Bible, which did contain these books. He thus emphasized the difficulty created by the subjective method of discriminating the Canonicity of the books, and, by his own practice, admitted that among the Reformers there was dissension as to the very keystone of their position, i. e. as to what were the legitimate contents of the Bible.

To each of the so-called Apocryphal books Luther affixes in this edition an explanatory preface, so that we can ascertain his exact views about each of them. Thus, of Judith he says :

'Wo man die geschichte Judith kundte aus bewereten gewissen Historien beweisen, so were es ein eddel feines Buch, das auch billich jnn der Biblien sein solt, Aber es wil sich schwerlich reimen mit den

Historien der heiligen Schrift, sonderlich mit Jeremia vnd Esra, welche anzeigen, wie Jerusalem vnd das gantze land verstöret gewest, und darnach kümmerlich widder erbawet worden sind, zu der zeit der Persen Monarchia, welches alles land jnnen hatten umbver.'

He shews, with Philo, that the scene of the story was clearly laid in the days after the Captivity, when the Jews

'wedder Tempel noch Jerusalem erbawet noch Regiment hatten, Bleibt also der jrthum vnd zweiuel beide der gezeiten vnd namen, das ichs nirgent kan zu samen reimen';

and he continues :

'Etliche wöllen, Es sey kein geschicht, sondern ein geistlich schöne geticht, eines heiligen geistreichen mans, der darinn hab wöllen malen vnd furbilden, des gantzen Judischen volcks glück vnd sieg, widder alle jre feinde von Gott allezeit wunderbarlich verlihen.'

He explains the names of the chief actors as having an etymological meaning. Thus Judith the Widow represents, he contends, the widowed Judaea; Holofernes, he argues, means 'Prophanus dux vel gubernator', and personifies the enemies of the Jews; while Bethulia, he says, means a 'maiden'.

'anzuzeigen, das zu der zeit die gleubigen fromen Jüden, sind die reine jungfraw gewest, on alle Abgötterey vnd vnglauben. . .'

He closes the preface with the words :

'Als ein lied auff solch spiel, welchs desselben Buchs wol mag ein gemein Exempel heissen.'

In regard to the Wisdom of Solomon he says :

'Das Buch ist lang im zang gestanden, obs vnter die Bücher der heiligen Schrift, des alten Testament zu rechen sein solt, odder nicht. Sonderlich weil der Tichter seit hören lesst im neunenden Capitel, als redet jnn diesem gantzen Buch der König Salomon, welcher auch von der weisheit, im Buch der Könige hoch gerhümet wird. Aber die alten Veter habens stracks aus der heiligen Schrift gesondert und gehalten, Es sey vnter der person des Königes Salomon gemacht. . . Sie halten aber, Es solle Philo dieses Buchs meister sein, welcher on zweiuel der aller gelertesten, vnd weisesten Jüden einer gewest ist, so das Jüdisch volck nach den Propheten gehabt hat, wie er das mit andern Büchern vnd thaten beweiset hat.'

He goes on to describe Philo's visit to Caligula at the instance of the Jews, and continues :

'Aus solchem grund vnd vrsache dünckt mich, sey dis Buch geflossen,

das Philo, die weil seine vnd der Jüden sache vnd recht nicht hat mügen stat finden fur dem Keiser, wendet er sich zu Gott, vnd drewet den gewaltigen, vnd bösen meulern, mit gottes gericht. . . Aber hernachmals ist dis Buch von vielen, fur ein recht Buch der heiligen Schrift gehalten, sonderlich aber jnn der Römischen kirchen, also hoch und schon gehalten, das freilich kaum aus einem Buch jnn der Schrift, so viel gesanges gemacht ist, als aus diesem, Vlleicht aus der vrsache weil jnn diesem Buch die Tyrannen so heftig mit worten gestraffet vnd angegriffen, widderumb die Heiligen und Merterer so höchlich getröstet werden, Vnd zu Rom die Christen mehr denn sonst jnn aller welt, verfolgt vnd gemarteret wurden, haben sie dis Buch am meisten getrieben. . . .'

He especially emphasizes the importance of its teaching :

'Das die weltlichen Oberherrn, jre gewalt von Gott haben, vnd Gottes Ampt leute seien. . . .'

and concludes :

'Zu letzt ist dis Buch ein rechte auslegunge, vnd exempell des ersten Gebots.'

In regard to the book of Tobit :

'Was von dem Buch Judith gesagt ist, das mag man auch von diesem Buch Tobia sagen, Ists ein geschicht, so ists ein fein heilig geschicht, Ists aber ein geticht, so ists warlich auch ein recht schön, heilsam, nützlich geticht vnd spiel, eins geistreichen Poeten. Vnd ist zueremuten, das solcher schöner geticht vnd spiel, bey den Jüden viel gewest sind, darinn sie sich auff jre Feste vnd Sabbath geübt, vnd der jugent also mit lust, Gottes wort vnd werck eingebildet haben. . . . Denn Judith gibt eine gute, ernste, dapffere Tragedien. So gibt Tobias eine feine liebliche, Gottselige Comedien.'

He explains the names as having a punning sense :

'Denn Tobias heisst ein from man, der zeugt auch widder einen Tobias. . . . Nanna heisst, holdselig, das ist, eine liebe hausfraw. . . . Der Teufel Asmodes, heisst, ein vertilger odder verderber, das ist der Hausteuffel, der alles hindert vnd verderbet . . . So ist der Engel Raphael (das ist) Artzt odder gesundmacher auch da, vnd nennet sich Asaria das ist, Hölfffer odder beistand, des grossen Asaria son, das ist, Gottes des Höhesten beistand, gesandter odder bote. . . . Darumb ist das Buch vns Christen auch nützlich vnd gut zu lesen, als eines feinen Ebreischen Poeten, der kein leichtfertige, sondern die rechten sachen handelt, vnd aus der massen Christlich treibt vnd beschreibt. Vnd auff solch Buch gehöret billich der Jesus Syrach, als der ein rechter Lerer vnd tröster ist,

des gemeinen mans vnd Hausuaters jnn allen sachen, Vnd Tobias eben solchs Buchs ein Exempel.'

In his preface to the book of Jesus Syrach, Luther says :

'Das buch ist bisher genant im latin Ecclesiasticus, welchs sie haben verdeuscht, Die geistliche zucht, Vnd ist fast wol getrieben vnd gebraucht jnn den Kirchen, mit lesen, singen vnd predigen, aber mit wenigem verstand vnd nutz, on das es hat müssen, der geistlichen stand vnd Kirchen geprenge rhümen. . . . Wie auch Mose, Josue, Esaie vnd aller Propheten bücher, nach jren meistern heissen. Vnd ist von den alten Vetern nicht jnn der zal der heiligen Schrift, sondern als sonst ein gut fein buch eines Weisen mans, gehalten, da bey wirs auch lassen bleiben.

'Es dünckt vns aber weil er selbs jnn der vorrhede bekennet, Er sey zu des Königes Euergetis zeiten jnn Egypten komen, vnd da selbs dis Buch volendet (welchs sein gros vater hatte zuuor angefangen) das er habe aus vielen Büchern zu samen gelesen das beste, so er funden hat, sonderlich weil jnn Egypten eine köstliche Librarey war, durch Euergetis vater den König Philadelphon zugericht, das zu der zeit, beide Bücher vnd gelerte leute inn grossen ehren waren, vnd aus allen landen, als jnn eine grosse hohe Schule zu schlugen, sonderlich aus Griechen land, dazu auch die Jüden einen Tempel dasels baweten, vnd Gottes dienst auffrichten.

'Solchs zeigt auch an, das jnn diesem Buch, nicht ordenlich ein stück auff das ander gefasset ist, als eines meisters werck, sondern aus mancherley meistern vnd Büchern gezogen, vnd durch einander gemenet, wie eine biene aus mancherley blumen, jr sefflin seuet, vnd jnn einander menget, Vnd scheint, das dieser Jesus Syrach, sey gewest aus dem Königlichem stam Davids, vnd ein neff odder enckel Amos Syrach, welcher der Oberst Fürst gewesen ist, im hause Juda, wie man aus Philone mag nemen, vnd die zwey hundert iar vor Christ geburt, ongefehr bey der Maccabeer zeit.

'Es ist ein nützlich buch, fur den gemeinen man, Denn auch alle sein vleis ist, das er einen burger odder Hausuater Gottfürchtig, from vnd klug mache, wie er sich gegen Gott, Gottes wort, Priestern, Eltern, weib, kindern, eigen leib, güter, knechten, nachbarn, freunden, feinden, Oberkeit, vnd jederman, halten sol, das mans wol möcht nennen, Ein Buch von der Hauszucht, odder von tugenden eines fromen hausherrn, welchs auch die rechte geistliche zucht ist, vnd heissen solt.

'Was vns aber fur arbeit gestanden hat, dis Buch zuuerdeutschen Wer das zu wissen begerd, der mag vnser deusch, gegen alle ander, exemplar halten, beide, Griechischer Latinischer vnd Deutscher sprachen, sie sind alt odder newe, so sol das werck den meistern wol zeugnis geben, Es sind so viel Klügling jnn allen sprachen vber dis

Buch komen, das nicht wunder were, weil, on das alle ding drinnen von **seinem** anfang, nicht jnn der ordnung gefasset gewest sind, das es gantz **vnd** gar, vnkendlich vnuerstendlich, vnd aller ding vntüchtig worden **wer. . . .**

In his preface to Baruch, Luther says :

‘Seer geringe ist dis buch, wer auch der gute Baruch ist, Denn es **nicht** gleublich ist das Sanct Jeremias diener, der auch Baruch heisst (**dem** auch diese Epistel zugemessen wird) nicht solt höher vnd reicher **im** geist sein, weder dieser Baruch ist. Trifft dazu die zal der jar, mit den **Historien** nicht ein, Das ich gar nahe, in hette mit dem dritten vnd vierden buch Esra lassen hin streichen, Denn die selben zwey bücher Esra, **haben** wir schlechts nicht wollen verdeutschen, weil so gar nichts **drinnen** ist, das man nicht viel besser in Esopo, oder noch geringern **büchern** kan finden, on das im vierden buch dazu eitel trewme sind, wie **S. Hieronymus** zwar selbst sagt, vnd Lyra nicht hat wöllen auslegen, **dazu** im Griechischen nicht funden werden, Es sol vnd mag sie sonst **verdolmetchen** wer da wil, doch jnn dieser bücher zal nicht mengen, **Baruch** lassen wir mit lauffen vnter diesem hauffen, weil er wider **die** Abgötterey so hart schreibt vnd Moses Gesetz furhellt.’

The preface to Luther’s translation of the First book of Maccabees says :

‘Das Buch ist auch der eins, die man nicht jnn die Ebreischen Biblien **zelet**, wie wol es fast eine gleiche weise helt mit reden vnd worten, wie **andere** der heiligen Schrift Bücher, Vnd nicht vnwürdig gewest were, **hinein** zu rechnen, weil es seer ein nötig vnd nützlich Buch ist, zuverstehen **den** Propheten Daniel im eilfften Capitel.’

Having shewn how important its statements are for understanding the prophecies of Daniel, he adds :

‘Der halben es vns Christen auch nützlich ist zu lesen vnd zu wissen. . . . Zum andern, Das wir vns auch des trösten, das er jhenen hilfft, nicht allein wider den Antiochum vnd die Heiden, sondern auch wider die **Verrhete** vnd abtrünnige Jüden, die sich zum Heiden schlugen, vnd **hulffen** jr eigen volck, jre Brüder, verfolgen, tödten, vnd alles hertzeleid anlegen. . . .’

The preface to the Second of Maccabees says :

‘Dis heisst vnd sol sein das Ander Buch Maccabeorum, wie der titel **anzeigt**, Aber das kan nicht recht sein, weil es etliche geschicht meldet, die **vor** des ersten buchs geschichten geschehen sind, vnd nicht weiter **komt**, denn auff den Juda Maccabeum, das ist, bis, inn das siebende **Capitel** des ersten buchs, ‘Das es billicher das erst deñ das ander solt

heissen, Man wolt es denn heissen, Ein anders buch, vnd nicht das ander buch Maccabeorum, Alium vel alienum scilicet non secundum, Aber wir lassens so mit hin gehen umb der schönen geschicht willen der, sieben Merterer Maccabeorum vnd jrer mutter, vnd anderer mehr stücken, Es sihet aber, als sey es nicht ein Meister gewest, sondern zu samem geflickt aus vielen büchern, Hat auch einen harten knoten im vierzehenden Capitel, an dem Rasias der sich selbs erwürgete, welchs auch Sanct Augustinus vnd die altern Veter ansicht, Denn solch exempel taug nicht, vnd ist nicht zu loben, obs gleich geduldet vnd wol aus gelegt mag werden, So beschreibts auch der tod Antiochi im ersten Capitel gar anders, denn das erste buch thut Summa, so billich das erste buch solt jnn die zal der Heiligen Schrifft genomen sein, so billich ist dis ander buch heraus geworffen, ob wol etwas guts drinnen stehet, Es sey aber alles dem fromen Leser befolher vnd heimgestellet, zu vrteilen vnd erkennen.⁷

Of the fragments of Esther and Daniel, Luther says, in a paragraph at the end of the Second of Maccabees :

' Hje folgen etlich stücke, so wir im Propheten Daniel vnd im buch Esther nicht haben wollen verdeutschen, Denn wir haben solche korn blumen (weil sie im Ebreischen Daniel vnd Esther nicht stehen ausgeraufft, vnd doch, das sie nicht verdörben, hie jnn sonderliche wurtz gertlin oder bete gesetzt, weil dennoch, viel guts, vnd sonderlich der lobesang, Benedicite, drinnen funden wird. Aber der Text Susanne, des Bee Abacuc und Drachens, sihet auch schönen, geistlichen getichten gleich wie Judith vnd Tobias, Denn die namen lauten auch dazu, Als Susanna heisst eine Rosen, das ist, ein schön from land vnd volck, oder arme hauffe vnter den dornen, Daniel heisst ein Richter, vnd so fort an, ist alles leichtlich zu deuten auff eine Policy, economie oder fromen hauffen der gleubigen, es sey vmb die geschicht wie es kan.'

The Prayer of Manasses is printed at the end of the Song of the Three Children, without preface or comment. I have already in the previous paper discussed the prefaces to the four books of the New Testament which Luther treated with such despte.

In 1535 a New Testament, in which the table of contents to the text follows the order and headings of Luther, was published at Augsburg.

We now reach the time when Coverdale was preparing his English Bible. A great deal has been written on the texts from which he took his translation, and the matter is not yet finally settled. On the title-page of the first issue of Coverdale's first

edition of the English Bible, he claims to have translated the Old and New Testament 'out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe'. In the second issue of this first edition, the original title-page, of which only one copy is extant, was cancelled, and in the substituted one the words 'out of Douche and Latyne' were omitted, probably to disarm suspicion that it might be a Lutheran document. The date 1536 was also substituted for 1535. In the Apologue addressed to the Christian reader, Coverdale says:

'I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin but also of the Dutch interpreters, whom (because of their singular giftes and special diligence in the Bible) I have been the more glad to follow for the most part according as I was required . . . lowly and faithfully have I followed mine interpreters.'

In the dedication to the King, Coverdale says more definitely:

'I have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry interpreters,' &c.

It has been generally held that the five interpreters referred to by Coverdale in this dedication were the Zurich Bible, Luther's translations so far as available, the Latin version of the Dominican Pagnini, the Vulgate, and those parts of the Bible which had been translated by Tindale, and that substantially it followed Zwingli's Zürich Bible of 1531. This view was strongly maintained by Dr. Ginsburg in Kitto's *Encyclopaedia* i 568, and Dr. Westcott; and it has been urged, probably on the ground of the language and phraseology used, which Dr. Ginsburg declares are alike in both, and partly on the ground that the type used in Coverdale's is said to resemble that of Froschover, employed in the Zürich Bible. It is, at all events, rather remarkable that the Third book of Maccabees, which is contained in the Zürich Bible, should be absent from Coverdale's. Perhaps he relied here on the majority of the Vulgate copies. His initial phrase about the so-called Apocrypha certainly seems a translation of that used in the Zürich Bible. It is remarkable that the engravings in Coverdale's Bible are the same as those in Egenolph's Frankfort Bible of 1534.

Let us now return to the French Bible. Peter Robert, a native of Noyon in Picardy, and known as Olivetan, was a relative of Calvin's. He was a private tutor at Geneva, and there came into contact with the Waldenses, at whose instance he

undertook a new translation of the Bible into French. The New Testament appeared in 1534, and the Old in February 1535. Neuchâtel, and was published by Peter de Wingle. Graf says is a mere edition of Lefèvre's Bible with a few corrections from Pagnini's Bible of 1528, from that of Erasmus, and from the marginal notes in the Antwerp Bible of 1534. Olivetan's Bible was preceded by an address from Calvin to all Cæsars, kings, princes, &c., which was written in Latin. Calvin seems to have had little to do, however, with the translation. The translator himself follows Calvin's address with one of his own, headed, 'P. Robert Oliuetanus humble & petit Translateur, a Leglise de Jesus Christ.' This is again followed by the Apology of the translator, which is a scholarly document, considering it was written in 1535, and proves him to have been a Hebrew scholar. It is followed by another strangely headed address: 'Cv. F. L. a nostre allie & confedere le peuple de lalliance de Sinai,' which ends with the words 'Gloire & honneur & paix a ung chascun qui fer bien au Juif, premierement, aussi au Grec'.

In the table of contents, the books of the Hebrew Canon are set out in order. Then follows the heading, Les Apocryphes. Each book has the number of chapters it contains and the folio on which it commences. They run thus: III Ezra, IIIJ Ezra, Tobiah ou Tobie, Jehudith ou Judith, Sapience, Jesua ou Ecclesiasticque, Baruch avec Lepitre de Jeremiah, I Machabees, II Machabees, Lhistoire de Esther ch. vii etc., Canticque des troys enfans en la fournaise, Lhistoire de Susanne, De lidole Bel & du Dragon, Loraison de Manasseh; so that the only book of the generally accepted Apocrypha missing is the Third of Maccabees. The so-called Apocrypha have a special title-page, entitled:

'¶ Le volume de tous les liures Apocryphes, contenus en la translation commune, lesquels nauons point trouvez en Ebrieu ny en Chaldee.

'¶ Item, une epistre de lauthorite di ceulx, selon Eusebe et saint Hierosme: avec le registre de leurs noms, en la page suyuante.'

Then follows this address:

'Aux fideles lecteurs. Attendu que les liures precedés se trouuent en langue Ebraicque receuz dung chascun, & que les autres ensuyuâs qui sont dictz Apocryphes (pourtât qui souloiet estre leuz non en publicq & cômun, mais côme en secret & a part) ne se trouuent ny en Ebrieu ny en Chaldee, ausquelles langues iadis ont este escritz (fors a laduëture

le liure de Sapiëce) dont maintenāt grāde difficulte seroit a les restituer. Et que aussi ne sont point receuz ny tenus cōme legitimes tāt des Ebrieux que de toute leglise, ainsi q̄ refere saint Hierosme : nous les auōs separez & reduictz a part pour les mieulx discerner & cōgnoistre : affin q̄ lon sache desquelz le tesmonnage doit estre receu, ou non. Car ledict saint Hierosme parlant du liure de Jehudith (qui est Apocryphe) dit q̄ lauthorite diceluy nest point estimee idoine & suffisante pour cōfirmer les choses qui suruiēent en disputatiō. Et generallemēt de tous les liures Apocryphes, dit quō les peult lire pour ledificatiō du peuple : mais nō point por vouloir corroborer lauthorite des doctrines Ecclesiastiques. Je laisse icy le droit (quon appelle) des canōs au. c. sancta Romana. v̄v. distic. ou il en profere son iugemēt. Pareillement la glose du. c. canones. xvj. distinc. qui dit quon les lict : mais non point en general, cōme si elle vouloit dire q̄ generallemēt par tout ne soiēt point approuuez. Et nō sans cause, car q̄lz ayent este corōpus & falsifiez en plusieurs lieulx, assez appert par Eusebe en son histoire Ecclesiasticq̄. Ce que facillemēt certes est auioirdhuy cōgneu en certains pointcz, notāment es liures des Machabees : desquelz saint Hierosme confesse nauoir point trouue le second en Ebrieu : au moyen de quoy nous est rendu plus suspect & moins receu. Semblablemēt est il du. iij, & iiij. liure de Ezra : desquelz saint Hierosme proteste ne les auoir point v̄oulu traduire les estimāt cōme songes, ia soit toutes foyz que (Iosephus en les antiquitez deduyse sa matiere cōme quelque histoire, tāt du liure des Machabees q̄ du. iij. de Ezra, combien quil estime les liures qui traictēt depuis le Roi Artaxerxes, iusque a son temps, estre Apocryphes.

Parquoy donc quād tu voudras maintenir aucune chose pour certaine rendant raison de ta foy, regarde de y proceder par viue & puissante escripture, en ensuyuant saint Pierre qui dit : Celuy qui parle, quil parle comme parole de Dieu. Il dit parole de Dieu, comme tres veritable & trescertaine, manifestee par les Prophetes et Apostres diuinement inspirez, desquelz auons le tesmoignage plus clair que le iour. Les Iurisconsultes aussi ayans grand soing de confirmer & establir leurs opinions par la foy humaines, disent quilz ont honte de parler sans foy. Combien donc plus grand horreur et vergongne doit auoir celuy qui se dit Chretien lequel ne se attent ou ne se arreste es loix du Dieu viuant : mais aux humaines, iugeant de toutes choses selon icelles, et a la fantasie et iugement incertain ? Par ainsi nous edifiez sur le fondement des saints Prophetes & Apostres (sur lequel ilz se sont fondez & lequel ilz ont annonce qui est Iesus Christ, la ferme pierre) delaisserons les choses incertaines pour suyure les certaines, nous appuyans et arrestans en icelles & la fichās nostre ancre cōme en lieu seur. Car nostre foy chretiēne ne cōsiste point es choses douteuses, mais en plaine &

trescertaine assureñce, & tres vraye persuasiõ prinse & confirmee par verite, qui est infallible. En laquelle nous Dieu doit cheminer perpetuellemēt, affin que selon icelle (accõplissant en nous sa sainte volonte, & deiectant toute autre inuention a luy contraire) puissions viure a son hõneur et edificacion de son eglise. Ainsi soit il.'

After this follows a fresh register of the names of the various books in their order, with the number of chapters in each and the leaf on which they begin. There are some minor changes in the wording, the only one of any mark being, that in this second table, instead of 'L'Histoire de Esther, chap. vii', &c., as in the first, we have, more accurately, 'La reste du liure de Esther depuis la moytie du. v. iusque a la fin, contiēt quasi. vij. Chap.'

The Prayer of Manasses in this edition comes last among the books of the Old Testament, and is followed by the words 'La fin de tous les liures Apocryphes, contenus en la translation cõmune, lesquels ne se trouuent point a present en Ebrieu ne en Chaldee'.

In the New Testament the order of the books is that of the Vulgate, and the Epistle to the Hebrews is assigned to St Paul. Revelation is headed 'La Reuelatiõ, dicte Lapocalypse de saint Jehan Theologien'.

The so-called Apocryphal books in Olivetan's Bible are, with slight verbal changes, in the same language as in Lefèvre's Bible, and merely form in fact a slightly revised edition of the latter. The Prayer of Manasses is, I believe, identically the same in both.

The English Bible known as Matthew's Bible, which was published in 1537, was largely based on that of Coverdale, but it was also much influenced by the French translations of Lefèvre and Olivetan, as Dr Westcott and Dr Aldis Wright have shewn. From the former it derived its table of contents, chapter headings, a large part of its marginal matter, and its woodcuts while from Olivetan, who generally follows Lefèvre closely in the Apocryphal books, it derived its concordance, a translation of the address 'aux fideles lectures', and the preface to the Apocrypha.

Lefèvre himself died in 1537 at the age of eighty, and it is a curious circumstance that his Bible which had had the double distinction of appearing with the privilege of the great Kaiser

Charles the Fifth, and the imprimatur of the Holy Office of Louvain, should have been put on the Index in 1546.

Although Lefèvre and Olivetan did so much to initiate the Reformation in France, it was Calvin whose masterful spirit and strong logical method really turned the tide of Reform into the channel which it afterwards followed in French-speaking countries, in Holland, and among the English Nonconformists.

Calvin's view in regard to the authority of the Bible, like that of Luther and Zwingli, discarded all appeals to the Church or to tradition as a support to the book itself. In the first edition of his famous *Institutes*, published in 1536, there is no treatise on the Scriptures and their authority. In the 1539 and subsequent editions, he speaks on the subject with great definiteness. He says:

‘ Inualuit autem apud plerosque perniciosissimus error: Scripturae tantum inesse momenti, quantum illi Ecclesiae suffragiis concitur. Ac si ea vero aeterna inuolabilisque Dei veritas hominum arbitrio niteretur. Sic enim magno cum ludibrio Spiritus sancti quaerunt. Ecquis nobis fidem faciat, haec a Deo prodiisse? Ecquis salua & intacta ad nostram usque aetatem peruenisse, certiores reddat? Ecquis persuadeat, librum hunc reuerenter excipiendum; alterum numero expungendum: nisi certam istorum omnium regulam Ecclesia praescriberet? Pendet igitur, inquit, ab Ecclesiae determinatione: et quae scripturae reuerentia debeat: et qui libri in eius catalogo censendi sint. Ita sacrilegi homines, dum, sub Ecclesiae praetextu, volunt effrenatam tyrannidem inuehere, nihili curant, quibus se et alios absurditatibus illaqueent, modo hoc unum extorqueant apud simplices: Ecclesiam nihil non posse: atqui si ita est: quid miseris conscientiiis fiet, solidam vitae aeternae securitatem quaerentibus: si quaecumque extant de ea promissiones, solo hominum iudicio fultae, consistent? An accepto tali responso fluctuari et trepidare desinent? Rursum quibus impiorum sannis subiicitur fides nostra? quantam apud omnes in suspicionem vocatur? si credatur, hominum beneficio, non secus ac precariam habere auctoritatem. Sed eiusmodi rabulae vel uno Apostoli verbo pulchre repelluntur. Ecclesiam ille testatur prophetarum et apostolorum fundamento sustineri. Si fundamentum est Ecclesiae prophetica et Apostolica doctrina: suam huic certitudinem ante constare oportet, quam illa extare incipiat. Neque est quod caullentur: etiam si inde primum exordium ducat Ecclesia: manere tamen dubium quae prophetis et Apostolis sint adscribenda: nisi iudicium ipsius intercedat. Nam si Christiana Ecclesia prophetarum scriptis, et Apostolorum praedicatione initio fundata fuit, ubicunque reperietur ea

doctrina, Ecclesiam certe praecessit eius approbatio : sine qua nunquam Ecclesia ipsa exstisset. Vanissimum est igitur commentum, scripturae iudicandae potestatem esse penes Ecclesiam : ut ab huius nutu illius certitudo pendere intelligatur. Quare dum illam recipit, ac suffragio suo obsignat, non ex dubia aut alioqui nutabunda authenticam reddit : sed quia veritatem esse agnoscit Domini sui, pro pietatis officio, nihil cunctando, veneratur. Quod autem rogant, Unde persuadebimur a Deo fluxisse, nisi ad Ecclesiae decretum confugiamus? perinde est acsi quis roget, Unde discemus lucem discernere a tenebris, album a nigro, suave ab amaro? Non enim obscuriorem veritatis suae sensum ultro Scriptura prae se fert, quam coloris sui res albae ac nigrae : saporis, suaves & amarae.' (*op. cit.* ed. 1545, 9 and 10.)

Having thus set out his own views, Calvin proceeds to animadvert (although he does it in a tender way) upon Augustine's famous saying in the opposite sense : 'Ego vero evangelio non crederem nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas' (*Aug. c. Epist. Manich.* ch. 6). This tenderness, as Reuss says, was doubtless due to the fact that he and other Protestant divines were more dependent on St Augustine than they were aware of, and much more than they liked to confess.

Olivetanus's Bible was republished at Geneva in 1540 by Calvin, with corrections. On the title-page of this edition we read :

'La Bible en la quelle sont contenus tous les livres canoniques, de la sainte escriture, tant du vieil que du nouveau Testament & pareillement les Apocryphes. Le tous translate en langue françoise avec diligente collations non seulement aux anciens & fideles exemplaires, mais aussi à l'original & sequamment des canoniques.'

The emphasis laid on the Canonical books in this paragraph is noteworthy. The Apocrypha, in the list of books at the beginning, is headed 'Le nom des liures Apocryphes de l'ancien Testament, car du nouveau nous n'en auons point fait de section'. The text of the Apocryphal books is headed 'Le volume de tous les livres Apocryphes qui sont communement adioinctz aux livres canoniques tant les entiers que ceux qui sont parties & fragmens adiouxtez aux susdictz liures du Canon'. Both the Third and the Fourth book of Esdras are given, although in the initial table the word Esdras alone occurs. The Epistle of Jeremiah, although numerated as the sixth chapter of Baruch in the text, has a separate heading. The Third of Maccabees is omitted, and the

Prayer of Manasseh is put at the end of the Apocrypha, and followed by the words 'La fin'.

In 1540-1541 the whole Bible was published for the first time in Swedish at Upsala. It follows Luther's Bible of 1534, contains his preface (in Swedish) to the whole Bible and follows it exactly in separating the so-called Apocryphal books in the initial list, which it heads 'Apocrypha'. The list contains the same books in the same order. The special title-page to the Apocrypha is headed 'Apocrypha. Thet åro Böcker som icke finnas in then Ebreiska Biblien och åro för then skul icke lijka reknadha widh the andra böcker & then helgha. Scryfft Doch sylligka til at låsa'. The prefaces to the Apocryphal books are translated from Luther's, sometimes abridged, and the fragments of Esther and Daniel are put at the end of the other Apocryphal books in Luther's Bible; the Prayer of Manasses is printed at the end of the Apocrypha although it is not mentioned in the initial list. As with Luther, the Third and Fourth of Esdras and the Third of Maccabees are excluded. As in the edition of 1526, the books of the New Testament are printed in Luther's order, with translations of his prefaces. It is clear, therefore, that the Lutherans of Sweden completely adopted Luther's theory of the Canon of the Bible.

In 1542 there was published a revised edition of the Zürich Bible of 1531. In this, the so-called Apocrypha of the Old Testament are treated as in the former edition, and placed in the same position immediately before Job, but Luther's order of the New Testament books is abandoned. Hebrews is headed 'Desz heyligen Apostels Pauli Epistel an die Ebreer', and is put after Titus and before 1 Peter; while, contrary to the practice of Luther, who calls their two authors 'St James' and 'St Jude' only, this Bible, for which Bullinger was doubtless responsible, assigns each of these books to the Apostle of the name.

It has been remarked as a singular fact, that while the Confessions of the Swiss and of the other so-called Evangelical Reformers contain specific statements in regard to the criteria of Canonicity in Bible books, no such pronouncement is found in the early Lutheran Confessions—neither in that of Augsburg dated in 1530, nor in the subsequent *Articuli Smalcaldici* drawn

up by Melanchthon in 1538—so that among the early Lutherans there was no corporate pronouncement on this most important matter.

As is well known, while Lutheranism, as a principle defined doctrinally by the Augsburg Confession, was generally accepted among the German Reformers, the regulation of the services was left very largely to the initiative of the local authority, and thus it came about that almost every important locality had its Use defined in what was called an *Ordnung*. Richter has collected these *Ordnungen*, in which the ritual and other observances are regulated, and in most cases they adopt a conservative attitude towards the old service-books, which in fact continued to be very generally accepted, except those parts which were deemed to teach erroneous doctrine. I have examined a large number of them, and in only one have I found any reference to the Bible Canon. This is in the *Ordnung* dated 1543, regulating the services of the Church at Cologne, where we read:

‘Den wie auch die alten Vätter erkennen, vnd gepotten haben, sollen kein Apocrypha, vnnnd vngewisse historien in der kirchen gelesen werden.’ (Richter *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* ii 49.)

This is an important pronouncement and it may possibly represent the policy tacitly followed, although not openly avowed, of entirely discarding the so-called Apocrypha from the public services of the Lutheran Church and thus treating them as under a ban, very differently from the earlier writers who, in speaking of Apocrypha meant, not books excluded from the Church service, but merely those not included in the technical canon.

In 1544 an edition of the Vulgate came out at Leipzig with a preface by J. Brenz, generally called Brentius. In this preface, when describing the books of the Old Testament, Brentius does not say a word about the Apocrypha, none of the books in which does he make any comment upon. He has a sentence in the preface which might be supposed to be aimed at Luther, if he were not such a devoted Lutheran. In this, speaking of different ways in which different people had received the Bible, he says:

‘Alii agnoscunt quidem vetus sacrae Scripturae Testamentum, novum autem reiiciunt. Alii novum probant et vetus improbant. Alii ex

veteri & novo colligunt, partim quae defendant, partim quae refutant, adeoque cum alio qui minime inter illos conveniat, in neganda tamen et oppugnanda veritate maxime conveniunt.'

In the list of books in this Bible, those not in the Hebrew Canon are not separated into a class apart, but are distinguished by being printed on a different line of names. They include the Third and Fourth of Esdras and the Third of Maccabees. Jerome's prefaces are all given. The Prayer of Manasses is omitted from this table of contents.

The Apocrypha is reprinted in the same form in which it occurs in the edition of 1534. In the editions of Luther's Bible published down to that of 1545 (which was called the Standard Edition), the same arrangement with slight variations is maintained, except that in the titles to the parts of Daniel remitted to the Apocrypha the title 'Von dem Bel und Drachen' of the edition of 1534 is broken up into two, headed respectively, 'Von dem Bel zu Babel' and 'Vom Drachen zu Babel'. In the same way, the title 'Der gesang der dreier menner im feur Daniel am dritten dem aus Griechischen' in the edition of 1534, reads 'Das Gebet Azarie Dan III aus dem Griechischen', and 'Der Gesang der dreien menner im Feur' in the later edition. In both, the Song itself is written in strophes. In both, the Prayer of Manasses, which is not named in the initial list, is printed at the end of the so-called Apocrypha, and followed by the words 'Ende der bucher des alten Testaments'. In the Standard Edition there is no separate title to the Apocrypha, the prologue to Judith following immediately after the list of books as given on page 156.

I must here bring to a close this long paper, in which I have tried perhaps to survey too wide a field. My object has been to bring to a focus the various theories about the Bible Canon and the way they were applied by the early Reformers down to the death of Luther, which nearly coincided with the pronouncement of the Council of Trent on the subject. It is plain that, with the exception of Karlstadt, and perhaps of Brenz, they all adopted extravagant subjective tests for the Bible books. Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—the three great leaders of the three lines of Continental Reformers—were at one in this, and in repudiating traditional and historical arguments as the ultimate

basis for the authority of the Canon. They accordingly ve- naturally came to different conclusions as to the legitima contents of their Bibles. For those with whom 'the Impregna- Rock of Holy Scripture' was the supreme and only test Eternal Truth, this particular result was most unfortunate. I ha- hoped to complete the survey of the story of the Biblical Cano- among the Reformers in this paper, but have found it impossib- if I was to do justice to the intricate subject, and must reserv- the survey of its later history for another occasion.

H. H. HOWORTH.

DOCUMENTS

ORIGEN ON I CORINTHIANS.

IN a former number (*J. T. S.* vol. vi pp. 113-116) I gave reason for thinking that the *laches* of Cramer's 'scriba Parisiensis' in dealing with the MS Cois. gr. 204 for the catena on Ephesians had extended also to the transcription of another Paris MS gr. 227 for the catena on I Corinthians. It was pointed out that no fewer than fifteen passages assigned by Cramer to Origen were correctly assigned in the MS itself to Chrysostom, and that (apart from very numerous blunders in the text) in cases where readings are definitely cited at the foot of the page those citations are so often entirely erroneous as to render re-collation imperative.

The kindness of the Trustees of the New Testament Revision Surplus Fund has enabled this fresh collation to be made from photographs of the hitherto unpublished Vatican MS gr. 762 (saec. xi) of which the sixteenth-century Paris MS is apparently a copy. The result which is printed below, if it does not yield any new material to compensate for the loss of the fifteen passages wrongly referred to Origen, may at any rate, it is hoped, contribute something towards a more satisfactory text of the remainder. Additional interest will, however, be lent to the new recension by the inclusion of some thirty unpublished fragments (extending from two or three words to a good many lines) contained in an Athos catena (MS Pantocrator. 28). A transcription of these passages, which are all on the later portions of the Epistle where the Vatican MS for a time ceases to quote Origen, has generously been placed at my disposal by Prof. Kirsopp Lake of Leiden. Grateful acknowledgement is also due to Dr Swete, the Dean of Westminster, and Prof. A. Nairne for suggestions and emendations of the text, and especially to Mr C. H. Turner, who has read the whole with unflinching kindness and encouragement.

The form given to the text follows in the main that adopted in Mr J. A. F. Gregg's new edition of Origen's commentary on Ephesians already printed in the third volume of this JOURNAL. A new chapter-division has been marked, as a rule, whenever the catenist mentions the name of Origen, i.e. at the beginning of each quotation or continuous series of quotations. Clarendon type has been used for the words commented upon and uncial type for other Biblical citations or allusions. References to other works of Origen are given, where possible, to the volumes of the new Berlin edition. The pages of Cramer are added in the margin where the passage forms part of his printed text of the catena.

§ I.

1 Cor. i 2 [τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν.]

[Ὡριγένους]

- 7 Εἰ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκκλησία, τίς ἐτι χρεία προ(σ)κείσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις; εἰ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπικαλοῦντο, τίς χρεία μὴ πᾶσιν ἐπικαλουμένοις γεγράφθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ πέρ(α) αὐτῶν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ; παρεστήσαμεν
5 ὡς μόνους τοὺς ἐπαινετοὺς χρηματίζειν ἐκκλησίαν ὀφείλοντας, τοὺς δὲ ψεκτοὺς οὐκ ἀποστάτας μὲν ἐτι παλαιόντας τῆ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀλλ' (ἐτι) ἐπικαλουμένους, οὐ μὴν ἤδη καὶ ἐκκλησία(ν). σπεύσωμεν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀμωμον.

§ II.

i 4-10 [Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῆ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει, καθὼς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη ἐν ὑμῖν, ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι, ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ [Χριστοῦ], πιστὸς ὁ θεὸς δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, καὶ μὴ ἦ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα, ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ.]

[Ὡριγένους]

- 11 Οὔτε ταῦτα ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἀρμόζει οὔτε ἐκεῖνα δικαίοις, φημί δὴ τὸ Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ λέγητε καὶ μὴ ἦ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἦν οὖν
5 ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀναμεμυγμένη, εἶ γε χρὴ ἐκκλησίαν ὀνομάζειν τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο τὸ μικτὸν ἐκ δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων. πλὴν οἱ συναγόμενοι ἦσαν ἀναμεμυγμένοι· διὰ τοῦτο μέλλον ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις τοὺς συναγομένους μετὰ κακίας ἐλέγχει, ἀναγκαί(ως) πρῶτον τοὺς ἐπαινοὺς ποιεῖται τῶν καλῶς σyneρχομένων

I 8. Eph. v 27 (cf. i Pet. i 19)

II 8. i Cor. xi 20

I 1-7. With this passage should be compared Origen's reference, *Hom. xvii in Luc.* (de la Rue iii 953), 'Memini cum interpretarer illud quod ad Corinthios scribitur *Ecclesiae Dei quae est Corinthi cum omnibus qui invocant eum dixisse me universitatem ecclesiae et eorum qui invocant nomen Domini*'. Cf. also in *Evang. Ioh.* VI lix 302 (ed. Preuschen).

I 2. προκείσθαι: προκίεσθαι MS 3. ἡ MS*: om. MS 4. πέρα scripsi: πρὸ Turner: περὶ MS 5-6. τοὺς δὲ ψεκτοὺς (τοὺς) Swete 6. παλαιόντας scripsi: πάλαι ὄντας MS | οὐκ ἀποστάτας μὲν ἐτι παλ. τῆ ἁμ. ἀλλ' (ἐτι) ἐτικ., οὐ μὴν [cf. μὲν . . . οὐ μὴν Plato *Philebus* 12 D] A. Nairne ἀλλ' ἐτι . . . τῆ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἐπικαλουμένους Swete, Turner: ἐτι . . . τῆ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπικαλ. MS 8. ἐκκλησίαν: ἐκκλησία MS II 8. ἀναγκαίως: ἀναγκαῖον MS

ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε· ἄξιον εὐχαριστεῖν ἐφ' οἷς λέγει
 ἐπαινετοῖς, καὶ οὐ ποτὲ μὲν εὐχαριστεῖν ποτὲ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε εὐχαριστεῖν. 10
 εἰάν τινα ἴδω ποτὲ μὲν εὐ πράττοντα ποτὲ δὲ ἁμαρτάνοντα, εὐχαριστῶ περὶ
 αὐτοῦ οὐ πάντοτε, ἀλλ' ὅτε εὐ ποιεῖ· οὕτω καὶ περὶ ἑμαντοῦ. ἐν τίνι δὲ
 εὐχαριστήσῃ ὁ εὐχαριστῶν Παῦλος; ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίους ἀκραταῖς ὧν γέγονε κατὰ
 θεὸν πατῆρ. ὡπερ οὖν πατὴρ ἐπὶ υἱοῖς εὐχαριστεῖ ὅτ' ἂν ὑγιαίνωσι, ὅτ'
 ἂν εὐ πράττωσι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅτ' ἂν βλέπῃ διδάσκαλος τοὺς ἀκρατὰς 15
 ζέοντας τῷ πνεύματι, πλουτοῦντας λόγῳ σοφίας(ς), ἀξίους τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι,
 εὐχαριστεῖ πάντοτε περὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἴδωμεν οὖν τὴν χάριν τῶν ἐπαινετῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἵνα ζηλώσωμεν. Ὅτι
 ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ. μακάριοι οἱ ἐν παντὶ πλουτοῦντες καὶ μηδεὸς
 τῶν κατὰ θεὸν ὑστερούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν παρ' 20
 αὐτοῦ ἀφθόνως καὶ πλουσίως ἀπολαύοντες δωρεῶν ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ
 γνῶσει· ὥστε εἰς μηδεμίαν γραφὴν ἀπορεῖν ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ εὑρίσκειν,
 καὶ ὅτε δεῖ ἐξηγήσασθαι γραφὴν παντὶ λόγῳ κεκρησθαι τῷ τε διεξοδικῷ καλοῦ-
 μένῳ καὶ τῷ κατὰ ἐρώτησίν τε καὶ ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι λέγειν καὶ
 κατὰ πάσης αἰρέσεως, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας συνίστασθαι δόγματι, καὶ ἀναπλη- 25
 ρῶσαι τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἔτοιμοι εἰεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογία παντὶ τῷ 12
 ἀπαιτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν πίστεως. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐν πάσῃ γνῶσει·
 οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ εἴπῃ· Ἀγτὸς γάρ μοι ἔδωκεν τῶν ὄντων
 τῆν γνῶσιν ἀφεγδῆ καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα. ὅτι ἡ γνῶσις τὸ εἰδέναι μόνον
 ἐμφαίνει, ὃ δὲ λόγος καὶ τὸ ἐγνωσμένον ἐρμηνεύει. 30

καθὼς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη ἐν ὑμῖν· ὁ Χριστός, ἵν' οὕτως
 ἐνομάσω, ἀρχιμαρτύς ἐστι, καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων μαρτύρων εἰς Χριστὸν διὰ τοῦ
 θανάτου αὐτῶν ἐκείνος ὁ ἄρχων ἐστὶ τῶν μαρτύρων. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ μαρτύριον
 χριστοῦ παρ' οἷς μὲν βέβαιόν ἐστι, παρ' οἷς δὲ οὐκ ἔστι βέβαιον ἀλλὰ σεῖεται. 35
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ πίστις τοιαύτη ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ὥστε δύνασθαι ἀπὸ 35
 διαβίσεως ἀληθοῦς εἰπεῖν Πέπειμαι δὲ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωὴ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς
 δύνησεται ἡμᾶς χωρὶς αἰσῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ
 ἡμῶν, βέβαιόν ἐστι τὸ μαρτύριον ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοί ἐσμεν
 ἀλλὰ σειόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμβαινόντων, οὕτω τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐβε- 40
 βαιώθη ἐν ἡμῖν. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλως ἐκληψόμεθα τὸ ῥητόν· πᾶσα γραφὴ ἡ μαρ-
 τυροῦσα περὶ χριστοῦ μαρτύριόν ἐστι χριστοῦ· καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ βεβαιωθῆναι καὶ
 ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν μαρτυρίῳ χριστοῦ. καὶ ἄλλως· Ἴδε τὸ μαρτύριον χριστοῦ,
 ἐγνεπιμαρτυροῦντος αὐτῷ χημείοις καὶ τέρασιν καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν καὶ πνεύματος
 ἁγίου μερισμοῖς κατὰ τὴν αἰτοῦ θέλησιν· καὶ βέβαιόν ἐστι τὸ μαρτύριον χριστοῦ
 ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις. 45

ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι· ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν
 χαρισμάτων διαλέγεται καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

16. Rom. xii 11 32. Matt. vii 7; Lc. xi 9 26. 1 Pet. iii 15 28. Sap.
 Sol. vii 17 36. Rom. viii 38-39 43. Heb. ii 4 46. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 4

II 23 For διεξοδικῷ, cf. note on Eph. iv 17 (J. T. S. iii 416).

16 λόγῳ σοφία MS (cf. 1 Cor. ii 1) 42. ἄλλοι εἶδε Turner: καὶ ἄλλοι· ἴδε MS
 (cf. § III 2)

ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
 δίκαιος οὐκ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ πάσχιων, κινδυνεύων, ἀπεκ-
 50 δέχεται τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἧτοι ἦν Χριστὸς
 Ἰησοῦς ἀποκαλύπτει.

Ὅς καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους· τίς βεβαιοῖ; Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς
 13 ὁ λόγος, ἡ σοφία· μαρτύριον δὲ τὸ βεβαιούμενον οὐ πρὸς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ἕως τέλους.
 ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἕως ἐλθωμεν
 55 ἐκεῖ, οὐπω ἔχομεν τὸ ἀνεγκλήτον· οὐ γὰρ οἶδαμεν τί τέζεται ἢ ἐπιούσα, κἂν ἔχει
 τις δοκῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ ἀνεγκλήτον, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ.

§ III.

ἰ 9 [Πιστὸς ὁ θεὸς δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Πίστευε αὐτῷ αἰεὶ· ἐκλήθητε γὰρ ἵνα ἀπλῶς ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὤμεν. μέγ-
 ἐστιν ὃ χαρίζεται ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγίοις· ἐκλήθημεν εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
 διὸ κληρονόμοι μὲν θεοῦ συγκληρονόμοι δὲ χριστοῦ.

§ IV.

ἰ 10 [καὶ μὴ ἦ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα.]

[Ὡριγένους]

14 Ὁ ἐν ἅπασιν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ δόγματι περὶ τε πατρὸς
 καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος συμφωνῶν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίας,
 περὶ τε ἀναστάσεως καὶ κρίσεως, καὶ τοῖς κανόσι δὲ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἐπό-
 μενος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν σχίσματι.

§ V.

ἰ 14, 17 [Εὐχαριστῶ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα . . . οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλὲν με
 Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλ' εὐαγγελίζεσθαι οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ
 σταυρὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ.]

[Ὡριγένους]

16 Μείζον τὸ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τοῦ βαπτίζειν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦδει ὁ Παῦλος ἀφ-
 17 ωρισμένους τινὰς πρὸς τὸ βαπτίζειν, εὐχαριστεῖ ἐπὶ τ(ῷ) κρείττονα κλήρον
 ἔχειν τοῦ βαπτίζειν. ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν Ἀποστόλων φαίνεται τίνα τῶν
 5 ἀποστόλων ἔργα· οἷον Φίλιππος ἐβάπτισεν, τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ οὐ διηκονεῖτο
 Φίλιππος τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνου βαπτιζομένους ἐχειροθέτει ὁ
 Πέτρος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπήρχετο ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος τοὺς ἀναγεννω-
 μένους ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ Πέτρος τῷ πνεύματι.

II 52. Io. i 1; I Cor. i 24 54. Prov. xxvii 1 III 4. Rom. viii 17
 IV 4. Hebr. vi 2 V 5 ff. Act. viii 12-16 7. Io. iii 5

III 2. πίστευε MS (cf. § II 42): πιστεύετε Turner V 3. τὸ MS 4. φαίνεται
 τίνα MS

[Ὡριγένους]

Χρεία οὐ τοσοῦτον λόγου ὅσον δυνάμει· διὸ γέγραπται κήριος δώσει ῥήμα 10
τοῖς εὐαγγελιζομένοις δυνάμει πολλή, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ. 11
ἀπέστειλεν οὖν με Χριστὸς οὐ βαπτίζειν ἀλλ' εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ
λόγου, οὐκ ἐν τρανώσει λέξεως· ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο ποιῶ καὶ θέλω οὕτω παρα-
διδόναι τὸν λόγον, ἢ τοῦ χριστοῦ δύναμις οὐ καθικνείται τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν
ἀκούοντων καὶ ἐκκενῶ καὶ καθαιρῶ τὴν χάριν τῆς δυνάμει. 15

§ VI.

18 [ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μαρτία ἐστίν, τοῖς
22 σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ (σταυροῦ) δοκεῖ σκάνδαλον εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τις παρέχῃ τὰς 20
ἀκοὰς τῆ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆ χάριτι, ὄψεται καὶ τοῦτο μέγα μυστήριον· καὶ
οἱ ἔθνηκοι παραδεδόκασιν ὅτι πολλάκις, λοιμῶν μεγάλων γενομένων ἢ ἐπομ-
βριῶν ἢ αὐχμῶν, ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτὸν παραδόντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ 5
καίου· τί οὖν θαυμαστόν εἰ, ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου λοιμώτοντος τῆ πλάνῃ, ὑπὲρ
τοῦ λοιμοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ἐχρῆν ἕνα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταλύσαι τὸν τῆς
ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῦ σκότους καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας λοιμόν; τίς δὲ ἡδύνατο τοῦτο ἀνα-
δέξασθαι; οὐ προφήτης, οὐκ ἀπόστολος, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος δίκαιος· ἀλλ' εἶδει 10
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβῆναι θείαν δύναμιν δυναμένην ἀναδέξασθαι ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπο-
θανεῖν μετὰ τινος παραδειγματισμοῦ, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνου τοῦ θανάτου τρόπαιον
γένηται κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου. καὶ γὰρ εἰώθασιν (οἱ) ἐν κόσμῳ θριαμβεύοντες
τοὺς πολεμ(ί)ους ἐν τρόπῳ σταυροῦ τιθέναι τὰ τρόπαια κατὰ τῶν νικωμένων.
ἔστιν οὖν ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ τρόπαιον κατὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ· διὰ τοῦτο λέγ(ει)
Ἔμοι δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταγρῷ τῆ ἐγνωκῶτι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ 15
σταυροῦ τί(ς) ἐστίν· ὅτι ἠλευθερώθην ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν δι' ἐκείνον ἀποθανόντα
ἵνα με ῥύσῃται ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου· εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταγρῷ τοῦ κήριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος ἐσταγρῶται κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ· μέγα ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἐμοὶ
κόσμος ἐσταγρῶται· τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν διὰ τίνος μοι γέγονεν; διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ
τοῦ χριστοῦ· μέγα μοι ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐμὲ σταγρωθῆναι τῷ κόσμῳ· εἰ γὰρ ἀπέ- 20
θανον τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐσταύρωμαι τῷ κόσμῳ μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ· εἰ δὲ ζῶ ταῖς
ἀμαρτίαις, οὕτω ἠξιώθην τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν σταυρόν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ
ἐτοιμαζόμεθα πρὸς πειρασμούς, πρὸς μαρτύρια, εἰδότες ὅτι ὅς ἂν ἀρνήσῃται
σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἔχει.

10-11. Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii) 12-13 VI 2. Cf. i 23 Eph. v 32 7. Io. xviii 14
9. Cf. Io. iii 13 10. 2 Cor. v 15 15, 17-18. Gal. vi 14 16. Cf. Rom. vi 22
17. Cf. 2 Cor. i 10

VI 2. σταυροῦ: χριστοῦ MS 6. πλάνη ὑπὲρ... ἀληθινοῦ, ἐχρῆν MS | λοιμοῦ
MS: leg. fortasse κοινου 12. οἱ: om. MS 13. πολεμῖους: πολέμους MS
τρόπῳ: τροπαίῳ MS 14. λέγει: λέγω MS 16. τίς: τί MS

§ VII.

19-21 [γέγραπται γὰρ Ἀπολὼ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν
 σύνεσι τῶν ἀθετήσῳ. Ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεῖς; ποῦ συνζητητῆς τοῦ αἰ-
 τούτου; οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου; ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν
 σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν, εὐδόκησεν ὁ θ-
 εὸς
 διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας.]

[Ὁριγένους]

23 Οὐ ταυτὸν ἐστὶν εἶναι σοφὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ εἶναι σοφόν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 24 χωρὶς τοιαύτης προσθήκης περιέχει τὴν ἀληθῆ σοφίαν. παραπλησίως
 νοήσεις καὶ μωρίαν· οὐ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ μωρὸν καὶ μωρὸν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ
 5 μὲν γὰρ χωρὶς προσθήκης τῆς 'τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ' ἀληθ(ῶ)ς ἐστὶ μωρός. καὶ ἡμεῖ-
 τοῖν οἱ πιστεύοντες τοῖς λόγοις τῆς σοφίας κελευόμεθα ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ
 γενέσθαι μωροί· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πιστεύοντες εἰ-
 10 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἑσταυρωμένον, καὶ πιστεύοντες ἀνάστασιν σωμάτων, πιστεύ-
 οντες δὲ ὅτι ζησοῦμεθα οὐ μόνον οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐπὶ γῆς ὑστερον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀλλ'
 ὅτι καὶ ἂν ἀμαρτάνωμεν περὶ αἰωνίῳ παραδοθησόμεθα. τοιοῦτους ἡμᾶς
 δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. . . .

§ VIII.

1 23-31 [ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἑσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν
 σκάνδαλον ἔθενον δὲ μωρίαν, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλήσιν,
 Χριστὸν θεοῦ δυνάμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν. . . . Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλησιν ὑμῶν,
 ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ
 εὐγενεῖς. ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνη τοὺς
 σοφούς, καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνη τὰ ἰσχυρά,
 καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, καὶ τὰ μὴ
 ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ, ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσθαι πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον τοῦ
 θεοῦ. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ
 θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμὸς καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις, ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται
 ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κηρίῳ καυχάσθῳ.]

[Ὁριγένους]

30 Δυνάμιν ἐλάβομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πιστεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἑσταυρωμένον· καὶ
 ὅσον λείπομεν ἐν τῇ πίστει (ταύτῃ), τοσοῦτον λειπόμεθα ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἔχειν
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰ δὲ θέλετε νοῆσαι τί ἐστὶν ἀπολὼ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν
 5 σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσῳ, νοήσατέ μοι πᾶν γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς
 31 αἵρετικαῖς λόγοις, φέρε εἰπεῖν Μαρκίωνα ἢ Βασιλεῖδην, καὶ οὕτω μετὰ δυνάμει
 ζητοῦντα ὑπὲρ τῶν αἵρετικῶν λόγων ὥστε μὴ τὸν τυχεῖον δύνασθαι αὐτῷ

VII 7, 12. Cf. i 23, and esp. III 18, and see c. *Cels.* i 19

VII On the argument of this passage see further *Contra Celsum* iii 47, 48 (ed. Koetschau).

VII 3. περιέχει: οὐ περιέχει MS 5. ἀληθῶς: ἀληθῆς MS 8. (εἰς) ἀνάστασιν
 Armitage Robinson 9. fortasse οὐ μόνον ζησοῦμεθα 11. desunt 5½ lin. ad
 calcem fol.

VIII 3. lacuna 5 litt. post πίστει MS: ταύτη supplēui

ἀγτισθῆναι· εἶτα νοήσατέ τινα ἱκανὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντα ὅς καὶ ἱκανώσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης, καὶ δεικνύντα πάντα ἐκεῖνα μωρίαν ἐφ' ὡς ἐπεποίθει ὁ ἠπατημένος. ἐκείνων οὖν τὴν σοφίαν ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐ τῶν 10 ὅτως σοφῶν, Ἡσαίου, Ἱερεμίου ἢ Σολομῶντος· τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀπόλλυσι σοφίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀληθῆ.

Πῶς δὲ καὶ Ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν; ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις ἐστίν· ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔγνω ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις κηρυσσόμενον τὸν Χριστόν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σὴν τελεῖα 15 τῶν αἰῶνων ἔπεμψεν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν σταυρωθῆσόμενον ὑπὲρ (τοῦ) γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα τῇ μωρίᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος πιστεύσωσιν οἱ πιστεύσαντες εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐσταυρωμένον.

Προσέθηκε δὲ τ(ῷ) Οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν σοφῶν εἰσὶ διαφοραί, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰσι σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα· καὶ κατὰ 20 σάρκα εἰσὶ σοφοὶ οἱ λεξίδια μόνα μεμελετηκότες καὶ καλλωπιζόντες ὁ τι σοφ' οὖν ὡς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔν ἀλήθειαν. ὁμως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀπέκλεισε τοὺς κατὰ σάρκα σοφοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν Οὐδεὶς σοφὸς κατὰ σάρκα προσέρχεται τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι σφόδρα ὀλίγοι. δυνατοὶ δὲ κατὰ σάρκα εἰσὶν οἱ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἔχοντες· κατὰ πνεῦμα δὲ νοήσεις, ἐὰν ἴδῃς τὸν Σωτῆρα τίνα τρόπον· 25 οὐκ ἦν μὲν δυνατὸς κατὰ σάρκα· προεδόθη γοῦν καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας· ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα, πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ θεραπείων. οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὄρα, τίνα τρόπον ἦσαν δυνατοὶ κατὰ πνεῦμα. ἔστιν δυνατὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα βιοὺς καὶ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατῶν. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν νοήσεις· εὐγενεῖς κατὰ σάρκα 30 εἰσὶν οἱ ἐκ πατέρων πλουσιῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων· κατὰ δὲ πνεῦμα εὐγενεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν γέγραπται Ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι.

Τίνα οὖν ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός; οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὰ μωρά, ἀλλὰ μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς τοῦ κόσμου· ἡμεῖς οἱ πιστεύοντες μωροὶ ἴσμεν ὡς πρὸς τὸν κόσμον. γελῶσιν 32 οὖν ἡμᾶς μωροὺς λέγοντες Ἐχριστιανοὶ λέγουσιν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι ζῶμεν μετὰ θάνατον καὶ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐσταύρωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκ παρθένου γεγέννηται, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἐκείνοι οὖν γελασάτωσαν ἡμᾶς καὶ μωροὺς λεγέτωσαν· ψυχικός γὰρ ἀνθρώπος οὐδέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν. 40

τὰ μωρά οὖν τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνη τοὺς σοφοὺς. οὐχ ἀπλῶς τοὺς σοφοὺς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κοινού τοῦ κόσμου· ἵνα εἶπῃ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μωρά ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνη τοὺς σοφοὺς τοῦ κόσμου· ἀληθῶς γὰρ καταισχύνονται οἱ σοφοὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ὅταν αὐτοὶ μὲν προσκυνῶσιν εἰδώλοις οἱ δὲ ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται ἀποθνήσκωσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ 45 εἰδωλολατρήσαι.

VIII 8. 2 Cor. iii 6
29-31. Rom. viii 13
45. Act. iv 13

15. Heb. ix 26
31-2. Rom. viii 14

26. 2 Cor. xiii 4
31. Io. i 12

27. Matt. iv 23
39. 1 Cor. ii 14

16. ὑπὲρ γένου MS

19. τὸ MS

Καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός· πάλι
 ἐνταῦθα μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς τοῦ κόσμου. τί γὰρ εὐγενέστερον ψυχῆς κατα
 λειπούσης τὰ εἶδωλα καὶ λεγούσης ὡς ψεδῆ ἐκτίσαντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εἰδωλ
 50 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς γέτιζων. τὰ ἀγενῆ οὖν τοῦ κόσμου εὐγενῆ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός· μόνον κατορθώσ(ω)μεν ἐξ οὐ(ῦ) θεῶ οὐκ ἐξουθενωθησόμεθα
 περὶ οὗ γέγραπται ἐξουθενῶμαι ἐγώπιον αὐτοῦ πονηροῦμένου.

Καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ· τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὠνόμασε τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ
 κόσμου, τὰ ἀσθενῆ, τὰ ἀγενῆ, τὰ ἐξουθενημένα· τὰ ὄντα τοὺς εὐγενεῖς τοῦ
 55 κόσμου· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κόσμῳ οὗτοι εἰσὶ τινές, οὐκ ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς, καταπονού
 μνοι ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ καταφρονούμενοι. τὰ μὴ ὄντα γὰρ ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός
 ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ, ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσθαι πᾶσα σὰρξ καὶ εἶπεν Διὰ τοῦτο
 ἐξελέχθην ὅτι εὐγενῆς εἰμι.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐστέ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ θεοῦ
 60 δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἡμῖν
 ἐστὶ Χριστός, ἵνα τὸ γεγραμμένον γένηται Ὅ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι
 εἰ γὰρ ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν σοφίᾳ ὀφείλει καυχᾶσθαι, Χριστὸς δὲ ἡ σοφία, δηλοῦν
 ὅτι ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Χριστῷ καυχᾶται· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοίως, ἁγια
 σμοῦ τε φημι καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

§ IX.

ii 4-7 [καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πιθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ
 ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ. σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, σοφίαν
 δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργου
 μένων. ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν
 προώρτισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰῶνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόν
 των τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν, εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης
 ἐσταύρωσαν.]

[Ἐπιγενέους]

37 Ἴνα μὴ εἴποι τις Ἄρ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῆς πίστεως ἐν δυνάμει καὶ
 ἐν πνεύματι ἔφερεν, οὐκ εἶχεν σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον
 τῆς θεοσεβείας, πιστεῦσαι μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαγγελίαν σοφίας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφέρει
 5 καὶ λέγει Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων. ἄλλο γὰρ ἐστὶν
 εἰσαγαγεῖν τινὰς εἰς τὴν πίστιν, ἄλλο τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποκαλύπτειν.
 ἀναπτύσσομεν οὖν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις οὐδὲ τοῖς
 ἀρχομένοις οὐδὲ τοῖς μηδέπω ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ὑγιούς βίον δεδωκόσιν· ἀλλ'
 10 ὅτ' ἂν γυμνασάμενος ὃν δεῖ τρόπον τὰ αἰσθητήρια πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ

VIII 49. Hier. xvi 19 50. Hier. xiv 22 53. Ps. xiv (xv) 4 IX 3. Cl.
 1 Tim. iii 16 4. Cf. Sap. Sol. ii 13 10. Hebr. v 14

VIII 51. κατορθώσομεν Turner, Armitage Robinson : κατορθώσομεν MS ἐξ οὐ :
 ἐξ ὧν MS 55. οὗτοι εἰσι τοῖς MS 56. οὖν Turner : οὖν MS IX 4. ἐπαγ
 γελία : ἐπαγγελίας MS σοφίας ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐπεὶ φέρει καὶ λέγει· σοφίαν δὲ MS

ἐπιτήδειος γένηται καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι σοφίαν, τότε λαλοῦμεν σοφίαν ἐν τοῖς 38
 τελείοις· σοφίαν δὲ λέγω οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οὐδὲ παραπλησίαν τῆς
 σοφίας τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ἅμα δὲ δεδήλωκεν ὅτι τὰ φερό-
 μενα παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήματα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ
 δυνάμεων ἀοράτων τῶν καταργουμένων. καὶ εἶπομι δ' ἂν ὅτι ποιητικὴ σοφία 15
 ἐστὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ· σοφία δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπαγγελιομένη
 λέγειν περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ περὶ διοικήσεως τῶν ὄλων. ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ
 σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν καὶ λέγομεν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, οὐ τὴν τοῦ αἰῶνος
 οὗτου λέγομεν· οὔτε γὰρ διὰ ποιημάτων ἢ διὰ τινος τοιαύτης τέχνης.

[Ὁριγένους]

Ἄλλὰ λαλοῦμεν σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, ἃ οὐκ ἐγνωστοὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῦ 39
 αἰῶνος τούτου τοῖς ἐνεργοῦσι τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· οὕτω
 οὐκ ἐγνωσαν· ἐπεβούλευσαν τῷ σωτήρι καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ
 καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν· εἰ γὰρ ἐγνωσαν οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύ- 25
 ρωσαν. οὐκοῦν ζητητέον καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν πίστιν, μετὰ
 τὴν πολιτείαν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἐπεθύμησας σοφίαν, διατήρησον ἐντολὰς.

§ X.

ii 9-11 [Ἄλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· Ἄ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν
 καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.
 καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ἐβόησεν οὐδὲ ἐβόησεν οὐδὲ ἐβόησεν, ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν ὁ
 θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· 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 ἐγνώκεν εἰ
 μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ.]

[Ὁριγένους]

Οἶδεν διαφορὰν ἢ γραφῇ ἀγαπῶντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ φοβουμένων τὸν θεόν, 43
 καὶ οἶδεν πολλῶν ὑπερέχοντα τῶν φοβουμένων τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας. ἠτοίμασται
 μὲν οὖν τινα καὶ τοῖς φοβουμένοις· πλὴν μείζον ἠτοίμασε τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν
 παρὰ τὰ ἠτοίμασμα τῶν φοβουμένοις. 5

τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔστι πνεῦμα ὅπερ
 δύναται πάντα ἐρευνᾶν· ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ δύναται πάντα ἐρευνᾶν, ἀλλ'
 ἔδει γενέσθαι κρείττον ἐν ἡμῖν πνεῦμα, ἢ ἐκείνου γενομένου ἐν ἡμῖν ἐρευν-
 κῶτος πάντα καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνακραθέντος τε ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς ἐκείνῳ συνε-
 ρανήσωμεν πάντα καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. 10

§ XI.

ii 12-15 [Ἠμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα
 τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν· ἃ καὶ
 λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς
 πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικῶς συγκρίνοντες. ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ
 δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ, μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν, καὶ οὐ δύναται
 γνῶναι ὅτι πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται. ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει μὲν πάντα,
 αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται.]

22. Cf. 1 Cor. i 19

26. Sir. i 26

[Ωριγένους]

46 Κατανοήσωμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ γένηται πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκον ἡμᾶς ἐν ἡμῖν, οὐ δυνάμεθα λέγειν ὅτι ἔδαμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν, καὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ.

Ἄ καὶ λαλοῦμεν φησὶν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. αἱ σοφίαι πᾶσαι τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτο λόγοι εἰσὶ διδακτοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἃ μαθάνει τις καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν λογικῶν 47 τεχνῶν· τὰ δὲ διδακτὰ τοῦ πνεύματος οὐ διδάσκει· καὶ οὐκ ἂν λέγοι 10 ὅτι ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος περὶ ὧν λέγει διδαχθεὶς ἐδίδαξεν τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνον ζητοῦντι καὶ ἐρευνῶντι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐλλάμπει, καὶ οὕτως αἰετὴ ἀνακαινίσκει τοῦ νοῦς εὐρίσκει ἃ μὴ μεμάθηκε παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Δια τοῦτο ὁ Σωτὴρ φησὶ Μὴ ζητήσης διδάσκαλον ἐπι 15 τῆς γῆς· εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἢ εἰς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ὁ καθηγητὴς ὁ Χριστός. ὀλίγα τινὰ ὑποβάλλει ἀνθρώπος, φέρε εἰπεῖν Παῦλος διδάσκων Τιμόθεον, καὶ λαβῶν ἀφορμὰς ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔρχεται καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ὅπου ἐλήλυθεν ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ἀρύεται καὶ γίνεται Τιμόθεος ἰσο 20 Παύλου.

Πῶς δὲ διδάσκεται τις ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, κατανοητέον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν 20 λόγων· πνευματικοὶς γὰρ πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες, τῷ συνεστατάζειν τῆδε τῆ λέξιν τῆδε τῆ λέξει καὶ τὰ ὅμοια συνάγειν, ἀνακαλύπτεται ὡσπερὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆ γραφῆς. οὕτω γὰρ συνίημι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γίνονται διδακτοὶ πνεύματος· οὐ μόνον (τῷ) τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος μεμαθηκέναι τοῦ κινήσαντος τὸν Ἡσαΐαν, ἀλλ' 30 καὶ τῷ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐσχηκέναι ὅπερ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν τοὺς Ἡσαΐου λόγους· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνοίξῃ τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν, οὐ δύναται ἀνοιχθῆναι τὰ κεκλεισμένα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, ἀναγκαίως ἐπιφέρει ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες ἀνθρώποι μὴ παρα 30 δεχόμενοι τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς οἴονται οἱ ἕτεροδοξοὶ ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ παρ(ε)σκευακέναι ἑαυτούς. ψυχικὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπος οὐδέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, ψυχικὸς γὰρ ἦν· ὅτε (δὲ) ἐκλινεν εἰς θεοσέβειαν καὶ παρεδέξατο τὸ πνεῦμα, γέγονε πνευματικός.

καὶ οὐ δύναται γνῶναι ὁ ψυχικὸς ὅτι πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται· οὐκ οἶδεν διὰ τοῦτο (ὁ) ἀκούει ὅτι ἀνακρίνεται πνευματικῶς, καὶ δοκιμαζομένη γε ἡ δύναμις ἐλέγχει τοὺς ἀφρονας οἷον ἐὰν λέγω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος διδαχθεὶς, καὶ δυνάμει 35 λέγω, καὶ ὁ ἀκροατὴς δοκιμάζων τὴν δύναμιν δοκ(ῆ) καὶ μὴ συγκατάθῃται,

XI 12. Rom. xii 2 13-15. Cf. Matt. xxiii 8, 9, 10 25. Cf. Is. xxix 11 33-34, 36-37. Sap. Sol. i 3

XI. 13-15. See also Orig. *Hom.* xii in Hieremiam, § 1 (ed. Klostermann, p. 85).

XI 23. *om.* τῷ MS 29. παρασκευακέναι MS per incuriam 30. πνεύματος· ψυχικὸς γὰρ ἦν ὅτε MS 31. οὐκ οἶδεν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Armitage Robinson : οὐκ οἶδεν διὰ τοῦτο MS 32-35. διδαχθεὶς. καὶ . . . λέγω· καὶ ὁ ἀκροατὴς . . . δύναμιν, δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ συγκατάθῃται· δοκιμαζομένη MS

ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΗ ἢ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ἐλέγχει τοὺς ἀφρονας. καὶ ἔστιν οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνος ἀποδο-
κίμαστος τὸ λεγόμενον ὅσον τὸ λεγόμενον ἀπεδοκίμασεν ἐκείνον· εἰς γὰρ
κακῶτερον ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται σοφία οὐδὲ κατοικήσει ἐν σώματι κατὰ ρεφ
ἀμαρτίας.

Ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει μὲν πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται. 48
ὁ μᾶλλον κατὰ σάρκα περιπατῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα καὶ αἰεὶ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐξ(ω)ν 41
αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνασωπρῶν τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ πλείων, ἑαυτῷ κατασκευάζει
τὸ γενέσθαι πνευματικὸς· γενόμενος δὲ ἰκανὸς ἔστιν ἀνακρίνειν τὰ πάντα, τὰ
Ἑλλήνων, τὰ βαρβάρων, τὰ σοφῶν, τὰ ἀνοήτων· αὐτὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς δύναται
ἀνακρίνειν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ (τῶν) διαλογισμῶν αὐτοῦ. 45
εἰ δὲ θέλεις ἐπιγινώσκειν τὸν πνευματικόν, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αἰγῶν ἐπιγνώσσεθ(ε)
αἰγῶν. τίνες δὲ οἱ καρποὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ νοεῖν τίς ὁ πνευματικὸς ;
ἀκουε τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ὅτι δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἀγάπη, χαρὰ,
εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραότης, ἐγκράτεια· ὅπου ταῦτα,
ἐκαὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐκείνος πνευματικὸς· ὅπου δὲ τούτων τι λείπει, οὕτω πνευ- 50
ματικὸς ἔστιν ἐκείνος.

§ XII.

iii 1-3 a [Κἀγὼ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ὑμῖν λαλῆσαι ὡς πνευματικοῖς ἀλλ'
ὡς σαρκί(ν)οις, ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ. γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, καὶ οὐ βρῶμα, οὐ-
πω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε.]

[Ἰνριγένους]

Τῶν ἀκούοντων οἱ μὲν τελειοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ πνευματικοί, περὶ ὧν καὶ πρῶην 51
ἐλέγομεν· οἱ δὲ μὴ ὄντες πνευματικοὶ πιστεύοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς
λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, νήπιοι ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ σάρκιοι ἐν Χριστῷ· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπὸ
κοινοῦ ἀκούω τοῦ Ἐν Χριστῷ. χρεῖα οὖν μαθημάτων τοῖς μὴ τελειότεροις 5
καὶ μηδέπω γυμνασμένοις ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ὑποδεεστέρων, ἅτινα ὠνό-
μασεν ὁ ἀπόστολος γάλα εἶναι· γάλα γὰρ φησὶν ἐπότισα ὑμᾶς οὐ βρῶμα·
οὕτω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε. ἀναφορὰν δὲ νομίζω εἶναι ἐν
ταῖς πνευματικαῖς (τ)ρ(ο)φαῖς γάλακτος, βρώματος, βρώσεως ἀληθινῆς, στερεᾶς
τροφῆς, σαρκὸς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ λαχάνου πνευματικοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα τολμῶ λέγειν 10
πειθόμενος ταῖς γραφαῖς· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν πᾶσαν πνευματικὴν τροφήν ἀληθῆ
εἶναι βρώσιν, λέγων ἡ σὰρξ μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ βρώσις. ποῖα οὖν οὐ στερεὰ τροφή,
τὰ ἥθικώτερα καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἥθικοῖς ἀσθενέστερα, κατὰ συγγνώμην λεγόμενα
οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν, διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀκούοντων οἰκονομούμενα. ὅσα δὲ

37-39 Sap. Sol. i 4 42. Rom. viii 4 43. 2 Tim. i 6 47. Matt. vii 16
48-9. Gal. v 22-23 XII 6. Hebr. v 14 9, 11-12. Io. vi 55 9, 12. Hebr.
v 12, 14 10. Rom. xiv 2 13-14. 1 Cor. vii 6

XII 2. πρῶην ἐλέγομεν. These words suggest an extract from Homilies. Cf.
also § XV 19

41. ἀξον MS 45. om. τῶν MS 46. ἐπιγνώσσεθαι MS per incuriam
XII σαρκί(ν)οις MS male 9. τροφαῖς scripsi: γραφαῖς MS

- 15 ἐν ἠθικοῖς τελειότερα διδασκαλία ἐν ἀκραταῖς φιλομαθείσι καὶ φιλοπόνου-
 ταῦτα εἵπομι ἂν ἐν ἠθικοῖς στερεάν τροφήν, τὴν περὶ ἀγνείας τελείας, τὴν περὶ
 παρθενίας ἢ σωφροσύνης, τὴν περὶ μαρτυρίου· ταῦτα στερεὰ τροφή. στερεὰ
 δὲ τροφή ἐν μυστικοῖς ἢ περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ
 μὲν στερεάν παραδίδωσι τροφήν, ὅτε δὲ ὑποδεειστέραν. οἷον ἐρχόμεθα ἐπὶ τῶν
 20 λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὄφειν τῶν ἀναιρούντων τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ διὰ τῶν
 γογγυσμῶν· εἰς ἀπλούστερον ἀναγιώσκωμεν, λέγομεν Μὴδὲ γογγίζωμεν,
 καθάπερ τινὲς αἰτῶν ἐγόγγυσαν, καὶ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφειν. εἰς δὲ μυστικῶν
 λόγον δύν(η)ται ἀκούειν ὁ ἀκρατής, λέγομεν τινὲς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ τίς ὁ ὄφις ὁ
 τοῦ ξύλου κρεμασθεὶς, καὶ πῶς σώζεται πρὸς ἐκείνον τὸν ὄφιν ἰδὼν, καὶ
 25 οὕτως καθ' ἐκάστην γραφήν πνευματικῇν.
- 52 Τίνες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ γάλακτι ποτιζόμενοι δηλώσει ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστο-
 λῇ λέγων ὡς ἀρτιρένητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθίσατε· καὶ ἐν
 πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ καὶ γερόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος καὶ οὐ στερεὰς τροφῆς·
 πᾶς γάρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος ἀπειρος λόγος δικαιοσύνης· μήπισος γάρ ἐστιν· τελείων
 20 δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή, τῶν διὰ τὴν εἶσιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἔχοντων
 πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ.

§ XIII.

iii 3-5 [Ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις καὶ διχοστασίαι, οὐκ ἴσχυ-
 ροῦσθε καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε; ὅτι ἂν γὰρ λέγῃ τις Ἐγὼ εἰμι
 εἰμι Παύλου· ἕτερος δὲ Ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ· οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἐστε;]

[Ὀριγένης]

Τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀμαρτημάτων τὰ ἐλάττονα ἐστὶ ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις. εἰς ἂν
 παρνεύει τις ἐστὶ, οὐκέτι σάρκινος ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ χείρων ἢ σάρκινος.
 τί δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἶδωμεν. ἐγὼ νομίζω διαφορὰν εἶναι σαρκίνου καὶ
 5 χοϊκοῦ· Ὡς ἐφορέσαμεν, φησί, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν
 εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπογρανίου. εἰς οὖν τὰ πρὸς θάνατον ἀμαρτάνης, οὐκ εἰς σάρκινος
 53 ἀλλὰ χοϊκός· εἰς δὲ ἀμαρτάνης μὲν, οὐ πρὸς θάνατον δὲ, οὐ χοϊκός τέλειος
 οὐδὲ ἀποπεπτωκ(ῶ)ς τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ σάρκινος εἰ τότε
 καὶ τῶν περιπάτων δὲ ἡμῶν ὁ μὲν τίς ἐστὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δὲ κατὰ θεόν.
 10 εἰς ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιπατοῦμεν, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατοῦμεν· εἰς
 δὲ κατὰ τὸ λαμπρὰν τὸ φῶς ἡμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διαφέρομεν τῶν
 πολλῶν καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατοῦμεν. σαφὴς οὖν ὁ βίος τῷ δυναμείῳ
 βλέπειν ποῖος ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ποῖος ὁ κατὰ θεόν.
 ὅταν γὰρ τις λέγῃ Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφά.
 15 καὶ τοῖτοι προσέχωμεν. ὁφόμεθα ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐνίστε οὐδὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ χείρων
 ἢ ἄνθρωποι ἐσμεν. ὁ γὰρ λέγων τότε Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀπολλῶ, ἔλεγεν περὶ ἀνδρῶν

XII 20 ff. Num. cxi 6 ff. 21. 1 Cor. x 10 27. 1 Pet. ii 2 27 ff. Heb. v 12—14
 XIII 5-6. 1 Cor. xv 49 6-7. 1 Io. v 16-17 11. Matt. v 16

XII 23. δύν(η)ται scripsi: δύναται MS XIII 8. ἀποπεπτωκός Armitage Robins: ἀποπέπτωκας MS
 13. Ἀπολλῶ MS passim 15. προσεχόμενα Turner: προσεχόμενα
 καὶ τοῖτοι προσέχωμεν. ὁφόμεθα MS

ἄλογίμον καὶ ἁγίον καὶ μακαρίον· ὁ λέγων Ἐγὼ εἰμι Παύλου, περὶ ἀνδρὸς λέγει ἀποστόλου ἱεροῦ καὶ μακαρίου. ἐνίοτε δὲ γίνονται προσκλίσεις οὐ παραπλησίως τῇ προσκλίσει Παύλου ἢ Ἀπολλῶ, ἀλλὰ προσκλίνεται τις ἀμαρτωλῶ ἐνίοτε καὶ ἑτεροδόξῳ. εἰ οὖν οὗτοι ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσι καὶ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, οἱ 20 λέγοντες Ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ ἐγὼ δὲ Παύλου· ὅτ' ἂν σὺ λέγῃς ἐαυτὸν τινὸς ὑποδοεστέρου εἶναι, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπος (εἶ) ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖρον ἢ ἀνθρωπος· καὶ ἴσως λελέξεται πρὸς σὲ Ὁφείκει γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν.

§ XIV.

iii 6-8 [ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἠΐξεν· ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστὶ τι οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐξάνων θεός. . . ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Εἰ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Παῦλος, συνεφύτευσε τῷ φυτεύοντι προηγουμένως θεῷ· εἰ δὲ 24 ἐπότισεν Ἀπολλῶς, συνεπότισε τῷ προηγουμένως ποτίσαντι Χριστῷ· φυτεῖει γὰρ ὁ θεός· διὸ γέγραπται πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύγτεσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος κεραιωθείσεται· καὶ πάλιν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν. ποιήσωμεν οὖν καρποὺς 5 ἵνα μὴ ἐκκοπῶμεν κατὰ τὴν ἀκαρπον σκῆκην. πᾶν γὰρ δένδρον μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν κλάθην ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. ἐπέχωμεν μὴ λεχθῆν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔμεινα ἵνα ποιῆσῃ σταφυλήν, ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀκάνθας. εἰάν γὰρ ταῦτα εἴπη περὶ ἡμῶν, ἔρει καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς Νῆν οὖν ἀναγγελῶ τί ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου. ἀφελῶ τὸν 10 σφραγισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαρπαγὴν, καὶ καθελῶ τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα.

§ XV.

iii 9-15 [θεοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν συνεργοί· θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε. κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμελίον τέθεικα, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. ἕκαστος δὲ βλεπέτω πῶς ἐποικοδομεῖ· θεμελίον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· εἰ δὲ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμελίον τοῦτον χρυσο(ί)ον, ἀργύρο(ι)ον, λίθους τιμίους, ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην, ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερόν γενήσεται, ἢ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει· ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται, καὶ ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει. εἴ τις τὸ ἔργον μενεῖ ὁ ἐπικαδόμησε, μισθὸν λήψεται· εἴ τις τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Ἐπεὶ οὐ μόνον γεώργιον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐσμεν, ζητῶ τὸν ἀρχι- 56 τέκτονα τῆς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ τοὺς συνεργοῦντας αὐτῷ. τοῦτο γὰρ ῥῶν ὁ ἀπόστολος φησὶ κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων

20. 2 Cor. i 2 23. Matt. xxiii 33 XIV 4. Matt. xv 13 5. Io.
iv 1 Lc. xiii 7 6. Matt. vii 19 7. Is. v 2 9. Is. v 5

XIII 22. om. εἰ MS XV 2. ζῆται Turner

15 θεμέλιον τέθεικα· τὴν γὰρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκκλησίαν πρὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου
 οὐδαμῶς (οὐσαν) ὑπέστησεν ὁ Παῦλος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ σχίσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 φησὶν ὅτι δοθείσης μοι χάριτος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων ἔθηκα τὸν
 θεμέλιον, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ· εἰ γὰρ ἕτερος μετελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας ἐποικοδομεῖ, ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρχιτέκτων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλ' ἐποι-
 20 δομεῖ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· εἰ θέλεις οὖν ἰδεῖν ὅτι σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων ὁ Παῦλος,
 ἄκουε αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἐκ τῆς Ἱεροσολῆμ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπλήρωκα τὸ εὐαγγέλι-
 ον τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλοτιμώμενος εὐαγγελίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅπως ἀπομάσθῃ Χριστός, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ
 ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδομῶ. καὶ οὐ μόνον ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλι-
 ον κατεβάλλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ οἰονεὶ βιβλία ἔγραψεν, πῶς δεῖ τὸν
 25 ἀρχιτέκτονα οἰκοδομεῖν οἰκίαν, ὅποιον δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι πρεσβυτέρου
 καὶ διακόνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλήρωμα· ταῦτα γὰρ πάν-
 ται οἰονεὶ νόμοι ἀρχιτεκτονικοὶ ἦσαν.

Ἄλλος οὖν φησὶν ἐποικοδομεῖ· ἕκαστος δὲ βλέπῃ πῶς ἐποικοδομ-
 εῖ.
 τούτο γὰρ κάμοι λέγει, ἵνα μὴ ἀμεριμνῶν ἐποικοδομῶ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ ἔργον
 30 ἐποικοδομῶ ὅποιον ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ δοκιμάσει ἐν ἐκείῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. φρο-
 τίζω δὲ μήποτε ἐποικοδομῶν ξύλα χόρτον καλάμην ἐποικοδομήσω. εἰ γὰρ
 προσυγάγω ψυχὰς ἀκρίτως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ φαύλας, προσήγαγον τῷ καλῷ
 θεμελίῳ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ξύλα, ἄλλους χόρτον, καὶ ἄλλους καλάμην· ὡς πο-
 τὸν πάλιν εἰάν τινες διαλάμψ(ω)σιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, καὶ τοσούτον διαλά-
 35 ψ(ω)σιν ὥστε εὐρεθῆναι τινες ἀνάλογον τοῖς γεγραμμένοις περὶ τῆς Ἱερο-
 σολῆμ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ λίθοις ἐκλεκτοῖς καὶ λίθοις κρυστάλλου καὶ λίθοις σαφεῖρα
 καὶ λίθοις ὄσους ὀνόμασεν ἐκεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι ἐποικοδομήσα τῷ θεμελίῳ
 λίθοις τιμίους. καὶ ἐπειδὴ (δεῖ) τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομήν
 καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχειν ὡς περὶ ὁ ναὸς ὃν Σολομὼν ἐποικοδόμησεν σύμβολον ναο-
 40 ἔχοντος χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον πολύν, εἰάν ἄλλος τις ἔλθῃ ἐποικοδομούμενος
 τιμιώτερος ἄργυριον εὐρεθῆναι ἢ χρυσός. εὐλαβουμ(αι) δὲ ἐγὼ μή ποτε δι-
 ἔμοῦ ξύλον εἰσέλθῃ καὶ χόρτος καὶ καλάμη, καὶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ (κάν ἄλλο-
 κριθῶ ἄξιος σωτηρίας· ἐπεὶ γέγραπται αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς δι-
 45 πυρός) οὕτως σωθῶ ὡς αἴτιος γενόμενος, τῷ μὴ κεχωρηκέναι τὴν χάριν
 35 μηδὲ καλῶς ἐποικοδομῆναι, τοῦ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν πεπληρωκέναι ξύλων, χόρτου,
 καλάμης, ὅπερ οὐ βούλεται ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ὅποιον ἐστὶν
 ἐκάστου τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει.

Θέλω δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀπογράψασθαι τὸ θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται
 θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐξ οὗ ὁ
 40 κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπεδήμησεν, οὗτος θεμέλιος εἰς τὸν κόσμον κεκῆ-
 ρυκται· καὶ τούτον τὸν θεμέλιον ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἔθηκαν, ἐν

XV 11. Rom. xv 19-20 15. Lc. vi 48 1 Tim. iii 2; Tit. i 7
 16. 1 Tim. iii 8 26. Is. liv 11-12 32. Rom. vii 24

XV 5. τὴν . . . ἐκκλησίαν πρὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, οὐδαμῶς ὑπέστησεν ὁ Παῦλος MS :
 οὐδαμῶς οὐσαν Armitage Robinson | πρὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου οὐδαμῶς ὑπέστησεν οὐδεὶς
 ἀλ)λοι Turner 24-25. διαλάμψουσιν MS 28. om. δεῖ MS 31. εὐλαβουμίνω
 δεῖ ἐγὼ MS

ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ ἀπόστολος τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ὁ συνεργὸς αὐτοῦ Βαρ-
 ναβῆς γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβῃ κοινωνίαν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη αὐτοῖ
 τὴν περιτομὴν. κηρυχθέντος τοίνυν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, κα-
 θεμελίω τούτου καταβληθέντος, οὐδεὶς δύναται ἄλλον θεμέλιον θεῖναι
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· οἱ δὲ ἐποικοδομοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ὀρθοδοξοῦσι διὰ τῶν (ἀ)
 δογματῶν καὶ τῶν θείων νοημάτων καὶ τῶν καλῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν
 ξυλων, ἐποικοδομοῦσι τῷ θεμελίῳ χρυσοῦν ἄργυρον λίθον τίμιον. χρυσοῖ
 πολλάκις τετήρηται, ἀντὶ νοῦ λαμβανόμενος καὶ νοημάτων· εἰ λέγω κ
 ἐποικοδομῶ ἄργυρον· εἰ δογῶμαι δεόντως καὶ εἰς πολιτείαν προτρέπω
 τοὺς ἀκροατάς, λίθους τιμίους ἐποικοδομῶ. ὅσοι μὲντοι γε τῶν διδασκ
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐσφάλησαν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐποικοδόμησαν τῷ θεμελίῳ
 χόρτον καλάμην· καὶ εἶποιμι ἂν ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων πάντες ο
 βλασφημότεροι ξύλα, οἱ δὲ ἕλαττον ἁμαρτήσαντες ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ χόρτ
 δεῖ ἰσχνά τινα καὶ ἴν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω ἕλαττονα καλάμην.

Φέρε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ἴδωμεν. τοῦτο τὸ λεχθησόμενον ἐνὸς ἐκ
 ἡμῶν ἀπτεται· ἕκαστος ἡμῶν παραδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,
 δέξατο Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν θεμέλιον, ἴν' ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς πράττει καὶ λέγει
 διανοεῖται ἐποικοδομ(ῆ) τούτῳ τῷ θεμελίῳ. εἰ μὲν οὖν καλὰ νοοῦμε
 διανοοῦμεθα, ἐποικοδομοῦμεν χρυσοῦν· εἰ ἀγνώως λέγοντες πάντα λόγον
 μαν ἁγίως λέγομεν, ἐποικοδομοῦμεν ὡς ἄργυρον· εἰ πᾶσα πράξι(ς) ἦν
 τομὴ καλὴ ἐστίν, ἐποικοδομοῦμεν ὡς λίθον τίμιον, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν τῶν
 καὶ τὴν ποιότητα ὁ θεὸς κρίνει. εἰ μὲντοιγε ἁμαρτάνω μετὰ τὸν θεμέλι
 μὲν μεγάλα μοι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ξύλα ἔσται, τὰ δὲ ὑποδεέστερα χόρτος,
 καὶ ὑποδεέστερα καλάμη. καὶ ζητῶ μήποτε ταῖ μὲν ρίζαι καὶ τὰ νοή
 ἐτι ἂν ἢ ἐσφαλμένα, ξύλα ἐστί· πηγὴ γάρ ἐστι τῶν κακῶν τὰ νοήματα
 ὅτι λόγοι χόρτος, ἢ δὲ πράξις καλάμη· ὑποδεεστέρα γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ἀξία
 δὲ πράξις παρὰ τὸν λογισμὸν· ὁ φυτεῦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἐν εἰσιν.

§ XVI.

iii 16-20 [οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἐν ὑμῖν; εἰ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός· ὁ γὰρ ναὸς
 τοῦ ἁγίου ἐστίν· οὐτινὲς ἐστε ὑμεῖς. μηδεὶς ἐαυτὸν ἐξαπατάτω· εἴ τις
 σοφός εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός
 ἂρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ· γέγραπται γὰρ
 ρασσόμενος τοῖς σοφοῖς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αἰγῶν· καὶ πάλιν Κύριος ῥηώσκει
 αἰολορισμοῖς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰς μάταιον.]

[Ὁριγένους]

Εἰ θέλεις ἀληθινὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ μαθεῖν, ζήτηε λίθους ζῶντας καὶ καθ

42. Rom. xi 13 43. Gal. ii 9 57. Cf. Mc. iv 20 XVI 2. 1 Pe

XV 46. αἰδίων vel ἁγιῶν Turner: ἰδίων MS 56. εἶδωμεν MS 59. ἢ
 δομῆ MS 61. πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν MS 65. αἱ μὲν ρίζαι MS: in arch
 fortasse al μὲν ρίζαι (εἰσι τὰ νοήματα) καὶ τὰ νοήματα κτλ. 67. ἢ καλάμη
 ἢ ἀξία Turner: τῇ ἀξίᾳ MS XVI 2. καθαρῶς Turner

λελατομημένους, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βεβληκότας, καὶ ἐστῶτας τετραγώνους, μηδὲ
 ἔχοντας ἀστατον μηδὲ κυλιόμενον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ λίθοι ἄριστοι κλινοῦνται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 5 ἄλλ' οἱ λατόμοι οὐκ ἔωσιν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τέλους κυλίεσθαι. ἡμεῖς οὖν ὡς λίθοι
 ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικός εἰς ἱεράτεγμα ἄγιον, ἀνενέργειαι πνευματικῆς
 θησίας εἰς προσδέκτους θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ δὲ λέγεται
 ὅτι ἐσμέν ναὸς οἱ πάντες εἰς, ἐκάστου ἡμῶν λίθου τινὸς ὄντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ
 φ(η)σὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίουσ' Ἄρα οὐκ ἐστὲ ζῆνοι καὶ πάροικοι ἄλλ
 10 συμπολίται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ
 τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐ
 ῶ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμοσθεμένη ἀΐσει εἰς ναὸν ἄγιον ἐν κυρίῳ· ἐν ῶ κ
 ῶμεῖς συναρμοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι. Δεῖ οὖν μηδὲν
 15 ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντός πράγματος οἷον ἐάν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖ
 παρά τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. πῶσῳ οὖν πλέον, ἐάν πάντε
 οἱ λίθοι συμφωνήσωσιν εἰς μίαν ἁρμονίαν καὶ γίνηται πάντων ἡ καρδί
 καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, ἡ εὐχὴ αὐτῶν δυνατήσεται καὶ ἰσχύσει; καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτ
 λέγειν πάντας ἡμᾶς ἵνα ὦμεν καθηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ
 20 οὕτως γὰρ ἐστε οἰκοδομὴ συναρμοσθεμένη εἰς ναὸν ἄγιον ἐν κυρίῳ.

Δύναται δὲ καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ναὸς ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ· εἰ γὰρ
 ναὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἔχων δόξαν θεοῦ, πᾶς ὁ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δόξαν θεοῦ ναὸς ἐστὶ κατὰ
 τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ. δόξαν δὲ ἔχει πλείονα ἢ ἐλάττωνα ὁ ποιῶν δοξάζεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα
 τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πατρὸς διὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ· διὸ γέγραπται τοῖς δοξά
 25 ζοντάς με δοξάζω.

τότε οὖν μάλιστα ἐσόμεθα ναὸς θεοῦ, ἐάν χωρητικούς ἑαυτοὺς κατα
 σκευάσωμεν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐ δύναται μέντοι γε ἔχων τις πνεῦμα
 ἁμαρτίας τινὸς εἶναι ναὸς θεοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον οἰκεῖ
 ἐν ῶ κρίνει κατοικεῖν.

30 εἰ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει, φθереῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός. Τὸ ὅσον ἐφ'
 ἑαυτῷ ἕκαστος, κἂν λίθος ἢ, φθείρει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἁμαρτήσας,
 καὶ ὁ σκάνδαλον δέ τι παρέχων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ φθείρει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
 κυριώτερον δὲ φθείρει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ πορνεύων, ἐπειδήπερ τὰ σώματα
 ἡμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστὶν οἷον ἔχετε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγε
 35 ται οὖν ἀφθορός ὁ καθαρός, ἐφθαρμένη δὲ ἢ μηκέτι παρθένος, ὡς δὴ τοῦ ἔργου
 τούτου μόνου φθειρόντος. εἴπερ οὖν τοῦτο ἔργον φθορᾶς ἐστὶν, τοῦτο μάλιστα
 φυλαξόμεθα. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπῶντων τὸν θεὸν ἐστὶν
 ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.

XVI 4. Zech. ix 16 5 ff. 1 Pet. ii 5 8. 2 Cor. vi 16, cf. 1 Cor. x 17
 9 ff. Eph. ii 19-22 14. Matt. xviii 19 17. Act. iv 32, cf. Iac. v 16
 20. 1 Cor. i 10 22. Apoc. xxi 11 23. Matt. v 16 24. 1 Sam. ii 30
 32 f. 1 Cor. vi 19 37. Eph. vi 24

XVI 12. Cf. note on Orig. in Ep. ad Eph. (J.T.S. iii 407) and Armitage Robinson's
Commentary on Ephesians p. 297

XVI 9. φασί MS 20. ἔσται Turner

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἰδίαν ἔσχεν περιγραφὴν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μέγα ἐφρόνουσι
ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου σοφίᾳ, διὰ τοῦτο φησὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Εἰ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς 40
εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν (οὐχὶ εἰ τις σοφός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν), ἐν
τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρὸς γενέσθω· οὐκ εἶπεν ἀπλῶς μωρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ,
ὡς γὰρ πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον μωροὺς ἡμᾶς λέγουσιν. μωρὸς οὖν γενέσθω ἐν
τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρὸς γεγονέναι γένηται ἀληθῶς
σοφός· ἢ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ θεῷ ἐστίν. πῶς γὰρ οὐ 45
μωρὸς ὁ μὴ λέγων μὴ εἶναι πρόνοιαν ἢ ἐξ ἀτόμων καὶ κενού τὰ πάντα συνεστη-
κένοι ἢ τὴν ἡδονὴν τέλος εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τᾶλλα λέγων ὅσα τῆς ἕξω καὶ
δοκούσης σοφίας ὕβριοι καὶ λῆροι τυγχάνουσιν· οὗτος γὰρ ἀληθῶς μωρὸς ἐστίν
καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα μωρία εἰσίν. καὶ ἀπαξᾶπλῶς πᾶσαν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ
Βαρβαρικὴν ἐξετάζων φιλοσοφίαν ἐρεῖς ὅτι ἐν οἷς διαφωνεῖ πρὸς τὴν Χριστοῦ 50
θεολογίαν μωρία ἐστίν.

γέγραπται γὰρ Ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αἰτῶν.

Ἐγὼ φημί οὐ μέγα πρᾶγμα εἶναι εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὡς θεὸς δράξεται τοὺς σοφοὺς
ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν, (ἀλλ') ἐν Παύλῳ τῷ λέγοντι ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ ζῶντες οὐ
κατὰ σάρκα στρατηγόμεθα· τὰ γὰρ ὄπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικά ἀλλὰ δυνάτα 55
ἐν θεῷ πρὸς καθαιρέσιν ὀχυρωμάτων· λογισμοὺς καθαιροῦντες καὶ πᾶν ἕψωμα 56
ἐπιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα δὲ τοῦτο σαφέστερον νοήσης,
ἴδε μοι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπιδημήσαντα ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ ζητοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς
παρατηγᾶντας ὥστε καὶ τινὰς τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ Στωικῶν φιλοσόφων συμβα-
λεῖν αὐτῷ, τότε γὰρ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιεδράσσετο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδείκνυεν 60
αὐτῶν τὰ σοφίσματα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοὺς σοφοὺς ὀνομάσθαι νομίζω τοὺς σοφιστάς,
ὅσοι σοφίσματα περιπελεγμένα λέγουσιν οὐκ ἀλήθειαν δὲ διδάσκουσιν.
καὶ πάλιν Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰς μάταιοι. Οὐ
θαυμαστόν ἐάν ὁ Κύριος καθ' ἑαυτοῦ γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν
ὅτι εἰς μάταιοι· ἀλλὰ θέλω ἐν ἐμοὶ γενόμενον τὸν Κύριον γινώσκειν τοὺς 65
διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰς μάταιοι. εἰ γὰρ γένηται ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός,
δύναταί μοι παραστήσαι πῶς οἱ διαλογισμοὶ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου σοφῶν εἰς μάταιοι
καὶ πῶς λάμπει ἡ σοφία μόνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ νικῶσα καὶ καταπατοῦσα πᾶσαν δοκού-
σαν σοφίαν.

54. 2 Cor. x 3-5

58 f. Act. xvii 17

66. Gal. ii 20

54. πανουργία αὐτῶν ἐν Παύλῳ MS

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE *HISTORIA MYSTAGOGICA* AND OTHER
GREEK COMMENTARIES ON THE BYZANTINE
LITURGY.

I

OF older commentaries on the Liturgy of the Byzantine rite four have been printed and are more or less well known.

(1) The *Μυσταγωγία περὶ τοῦ τίνων σύμβολα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῆς συνάξεως τελούμενα καθέστηκε* of S. Maximus († 666) being an exposition of the symbolism of the church and of the salient points, other than the *secreta*, of the Liturgy—the Little Entrance, the Lessons, Hymns and Gospel, the Expulsions, the Great Entrance, the Kiss, the Creed, the Sanctus, the Lord's Prayer, the Elevation and the Communion—from four several points of view; following one who is referred to as ὁ Γέρων, and influenced by 'Dionysius the Areopagite', with whose type of thought and language Maximus has close affinities and on whose works he commented.

(2) The *Προθεωρία κεφαλαιώδης περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θεῖα λειτουργίᾳ γινομένων συμβόλων καὶ μυστηρίων* of Theodore (or Nicolas¹) of Andida in Pamphylia, about whom nothing else is known.² This treatise was published by Mai, from three Vatican MSS, in *Patrum nova bibliotheca* vi (Rome 1853) and reprinted in Migne *P. G.* cxi 417 sqq. It is a commentary on the whole liturgy, mainly in relation to the Life and Passion and Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord. Theodore deliberately omits any preliminary ecclesiological exposition, because this has already been supplied by 'an interpretation written under the name of the great Basil' (c. 5).

(3) The *Λόγος περιέχων τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἅπασαν ἱστορίαν καὶ λεπτομερῆ ἀφήγησιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ θεῖα ἱεουργίᾳ τελουμένων*, attributed to S. Sophronius of Jerusalem († 637), of which only a fragment has been published, by Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum* iv, Rome 1840, pp. 31 sqq., reprinted in Migne *P. G.* lxxxvii cc. 3981 sqq. It consists of scholia on the church, its parts and furniture, the ornaments of the ministers,

¹ He is called Nicolas in the title of Cod. *Val.* 2146 and in the references in *Ambros. E* 18 sup. (ff. 113-163). On Andida see Lequien *Oriens christianus* i 1029 sq.

² He is as old as the twelfth century, since he is quoted in the Ambrosian MS mentioned in the last note.

and more extended comments on the successive points of the liturgy as far as to the Great Entrance, where the fragment ends abruptly.¹

(4) The *Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυστικὴ θεωρία*, attributed to S. Germanus I of Constantinople († 733), first printed by Demetrius Ducas in *Αἱ θεῖαι λειτουργίαι* (Rome 1526), the *editio princeps* of the Byzantine liturgies, and republished by Morel in *Λειτουργίαι τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων*, Paris 1560, by Fronto Ducaeus in *Auctarium* ii, Paris 1624, and by Gallandi in *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* xiii, Venice 1779; from which last it is reprinted in Migne *P. G.* xcviij cc. 384 sqq. It is a somewhat promiscuous and ill-arranged treatise, dealing in considerable detail with a large number of ecclesiological points and with the whole of the liturgy, sometimes in the form of scholia, sometimes in the form of extended comments.

Now it is evident on examination that, while Maximus and Theodore are original and coherent works, Sophronius and Germanus are compilations; and in particular that (1) both Sophronius and Germanus have made large use of Theodore, and this independently, since their quotations do not coincide nor is either series contained in the other; and (2) the residuum of Sophronius, when the quotations from Theodore have been subtracted, still contains matter common to it with Germanus.

What then is the origin of this second element, other than Theodore, which is common to Sophronius and Germanus?

II

In *Iuris ecclesiastici graec. historia et monumenta* ii (Paris 1868) pp. 287 sqq., Card. Pitra announced that he had discovered a Latin version, made for Charles the Bald in 869-870 by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, of a *Historia mystica* attributed to S. Germanus of Constantinople, much shorter than the printed Greek text, while agreeing generally with it, so far as it went. He printed a few chapters of the version; but he died without being able to fulfil his promise of publishing the rest, and, as it seemed, without leaving any record of the source from which he derived the text. While preparing *Liturgies eastern and western* I made enquiries at the Vatican and of Card. Pitra's literary executor, but was unable to trace the source. Curiously enough, two years ago the complete text was twice published, by two editors independently of one another. First, Fr S. Petrides, of the Augustinians of the Assumption, noticed that in *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi parata* ii (Frascati 1884) p. 208, Pitra, while publishing another extract, had in fact indicated his sources, viz. Cod.

¹ There seems to be another, in some respects more complete, text in Cod. Palatin. 367 (xiii c.).

711 (ix cent.) of the Municipal Library of Cambrai, and Cod. 185 (ix-x cent.) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Fr Petrides had no difficulty in identifying the MSS, and he published the contents of the Cambrai MS with the variants of the Paris MS in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* July and Oct. 1905. The contents of the Cambrai MS are a letter of Anastasius to Charles the Bald, tables of contents and Latin translations of *Mystagogia* 24 of S. Maximus and of the *Historia mystica* of S. Germanus, and a translation of an otherwise unknown letter of S. Nilus to Nemertius the Scholastic. The Paris MS omits the table and the letter of S. Nilus. Secondly, the late Fr Cozza-Luzzi, having searched in vain for Pitra's MS, at length, in the tenth vol. of the *Notae patrum bibliotheca*, issued by Fr A. Rocchi late in 1905, after the death of the editor, printed a copy of the *Historia mystica* which Pitra had allowed him to make from his own transcript.

The desire to recover, if possible, the Greek corresponding to Anastasius's Latin, led me to examine, so far as opportunity allowed, the MSS containing or supposed to contain the treatise of S. Germanus with the result that, while I have so far failed to find any single Greek text exactly corresponding in scope with the Latin, I have been able by means of several documents to reconstruct the whole of Anastasius's Greek text—in general, that is, and without regard to particular readings—and have found that the documents easily fall into groups and that the source of the second element of Sophronius is plain enough.

Pitra gives a considerable list of MSS of Germanus. It has been generally stated that the MSS assign the treatise to various authors—some to S. Cyril of Jerusalem, some to S. Basil, some to S. Germanus, some to a combination of several writers.¹ In what sense this is true will appear afterwards. Meanwhile, Pitra classifies the MSS under the names of the authors to which the treatise is attributed in the titles. But his list, on the one hand, requires correction and weeding, since it contains mistakes as to the authors mentioned in the titles and includes several documents which are irrelevant; and on the other hand, it can be supplemented. Thus Rome *Regin.* 48 (not 46 as in Pitra), Paris *Anc. fonds* 502, 854 are not attributed as by Pitra to Germanus, but the first is anonymous, the others 'of Basil'; *Ottobon.* 408 is not anonymous, but attributed to S. Basil; Florence *Laurent.* lvii 48 is attributed to S. Cyril, not to S. Basil. Fr Petrides has pointed out that the treatises in *Ottobon.* 459 (S. Sophronius) and in *Ottobon.* 418, Paris

¹ See Fabricius *Biblioth. graeca*, ed. Harless, xi p. 157. S. Chrysostom is also mentioned, apparently from the title of *Coistin.* 114 where John of Constantinople is included among a number of names. But I have little doubt that the John referred to is not John Chrysostom, but John the Faster.

Anc. fonds 2500, Venice *Marcian. gr.* 228 (S. John the Faster) are quite other than the present treatise; and to these may be added *Vat.* 1070 (the metrical commentary of M. Psellus), 2051 (the Liturgy of the Presanctified), 2146 (a xvii cent. copy of *Vat.* 640, S. Basil, occurring elsewhere in Pitra's list), *Vallicell.* F. 70 (D. Ducas's printed text), *Palat.* 367 (obviously from the title, Sophronius), *Vat.* 339, 375, 504, *Ottobon.* 378, Vienna *Hofbibl.* 196 (which appear to represent treatises different from the present); Paris *Coislin.* 114 (which is not unrelated to the present, but is scarcely a mere variety of it); and 'Eborac. S. Petri 50' (which I cannot identify). On the other hand Fr Petrides has added a few more MSS to the list, and further additions can easily be made.

I have had no opportunity of seeing the greater number of these documents, but by means of those of them I have seen, and of entries in catalogues and further information kindly supplied by several librarians and others,¹ it is possible to distinguish at least three stages in the development of the text, and with some probability to assign their places to most of the documents. In the following arrangement of the MSS, I have marked with an asterisk those I have seen; as to the rest, it must be remembered that the place assigned to any one of them is provisional, being inferred only from the title, the *incipit* and *explicit* of the text, and the number of leaves it occupies.

Four types of text are easily distinguishable, generally marked by a corresponding variety of title.

I. Title: Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἐπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυσταγωγικὴ.

*Bodl. *Baroc.* 27 (xiv c.) ff. 103-106.

Florence *Laurent.* lxvii 48 (xv c.) ff. 69^b-71.

Jerusalem *S. Saba* 635 (xv c.) ff. 247-250^b.

Printed in T. Milles *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli Hierosol. patr. opera*, Oxford 1703, pp. 325 sqq.

This text consists of short comments on the church, its parts and ornaments, praying towards the east and kneeling, the ornaments of the ministers, the prothesis and the matter of the Eucharist, the parts of the Liturgy down to the Great Entrance, the vessels, veils, fans, &c., and the monastic habit. The whole of this matter, with some verbal variation, is included in the text of the next group, and it is possible that it is an earlier tract which has formed the basis of II; but my impression is that it is only an abridgement of the latter.

This type may be referred to as K.

¹ I have especially to thank the Archbishop of the Jordan, Dr Mercati, and Mr Souter for information on the Jerusalem, Vatican, and Paris MSS respectively. I have since had the opportunity of seeing the Paris MSS for myself.

II. Title : Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισάρειας Καππαδοκίας ἱστορία μυσταγωγικὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ (ὅτι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας).

*Oxford *Magd. Coll.* 10 (xiv c.) ff. 135^b-139^b (fragment : capp. 1-3 printed along with S. Cyril in Milles *S. Cyrilli Opera*, pp. 325 sqq.)

*Paris *Anc. fonds* 502 (xii c.) ff. 174-186.

* " " " 1259 A (xiv c.) ff. 190^b-201^b.

* " " " 1555 A (xiv c.) ff. 167^b-178^b.

*Milan *Ambros.* M 88 sup. (xiii c.) ff. 274-281 (attributed in the title to S. Cyril).

Rome *Regin.* 48 (xv-xvi c.) ff. 48-52 (fragment, ending ἀδελφῶν φε[ρομα] c. 38).

Grottaferrata *Cod.* B δ 1 (xiii c.) ff. 18-36.

Naples *Gr.* lxvii [ii c 7] (xii c.) ff. 174-183.

Jerusalem *Patr.* 39 (xii-xiii c.) ff. 161-170^b.

Athos *Iver.* 16 xvii [4871].

" " 8 xviii [5026] ff. 74-89.

Sinai *Cod.* 384 (xi c.).

Abridgements :—

*Milan *Ambros.* P 261 sup. (xiv c.) ff. 113-114^b (capp. 1-20, 30, 53, 31, 32 abridged, with some additions).

*Jerusalem *S. Saba* 366 (xiii c.) ff. 24, 25 (beginning mutilated
29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41-47, 49, 54-57, 60, 62, 63, 21[-27?], abridged)

" " 86 (xiii-xiv c.) ff. 171^b-176.

Rome *Vat.* 430 (xiv c.) ff. 151-153^b.

" " 640 (xiv c.) ff. 27-28^b.

" " 662 (xiii c.) ff. 238-241.

" " 1151 (xiii c.) ff. 96-112.

" *Barberini gr.* 522 (xii c.) ff. 141-148.

Venice *Marcian. gr.* iii. 4, ff. 435^b-437^b (fragment, ending ἐμμελεῖν, c. 43).

Berlin *Graec.* qu. 13 (xiv c.) ff. 129-133.

This type is represented by the text printed below, from which it is seen that the contents are comments on the church, its parts and ornaments, on prayer towards the east and kneeling, on the ornaments of the ministers and the monastic habit, on the prothesis and the eucharist and on the successive parts of the Liturgy from the anarxis to the communion, including by the way an excursus on the number of the Gospels derived from S. Irenaeus. A comparison of the text with that of a tract attributed to S. John the Faster, printed in part in *Pitra Spicilegium solesmense* iv p. 442, makes it clear that the two are not independent but which is the source and which the derivative is not obvious.

There are considerable differences in the texts of the MSS both in respect of scope (e. g. Paris *Anc. fonds* 502 has the chapter-titles which are omitted *ib.* 1259 A, and omits chapters 21^b, 24^b, 25-27, 31^b, 35 and 37 which are found *ib.* 1259 A) and in respect of reading (see e. g. *Ambros.* M 88 sup. as compared with the Paris MSS above).

This group may be referred to as Bⁱ.

III. Title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἱστορία μυσταγωγικῆ ἐκκλησιαστικῆ, ἐπίλυσις καὶ κατάστασις τῆς ἁγίας λειτουργίας.

*Milan *Ambros.* G 8 sup. (1286) ff. 1^b-55^b.

*Brescia *Quirin.* A iv 3 (xv-xvi c.) ff. 204-208 (incomplete).

Rome *Vat.* 1277 (xiv c.) ff. 7-51.

„ *Ottobon.* 408 (xv-xvi c.) ff. 48-88.

„ *Barberini gr.* 353 (xiv c.) ff. 16-60.

The text is an expansion of Bⁱ, chapters 21^b, 24^b, 25-27, 31^b, 35 and 37 being omitted, and chapters 28 onwards being rearranged. The additions consist chiefly (1) in cc. 1-24, of a short tract on baptism inserted between cc. 1 and 2,¹ and of additional ecclesiological comments, in fact dovetailed into the text; and (2) in the exposition of the Liturgy, cc. 28-63, of comments supplementing the very general treatment of the rite in Bⁱ and treating in detail of all or most of those parts of the Liturgy which are recited aloud; and among these comments are especially to be noticed those on the ferial antiphons of the enarxis taken from S. Athanasius in *Pss.* xci, xcii, xciv; the expansion of the treatment of the four Gospels (c. 44), partly by further quotation from S. Irenaeus, partly by a new and curious application of his method; the addition of the fragment of S. Hippolytus on Prov. ix 1 (*Lagarde Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia* pp. 198 sq.) to the exposition of the chalice (c. 52); and the commentary on Ps. xxv (xxvi) 6-8 at the offertory, and Ps. xxii (xxiii) 5, 6 after the communion, the first in part, the latter almost wholly, derived from S. Athanasius in *Pss.* xxv and xxii respectively.

This form of the text is referred to as Bⁱⁱ.

IV. Title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερμανοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικῆ καὶ μυστικῆ θεωρία.

*Bodl. *Baroc.* 42 (1551) ff. 81^b-134.

*Milan *Ambros.* E 94 sup. (xiii c.) ff. 1-6 (fragment, extending from the beginning down to ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ Migne *P.G.* xcvi 397 l. 24).

Venice *Marcian. gr.* i 41 ff. 1-257.

Jerusalem *Patr.* 343 (xviii c.) ff. 69-112.

¹ This tract occurs at the end of Bⁱ in Paris *Anc. fonds* 502, 1555 A; and after the fragment of Bⁱ (?) in *Barberini* 522.

Abridgements:—

Rome *Vat.* 790 (xiv c.) ff 30^b–41 (anonymous: *ἐξήγησις τῆς λειτουργίας*).

Rome *Ottobon.* 338 (xv c.) ff. 299–312^b (?).

Naples *Gr.* lxiii [ii B 29] (1526) ff. 46–53^b (anonymous: *ἐξήγησις θείας λειτουργίας*).

Printed as above, p. 249; and also as edited by Philotheus Baller and Epiphanius of Janina, Venice 1639, 1690 and 1751.¹

This, the current *Mystica theoria* of S. Germanus, is an expansion Bⁱⁱ. The enlargement is due (1) to the insertion of large extracts, forming nearly a sixth of the whole treatise, from the commentaries of Theodore of Andida; and (2) to occasional additions and expansions from other sources, forming about another sixth of the whole, large part of completing the exposition of the text of the Liturgy, among which may be noticed especially the admirable development of the commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

This final development of the text may be referred to as Γ.

III

Thus (1) the origin and history of Γ is so far clear; it was reached by successive interpolations of Bⁱ, one marked stage in the development being represented by Bⁱⁱ. At the same time, the character of the documents of both Bⁱ and Bⁱⁱ, differing as they do more or less in detail, suggests that an examination of all the documents in detail would throw light on subordinate stages of development in both groups.

(2) The origin of the element which Sophronius has in common with S. Germanus, apart from the quotations from Theodore, also becomes clear. It is plain on inspection that it is derived from Bⁱ with some condensation and recasting of the text. Sophronius therefore is a compilation from Basil and Theodore and some other source or sources.

(3) The Latin of Anastasius represents the Bⁱ text, in its longer form i. e. in the form including cc. 21^b, 24^b, 25–27, 31^b, 35 and 37. If compared with any complete Greek text that I have examined, it is modified in two respects: (a) to supply comments on the kiss of peace, the closing of the doors, and the creed, which are otherwise unrepresented in Bⁱ and Bⁱⁱ, it inserts cc. 17, 15, 18 of the *Mystagogia* of S. Maximus; and (b) for the commentary on the Liturgy from the post-sanctus to the communion inclusive, it substitutes *Mystagogia* 20, 21 and S. Isidore of Pelusium *Épp.* i 228. Though, as I have said, I have found no complete Greek text with these characteristics in full, yet *Ambros.* M 83 supplies *Mystagogia* 17, 15 in the corresponding place; while the fragmentary abridgement contained in *S. Saba* 366 was evidently made from

¹ See *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* July 1905, p. 294.

such as Anastasius used, since it represents both these series of quotations and has nothing to represent that part of the text of B¹ for which the latter series is substituted. Another characteristic of the text of Anastasius is that it is attributed in the title to S. Germanus, which is not the case with any other B-text that I have met with. It may be that this particular variety of the B-text was, rightly or wrongly, attributed to Germanus; but this cannot be verified as yet, since *S. Saba* 366, the only other witness at hand, is mutilated and the title lost. It is to be noticed that Anastasius has some doubt as to the authorship; he only says 'ut Graeci ferunt' and 'ut fertur' of the authorship of Germanus. It is possible to suggest a reason why such a treatise should come to be attributed to Germanus. He was the 'first coryphaeus' of the opposition to the iconoclastic measures of Leo the Isaurian. In the iconoclastic struggle it was natural and customary for orthodox writers to point to the reverence offered to the Church, the Cross, the Gospels, and so on,¹ a reverence which the iconoclasts did not call in question. And it is likely that the struggle would give an impulse to the multiplication and elaboration of works like the present, which, by developing the symbolism of the whole liturgical apparatus, would serve to justify the reverence with which it is regarded. And in fact the words of Theodore the Studite in this reference recall the scholia of such commentaries: οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὸ θεῖον μύρον εἰς Χριστοῦ τύπον εἰληφθαι; τὴν εἰαν τράπεζαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ τάφου; τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ συνδόνα ἀνθ' ἧς καὶ ἐν εἰληθείς ἐτάφη; τὴν ἱερατικὴν λόγχην ἀνθ' ἧς καὶ ἐν ἣ τὴν θεόσωμον Δευρὰν ἐνύγη; τὸν σπόγγον ἀνθ' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ πῶν ἐχολώθη; τὸ σταυρικὸν μαγεῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ ξύλου.² It was not unnatural therefore that the name of a protagonist in the struggle should come to be associated with such a work as the *Ἱστορία μυσταγωγικὴ*. Lastly, the version of Anastasius shews that B¹ is at least as old as the ninth century and is therefore probably the oldest commentary which treats of the Byzantine Liturgy in so great a degree of detail. The text with which it deals must be approximately that of the oldest monuments of the rite, viz. the Liturgies, supplemented by the rubrics of the Ordinations, of Cod. Barberini iii 55 of about A. D. 795, and the S. Basil of Goar's Pyromalus MS and that of Morel's *vetustus codex latinae tralationis*.³ But among other details not contained in these authorities, it has two features of particular interest: (a) the Prothesis (c. 31), an obsolete form which has disappeared from some texts of B¹ itself, is more highly developed than

¹ S. John of Damascus *pro Imaginibus* iii 35; and the *adv. Constant. Caball.* 9, among the works of John.

² S. Theodore the Studite *adv. Iconom.* i (Migne P. G. xcix 489 B).

³ See *Liturgies eastern and western* pp. lxxxiv, lxxxviii sq.; 309 sqq.; *Assemani Codex liturgicus* xii.

any of those I was able to collect in *Liturgies eastern and western* Appendix Q of date earlier than the twelfth century; and (δ) the salutation before the *Sursum corda* (c. 58), Ἡ χάρις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, in place of the adaptation of 2 Cor. xiii 14, is, so far as I know, unique.

(4) Among the MSS which I have had occasion to notice in this connexion, there are several which contain other commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy, some of them evidently related to the present series.

(a) *Vat.* 1070 (1291) ff. 3-8; *Barberini gr.* 353 (xiv c.): Ἐρμηνεία τῆς θείας λειτουργίας: in verse, anonymous in the former MS, attributed to Michael Psellus in the latter. *Incipit* Ἀναγκαῖον καθέστηκεν: *explicit* τῆς προσευχῆς σφραγίσαις.

(b) *Vat.* 339 (xi c.) ff. 335^b sqq.: Περὶ τοῦ τίνων καθέστηκεν σύμβολον ἡ ἁγία ἐκκλησία καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ συνάξει τελούμενα ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τῶν ἁγίων Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἄρεσπαγίτου. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία ὁ τε θεῖος οἶκος (mutilated at the end). Cp. the title of S. Maximus *Mystagogia*, above p. 248.

(c) *Vat.* 504 (A. D. 1105) ff. 3^b sqq.: Ἐρμηνεία τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Incipit* Χρῆ γινώσκεν ὅτι ὁ ἱερεὺς: *explicit* καὶ λέγει ὁ λαὸς εἰς ἄγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.

(d) **Milan Ambrós.* E 18 sup. (xii c.) ff. 113-163: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπ. Καισαρείας τῆς Καπ. ἱστορίας μυσταγωγικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπίλυσις καὶ κατάστασις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία πολλὰ σημαίνει: *explicit* ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. A compilation from B¹, Dionysius Areop., Cyril, Jo. Damasc., Nicolas (i. e. Theodore of Andida), M. Psellus.

(e) **Paris Anc. fonds* 854 (xiii c.) ff. 26^b-34^b: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγ. πατρὸς ἡμ. Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπ. Καισαρείας Κυπ. ἱστορία μυσταγωγικῆ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ. A compilation from B and Theodore. (I have not examined this except very cursorily.)

(f) **Paris Coislin.* 114 (xv c.) ff. 330-340: Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικῆ καὶ ἐξηγήσις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας . . . πρὸς θεωρίαν συντεθείσα παρὰ τε Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθίου, παρὰ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ παρὰ Ἀναστασίου καὶ Κυρίλλου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (i. e. no doubt the Liturgy of S. James, B, Anastasius of Sinai, Cyril Al., and John the Faster). *Incipit* Τὸ σήμαντρον αἰνίττεται. (I have not examined this in detail.)

(g) Jerusalem S. *Saba* 414 (xii c.) ff. 57-67^b: Ἱστορία τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας συγγραφείσα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου καὶ ἐτέρων ἁγίων πατέρων. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ: *explicit* καθάπερ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ (B¹ cap. 51). Apparently a compilation from B¹ and other sources.

In the apparatus to the text following, P¹ and P² = *Paris Anc. fonds*

502 and 1259 A respectively; M¹ and M² = Milan *Ambros.* M 88 sup. and P 261 sup. respectively; Γ and K the printed texts of 'S. Germanus' and 'S. Cyril' respectively.

The text itself, apart from what is enclosed in pointed brackets, is that of P¹. Pointed brackets indicate additional matter represented in the Latin and found in the Greek source noted in the margin; square brackets indicate matter wanting in the Latin and in the Greek source, if any, which is noted in the margin. Variants from P¹ implied in the Latin are given in the margin along with any Greek authority which supports them; and when the relation of the Latin to the Greek is ambiguous, the Latin is noted; as are also the Latin renderings of certain technical words or phrases. P¹ is very carelessly written, especially in certain passages: I have corrected obvious mistakes, without burdening the apparatus by noticing them. The Latin titles, which Anastasius places, not in the text, but in a table prefixed, are given in the margin in cases where they do not exactly reproduce the Greek. The numbering of the chapters is that of the Latin.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου
Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας Ἱστορία μυσταγωγικῆ
ἐκκλησιαστικῆ.

1. Τί ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐκκλησία.

5 Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ, τέμενος ἅγιον, οἶκος προσεγγίς, συνάθροισμα
λαοῦ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, [νύμφη Χριστοῦ,] τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ βαπτίσματος
αὐτοῦ καθαρικθεῖσα καὶ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ βεραντισμένη (καὶ νυμφικῶς ἐστολι-
σμένη καὶ τῷ χρίσματι τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐσφραγισμένη) κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν
10 λόγον Μύρον ἐκκενωθέν ὄνομα σοῦ καὶ εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρου σοῦ δραμοῦμαι, ὅτι
ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ πώγωνα, [τὸν πώγωνα] τὸν Ἀδρῶν.
Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανὸς ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἐπουράνιος Θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ καὶ ἐμπερι-
πατεῖ, ἀντιτυπούσα τὴν σταύρωσιν καὶ τὴν ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ,
δεδοξασμένη ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτύριου Μωϋσέως, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἰλαστήριον καὶ
τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων, ἐν πατριάρχαις προτυπωθεῖσα καὶ ἐν προφήταις προκηρυ-

5. 1 Cor. iii 16; Is. lvi 7 6. 1 Cor. xii 27; Apoc. xxi 9 7. Eph. v 26;
cp. 1 Pet. i 1 8. 1 Io. ii 20; Eph. i 13; 2 Cor. i 21, 22 9. Cant. i 3, 4
10. Ps. cxxxii 2 11. Lev. xxvi 11; 2 Cor. vi 16 13. Ex. xxvii 21 14.
3 Reg. viii 6

1-3. Capitula historiae mysticae, ut fertur, Germani episcopi constantinopolitani
3. ἐκκλησιαστικῆ] τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας P² 5. ναὸς . . . τέμενος] sacrarium . . .
templum 6. τῷ ὕδατι] P²: aqua : τοῦ διὰ P¹ 7. καὶ νυμφικῶς ἐστολι-
σμένη] P²: et nuptiali more stola circumamicta 8. καὶ τῷ . . . ἐσφραγισμένη] Γ:
et sancti spiritus unctione signata 9. ὄνομα σοῦ] ὄνομα σοι P² (Cant. i 3 A);
nomen tibi μύρον . . . δραμοῦμαι] μύρον . . . δραμοῦμεν P² (Cant. i 4); unguen-
torum . . . curremus 11. ἐπὶ ᾧ] καὶ ὡς P²: et sicut 11. ἐν ᾧ] ἐν ᾗ P²; in qua

χθείσα, ἐν ἀποστόλοις θεμελιωθεῖσα, (ἐν μάρτυσι τελειωθεῖσα) καὶ ἐν ἱεράρχαις κατακοσμηθεῖσα.

2. Ἡ Κύγχη [τῆς ἐκκλησίας].

Ἡ κύγχη ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ σπήλαιον ὅπου ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστός, καὶ κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὅπου ἐτάφη, καθὼς φησιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὅτι ἦν σπήλαιον λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

3. Ἡ ἅγια Τράπεζα.

Ἡ ἅγια τράπεζά ἐστιν ἐνθα ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ ταφῇ αὐτοῦ ὁ Χριστός, ἐν ἣ πρόκειται ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ οὐράνιος ἄρτος (ὁ Χριστός), ἡ μυστικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος θυσία, ζωοθυτούμενος (ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ) τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βρώσιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου προέθηκε τοῖς πιστοῖς. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ θρόνος Θεοῦ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρογυμῶν ἐποχούμενος Θεὸς [σωματωθεῖς] ἐπαυεπαύσατο. καθ' ἣν τράπεζαν καὶ ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ (αὐτοῦ) δαίπνῳ μέσον τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων καθίσας καὶ λαβῶν ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Λάβετε φάγετε καὶ πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ αἷμά μου. προετυπώθη δὲ ἐν τῇ νομικῇ τραπέζῃ ἐνθα ἦν τὸ μάνα ὃ ἐστὶ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.

4. Τί ἐστὶ Κιβούριον.

Τὸ κιβούριον ἐστὶν ἀγτὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐνθα ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστός· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὑπόβαθρος ὅπου ἐτάφη· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐν σιντομίᾳ φέρεσθαι τὴν σταύρωσιν καὶ τὴν ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τέτακται. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίῳ ἐν ἣ λέγεται ἅγια ἁγίων καὶ ἁγίασμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν ἣ προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι δι' οὗ χειρογυμῶν ἐκατέρωθεν τορνεγτά· τὸ γὰρ κίβ ἐστὶ κιβωτός, τὸ δὲ οἶρον φωτισμὸς [Θεοῦ] ἢ φῶς Κυρίου.

5. Περὶ τοῦ Θυσιαστήριον.

Θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον μῆμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ᾧ θυσίαν ἐλατὸν ὁ Χριστὸς προσήγαγε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀμνὸς θυόμενος καὶ ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος, εἰς μυστικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν καὶ λογικὴν λατρείαν τοῖς πιστοῖς ἱεροθυόμενος· δι' ἧς μέτοχοι γεγόναμεν αἰωνίου ζωῆς καὶ ἀθανά-

1. Cp. Eph. ii 20; Apos. cxi 14 5. S. Mc. xv 46; S. Io. xix 42 9. S. Io. vi 32
12. Ps. lxxix 1 14. S. Mt. xxvi 26-28 16. S. Io. vi 50
18. S. Io. xix 41 sq. 21. Num. x 33 23. Ex. xxv 17 26. Eph. v 2
27. Heb. x 10 28. Lit. Byz. (Lit. E. & W. 318) 29. Rom. xii 1

1. ἐν μάρτυσι τελειωθεῖσα] P²: in martyribus consummata 3. quid concha
5. φησὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὅτι] euangelistae innuunt asserentes
7. quid sancta mensa 8. ἐτάφη] ἐτέθη M¹G: positus est 9. ὁ Χριστός] P²: Christus ἡ μυστ. . . . θυσία] τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ ἀναίμακτῳ θυσίᾳ P²: mystico et incruento sacrificio 10. ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ] P²: ut homo qui et 13. αὐτοῦ] P²: sua
16. Χριστός] Christus panis (S. Io. vi 50) 18. τοῦ τόπου] κρανίου ὄρου P²: Caluariae monte 19. ὑπόβαθρος] proclivis sive sub diuo (ὀπαίθριος) 20. φέρεσθαι] ἐμφέρεσθαι P²: designatur 25. quid altare
25. τοῦ Χριστοῦ] Christi domini 30. ἀθανάτου] immortales

τοῦ. ὄνπερ καὶ ἀμὸν προετύπωσεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Μωϋσῆς πρὸς ἐσπέραν
καὶ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀλοθρευτὴν ἀγγελὸν ἀπέστραψε τοῦ θανατώσαι τὸν
λαόν· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέραν σημαίνει ὅτι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐσφαγιάσθη ὁ
ἀληθινὸς ἀμνὸς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου αἵρων ἀμαρτίας ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ ὁ Χριστός·
5 καὶ (γάρ) τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἕπερ ἡμῶν ἐτίθη Χριστός.

[Διατί λέγεται Θυσιαστήριον].

Θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τὸ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερὸν θυσιαστή-
ριον, ἐν ᾧ ἀντιτυποῦσι τὰς νοεράς καὶ λογικὰς ἱεραρχίας τῶν ἀύλων καὶ ἄνω
δυνάμεων καὶ οἱ ἐπίγειοι καὶ ἐνυλοὶ ἱερεῖς, παρεστῶτες καὶ λατρεύοντες τῷ
10 Κυρίῳ διαπαντός· ὥστε καὶ τοιοῦτους δεῖ εἶναι ὡς πῖρ φλέγον· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν
τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιγείων διάταξιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ
κριτὴς τῶν ἀπάντων ἐνομοθέτησεν.

6. Διατί λέγεται Βῆμα.

Βῆμά ἐστιν ὑπόβαθρος τόπος καὶ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ παμβασιλεὺς Χριστὸς
15 προκάθηται μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων, ὡς λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι
Καθίσετε ἐπὶ θρόνον κρίνοντες [τὸν Ἰσραήλ]· ὑποδεικνύων δὲ καὶ τὴν δευτέραν
παρουσίαν καθ' ἣν ἔλθῃ καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνον ἐνδόξου εἰς τὸ κρίναι τὸν κόσμον,
ὡς λέγει ὁ προφήτης ὅτι (ἐκεῖ) ἐκάθισαν θρόνοι εἰς κρίσιν ἐπὶ οἶκον Δαβὶδ.

7. Διατί λέγεται Κοσμίτης.

20 Κοσμίτης ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ κοσμηκὸν καὶ ἅγιον κόσμον, ἐμφαίνων τοῦ σταυρω-
θέντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ [ἡμῶν] τὸ ἐκσφράγισμα διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ κοσμοῦ-
μενον.

8. Διατί λέγονται Κάγκελλα.

Κάγκελλά εἰσι τὸν τῆς προσευχῆς τόπον δηλοῦντα ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει τὴν μὲν
25 ἔξωθεν τοῦ λαοῦ εἴσοδον, τὴν δὲ ἔσωθεν τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ
μόνοις τοῖς ἱερέσιν οὐσαν εὐεπίβατον. ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον
Μνήμα κάγκελλα χαλκᾶ διὰ τὸ μηδένα εἰσιέναι ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς
ἔτυχεν.

9. Τίνος εἰκόνα ἔχει ὁ Ἄμβων.

30 Ὁ Ἄμβων ἐστὶν ἐμφαίνων τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἁγίου μνήματος ὃν ὁ

1. Ex. xii 6 4. S. Io. i 29 5. I Cor. v 7 10. Ps. ciii 4
12. Heb. xii 23 16. S. Mt. xix 28 18. Ps. cxxi 5 25. 3 Reg.
viii 6

5. γάρ] P¹: etenim 7. νοερὸν] inuisibile 8. ἀντιτυποῦσι... ἱεραρχίας]
exprimuntur spiritales et administratoriae [= λειτουργικαί] hierarchiae λογικὰς]
λειτουργικὰς P² 10. κατὰ γάρ] etenim 12. κριτῆς] ποιητής P²: factor
13. quid tribunal 14. ὑπόβαθρος] concauus 16. θρόνον] δώδεκα θρόνον
P² (S. Mt. xix 28): sedes ὑποδεικνύων] ὑποδεικνύει P²: subostendit 17. ἔλθῃ
καθίσει.] ἐλεύσεται καθίσει K: ueniet sessurus ἐνδόξου] maiestatis 18. ἐκεῖ]
P²M: illic 19. quid cosmitis siue ornamentum 20. κοσμηκὸν] νομικόν
P²: legale κόσμον] cosmium, id est ornamentum 21. κοσμοῦμενον]
κοσμοῦμενος M²: ornatus (sc. cosmitis) 23. quid cancelli 25. ὑπάρχουσαν
... εὐεπίβατον] existentia ... accessibilia 27. ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν] passim
et pro libitu proprio 29. quid indicet ambo

ἀγγελος ἀποκρίσας ἐκ τῆς θύρας ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνήματος ἀναβοῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ταῖς μυροφόροις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα 'Ἐπ' ὄρος πεδινόφ' ἄρατε σήμερον, ἀνάβηθι ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος καὶ ἕψωσον φωνήν' ὄρος γάρ ἐστιν (ὁ ἄμβων) εἰς τόπον πεδινὸν καὶ ὄμαλόν κείμενος.

10. Διατί εὐχόμεθα κατὰ ἀνατολάς.

(Τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολάς) εὐχεσθαι παραδεδομένον ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ ἐστιν οὕτως διὰ τὸ τὸν νοσητὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φανῆναι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα 'Ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν Προσκυνήσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότι τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολάς καὶ Προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν Στήσονται οἱ πόδες τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν κατὰ ἀνατολάς ταῦτά φασιν οἱ προφῆται διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀποκαρδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ πάλιν τὸν ἐν Ἑδέμ παράδεισον τὸν κατὰ ἀνατολάς ἀπολαμβάνειν καὶ ἐκδεχομένους τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς φωτοφανείας τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ (πάλιν) παρουσίας.

11. Διατί οὐ κλίνομεν γόνυ τῇ κυριακῇ.

(Καὶ) τὸ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἀναστασίμῳ σημαίνει τὴν τῆς καταπτώσεως ἡμῶν γενομένην ἀνόρθωσιν διὰ τῆς τριημέρου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως.

12. Τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ ἐστὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα ἑπταπλουμένας κρατεῖν τὸ ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ τεσσαρακοῦ ταιενία καὶ ἡ κυριακῇ πεντηκοστή.

13. Τίνος χάριν περὶ τρίχα κειρόμεθα.

Ὁ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερέως περικείμενος διπλοῦς (στέφανος ἐκ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν σημειώσεως) εἰκονίζει τὴν τοῦ κορυφαίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου κάραι τιμίαν ἦν περ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλικῷ κηρύγματι ἀποσταλείς καὶ ἀποκαρθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐμπαίζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ταύτην

1. S. Mt. xxviii 2

3. Is. xliii 2, xl 9

8. Mal. iv 2

10. Zach. vi 1

11. Ps. lxvii 33

12. Ps. cxxxii 7

13. Zach. xiv 2

15. Gen. ii 8

19. Apoc. i 10

29. 1 Pet. ii 8

2. ἀναβοῶν] exclamans et denuntians
κατὰ ἀνατολάς] P³: ad orientem autem

4. ὁ ἄμβων] M¹: ambo

7. τὸ

12. προσκυνήσωμεν] adorabimus

14. διὰ τὸ . . . πάλιν] καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀποκαρδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς πάλιν P³: et pro eo quod speremus nos iterum

16. τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς φωτοφανείας] τὴν φωτοφάνειαν P³: lucis apparitionem

17. πάλιν] P²: rursus

19. καὶ] P²: praeterea τῇ κυριακῇ . . .

ἀναστασίμῳ] τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἡμέρας τῆς κυριακῆς τῶν ἡμερῶν P²: die resurrectionis quae est dierum omnium domina

22. τί. quare non flectamus genu diebus pentecostes

23. ἐπτάκις] M¹ Γ: ἑπτάκις P¹: ἑπτάκις P²

24. ἡ κυριακῇ πεντηκοστή] dominico addito quinquagesimus consummatur

25. quare sacerdotes tondeantur in speciem crucis

26. στέφανος . . . σημειώσεως] P²: corona . . . per capillorum significationem

28. διδασκαλικῷ] καὶ διδασκάλου P²: et magistri

καὶ ἀποκαρθεῖς] ἐκάρη K: tonsus est

διδάσκαλος Χριστὸς εὐλόγησε, καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ἀτιμίαν τιμῆν καὶ τὴν χλεύην εἰς δόξαν, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον οὐκ ἐκ λίθων τιμίων ἀλλὰ τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τῇ πέτρῃ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμπουσιν ἕπερ χρυσίου καὶ τοπάζιον καὶ λίθους τιμίους· κορυφή γὰρ καὶ καλλώπισμα (καὶ) στέφανος 5 τοῦ δωδεκαλίθου, οἵτινες εἰσὶν ἀπόστολοι, Πέτρος ὁ παναγιώτατος ὑπάρχει ἱεράρχης [Χριστοῦ].

14. [Περὶ τῆς Στολῆς τοῦ ἱερέως.]

Ἡ στολή τοῦ ἱερέως ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ποδῆρῃ Ἰαυρών, τουτέστιν ἱμάτιον ᾧ ἔστιν ἱερατικὸν τὸ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἔνδυμα τὸ τιμιώτερον.

10 Διατί ἐστὶν πυροειδῆς ἡ στολή τοῦ ἱερέως.

Ἵτι δὲ ἐστὶ πυροειδῆς κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα Ὁ ποῖων τοῖς ἀπέλοις αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς αὐτοῦ ἤρ φλέγον καὶ πάλιν 15 Τις οἷτος ὁ παραγενομένος ἐξ Ἐδώμ; Ἐδώμ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται γῆνις ἐκλεκτὸς κόκκινος· εἶτα ἐπάγει Ἐρήθημα ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἐκ Βοσώρ· διατί σοῦ ἐργθρά τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ; ἐμφαίνοντος τὴν βαφεῖ- 25 σαν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ στολῆν ἐν αἵμασιν ἐν τῷ ἀχράντῳ σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ. πάλιν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ κοκκίνην χλαμύδα ἣν ἐφόρεσεν ἐν τῷ πάθει ὁ Χριστός· ἐμφαίνοντος τοὺς ἱερεῖς ποίον ἀρχιερέως εἰσὶν ὑπασπισταί.

15. Τὸ δὲ ἀπεξωσμένους τοὺς ἱερεῖς περιπατεῖν δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς 20 ἀπερχόμενος ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ οὕτως ἦν βαστάζων τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ.

16. Πόσοι Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἄνω τάξεως.

Ἐν ταῖς ἄνω λαμπρότησι τῶν νοερῶν οὐρανίων λειτουργῶν καὶ ἱεραρχῶν 25 ὡς πρεσβύτεροι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες καὶ διάκονοι ἑπτὰ. Οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν σεραφικῶν δυνάμεων εἰσὶ, ταῖς μὲν στολαῖς δικτὴν 25 περιγύων κατακεκαλυμμένοι, ταῖς δὲ δεξιῖς ἤγουν πτέρυξι τῶν χειλέων τὸν ὕμνον βῶοντες, καὶ κατέχοντες τὸν θεῖον καὶ νοητὸν ἀνθρακα Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ θειακτηρίῳ τῆ λαβίδι τῆς χειρὸς [φανερῶς] φέροντες.

[Οἱ Διάκονοι τίνος τύπον ἔχουσι.]

Οἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τύπον τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων ταῖς λεπταῖς τῶν λινῶν

- | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 2. Ps. xx 3 | 3. Ps. cxviii 127 | 8. Ex. xxviii 27 | 11. Ps. ciii 4 |
| 13. Is. lxiii 1 sq. | 17. S. Mt. xxvii 28 | 20. S. Io. xix 17 | 22. Ps. cix 3 |
| 23. Aroc. iv 8, viii 2 | 25. Is. vi 2, 6 | | |

3. ὑπὲρ] ὡσπερ P²: sicut 4. καὶ] P²: atque 5. ἀπόστολοι] οἱ ἀπόστολοι P²
 6. ἱεράρχης] et sacratissimus princeps (om. sacratissimus cod. Paris.) 8. του-
 τέστιν . . . τιμιώτερον] τὸ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἱερατικὸν ἔνδυμα τιμιώτερον P²: usque ad
 pedes sacerdotale indumentum quod est honorabilius 10. πυροειδῆς] coccinea
 11. Ἵτι δὲ ἐστὶ] ἐστὶ δὲ πυροειδῆς M¹Γ: habet autem speciem ignis 13. γάρ]
 δὲ P²: uero 17. ἐστὶ καὶ . . . ἐφόρεσεν] Ἵτι καὶ κοκκίνην χλαμύδα ἐφόρεσεν P²:
 quia et coccineam chlamyda portauit 18. ἐμφαίνοντος] indicat. ὑπασπισταί]
 προσπισσταί M: propugnatores 19. τί. quare discincti sint sacerdotes
 21. de uiginti quattuor presbyteris et septem diaconibus 22. ἱεραρχῶν]
 ἱεραρχῶν Γ: sacerdotum 26. Χριστόν] Christum hunc 27. τῇ λαβίδι]
 forcipes (leg. forcipe) χειρὸς] χάριτος M¹: gratiae φανερῶς] om. P²

ἁραβίων πτέρυξιν ὡς λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα περιτρέχουσι.

17. Τὰ Λωρία τοῦ στιχαρίου εἰσὶ, τὰ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν δεσμόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· δέσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν Πιλάτον.

18. Τὰ Λωρία τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια τί δηλοῦσιν.

Τὰ λωρία τοῦ στιχαρίου εἰσὶ, τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια, κατὰ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ρείσω ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ).

19. Τὸ Ἐπιτραχήλιον τίνας ἔχει τύπον.

Τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον ἐστὶ τὸ φακιδίον μεθ' οὗ ἐπεφέρετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως¹⁰ δεδεμένος ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ συρόμενος ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ ἀπερχόμενος.

20. Τὸ Ὠμοφόριον τίνας ἔχει τύπον.

Τὸ Ὠμοφόριον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν στολήν τοῦ Ἀαρῶν· ὃ (καὶ) ἐφόρουσιν καὶ οἱ ἐν νόμῳ ἀρχιερεῖς σουδαρίους μακροῖς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ὄμφῳ περιτιθέεντες. (τὸ¹⁵ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ὠμοφόριον ἐξ ἑρίου ὄν καὶ οὐ λινοῦ τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορᾶν σημαίνει ὅπερ πλανηθὲν ὁ Κύριος εὐρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν [ἴδιον] ὄμῳ ἀνελαβεν.)

21. Περὶ Μοναχῶν.

Τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ ἐρημοπολίτου καὶ βασιλεῖος τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὅτι ἦν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τριχῶν καμήλοῦ καὶ ζώων δεξιῆς τῆς περι τὴν ὀσφίν αὐτοῦ. (ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πενθικὸν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ καταφθές καὶ ἐπίπονον καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἦθος τῶν τὸν μονήρῃ βίῳ ἐπαρηρημένων· πάντες γὰρ οἱ πενθοῦντες μέλανα περιβέβληται καταδοκούντες ἀπολήψεσθαι τὴν λευκὴν καὶ θείαν στολήν τῆς δόξης τε καὶ παρακλήσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.)

22. Τίνας χάριν κείρονται τὴν κόμην.

1. Heb. i 14 4. S. Io. xviii 13, 24; S. Mt. xxvii 2 14. Ex. xxviii 4
15-17. S. Isid. Pel. *Err.* i 136 20. S. Mt. iii 4 24. Ecclus. xlv 7;
Phil. ii 1

2. περιτρέχουσι] + ἡ λεπτή ὑβήνη τοῦ διακόνου ἔστιν ἁράριον τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπομνήσκου ταπεινώσει ἐκμάξαντος λευτῶν τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν P²; nota subtile linteamen diaconi quod est orarium, quia Christi commonet humilitatem quod extersit linteo pedes discipulorum, *cod. Camer.* in marg. (cp. *Isid. Err.* i 136)

3. *tit.* quid significant lora tunicae τὰ ἐν . . . δεσμόν] quae circa manus apparent, uincula

4. δέσαντες γὰρ αὐτόν] ἢ δέσαντες αὐτόν M¹; quibus uinctum eum

6. de loris quae in lateribus tunicae sunt 7. τὰ λωρία . . . πλάγια] τὰ λωρία τὰ ἐκ πλαγίας τοῦ στιχαρίου P²; lora in lateribus tunicae 8. ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ] P²; in cruce

9. de supercollari 10. μεθ' οὗ . . . ἐπίπροσθεν] quod (*leg.* quo) ducebatur Christus ad pontificem collo uinctus et tractus ante se 13. de superhumerali

14. καί] P²; et ἐν νόμῳ] ueteris legis 15. περιτιθέεντες] ἐπιτιθέεντες P²; imponentes

17. τὸ τοῦ . . . ἀνελαβεν] P²; uel iterum superhumeralē episcopii . . . eleuauit 18. de monachico schemate 21-25. ἔπειτα καὶ . . . τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν] P²; deinde et . . . domino nostro 24. τῆς δόξης] caelestis claritatis

26. quare tondeatur coma capitis

Τὸ δὲ κείρεσθαι τὴν κάραν ὀλοτελῶς κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

23. Τὰ (δι) Ἀναβόλαιά εἰσι κατὰ τὰ ἀναβόλαια ἅπερ ἐφόρου ἱμάτια 5 (οἱ θεοὶ ἀπόστολοι).

24. Τὰ Κουκούλλια κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα ἀπόστολον ὅτι ἐσταύρωταί μοι ὁ κόσμος κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ (δι' ὃ καὶ πορφυροῖς καὶ λευκοῖς λωρίοις καὶ σταυροῖς κεκόσμηται διὰ τὸ ῥῦν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Κυρίου αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ὁμοῦ) ἐμφαίνοντα διὰ τῆς τοῦ μαντίου ἀπολελυμένης ἀπλώσεως τὴν πτερωτικὴν τῆς 10 τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμήσεως· καθ' ὅτι ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα λέγεται.

25. Ὁ . . . Ἀνάλαβος . . . δηλοῖ . . . τὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τῇ πίστει κεκοσμημένον ἐνισχύεσθαι περιφέροντα τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεται πάντα τὰ βέλη τὰ πεπρωμένα τοῦ πονηροῦ σβέσαι, καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθαι καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ.

26. Τὸ δὲ ζώνυσθαι τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ σώματος δηλοῖ τοῦ τὴν σωφροσύνην περιφέροντος, περιεζῶσθαι τὴν ὀσφίν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἀληθείας.

27. Τὸ δὲ τοῖς Σανδαλίοις ἐπιβαίνειν αὐτὸν τῇ ὀδῷ τῆς σωτηρίας δηλοῖ τὸ ὅπως γένηται φοβερός τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις καὶ ἀνάλωτος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἵποδεμένος τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εἰσαγγελοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης.)

28. Ὁ Ἄρτος τί δηλοῖ.

Ὁ ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως λέγεται ἦγον ἀποκαθαίρομενος, [καὶ] ἐμφαίνει τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον τῆς χρηστότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γέγονε καὶ ἐλατῖν [ἐκέκωσε, καὶ] προέθηκε προσφοράν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπτίλγτρον καὶ ἐξίλασμα ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς· ἀναλαβῶν μὲν τὸ 25 φῦραμα ὅλον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, προσενεχεθεὶς ὡς ἀπαρχή

6. Gal. v 14 11. S. Mt. xvi 24 12. Eph. vi 16 sq. 16. Eph. vi 14
17. Act. xvi 6 18. Eph. vi 15 22. Eph. ii 7; Rom. ii 4 23. Phil. ii 7
24. 1 Tim. ii 6; S. Io. vi 51 25. Heb. iv 15

1. τὸ δὲ κείρεσθαι] tondent autem 2. καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου] καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου P²: sanctique Pauli aequae apostoli 4. τί. de amictibus 34] P²: porro κατὰ τὰ ἀναβόλαια . . . ἱμάτια] secundum amictus et uestimenta quae portabant 5. οἱ θεοὶ ἀπόστολοι] P²: sacratissimi apostoli 6. τί. de cuculla 7. δι' ὃ καὶ . . . ὁμοῦ] P²: propter quod et . . . simul et aqua 9. τὴν πτερωτικὴν . . . μιμήσεως] τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμῆται πτέρωσιν P²: pennatam angelorum imitationem 10. καθ' ὅτι] ὡς καὶ P²: unde et 11. τί. de analabo 11-19. ὁ . . . ἀνάλαβος . . . τῆς εἰρήνης] P²: sane analabus . . . pacis 11. τὸν ἀναλαβόντα . . . περιφέροντα] eum qui suscipit . . . adornatus conualescit circumferens 15. τί. de zona τὸ δὲ . . . περιζῶσθαι] praeterea zona cingitur qui mortificationem corporis et pudicitiam circumfert circumcinctus 17. τί. de sandaliis τὸ δὲ . . . φοβερός] ceterum sandalia ascendere illum uiam salutis ostendunt quo terribilis . . . fiat 18. ἀνάλωτος] fortis 20. de pane propositionis 21. λέγεται ἦγον] ἦτον P²: id est ἀποκαθαίρομενος] qui comminuitur καὶ] om. P² 22. τῆς χρηστότητος] om. P²: τῆς χάριτος K: gratiae 23. ἐκέκωσε . . . προσφοράν] προέθηκεν καὶ προσήγαγεν θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν P²: proposuit et obtulit sacrificium et oblationem, id est

καὶ ἑξαιρέτων ἀλοκάρτεμα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ ἵπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους, ὡς λέγει Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς καὶ Ὁ τρώγων [μοι] τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. περὶ οὗ φησὶν ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας Δεῖτε (καὶ) ἐμβάλωμεν ἕγλων εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ, δεικνύς τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῷ σίματι ἑμπαγόν.

29. Τίνος χάριν τῇ λόγχῃ ἀποκαθαίρεται ὁ ἄρτος.

Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ λόγχῃ ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι σημαίνει τὸ ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθῃ καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αἰτὸν ἄφωτος.

31^a. Περὶ τοῦ Οἴνου καὶ τοῦ Ὑδατος.

Ὁ δὲ οἶνος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξελεῖθαι ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ αἷμα καὶ ἕδωρ, το καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει Ἄρτος ἀγίῳ δοθήσεται καὶ (τὸ ὕδωρ) ἀγίῳ πιετόν· ἀπὶ γὰρ τῆς λόγχης τῆς κειτησάσης τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἐστὶ καὶ αὕτη ἡ λόγχη.

30. Ὁ ἄρτος δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἐστὶ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἐκείνου δείπνου ἐν ᾧ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ εἶπε 15 Ἄβετε φάγετε καὶ πίετε πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ αἷμά μου. (δεικνύτος) ὅτι κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐποίησε τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆ ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

31^b. (Διὸ καὶ δεχόμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν καισκήῳ παρὰ διακόνου ἢ ἐποδιακό^{νον} τὴν προσφορὰν, λαβὼν τε τὴν λόγχην καὶ ἀποκαθάρας αὐτήν, εἶτα σταυροειδ^{ως} χαράξας αὐτήν λέγει ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθῃ καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τ^{οῦ} κείραντος αἰτὸν ἄφωτος. τοῦτο εἰπὼν λοιπὸν θεὶς τὴν αὐτὴν προσφορὰν ἐν τ^ῷ ἀγίῳ δίσκῳ δακτυλοδείκτως ἐπάνω αὐτῆς φησὶν οὕτως Οὔτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἢ κρίσει αὐτοῦ ἤρθῃ, τὴν δὲ γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγέσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. διότι μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ταῦτα λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον καὶ τοῦ διακόνου ἐπιπέοντος πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, πάλιν λέγει ὁ διάκονος Ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ αἷμα καὶ ἕδωρ καὶ ὁ ἑορακῶς μεμαρτύρηκε καὶ ἀληθινὴ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θεὶς τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον ἐν τῇ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ δακτυλοδεικτικῶς τε προσέχων τῷ σφραγισθέντι Ἀμῶν διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ κενωθέντι αἵματι διὰ τοῦ οἴνου, 30 πάλιν λέγει ὅτι Τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ἕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα,

2. S. Io. vi 51, 54 3. Ier. xi 19 7. Is. liii 7 10. S. Io. xix 34
11. Is. xxxiii 16 15. 1 Cor. xi 23, S. Mt. xxvi 26 sq. 21. Is. liii 7
24. Is. liii 8 27. S. Io. xix 34 sq. 31. 1 Io. v 7 sq.

3. καὶ] P²: et 6. de lancea 7. ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι] inciditur τό] illud quod scriptum est 9. Cap. 30 legitur post cap. 31^a P² lat 11. τὸ ὕδωρ] P²: aqua αὐτῷ] P²: αὐτό P¹: eius (Is. xxxiii 16 αὐτοῦ) 14. τίς, de pane et calice 15. οἶνον] τὸ ποτήριον P²: calice 17. δεικνύτος] P²: ostendens quod τῆς δόξης . . . αὐτοῦ] τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ P²: resurrectionis et claritatis suae 19-2 (p. 18). διὰ καὶ . . . προθέσεως] P²: quocirca . . . propositionis 19. καισκήῳ] disco 23. δακτυλοδείκτως . . . οὕτως] digito extenso super eam hanc demonstrans affatur 27. ὁ διάκονος] sacerdos αὐτοῦ] Iesu

καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν· νῦν καὶ δεῖ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. εἴτα λαβὼν τὸ θυματήριον καὶ θυμάσας ποιεῖ εὐχὴν τῆς προθέσεως.)

32. Περὶ τῶν Ἀντιφώνων.

Τὰ ἀντίφωνα τῆς θείας λειτουργίας εἰσὶ τῶν προφητῶν αἱ προρρήσεις προ-
 5 καταγγέλλουσαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου ἐπὶ γῆς,
 [Βουόντων] Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη (καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη) καὶ ἐγ-
 πρέπεια ἐνεδέχσατο. ἤγουν τὴν σάρκωσιν αὐτοῦ δηλοῦντες, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἀποδεξά-
 μενοι καὶ μαθόντες διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ ἀγιοπῶν τοῦ λόγου γενομένων τῶν
 ἀποστόλων λέγομεν Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων
 10 <καὶ καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν> καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

33. Περὶ τῆς Εἰσόδου.

Ἡ εἰσοδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐμφαίνει τὴν παρουσίαν καὶ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τοῦ
 (Υἱοῦ τοῦ) Θεοῦ τὴν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὡς λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος (ὅτι) Ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ
 ἦτον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκομένην λέγει Καὶ
 15 προσκνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτα δεικνύτος τοῦ
 ἀρχιερέως διὰ τῆς στολῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ στολὴν τὴν
 ἐρυθρὰν καὶ αἱματώδη, ἣν ἐφόρεσεν ὁ αἴλος [καὶ Θεὸς] ὡς πορφύραν
 βαφύσαν ἐξ ἀχράντων αἱμάτων τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ παρθένου, καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὸ
 πλανηθῆν πρόβατον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων, τὸ ἀρχαῖον κώδιον τοῦ ἀδαμίου φυρά-
 20 ματος, ὁ Ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν (νέον) Ἰσραὴλ (ἐν) τῇ βλάβῃ
 τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐν σπαργάνοις μὲν εἰλιχθεῖς καὶ τεθείς οὐκέτι ἐν φάτῃ
 ἀλόγων ἀλλ' ἐν τραπέζῃ [λογικῇ] ἀνθρώπων λογικῶν ὃν ἤμνησαν ἀγγέλων
 στρατιαὶ λέγουσαι Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία,
 καὶ Πάσα ἡ γῆ προσκνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ· καὶ πάντων ἀνθυπακούοντων [περὶ
 τῆς εἰσόδου] Δεῦτε προσκνησώμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ σώσον ἡμᾶς
 25 Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, καὶ κηρύττομεν τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φανερωθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐν χάριτι
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

34. Περὶ τοῦ τρισαγίου.

Ὁ τρισάγιος ἕνμος οὕτως ἐστίν· ἐκεῖ μὲν αἱ ἄγγελοι εἶπον Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις

2. *Lit. Byz.* (*Litt. E. & W.* pp. 309, 360) 6. Bar. iii 37; Ps. xcii 1. 8. S. Lc. i 2
 9. *Lit. Byz.* (*Litt. E. & W.* p. 365 sq.) 13. Heb. i 6 18. Cp. S. Lc. xv 15
 10. S. Io. x 11; Ps. lxxix 1; Apoc. ii 27 21. S. Lc. ii 12 sqq. 24. Ps. lxx 4
 15. Ps. xciv 1; *Lit. Byz. ἀντίφ. β'* (*Litt. E. & W.* p. 365) 26. Gal. i 6
 19. S. Lc. ii 14

1. εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν] unum sunt (*vulg.*) 4. τῆς θείας λειτουργίας] sanctae
 missae 5. γῆς] + futurum, ut illud 6. καὶ . . . συνανεστράφη] P^a
 8. γενομένων] quondam τῶν] καὶ P^a: et 10. καὶ . . . σωτηρίαν] et
 . . . salutem nostram. om. P^a 11. de ingressu euangelii 13. υἱοῦ
 τοῦ] P^a: filii δεῖ] P^a: quia 14. ἦτον] haud dubium quin 15. αὐτοῦ] θεοῦ P^a
 (Heb. i 6): Dei 18. θεοτόκου καὶ παρθένου] ἀειπαρθένου θεοτόκου P^a: semper
 uirginis Dei genetricis 19. ὄμων] ὄρειαν P^a: montibus et 20. ὁ καλὸς]
 ὁ μέγας τῶν προβάτων P^a: magnus ouium (Heb. xiii 20) νέον] P^a: nouum
 ἐν] P^a (Apoc. ii 27): in 23. ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία] hominibus bonae uoluntatis
 (*vulg.*) 24. ἀνθυπακούοντων] audientibus περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου] *ad modum*
titulorum scriptum est 27. θεοῦ] κυρίου P^a: domini 28. de trisagio hymno

Θεῶ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ (ἡμεῖς) ὡς μάγοι τὰ δῶρα προσφέροντες τῷ Χριστῷ πίστιν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀγάπην ὡς χρυσόν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν, τῶν ἀσωμάτων τὸ ἄσµα βοῶντες πιστῶς Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἦτοι ὁ Πατήρ ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος, διότι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἰσχυρόν διάβολον δεσμεύσας κατήργησε διὰ σταυροῦ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῖν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἐπάνω αἰτοῦ πατεῖν ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ζωοποιῶν δι' οὗ πᾶσα πνοή καὶ κτίσις ζωοποιεῖται καὶ διαμένει καὶ βοᾷ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

35. (Τὸ ἐκφανῆσαι ἓνα τῶν ψαλτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβωνος προσέχοντα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν δοξάζειν μετὰ τὸν τριπλασιασμόν τοῦ Τρισαγίου καὶ λέγειν Εὐλόγησατε κύρι τὸ Δόξα πληθυντικῶς ἢ Εὐλόγησον κύρι τὸ Δόξα ἑνικῶς [τὸ μὲν πληθυντικῶς] σημαίνει τὴν τρισυπόστατον μίαν θεότητα δέεσθαι ὡς ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐλογηθῆναι παρ' αὐτῆς [κατ' ἀξίαν] καθόσον ἐφικτὸν αὐτῇ ἀνθρώπῳ οὔσῃ καταξωθῆναι σὺν ταῖς ἀσωματίαις θείαις δυνάμεσιν τὸν χερουβικὸν καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ Τριάδι ἀναμέπειν καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν εὐλογήσατε τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐδήλωσεν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ προσθεῖναι τὸ κύρι τὴν μίαν φύσιν τῆς θεότητος ἐγράνωσεν.)

36. Περὶ τοῦ Συνθρόνου.

Τὸ δὲ ἀνελεθεῖν ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ σφραγίσαι τὸν λαόν ἐστὶ ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλων πληροῦν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομίαν ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας ἐλόγησε τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς λέγων αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνη ἀφίμῃ ἡμῖν· δεικνύων ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην [καὶ] εὐλογίαν ἔδωκε τῷ κόσμῳ Χριστὸς διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων.

37. (Τὸ δὲ Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀποκρινόμενον τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὅτι Εἰρήνην μὲν παρέσχες Κύριε τὴν ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὁμόνοιαν· εἰρήνην δὲ δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν πρὸς σὲ ἀδιαίρετον ἔνωσιν· ἵνα τῷ Πνεύματί σου εἰρηνεύοντες, ὃ ἡμῖν ἐρχῆ τῆς δημιουργίας [σου] ἐνέθηκας, ἀχώριστοι τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης τυγχάνωμεν.)

38. Τὸ [δὲ] καθίσαι ἐστὶν ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἦν ἐφόρεσε καὶ τὸ πρόβατον ὃ ἀνέλαβεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων (ὅπερ σημαίνει τὸ ὠμοφόριον), ὃ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀδαμαιοῦν φύραμα, ἀνεβίβασεν [αὐτὸ] ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ

1. S. Mt. ii 11 ; 1 Cor. xiii 13 3-7. *Lit. Byz. (Lit. E. & W. p. 313)*
4. S. Mt. xii 29 ; Heb. ii 14 5. S. Lc. x 19 6. S. Io. vi 63 21. S. Lc. xxiv 50 ; S. Io. xiv 27 24-27. S. Isid. Pel. *Err.* i 122 30. S. Lc. xv 5
31. Eph. i 21

1. ἡμεῖς] P²: nos μάγοι] *ei* μάγοι P² 2. τῶν ἀσωμάτων] incorporalium angelorum 3. βοῶντες] clamemus 5. σταυροῦ] τοῦ σταυροῦ P¹ [ζωὴν] *victoriam* P²; uictoriam 8. *lit.* de cantore qui exclamat in trisagio hymno 8-17. Τὸ ἐκφανῆσαι . . . ἐγράνωσεν] P²: exclamare . . . expressit 11. τὴν . . . θεότητα] hanc trium personarum unam diuinitatem 18. *lit.* de ascensu summi sacerdotis in consessum 24-28. τὸ δὲ Καὶ . . . τυγχάνωμεν] P²: id sane quod . . . simus inseparabiles 29. *lit.* quae sit cathedra summi sacerdotis 30. ὅπερ . . . ὠμοφόριον] per quod significatur superhumeralia

κγριότητος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων καὶ προσήγαγεν αὐτὸ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ ἐπειδὴ [γὰρ] ὁ μὲν ἐθέωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐθεώθη, τουτέστι τὸ πρόσλημμα ὁ διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ (προσενέγκαντος καὶ τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ) προσενεχθέντος ἐδίξαστο [αὐτὸ] ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ ὡς θγσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν εὔαρεστον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γένους· πρὸς δὲν καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἦθουν ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Υἱῷ, ὁς καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς ὕψηλοις· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν.

1. 1 Pet. iii 18 4. Eph. v 2 ; Rom. xii 1 5. Ps. cix 1 6. Heb. viii 1, 13
7. S. Mt. xxvii 37 ; S. Io. xix 9 ; Heb. ix 11

2-3. διὰ τὴν . . . προσενεχθέντος] M¹ : propter dignitatem offerentis et ob munditiam eius qui oblatum est 3. τοῦ προσενεχθέντος] om. P² 5. πρὸς δὲν καὶ] hinc est illud 6. ἦθουν . . . Ἰησῶ] post Κυρίῳ μου P² lat.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

[To be continued.]

THE CREED OF APHRAATES.

DOM CONNOLLY, whose researches in Syriac Patrology are familiar to the readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, has recently published an article on 'The Early Syriac Creed'.¹ The documents upon which he has mainly relied for evidence, he tells us, are (1) the *Homilies of Aphraates*, (2) the *Acts of Judas Thomas*, and (3) the *Doctrine of Addai*. In the course of his article he presents us with 'tentative reconstructions' of three creeds, based on actual expressions used by the writers of whom he is treating. By far the longest and most complete of these is the Creed reconstructed from the writings of Aphraates, and it will prove of special interest to those who have studied the *Homilies* of this writer, because opinion is divided as to whether there is anything in the writings of Aphraates which betrays knowledge of a creed. On the one hand it is stated by Dr Kattenbusch² that there is no such indication ; on the other hand, Dr Bert, the German translator of the *Homilies*, holds the contrary view, and in this he is followed by Dr Hahn. But Dom Connolly differs from all these authorities ; he refutes Kattenbusch by presenting us with the text of Aphraates' Symbol, but he entirely disagrees with Bert and Hahn, who consider that the Creed of Aphraates is contained in the passage from the first Homily, which Hahn has included in his *Bibliothek der Symbole*. It is not my purpose in this article to criticize Dom Connolly's 'reconstruction'—it would be somewhat early to attempt

¹ *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 1906, pp. 202 ff.

² *Das Apostolische Symbol* i p. 249.

this: I should, however, like to state my belief that it is in the highest degree probable that the Church of Aphraates did possess a regular Baptismal Creed, and that Dom Connolly has not gone beyond the legitimate use of the material at his disposal. His treatment, however, of the so-called 'Creed' passage at the end of the first Homily requires some consideration. He is of opinion that in this passage Aphraates does not 'undertake to write out the text of his Creed'. In this Homily 'faith' is 'considered from a totally different point of view'. 'Faith' says Aphraates, 'is like a building, and Christ is its foundation; and since Christ also is to dwell in the building, it must be furnished with suitable adornments, to wit, good works, of which he gives a considerable list.' Dom Connolly's conclusion is as follows:—'I prefer, therefore,' he writes, 'to look upon the passage as a short summing up of the whole argument, wherein Aphraates mentions a few of the leading articles of the Faith, only to set over against them a list of moral obligations—the works of the faith.'

Thus far his argument is based on the nature of the contents of the first Homily; but he has other and more weighty considerations to bring forward, this time of a literary character. Dom Connolly finds in this passage traces of the influence of the apocryphal correspondence between St Paul and the Corinthians, documents which, as we know, were received as part of the Syriac New Testament in the time of Aphraates and St Ephraim, and were certainly known to both these writers.¹ The errors which are enumerated in this correspondence are said by St Ephraim in his commentary to have been those 'of the following of Bardaisan', who for this reason 'did not place this letter in their Apostle'. Dom Connolly contends that we have here the *raison d'être* of the strange 'Creed' of Aphraates. In his opinion it contains a refutation of all the errors, except one, mentioned in the letter of the Corinthians to St Paul; and in answer to his friend's request Aphraates, Dom Connolly thinks, 'must have had a special reason to state the Faith for him in the light of the errors of a particular school, probably that of the Syrian Bardaisan'. He concludes that 'the passage was composed by Aphraates himself . . . and that its contents are due to his selection'.

But Dom Connolly appears to have overlooked one very important fact. Aphraates composed his *Homilies*, as he tells us, at the request of a friend, and the letter containing this request is prefixed to them, and in this letter his friend makes a profession of his faith. Now the errors referred to in the letter of the Corinthians, and said by St Ephraim to be those of the school of Bardaisan, are six in number, and of these, five are refuted by the Creed of Aphraates. Now it is certain from the passage in the letters of Aphraates' correspondent, that he was quite

¹ Cp. Aph. *Hom.* xxiii, ed. Wright, p. 472.

orthodox on four of these five points, and if the theory of this article is correct he was orthodox with regard to all five of them.

On one, viz. the 'Virgin birth of Christ', he is silent, and on this Aphraates' Creed is equally silent. Therefore, while I am perfectly willing to agree with Dom Connolly that the passage in Aphraates is coloured by reminiscences of the pseudo-Pauline correspondence with the Corinthians, I cannot agree with him that Aphraates' friend appears to have had any special need of warning against the errors of the 'following of Bardaisan', and in order to throw some further light on the passage, I propose to make some investigation of the confession of faith contained in the letter prefixed to the *Homilies*. But before doing this it will be convenient to quote the passage from the first Homily which is under discussion.

In reply to his friend's request that he should write and instruct him 'concerning our Faith, how it is', Aphraates makes the following statement:— 'This is the Faith, When a man shall believe—

- (1) 'In God, the Lord of all, who made the heavens, and the earth, and the seas, and all that in them is,
- (2) ' And He made Adam in His image,
- (3) ' And He gave the Law to Moses,
- (4) ' And He sent of His Spirit in the Prophets,
- (5) ' And He sent His Christ into the world,
- (6) ' And that a man should believe in the bringing to life of the dead,
- (7) ' And further, that he believe also in the Mystery (Sacrament) of Baptism.'

'This', he adds, 'is the Faith of the Church of God'. Aphraates' correspondent asks another question: he desires to know 'what are the works required for it (the Faith)?'. In reply to this Aphraates continues, immediately after the words quoted above, as follows:—

- 'And that a man should separate himself,
- 'From observing hours, and Sabbaths, and months¹, and times,
- 'And enchantments, and divinations, astrology (Chaldeeism) and magic.
- 'And from fornication, and music², and from vain doctrines, the weapons of the evil one, and from flatterings, and from sweet words, and from blasphemy, and adultery.
- 'And that a man should not bear false witness, and that none should speak with double tongues.

'These are the works of faith'.³

¹ i. e. new moons.

² Burkitt 'revelling' (Rom. xiii 13).

³ Aph., ed. Parisot coll. 44, 45. Compare Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* p. 84 fol.

It is contended, in view of the fact that Aphraates uses the words 'This is the faith of the Church', that this is a formal creed.¹ And further, there is reason to believe, that the works which he enumerates form an integral part of his confession. Bert holds this view,² and with Bickell, who appears not to have done so, emphasizes the importance of this passage.³ The fact that 'the Creed' consists of seven articles is remarkable, considering that all other ancient symbols bear a threefold form. If it be compared with the Creed of Irenaeus, which he states was held by the Church dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth,⁴ it will be seen that the first clause is all they have absolutely in common. The fourth clause is of course represented in Irenaeus, but, apart from the first clause, the Creed of Irenaeus, like other ancient creeds, is practically an elaboration of the fifth clause of the Creed of Aphraates. The same may be said roughly of its relation to the *Regula Fidei* of Tertullian.⁵ How then are we to account for 'the Creed' of Aphraates? And can we find any parallel to it? Dr Bert quotes a creed used at the ordination of Waldensian preachers of the Middle Ages. It has very little in common with that of Aphraates, beyond the fact that it also consists of seven articles, a fact remarkable in itself, and that its third article runs 'Quod condidit legem moysi in monte Sinay', thereby agreeing with the third article of Aphraates' Creed.⁶ It is, however, quite unnecessary to look to such a remote quarter for the Faith of Aphraates. The true explanation, I believe, lies much closer to hand, and is contained in the letter of Aphraates' anonymous correspondent. This also contains a confession of faith.

The passage referred to runs as follows :—

'For I only firmly believe that,

- (1) 'God is One, who made the heavens, and the earth from the beginning.
- (2) 'And He adorned the world with His (possibly "its") works.
- (3) 'And He made man in His image.
- (4) 'And it was He who accepted the sacrifice of Abel.
- (5) 'And He translated Enoch because of his pleasing (Him).
- (6) 'And He protected Noah because of his righteousness.
- (7) 'And He chose Abraham because of his faith.
- (8) 'And He spake with Moses on account of his meekness.

¹ Hahn has included it in his *Bibliothek der Symbole*.

² Bert p. 16 n. 1.

³ Bickell p. 31.

⁴ Irenaeus *Contra Haer.* i 10 i, ii.

⁵ *De praescript. haer.* xiii.

⁶ The appearance of this clause in the Waldensian Creed is certainly remarkable. Perhaps it may help to account for the fact that, in the time of Innocent III, the charge was brought against the Albigenses that they preferred the law of the Jews to the law of Christians.

(9) 'And also by all the prophets He spake.

(10) 'And He further sent His Christ into the world.

'In these things, my brother, I believe that so they are.'¹

If I am right in my conjecture, we have here a far more primitive creed than that of Aphraates, and one out of which it could quite naturally be developed. The 'symbolic' use of events mentioned in the Old Testament can easily be paralleled, and is of very great antiquity, and I venture to think that the Creed before us could easily be translated into theological language by the aid of Aphraates himself and other early writers. To take a single example; the translation of Enoch is, for Aphraates, the means by which God made known to Death that his dominion should not endure for ever over all men.²

But most remarkable of all is the fact, that by the change of a single word, possibly by the addition of a single letter, in the Syriac text, we could convert this document from a Christian into a Jewish Creed.³ If instead of reading 'He *hath* sent His Christ into the world', we read 'He *will* send His Christ into the world', we have a creed which, I think, admirably expresses the tenets of Pharisaic Judaism, such a one in fact as St Paul himself might have subscribed to in his youth. It will, however, be urged that no such confession of faith appears to have existed among the Jews earlier than the middle ages, or at least we may confidently say that, apart from one passage in the writings of Philo,⁴ none has survived to us. This fact certainly demands some explanation, and as far as I know those generally given are eminently unsatisfactory, and out of accord with facts as known to us, at any rate through Christian sources.⁵ What we know of the proselytizing activity of the Jews is sufficient to make it eminently probable, on *a priori* grounds at least, that some confession of faith would have been offered to candidates for admission to the Synagogue. Why then have we no knowledge of any such formula? If my conjecture be correct, and we have here before us a Jewish profession of faith, which, by the alteration of a single word, becomes a Christian Creed, it is surely not too much to surmise that such formulae would, in the course of time, come to be regarded with so great disfavour by Jews that their disappearance from the fragments of Jewish literature of the first three centuries, which are preserved for us, is amply accounted for. It was not, I think, till the middle ages, when the Christian controversies of early centuries of this era had been forgotten,

¹ Par. col. 4.

² Compare Homily xxii 3, Par. col. 906.

³ It is suggested that **ܕܡܫܝܚܐ** was changed into **ܕܡܫܝܚܐ**.

⁴ *De mundi opificio*.

⁵ Compare *Jewish Encycl.* vol. i p. 148, 'Articles of Faith.'

and new and different controversies had taken their place, that the lack of a formal profession of faith was felt, and an effort made to supply it. From Saadyah onwards we meet with attempts to formulate a creed, that of Maimonides ultimately obtaining more or less general acceptance. The record of the long and bitter dispute with regard to the Creed forms a chapter in the history of mediaeval Jewish theology which sufficiently proves that the idea of a formal profession of faith was by no means acceptable to those to whom it was proposed, not because they disagreed with the articles suggested, but simply because they had become unaccustomed to any such discipline.

Let us now return to Aphraates and his correspondent. My suggestion, then, is, that the confession of faith contained in the letter addressed to Aphraates was originally Jewish, and that it had been converted to Christian uses by one very simple alteration. I have indicated that the existence of such a Jewish Creed is not, in itself, improbable on *a priori* grounds. It remains to be seen whether there is any evidence for such a transformation of a Jewish into a Christian symbol, as I have suggested. I know of one passage at least which appears to me to contain such evidence. In his edition of *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, edited from Syriac manuscripts, Dr Wright includes a section from the *Περίοδοι* of St Philip, which is 'not extant or at least unpublished in the original Greek, narrating the conversion of the Jew Hananiah or Ananias, and, by his means, the city of Carthage'.¹ The narrative is briefly as follows. St Philip goes down from Jerusalem to Caesarea, to seek a ship to convey him to Carthage. He finds one, but the wind is unfavourable; he is invited by the captain, who perceives that he is a servant of God, to embark, and pray for a favourable wind. St Philip does so, and invites those on the ship to join with him in prayer, which he addresses to our Lord. Immediately his prayer is answered, and a wind is granted of such violence that the ship begins to fly over the water like an eagle in the air. But one of the crew, by name Ananias, refuses to join in St Philip's prayer, and blasphemes, saying, 'May Adonai recompense thee, and the Messiah on whom thou callest, who lo! has become dust, and lies in Jerusalem, whilst thou livest, and leadest astray ignorant men by His name.' When the wind comes for which the Apostle has prayed, an angel is in it, and the angel finding the Jew helping the sailors to hoist the sail of the ship, suspends him by his great toes head downwards from the top of the sail. The Jew appeals to St Philip for help, but St Philip swears that he shall not come down until he has confessed his blasphemy. Having done so, he again begs to be loosed from his unfortunate position, and states that the angel

¹ *Apoc. Acts* p. 10.

is standing by his side, and is lashing him with scourges of fire. St Philip then says, 'How dost thou view this matter, Dost thou believe in the Messiah that He is the Son of God?' The Jew's reply, which is of some length, is, for our present purpose, sufficiently important to be given in full. I give it in Wright's translation.¹ 'The Jew cried out weeping and saying with a loud voice "Yes, Sir, I believe in the Messiah, thy God, that He is 'I am that I am', El Shaddai, Adonai, the Lord (of) Sabaoth, the strong, the glorious in His holiness, Who made Heaven and earth by His word. And He made Adam in His image, and in His likeness, and He accepted the offering of Abel, and He rejected the offering of Cain the Murderer. And He removed Enoch, without his tasting Death. And He delivered Noah from the flood. And He spake with Abraham His friend. And He saved Lot from the midst of the overturned city. And He preserved Isaac from the knife. And He revealed Himself to Jacob at Bethel. And He expounded His secrets to Joseph. And He led Israel out of Egypt. And He spake with Moses in the thorn bush. And He divided the sea before the people. And He sent down the manna from Heaven. And He brought up the quails from the sea. And He dashed to pieces Pharaoh and his host in the sea of Suph. And He delivered Joshua the son of Nun in the wars. And He revealed His mystery to Gideon. And He strengthened Barak and Deborah in Israel. And He spake with Samuel in the interior of the Temple. And He destroyed Goliath before David. And He gave wisdom to Solomon. And He took up Elijah to Heaven. And He delivered Elisha from the armies. And He took Jonah out of the fish. And He brought Daniel out of the pit. And He extinguished the blazing fire of Ananias and his companions. And He rescued the wronged Susannah. And this is Emmanuel, the mighty God, in whose name the sea, and land, and the winds, and Angels are subject unto thee."'

Now this lengthy *résumé* of Old Testament history, suggesting as it does Psalm cvi and, in a lesser degree, Psalm lxxviii, surely demands some explanation. St Philip could hardly doubt that the Jew would believe the Old Testament. The explanation is, I think, that the Jew is here making a 'Symbolic' use of events described in the Old Testament. At any rate the Apostle seems to have understood him in this sense. His reply is for our purposes certainly suggestive. 'And Philip rejoiced and glorified God and said: "Praise be to Thee our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who changest rebellious minds and blasphemous tongues, and *suddenly* makest them harps praising Thy glory. Yea, Lord, pardon Thy servant Hanana who has believed in Thee."'² And the Jew is, of course, straightway released.

¹ Vol. ii pp. 73-74.

² Wright p. 74.

May we not have here a reminiscence of some such happenings as I have suggested? Is it not possible that the author of this passage, whoever he may have been, had actually encountered some such experience, or at least had heard that such things had actually happened? I am inclined to think that the 'blasphemous tongues suddenly changed into harps of praise' is no mere figurative expression, but a reminiscence of actual facts which were at one period of frequent occurrence. The length of the Jew's reply needs some consideration. On the one hand, if the narrative is to preserve any appearance of verisimilitude (and it must be confessed that on the whole it is of a very extravagant order), it demands some explanation; on the other hand, its prolixity differentiates it from the very concise formula used by Aphraates' friend, with which, however, it will be seen that, in its opening sentences, it verbally agrees. It is of course possible that the passage, as we have it, is not in its original form. The temptation to amplify a simpler formula may have proved too great for an editor or scribe well versed in Old Testament history. But it may also be suggested that we have here a link between the final development, as it occurs in Aphraates, of what may conveniently be called an Old Testament *Kerygma*, and its earliest forms, as we find it, for example, in the famous passage of Ecclesiasticus, or the eleventh chapter of Hebrews.

It remains for us (1) to attempt to translate the Creed of Aphraates correspondently into theological language, and (2) to compare that Creed with the Symbol given by Aphraates himself. Five Old Testament personages are mentioned in this passage—Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and Moses. The juxtaposition of these names is of course extremely familiar. We have already seen that the mention of the translation of Enoch may be explained as a symbolic equivalent for belief in the 'life of the world to come'. The addition of the words 'because of his pleasing Him' would suggest that the attainment of the after-life was dependent on the individual effort to please God. In the passage in the Acts of St Philip we have: 'And He translated Enoch so that he tasted not death.'¹ This would also sufficiently convey the possibility of an after-life, but is less satisfactory than the form under consideration. That God accepted the sacrifice of Abel is equivalent to saying that sacrificial service is pleasing to Him, a point apparently insisted upon as a test of the faith of converts to Judaism.² In St Philip the words 'and He rejected the sacrifice of Cain' are appended to this form, signifying the necessity of a right disposition on the part of him who sacrifices. Possibly this was intentionally omitted from the more developed formula, as coming rather under the head of the works demanded by faith, than in the category

¹ Compare Parisot 906 lines 10-11.

² See *Jewish Encycl.* vol. i p. 148 col.

of the faith itself. That God protected Noah on account of his righteousness, recalling as it does the whole incident of the Flood, implies nothing else than the necessity of belief in a system of divine rewards and punishments, a dogma which occupies an important position in all mediæval Jewish formulas of belief.¹ The choice of Abraham because of his faith is of some importance. If the election according to faith was a formal article of the Jewish Creed, a fresh light, it may be urged, is thrown on St Paul's arguments in his Epistle to the Romans, and elsewhere, and it is unnecessary to search the scanty record of Pharisaic Judaism in order to find passages which will explain the emphasis which the Apostle of the Gentiles laid on this dogma.

We now come to Moses and the Prophets, a significant collocation. 'And He spake with Moses because of his meekness, and also by all the Prophets He spake.' This is equivalent to an expression of belief in the inspiration of the Scripture, but it is more than this. God speaks *with* Moses, but *by* the Prophets; thus a higher level of inspiration is claimed for the Law than is allowed to the later portions of the Hebrew Canon.² It may be suggested that the words, 'He spake with Moses because of his meekness,' implying as it does a reminiscence of Deut. xxxiv 10, represent the germ of a belief which found its ultimate expression in the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount. The tenth article of this Creed requires no comment. It remains to say something about the first three. Of these the significance of the first is self-evident. It is worth noticing, however, that in the passage of St Philip, after the words 'And He made Heaven and earth', we have the addition 'by His word'. The second article is not so easy to explain. It appears, however, to mean that God placed in the world all things necessary for man's use before his creation, an idea which is expressed by Aphraates himself at some length in Homily xvii, where he actually uses the expression 'adorned the world',³ which occurs in the passage which we are now considering. The third article, 'And He made man (not 'Adam' as in Aphraates' Creed) in His image', might possibly imply, on the one hand, man's potentialities, on the other, his responsibilities.

To summarize, then, it appears possible to express this Creed in the following manner:—

I believe,

(1) In one God, the Maker of Heaven and earth,

¹ Compare the thirteen articles of Maimonides, art. ii. So also Saadyah, &c.

² 'Prophets', no doubt, is here a term of wide significance. Aphraates quotes the Psalms as 'the Prophet'. For different degrees of inspiration within the Old Testament itself, in the view of later Jewish Theology, see Qimchi's preface to his *Commentary on the Psalms*, ed. Schiller-Szinessy, pp. 4, 5.

³ *Hom. xvii 7*, Par. col. 797.

- (2) And that He hath placed therein all things necessary for man -
- (3) That man is made in the image of God.
- (4) That sacrifices are acceptable to Him.
- (5) That there is a life of the world to come, the attainment of which is dependent on pleasing God.
- (6) That man is rewarded or punished according to his works.
- (7) That there is an election according to faith.
- (8) That the sacred Scriptures are the Word of God, and that there are degrees of inspiration, of which the highest is to be found in the Law.
- (9) That all Scripture is the Word of God.
- (10) That the Messiah, promised by God, has come.

Now it is clear that, if the change in the last article which I have suggested was actually made, it would necessitate some modification in the mode of expression of the other articles. This has, I think, taken place in Aphraates' Creed, to which we must now turn our attention. But before doing so, we should note the number of the articles of the Creed which we have just been discussing. The number 10 of course suggests the Decalogue, which we know was used by the Jews as a confession of faith. It was regarded as such by Philo, and it is important to notice that, if it was so, we have the most primitive of all models for a Creed to which works were attached. The Jewish division of the Decalogue¹ is a sufficient proof of its symbolic use.² That it was employed in the Liturgy is seen from the Mishna (*Tamid* v 1), where its recital is ordered before that of the Shema (*Deut.* vi 4-9). This latter was also clearly used for symbolic purposes, and in it also we have the familiar juxtaposition of faith and works. The Mishna directs that after these have been recited there shall follow a prayer beginning with the words, 'This is true and certain'. In fairly early times the Decalogue seems to have dropped out of the Liturgy. The Shema, however, remained, and it is possible that the prominent place assigned to it may be due to the fact that it is practically the only symbolic utterance which the Jewish Liturgy retained. Now, as it happens, we know the reason why the Ten Commandments were removed from the Liturgy. It is stated, both in the Talmud of Jerusalem and in the Talmud of Babylon, that they were removed on account of the Christians; and it is interesting to note, in the second of these quotations, that one of the localities in which their

¹ See Taylor *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* App. V, where all the evidence is collected.

² In the Jewish division, *Exod.* xx, verse 2 constitutes the first commandment; verse 3 is regarded as the beginning of the second commandment. This division is as old as the Targum, but for our purposes it is sufficient to note that Aphraates himself is a witness to the Jewish division. He quotes the first commandment as 'I am the Lord your God which brought you out of the land of Egypt' (*Hom.* i 11).

use was abrogated was in the Persian Empire, and therefore, perhaps, not very far from the place where the letter we are discussing was written. If, as appears to be the case, there are good reasons for supposing that the Persian Church was in its beginning to a large extent composed of converts from Judaism, we have a fairly consistent explanation of most of the facts that are at our disposal.

We now come to the 'faith' of Aphraates, a translation of which is given above. Let us compare it with that of his correspondent.

Articles 1 and 2 of Aphraates' Creed are practically identical with articles 1 and 3 of that of his friend's. Article 2 of the latter has disappeared, so also articles 4, 6, and 7. Article 5 appears in a new and developed form in Aphraates' Creed as article 6, while articles 8 and 9 of his friend's Creed correspond to 3 and 4 of that of Aphraates.

What is the significance of these changes?

Articles 4, 6, and 7 of the 'faith' of Aphraates' friend have disappeared. These, if my conjecture be correct, express belief in (4) the acceptability of sacrifices, (6) that man is rewarded and punished according to his works, and (7) that there is an election according to faith.

Now the first of these articles, though to be expected in a creed of Jewish origin, would naturally disappear from one adapted to Christian purposes; while with regard to the second it would be superfluous in a statement of faith such as that of Aphraates, to which was appended so considerable a list of 'the works of the faith'. It is more difficult to find an explanation of the omission of article 7. It must, however, be remembered that Aphraates has added to his confession the words, 'And further that he believe also in the Mystery of Baptism'. The addition of the word 'also' lends colour to the view, that so far Aphraates considered that he had merely been offering to his friend a revised edition of his own confession, but it may also account for the omission of article 7 of that confession; for was not a belief in the Mystery of Baptism a very practical demonstration of belief in an election according to faith?

Some other modifications have taken place.

Belief in 'the bringing to life of the dead' is now explicitly stated, and not merely, by implication, under the figure of the translation of Enoch, and also the place of this article has been changed. In the older formula it occupies what may be termed its natural historical position, between the dogmas symbolized by the sacrifice of Abel, and the preservation of Noah; in the revised edition of this formula it occurs just where we should expect, viz. after the mention of the Incarnation. There is, Aphraates appears to imply, a better and more convincing reason for belief in this article of the faith than had been suggested in his correspondent's confession; 'He hath sent His Christ into the

world'—belief in the resurrection necessarily follows. Aphraates takes over articles 8 and 9 of his friend's creed and expresses them in a modified and more strictly theological form. It is here especially that his reference, as Dom Connolly has shewn, to the pseudo-Pauline correspondence is evident. But it must be remembered that for Aphraates these documents were an integral part of the New Testament. He thus is merely expressing the Jewish doctrine of inspiration in what was, for him, New Testament language. He begins at Moses, and, quoting, as he believes from St Paul, declares that God 'sent of His Spirit in the Prophets'.

Thus we have here simply a revised edition of the faith of Aphraates' correspondent, modified to meet more completely the needs of a Christian community. I do not for a moment suggest that Aphraates desired his friend to accept this statement as a formal or baptismal 'creed'. He merely seems to say: your old Jewish 'creed' with slight modifications is inadequate for your needs; it requires further revision; it may rather be expressed thus; and then he gives his friend his revised edition of it. This of course does not exclude the hypothesis that Aphraates had in his mind the passages from the pseudo-Pauline correspondence; but if he had desired to formulate a refutation of the Daisanite heresy, he would surely have included some reference to the Virgin Birth of our Lord, in which, as we know, he believed himself.

Two very serious objections may be raised to the theory set forth in this article. It may be asked:—

1. If there did exist a Jewish creed, why have no traces of it survived in Jewish literature?
2. Why should it appear in such a document as the letter prefixed to the *Homilies*?

Some answer to the first of these questions has already been attempted. We have seen that, on the hypothesis set forth above, there was every reason, from a Jewish point of view, for its suppression, and, further, we must bear in mind the very scanty nature of the Jewish literature of the first three centuries which has survived to us. But if such a creed existed, is it not likely that it would continue longest in use amongst Jews who had not as yet to deal with the problems of Christianity? Such a body was that of the Jews in Persia during the first two and a half centuries of this era. Christianity probably did not penetrate to this region till about the middle of the third century. It is surely possible that on this account the formula continued to exist unaltered among the Jews of this region, long after its use had been discontinued by their brethren who came in daily contact with Christians. Now it is perfectly clear from the *Homilies* that the difficulties by which Aphraates and his friend were beset frequently arose from the

hostility of the Jews, and from the *Acta Martyrum* it is quite clear that they took a very active part in the persecution of the Christians under Sapor II. In point of fact, it is quite possible that the conditions of the Church in Persia at the beginning of the fourth century, were in many respects similar to those of the churches of the Roman Empire some two centuries earlier.

History was repeating itself; it is likely enough that the earliest converts to Christianity in Persia were Jews and Jewish Proselytes, and it is just among people of this kind that such a formula is likely to have continued to exist. Some such confession as this I surmise had been learned by Aphraates' friend. It did not, for obvious reasons, satisfy him. He required something further and more specifically Christian. He asks for it, and receives it from Aphraates, in the shape of the revised edition of his confession, which is found, if I am right, in the passage under discussion, towards the end of the *Homily* concerning Faith.

It may, however, be further urged that no evidence is forthcoming from Western sources, and that if it had at one time existed, it is very improbable that no reference to such a confession should be made by any early Christian writers. I believe, however, that there is at least one passage which confirms the view I have taken; at least, my theory offers an explanation of the passage, which is not at all easy to understand in its present context. It occurs in Irenaeus, *contra Haer.* iii 3

3. In this passage St Irenaeus is speaking of St Clement of Rome: *καὶ ἑωρακώς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους, καὶ συμβεβληκώς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐναντιοῦν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.* He then speaks of the letter sent by the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth: *εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτούς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἣν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει.*

Here the Greek fails, and for the continuation of the passage we must rely on the Latin. It proceeds as follows:—*annuntiantem* (1) *unum Deum omnipotentem*, (2) *factorem coeli et terrae*, (3) *plasmatorem hominis*, (4) *qui induxerit cataclysmum*, (5) *et advocaverit Abraham*, (6) *qui eduxerit populum de terra Aegypti*, (7) *qui colloquutus sit Moysi*, (8) *qui legem disposuerit*, (9) *et Prophetas miserit*, (10) *qui ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis eius.* *Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi ab Ecclesiis annuntiarum, ex ipsa Scriptura, qui velint, discere possunt, et Apostolicam Ecclesiae Traditionem intelligere; cum sit vetustior epistola his qui nunc falso docent, et alterum Deum super Demiurgum et factorem horum omnium, quae sunt, commentiuntur.*

Now if we examine the passage 'unum Deum . . . angelis eius', we shall find it corresponds very closely to the 'confession' of the letter prefixed to the *Homilies*, and is almost entirely Jewish in character. I venture

to think that we have here another example of the Jewish creed. To facilitate comparison I subjoin a table (p. 15).

Dom Connolly is certainly right when he says that 'If the Homily on faith were all that we had of his (Aphraates') writings, we should know next to nothing of his real doctrinal position'. But fortunately we have more than this, and Dom Connolly has carefully collected the doctrinal statements for the purposes of his reconstruction. If my theory be correct it is not surprising that Aphraates, in the 'creed passage' that has here been discussed, confined himself to the statement, 'He sent His Christ into the world'; with this article of his friend's confession he is of course entirely in agreement, and he does not emend it in his revised edition.

His doctrine of the person of Christ is set forth as follows by Dom Connolly in his reconstruction of Aphraates' Creed:—

' I believe
 ' in our Lord Jesus Christ,
 ' the Son of God,
 ' God, Son of God,
 ' King, Son of the King,
 ' Light from Light,
 ' Son, and Counsellor, and Guide, and Way, and Saviour, and Shepherd, and Gatherer, and Door, and Pearl, and Lamp, and First-born of all creatures,
 ' Who came and put on a body from Mary the Virgin of the seed of the house of David, from the Holy Spirit,
 ' and put on our manhood,
 ' and suffered', or, 'and was crucified,
 ' went down to the place of the dead', or, 'to Sheol, and lived again, and rose the third day,
 ' and ascended to the height', or, 'to heaven,
 ' and sat on the right hand of His Father;
 ' and He is the Judge of the dead and of the living, who sitteth on the throne.'

The justification for this reconstruction will be found in the article from which it is quoted. I desire here to add a few words about the seventeenth Homily, that entitled 'Concerning Christ that He is the Son of God', to which we naturally look for information on Aphraates' doctrine concerning the person of Christ. This Homily is an anti-Jewish polemic, and has been generally considered an *argumentum ad hominem*. This of course it is, but it is also a good deal more. Prof. Burkitt has given a most admirable summary of the Homily, of which he rightly says, 'Nothing less than this full abstract does full justice to Aphraates' style and method'.¹ I give it here at length:—

¹ *Early Eastern Christianity* p. 93.

<i>Aphraates' Homily i 9.</i> When a man shall believe in :	<i>The letter prefaced to the Homilies.</i> For I only firmly believe that :	<i>Iren. iii 3 iii.</i> Annuntiantem :	<i>Acts of Philip.</i> I believe in the Messiah thy God that He is : I am that I am, El Shaddai, Adonai, the Lord (of) Sabaoth, . . .
1. God the Lord of all, who made the heavens, and the earth, and the seas, and all that in them is.	1. God is One, who made the heavens, and the earth from the beginning.	1. unum Deum omnipotentem.	
2. And He made Adam in His image.	2. And He adorned the world with His works.	2. factorem coeli et terrae.	Who made heaven, and earth by His word.
3. And He gave the law to Moses.	3. And He made man in His image.	3. plasmatores hominis.	And He made Adam in His image, and in His likeness.
4. And He sent of His Spirit in the Prophets.	4. And it was He who accepted the sacrifice of Abel.	4. qui induxerit cataclysmum.	And He accepted the offering of Abel, and rejected the offering of Cain the murderer.
5. And He sent His Christ into the world.	5. And He translated Enoch because of his pleasing (Him).	5. et advocaverit Abraham.	And He removed Enoch without his tasting death.
6. And that a man should believe in the bringing to life of the dead.	6. And He protected Noah because of his righteousness.	6. qui eduxerit populum de terra Aegypti.	And He delivered Noah from the flood.
7. And further that he believe also the Mystery (Sacrament) of Baptism.	7. And He chose Abraham because of his faith.	7. qui colloquutus sit Moysi.	And He spake with Abraham His friend.
	8. And He spake with Moses on account of his meekness.	8. qui legem disposuerit.	And He led Israel out of Egypt.
	9. And also by all the Prophets He spake.	9. et prophetas miserit.	And He spake with Moses in the thorn bush.
	10. And He further sent His Christ into the world.	10. qui ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis eius.	And this is Emmanuel, the mighty God.

'This Homily, like so many that Aphraates wrote, is directed against the Jews, who complained that Christians worshipped a man whom they called Son of God, in defiance of God's own word, "I am God, and there is none beside Me".

'Aphraates sets himself the task of defending the Christian practice, even if he should concede to the Jews that Jesus, whom the Christians call God, was only a man. "Though," he continues, "we do affirm that Jesus our Lord is God the Son of God, and the King the Son of the King, Light from Light, Son¹ and Counsellor and Guide and Way and Saviour and Shepherd and Gatherer and Door and Pearl and Lamp; and by many Names is He called. But now we will shew that He is the Son of God, and that He is God, who from God hath come" (§ 2). For the name of divinity has been given to just men, as for instance to Moses, who was made a God, not to Pharaoh only, but also to Aaron² (§ 3); and though the Jews say God has no son, yet He called Israel His First-born,³ and Solomon His son.⁴ David also says of them: "I have said Ye are Gods and sons of the Highest all of you"⁵ (§ 4). God gives the most exalted titles to whom He will: He called impious Nebuchadnezzar "King of Kings". For man was formed by Him in His own image, to be a Temple for Him to dwell in, and therefore He gives to man honours which He denies to the Sun, and the Moon, and the host of Heaven⁶ (§§ 5, 6). Man of all creatures was first conceived in God's mind,⁷ though he was not placed in the world till it was ready for him (§ 7). Why should we not worship Jesus, through whom we know God, Jesus who turned away our mind from vain superstitions, and taught us to adore the One God, our Father and Maker, and to serve Him? Is it not better to do this than to worship the kings and emperors of this world, who not only are apostates themselves, but drive others also to apostasy? (§ 8). Our Messiah was spoken of in the prophets even to the details of the Crucifixion (§§ 9, 10). We therefore will continue to worship before the Majesty of His Father, who more turned our worship unto Him. We call Him God, like Moses; First-born and Son, like Israel; Jesus like Joshua, the son of Nun; Priest, like Aaron; King, like David; the great Prophet, like all the prophets; Shepherd, like the shepherds who tended and ruled Israel. And as adds Aphraates, has He called Sons, making us His Brothers, and we have become His Friends (§§ 11, 12).'⁸

Now at first sight this does not appear to prove very much, and even though Aphraates may safeguard his arguments by prefixing to them

¹ *Sic*: cf. Isa. ix 6, and also § 9.

² Exod. vi 1; vii 1.

³ Exod. iv 22, 23.

⁴ 2 Sam. vii 14; cf. Heb. i 5.

⁵ Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii) 6.

⁶ Deut. iv 17.

⁷ Ps. xc (lxxxix) 1, 2.

⁸ Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* pp. 91 ff.

a confession of faith, that 'Jesus our Lord is God the Son of God', yet if we only call Him God like Moses, and First-born and Son like Israel, His Jewish adversaries would scarcely be convinced of the truths which our author is urging them to accept. As a matter of fact, taken by itself, this Homily does not seem to have very much point, and there is some reason for Dr Gwynn's description of it as 'painfully inadequate in the treatment of its great theme'.¹ It is only when it is read in conjunction with other passages in Aphraates' writings that it becomes more intelligible. But even so, the ideas which underlie the somewhat obscure phraseology are by no means apparent on the surface, and it may be suggested that we have here only the first stage of the argument which Aphraates advises his friend to use in his controversies with the Jews. Its main object then would appear to be to prepare the way for subsequent developments of the argument, and that chiefly by pointing out that the ordinary terminology of Christian doctrine was not, as the Jews supposed, contrary to the teaching of the Old Testament. Others had been called God as well as Jesus, others also Son of God; this in fact was perfectly scriptural language; how then were Christians guilty of blasphemy in so designating Him, who the Jews very well knew had converted the pagans among whom they lived to the worship of the God they themselves adored?

That Jesus was God in a very different sense to that in which the term was applied to Moses, and Son of God in a manner quite other than that in which Israel or Solomon had been so designated, might surely be left to be shewn on another occasion. It is as if Aphraates were advising his friend to set to work cautiously, to work from the known to the unknown, and above all to smooth the way by explaining the terminology in a conciliatory manner. The rest might surely follow later. Aphraates knew perfectly well the real significance of the facts, and he appears to assume that his friend did also, and would therefore know how to develop the argument for himself.

It seems, therefore, that for the more developed form of his Christological conceptions we must look to other parts of his writings. He has already made it clear from the confession of faith which he prefixes to the Homily which we have been considering, that he believed completely in the Divinity of our Lord, that He was God, Son of God. In what way, then, would he have differentiated between these appellations as applied to our Lord, and as applied to the heroes of the Old Testament? The answer to this question is, I think, to be found in a passage in the twenty-third Homily. Speaking there of our Lord's birth, he remarks, "Though He was not of the seed of Joseph, yet He received from the latter "the name of fatherhood" which had been transmitted from

¹ Gwynn *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* xiii p. 162.

Adam to Joseph, and in like manner "the name of priesthood" from John', &c.¹ Now this appears to be an important factor in Aphraates' theology, and it is in the light of this statement that we should approach the arguments of Homily xvii, if we wish to understand them in their entirety. It is in this sense that 'we call Jesus God like Moses, and First-born, and Son like Israel, and Priest like Aaron', &c. Not that Moses was in any real sense God, nor that the adoption of Israel was in a complete sense the *viθεσία*, nor that Aaron was the great High Priest, who should make atonement for the sins of the whole world. But in each of these, and in a great many others, some one, or more than one, of those aspects or potentialities had been partially manifested, which ultimately found their complete expression in Jesus the God-Man.

In conclusion it may be remarked that though the 'creed passage' is undoubtedly a very inadequate expression of Aphraates' theological position, yet it would be wrong to minimize its doctrinal significance. It is in any case an immense advance on the point of view set forth in his friend's confession of faith. In it we have mention of the three persons of the Trinity, 'God the Lord of all, His Spirit, and His Christ,' while the visible Church and the Sacraments are at least implied in the last article.

The text of the *Homilies* itself is of course the best commentary on this confession, while the 'Creed of Aphraates' as 'reconstructed' by Dom Connolly may safely be regarded as the fullest expression which we possess of the theological position of their author.

H. LEONARD PASS.

THE APOSTOLIC PREACHING OF IRENAEUS.

IN the *Apostolic Preaching* Irenaeus occasionally moralizes in a lofty strain on our duty to God and man. His theological statements are equally casual and invaluable. For in some places they throw more light on the problem of the relations of the Divine Persons to One Another than is to be found in the treatise *Adversus Haereses*. The dominant ideas of the Tract are, as in the Treatise, (1) immortality (*ἀφθαρσία*) conferred on man by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; (2) the image and likeness of God restored to man by both the Son and the Holy Spirit, and (3) communion with God established through Christ. This last is pressed home by a quotation from Baruch (iii 29—iv 1). That work had been already cited in *Adv. Haer.* IV 20, 4, with the

¹ *Hom.* xxiii Wright p. 473.

same application 'per quem commixtio et communio dei et hominis facta est'. But Irenaeus is here principally concerned with the Old Testament prophecies relating to the Messiah, as Son of God, as Pre-existent, as Incarnate, Risen, Ascended, and as our future Judge. His treatment and readings of these prophecies, which he interprets in the same *typical* manner as in the Treatise, to which he incidentally refers in c. 99 (e.g. IV 31, 1, *typum quaerere*), have many points of interest in biblical and patristic literature. One excellent point is given indirectly. The Armenian text of the fourth book of *Adv. Haer.*, which was found bound with this Tract, assigns in IV 7, 1 the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth, in agreement with the Clement and Voss MSS of the Latin Irenaeus, some MSS of the Latin gospels (*a* and *b*) and Niceta of Remesiana.

I. LITERARY AFFINITIES OF THE TRACT.

In the first place, we find in this Tract many literary affinities with Justin Martyr's *Apology* and *Dialogue*, and also with Irenaeus's own *Adversus Haereses*. For instance, we have the same symbolic use of the Old Testament, the parallels of Mary and Eve, and of the tree of knowledge and the Cross, which are elaborated in both the *Adv. Haer.* and the Tract; the *recapitulation* (*ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*) or summing up of all things in Christ; the jealousy of the Devil; 'the prophetic Spirit'; the indescribable generation (*inenarrabile genus*) of the Christ; the name 'Immanuel'; the prominence given to Moses 'the first of the prophets' (*Apol.* I 32); and many other ideas which are drawn from the *Apology* and the *Dialogue* of St Justin. While, as a matter of course, Irenaeus repeats in a slightly altered form many of his own ideas and expressions: e.g. 'the rule of the truth' becomes 'the rule of the faith'; while the Son is 'the image of God' in the *Preaching* c. 22, He is the 'Visible of the Father' in the *Adv. Haer.* (IV 6, 6). The perfecting of men (*τελείωσις*), the resurrection of the body, its incorruption (c. 32 and *Adv. Haer.* III 21, 10), the adoption in Christ, His Incarnation and Virgin-Birth, the Church as the seed of Abraham, Adam and Eve in Paradise represented as boy and girl, innocent and virgin and created from the virgin soil, the free will and responsibility of men, and the founding of the churches by the Apostles—these topics are treated in the same way in both the *Adv. Haer.* and the Tract.

It is interesting to observe that, while Irenaeus has taken over from the Gnostics 'the seven heavens' of which he writes (*Adv. Haer.* I 5, 2, and c. 9 of the Tract), he has abandoned his previous explanation of the name Satan which he had taken from Justin Martyr. In his *Dialogue* (c. 103) Justin had explained this name as consisting of two parts, *σατρά*, which he says in the Hebrew and Syriac languages means

ἀποστάτης (apostata), and *vās*, which according to him means 'serpent'. In *Adv. Haer.* V 21, 2, Irenaeus writes 'Satana enim verbum hebraicum apostatam significat', and alludes in the course of this work to the 'apostata angelus' (IV Praef.). But before he wrote the Tract Irenaeus had found out that Satan was the Hebrew שָׂטָן, adversary, and in c. 16 writes: 'and was called Satan, which in the Hebrew language means adversary.' This is doubtless the reason why we do not meet the *apostasia* which figures so largely in the *adv. Haer.*, e.g. V 1, 1. But he seems to be still under the impression that our Lord was over forty years of age at His crucifixion, for he says that Pontius Pilate was procurator under Claudius (A.D. 41), in order to bring the chronology of our Lord's life into line with St John viii 51, or rather with the opinion which certain ancient teachers who influenced Irenaeus had founded on it. See *Adv. Haer.* II 22 and Tract c. 74. However, Irenaeus seems to have changed the views he had expressed in *Adv. Haer.* V 33, 4 of Isa. ii 6-9. In the *Adv. Haer.* he had given a literal interpretation; here he follows a symbolic one. There he sees in the words a prediction of the return of the animals to their former state of subjection to man at the return of Christ as universal King; here (c. 61) of the reunion of mankind, a modification of his millenarian views.

An allusion to the *Adv. Haer.*, compiled about A.D. 195, is made in c. 99, and there is a reference to the political situation and to the state of the Church in c. 48, where Irenaeus refers to 'kings who now hate Him and persecute His name'. This refers, doubtless, to the persecution of Severus A.D. 202; so that the inference is that the Tract was composed at about that time. And in *Adv. Haer.* II 35, 4 he refers to the 'praedicatio apostolorum' (which may have suggested the title of this Tract, ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος: *Eus. H. E.* v 25) among other divisions of scripture or sections for catechetical instruction such as 'Domini magisterium', 'prophetarum annuntiatio', 'Apostolorum dictatio', and 'Legislationis ministratio'; while he speaks of 'the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles', hardly the document known by that name in the *Preaching*, c. 46. He speaks of 'the economy of our redemption' (c. 47) and 'the economy of the Incarnation' (c. 99) to which he had referred in the words of *Adv. Haer.* I 10, 1: τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, and says 'the holy oil' of Ps. xlv 7-8 is the Holy Ghost with whom Christ is anointed (c. 47), while in *Adv. Haer.* III 6, 1 he writes 'He who is anointed is the Son and He who anoints is the Father', and in III 18, 3 he writes 'Unguentem Patrem et unctum Filium et unctionem qui est Spiritus'. And he declares in the same chapter of the Tract that 'His fellows are the prophets, the righteous ones, and the apostles and all they who have part in the fellowship of His kingdom, that is His disciples'—words which find

a remarkable echo in our ancient collect from the Sacramentary of Leo for the Third Sunday after Easter—'Grant unto all them that are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion that they may eschew those things that are contrary to their profession and follow all such things as are agreeable to the same.' There are also many affinities, literary and spiritual, with the Church Catechism in this Tract.

II. USE OF JUSTIN'S WORKS AND TEACHING.

There are just a few points to which attention may be called in connexion with the use of Justin's works and teaching. In c. 53, when explaining the name Christ, Irenaeus says: 'He is for example called Christ because the Father hath *anointed* and adorned (*gesalbt und geschmückt*) everything through Him.' Irenaeus is here following the explanation given of the name Christ by Justin, who wrote (*Apol.* II 9, 6) *κατὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι καὶ κοσμήσαι τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν λέγεται*, where Scaliger suggested *κατὰ τὸ καὶ χρίσαι*, and Grabe took *κεχρίσθαι* in an active sense. Scaliger's emendation finds support from an unexpected quarter. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I 32) and Irenaeus (*Preaching* 58-59) both cite the prophecy of Isa. xi 1-10 of the stem and the flower (both interpreting *צפף* as *ἄνθος*, the root meaning 'to bloom') in connexion with the explanation of Gen. xlix 10-11, 'the cloak and the juice of the grape'. Both master and pupil seem to have followed here and elsewhere some common collection of scriptural proofs. Again both master and pupil cite Isa. xxxv 3-6, Justin in *Apol.* I 48 and Irenaeus in *Preaching* c. 67, as a prediction that Christ would perform works of healing. Both refer to Isa. lii 12-liii, Justin in *Apol.* I 50 and Irenaeus in *Preaching* c. 68, as a prophecy of the fact that our Lord would suffer and be treated with ignominy; and both (Justin in *Apol.* I 35 and Irenaeus in *Preaching* c. 68) make the same comment on the psalms prophetic of such suffering, i. e. that David himself never suffered. Justin (*Dialogue* 53) and Irenaeus (*Preaching* 76) cite Zechariah xiii 7 as a prediction of the scattering of all the disciples, and both make the comment that they did not believe in Him until He had risen. Irenaeus (c. 78) also cites the Apocryphal saying: 'And the Lord the Holy One of Israel remembered His dead, &c.' as Jeremiah's. Justin had also ascribed it to Jeremiah in *Dialogue* 72. In III 20, 4 of the Treatise Irenaeus had ascribed it to Isaiah, but to Jeremiah in IV 22, 1. Like Justin, who described our Lord as *ἄτιμος καὶ ἀειδής*, *Dial.* 14, 14, *Apol.* I 52, Irenaeus (c. 71) speaks of 'the mean and contemptible appearance of His body'. Like Justin, who identified the Spirit with the Word in *Apol.* I 33, *πνεῦμα οὖν . . . οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις ἢ τὸν λόγον*, Irenaeus writes (*Preaching* 71) 'the scripture points out that Christ, being the Spirit of God, would become a man capable of suffering'.

Like Justin, who quoted Isa. lvii 2 with the punctuation ἡ ταφή αὐτοῦ ἦρται ἐκ τοῦ μέσου (*Dial.* 97), which, however, Irenaeus does not follow he treated this text as prophetic of the resurrection (*Preaching* 72). And like Justin (*Apol.* I 35) he interpreted 'the government shall be upon His shoulder' (Isa. ix 5) as indicating the power of the Cross to which His shoulder was fastened (*Preaching* 56). But Irenaeus (c. 71) gives an independent explanation of Lam. iv 20 where he follows the LXX reading πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστός, which Justin, who read πνεῦμα πρὸ προσώπου (*Apol.* I 55), explained as *breath* in connexion with the remark that the nose through which we breathe has the form of a cross on the face. Irenaeus renders πνεῦμα here as Spirit.

He does not, however, often desert his old master. There is, for example, a passage in the Tract (§ 49) which can only, I think, be explained by a reference to Justin *Apol.* I 36, 37, 38. Irenaeus, speaking of the Spirit of God, says 'He takes form and shape in the prophets according to the character of the Person concerned, and speaks sometimes as Christ and sometimes as Father'. Justin says in the passage referred to that the prophecies uttered by the prophets under the influence of the prophetic spirit were sometimes spoken in the character of the Father and sometimes in the character of the Christ, ποτὲ δ' ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ δεσπότου πάντων καὶ πατρὸς θεοῦ φθέγγεται, ποτὲ δ' ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ. As instances of the former Justin cites Isa. i 3 sq., of the latter Isa. l 6-8.

III. INDEPENDENT USE OF JUSTIN'S READINGS AND LXX.

Many quotations from the prophets in the Tract are after the version of Justin, and in some places are similar to the LXX, but in other places shew independence, e.g. c. 59—'And his *rising* shall be glorious' (Isa. xi 10). LXX has, after Heb., ἀνάστασις, rest. The word in Irenaeus is probably due to confusion of some part of ὄψ or derivative, e.g. ἴσθρ 'standing place' with ὄψρ. In c. 58 he cites Num. xxiv 17, 'A star will rise out of Jacob and a *leader* be raised out of Israel'. Here LXX has ἀστέρας, but Heb. מַטְעָן, staff or sceptre, the constr. plural of which, מַטְעָנִים, means rulers in 2 Sam. vii 7. Micah v 1 is cited in c. 63 differently from LXX and Hebrew, but after Justin *Apol.* I 34 ὅστις ποιμαίνει τὸν λαόν μου; while Hosea x 6 is cited in the LXX form καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους δέξονται ἀρπάζοντες ξίφος τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰσραὴλ both by Justin *Dial.* 103 and by Irenaeus Tract c. 77. Isa. liii 4 is cited after Matt. viii 17 and not after LXX or Heb. in c. 67. Zech. ix 9 is cited in c. 65 after LXX, but omitting δίκαιος and οὐκ ἔσται with Justin *Apol.* I 35. The whole discussion on Isa. lii 12-13 in cc. 68-69 bears a close resemblance to its treatment and readings in Justin's *Apologetica* and *Dialogue*, e.g. in c. 69, 'through His stripes we have healing' (Isa. lii 5) is after

Justin's *Dial.* 95 and 17 which latter has δι' οὗ τῶν μωλύσων ἰασις γίνεσθαι, where Justin evidently regarded the niphal form נִפְּלַג as substantive, the LXX reading ἰάθημεν, as Justin does in *Dial.* 32 where he also has the sing. τῷ μώλωπι after Heb. and LXX: cf. *Dial.* 43. But in his interpretation of Isa. liii 8 Irenaeus was unhappily led astray by both Justin (*Apol.* I 50) and LXX, who read ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ, through overlooking פ before מִפְּלַג. Irenaeus gives a different reading from Justin and LXX of Zech. xiii 7 in c. 76—'Sword, awake against the man who is my companion'; LXX ἐπὶ ἄνδρα πολίτην μου, Justin *Dial.* 53 ἐπ' ἄνδρα τοῦ λαοῦ μου, reading יַעַץ for יְחִיעָץ, 'my fellow or fellowship'. Irenaeus is nearest to the Hebrew. In c. 75 he follows the LXX version of Ps. lxxxix 39-46, reading 'help of His sword' (βοήθειαν, but Heb. מַצָּע acies); and in c. 84 the LXX of Ps. xxiv 7, reading οἱ ἄρχοντες, evidently through confusion of מֶלֶךְ prince and שַׁעַר gate; but in c. 85 he follows the Hebrew reading of Ps. xix 7, 'And nothing (יָסוּד) remains hid from the heat thereof', while the LXX and Justin have οὐκ ἔστιν ὄσ. In c. 86 he reads 'messengers' in his version of Isa. lii 7; but Heb. and LXX have the singular. In c. 49 he reads Isa. xlv 1, 'The Lord said to my Lord the Anointed' instead of 'to Cyrus mine anointed', through confusion of κύριω (LXX and Hebrew) and κυρίω. But in c. 96 he gives a nearer version of the Hebrew הִרְצַף, to break or cut the neck, than the LXX, which reads ἀποκτείνω. The German is würgen, to strangle. And in c. 68 he wrongly renders לָבִיחַ of Isa. liii 12 as passive, i.e. 'is known.' LXX and Justin have συνήσει and Vulgate intelliget.

IV. NEW TESTAMENT READINGS AND REFERENCES.

Of Irenaeus's New Testament readings one is to be noted. He read ἄξος instead of οἶνον in Matt. xxvii 34. In this matter he keeps company with Cod. Alexand. and Cod. Sangall. 'written in Latin (most probably by Irish) monks in the west of Europe during the 9th [rather 10th] century' (Scrivener). This is an interesting link between the Irish Church and Irenaeus, whose writings had a great influence upon the life and thought of St Patrick. See *Hermathena*, 1906, in which I have tried to establish this point. There is an indirect reference to Heb. xii 23 in c. 94, where he writes: 'The Lord Himself has saved us by giving many children to the Church, the assembly of the firstborn, which recalls πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων. But owing to his following the principle of citing Old Testament authorities rather than New in this work, he does not indicate the source. He, however, distinctly ascribes John i 14 to 'His disciple John' ('Johannes discipulus Domini' of *Adv. Haer.* IV 30) in c. 94, and John i 1 to 'His disciple John' in c. 43—another link between the disciple John and the Fourth Gospel.

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

'CHIEF PRIESTS' IN THE LATIN GOSPELS.

IN the American *Journal of Theology* for 1907, p. 500, Dr Nestle has an interesting Note on the Gospels in the Latin Vulgate. Dr Nestle propounds the theory that S. Jerome did little more than cursorily revise a current text, and that this current text was of great antiquity, each Gospel the work of a separate translator, whereby he says 'it is clear that the text-critical value of it is greatly enhanced, seeing that the translation goes back into a time when the Gospels were not yet united into one collection'. For the proof of this surprising statement Dr Nestle appeals to the way in which the same Greek word is translated differently in the several Gospels. His instances are ἀρχιερεύς, παρακαλεῖν and ἐπιτιμᾶν. I propose to examine the first in some detail, because a statistical method is eminently appropriate for technical terms, the rendering of which do not depend upon the context.

Dr Nestle says: 'Take ἀρχιερεύς. It occurs in Matthew 25 times; in Mark, 21 times; in Luke, 15 times; in John, 21 times. It is rendered *pontifex* in Matthew, Mark, and Luke but once, among 61 cases; in John *everywhere*, except in the first passage (vii 32), where the Vulgate has *principes* and seems to have read ἀρχοντες instead of ἀρχιερείς. Is this again accidental? Or does it prove diversity of translators? It is obvious that the translation of John is due to another hand than that of the rest.

'But that also Matthew, Mark, and Luke were not translated by the same man is shewn by the fact that in Matthew the regular translation of ἀρχιερεύς is *princeps sacerdotum*, and in Mark *summus sacerdos*. In Matthew there is not a single deviation from *princeps sacerdotum*; in Mark *summus sacerdos* appears 16 times (among 21), and is replaced by *pontifices* in xv 11, because the preceding verse ended in *summi sacerdotes*, and it would have sounded very badly to go on again *summi sacerdotes*; in xiv 35 by the simple *sacerdotes*, because *summus sacerdos* had occurred already in the same verse; by *princeps sacerdotum* in ii 26, x 33, xi 18. But these are such exceptions as prove the rule.'

Of course, if Dr Nestle means no more than that the Vulgate Gospels are not entirely a new translation from the Greek, but a revision more or less thorough of some 'Old Latin' text, then we shall all agree with him. My object in this Note is to point out that the phenomenon noticed by Dr Nestle in the Vulgate is found in most Old Latin texts as well, and to suggest that they are best explained as more or less partial revisions of all Four Gospels, not always it may be assumed with the help of a Greek Codex. If Dr Nestle's theory be true for any known Latin text, it will be true for the African Latin.

of all it may be worth while mentioning that *ιερεύς* is regularly *i* by *sacerdos* in all texts. The only exception in the Gospels is 4, where the Vulgate supports *τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ* in agreement with the 'Ferrar Group') and 33, but against all other Greek MSS Old Latin texts. As this Latin reading must surely be due to himself, it is interesting for our purpose to note that the rendering *pi sacerdotum*.

following Tables the symbol for a MS indicates that it has the rendering to the head of the column in which it stands. *l* is only cited for Lc. and except where cited, may be assumed to be lost. *h*, the leading MS of the i. e. Cypriatic text, is only extant for the first half of Matt. and the latter lc. *e*, the other predominantly African MS is (roughly speaking) lost. *k* is extant; it is also lost for the whole of Matt. xxv, xxvi, and xxvii. *ng* for the concluding chapters of Mc.

ifex	sacerdos	princeps sacerdotum	summus sacerdos	(other renderings)
	<i>k</i>	<i>abd</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		
	<i>e</i> (<i>Iren</i>)	<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i> (<i>Iyc</i>)		
		<i>abdfn</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		
		<i>eadf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		
		<i>eadff</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		
		<i>ebdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		
47,		<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		[<i>hiat a</i>]
59,				[<i>hiat e</i>]
				v. 59 princeps <i>a n</i>
	<i>Cyp</i>	<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		[<i>hiat e</i>]
		<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		"
		<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		"
62,		<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		"
	<i>e</i>	<i>abdf</i> <i>ε</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		<i>a</i> also has pr. sac. in an interpolation to xxviii 12.
	<i>f</i>	<i>q</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>		
		<i>ffiqr</i> <i>c</i>	<i>bd</i> <i>f</i> <i>vg</i>	<i>om. eabdfir</i>
a)		<i>ffiqrf</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>	<i>bd</i>	principibus <i>a</i>
a)		<i>b</i> <i>qrf</i> <i>vg</i>	<i>dff</i> <i>c</i>	pont. sacerdotum <i>a</i>
a)	<i>i</i>	<i>ffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>bd</i> <i>r</i> <i>f</i> <i>vg</i>	pr. et sac. <i>i</i>
a)		<i>ffq</i>	<i>d</i> <i>ir</i> <i>fc</i> <i>vg</i>	pont. sacerdotum <i>a</i>
a)		<i>ffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>d</i> <i>ir</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>ffq</i>	<i>a</i> <i>d</i> <i>r</i> <i>fc</i> <i>vg</i>	pont. sacerdotum <i>a</i>
		<i>dffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>a</i> <i>d</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>ffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>a</i> <i>d</i> <i>vg</i>	
a	<i>qr</i> <i>vg</i>	<i>ffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>a</i> <i>d</i> <i>vg</i>	<i>om. h</i>
		<i>ffq</i>	<i>a</i> <i>d</i> <i>r</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>ffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>d</i> <i>r</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>ffq</i> <i>c</i>	<i>d</i> <i>vg</i>	<i>om. affc</i>
		<i>q</i>	<i>d</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>q</i>	<i>dff</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>q</i>	<i>dff</i> <i>fc</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>q</i>	<i>dff</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>	
a		<i>a</i> <i>q</i>	<i>dff</i> <i>c</i> <i>vg</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>ff</i> <i>c</i>	<i>d</i> <i>r</i> <i>vg</i>	for <i>h</i> , see below
vg	(<i>h</i>)	<i>dff</i>		<i>om. ar</i>
	<i>h</i>	<i>n</i> <i>ff</i> <i>c</i>	<i>d</i> (<i>vg</i>)	

ἀρχιερεύς pontifex	sacerdos	princeps sacerdotum	summus sacerdos	(other renderings)
Lc. iii 2 e		a(b)dfflqrfc)vg		
ix 22 a		e b dfflqrfc vg		
xix 47 (d) a		dffilqrfc vg		pont. au. sacerdotum
xx 1 e a		dffilqrfc vg		[hiat b xix, xx]
19 e a		dffilqrfc vg		
xxii 2 e a		b dffilqrfc vg	Π ^α (R)	
4 a		e b dffilqrfc vg		
50 a	l c	e b dffilqrfc vg		
52 a		e b dffilqrfc vg		primi sacerdotes, om. d
54 a	c	e b dffilqrfc vg		
66 a		e b dffilqrfc vg		
xxiii 4 a	c	e b dffilqrfc vg		
10 a	c	e b dffilqrfc vg		
13 a	(c)	e b dffilqrfc vg	f	
23 a	f c	d		om. e a b f l r vg
xxiv 20 a	e c	b dff l r	f (vg)	[hiat q (and in xxiii 23)]
Joh. vii 32 ^a e	ab	a dff qrf		om. dfflqrfcvg
32 ^b l		a dff qrfc		om. e b, principes c vg
45 e l vg		b ff qrfc	r	[hiat b]
xi 47 l vg	a	eab ff fc	(r)	scribae d (errore)
49 l c vg		eab ff f	r	principes d [hiat q]
51 ff l c vg		eab ff f		" [hiat q]
57 ff l c vg	r	eab ff fc		" [hiat q]
xii 10		eab ff(l) rfc vg		" [hiat q]
xviii 3 e vg		ab qrfc		pt. sacerdoti q [hiat e d l]
10 vg		eab ff rfc		" "
13 ff c vg		ab q f	r	om. q "
15 ^a ff vg		ab qrfc		" "
15 ^b ff c vg		ab r f		" "
16 ff c vg		ab qrf		" "
19 ff vg		ab q f c	r	" "
22 Cyp c vg		ab ff qrf		" "
24 b ff c vg		a qrf		[hiat d l ad finem]
26 e b ff c vg		a qrf		
35 e vg		ab ff qrfc		
xix 6 e vg	a	b ff qrfc		
15 b vg	e a	ff n qrfc		principes (iudaeor.)
21 vg	e	a ff		b q f c [hiat r]

One or two notes on special passages may be made before coming to the general conclusions.

Matt. xvi 21. Neither *sacerdotibus* in Iren. iii 18 nor *principes sacerdotum* in Tyconius 61 proves much, as both quotations appear to have been made from memory. But the latter passage at least proves that *princeps sacerdotum* was familiar to Tyconius in Africa about 380 A. D., even if it did not stand in his Bible.

Matt. xxvi 59. The occurrence of the simple *princeps* in *a* and *n* is a good instance of the close connexion between these two MSS. It is of course a mere stylistic change, Caiaphas having been called *princeps sacerdotum* in the two preceding verses.

Mt. ii 26. ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέωσ is absent from all genuine Old

Latin texts: it is therefore important to notice that when ἀρχιερεύς is being introduced for the first time by the Vulgate and the late MS *q* the rendering is *princeps sacerdotum*. This agrees with what was noted above for Mc. i 44 vg. No doubt *c* is here interpolated directly from the Vulgate, and *f* from the Gothic, as often elsewhere. The Gothic has here the simple *gudja*, used indiscriminately for 'priest' and 'high priest'.

Mc. x 33, xi 27, xiv 10. In all these places *a* has *pontifices sacerdotum*, which may fairly be regarded as evidence for an original *pontifices*, altered by a scribe who was more familiar with *principes sacerdotum*. Probably the simple *principibus* in Mc. viii 31 *a* has a similar origin.

Mc. xiv 53^b. The omission in *k* is due to 'like beginning'; it is clear that *pontif.* stood in its ancestry both in 53^a and 53^b. The simple *sacerdos* of *qr* is no doubt to be explained as Dr Nestle explains it (see above); just as *princeps* in Matt. xxvi 59 *an* is short for *princeps sacerdotum*, so *sacerdos* is here short for *summus sacerdos*.

Mc. xiv 61. There is some reason for thinking that ἀρχιερεύς was absent from the immediate ancestry of *d* and of *q* (see Tisch. ad loc.); if so, in replacing the word each MS keeps to its own usage.

Mc. xv 10, 11. There is much variation here, and the Greek text as printed is perhaps wrong (see below). In various ways B 1 & c. 565 700 (*k*) (*c*) *a r* syr. *S* arm boh all testify to the omission of ἀρχιερεύς either in *ver.* 10 or *ver.* 11. It is probable that *pontifices* in *ver.* 11 in the Vulgate is due to Jerome himself; if so, it suggests that considerations of style sometimes were preferred by him to considerations of consistency.

Mc. xv 31. *n* may be regarded as a substitute for *a*.

Lc. xxii 50. The independent character of *c* in the last two-and-a-half chapters of Luke comes out well in these lists. Its marked preference for *sacerdos* as opposed both to the ordinary *princeps sacerdotum* and to *pontifex* is borne out by *e* in Lc. xxiv 20.

Lc. xxiii 13, xxiv 20. Both ἀρχοντες and ἀρχιερεύς occur in the Greek of these verses, so that texts which normally would have *principes sacerdotum* were in a difficulty. In xxiii 13 *b e l r* vg render ἀρχοντες by *magistratus* as in Lc. xii 58 lat. vt, while *ff* omits ἀρχοντες altogether, as do *a (b) ff l* in xxiv 20. The other alternative is followed by *f*, and in xxiv 20 by vg also, viz. to retain *principes* for ἀρχοντες and to get a fresh term for ἀρχιερεύς. The evidence of *c* makes it probable that *sacerdos*, not *pontifex*, stood in the earliest texts of these passages: had *pontifex* been used here it would have been allowed to stand side by side with *principes*.

It is probably a mere slip of St Jerome's pen that the best MSS of the Vulgate have *summi sacerdotum* in Lc. xxiv 20.

Joh. vii 32 is greatly confused in order, but the distribution of the Old Latin documents is essentially the same as in *ver.* 45.

Joh. xix 21. The Greek is οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, for which *sacerdotes Iud.* in *e* is a sufficient equivalent. Then *sacerdotes* was changed in the interests of literalness into *principes sacerdotum*, preserved in *a ff* and then *sacerdotum* omitted for euphony in *b q f c*, the sense being clear. The Vulgate reading is doubtless a correction of the simple *principes*, the same term being chosen as in xix 6 and 15.

To turn now to the general question. There can be little doubt that in Mark, John, and the first twenty chapters of Luke *pontifex* is the constant 'African' rendering of ἀρχιερεῖς, and that *princeps sacerdotum* only finds a place in *e* through occasional assimilation of its fundamentally African text to a more commonplace vocabulary. It is equally certain that *pontifex* has no place in the African text of Matthew, its place being taken by simple *sacerdos* (Cyp. 1/1, *k* 1/1, *e* 2/6). The evidence of *k* in Matt. ii 4 and of Cyprian 80 in Matt. xxvii 3 makes it certain that *sacerdos* alone must be accepted as an African equivalent to ἀρχιερεῖς. It is therefore difficult to resist the conclusion that *sacerdos* is also the true African rendering in Mc. xv 31 (*k*), Lc. xxiv 20 (*e c*), Joh. xix 15 (*e a*). And if so, remembering the 'African' character of *c* in Lc. xxii, xxiii, and the non-African character of *e* in the same chapters, we need have little hesitation in accepting the evidence of *c* for *sacerdos* in Lk. xxii 50, (52), 54, xxiii 4, 10, (13), and I do not hesitate to add *ver.* 23 also.¹

Thus for the African text we find that the rendering of ἀρχιερεῖς is *sacerdos* in Matt., *pontifex* in Mc. Lc. Joh., but with a tendency to lapse back again into *sacerdos* at the end of each Gospel. Possibly this may indicate that the Gospel of Matthew was translated separately and at an earlier date than the rest, but it might almost equally be regarded as the result of translating the Four Gospels in the order Matt. Joh. Lc. Mc. The difference of style between S. John and S. Matthew and the difference of context in which ἀρχιερεῖς occurs in these Gospels, might produce a difference of rendering for this and other words, and the use of *pontifex* once established it might be continued in Lc. and Mc. *Sacerdos* and *pontifex* must have been regarded as practically equivalent, for in Cyprian's quotations from Ac. xxiii 4, 5, he has three times *sacerdotem* (*Dei*) in *ver.* 4, but *pontifex* in *ver.* 5.²

If the 'African' Latin be a translation of the full Gospel Canon it is not likely that the European texts, which on the whole appear to be

¹ That is, to accept καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων as a genuine 'African' reading. It must be remembered that *c* has been corrupted from the Latin Vulgate, not from the Greek 'Antiochian' Vulgate, and the Latin Vulgate omits these words.

² Cyprian 470, 671, 729. Augustine has *princeps sacerdotum*.

so much less primitive, are 'translations' of separate single Gospels. Is it not much more likely that they represent textual and linguistic revisions of the early forms of the African text?

On no theory is it easy to account for *summus sacerdos*. It is certainly not due to Jerome, for Jerome introduced *principes sacerdotum* in Mc. i 44, ii 26, and *pontifices* in xv 11. The distribution of evidence is made difficult to trace by the lacunae which occur in many MSS of Mark. *c* fails from viii 31, *b* from xiv 1, *i* from xiv 43, *f* from xiv 53^b-60 and from xv 1, not to speak of occasional failures in *r* and *g*. But enough remains to suggest that it was almost as frequent in *b* as in *d*. Here as elsewhere *b* represents tendencies which the Vulgate carries out more fully. The curious thing is that while all the European MSS have *summus sacerdos* for ἀρχιερός in Mc. several times, it never occurs in any 'African' document (for *c* when it agrees with vg ought not really to be classed as Old Latin at all), and hardly ever occurs outside Mc. The total lack of African support shews that it cannot be primitive; it must therefore be regarded as a correction for *pontifex*, not an independent translation of ἀρχιερός. When *b* leaves off using *pontifex*, the evidence for *summus sacerdos* at once shrinks, *c ff* (and once even *d*) going over to *princeps sacerdotum*.

It is difficult to realize the facts about the extant texts of the Gospels in Latin, and more difficult still to reconstruct their history. But I feel sure of two things: first, that our theories must start from the African texts, not from the Vulgate and other comparatively late revisions; and secondly, that the greater amount of variety in rendering found in S. Mark's Gospel corresponds to its comparative neglect for literary and liturgical purposes. In the other Gospels, especially S. Matthew, there was something of an ecclesiastical standard in vocabulary, which reacted, perhaps unconsciously, upon editors and scribes, but this restraining and standardizing influence was less felt when the text of S. Mark was being revised, either from a Greek MS or for stylistic purposes.

In conclusion, let me once more express my belief that such investigations as that which Dr Nestle has begun must not be based on the Vulgate, a text which has had too long and complicated a history for us to be able to divine that history by internal evidence alone. And we must take the evidence of the whole vocabulary of the Gospels. If we found that the earliest texts that have come down to us have regularly *felix* in S. Matthew but *beatus* in S. Luke as a rendering of μακάριος, and also *mundus* for ὁ κόσμος in the Synoptic Gospels but *sacculum* in S. John, then we might begin to wonder whether this difference of rendering does not correspond to a difference of place or date in the translations. But the evidence, in my opinion, does not point to such rigid original uniformity. *Sacculum* for *mundus* is really characteristic

of the 'African' text of S. John, but the evidence that even Cyprian had *mundus* in Joh. i is very strong, and it is hardly likely that different parts of the Fourth Gospel were translated into Latin by different hands. Finally, words like *turba*, *populus*, *multitudo* (as renderings of *ὄχλος*) are quite intractable to any theory of primitive uniformity. For reasons such as these I still believe that the appearance of *summus sacerdos* for *ἀρχιερεῖς* in the Vulgate text of S. Mark is the result of unsystematic revision of the 'European' texts of the Old Latin, not a primitive feature preserved unchanged from the age when the Gospels circulated separately.

Note on some Latin texts of Mark xv 10, 11.

1. The text of *a* may be thus restored from Irco's edition :

..... ATENIM	<i>sciebat enim</i>
..... ROPTER	<i>quod propter</i>
.... DIAM	<i>inuidiam</i>
.... IDERUNT	<i>tradiderunt</i>
... UMPRIN	<i>illum prin-</i>
... ESSACER	<i>-cipes sacer-</i>
... UMQUI	<i>-dotum qui</i>
.... MTUR	<i>etiam tur</i>
... SUASE	<i>bae suase-</i>
.... UTMA	<i>-runt ut ma-</i>
GISBARABBA	<i>-gis barabban</i>
DIMITTERET	<i>dimitteret</i>
ILLIS	<i>illis</i>

This agrees exactly with the reading of 565 700 and the Armenian, i.e. ¹⁰ ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, ¹¹ οἵτινες καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἔπεισαν ἵνα μᾶλλον τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς.

(565 and arm omit *μᾶλλον*. 700 has *ἀνέσεισαν* with most Greek MSS.)

The Irish MS *r* practically agrees with *a*, especially in the characteristic placing of *τὸν ὄχλον* before *ἔπεισαν* (*sic*). The grouping 565 700 *a r* arm is very curious, and should be taken into account in any attempt to estimate the origin of the special element of *a* in S. Mark.

2. *k* and *c* are best exhibited side by side.

<i>k</i>	<i>c</i>
¹⁰ sciebat enim quia per iniuriam tradebant eum principes	¹⁰ sciebat enim quod per inuidiam tradiderunt eum principes
¹¹ sacerdotes autem et scribae persuaserunt populo ut magis agerent barabban dimitte nobis	¹¹ sacerdotum scribae autem persuaserunt turbis ut dicerent magis barabban dimitte nobis.

Here *k* and *c* have in common against all other texts the mention of 'scribes' and the ungrammatical oratio recta at the end. *Iniuriam* in *k* is a mere blunder for *inuidiam*, and I imagine that *agerent* is nothing more than a blunder for *dicerent*. In Mc. xi 18, xii 12 ὄχλος is translated by *populus* in *k* against the *turba* of other texts, otherwise it would be attractive to regard *populo* as a mistaken supplement and *scribae* as a corruption of *turbae* (dat. sing.). But it is impossible to equate *k* with *a*, so that this suggestion may be definitely rejected, and we must conclude with the remark, that the only instance of anything like *Principes sacerdotum* in *k* occurs in a singularly confused and corrupted passage.

F. C. BURKITT.

SECUS.

What is the Latin for 'by the way-side'? It is instructive to a Christian scholar to find that his classical friends do not know the phrase *secus uiam*, which is the ordinary Vulgate equivalent for ἀπὸ τῆν ὁδόν, and further that this 'learned ignorance' is shared by the 'African' text of the Bible, though *secus* as a preposition is used by the Africans in other connexions.

Charisius the Grammarian says *id quod uulgas usurpat 'secus illum sedi', hoc est 'secundum illum, et nouum et sordidum est'*. This is about the middle of the fourth century. Towards the end we find *secus* freely employed by S. Ambrose of Milan, who says of the Good Samaritan (in *Luc* 1428 C) *uenit secus eum, hoc est, factus compassionis nostrae susceptione finitimus et misericordiae collatione uicinus*.

But it is not easy to find examples from earlier authors. I ought perhaps to add that the instances alleged in the older Latin Dictionaries for *secus* as a preposition are almost always unsupported by any MS authority, e. g. in Ennius (*ap. Lactant.*), in Quintilian viii 2, 20 and in Pliny *H. N.* xxiv 15 all the MSS read *secundum* not *secus*. In Cato *R. R.* § 21, 2 *utrinque secus* must be an adverb, as it is twice so used a few lines further on. In various texts of the Latin Gospels *secus* stands for (1) παρά; (2) ἐπί; (3) κατά.

(1) *rapá* (with acc. of place).

	ad	iuxta	circa	secus	aliter
Matt. iv 18		<i>k f</i> VG		<i>a d h m²⁰ c</i>	secundum <i>b</i>
xiii 1 <i>h</i>		<i>e h corb</i>		<i>abdf q fcvg</i>	
4		<i>he</i>		<i>abdfh q fcvg</i>	
19 <i>h</i>		<i>e</i>		<i>abdfh q fcvg</i>	
xv 29 <i>he</i>		<i>f</i>		<i>abdf qr cvg</i>	
30	<i>fq</i> VG				[see below]
xx 30				<i>caabdfh q fcvg</i>	super <i>rr</i> ,
Mc. i 16				<i>abdfi rfcvg</i>	
ii 13 <i>ea dffqr cvg</i>		<i>f</i>		<i>b</i>	
iv 1 <i>abdfqrscvg</i>					
4		<i>ea i</i>	<i>bd qrf</i> VG	<i>a f c</i>	
15		<i>b q</i>	<i>dffi rfcvg</i>	<i>a</i>	
v 21 <i>ea</i>		<i>b fc</i>	<i>dffiqr</i> VG		
x 46 <i>h</i>		<i>a f</i> VG	<i>bdfi r c</i>	<i>q</i>	
Lc. vi 6 <i>d</i>		<i>a</i>		<i>b f lqrscvg</i>	
2 <i>ea d</i>				<i>b f lqrscvg</i>	
vii 35 <i>e d fc</i>				<i>b f lqr</i> VG	om. <i>a</i>
viii 5 <i>e d</i>		<i>a</i>		<i>b f lqrscvg</i>	
12 <i>e d</i>				<i>ab f lqrscvg</i>	
35 <i>bdflqrscvg</i>					ante <i>a</i>
41 <i>ab flqrscvg</i>					[sub <i>d</i> (= <i>in</i>)]
ix 47 <i>d</i>		<i>fc</i>		<i>b f lqr</i> VG	ante <i>e</i> , apud <i>a</i>
x 39 <i>ead c</i>				<i>b f ilqrf</i> VG	
xviii 16 <i>eadf</i>					ante <i>b silqrf</i> VG
xviii 35				<i>abdf ilqrscvg</i>	

Matt. xv 30 (*ἐπιτοὶς αἰνοῦ*) *rapá* *raio* *raiois* *aiou*: *he* have the simple dative (*αἰνοῦ*), *aef* *ant* have *ant*; D reads *raio* for *rapá*, followed by or following *hd*, which have *ant*.

Lc. ix 47; *rap' earru*: D reads *rap' earru*, followed (?) by the Latins. There is no instance of *rapá* with acc. in S. John.

In Lc. viii 35 Ambrose has *apud*, in viii 41 *ante*, in viii 5, x 39, xviii 35 *ante*.

(2) *raio*.

Matt. xiii 45 <i>raio</i> <i>raiois</i>	<i>ad</i> <i>trabdfghqf</i>	secus <i>cvg</i>
xx 14 <i>raio</i> <i>raio</i>	super <i>a</i>	secus <i>ca bffghqrscvg</i> Hilary
Lc. xx 32 <i>raio</i> <i>raio</i>	secus <i>vg</i>	[ante <i>ant</i> <i>vg</i>]
xxiv 4 <i>raio</i> <i>raio</i>	secus <i>a</i>	secus <i>eb f' iqc</i> VG

raio have the simple dative. *f* has "sic".

¹ In Lc. xx 32, *vg* alone gives the modern interpretation, whereby *secus* *Raban* means practically "in the section of the Pentateuch called 'The Book'". The other Latins have—

- M. significant quomodo dicit in rubr. *ant*. (cp. 244, *ant* AW).
- M. significant in rubr. quomodo dicit *ant* *a*.
- M. significant super rubrum quomodo dicitur et dicitur dicitur Ego sum *is* *a*.
- M. demonstrant quomodo dicit de rubr. *ant* *a*.
- M. ostendit sicut dicit *ant* in rubr. *ant* *f' iqc* (cp. W).

In other words *d* and *Cyprian* preserve the original, which is variously interpreted *R. ant*.

(3) κατά.

Lc. x 32	κατὰ τὸν τόπον	om. e	per a	ad d f c	secus b f f i l q r	vg
33	κατ' αὐτόν	secundum e	per a	ad d	secus f f i l q r f c	vg

In the latter verse *b* is illegible. Ambrose has *secus*.

Under the head of *secus* = *κατά* comes the use where it does not express place, but 'according to'. This use and this alone, so far as I know, is found in African writers, e.g. Tertullian *De Anima* § 55 'quodsi Christus Deus, quia et homo mortuus secundum Scripturas et sepultus *secus* easdem'. It is not found in the Bible, unless Lc. xx 37 vg be counted an example, but it is characteristic of the curious and ancient Latin text of the *Assumption of Moses*, e.g. i 10, ii 2, 5.

A glance at the above Tables will bring out several points of interest. *Secus* never occurs in *k*, and only three times in *e*, so that we may safely conclude that in these three places *e* does not faithfully represent the African text, or indeed the original wording of the Latin version. *Circa* is almost entirely confined to the later European text of S. Mark — it is, in fact, as characteristic of that text as *summus sacerdos* for ἀρχιερεύς, — but (again like *summus sacerdos*) there is no trace of it in African documents. The reason for its sudden appearance from Mc. iv 4 onwards may be connected with the variations in the latter part of iv 1, where a European revision, attested by *a* and *d*, and partly by *q* and vg, substitutes *circa mare* for *ad litus* and *in litore*. The use of *circa* with its convenient vagueness of meaning in this verse may have suggested its subsequent employment as a rendering of *παρά*. However this may be, the only place that *circa* occurs in an African text is Lc. xviii 35 *e*, where the whole mass of European documents have *secus*. The true 'African' equivalents for 'by the way-side' are *ad uiam* and *iuxta uiam*.

The main deduction which I think we are justified in drawing from these Tables, at least as a working hypothesis, is that when we find *secus* in a Latin document (except in the sense of 'according to') the document is either non-African and not earlier than the fourth century, or the text where *secus* occurs has been corrupted. An illustration of the first alternative is the Latin text of the *Book of Jubilees*, in which *secus* (= *παρά*) often occurs: I do not doubt therefore that this Latin text is not older than the fourth century. On the other hand, the Latin version of Clement has only *secus* meaning 'according to',¹ and therefore may be quite ancient. An illustration of the second alternative, where *secus* has wrongly invaded an African text, is to be found in *De Montibus Sina et Sion* § 9, where Ps. i 3 is quoted according to Hartel (App. p. 115) with the ordinary phrase *secus decursus aquarum*,

¹ *Secus uoluntatem Dei* (Morin 217). This is not the only point of contact between the Latinity of Clement and that of the *Assumption of Moses*.

on the authority of his codices M and T. But the late Munich MS μ , together with the tenth-century Oxford MS which Dr Sanday calls O_2 , have *iuxta tractus aquarum*, and this is no doubt the original reading of the *De Montibus* and the true African equivalent for *παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων*.

F. C. BURKITT.

PHILO'S INTERPRETATION OF LEVITICUS XVIII 18.

IN Archdeacon O. D. Watkins's learned treatise on Holy Matrimony (London, 1895) it is categorically stated (p. 653 note) that 'Philo had no doubt that the Mosaic Law prohibited marriage of two sisters *even when one was dead or divorced*', and reference is made to Philo: *De Specialibus Legibus* Lib. iii c. 5 p. 304 M (=Cohn v p. 157). This statement seemed so surprising, in face of the ordinary Jewish interpretation that I have re-examined the passage in question, and have come to the conclusion that this interpretation of the passage is wrong, and I have the permission of Archdeacon Watkins to add that he is now convinced that it is wrong.

The particular sentence is indeed ambiguous and probably needs emendation, but the tenor of the whole context is conclusive. The chapter runs thus:—

'Moses does not allow the same man to marry two sisters, either contemporaneously or consecutively, even if he have put away (*ἀπεωσμένο*) the one he married first.' Then follows the sentence on which Archdeacon Watkins relied, which I leave untranslated for the moment—*ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι τῆς συνοικουσίας, εἴτε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης, εἴαν τε χρειῶν εἴη τε καὶ ἐτέρῳ γαμηθῆ, τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὐχ ὅσιον ἐπέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἡτυχηκίας παρέρχεσθαι*—'thereby clearly teaching that it is not right to violate the just rights of relationship, or for the new wife to take advantage of the misfortunes of one who is so closely united to her by birth, nor to give herself airs thereon or pride herself on being courted by her sister's enemies and on courting them in return. For from such circumstances spring bitter jealousies and implacable rivalries, bringing in their train countless crops of evils. It is as bad as if the members of the body were to break loose from their natural harmony and interdependence and to rise in war one against the other, the result of which is incurable diseases and death; and sisters, even if they are separate members of a family, are at least linked and united one to another by nature and a common kinship.'

Now it seems clear (i) that the whole context implies that the first wife is still alive, the argument being based upon the danger of quarrels

ing out of jealousy: (ii) that the alternatives *ἐάν τε χηρεύῃ ἐάν τε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέρας γαμηθῇ*, are subordinate to and qualify *ἀπηλλαγμένης*: this makes it possible to translate *ἀπηλλαγμένης* 'dead' as though it were the antithesis of *ζώσης*, and compels us to interpret it 'separated' as contrasted with *συννοικίωσης*; and the *ἀτυχία* in question will not be death but an unfortunate marriage ending in separation. We may then, perhaps, translate 'For while she (*ἦν πρόεγγημεν*) is still alive, whether still living in her husband's house or separated from him, and, if separated, not only if still living in widowhood, but even if married to a second husband; yet even so he did not regard it as seemly that a sister should step into the position held by a wife whose marriage had ended unhappily'. But it is doubtful whether *τῆς συννοικίωσης* can be so translated; Dr Swete suggests *ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι (αὐ)τῆς (εἴτε) συννοικίωσης εἰ καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης*, which is very clear and would be convincing were it not possible that the whole clause only applies to the alternative of the divorced wife. Mr C. H. Turner suggests *ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι τῆς συννοικίωσης, καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης*, 'for while his first wife is still alive, even though divorced': this applies the whole to the divorced wife and gives in a better form the same meaning as Mangey's longer emendation *ζώσης γὰρ τῆς (πρότερον) συννοικίωσης, εἴτα καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης*: but it is doubtful whether *ἡ συννοικίωσα* would be used for 'the wife' in the present tense after her separation. Dr Swete's emendation seems the most probable; but, whatever the exact reading may be, the conclusion is clear that Hilario's interpretation cannot be quoted as having any bearing on the question of the marriage of a deceased wife's sister.

W. LOCK.

SOME SPANISH MSS OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED.

THE history of the insertion of the words *et Filio* in MSS of the Constantinopolitan Creed still needs investigation. It is generally supposed that the words were added to the Creed by the Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, when the Visigothic King Reccared renounced Arianism. But the evidence of the MSS has never been properly sifted.¹ In the following collations I have made a beginning, and am able at

¹ In my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 115, I pointed out that two early editions of the Councils—Cologne (1530) and Paris (1535)—omit the words in the text of the Creed quoted by the Council, and D'Aguirre admits that some MSS do not contain them.

once to point out that Gonzalez is inaccurate, whom I quoted in a former article (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1900, p. 108) as shewing that Spanish MSS generally contained the interpolated words. I say advisedly 'a beginning' of the investigation, because I have no wish to overstate the evidence. My time in the Spanish Libraries last April was limited.

A Cod. Escorial 1 D 1 saec. x, Cod. Aemilianus, fol. 134^v.

B Cod. Escorial 1 D 2, saec. x, from Albida, fol. 86^v.

E Cod. Escorial J C 12, saec. x, xi, fol. 37^v.

[E² fol. 113 not collated omits *et filio*.]

M¹ Cod. Matritensis P 21 (1872), saec. x, xi, fol. 59^r.

M² Cod. Matritensis P 21 (1872), saec. x, xi, fol. 133^r.

T¹ Cod. Matritensis 10041 (begun in the year 948) A. D. fol. 56^r.

T² Cod. Matritensis 10041 (begun in the year 948 A. D.) fol. 129^r.

SANCTA FIDES QUAM EXPOSUERUNT SANCTI CL PATRES CONSON
MAGNAE NICAENAE SYNODO.

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli
terrae, uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium.

5 Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum,
Patre natum ante omnia saecula, Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine
Deum uerum ex Deo uero, natum non factum, homousion Patri hoc est
eiusdem cum Patre substantiae, per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter
nos et propter nostram salutem descendit * et incarnatus de Spiritu
10 sancto et Maria uirgine, homo factus, passus est sub Pontio Pilato
sepultus, tertia die resurrexit *, ascendit in caelos, sedit ad dexteram
Patris, iterum uenturus in gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos cuius regni
non erit finis :

Et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificantem, ex Patre*
15 procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et glorificandum, qui
locutus est per prophetas: in unam * catholicam et apostolicam

2 magne AM²T² nicheni A Constantinopolitane A corr.: niceni M³: nicene T²
sinodo A; symbolum B; symbolum eorundem sanctorum CL patrum apud con-
stantinopolim (tatinopolim T¹) institutum ET¹; (?) centum quinquaginta sanctorum
patrum M¹ 3 celi AB 4 terre AM¹ uisibilium et inuisibilium A, + conditorem
ABEM²T¹T² 5 Dominum + nostrum B 6 ex: de M¹ (bis) 7 ex:
de M¹ omousion E: homousyon M¹, homousyon AM² corr. T¹T² 8 sub-
stantie M² sunt: + que in caelo et que in terris (terra AM²T²) AM¹M²T²
9 incarnatus + est A 11 tertia E celos BET¹ 12 Patris *pr* Dei B, in
marg. corr. (?) E iterum: inde ET¹ in: cum BET¹ uibus ABM¹M²T²
13 > finis non erit ET¹ 14 om et 2^o BE Patre + et Filio AB M² *supr.*
in sec man T² 16 loquutus A loquutus BM¹M²T² profetas B: *p* prophetis A
unum A catholica B et: atque B, adque EM¹M²T¹T²

ecclesiam; confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum; expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum, uitam futuri saeculi. Amen.

Of these MSS, A is the least interesting because the Creed form is only quoted once with the words *et Filio* under the heading 'Council of Constantinople' fol. 86^v; under the heading 'Council of Toledo', at fol. 158, the reader is referred back to the earlier Council.

In M the words are omitted on fol. 59^r among the acts of the Council of Constantinople, but inserted on fol. 133^r in a later hand above the line 'under the acts of the Council of Toledo'. In T the words are similarly omitted at fol. 56^v and inserted at fol. 122^v apparently in the original hand. In another MS, Vich LXXX viii, of the twelfth century, which contains the creed under the title '*Fides CL patrum*', I noted that the words were omitted.

Very little doubt is left in my mind that these MSS shew us the gradual process at work by which copyists, influenced by the traditional belief in the Procession of the Spirit from the Son, perhaps also by the very strong words of the 3rd Canon of the Council of Toledo,¹ felt justified in adding them to the text of the Creed as quoted at Toledo, as the copyist of T has done, forgetting the purer text on the earlier page. He may have found them written between the lines of his copy as in M. The copyist of E has remained faithful to his archetype. But the text of AB shews the settled opinion about the interpolated text which took root in Spain and then spread over Europe, so that we rarely find MSS of the tenth century which do not contain it.

A. E. BURN.

¹⁷ eclesiam A: eclesiam B bap**t**isma ABEM¹M²T¹T² remissione
ABEM¹M²T¹T² 18 resurre**ct**ione T² uitam *pr* et M²T²

¹ I will quote it from Cod. Aemilianus (A): Quicumque spiritum sanctum non credet aut non crediderit a patre et filio procedere eumque non dixerit quoeternum patri esse et filio quoessentialem anathema sit,

REVIEWS

OLD-LATIN BIBLICAL TEXTS.

Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. V. The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbiensis (*ff*) . . . together with fragments of the Catholic Epistles, of the Acts and of the Apocalypse from the Fleury Palimpsest (*h*) . . . by E. S. Buchanan, M.A., B.Sc., Oxford, 1907.

MR BUCHANAN'S edition of the two very important Old Latin MSS, best known respectively as *ff* and *h* (Acts), will be welcomed by all students. The work has been a labour of love to the editor, and he has spared no pains in the work of decipherment. Readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies* will remember that he has elaborately discussed the text of *ff* in these pages (*J. T. S.* vii 99-121, 236-267); in fact, these articles must be regarded as his Prolegomena to his edition of the text of *ff* in the series of Oxford Old-Latin Biblical Texts. He also published his reading of two pages from *h* in the same volume (p. 454). Those who are curious in such matters will discover so many notable improvements in the Oxford edition, mostly in the direction a return to Samuel Berger's decipherments.

It would have been well if Mr Buchanan had considered Berger's demonstration of the primitive contents of *h* (Berger, p. 12). Had he done so, he would not have printed the Catholic Epistles in front of the Apocalypse and the Acts. The page containing Ac. xviii 8-19 (reproduced by Berger in facsimile) has the signature G, i. e. Quire 7. Ac. xviii 19 therefore ends the seventh quire, and any one who will take the trouble of counting can verify Berger's calculation for himself, whereby he proves that *h* contained first the Apocalypse (Quires A-C), then the Acts (Quires C-L), and finally the Catholic Epistles.¹ The point is of importance, because *h* is an example of the Third Volume of the New Testament in the *late* African text, in which the Catholic Epistles were the latest stratum (Berger, p. 18); it is therefore proper to point out that they are added on at the end of the volume.²

In the case of a palimpsest like *h*, which in many places is very difficult to read, we have practically to depend upon the testimony of

¹ The only point in which Berger's reconstruction needs to be corrected is that Quire E appears to have had only six leaves instead of eight.

² In *J. T. S.* ix p. 98, Mr Buchanan makes the strange statement that the text of *h* in the Catholic Epistles appears older than that of the Acts or Apocalypse. So far as I know this is quite unfounded.

decipherers, and those who have worked much at such MSS know well often the eye is deceived; we see, again and again, what we think are, but other decipherers approaching the MS with somewhat different prepossessions will see differently. M. Berger was an admirable zoographer with great experience, and Mr Buchanan amply acknowledges his debt to his great predecessor. With very few exceptions it may be taken for granted that where Berger's and Mr Buchanan's text agree the reading of *h* has been correctly made out. Not indeed everywhere, for if we turn again to the page published in facsimile we find that in Ac. xviii 14 Mr Buchanan has repeated Berger's *facinus*, an impossible division for a Latin word. A glance at the facsimile will show that the MS has 'fa' only at the end of the line, leaving *-inus* to be supplied at the mutilated beginning of the next line.

The elimination from *h* of the barbarous *fac-inus* emboldens me to maintain that Mr Buchanan has wrongly followed Berger in Ac. xxvi 27 beginning a line with *ppa*. Here it is the ends of the lines that we lost six or seven letters. Mr Buchanan prints *credis rex agrippa scio quia credis agri] ppa ad eum ait modico suades mihi paulatim fieri*. Possibly *fieri* may be right: it fills the space rather than Berger's *facere*. But *agri-ppa* is impossible, and some years ago, when I had an opportunity of examining *h*, I read *ITA* instead of *ITA*. I conjecture therefore that the true text of *h* is *[qui] ita ad eum*. For *ita* we may compare the beginning of the very next verse *h* which has *ad quem sic ait*, where the Greek is $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\ \Pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.¹

Of perhaps more general interest is Ac. ix 18, where Mr Buchanan prints Berger's *untus est* (= $\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta$), where the MS clearly has *tus est*, the characteristic 'African' term. Naturally, therefore, we must supply *tinti* in Ac. xviii 8, not *unti*.² We should also supply *reas* in Ac. xviii 5 (not *Silas*), on the analogy of Cyprian 127 and other Old-Latin evidence.

Where Mr Buchanan supplements or differs from Berger's text it is difficult to speak with confidence, and in many cases he must be compared to wait until his report is confirmed by the evidence of another pair of eyes. Thus it is quite possible that he has read *h* correctly in Ac. xiv 6, where he prints

** intellexerunt [et fugerunt*

IN LYCAONIAE CIUITATES sicut ihs dixerat eis lx[xiii in lys
TRA et DERBEN

Similarly in Ac. xxvii 9 we must read *transsisset* not *transissit*: cf. Ac. ix 19 *h*. Ac. xxvii 7 I read *aliquod* not *aliquos*, so that *tempus* not *dies* must be supplied at beginning of the next line. In Apoc. i 13 read *mam[mas]* not *mam[illas]*.

I leave this as I had written it, because of the importance of the phrase, but I am glad to see that Mr Buchanan has already recognized his error (*J. T. S.* ix 99).

(Berger only read the letters printed in capitals). But this startling reference to Lc. x 17 (or rather Matt. x 23) is not legible in the photograph, and I think still needs verification before any argument can be built upon it. In the case of a Palimpsest the old rule holds good, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word must be established.

It is pleasant to be able to establish Mr Buchanan's curious new reading in Apoc. i 8, where *h* really has

ego · d · et · ω ·

Of course this is a mere miswriting of the Greek uncials, but the same confusion of Λ and Δ is also found in *ff*, e.g. Matt. xiv 2 where we find *iodnis*, corresponding to $\text{I}\omega\Delta\text{NHC}$ in the Greek. This has been corrected by a superscript *a*, whereby we arrive at the same form that is found in some of the headlines to the Gospel of John in *ff*, viz. SEC IOADNEM and SEC IOADHEM. The ultimate cause of all these scribal corruptions is the attempt to write Greek letters with a Latin pen.¹

The reservations and hesitations with which Mr Buchanan's text of *h* must be accepted do not apply to *ff*, a MS of the Gospels which has been long known to scholars in a rather slipshod fashion. It has been now edited in full with commendable care, and will for the future rank with the Vercellensis (*a*) and the Veronensis (*b*) as a primary authority for that interesting intermediate state of the Gospels in Latin that we know as 'the European text'. Hitherto *ff* lay under some suspicion of occasional assimilation to the Vulgate; Mr Buchanan's careful discrimination of the various correctors of *ff* has finally removed this suspicion.² The Vulgate does not appear to be a constituent element in *ff*: in this it is unlike *c*, and perhaps *r* and *f*.

The side of Mr Buchanan's work upon *ff* where I venture to think he has laid himself open to criticism is his estimate of the value of this text of the Gospels. That *ff* is one of our leading Old-Latin MSS is certain, that it was written not later than the middle of the fifth century is highly probable. Like most other Old-Latin MSS it retains here and there very ancient elements, and these sometimes shew themselves in the form of coincidences with Cyprian. But it is lost labour to try to exhibit *ff* as having any near relation to the true African authorities. What African readings it retains are generally found in other MSS also at the same point. Thus Mr Buchanan quotes (*J. T. S.* vii 242) from

¹ In Apoc. i 8 the *pronunciation* intended, both in Greek and Latin, is, of course, that indicated by Prudentius's line *Alfa et O cognominatus, ipse fons et clausula*.

² In Joh. iv 19 an examination of the photograph has convinced me that *ff** wrote *uideo quia propheta es* (in agreement with *D a b e l r*), and that *tu* was added by a late corrector. Mr Buchanan reads *est* for the first hand, reserving the *u* for the corrector. But the genuine *l*'s of *ff* do not prolong the horizontal stroke to the right as this *t* does.

ff k and Cyprian the passage Mc. xii 29-31, and remarks: 'Here *ff* together with *d* has alone of Latin MSS preserved the second *d̄ms* which is found in St Cyprian. Also *ff* Cyprian support *praecepta* as opposed to *mandatum*. *ff* (*k*) read *diligis* for *diliges*, and *totis viribus tuis* for *tota mente* (=vg). Finally *ff* combines with *k* Cyp. in reading *huic* for *illi*.'

The impression given by a detailed statement like this is very strong. One thinks of *ff* as a sort of Abdiel, faithful without other support to the Africans. But what are the facts? Let us supplement Mr Buchanan's statements one by one. The extant Old-Latin MSS for this passage are *a b c d ff i k q r*: I do not count *l*, for it has a Vulgate text in Matt. and Mc. Well, the second *d̄ms* is found in *c q* as well as in *d ff*. Also *c* supports *praecepta* as opposed to *mandatum*, and *q* has *preceptum*. The misspelling *diligis* for *diliges* is indeed found in *ff* where *k* has *diligit*, but *diligis* also is found in a whole row of Vulgate MSS and in *d*: such confusions of vowels prove very little. On the other hand *totis viribus tuis* for *tota mente* is found in *a b* and *i*, as well as *ff* and *k*. It is not found in *c*, which has the three words *corde . . . anima . . . virtute* in agreement with *d* and with Cyprian. Finally *ff* combines with *k* Cyprian, but also with *c i q*, in reading *huic* for *illi*. Thus in not one single instance out of all the five is *ff* combined alone with an 'African' authority.

It may perhaps surprise some persons to see how well *c* comes out of a careful examination of this sort. Every one knows that the Codex Colbertinus (*c*) is comparatively modern, and as is natural in a MS written in the twelfth century it contains a number of corruptions and interpolations from the mediaeval Vulgate scattered over all four Gospels. These can be detected, however, without great difficulty. What remains, the Old-Latin text itself, is also of mixed quality, predominantly European in St Matthew, and comparatively uninteresting in St John. But in parts of St Luke and St Mark it has a large 'African' element, as is proved not only by the diction, but also by actual coincidences with Cyprian: by a fortunate chance this element is predominant in Lc. xxiii, where our leading African MS *c* practically deserts its fundamental base for a commonplace European type. In the present instance the African elements in *c* come out strongly; in vv. 29-31^a it agrees with Cyprian in almost everything except the commonplace *ex* for the African *de*, no doubt through mere assimilation to the Vulgate, and in ver. 31^b (where Cyprian goes off to Matt. xxii 40) *c* has, in agreement with *k* alone among Latin MSS, the ablative of comparison after *maius*.

To come back to *ff*, I cannot leave Mr Buchanan's remarks in *J. T. S.* vii 249-252 without a protest against the uncritical way in which he

speaks of Codex Palatinus (*e*). It is not critical to set up an arbitrary standard—in this case apparently the Textus Receptus—and then to appraise MSS by their faithfulness to that standard. It is, of course, flattering to be named as an authority side by side with Lachmann and St Augustine and Tischendorf, but in these regions opinion matters nothing at all. It is not a question of my views or of Lachmann's, but of the textual facts. 'Lachmann expressed his belief that the Old-Latin Version originated in Africa, probably at Carthage' (p. 250), and on the ground of the singular readings in *k* he classed it among the 'emended copies'. Very well: so the matter rested, until Hort shewed, not by arguments but by stating the ascertainable fact, that the quotations of St Cyprian agree with the singular codex *k* and to a smaller extent with the almost as singular codex *e*. This worked a revolution. Either Cyprian's text, the most African text we have, representing the official text in use at Carthage about 250 A.D., was to be classed 'with the Italic or emended copies', or else—and this is the alternative universally adopted—the features in *k* and *e* that by Lachmann and Tischendorf were put down to later revision are to be regarded as primitive, and if the text of *k* and *e* is generally speaking primitive, then that of the others, *a b ff* and the rest, is not primitive, but represents a later series of revisions both of the Latinity and of the underlying Greek text. As a result of revision, *a b ff* are on the whole more literal and more commonplace. So far as they are revised they do not represent the primitive Latin version, the main value of which to us resides not in its 'faithfulness' but in its age.

In many ways *e* is an unsatisfactory MS. It is far less true to the Cyprianic standard than *k*. But the black list that Mr Buchanan has drawn out on p. 250 only shews its independence and general freedom from revision. Far more serious are the instances where it agrees with certain European MSS or with the Vulgate itself in commonplace readings, for such passages suggest the influence of other exemplars. For instance, in Lc. iii 22 it has 'with Thee I am well pleased', where *D a b c ff l r* and Tyconius have 'this day have I begotten Thee'.

But after all such lapses are rare, and in very many cases the apparent inaccuracy of *e* receives confirmation elsewhere. Thus the opening words of the Benedictus in most Latin MSS are

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israhel quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem plebi suae, et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo Dauid pueri sui. 'Dominus' is omitted by *a b ff l r* and Ambrose, *b ff r* Ambrose have 'plebis suae' and *a* has 'populo suo'. Thus there is a very general consensus with regard to these familiar words. Now *e* has

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israhel qui prospexit redemptionem populo suo, et excitauit cornum salutis nobis in domo Dauid pueri sui. Do

not *excitavit* for ἤγαγεν and *qui prospexit* for ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν look like what Mr Buchanan calls 'wilful alterations'? There is no recorded Greek variant to Lc. i 68; any Greek MS that a fourth-century Latin reviser might be likely to use would agree with our printed editions. Yet it is quite certain that the scribe of *e* was here faithful to his exemplar, for the very same renderings are found in Cyprian 72. Cyprian, like so many other Latins, omits 'Dominus', and he puts 'nobis' immediately after 'excitavit': otherwise he agrees word for word with *e*. Whether the African text in this verse be ultimately the product of wilfulness or of carelessness I do not know; at any rate *e* is here faithfully repeating words which must have stood unchanged in its ancestry for at least 200 years. It is because instances like this can be taken out of almost every chapter for which *e* is extant that its readings are regarded by sober critics with respect. I do not agree with Mr Buchanan's estimate that *e* was written in the latter half of the sixth century (*J. T. S.* vii 121): the first half of the fifth century is in my opinion more likely. But the value of the text of *e* is quite independent of the date of the MS, and, let me repeat, its value was proved not by its occasional agreement with readings approved by critical editors, but by its continual agreement with the quotations of St Cyprian. When any MS of the European Latin as a whole receives third-century Patristic attestation, then critics will regard its text with the same respect that they give to *k* and *e*. The nearest instance I can think of is the general agreement between *a* and Novatian in S. John, and, as we all know, *a* has a larger 'African' element than most of the European group.

These remarks are made in the belief that the best way I can shew my gratitude for Mr Buchanan's work is a somewhat detailed exposition of reasons why I cannot everywhere follow his too enthusiastic championship of *ff*.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE SAHIDIC NEW TESTAMENT

Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto sahidica Musci Borgiani. Vol. iii. Novum Testamentum. Edidit P. J. BALESTRI, Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini. (Romae, ex typographia polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1904, in-4.) lxxviii-510 pages and album of 40 collotype plates, small folio.

ALTHOUGH this book is already three years old, we find it necessary to notice it in these pages as few scholars and fewer librarians still have apparently taken sufficient notice of such a valuable addition to the extant store of Sahidic Biblical texts. Father Balestri's important publication contains all the Sahidic fragments of the New Testament preserved in the famous Borgian collection. A brief list of these has been given in the early years of the nineteenth century by the learned Dane George Zoega in his valuable *Catalogus Codicum Copticarum Musci Borgiani Velitris*. A number of New Testament fragments taken from these manuscripts were published in 1886 by M. Amélineau in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*; he did not, however, say where he obtained the texts, though it is generally believed that he used copies made by Mgr Agapius Bsciai († 1886).

As may easily be seen from a comparison with F. Balestri's edition, Amélineau's publication is very far from accurate. F. Balestri's handsome volume is the third of a series; the first two volumes, containing the Old Testament fragments, have been most carefully published by the late Cardinal Ciasca. Perfect as they are, the third volume is more perfect still, and the author is to be congratulated, not only on the accuracy of his copies, but also on several improvements on the two former volumes. The description of each manuscript used is to be found in a very elaborate introduction. The palaeographical dating of the various handwritings has been determined according to the principles set down by Hyvernat; and our own experience of similar fragments leads us to accept on a whole F. Balestri's dates as precisely those which we should have personally assigned to the manuscripts.

A useful feature of Ciasca's preface, the list of Sahidic Biblical texts published in various works, has been brought up to date with approximate completeness by F. Balestri, who seems familiar with the whole bibliography of Coptic studies. The texts themselves are printed in columns as they stand in the manuscripts and not in long lines as in Ciasca's volumes. The accompanying album of forty excellent facsimiles is of the highest palaeographical interest.

Many conjectures have been made of late years as to the date and character of the Sahidic New Testament. F. Balestri's volume contains

a number of new documents bearing on that much disputed question, and includes accurate copies of several early Greek uncial fragments closely connected with codex B.

It is to be observed that the Borgia fragments all omit the *pericope de adultera* (John viii 1-11); the textual evidence of the Bohairic version in this particular instance being, as may be remembered, a singularly intricate one.¹ It is greatly to be regretted that no *codex Borgianus* should have preserved the end of the Gospel according to St Mark. But this unfortunate lacuna has luckily been filled up by a leaf bought in Egypt in 1905 by Captain Raymond Weill, which we intend to publish shortly.

Since Woide's publication of the Oxford fragments² a hundred years ago, nothing like this quantity of Sahidic New Testament texts had been brought together in one volume. Until scholars have Mr Horner's forthcoming critical edition, they will find F. Balestri's volume the most valuable contribution extant to the textual criticism of the Sahidic New Testament.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI.
ERIC O. WINSTEDT.

HISTORY OF COPTIC LITERATURE.

J. LEIPOLDT, *Geschichte der Koptischen Litteratur* (in *Die Litteraturen des Orients* Bd. vii 2. Leipzig, 1907).

It is but five years since Dr Leipoldt appeared, a new recruit, among the small, though happily increasing, band of Coptic scholars; yet already we owe to him not a few of the most notable works that have, since then, appeared. In his *Life of Shenoute*,³ in his essay on the history of the Coptic bible,⁴ and in his sketch of the development of the Egyptian church,⁵ he has shewn qualities which mark him as a student of real historical instincts, diligently controlling his authorities, capable of neglecting the unimportant and with original yet intelligible interpretations for the facts. He has besides the power—still rarer in

¹ The Sahidic version of this *Pericope* has recently been discovered by Mr Hall on a British Museum ostrakon.

² Of an *erratum* in which Balestri publishes a useful correction.

³ *T. u. U.*, N. F. x (1). See this JOURNAL, October 1903.

⁴ In *Church Quart. Rev.*, July 1906, 292. Cf. Leipoldt, *Gesch. d. Ntest. Kanons* i 82 Anm.

⁵ As a preface to the *Katalog 5* of R. Haupt, Halle, 1905.

such studies—of presenting his results in a very attractive form, and it is to be hoped that, when once his edition of Shenoute¹ shall have been achieved, he may give us that history of Egyptian Christianity whereof he is conspicuously fitted to be the author.

His history of Coptic literature, which does not exceed fifty pages, is contributed to the well-known series already including the work of many eminent scholars; and in the present volume he finds himself in good company: Syriac and Christian-Arabic literature are there described—the latter, it must be confessed, somewhat perfunctorily—by Brockelmann, Armenian by F. N. Finck, Ethiopic by Littmann. It is, by the way, satisfactory to notice, in the last of these contributions, a proper insistence upon the debt which Ethiopic literature owed to that of the Copts. Indeed, the *onus probandi* assuredly lies with those who, without consideration of the Coptic evidence, still assume direct Greek, Syriac, or even Hebrew origins for the Ge'ez translations.

Dr Leipoldt begins by marking the mutual attitude, at the period of the first Christian missions, of Greek and Egyptian—of hellenized northerner and conservative provincial of the south—and the gradual estrangement of the latter from his ancient gods, whom he beheld accommodated now with places in a strange pantheon and so withdrawn from his sympathies. Thus the way lay open for the success of a new religion, which should offer to the simple agricultural population of the Upper Nile valley an equivalent for the traditional faith which could no longer claim their allegiance. In embracing that new creed, the fellahin of the Thebaid set a gulf between themselves and their hellenized neighbours, the majority of whom remained still pagan; and gradually, from out this division, arose the Coptic church, whose contrast with the church at Alexandria is one of its aspects upon which Leipoldt is foremost in insisting.

The literature of a young Christian community, thus isolated among hostile neighbours, and composed for the most part of the uneducated classes, unable to appeal to literary antecedents, must needs be but 'a literature of immediate wants', wherein the bible, rendered as best they might by unskilled translators, would be the foremost necessity. A liturgy, too, would early be required; but I am inclined to doubt whether the assumption of Coptic as the first liturgical language (p. 137) will bear investigation. Bible MSS there are from the 4th century, but nothing liturgical in Coptic has, at any rate, been preserved which is less than five centuries younger. The oldest liturgical MS which I know is

¹ Readers might, from the generous terms in which Dr Leipoldt refers to it, assume my collaboration here to be more important than is the case. I have merely undertaken to supply him with those texts preserved in England.

a papyrus of the 6th or 7th century¹; but it is in Greek. Indeed, Greek appears to have maintained itself in the church service of the Copts over an unaccountably long period. The survival of Greek liturgies in the south, down to the 12th century (or thereabouts), seems only explicable as a survival, though not indeed necessarily a survival from the most primitive period.

The work of translating into Coptic the biblical, liturgical, and homiletic materials which the church and her converts demanded, was accomplished, Dr Leipoldt holds, within the period lying, roughly, between Nicaea and Chalcedon. The great schism consequent on the second of these councils would put an end to all familiarity between the Egyptian and Byzantine churches and to the demand for versions of the Greek writers. To this there is indeed only one conspicuous exception: the works and even the biographies of Severus of Antioch, Coptic translations of which were evidently popular.²

As might be foretold of a people so poor in historic appreciation, so devoid of philosophic interest as the Egyptians had, in all ages, shewn themselves, we seek in vain in Coptic literature for traces of the early Alexandrine theologians: only with Athanasian orthodoxy and the Cappadocians do the monastic scribes begin the clumsy adaptations of homiletic works, which, throughout succeeding ages, were to form the staple of their consumption.

But the branch of literature which, with the peace of Constantine, attained to a quick and lasting popularity among the uncultivated Copts, was the legend, whether of martyr or hermit, saintly bishop or pious king. A large material, still but superficially and unsystematically investigated, awaits the student who will apply himself to its study. Practically nothing, for example, has as yet been done towards estimating the relationship between the Coptic *Acta* and their Greek originals, many of which are available. Foremost among such examinations must come that of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, to which reference is indeed often enough made, but which, since Guidi's studies, have been conspicuously neglected, although plenty of

¹ Recently brought by Prof. F. Petrie from the ruins of Der Balaizah, S. of Siût. See my chapter in Petrie's *Gizeh and Rifeh*, part ii. The oldest bilingual MSS are, I think, Brit. Mus. Copt. Catal. no. 285 (5th or 6th cent.) and Vienna Acad. *Sitab.* Bd. 155, 1. Abh. (Wessely), p. 63 ff and Taf. ii ('eher das 4. als 6. Jahrh. n. Chr.'). Both these might be regarded as liturgical, the former being a homily (Shenoute's, as von Lemm has recognized), the latter a Psalter. They would thus be early evidence from the age when vernacular translations were becoming useful.

² See Porcher in *Rev. Or. Chr.* 1907, 119. A fragment of the *Life* by John of Beth Aphthonia is preserved among the Rylands Coptic MSS (no. 99 of my forthcoming catalogue). The date of that *Life* being edited by Goodspeed and myself for the *Patrol. Orient.* remains to be settled.

attention has been expended on the secondary and tertiary versions in Arabic and Ethiopic.

A considerable proportion of Dr Leipoldt's essay is naturally concerned with the White Monastery, its great abbot, Shenoute, and the literature which emanated thence. The influence of this community which, it seems, we must ascribe to his strong personality—though the reasons for the movement are obscure—in achieving the suppression, throughout the southern provinces, of the older literary idiom of Achmīm, in favour of that of the upper Thebaid, is excellently sketched. Shenoute's style can, we are assured, be recognized even in the later forms of the Sa'īdic bible version. Dr Leipoldt's unrivalled acquaintance with this writer's works should make a further illustration of so interesting a statement valuable.

After Shenoute's death (451) Coptic literature becomes once more impersonal: we scarcely know the names of any subsequent writers. The Moslem conquest seems to have brought with it, to some extent, a secularizing of the monastic societies which had been and still remained the sole purveyors of popular literature. Henceforth such works as have survived betray a less exclusively edifying or hortatory character. It is to this age that the sole (surviving) examples of semi-secular works belong, and it is now, too, that we become aware of that remarkable growth of hymns and other rhythmical compositions, evoking in Dr Leipoldt an attention which, had this not now become the sole living branch of the literature, one might perhaps think excessive—so little poetry is there in these poems, so little rhythm, as it seems to us, in the verses.

It is significant of the change which, since the influence of Erman and Steindorff became effective, has passed over Coptic studies, that Dr Leipoldt should regard a tenth of his space as sufficient for a description of Bohairic literature, once the 'Coptic' *par excellence*, now summarily described as a literature which would scarce be known to us to-day, had it not chanced to be written in the dialect of the Coptic patriarchs, under whose patronage it came across, from the western Delta and the Nitrian monasteries, to attain, in its turn, the dominant position, even in the south.

One might, at first sight, be tempted—despite the testimony of a bible version and liturgies—to doubt whether the Bohairic idiom had ever more than an artificial literary existence. There is no evidence of its having been employed for daily, common uses: no documents have reached us, no letters.¹ Yet, though, in the desert air of Nitria, at least,

¹ This needs some modification. A few letters from the neighbouring Fayyūm (*Mith. Rainer* v 40, Brit. Mus. Copt. Cat. nos. 563, 572, 590) shew an undeniable Bohairic tendency.

these might presumably have survived, it is probable that, for the rest, the usual explanation must still be accepted : the papyri and parchments of Christian, as of older times, were incapable of resisting the moisture of the northern climate ; and if that be so, still better would it explain the destruction of all documents written, as throughout most of the Bohairic period they doubtless were, upon cotton-paper.

W. E. CRUM.

THE CULT OF THE SAINTS.

Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux, by P. SAINTYVES. (E. Nourry, Paris, 1907.)

THIS curious and suggestive book should command attention, not only on account of the subject-matter, but also, and in even greater measure, on account of the mental attitude of the writer. 'P. Saintyves' (the name is, we have reason to believe, a pseudonym) is already known as the author of a volume entitled *La Réforme intellectuelle du Clergé et la liberté d'enseignement*, which should be read by those who would understand the point of view from which *Les Saints* is conceived. This is nothing less than the conviction that the cultus of the saints in the Christian church is of pagan origin. In support of his thesis, the writer adduces all the arguments and illustrations which are familiar to us in the pages of the most advanced students of comparative religion—pagan parallels for Christian legends, mythology of proper names, astronomical basis of the Calendar, &c. No Puritan, zealous to destroy superstition, could be more thoroughgoing in his demonstration than this sincere and profoundly believing Catholic. Yet the writer's object is not controversial : it is hardly apologetic, except in so far as every statement of belief is an apology. His object is simply to establish the connexion between the old and the new and to shew that the most startling discoveries of the 'Religionsuntersucher' do not imperil the Catholic faith. The moral of the comparison may best be given in his own words, which must be allowed to be eloquent and moving, even by those who view the facts with other eyes. 'Le culte des saints nous apparait comme un élément nécessaire, comme un mode essentiel de la piété à un certain moment du processus religieux. . . . L'humanité est faite de plus de morts que de vivants . . . et la méditation pieuse de la vie de ceux qui furent grands ne saurait être ni ridicule ni méprisable. . . . Que ne devons-nous pas aux exemples d'un Vincent de Paul ou d'un François d'Assise? Avec Jésus ils illustrent d'une éclatante image les

plus belles histoires de tendresse et de pitié. . . S'il est vrai qu'ils furent des fils de Dieu selon la forte parole de l'Évangile, n'est-il pas vrai qu'ils furent des hommes? Guides immortels, ils ont aplani la route, ils se sont, pour nous, déchirés aux ronces, écorchés aux cailloux; puis ils sont morts debout. Ces ombres géantes se détachent dans la glorieuse lumière des sommets, leurs silhouettes s'y dessinent agrandies de tout le mystère de la mort. Elles semblent perdues dans l'éloignement sublime des hauteurs et cependant on les sent tout proches. La douceur de leur voix nous arrive du silence du passé en un pressant appel. Ces morts divins, plus vivants que nous-mêmes, ne se lassent jamais de nous clamer l'espoir et nous attirent sans cesse à la cité des cimes, ville sacrée, Jérusalem de la Fraternité.'

'Saintyves' does not confine the application of the comparative method to the legends of the saints; he extends it also to the New Testament and the Christian Creed, e.g. to the doctrine of the Trinity. It is at this point that many readers who have so far followed the writer will be inclined to part company with him. But his utterances, even if they do not convince, at least arouse thought, and much will be gained if they direct the attention of 'Reformed' and 'Unreformed' alike to the present danger of Tritheism on the one hand and of Sabellianism on the other in the Christianity of to-day.

It is to be regretted that a book which is full of learning and conceived in a scientific spirit should be marred by a want of scholarship in detail. The pages bristle with misprints, and all the languages, French, German, English, Greek, and Latin suffer alike. Most of this is doubtless due to careless reading of proof-sheets. But the printer cannot be held responsible for the description of St Jerome on p. 89 as a 'fougueux Africain'.

H. F. STEWART.

*RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO
THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, October 1907 (Vol. lxxv, No. 129: Spottiswoode & Co.). C. F. ROGERS The Education question : foreign parallels—The prophet of Calabria : Joachim of Floris and the 'Eternal Gospel'—H. C. BEECHING The revision of the Prayer Book : a plain man's view—T. A. LACEY The Christian idea of Grace—Children without nurseries—H. T. MORGAN The spirit of Port Royal—E. W. WATSON Congregationalism, past and present—M. E. SADLER The influence of the State in English education—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1907 (Vol. vi, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). F. J. E. WOODBRIDGE Naturalism and Humanism—L. P. JACKS The Universe as philosopher—R. MACKINTOSH Are we parts of Nature?—G. F. BARBOUR Progress and reality—N. MACNICOL Action and reaction of Christianity and Hinduism in India—M. JOYNT The Gospel of Krishna and of Christ—D. PURVES The state of the dead—J. SETH On certain alleged defects in Christian morality—B. W. BACON The 'defence' of the Fourth Gospel—H. G. SMITH Trust, faith, belief, creed—G. HENSLOW 'Directivity'—H. MACCOLL What and where is the soul?—T. C. HALL Was John Calvin a reformer or a reactionary?—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, October 1907 (Vol. xx, No. 77 : Macmillan & Co.). Editorial Announcement—T. K. CHEYNE An appeal for a more complete criticism of the book of Habakkuk—W. BACHER Aus einem anonymen arabischen Hiobkommentar—S. A. HIRSCH Jewish mystics—an appreciation—S. POZNAŃSKI The Karaite literary opponents of Saadia Gaon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—L. GINSBERG Geonic responsa xvi-xviii—G. MARGOLIOUTH Hebrew illuminated MSS—S. A. COOK Biblical Criticism : 'moderate' and 'advanced'.

The Expositor, October 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 22 : Hodder & Stoughton). A. DEISSMANN The philology of the Greek Bible—W. M. RAMSAY A Christian city in the Byzantine age—B. W. BACON The disciple whom Jesus loved—A. CARR The authenticity and originality of the First Gospel—R. MACKINTOSH Marriage problems at Corinth—G. R. WYNNE The problem of the Epistles to the Thessalonians—D. M. M'INTYRE The cloud of unknowing.

November 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 23). A. E. GARVIE The restatement of the Gospel for today—W. M. RAMSAY Notes on Christian history in Asia Minor—A. DEISSMANN The problem of 'biblical' Greek—E. CURTIUS St Paul in Athens—T. ZAHN Missionary methods in the times of the Apostles—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

December 1907 (Seventh Series, No. 24). D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The new papyri of Elephantine—F. LL. GRIFFITH Note on the Elephantine papyri—S. A. COOK The Jewish temple of Yahu, God of the heavens, at Syene—A. DEISSMANN Septuagint Philology—J. DENNEY Speaking against the Son of man and blaspheming the Spirit—T. BARNES A study in St John xxi—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK The Baptist and the Fourth Gospel—W. M. RAMSAY Dr Sanday's criticism of recent research.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1907 (Vol. xi, No. 4: Chicago University Press). H. P. SMITH Israel or Jerahmeel?—G. W. KNOX What modifications in Western Christianity may be expected from contact with oriental religions on the mission field?—W. K. MCKIBBEN What conception of the Scriptures and of Scripture authority should underlie the work of the modern missionary?—G. B. FOSTER Pragmatism and knowledge—E. W. MILLER Some distinctive features of Russian Christianity—E. D. BURTON Redemption from the curse of the Law: an exposition of Gal. iii 13, 14—D. C. MACINTOSH The function of history in theology—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1907 (Vol. v, No. 4: Princeton University Press). B. W. WARFIELD Augustine's doctrine of knowledge and authority—G. VOS The priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews—H. M. WIENER Deuteronomy and the argument from style—S. ZANDSTRA Historical note—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1907 (Vol. xxiv, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN *Le Liber dogmatum* de Gennade de Marseille et problèmes qui s'y rattachent—U. BERLIÈRE Épaves d'archives pontificales du xiv^e siècle—R. ANCEL La disgrâce et le procès des Carafa d'après des documents inédits—P. DE MEESTER Études sur la théologie orthodoxe: III. La Création—D. DE BRUYNE Un apocryphe biblique dû à Winithaire de Saint-Gall—G. MORIN I. *Sermo de dominicae observatione*: une ancienne adaptation latine d'un sermon attribué à Eusèbe d'Alexandrie: II. Une liste des *hebdomadarii* ou Chanoines

de l'Église de Clermont au commencement du xi^e siècle—H. QUENTIN 'Étude sur les *Gesta Martyrum*'—Nécrologie : D. Odilon Rottmanner—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1907 (Vol. viii, No. 4 : Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. MAHÉ L'Eucharistie d'après saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie—P. DONCOEUR Les premières interventions du Saint-Siège relatives à l'Immaculée Conception (xii^e-xiv^e siècle) (*suite, à suivre*)—R. ANCEL Paul IV et le concile—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, October 1907 (2nd series, Vol. ii, No. 3 : Paris, Rue du Regard 20). F. NAU Une didascalie de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ (introduction, texte grec et traduction)—J. BOUSQUET Récit de Sergia sur Olympias (introduction et traduction)—L. LEROY Les églises des chrétiens (traduction de l'arabe d'Al-Makrisi) (*fin*)—F. TOURNEBIZE Étude sur la conversion de l'Arménie au Christianisme ainsi que sur la doctrine et les usages de l'église arménienne primitive (*suite*)—S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine (texte éthiopien et traduction du *mystère du jugement des pêcheurs*)—S. VAILHÉ Saint Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine (376-473)—Mélanges : F. NAU À propos d'une édition des œuvres de Schenoudi : La version syriaque des prières de Schenoudi, de Jean le Nain, de Macaire l'Égyptien et de Sérapion (texte syriaque et traduction)—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, October 1907 (Vol. xxvi, No. 4 : Brussels, 775 Boulevard Militaire). L. VERVAECK Les reliques de S. Albert de Louvain, évêque de Liège (planche)—H. MORETUS La Légende de S. Béat, apôtre de Suisse—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—A. PONCELET Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanæ : X. Codices bibliothecae Vallicellanae.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, December 1907 (Vol. viii, No. 4 : Giessen, A. Töpelmann). R. SCHÜTZ Zum ersten Teil des Johannesevangeliums—E. WENDLING Synoptische Studien I—P. GLAUE Zur Echtheit von Cyprians 3. Buch der Testimonia—M. W. MÜLLER Die apokalyptischen Reiter—Miscellen.

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gebliche Heidenfreundlichkeit Jesu in der Perikope von der Kanaanäerin (Mt. 15, 21 ff) nach dem Syrus Sinaiticus—DREVES Haben wir Gregor den Grossen als Hymnendichter anzusehen?—SÄGMÜLLER Die Ehe Heinrichs II, des Heil., mit Kunigunde—SCHMID Zur Geschichte des Kodex Amiatinus—A. KOCH Zur Erinnerung an Paul Vetter—Rezensionen—Analekten.

(Vol. xc, No. 1.) EBERHARTER Kritische Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Texte des Buches Ekkli—W. KOCH Die altkirchliche Apologetik des Christentums—ERNST Gottesliebe und Sittlichkeit—MÜLLER Zum *Pastor Hermae*—A. KOCH Zur Erinnerung an Franz Xaver v. Funk—Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, November 1907 (Vol. xxviii, No. 4: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). DRÄSEKE Zu Gregorios von Nyssa—DIETTERLE Die Summae confessorum—FUETER Das erste Auftreten der Jesuiten in Florenz — Analekten — Nachrichten — Register — Bibliographie — Autorenregister zur Bibliographie.

The Journal
of
Theological Studies

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A THEORY OF THE DEVELOPEMENT OF
ISRAELITE RELIGION IN EARLY TIMES.

THE theory which forms the subject of this article is, perhaps, of a somewhat ambitious character, involving as it does a reconstruction of the commonly accepted critical view as to the development of Israelite Religion during the period which it has become customary to designate as 'the pre-prophetic age', i.e. the period extending from Moses down to the writing prophets of the eighth century B. C. It is a theory which involves many issues, and for which the evidence is many-sided. It has grown up in my mind bit by bit during a long period; though it is only recently that I have seemed to see the bearing one upon another of the different lines of evidence, and their relationship to the main question.

I have long felt that the commonly received critical theory of the development of the early religion of Israel (i. e. prior to the middle of the eighth century B. C.) stands upon a very different basis from the documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch, and the theory which is bound up with this of the priority (broadly speaking) of the prophetic to the legalistic period of development. This latter hypothesis, with the reconstruction which it involves of our view of the development of Israel's religion *after* B. C. 750, may now be regarded as proved up to the hilt for any thinking and unprejudiced man who is capable of estimating the character and value of the evidence. The former is, I believe, very largely a matter of subjective assumption. It is based, to some extent, upon a certain amount of objective evidence which seems to reveal a condition of belief and cultus apparently inconsistent with any high standard of ethical religion. This has been read

and interpreted in the light of the valuable results which have been achieved by students of the common basis of early Semitic religion, specially notable among whom stand Robertson Smith and Wellhausen; and such terms as animism, fetishism, and totemism usually figure largely in modern treatises which deal with the religion of Israel in the so-called 'pre-prophetic' period.

With this there has been too great a tendency to overlook evidence which would seem to make for a high standard of religion, or to explain it away as the invention of a later period of prophetic monotheism. To-day, I take it, the *onus probandi* would be felt to lie with the man who was bold enough to assert that the pictures of lapse from a high standard of religion and of repentance drawn by the editors of Judges and Samuel are, in a general way, historically true, rather than with the man who adopted the assumption that high ethical monotheism took its rise not earlier than the writing prophets of the eighth century.

There has all along, however, been in evidence a counter-tendency among scholars of the critical school. Many scholars, and not the least able, have laid greater or lesser emphasis upon the importance of Moses as the founder of a relatively high form of ethical religion. And the last few years have witnessed the growth of a school of thought which, if I am not mistaken, is destined shortly to revolutionize our view of Israel's early religion. Starting largely out of the 'Babel und Bibel' controversy, though having its sources much further back in the achievements of students of the cuneiform literature, there has grown up on the Continent a very weighty body of opinion which recognizes and emphasizes the fact that the religion of Israel owes much to the religion and civilization of Babylonia, and can only rightly be studied in the light of a systematic comparative survey of the two religions. Babylonian civilization is now known to have extended so far back that, in view of it, the period covered by the early career of the people of Israel appears comparatively modern; and the influence of this civilization upon Israel and over regions beyond them appears to have been so comprehensive that in future any treatise which professes to deal with the religion of Israel and ignores or overlooks the debt which is due to Babylon may safely be neglected by the serious student. The

careful and laborious work which has been accomplished by students of the common basis of primitive Semitic heathenism can never lose its value ; but that value will, I think, be found in the future to be more important for the archaeologist than for the student of the religion of Israel during Israel's national career ; since the period of common Semitic savagery must now, as regards Israel's ancestors, be pushed so very far back as to retain, for the student of Old Testament Theology, only a very minor importance.

So much by way of preface. My own attempted contribution to the study of Israel's early religion is based rather upon the material afforded by the Biblical sources themselves than upon a survey of the influence of Babylonian belief and cultus, my first-hand acquaintance with cuneiform literature being of short standing. It is only in tracing the course of my final line of evidence that I shall bring forward facts derived from Babylonian sources ; and these facts I owe to my friend the Rev. C. J. Ball, than whom, I believe, no Assyriologist is entitled to speak with greater authority.

The general outcome of my arguments may be stated at the commencement in a summary form as follows.

I hope to vindicate for Moses the establishment of a high form of ethical religion. I believe that the religion of Moses was, in substance, the religion which forms the background of the moral Decalogue of Exod. xx. And I am prepared to go still further, and to suggest evidence that this Decalogue itself was, in its original short form, promulgated by Moses as the Biblical narrative states. Evidence derived from the narratives of Judges and the succeeding books, which might seem at first sight to make for a contrary opinion, I believe that I can explain ; and I am ready to maintain that the title 'pre-prophetic' with its implications, as applied to the earlier religion of the nation of Israel, is largely a misnomer, and that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between the religion of Amos and that of the founder of the national life.

Let me then, in the first place, bring forward certain considerations which appear to make for the view that the God Yahwe, as introduced to Israel by Moses, was believed to be a Being endued with very definitely marked ethical characteristics—the

kind of characteristics, in fact, which distinguish the Decalogue of Exod. xx.

If we consider what we may term the primitive or non-moral characteristics of Yahwe, as they may be gathered from Israel's early history, i. e. the characteristics of Deity which are the outcome of reflexion upon the phenomena of nature regarded as due to supernatural agency, I think that it will be found that the normal developement of these characteristics appears to have suffered arrest at a certain stage. If this be the case, then the question must needs arise:—To what cause can this arrest be ascribed?

At different stages in the developement of a people, natural phenomena appear to present themselves to that people under varying aspects. At one stage they may appear, on the whole, to be hostile; at another to be, on the whole, beneficent. The point at which the transition from one aspect to the other appears to take place is the point at which transition takes place from the nomadic to the settled agricultural stage.

To the nomad, and more especially to the nomad of the barren Arabian steppe, life is to a great extent a struggle against the antagonistic forces of nature. He is exposed to the rigours of climatic change. By day the sun strikes upon him and scorches him, while at night he is a victim to the frost. The thunder-storm inspires him with well-founded terror, since without a harbour he may perish by the lightning. He pitches his tent, and the sand-storm lays it low, or a sudden torrent from the mountain sweeps it away.

On the other hand, the agriculturist, dwelling in a kinder land, views nature rather as a beneficent power. He inhabits a fixed abode, of solid material, and so is not exposed in the same way to the extremes of heat and cold; and, in addition, he is protected from the sun by the shade which trees afford in a fertile land. Thus the sun to him is not a scourge; but, on the contrary, he realizes that he profits through its heat in the speedy ripening of his crops. The thunder-storms which he experiences in his rolling plains or among his low hills are not the storms which rage round Sinai, cleaving the rocks and reverberating from crag to crag. Protected by the shelter of his homestead, he views them rather as bringers of the rain which fertilizes his fields, and not as the dreadful visitation of a hostile power.

It is inevitable that this difference in the aspect under which nature presents itself to the man should be reflected in the attributes which he ascribes to his deity, since to primitive man natural phenomena present themselves as the work of supernatural agencies.

Thus, while the deity of the nomad is largely invested with destructive attributes, the deity of the agriculturist is pictured mainly as a beneficent agent, more especially as the author of the fertilizing and reproductive forces of nature. In fact, this latter characteristic appears to come into prominence whenever primitive man passes out of the nomadic stage and settles down to agricultural pursuits; and it is perhaps partly for this reason that we so often find a female deity associated with the male deity, and worshipped with immoral rites as a tribute to the forces of which the deity is supposed to be the author.

Now if we take note of the natural phenomena which were associated by early Israel with the activity of Yahwe, we shall find that they are those destructive agencies of nature the effects of which would naturally impress a nomadic people. Especially do we observe that Yahwe is connected with fire, regarded as a consuming and destructive element, and with the thunder-storm and earthquake.

Thus the earliest Theophany to Moses is depicted as taking the form of a flame of fire in the midst of a bush (Exod. iii 2 J E). There is frequent allusion also to the fire of Yahwe smiting and destroying. So at Taberah the murmurers are consumed (Num. xi 1-3 J); Korah and his adherents, when presuming to arrogate to themselves the functions of the Levites, perish in the same manner (Num. xvi 35 P); and so do Nadab and Abihu the sons of Aaron, when they offer strange fire in their censers before Yahwe (Lev. x 1 ff P). Elsewhere we find the fire of Yahwe falling and consuming the sacrifice of Elijah (1 Kings xviii 24, 38), destroying the emissaries of Ahaziah king of Israel when sent to arrest Elijah (2 Kings i 10, 12, 14), and falling from heaven and smiting the flocks and shepherds of Job (Job i 16). In most, if not all, of these instances it is probable that allusion is to the destructive natural phenomenon of the lightning.

It is in accordance with this conception that the appearance of the glory of Yahwe, as exhibited to Moses at Sinai, is said to

have been 'like devouring fire' (Exod. xxiv 17 E); and in Deut. iv 24, ix 3 the same expression is used as a description of Yahwe's nature.

A further instance of the connexion of fire with the manifestation of Yahwe is afforded by 'the pillar of fire' (cf. Exod. xiii 21, 22, xiv 24), though the origin of this particular conception is obscure.

But not only was Yahwe associated with the lightning, but with all the phenomena of the thunder-storm. Thus, the theophany at Sinai is connected with the thunder-storm and earthquake (Exod. xix 1 f J E, Deut. iv 11 ff); and in the same way Ps. xviii, perhaps the earliest of the Psalms, gives a description of Yahwe's descending from heaven in a storm, while the earth quakes and the foundations of the mountains are moved because He is wroth. Here Yahwe is pictured as riding upon a cherub, the original conception of which was probably the black storm-cloud. We may recall the cherubim stationed by Yahwe to keep the gate of Eden, and brandishing the flaming sword which turned every way—representing most likely the zigzag lightning-flashes appearing and reappearing out of the cloud.

Yahwe's theophany in the thunder-storm also finds description in Ps. xxix, Ps. lxxvii 17-19, Jer. x 13 = li 16. In Ps. xxix 'the voice of Yahwe' is manifestly the thunder, and this appears to be the case also in Amos i 2; Isa. xxx 30, 31; Joel ii 11, iii 16 (Heb. iv 16); Ps. xlvi 7; Job xxxvii 4. In fact, an ordinary term for thunder is 'voices' (קולות):—Exod. ix 23, 28, 29, 33, 34, xix 16, xx 18; 1 Sam. xii 17, 18; Job xxviii 26, xxxviii 25.

In 1 Sam. vii 10 Yahwe is depicted as leading Israel to battle against the Philistines, upon whom He thunders with a great thunder, so that they are discomfited and smitten before Israel.

Now in this connexion of Yahwe with fire, storm, and earthquake we have the impression made upon a race of nomads by the phenomena of the desert life. Examination of the passages cited shews that the conception was general, and passed with Israel from the desert life into the settled life of Canaan. When Yahwe comes to the assistance of His people in warfare, He comes on the storm-cloud with thunder and lightning, as He was remembered to have first displayed Himself at Mount Sinai. He

seems, in fact, even after the settlement in Canaan, to have been thought of chiefly as the desert-God, the God of Sinai or Horeb. So Elijah, when he flees from the wrath of Jezebel, makes his way to Horeb, the Mount of God, and stands in the mouth of a cave while Yahwe passes by (1 Kings xix). First comes a great and mighty wind rending the rocks, then an earthquake, and after that a fire. In none of these does Yahwe communicate with the prophet, but in 'the sound of a gentle whisper' which follows. The narrative thus seems to offer a prophetic advance beyond the old popular conception as to Yahwe's method of communicating with His servants.

But while in the nature-attributes of Yahwe we trace a connexion with the period of the desert wanderings, we seem, on the other hand, to find no traces of the settled agricultural life of Palestine in the way of enduing Him with new characteristics. The old desert-characteristics survive; they are neither added to nor transformed under the new influences.

We are at no loss to understand what were the main characteristics of the Canaanite Baal. He might and did vary in details in different localities, appearing as Baalzebub, Baal hamman, Baal peor, &c., but everywhere his principal endowments were the same. He was Baal or lord of a locality in virtue of being the source of its fertility, the generative and fructifying agency in nature. Thus it is that we find associated with him a consort Ashtoreth, or, more correctly, Ashtart; and thus it is that we find his worship bound up with the practice of immoral rites, and the existence of *Ḳedēshīm* and *Ḳedēshōth* or consecrated prostitutes of both sexes at his sanctuaries.

Now it is surely a very noteworthy fact that, when the Israelites entered Palestine and settled down side by side with those Canaanites whom they were unable to exterminate, the desert form of the Yahwe-religion nevertheless survived and escaped assimilation to the corrupt nature-worship of Canaan. It seems probable, as the old document in Judges ch. i suggests, that the conquest of Canaan was far less thorough than the Book of Joshua in its present form might lead us to suppose. Everywhere throughout the land Israel settled down side by side with the Canaanites, probably a mere handful in comparison with the original inhabitants, and separated in many cases tribe from tribe

by the circumstances of a merely partial conquest and by the natural features of the country. Yet the desert-conception of Yahwe survived; He was never transformed into the deity of natural reproductiveness, and—most noticeable feature of all—we never find the slightest suggestion of an imagined female consort side by side with Him.

It is true that many of the outward surroundings of His worship were the same as those of the gods of Canaan. His sanctuaries were placed in the same way on hill-tops, under trees, and by fountains of springing water, and were furnished similarly with altar and pillar as accessories to His worship. He also appears to have been spoken of as Baal or *owner* of the land, though never, it seems, of any particular locality within the land, just as He was spoken of in the same way as Melekh or *king* of His people. And that He was regarded as giver of the produce of the land is proved by the fact that these gifts were acknowledged in a yearly cycle of festivals. These are facts which have a bearing upon what I have to say later, and I hope to revert to them. But taking them now as they stand, it must be admitted that they render it all the more remarkable that the religion of Yahwe escaped assimilation to the religion of Canaan when so many circumstances must have favoured such an assimilation.

We know indeed that there were periods during which many of the Israelites lapsed into the worship of Canaan and adopted the lewd rites of the Canaanite deities. But that the practices of these periods were, as represented by later narrators, really *lapses* from the true religion, and did not exemplify the normal expression of that religion, is proved by the fact that on each occasion there came an arrest, when the true character of Yahwe was recognized, and the Canaanite practices abandoned. And the occasion of such arrest was in every case the summons to arms, when Israel's leader was found, not in the soft and luxurious Baal of Canaan, but in Yahwe Šeba'oth, the God of armies, the warrior-God of Sinai. Such summonses seem to have been effective in uniting the scattered tribes in single-minded action, and in providing that, though apparently separated and disorganized for a lengthy period, they still could be and were, when the time arrived, united under a king into one nation.

Now the inference from the facts which we have noticed

appears to be this. Yahwe's character, as represented to Israel by Moses during the desert wanderings, must have possessed certain sharply defined features of such a kind as were capable of withstanding the outside seductions of Canaanite worship, and of keeping His religion alive and vigorous in a form to which the chief characteristics of the Canaanite Baal were felt to be antagonistic. It was not enough that Yahwe had made choice of Israel, and sealed His claim to their allegiance by the great deliverance from Egypt. This by itself could not have prevented the development of the conception of Yahwe into a form identical in all respects with that of the Baal of the Canaanites. It must have been the case that Yahwe was introduced by Moses to Israel as a Being endowed with certain definite *moral* characteristics, and requiring the same kind of characteristics on the part of His people.

We may notice, in this connexion, a passage in Montefiore's Hibbert Lectures on *The Origin and Foundation of the Hebrew Religion* pp. 46 f. His words are:—"That successful resistance to Canaanite polytheism, on which we laid so much stress when ascribing the origin of monolatry to the Mosaic age, would surely not have been possible unless the Yahwe whom Moses taught differed from the Canaanite deities, not only in his numerical uniqueness, but in his higher and more consistent ethical character. The violent elements in Yahwe's character he shared with Moloch and Baal, and many another divinity of the neighbouring Semitic tribes; but in no single case did this corresponding violence produce a corresponding monolatry. We are therefore entitled to doubt whether the exclusive worship of the national God would ever have been ordained had there not lain in the original conception of Yahwe the "promise and potency" of the monotheism of Amos and Isaiah. To quote the earlier words of Professor Kuenen, "The great merit of Moses lies in the fact of his connexion of the religious idea with the moral life." The exclusive worship of Yahwe on the one hand, God's moral character and the moral duty of man upon the other hand, must have acted reciprocally in the production of the Mosaic teaching as a whole. The first element, to which Stade would confine the creative originality of the Founder, would hardly have arisen without the second, and could scarcely

have produced those historic results of which we seek the cause. One of the most sober and trustworthy of Old Testament critics, Professor Kamphausen, maintains the same argument. "I recognize," he says, "in the fact that the small number of the Israelites was not absorbed by the Canaanites, who were by far their superiors in all matters of external culture, a convincing proof of the ethical power of the Yahvistic religion. But this superiority consisted in the nature of that Yahveh whom Moses proclaimed, not in a dogmatic assertion of Semitic exclusiveness."

There is another piece of evidence for the view which I have been maintaining which must not be overlooked. It is found in the information afforded us by Jer. xxxv with regard to the clan of the Rechabites. According to 1 Chron. ii 55 the Rechabites were a branch of the Kenites, i. e. of the desert tribe into which Moses married, and which accompanied the Israelites in their migration and settled in the Negeb (Judges i 16). Jer. xxxv relates how the prophet summoned certain of the Rechabites who had taken refuge in Jerusalem during the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar, and having invited them into one of the chambers of the Temple, set wine before them and bade them drink. The Rechabites replied, 'We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons, for ever: neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may dwell many days in the land wherein ye sojourn. And we have obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father in all that he charged us, to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, and our daughters; nor to build houses for us to dwell in: neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed: but we have dwelt in tents, and have obeyed, and done according to all that Jonadab our father commanded us' (Jer. xxxv 6-10).

Here we have a tribe who made it part of their creed to maintain the desert-mode of life even while living in Palestine, abstaining from the cultivation of the ground, and living in tents and not in fixed dwellings. The inference is that, as Yahwe-worshippers, they regarded the nomad life as proper to the worship of Yahwe, doubtless because the settled life of agricul-

turists appeared to them to be bound up too closely with the worship of the Canaanite Bealim.

The inference that the Rechabites were enthusiasts for the pure worship of Yahwe is borne out by the allusion in 2 Kings x 15 ff to Jonadab the son of Rechab, the ancestor of the Rechabites of Jeremiah's time, who appears as a sympathizer with the stern measures adopted by Jehu for the vindication of the Yahwe-religion, and as assisting in the ruse of which the purpose was to secure the massacre of all the worshippers of the Phoenician Baal.

I believe, then, that, so far as I have gone, I am justified in making the claim that the God Yahwe, as introduced to Israel by Moses, was a Being endowed with very definite moral characteristics. If we go further, and ask the question—What kind of characteristics? I would reply:—The characteristics which are distinctive of the moral Decalogue of Exod. xx. But, if we attempt to ascribe this Decalogue as a whole to Moses, we are at once met by the fact that a number of objections more or less serious have been brought forward with the object of shewing that such a code of precepts could not date back to Moses, or indeed to a period much earlier than the eighth century B.C.

The objection which is based upon the subjective consideration that the Decalogue breathes the spirit of a later age, that namely of the eighth-century prophets, is not, I think, of any great importance, and requires no special refutation.

The very fact of the importance of the figure of Moses in later ages, the fact that all Hebrew legislation, and the religious sanction with which it was bound up, is traced back to him as its initiator, is enough to prove that, like the founders of other great religious movements, he was far in advance of his age. It cannot therefore be argued that, because the standard of religion in later times appears to fall short of the ideal of the Decalogue, therefore that ideal was unknown, and had not yet come into existence. The eighth-century prophets, Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, when they attack the religious and social abuses of their time, appear in fact to attack them *as abuses*, i. e. they seem to regard themselves not as the founders of a new type of Yahwe-religion, but as interpreting and insisting upon religious essentials which ought to have been patent to Israel at large. The whole

tenor of their teaching may be said to *presuppose* the Decalogue. It is difficult to understand the severity of their language, if it was aimed, not against a moral declension, but against a stage of morals which as yet knew of no higher ideal.

There is, again, the objection which is based upon the supposed existence of a second Decalogue, of a ceremonial character, embodied in the narrative of J, which relates the second giving of the law in Exod. xxxiv.

I hope that it will not be thought that I wish to minimize the difficulty of the problem presented by this chapter if I pass it by with a mere reference. I do not myself believe that it was the writer's intention to imply that the ceremonial laws embodied in *vv.* 11-27 were 'the words of the covenant, the ten words' inscribed upon the two tables. No attempt to resolve the code into ten words can be claimed as giving satisfaction; and the variations in the form in which the code is presented to us as a code of ten commandments are nearly as numerous as the critics who attempt to cope with the problem and to find its solution. Granted a division into ten commandments to which critics could agree with some amount of unanimity, it could scarcely be argued that the title 'the ten words' is appropriate to such a code, as it is appropriate to the moral Decalogue of Exod. xx in its short form, with omission of the Deuteronomic expansions to the second, fourth, fifth, and tenth 'words'. Much more probably Exod. xxxiv 10-28 represents a fragmentary account from J of that which we have in detail in Exod. xx-xxiii from the hand of E, viz. the moral Decalogue *and* the Book of the Covenant, though why all that remains in J's account is a mere fragment of the Book of the Covenant is more than we can determine.

There remains the very real objection that, from the information supplied to us by the old historical narratives of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, we gather that there existed in Israel during the greater part of the period of the settlement of Canaan a kind of Yahwe-worship which found expression in the representation of Yahwe under the form of an image, and which was bound up with the practice of rites, whether of divination or of another character, in which the use of images played a prominent part. All this, of course, stands in direct contravention to the second commandment of the moral Decalogue.

While I admit that this is a real objection, I am far from admitting that evidence goes to prove that such a cultus received the sanction of the highest spiritual authorities of the age in which it was rife. It would not be difficult, I think, to shew that the prophetic interpreters of history whose writings we possess in J and E in the Pentateuch and in the old narratives of the succeeding historical books were opposed in principle to the bull-worship of the northern kingdom and to the cult of Teraphim, and that here we discern a phase of religious thought which goes back at least as far as the early middle period of the monarchy. Still the fact remains that the popular mind, i. e. the great bulk of Israel, seems to have found in the use of images nothing inconsistent with their conception of the requirements of the God Yahwe; and the question therefore arises whether the existence of such a state of affairs is not inconsistent with the ascription of the Decalogue to the authorship of Moses.

It is this difficulty which I am now going to set myself to meet. For its solution we must turn our attention to another subject which may, at first sight, appear to be somewhat remote from the point at issue.

Examination of the sources for Israel's early history has led me to infer with ever increasing conviction that, though the narrative of the sojourn of Israelite tribes in Egypt and their Exodus under the leadership of Moses is substantially true, yet these tribes were not the whole of the tribes which afterwards went to make up the people of Israel. Some Israelite tribes had already entered Canaan and made the country their home at a date considerably earlier than the Exodus.

We have first of all the evidence which is afforded by the mention of Israel on the stele of the Egyptian king Merenptah. In the inscription in question Merenptah narrates his successful repulse of an invasion of Lower Egypt by the Libyans; and then, at the close of the inscription, he refers to a campaign in Syria in which he has succeeded in quelling all opposition.

Here we find an allusion to a people called Israel in the midst of a number of place- or tribal names, mostly belonging to North Palestine. The words are:—'The people of Israel is spoiled; it hath no seed.'

Only one explanation is really satisfactory.

Evidence is good for the commonly received view that Ramses II, Merenptah's predecessor, was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and either Merenptah himself or his successor the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The supposition, in face of this, that the Exodus and the entry into Canaan had already taken place some generations previous to the date of the stele-inscription has nothing to commend it; nor, on the other hand, is it likely that Merenptah's allusion represents his own version of the Exodus or describes his oppression of Israel in Egypt prior to the Exodus.

There remains the hypothesis that, already before the entry into Canaan of the Israelite tribes who came out of Egypt with Moses, there were tribes settled in Canaan who bore the name of Israel.

I may at this point refer to the much vexed question of the repeated allusion in the Tell el Amarna letters to the Ḥabiri people, who appear circ. B. C. 1400, i. e. some 150 years or more before Israel's entry into Canaan under Joshua, to be pressing into the country and threatening the continued stability of the Egyptian suzerainty and the power of the petty vassal-kings of the country.

Of these Ḥabiri we know nothing beyond what may be gathered from the letters of Abd-ḥiba of Jerusalem and his Canaanite contemporaries. The name may be equivalent to עִבְרִי 'Hebrews', or it may correspond to אֲבִירִים 'allies'¹: it is impossible to dogmatize on the subject. But in any case the allusions afford evidence for the existence in 1400 B. C. of a wave of immigration into Canaan from the East of tribes which, whatever their name may denote, were in all probability closely allied to Israel.

This leads us to notice that Sety I, whose reign appears to fall towards the end of the fourteenth century B. C., mentions a state in West Galilee called Asaru or Aseru. The same name is cited by Sety's son and successor, Ramses II. It corresponds in form with the name of the Israelite tribe Asher. We

¹ The fact that *ebri* exists in Babylonian as the proper equivalent of עִבְרִי tells, however, against this latter view. If Ḥabiri means 'allies', the word must be regarded as a Canaanism.

may remark also that the name Gad, which means 'fortune' or 'good fortune', is probably connected with or derived from the name of the deity Gad, the patron of fortune, who is mentioned in Isa. lxv 11, and whose name frequently occurs in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. The name is also seen in the place-name Baal-Gad in the far north of Palestine (Joshua xi 17, xii 7, xiii 5), doubtless a locality where Baal was worshipped as the god of fortune, and in Migdal-Gad, i.e. 'the tower of Gad', a stronghold of Judah (Joshua xv 38).

Now Asher and Gad are the two tribes whose descent is traced, not from a wife of Jacob, but from a concubine, Leah's handmaid Zilpah. May we, therefore, infer that the meaning of this tradition is that these two tribes, to which we should probably add the two tribes which are traced to the other handmaid, Bilhah, viz. Dan and Naphtali, were regarded as not belonging to Israel by full-blooded descent, but as occupying in some way or other an inferior position among the tribes? This view is held by many. Thus e. g. Paton (*Syria and Palestine* pp. 126, 151) and Hogg (*Encyc. Bibl.* s. v. Asher, &c.) regard these handmaid-tribes as Canaanite clans which had occupied Palestine before the invasion of Israel, and which were later on incorporated by the invaders. The case for regarding them as Canaanites scarcely seems to be made out; for there seems to be no reason why they should not be regarded as members of the great Aramaean migration, possibly Habiri, who pressed into Canaan and settled there perhaps some centuries before the Israelitish invasion under Joshua. As belonging to the Hebrew stock they would claim relationship to Israel, and this may be the explanation of the story of their descent.

Turning to the Song of Deborah, we notice that Asher, Gilead (i. e. Gad), and Dan are all blamed for failure to respond to the summons to take common action in battle with the Canaanite; Asher and Dan because they had interests upon the sea-board, either in fishery or commerce, and were apparently not concerned in the struggle for existence which occupied the patriotic tribes. It is true that Naphtali, the remaining handmaid-tribe, receives high commendation for its prowess; but it is easy to conceive that this one tribe may have early identified its interests with those of the tribes of Israel properly so called,

while the other handmaid-tribes may not so soon have been drawn into the bond.

In further support of this theory of the continuous existence of Israelitish tribes in Canaan from patriarchal times, I would cite the patriarchal traditions with regard to the origin of sacred sites and the like. It is, to my mind, easier to believe that these traditions really go back, as Genesis represents them as doing, to the early settlement of Israel's ancestors in Canaan, than that the sites were taken over from the conquered Canaanites after the settlement under Joshua, and the stories subsequently invented to account for their sanctity.

But if the former view, i. e. the traditional view, is correct, then the stream of tradition must have been continuous and unbroken. Once lost sight of for a period of many generations, the sites could not easily have been rediscovered; but, allowing some of the Israelitish tribes to have occupied Canaan without a break of any length from the time of their first immigration from the east, then the existence of a continuous stream of tradition with regard to such sites is at once explained.

The same hypothesis gains, I think, some support from the early narratives of Genesis which appear to deal with the movements of tribes under the figure of individuals. It is, to my mind, difficult or impossible to suppose that these stories go back no farther than to events which happened only after the occupation of the country under Joshua. Take e. g. the story of the affray of Simeon and Levi with the men of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv), and set it alongside of the story of Judges which narrates the dealings of Abimelech with these same Shechemites (Judges ix). In the one case we have a story which is couched in the language of symbol and bears upon its face the stamp of primitive antiquity, in the other a plain straightforward history which is so true to life that it might have happened yesterday. It is hard to believe that both narratives deal with events which fell within the period of 200 years or a little more, which is the longest that can be allowed between Joshua and David. But supposing the former to be, as it professes to be, a tradition preserved from patriarchal times, the contrast in form between the two narratives can easily be understood. It is true that some of these ancient stories deal with tribes which certainly

took part in the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus; but this, according to my theory, is as we should expect, supposing the earlier connexion between the Canaan-tribes and the Egypt-tribes to have been an historical fact, and to have been preserved among the primitive traditions of the Canaan-tribes.

Such is the evidence which leads me to believe that there were tribes bearing the name of Israel already in Canaan when the tribes which came out of Egypt made their entry under the leadership of Joshua. The fact that no tradition to this effect is preserved in the Biblical records may simply mean that the materials upon which these records are based were preserved by that part of Israel which *did* come out of Egypt at the Exodus, the southern and central tribes, especially the Joseph tribes, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. And here we may notice the way in which these Joseph tribes connect themselves with the deliverance from Egypt in Ps. lxxx, which begins:—

‘Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel,
 ‘Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock;
 ‘Thou that sittest upon the cherubim, shine forth.
 ‘Before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh,
 ‘Stir up Thy might,
 ‘And come to save us.’

There is a further point to be noticed with regard to the tribes which occupied Kadesh-Barnea and the surrounding desert subsequently to the Exodus. It concerns the tribe of Judah.

We know that this tribe consisted, to a large extent, of North Arabian elements. The genealogy of 1 Chron. ii regards Jerahmeelites, Kenizzites, and Kenites as forming an integral part of the tribe of Judah. Jerahmeel figures as descendant of Judah and brother of Caleb the Kenizzite, and the genealogy of his descendants finishes with the statement (*v.* 55), ‘These are the Kenites that came of Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab.’ In David’s time the Jerahmeelites and Kenites were regarded as belonging to Judah. We read in 1 Sam. xxvii 7 ff, which relates David’s stay as an outlaw with Achish, king of Gath, that David made pretence to Achish that his occasional raids were directed ‘against the Negeb of Judah, and against the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites, and against the Negeb of the

Kenites', and Achish remarks to himself with satisfaction, 'He hath made his people Israel utterly to abhor him, therefore he shall be my servant for ever.' Again, in 1 Sam. xxx 26-31, David sends presents 'of the spoil of the enemies of Yahwe' to the Judahites of the Negeb, including the Jerahmeelites and the Kenites.

It seems to have been the case that the tribe of Judah, and probably the tribe of Simeon also, though occupying Kadesh for a length of time together with the other Israelitish tribes which acknowledged the leadership of Moses, yet did not, with them, take part in the settlement in Canaan from the east under Joshua, but entered the country by advancing northwards from Kadesh-Barnea, and making conquests in the Negeb.

This conclusion is based on the fact that there are two accounts of the conquest of Arad in the Negeb, which must almost certainly be duplicates. The first account, which is found in Num. xxi 1-3 (J E), states that, at some time during the wilderness-sojourn, the king of Arad advanced against Israel, apparently because they were encroaching upon his territory, fought against them, and took some of them prisoners. Israel thereupon vowed a vow that, if Yahwe would deliver up the Canaanites into their hand, they would place their cities under a ban (*hérem*), and utterly destroy every inhabitant. Success attended their arms, the vow was carried out, and the name of the district was thenceforth known as *Hormah*.

This narrative, which implies a northward advance into the Negeb, is at variance with the preceding narrative which apparently pictures the whole of the Israelites as turning southwards from Kadesh-Barnea, in order to compass and avoid the land of Edom. It is also difficult to understand why an immediate settlement in the conquered territory was not effected by at least a portion of the Israelites, when the whole of the Canaanites inhabiting it had been put to the sword.

The question is further complicated by the occurrence in Judges i 16, 17 of a second account of the conquest of Arad in the Negeb by the tribes of Judah and Simeon, together with the Kenites. This narrative states that 'the children of [Hobab] the Kenite, Moses' father in law, went up out of the city of palm trees (i. e. Jericho) with the children of Judah into the

wilderness of Judah, which is in the Negeb of Arad; and they went and dwelt with the Amalekites.¹ And Judah went with Simeon his brother, and they smote the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it. And the name of the city was called Hormah.'

These two accounts are obviously parallel, and cannot, as they stand, be reconciled. It is easy to supply a reason for the occurrence of the account in Judges as a duplicate of that in Numbers; namely, the view that the conquest and settlement of Canaan under Joshua was the first settlement in the land of any tribes of Israel; but, if the narrative of Judges be taken to be correct in its present position, it is not easy to divine why the narrative of Numbers should have come in at that particular place. The inference then is that the tribes of Judah and Simeon, together with the Kenites, who, as we have noticed, are pictured as united to Judah by the tie of kinship, broke off from the rest of the Israelites during, or at the close of, the stay at Kadesh-Barnea, conquered the territory of Arad, and settled down in it, afterwards advancing their conquests and settlements still further north, into the country which is known to us later on as the hill-country of Judah.

If this inference be true, it will help to explain to us a very striking fact in the later history, viz. the isolation of Judah and Simeon from the rest of the tribes.

From the Song of Deborah it is clear that an organized attempt was made on the occasion with which the poem deals to unite the tribes of Israel against the Canaanites. Ten tribes, including the tribes from the east side of Jordan, are mentioned, either for praise as having taken part in the contest, or for blame as having held aloof. Judah and Simeon alone remain unnoticed. The inference is that at that period they were so far isolated from the rest of the tribes that they were not even expected to take part in the common interests of Israel, and therefore received no call to arms. This single instance is in itself so striking that I need do no more than allude briefly in passing to the fierce rivalry which is pictured as existing between the men of Israel and the men of Judah in the days of David

¹ Adopting the necessary emendation ~~וְהָיָה~~ ~~וְהָיָה~~ ~~וְהָיָה~~ in place of M. T.

(2 Sam. xix 41-43), and to the fact that the superficial union between Judah and the rest of the tribes, which was effected under Saul, David, and Solomon, was again dissolved upon easy provocation at the commencement of Rehoboam's reign.

In summary, then, we seem to discern, in the tribes which came eventually to form the nation of Israel, two divisions: (1) the tribes which entered Canaan from the east as part of the Aramaean immigration, and made the country their home without a break of any importance; and (2) the tribes which passed from Canaan into Egypt, and, after a prolonged stay there—latterly as bondmen to the Pharaohs—were led out by Moses, and occupied the oasis of Kadesh and the surrounding desert for a generation or more in close connexion with the Kenites and other North Arabian tribes. This second division of Israelites again falls into two divisions: (1) the tribe of Judah and the unimportant tribe of Simeon, which, after large amalgamation with their North Arabian associates, moved northwards from Kadesh and made conquests and settlements in the Negeb, and later on in the country which came subsequently to be known as the hill-country of Judah; and (2) the tribes which entered Canaan from the east under the leadership of Joshua, and made their conquests and settlements for the most part in Central Palestine.

I now pass on to the last question which I wish to consider before bringing together my different lines of evidence and drawing my conclusions. This concerns the origin and antiquity of the Divine Name, or, as I should prefer to say, the Divine *Title*, Yahu or Yahwe.

Evidence now shews beyond the possibility of a doubt that the title Yahu or Yahwe, so far from being peculiar to Israel, or derived by Israel from the Kenites, is of remote antiquity, and was well known to the Babylonians.

It has long been a matter of common knowledge that the king of Hamath, who was conquered by Sargon of Assyria, bears the name I-lu-bi-'di (Annals 23), and also (*ilu*) I-a-u-bi-'di (Stele i. 53; Triumphal Inscr. 33; Nimrûd Inscr. 8, without D.P. (*ilu*)). Here we seem to get an interchange between Ilu and Ya-u, just as in Hebrew the name Elnathan might inter-

change with Jehonathan. It has also been observed that the names of Philistine princes of Hezekiah's time, Zidkâ of Ashkelon and Padî of Ekron, look like abbreviated forms corresponding to Zidkiyah, Pedayah. Such cases as these, however, though they seemed to point to a use of the name Yahwe outside of the limits of Israel, stood in isolation, and no conclusions could with justice be drawn from them. More recently fresh evidence has been coming to light, and still further evidence may with confidence be expected.

The first, and to my mind the most important, piece of evidence to which I wish to call attention occurs in a Babylonian syllabary, C. T. Brit. Mus. xii, Plate 4. This syllabary gives a large number of the Babylonian equivalents to the star-ideogram $\rightarrow\text{J}$, which is the ordinary sign for Divinity, and commonly denotes *ilu* 'God'. The very first equivalent given is Ya'-u. Later on we notice I-lum, i. e. 𒀭 'God', Bê-lum, i. e. 𒀭 'Lord'. There is a point in connexion with this occurrence of Ya'u which ought not to be overlooked. Among the equivalents of the ideogram we find the names of two Babylonian Deities (*ilu*) A-nu-um '(the god) Anu', and (*ilu*) EN. LIL '(the god) Bel'. Both these names, as is regularly the case in Babylonian with the proper names of deities, occur with the determinative prefix *ilu*. This, however, is not the case with Ya'-u. The inference which I draw is that Ya'-u is originally not the proper name of a particular god, but a title of Deity, just as is the case with *ilum*, *bêlum*.

We next pass to a passage of remarkable interest in the Epic of Gilgameš, where the happy insight of Mr. Ball has elucidated a great difficulty, and made an important addition to the evidence for the use of Ya'u as a divine title by the Babylonians. In the course of the narrative we read how that Gilgameš, smitten with grief at the death of his friend Eabani, and desirous of discovering whether there exists a means whereby the common fatality of humanity can be escaped, hears of a man, Nu^h-Napištim by name, who has been elevated by the gods to a position among the immortals, and made to dwell afar off, as it were in the island of the blest. Desirous of learning the secret of Nu^h-Napištim's good fortune, Gilgameš sets out on a voyage of discovery, and after great difficulties succeeds in reaching the land where Nu^h-

Napištim dwells 'afar off at the confluence of the streams'. As Gilgamesh is making stupendous efforts to bring his ship to land, Nu^h-Napištim views him in the distance, and says to himself:—

Ša il-la-kam-ma ul ia-u amêlu : u im-na zi-[ka-ri ul i-ši].

'He who comes (yonder) is he not a Ya-u man? and has he not the right hand of a hero?'¹

Here the significance of Ya-u has hitherto baffled scholars. Jensen, in his note upon the passage, is at a loss to understand it, and hazards the rendering 'woeful man' for 'ia-u amêlu'. But why the spectacle of Gilgamesh's heroic efforts to manipulate his ship, which are described at length in the preceding lines, should suggest at the distance to Nu^h-Napištim that he is full of woe is not evident. Can we doubt, as we view the passage in the light of the occurrence of Ya'u in the syllabary, that Mr. Ball is right in finding here the Divine name or title, and that Nu^h-Napištim is styling Gilgamesh a *god-man*, laying emphasis upon the fact of his superhuman character? This conclusion is borne out if we turn back to one of Gilgamesh's earlier adventures, when he encounters a scorpion-man and his wife. On the approach of Gilgamesh, the scorpion-man cries out to his wife,

ša il-li-kan-na-ši šir ilâni zu-mur-šu,

'He who approaches us, flesh of gods is his body,'
and his wife answers,

šit-ta-šu ilu-ma šul-lul-ta-šu a-mê-lu-tu,

'Two-thirds of him are god, and his third part is human.'²

The earliest known occurrence of Ya-u as part of a proper name dates back as far as *cir.* B.C. 2700. This is Lipuš-Ī-a-um, the name of the daughter of Naram-Sin and granddaughter of Sargon I, a priestess of Sin.³ The name would bear some such meaning as 'May Ya-u make', and may be compared with the Hebrew אֲסַיָּה 'Asayah' (2 Kings xxii 12, 14 *al.*), אֲסַיֵּל 'Ya'asi'el' (1 Chron. xi 47, xxvii 21).

We next have the three proper names belonging to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, and cited by Delitzsch in his

¹ Tab. x Col. iv 17. The restoration in brackets is that of Jensen in *K. B.* vi 1 p. 222.

² Tab. ix Col. ii 13-16.

³ Thureau-Dangin *Comptes Rendus*, 1899, p. 348 pl. 1.

Babel und Bibel i p. 47. These are Ya-'a-we-ilu, Ya-we-ilu, Ya-u-um-ilu. As to Ya-u-um-ilu there can be no doubt. It is the equivalent of the Hebrew יְוֵאֵל 'Yo'el'. The sign which stands third in the first form and second in the second form might be read as *pi* or *me*, but is far more frequently used with the value *we* or *wa* in documents of Hammurabi's age; and thus there is nothing to weigh against our finding here a form of the Divine name Ya'awe or Ya'awa.

I am informed by Mr. Ball that the name Ya-ma-erah occurs in texts of the first dynasty. Its meaning must be 'Yawa is the moon'. Cf. A-bi-e-ra-aḥ, 'My (divine) father is the moon.' There can be no doubt that we are justified in reading Ya-ma as Ya-wa. In fact, on late tablets of the Persian period the Jewish name Gemariah is transcribed Gamar-ya-ma, and Nethaniah transcribed Natanu-ya-ma.

If, then, I am not mistaken, evidence is conclusive for the fact that the Divine name or title Ya'u or Ya'awe, Ya'awa was in use among the Babylonians from very early times.

I may now proceed to draw my conclusions from the different lines of evidence which I have brought together.

My inference is that the name Yahwe came westward into Canaan and the surrounding country in connexion with the influence of the first Babylonian dynasty, which we know to have been all-powerful in the west at the time, e. g., of Hammurabi. It is significant that Gen. xiv makes Abraham, the reputed ancestor of the Hebrews, a contemporary of Hammurabi. Biblical records represent the migration of Abraham as a movement under the influence of a higher form of religion than that which was current at the time in Babylonia. Abraham's immediate ancestors are represented as polytheists—the worshippers of gods other than Yahwe.

All this is quite likely. The fact is not without importance that Abraham is represented as moving from Ur, the southern seat of the worship of Sin the moon-god, to Harran the northern seat of the worship of the same deity. Possibly the Yahwe of Abraham was originally connected with the deity Sin, regarded as the אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁן or chief god. Mount Sinai, where Moses received his inspiration, must have obtained its name from the god Sin, and

was doubtless an ancient seat of the worship of that deity, being known from old times as 'the Mount of God'. Sin, in fact, gives his name to the whole district in which the mountain is situated. Here we may recall the fact that Lipuš-Ì-a-um was a priestess of the moon-god Sin, and also the occurrence of the name Ya-wa-erah, 'Yawa is the moon.' There is a very great number, perhaps a preponderance, of SIN-names in the first Dynasty Tablets. Apil-Sin was the grandfather of Hammurabi, Sinmuballit his father.

I do not wish to argue from these facts that Moses thought of Yahwe as the moon-god. In the course of many centuries the characteristics of the supreme deity as conceived by His worshippers may have undergone change, and the name Sin may have dropped out of use in favour of the name Yahwe. As a matter of fact, we have noticed that, so far as the Yahwe of Moses is marked by naturalistic characteristics, they are those of a weather-God rather than an astral God.

We may observe at this point that the document J, which represents the use of the name Yahwe and His worship as primaeval, is usually assigned to the kingdom of Judah; and, as we have seen, the tribe of Judah was largely made up of North Arabian elements—Kenites and the like—who had preserved the cult of Yahwe uninterruptedly from the earliest times, and who may well have preserved a tradition to that effect. The document E, on the other hand, represents the name Yahwe as unknown to Israel prior to the revelation made to Moses; and, as this document appears to emanate from the Joseph-tribes, and these tribes underwent a prolonged sojourn in Egypt, involving a definite break with the past, here we may find the origin of this tradition. Yahwe was the God of their fathers indeed, but He now revealed Himself under what was, for them, a new name.

And now as to the Israelite tribes which, as we have seen reason to infer, occupied Canaan uninterruptedly from the date of their first immigration, and which had therefore long been settled in the land at the time of the entry of the desert-tribes under Joshua. It is reasonable to enquire the name of the deity whom they worshipped. The natural answer, based on the evidence which we have just been reviewing, is that their God

was the God Yahwe. It is certain, however, that for them Yahwe would not be endowed with the high ethical characteristics of the Yahwe of Moses. Having never come under the influence of the founder of Israel's ethical religion, but having lived the settled life of agriculturists in Canaan perhaps for some centuries before the entry of the worshippers of the Mosaic Yahwe, it is obvious to suppose that their religious cultus followed the natural course of development of the religion of a race of agricultural Semites. For them Yahwe would be pictured as an agricultural deity, lord of the soil and of its products, the giver of fertility to crops and cattle—in fact, as a Baal, to be worshipped with a yearly round of agricultural festivals, and with such other rites as were felt to be appropriate to a deity endowed with the characteristics of Baal or lord of the soil.

We have to picture, then, the desert-tribes of Israel as entering Canaan and meeting there with other Israelite tribes whom they recognized as kinsmen, and whom they found to be worshipping the God to whom they themselves owned allegiance—the God Yahwe. Their natural tendency would be to assimilate the form of their worship to the form of worship which they found going on around them. Here were sacred places consecrated by old traditions which attributed their sanctity to Theophanies vouchsafed by Yahwe to their common ancestors. Here was this God Yahwe blessing the soil and its produce and demanding due recognition of His favours. He was worshipped by their kinsmen under the outward symbol of an image appropriate to His special characteristics—the young bull as the type of exuberant strength and fecundity. Possibly at times He was represented in human form. Thus with the bulk of the Israelites the natural tendency would be for the Canaanite Yahwism to overshadow and supersede the Mosaic Yahwism. Yet, as we know, the Mosaic Yahwism survived and ultimately won the battle. The cause of this we have already traced to its high ethical characteristics. Let us enquire more closely into the means which were instrumental towards its triumph.

As the traveller journeys southwards from Jerusalem, he enters a region which approximates more and more closely to the desert as the hill-country of Judah slopes down towards the

arid Negeb, and the Negeb merges into the wilderness of Kadesh. Here is a country little suited in the main for agriculture, but well adapted for pastoral pursuits. The clans which occupied and settled down in it, and which afterwards went to form the kingdom of Judah, contained, as we have seen, a large infusion of North Arabian blood, in which the nomadic mode of life and the desert-conception of Yahwe were deeply inherent. The tribe of Judah was separated for the most part from its fellow tribes of Israel by the fact that for a long while there intervened between it and them a belt of hostile Amorite strongholds which the Joseph-tribes proved unable to conquer. Natural circumstances, therefore, favoured the preservation of a purer form of Yahwism in Judah from the earliest times. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence to shew that the worship of Yahwe at the sanctuary at Jerusalem was conducted otherwise than without the aid of image or other idolatrous symbol, except for occasional lapses such as occurred under Rehoboam, and, more markedly, in the great apostasy of Manasseh. Those who will may think that they find, in the Nehushtan which was destroyed in Hezekiah's reign, evidence sufficient to prove that some form of serpent-worship existed from early times in the Temple; but of these I am not one. On the other hand, I take it that such short notices from the state-annals as those which speak of King Asa as removing the images which his father had made, and deposing the queen-mother from her position 'because she had made a horrible thing for an Ashera' (1 Kings xv 12, 13), are good evidence in indication of the general level of religious cultus during the period of the Judaeen monarchy.

But besides the natural characteristics of the land of Judah which favoured the preservation of the purer form of Yahwe-religion, there were, throughout the period of the Judges and the Monarchy, other influences at work which were faithful to the Mosaic Yahwism, and made for its preservation and propagation. We have noticed, in the case of the Rechabites, a whole tribe which seems to have conceived that the preservation of their nomadic form of life was bound up with their religion, and which remained, so far as evidence allows us to infer, zealous adherents of the purer form of Yahwism. There were also individuals and communities who adopted a similar form of life in connexion

with religious vows and a stricter devotion to Yahwe's service. We do not know much about the Nazirites. Samson and Samuel are perhaps the only instances which we find in Israel's history. But from the law of the Nazirite, which clearly goes back to early times, and from the casual allusion to Nazirites in Amos ii 11, 12, we may infer that they were well known as a class throughout Israel's history, and that they were devoted to the observance of a purer form of Yahwism than commonly prevailed.

Very similar in mode of life must have been the prophets, who are coupled with the Nazirites in the passage in Amos which I have just cited. For the most part, and in the earliest times, they seem to have adopted the characteristics of the nomad, living without fixed abode and clad in the hairy garment of the desert. Doubtless their manner of life favoured the tendency to ecstatic utterance which was inherent in the natural bent of their character, and the common Israelite regarded them as madmen and treated them generally with the reverence which was felt to be due to any manifestation of the supernatural. The prophets who stood as representatives of the purer form of Yahwism must always have been a numerous class, and their influence was at all times to be reckoned with. In the time of Israel's settlement in Canaan, when the tribes were constantly falling under the domination of foreign powers, it was usually some such religious enthusiast who succeeded in arousing them to common action, summoning them to battle in the name of Yahwe Şeba'oth, the God of armies, and leading them under His guidance to victory against the foe.

The conception of Yahwe as the God of battle seems to have been specially characteristic of the Mosaic Yahwe in contrast to the Canaanite conception of Yahwe. We get it in the Song of Deborah and in Ps. lxxviii, where He is pictured as starting forth from His ancient seat on Mount Sinai when leading His hosts to battle; or, again, in the ancient battle-cry which is recorded as having greeted the first movement of the sacred ark during the stages of Israel's wanderings in the desert:—

‘Rise up, Yahwe, and let Thine enemies be scattered;
And let them that hate Thee flee before Thee’

(Num. x 35 J E).

The 'hosts' to which the title refers were doubtless in historical times the hosts of Israel; though it is possible that in the earliest times there may have been reference to the God under His aspect as an astral Deity.

Such summons to the tribes to take common action in the name of Yahwe Şeba'oth would, when crowned with success, naturally result in a revival of the purer form of Yahwism, much as the Book of Judges relates.

The institution of the monarchy was, as represented in the older narrative of 1 Samuel, a movement initiated by Samuel as representative of the prophetic order, with a view to the consolidation of the tribes into a nation under the leadership of Yahwe Şeba'oth, the Yahwe of the revelation at Sinai.

I now wish to hint, as briefly as may be, at certain points in the North Palestinian stories of the Books of Kings which seem to make for my view that during the times of the dynasty of Omri there were two forms of Yahwism in evidence in the Northern kingdom—that represented by the cult of the bulls, and that of which prophets like Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah were the exponents.

It is very generally supposed that there is a lack of consistency one with another in these narratives. For instance, 1 Kings xviii, xix represents the prophets of Yahwe as persecuted and slain by Jezebel, and as hiding for their lives; while 1 Kings xxii pictures some 400 prophets as speaking in the name of Yahwe without let or hindrance in the presence of Ahab and at his invitation. In 1 Kings xix Elijah speaks as though the apostasy from Yahwe was all but universal; but in 2 Kings x we find Jehu gathering all the adherents of the Tyrian Baal into one building, and putting them to the sword.

According to my theory, these narratives, though doubtless from different sources, yet give a self-consistent historical account of the religious circumstances of the times. The Yahwe-prophets of 1 Kings xxii clearly belong to a different class from Micaiah the son of Imlah. They cannot be thought to have belonged to the class which Jezebel used vigorous methods to extirpate (1 Kings xviii 4, xix 10-14; 2 Kings ix 7), but must have been representatives of a form of Yahwe-religion which for some

reason escaped attack during her persecution; and the reason for this escape may be assumed to have been that this form of Yahwism could tolerate the existence side by side with it of an extraneous cult, many of the characteristics of which were doubtless near akin to its own. On the other hand, the reason for Jezebel's vindictiveness against a certain section of Yahwe-worshippers must have been that these, by emphasis of Yahwe's *exclusive claim* (Exod. xx 3 E), came into sharp collision with the form of religion which she desired to naturalize. Such were those mentioned in 1 Kings xix 18, not merely an isolated prophet here and there, but a considerable body of the people, whose number is reckoned as seven thousand.

It would be a mistake, however, to picture the bulk of the people as worshippers of the Tyrian Baal by conviction. They are aptly described by Elijah as 'limping upon the two opinions', the attempt to combine two religions so incompatible as Yahwe-worship and Baal-worship being compared to the laboured gait of a man walking on two legs of unequal length: but doubtless they saw little to choose between Yahwe and Baal-Melkart, and were ready to be swayed by a signal exhibition of power such as Elijah's triumph on Mount Carmel. It was not against such occasional worshippers of Baal that Jehu's measures were directed, but against the special *clientèle* of Jezebel, doubtless priests and others engaged in the special service of the deity; and it was probably a simple matter to gather these together into one building, and thus to secure their massacre.

There is one other point to which brief allusion must be made, and that is the designation of Yahwe by the title Baal. That this was a common appellation of Yahwe in the times of Saul and David is proved by the existence of a number of proper names compounded with Baal even in the family of a professedly zealous Yahwe-worshipper such as Saul. It is easy to understand, in view of the facts which we have noticed, that such a title may well have been commonly employed even by those who laid themselves under the influence of the purer form of Yahwism. But the probability is that the prophets as a class never took kindly to the title. Such an inference we may draw from Hos. ii 16, 17:—'And it shall be in that day, saith Yahwe, that thou shalt call me *'Ishi* "my husband"; and shalt call me

no more *Baali* "my lord". For I will take away the names of the Bealim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be mentioned by their name.¹

Here I must bring this over-long paper to a close. There is, however, one claim which has as yet been left unfulfilled. I trust that I have produced evidence that is not without weight in favour of the view that the religion of Moses agreed substantially with the religious standard of the moral Decalogue of Exod. xx; but I have so far failed to produce the evidence which was to argue that this Decalogue itself in its original form is to be traced back to Moses in agreement with the statement of tradition.

When once it has been shewn that it is unnecessary to bring the moral Decalogue down to the period of the eighth-century prophets, it becomes—at least to my thinking—easier to regard it as the production of a great outstanding mind like that of Moses, than to suppose that it sprang up and gained its position no one knows how or when, as the production of an entirely unknown person.

But there is positive evidence, both from Egyptian and Babylonian sources, which illustrates the influences which may have weighed on Moses' mind in the production of such a code of morals for the guidance of his people.

If he was brought up, as tradition relates, in the court of the Pharaoh, and was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians', he must have possessed a good knowledge of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. In this book we get a series of forty-two statements, known as the Negative Confession, to be made by the soul of the deceased person in the underworld. Among these there are certain which bear striking resemblance to commandments in the Israelitish Decalogue.¹ Thus with the third commandment we may compare—

No. 38. I have not cursed the god.

No. 42. I have not thought scorn of the god who is in my city.
With the sixth commandment compare—

No. 5. I have not slain man or woman.

No. 12. I have attacked no man.

¹ The translation is that of Budge in the 2nd vol. of his edition of the Book of the Dead in the series of *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea* vol. vii pp. 365 ff.

With the seventh commandment compare—

No. 19. I have not defiled the wife of a man.

No. 20. I have not committed any sin against purity.

No. 27. I have not committed acts of impurity, neither have I lain with men.

With the eighth commandment compare—

No. 2. I have not robbed with violence.

No. 4. I have not committed theft.

With the ninth commandment compare—

No. 14. I have not acted deceitfully.

No. 16. I have not pried into matters [to make mischief].

No. 17. I have not set my mouth in motion [against any man].

No. 9. I have not uttered falsehood.

No. 31. I have not judged hastily.

With the tenth commandment compare—

No. 41. I have not increased my wealth except with such things as are [justly] mine own possessions.

But there is a strong probability that Moses may have come under Babylonian influence as well as Egyptian. We have seen that Sinai was probably an old seat of the worship of the moon-god Sin, and Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, is described as the priest of Midian, i. e. doubtless the supreme interpreter of the religion of his tribe. What more likely than that Babylonian influence may have left, not merely the name of the Deity, but also some traces of cultus and morals?

Now there exists an ancient ritual formula¹ devised to be used by a priest when he essays to cure a man who has fallen sick. One of his duties is to find out, if possible, whether the patient has committed any sin which may account for his illness. With this purpose he asks four questions, which take the following form:—

a-na bit tap-pi-e-šu i-te-ru-ub

'Into the house of his brother has he entered?'

a-na aššat tap-pi-e-šu iṭ-ṭe-ḥi

'To the wife of his brother has he approached?'

¹ 4R² 51 [58].

dámé tap-pi-e-šu it-ta-bak

'The blood of his brother has he shed?'

šu-bat tap-pi-e-šu it-ta-bal

'The raiment of his brother has he purloined?'

Thus these four questions are in substance identical with the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments of the Decalogue.

Upon these grounds I find reason to believe that tradition is correct in assigning the promulgation of the moral Decalogue to Moses. Those who would argue for a contrary opinion must first disprove the possibility of the influence of Egyptian and Babylonian thought upon the mind of Moses—a task which is not likely to prove easier as the records of these countries are studied with increasing attention by the student of the religion of Israel.

C. F. BURNEY.

DOCUMENTS

ORIGEN ON I CORINTHIANS.

II.

§ XVII.

iii 21-23 [ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν, ὅθ' εἴτε Παῦλος εἴτε Ἀπολλῶς εἴτε Κηφᾶς εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα· πάντα ὑμῶν ἐστιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ.]

[Ὁριγένους]

Ὁ δυνάμενος ἀποτάξασθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὅλος γενέσθαι ἄξιός τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ καυχήσεως, οὗτος οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καυχᾶται.

Πῶς δὲ ὁ θάνατος ἐμός ἐστιν; ἵνα ἀποθάω τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· ἵνα εἶπω Εἰ καὶ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος θάνατος καθ' ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ ἁμαρτάνομος ἀγὴ ἀποθάνεται οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐμός. καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὅτι συναγόμεθα ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι αἰῶνι, ὅτι ἀκούομεν γραφῶν ἱερῶν, ὅτι εὐχόμεθα. τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα· ὅταν γὰρ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τότε τὸ ἐκ μέρος καταργηθήσεται. καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλθεῖν ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον γένηται μοι τὰ ἐνεστῶτα. πάντα ὑμῶν θαυμάζεται τις λόγος παρ' Ἑλλήσιν εἰρημίνος τοιοῦτος· 'Πάντα τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν τοῦ φαύλου·' ταῦτα δὲ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτος ἐδίδαξεν ὅτι Πάντα τοῦ ἀγίου ἐστίν. τοῦ οὖν πιστοῦ, φησὶν, ὁλος ὁ κόσμος τῶν χρημάτων, τοῦ δὲ ἀπίστου οὐδὲ ὀβολός· ὡς γὰρ ληστὴς ἔχει ἂ ἔχει ὁ ἄπιστος· οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ τὸν κτίσαντα ταῦτα θεὸν οὐδὲ ἀκούων τοῦ λέγοντος 'Ἐμὴν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐμὴν τὸ χρυσίον, οὐχ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνα ἔχει. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀρῶμεν ὅτι πάντα ἡμῶν ἐστὶν· καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ (πιστοῦ) ὅλος ὁ κόσμος τῶν χρημάτων τοῦ δὲ ἀπίστου οὐδὲ ὀβολός.

§ XVIII.

iv 1-5 [οὕτως ἡμᾶς λογιζέσθω ἀνθρώπος ὡς ὑπηρετὰς Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ζητεῖτε ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις ἵνα πιστός τις εὑρεθῇ. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαί, ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με Κύριός ἐστιν. ὥστε μὴ πρὸ

XVII 1. Lc. ix 61; cf. xi 33 4. Rom. vi 2; 2 Tim. ii 11 5 f. Ezek. xviii 4 [20]
8. 1 Cor. xiii 10 15. Hag. ii 8

XVII 6-7. The liturgical reference may be noted.

XVII 6-7. *ὅτι*: fortasse *ὅτε* (ter) Turner 17. πιστοῦ scripsi: σοφοῦ MS
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καιροῦ τι κρίνετε, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτά τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν, καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἐκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.]

[Ὡριγένους]

71 Ὁ μὴ διαβεβηκὼς τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν ἐγκεκρυμμένων ἐν τῇ
 γραφῇ μυστηρίων δύναται μὲν ὑπηρετῆς εἶναι Χριστοῦ, οὐ δύναται δὲ οἰκονόμος
 εἶναι μυστηρίων θεοῦ· ὁ γὰρ οἰκονόμος ὃν ἔχει τὰ οἰκονομούμενα καὶ οἶκε
 5 τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ. μὴ ποτε οἶν ὁ μὲν ὑπηρετῆς Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν κοινοτή-
 ραν νοεῖται διακονίαν προστ(ά)ς, ὁ δὲ οἰκονόμος μυστηρίων θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν
 διοίκησιν τὴν περὶ τὰ γνωσθέντα μυστήρια, ἵνα μὴ παρα(ρ)ρίπτῃ ταῦτα ὡς
 ἔτυχεν μηδὲ ἀνεξετάστως αὐτὰ παραδιδῶ· ἀλλὰ προκαθάρας, προειρησίας,
 προαποστήτας τοῦ κόσμου τὸν μέλλοντα ἀκούειν μαθημάτων ὑπερκοσμίω,
 10 τότε αὐτ(ὰ) λέγει. Ἡμεῖς, φησὶν, ἐσμὲν ὑπηρεταὶ Χριστοῦ· καὶ τὰ πλείονα
 μᾶλλον ὁ ἀπόστολος τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διηκονεῖτο ἢ περὶ τῆ οἰκονομίας
 τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ θεοῦ· (οἰ)κονομεῖ δὲ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ φέρει εἰπεῖν πρὸς
 Λουκᾶν ἵνα γράψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον δινηθῇ, πρὸς Τιμόθειον ἵνα ἄρξαι τῶν ἐν
 Ἐφέσῳ πλείονα παρεληφθῶτων οἷός τε γένηται (καὶ) οἰκονομῆν τὰ μυστήρια
 15 τοῦ θεοῦ. τολμῶ δὲ καὶ λέγω ὅτι ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν ὑπηρετῆς γέγονε
 Χριστοῦ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ οἰκονόμος μυστηρίων θεοῦ.

Μαθῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγων ὁ Παῦλος τὸ τίς ἄρα ὁ πιστός
 φρόνιμος οἰκονόμος ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδόναι ἐν και-
 20 ρῷ τὸ σιτομέτριον τοῖς συνδούλοις αὐτοῦ, φησὶν Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ζητεῖται ἐν τῷ
 οἰκονομῶν ἵνα πιστός τις εὐρεθῇ. οὔτε γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ ἐγνωσκῆναι οὔτε δεῖ τὸ
 ἐγνωκῶτα ὡς ἔτυχεν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ νοοῦντα τὸ ἐν καιρῷ διδόναι τὸ σιτομέτριον
 τοῖς συνδούλοις αὐτοῦ βλέπειν τίς τῶν συνδούλων ὀφείλει λαβεῖν πλείον
 σιτομέτριον μυστηρίων θεοῦ ἢ ἕλαττον, καὶ πότε· εἰ γὰρ καλῶς τὴν οἰκονομίαν
 καὶ ἀμέμπτως διοικήσ(η), ποῖαν ἔχει ἐπαγγελίαν; Ἐπὶ πᾶσι φησὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν
 25 ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καταστήσει αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ Παῦλος φοβεῖται καὶ λέγει ταῦτα
 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ Κηφᾶ καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονό-
 μους δεήσει φοβεῖσθαι ὅπως εὐρεθῶσι πιστοὶ οἰκονόμοι.

Εἶτα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φησὶν Ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ
 ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας. οἱ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀνέκρινον τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, οὐκ
 30 ἀληθῶς ἀνακρίνοντες. ἀνακρίνοντος γὰρ ἦν τὸ λέγειν ὅτι Κρείττων ἐστὶν
 ὁ Παῦλος Κηφᾶ καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, καὶ ἄλλου τὸ λέγειν Ὁ Πέτρος πολλῶ
 διαφέρει τοῦ Παύλου· ἐν γὰρ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ Παῦλος οὐκ εἴρηται ἀπόστολος.
 φησὶν οἶν ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι Ἐμοὶ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ.
 συνηδεῖ ἑαυτῷ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέπιπτεν Κορινθίους ὡς δυναμένους

XVIII 4-5. 1 Cor. xiii 2 17 ff. Lc. xii 42

XVIII 6 f. . . . διακονίαν προστους ο δὲ οἰκονόμους [-os corr.] . . . μυστήρια. ἵνα
 μὴ . . . MS 10. αὐτὰ scripsi: τότε αὐτῆ λέγει MS 12. fortasse οἰκονομεῖ MS:
 οἰκονομῶν 13. fortasse ἄρξαι 14. καὶ suppleui: om. MS 15. τολμῶν
 Armitage Robinson (sed vide Hom. in Hierem. ed. Klostermann xix p. 174)
 24. διοικήσῃ MS ἔχεν MS ἐπαγγελίαν in marg. m. 2: ἀπολογία MS.
 29. ἀνέκρινον τὸ (cf. XVI 30 supra) Turner: ἀνακρίνοντο MS

αὐτὸν ἀνακρίναι, ὁ γὰρ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει τὰ πάντα αὐτὸς δὲ ἵπ' οὐδενός 35
ἀνακρίνεται· ὡσπερ ἀλλαχού φησι Γέγονα ἄφρων· γμεῖς με ἠναγκάσατε· τοιοῦ-
τόν τι καὶ ἐνθάδε νοήσας λέγει. ἔστι τις ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα, καὶ ἔστι τις θεία
ἡμέρα, περὶ ἧς γέγραπται μυρία ὄσα καὶ τὸ Ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἀνάτατος ἔρχεται.
τῆ οὖν ἀνάκρισίς μου, φησίν, οὐ δύναται γενέσθαι ἐν ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρᾳ, οὐ χωρεῖ
γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα τὴν ἀνάκρισίν μου· εἰ ἀνακρίνεσθαι μέλλω, ἐν τῇ τοῦ 40
κυρίου ἡμέρᾳ ἀνακριθήσομαι.

Εἶτα παραδοξότερόν τι ἑαυτῷ συνειδῶς λέγει Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω·
οὐδεν γὰρ ἑμαυτῷ σύνοιδα. πολὺ ἐνταῦθα τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου φαίνεται
καθαρὸν γεγονέναι, ὥστε αὐτὸν τολμῆσαι οὐ μόνον τοῖς τότε γράψαι ἀλλ' ἵνα
καὶ αἱ μέχρι συντελείας γενεαὶ ἀναγινώσκωσι τὸ λεγόμενον. ἀληθῆς οὖν 45
ὁ Παῦλος λέγων Μιμηταὶ μοι γίνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ χριστοῦ· πῶς δὲ Χριστὸν ἐμμή-
σατο Παῦλος, ἄκουε· Ἐρχεται ὁ ἀρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔχει οὐδέν·
καὶ ὁ Παῦλος φησὶν Οὐδὲν ἑμαυτῷ σύνοιδα· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν Οὐδὲν ἑμαυτῷ
σύνοιδα ἔργον φαῦλον· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο εἰρήκει, ἐδυνάμεθα λέγειν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
ἔργοις κεκάθαρται τοῖς δὲ λόγοις οὐδέπω· ἢ πάλιν, τούτοις μὲν κεκάθαρται 50
ἢ δὲ καρδιά αὐτοῦ ἡμάρτανεν. νῦν δὲ ἔοικεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν συνειδέναί ἑαυτῷ
καθαρότητα, οὐ πρῶην ὅτε ἐδίωκεν ἢ ὅτε προσῆλθεν τῇ πίστει ἀλλὰ νῦν ὅτε
ταῦτα ἔλεγεν.

Εἶτα ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου λελαληκέναι, ἐπιφέρει καὶ λέγει Ἄλλ'
οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ φησὶν οὐδὲν ἑμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, ἀλλ' 55
οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ ἐμὲ μηδὲν ἑμαυτῷ συνειδέναί 73
φανθάνειν δέ με ἡμαρτημένον τί μοι· πολλὰ γὰρ γίνεται ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ
φύσει τοιαῦτα ὥστε ἁμαρτάνειν (οὐ) κατὰ τὸν λόγον, οὐ μετὰ τοῦ καταλαμ-
βάνειν ἢ κατὰ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν, οὐ μετὰ το(ῦ) θεωρεῖν ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν.
ἐκεῖνος οὖν ὁ ἐν πᾶσι μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδῶς φησὶν Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ 60
δεδικαίωμαι, ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με Κύριός ἐστιν.

Ὡς γὰρ ὑπερβᾷ τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τὴν ἀγγελικὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων,
τοῦτό φησιν Ἔως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος. ἐπεὶ οὖν κρίσις ἐπίκειται, καὶ ἀληθινή γε
ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνη μόνῃ ἢ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπισταμένου καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς σταθμῆσαι
καὶ ἐν ζυγῷ στήσαι τοὺς λόγους καὶ ἐρευνῆσαι πάσας τὰς πράξεις καὶ ἐφ' 65
ἐκάστῃ ἡμῶν τὸ δέον ἀποδοῦναι, διὰ τοῦτο κἀν καταγινώσκωμέν τινος μὴ
κατακρίνωμεν οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν ᾧ μέτρῳ ἡμαρτεν, οὐδὲ οἶδαμεν οἷα διαθέσει
ἡμαρτεν καὶ εἰ ἔχει ἀντίρροπα χρηστὰ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ αὐτοῦ. εἰ γὰρ εὐλαβεῖς
γενώμεθα, οὐ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀναθήσομεν τῇ κρίσει τοῦ
θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 70

Ἐνθάδε μὲν λέγεται Μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τόσῳ 74

35. 1 Cor. ii 15 36. 2 Cor. xii 11 38. Is. xiii 9 46. 1 Cor. xi 1 ;
cf. iv 16 47. Io. xiv 30 65. Cf. Sir. xxi 25

71-2. These two passages are separated in the MS by quotations from
Theodoret and Severian, but there is no fresh lemma.

58. rasura est 2 litterarum post ἁμαρτάνειν : sc. οὐ ut opinor 59. τὸ MS
64. ἐκεῖνη ἢ μόνῃ MS

τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Οὐχὶ τοῖς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, τοῖς δὲ ἔσω ὁ θεὸς κρίνει· ἀρ' οὖν ἐναντιώματα ἔχουσιν αἱ γραφαί, καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς κρίνειν καὶ μὴ κρίνειν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς κρίσεως σημαίνοντες; ἐὰν μὴ τοῖς ἔσω κρίνητε οἱ πεπιστευμένοι
 75 κρίνετε τοῖς ἔσω, ἢ ἐκκλησία μέλλει ἀντὶ ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ γίνεσθαι σκασομένη πονηρευομένων· εἴτα τῶν ἔσω κρινομένων, πῶς ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ Μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε. φάμεν οὖν Οἱ πεπιστευμένοι κρίνειν τοὺς ἔσω οὐχ οὕτως εἰς ἀνόητοι ὡς κρινόντες τοὺς ἔσω λέγειν ὅτι τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνομεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ συμφέροντος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν κρίσιν ποιοῦνται. εἰ
 80 συμφέροι τόνδε ἀποσυναγωγήον εἶναι κρίναν(ε)ς αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν· καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον (παρα)στήσονται, οὐ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κρίνοντας κρίσιν ἀλλὰ τὴν δεδομένην αὐτοῖς· τὴν γὰρ κρίσιν ἣν ὁ θεὸς κρινεῖ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀμήχανον ἐστὶ κρίνειν ἡμᾶς· οὔτε γὰρ καρδίας ἐρευνῶμεν οὔτε οἶδαμεν οἷς λογισμοῖς τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐκάστω πέπρακται. τὰ κρυπτά γὰρ κρυφὴ τῷ θεῷ παρα-
 85 χωροῦσιν οἱ κριταὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὰ δὲ φανερά, ὡς εἴρηται, ἴμῃν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν· ὅσα ἐφθασεν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ γνωστά ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ταῦτα κρίνουσιν. μηδέποτε οὖν τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ προλαβόντες λέγωμεν Ὅ δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπόλλυται, ἢ μακαρίζοντες λέγωμεν Ὅ δὲ αὐτὰ σώζεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀντιμετρεῖται
 75 καὶ ἀντεξετάζειν ἴσμεν τὰς πράξεις ταῖς πράξεσιν ἢ λογισμοῖς ἢ ἐνθυμήμασι
 90 Μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ οὖν τι κρίνετε ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτά τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερῶσει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν.

Δύο δὲ λεγομένων πραγμάτων ὀφείλει τις εἶναι τούτων διαφορὰ· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε κρυπτά σκότους, ἢ δὲ βουλὰς καρδιῶν. ὅρα οὖν μὴ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν κρυπτά σκότους ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ ἀνδραγαθήματα βουλαὶ τῶν καρδιῶν
 95 ὅσα γὰρ καλῶς πράττομεν μετὰ βουλῆς πράττομεν, ὅσα δὲ ἁμαρτάνομεν ἐν σκότῳ ὄντες ἁμαρτάνομεν. ἐπειδὴ τοῦντιν τινὲς ἢ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν ἢ ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ οἶδεν, μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνωμεν ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτά τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀποκαλύψει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ
 100 Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσῃται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῖλον. εἶρον εὐαγγελικὸν (ῥητὸν) παραπλησίως τούτῳ διηγήσασθαι Οὐδὲν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερωθήσεται καὶ κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁρᾷ τὸν Σωτῆρα διδόντα διαφορὰν κρυπτῶν φανερουμένων καὶ κεκαλυμμένων ἀποκαλυπτομένων. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ κρυπτά καὶ φανερούμενα ἢ τὰ καλὰ;
 105 καὶ τίνα τὰ κεκαλυμμένα καὶ ἀποκαλυπτόμενα ἄλλ' ἢ τὰ κακὰ;

Εἶποι τις ἂν τῶν πάντα ἐρευνώντων Διὰ τί οὐκ εἶπεν Καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἢ ὁ ψόγος ἐκάστω ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ ἔπαινος. ὁ μὲν

XVIII 72. 1 Cor. v 12 75-6. Ps. cxi 17 76-7. Matt. vii 1 84. Deut. cxix 29 [28] 99ff. 2 Cor. v 10 102. Matt. x 26; cf. Mc. iv 22

XVIII 80. κρίναντος MS 81. προστήσονται MS 82. οὔτε γὰρ καρδίας ἐρευνῶμεν οὔτε οἶδαμεν οἷς κτλ. scripsi; οὔτε γὰρ οἶδαμεν οὔτε καρδίας ἐρευνῶμεν οὔτε οἷς MS rasura est 3 litt. ante οἷς: (sic) ποῖοις, ut suspicor, m. p. 96. σκότῳ MS recte, ut uidetur, secundum usum Origenis 101. εὐαγγελικὸν MS; ῥητὸν supplעי (cf. c. Cels. i 62 ed. Koetschau)

οὖν τις οὕτω διηγήσεται ὅτι τὸ εὐφημότερον προσήψεν τῷ θεῷ, παρασιωπήσας τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς οὐχ ἀρμόζον αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τολμήσω καὶ εἶποιμ' ἂν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἐπαινεῖ καὶ ἀποδέχεται ὁ θεός, τὰ δὲ κακὰ ἡμῶν ὁ τῶν κακῶν πατήρ ὁ 110 Διάβολος· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπαινος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς ἀγίοις, ὁ δὲ ψόγος τοῖς ἀξία ψόγου πεποιηκόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου γίνεται. διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται σοι παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ἵνα ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐντραπῆ μηδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ ἡμῶν φαῖλον.

§ XIX.

iv 6-8 [ταῦτα δὲ ἀδελφοὶ μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῷ δι' ὧμας ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ Μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς [μὴ] φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου. τίς γάρ σε διακρίνει; τί δὲ ἔχεις ἃ οὐκ ἔλαβες; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβών; ἤδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ; ἤδη ἐπλουτήσατε; χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἑβασιλεύσατε; καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἑβασιλεύσατε, ἵνα καὶ (ἡ)μεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Γέγραπται ταῦτα, φησὶν, ἐν μετασχηματισμῷ τῷ κατὰ τὰ τότε 77 πράγματα, οὐχ ἵνα περὶ Παύλου καὶ Ἀπολλῷ ταῦτα γινώσκωμεν μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν τὰ γινόμενα ἀνάλογον τούτοις προ(σ)ορῶντες ὀρθῶς προσέχωμεν μήποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμπέσωμεν εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ὡς 5 ἐν θεάτροις τοῖς διασχίζομένοις περὶ τὰ ἀκροάματα διασχίζ(ώμεθα) περὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους.

Ἄλλ' ἴδωμεν τὸ ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ Μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται. εἰάν τις ἕξιν ἔχων ὑποδεστέραν πρὶν πληρῶσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα θέλει ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται, οὐδὲ νοήσει ἃ γέγραπται. ὡσπερ γὰρ κλίμακα 10 οὐχ οἷον τέ ἐστιν ἀναβῆναι τίνα μὴ ὀδῶ ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτέρω κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῶν μαθημάτων τῶν θείων. τοῦτο μὴ καλῶς νοήσαντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπαγγέλλονται παραδόσεις καὶ λέγουσιν Αὐτ(α)ι ὑπὲρ τὰ γεγραμμένα εἰσίν· ταύτας γὰρ παρέδωκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ δεῖνι ἢ τῷ δεῖνι· καὶ 15 οὕτως διὰ ταύτης τῆς μυθολογίας ἐξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φασὶν Γέγραπται Τί βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς· καὶ Μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε. εἰ γὰρ ἐσμεν ἐν καὶ συνδεδέμεθα ἀλλήλοις, ἐπανίστασθαι ἀλλήλοις οὐ χρή. Ὁ ταπεινῶν γὰρ ἐλατὸν ἕψωθήσεται καὶ Ὁ θέλων ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος ἔστω 78 πάντων ἔσχατος καὶ Ἐκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω. 21

110. Io. viii 44 113. Tit. ii 8 XIX 16. Rom. xvi 18 17. Matt. vii 3
18. Matt. vii 1 19. Cf. Gal. iii 28 20. Lc. xviii 14; Mc. ix 35
21. I Cor. vii 24

XIX 8 ff. Cf. for another discussion and application of the words Ἐπὲρ ἃ (sic) γέγραπται Origen's Comm. in Ev. Ioh. iv 5-6 (ed. Preuschen p. 230).

XIX 3. γινώσκωμεν MS 4. προσορῶντες ut uid. m.p. : προορῶντες corr. male
6. διασχίζ(ώμεθα) Turner : διασχίζονται MS 14. αὐτοὶ MS

Ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἃ γέγραπται, ἕνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνὸς μὴ φυσιοῦ-
σθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου· οἱ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς διανείμαντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου
οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι βουληθέντες, ἀλλήλοις διεμάχοντο, τοὺς
25 σφετέρους ἕκαστοι διδασκάλους ὑπερτιθέναι τῶν ἄλλων φιλονεκικοῦντες,
εἶτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς λοιπὸν τοὺς διδασκάλους. Τίς γὰρ σε διακρίνει;
τίς σε μέρους ἐχειροτόνησεν; διὰ τί μὴ πάντων διδάσκαλος ὁμοίως
καλῆ; τί δὲ ἔχεις ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες; ἐπὶ τίνι δὲ μέγα φρονεῖς; ἐπ'
εὐγλωττία; ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς σοι ταύτην κεχάρισται. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γνώσει; καὶ
30 τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ δῶρον. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θαυματουργαίαις; καὶ ταύτη τοῦ πνεύματος
ἢ ἐνέργεια. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβών; οὐδεὶς ἐπ'
ἀλλοτρίαις παρακαταθήκαις μέγα φρονεῖ, ἐπαγρυπνεῖ δὲ ταύταις ἵνα φυλάξῃ
τῷ δεδωκότι.

Δείξει ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν συναγεῖν τί σημαίνει τὸ διακρίνειν, ἢ οὕτως
35 ἐφαρμόσωμεν τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις. Ὁ θεὸς ἔστι φησὶν ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, ἐν
μέσῳ δὲ θεοῦ διακρινεῖ· ἐν τούτῳ φαίνεται ἔργον θεοῦ τὸ διακρίνειν· ἄλλου γὰρ
ὄντος τοῦ κρίνειν, ὑπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τοὺς ἀξίους κρίσεως, ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τὸ
ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν εὐρεθῆναι θεόν, ἵνα μηκέτι κριθῆ τις ἀλλὰ διακριθῆ καὶ
70 οἰονεὶ τάξιν πιστευθῆ μίαν τινα ὧν πιστεύονται οἱ ἐν συναγωγῇ θεοί. ἀλλὰ καὶ
40 ἐν τῷ Προφήτῃ Δ'γο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν ἔοικεν τὸ δια-
κρίνειν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαρθροῦ(ν) λαμβάνειν οἰονεὶ Τρανούτωσαν τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ
διακρινέτωσαν καὶ νοεῖτωσαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὁ διακρινόμενος ἐὰν φάγῃ κατακέκριται ὅτι
οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, τὸ διακρινόμενος φαίνεται ὅτι ἐπὶ ψόγου λέλεκται. καὶ πάλιν
Προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν ἁμαρτάνοντες(ε)·
45 εὐρέθη τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ λέξις ὅτε μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κρειτόνων τεταγμένη
ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐνθάδε οὖν λέγεται τὸ διακρίνειν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰε μὲν
οὐδεὶς διακρίνει τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐδὲ κρίνει· σὺ δὲ διακρίεις οἰκονόμος
μυστηρίων θεοῦ, καὶ λέγεις Ἐγὼ εἰμι Παύλος καὶ φάσκεῖς Ἐγὼ Κηφᾶ ἢ φῆς
Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀπολλώ. θεοῦ ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ διακρίνειν τοὺς ἀποστόλους, οὐ σόν.
50 ὡσπερ οὖν οὐ χρή σε κρίνειν, οὐδὲ διακρίνειν τοὺς ἱπηρετάς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου·
ἐν τῇ γὰρ διακρίσει ἢ διακρίνεις τοὺς ἀποστόλους αὐτὸς σαυτὸν διακρίνεις
καὶ χωρίζεις ἁμαρτάνων. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἦλθεν τὰ διακεκριμένα ἐνώσαι, ἵνα
μηκέτι ἦμεν διηρημένοι. ἐὰν τελειωθῶμεν ὥστε τὴν σάρκα μηκέτι ἐπιθημεῖν
κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός, τῷ νενεκρώσθαι τὰ μέλη τὰ
55 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐκέτι ἐσόμεθα ἐν διακρίσει ἀλλ' οἰονεὶ ἐν συγκράσει καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ
τὸ αὐτὸ συναγωγῇ ἡμῶν.

XIX. 35. Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii) 1 40. 1 Cor. xiv 29 42. Rom. xiv 23
44. Rom. xiv 1 47. 1 Cor. iv 1; ib. iii 4 50. 1 Cor. iv 1 51-2. Cf.
Eph. ii 14 53. Gal. v 17 52-4. Col. iii 5 54-5. Cf. 1 Cor. vii 5

XIX 33-4. Two extracts from Severian and Chrysostom are interpolated
between these two passages, but there is no fresh lemma.

XIX. 27. μέρους MS: + διδάσκαλον Turner 30. leg. fortasse θεῶν
τι δῶρον 41. διαρθροῦν Turner: διάρθρον MS 44. ἁμαρτάνοντες scripti (cf.
ἁμαρτάνων infra l. 52): ἁμαρτάνοντος MS 55. rasura est 2 litt. ante γῆς

Νοεῖσθω δὲ καὶ ἀπλούστερον ἐπὶ διαφόρων σχισμάτων.

Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ τί δὲ ἔχεις ὁ οὐκ ἔλαβες; ἀμφίβολος γὰρ ἡ λέξις δύναται γὰρ νοεῖσθαι ὅτι πᾶν κτήμα ὃ ἔχομεν λαβόντες ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἔχομεν, καὶ πάλιν τί προσποιῆ ἔχειν ὃ μὴ ἔλαβες; ὅλον ἔάν τις μὴ λαβὼν χάρισμα ὁ ἄνωθεν παρὰ θεοῦ προσποιῆται ἐν χάρισματι εἶναι, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ λαβόντα τί δὲ ἔχεις ὁ οὐκ ἔλαβες; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβὼν;

ἦδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ; ἦδη ἐπλούτησατε; χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε; Ὁ πεινῶν καὶ διψῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην (τὴν) τῶν λογίων τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀρκεῖται ἐν διδασκάλῳ, ἀλλ' ἔάν εὖρη δεύτερον συγχρηῖται καὶ τούτῳ, ἀκορέστως γὰρ ἔχει τῶν καλῶν ἔάν καὶ τρίτου ἐπισημῶν, γίνεται καὶ παρὰ τὸν τρίτον οὐκ ἀποδιελὼν ἑαυτῷ ἕνα λέγει Ἐγὼ εἰμι Παύλου ἢ Κηφᾶ ἢ Ἀπολλῶ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐμφαίνει τὸ κεκορέσθαι τὸν, πλειόνων (ὄντων) διδασκάλων καὶ Παύλου διδάσκοντος καὶ Κηφᾶ καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐνὶ προσκλινομένοι μὴ ὠφελείσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων, διὰ τοῦτο λέγει Κορινθίους Ἦδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ; ἀκόλουθον δὲ τούτῳ τὸ Ἦδη ἐπλούτησατε; ὅλον Συναγάγετε τὸν πλοῦτον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων τῶν ἀπὸ Παύλου καὶ οὐκέτι χρῆζετε τῶν (ἀπ') Ἀπολλῶ ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ Κηφᾶ; ἢ πάντων καταφρονεῖτε, ὡς ἐμπεφορημένοι καὶ πλουτοῦντες ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει· ἀκολουθῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ Χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε; ἐμὲ γὰρ τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἀπεχωρίσατε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δέ, ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐνὶ τινὶ προσκλιθέντες· καὶ οὐ λέγει χωρὶς ἐμοῦ ἀλλ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἐμπεριλάβῃ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ.

καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν. Ἄμα δὲ τάχα καὶ μυστηρίον τι ὑποβάλλει κατὰ τὸν τύπον. οἱ γὰρ ὑποδεέστεροι τὰ χιλιάρχη ἐν τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ γίνονται, οἱ δὲ τελειότεροι βράδιον ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας· καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ γραφῆς δείξω· οἱ ὑπὸ τῷ Μωσῇ κληροδοτούμενοι πρῶτοι εἰλήφασιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰησοῦ κληροδοτούμενοι ὕστερον εἰλήφασιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν δικαίων λέγεται τὸ Ὅγιοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως οὐκ ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν κρεῖττόν τι προβλεψαμένου, ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσιν. διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε; καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν. ὅταν γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἀκροαταὶ βασιλεύσητε, τότε ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ ἡμᾶς καταστήσαι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ τελείαν βασιλείαν.

90

62. Matt. v 6 66. 1 Cor. iii 4 73. 1 Cor. i 5 80 f. Cf. Heb. ix 15
83 f. Heb. xi 39-40 87. Cf. Eph. iv 13

58. εἶδωμεν MS 61. προσποιεῖται MS 65. τὴν τῶν scripsi: καὶ τῶν MS
fortasse τῆς Ἀληθείας 69. τὸ κεκορέσθαι τῶν πλειόνων [lacuna 2-3 litt.]
τῶν διδασκάλων MS: τὸ κεκ. πλειόνων τῶν διδασκάλων Swete: τὸ κεκ. τὸ τόν, πλειόνων
ὄντων διδασκάλων κ.τ.λ. Turner: fortasse τῷ κεκ. τόν, πλειόνων ὄντων διδασκάλων κ.τ.λ.
74. ἀπ' Ἀπολλῶ Turner: Ἀπολλῶ MS per incuriam 75. τοῦ MS

§ XX.

iv 9-10 [δοκῶ γάρ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἔσχατους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους. ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ· ἡμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰσχυροί· ὑμεῖς ἔνδοξοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄτιμοι.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Ὅσῳ τις ἐπιδικάζεται τῶν ἀληθινῶν καὶ ἐπουρανίων πρωτείων, τοσοῦτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης ἔσχατος γίνεται πάντων ἀνθρώπων· οἶμαι καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι τὸν ἀπόστολον νενηκότεν εἰρηκέναι· Ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων 5 δ(ρί)ων ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὕτη. οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἀγιασμόν ἐλάττω ἦν πάντων ἀρίων· τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε ἐφρόνει οὔτε εἰ ἔλεγεν ἠλήθευεν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων ταπεινότερον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίει, γενόμενος ἥπιος ἐν μέσῳ πάντων, ὡς ἐάν τροφός θάλλη τὰ ἐλαττώ τέκνα. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπετήδεον οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἔσχατος εἶναι τῇ ἑαυτῶν προαιρέσει, παντὶ δὲ ἐπιτηδεύματι καλῷ, ἐὰν μὴ μαρτυρήσῃ ὁ 10 θεὸς καὶ πληρώσῃ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύοντος, οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύοντος· διὰ τοῦτο τυχὸν εἶρηκεν ὁ ἀπόστολος Δοκῶ γάρ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἔσχατους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, φησὶν, πεποίηκα καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἵνα ἔσχατοι γινώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀποδείξεως ἐδεόμεθα καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ θεοῦ χάριτος ἵνα τελειωθῶμεν ἐν τῷ ἔσχατοι 15 εἶναι τῷ κόσμῳ. τὸ δὲ Δοκῶ ὡσπερ ἀλλαχοῦ εἶπεν Δοκῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν.

Ἀρμόζον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἔσχατοις τὸ γενέσθαι πρώτοις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· ἀληθὲς γὰρ ὅτι οἱ ἔσχατοι γίνονται πρώτοι. ἀρμόζει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἐπιθανατίους. ὅσῳ γὰρ τις τελειότερον χριστιανίζει, 20 τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπιθανατίος ἐστίν. πότε γὰρ οὐ κινδυνεύει, ἐλέγχων τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα πολλάκις ἰσχυρότερον ὑπάρχοντα ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ κολάσαι δυνάμενον, ἐπίδημῶν τόποις ὅπου οὐκ ὠνομάσθη Χριστός, καὶ τίθει θεμέλιον ξενίζοντα καὶ παράσσοντα τοὺς ἀκούοντας; ἀληθὲς γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὁ Παῦλος καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω, καὶ τὴν ἡμέτεραν κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἢν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ· Ἰησοῦ τῷ κριφί ἡμῶν. 85 ἀλλ' ὑποφαίν(ε)τ(α)ί μοι ἐρευνῶντι τὸν λόγον διχῶς δύνασθαι τὸν ἐπιθανάτιον 26 λαμβάνεσθαι· καθ' ἕνα μὲν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καθ' ὃν δεῖ πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέρειν· καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἐπιθανατίος ἐστίν ὁ δίκαιος σύμμορφος ὢν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀεὶ ἀποθνήσκων τῷ κόσμῳ, οὕτω δὲ πρέπον ἐστὶ θεὸν ἀποδεικνύειν καὶ ἔσχατους καὶ ἐπιθανατίους 30 τοὺς ἀποστόλους τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντας.

XX 4. Eph. iii 8 7. 1 Thess. ii 7 9. Cf. Heb. ii 4 15. 1 Cor. vii 40
18. Matt. xx 16 al. 22. Rom. xv 20 22. Cf. Act. xvii 20; 1 Cor. iii 11
23. 1 Cor. xv 31 25. 2 Cor. iv 10 28. Cf. Phil. iii 10

XX 4. τῶν MS 5. (ἀρίων): ἀναν MS 11. διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύοντος MS,
recte Swete, Nairne: om. διὰ uel leg. διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύοντος Turner
25. ὑποφαίνεται Turner: ὑποφαίνοντί MS

Εἶτα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τὸ δι θεάτρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. ἂν Παῦλος ἀγωνίζηται καὶ Πέτρος, οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν καινὴν θέαν ταύτην ἐπείγονται ἵνα ἴδωσιν ἀνθρωπὸν σάρκα περιβεβλημένον παλαιόντα πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς 35 ἐπογρανίοις· καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι δὲ παρεγίνοντο καινὸν θέαμα ἰδεῖν, κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον καινοῦ λόγου. οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος θεάτρον ἦν ὅλων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν εὐφραينوμένων ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι.

Εἶτα ὁ τηλικούτος ὡς ἔσχατος ἐν κόσμῳ ἐπιπλήσσει τοῖς πεφγισωμένοις, καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν. Παῦλος γὰρ διδούς μοι 40 ἐντολήν καὶ λέγων Εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν σοφός εἶναι ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρός γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός, πολλῶ πλέον αὐτὸς ἐτήρει τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ τούτῳ μωρός γενέσθαι. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ μωρός, καταγγέλλων τὸν ἐσταγρωμένον καὶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ πείθων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταφρονεῖν τῆς παρουσίας 45 ζωῆς;

Εἶτα εἰρωνεί(α) Ἡμεῖς φρόνιμοι φησὶν ἐν Χριστῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀληθῶς φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα λέγων εἰρωνικῶς προέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι φρονίμους ἐν Χριστῷ. Ἡμεῖς ἔνδοξοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄτιμοι· οὐκέτι προσέθηκεν Ἡμεῖς ἔνδοξοι, ἐν Χριστῷ. ἂν γὰρ ἴδῃς πολλοὺς τῶν πιστευέων 50 δοκούτων ἔχοντας ἀξιώματα κοσμικά, λέγε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἂν σὺ ταπεινὸς ἦς ἐν κόσμῳ, Ἡμεῖς ἔνδοξοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄτιμοι· ἡμεῖς ἀσθενεῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἰσχυροί· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀσθενέστερον ἀληθινοῦ χριστιανοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον.

§ XXI.

iv 15 [ἂν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγούς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα.]

[Ὀριγένους]

Ταῦτα ἀπλοῦστάτα δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ μὴ δεόμενά τινος διηγήσεως· ἔχει δὲ 87 κεκρυμμένα νοήματα. οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ παιδαγωγεῖται ἀλλ' εἰ τις νήπιος καὶ ἀτελής· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔγραφεν Ἐφεσίοις ταῦτα ἀλλὰ Κορινθίοις, πρὸς οὓς φησὶν Γάλα ἡμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρώμα· οἴπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε· ἀλλ' οὐδέ ἐτι νῆν 5 δύνασθε, ἐτι γὰρ ἐστε σαρκικοί. κἀγὼ οὐκ ἠδύνηθην ἡμῖν λαλήσαι ὡς πνευματικοῖς ἀλλ' ὡς σαρκικοῖς, ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ. ἐτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατανοητέον· ἂν καὶ δεώμεθα παιδαγωγοῦ, πάντως ὁ πεπιστευμένος τοῦτο παραδείγμα τὸν λόγον, τὸν βίον, διδόντω τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εὐταξίᾳ· ἔστιν οὖν πατὴρ μὲν ὁ πρῶτος

34. Eph. vi 12 38. Lc. xv 10 39. I Cor. v 2; cf. iv 6 41. I Cor. iii 18 44. I Cor. i 23; Heb. vi 2, 4 XXI 5. I Cor. iii 2-3 6. I Cor. iii 1

XX 52. It might seem that Origen inverted these clauses, but there is no authority for the change. XXI 4. Cf. § xviii 15-16 *supra*.

47. εἰρωνεία MS XXI 7 ff. ἐτι δὲ . . . κατανοητέον ἂν καὶ . . . παιδαγωγοῦ πάντως ὁ πεπιστευμένος. τοῦτο παραδείγμα . . . εὐταξία MS

10 σπειράς τὸν χριστιανισμόν ἐν ψυχῇ· παιδαγωγὸς δὲ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον παραλαβῶν παῖδα καὶ ἄγων αὐτόν.

[iv 16] παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε.

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Ὡς μετριάζω, μετριάζετε· ὡς πάσχω, πάσχετε· ἀπὸ τῶν παθημάτων, μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν χαρισμάτων, σεμνύνεσθε.

15 [iv 17] διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον ὃς (ἐστίν) τέκνον μου ἀγαπητὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἐν Χριστῷ· ὃς ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ καθὼς πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω.

Καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς διάθεσιν εἶδειξε τὸν Τιμόθεον πέμψας, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν
88 Τιμόθεον φιλοσοργίαν τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν ὀνομάσας· καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δὲ αὐτοῦ
20 δεδήλωκεν ἀρετὴν πιστὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ καλίστας. Οὗτος, φησί, τὰς ἐμὰς διηγῆσεται πράξεις· ὁδοὺς γὰρ τὰς πράξεις καλεῖ. ταύτας δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν Διδάξει, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀναμνήσει. λήθην δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος κατηγορεῖ· αὐτόπται γὰρ ἐγεγόνεσαν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀρετῆς. προστέθεικεν δὲ ὅτι καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις τήνδε προσφέρειν εἴωθεν τὴν διδασκαλίαν.

25 Ταῦτα κοινῇ πάντων κατηγορήσας κατὰ τοῦ πεπορνευκότος λοιπὸν ἐκφέρει τὴν ψῆφον.

[iv 18] ὡς μὴ ἐρχομένου δέ μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐφυσιώθησάν τινες.

Προειδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν μεταμέλειαν ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος οὐ τίθησι τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἵνα μὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰδηλος γένηται, ἀλλ' ἀορίστως ἔφη τινές.

§ XXII.

iv 19-20 [καὶ γνώσομαι οὐ τὸν λόγον τῶν πεφυσιωμένων ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἢ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει.]

[Ἦριγένους]

Λόγον μὲν φησὶ τὴν εὐγλωττίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέρωθι εἰ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει· δύναμιν δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ θεοῦ· ὅταν γὰρ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ᾗ ὁ λόγος, δύναμιν ἔχει, διὸ γέγραπται Κύριος δώσει ῥῆμα τοῖς ἐγγεγλωττισμένοις λαλήσει πολλῆ, καὶ
5 δυνάμει μᾶλλον πεποιθότες οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐπεδήμουν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἢ περὶ τῷ λόγῳ· οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις καλῶς φράζει, παρὰ τοῦτο τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅπου δύναμις ἐν λόγοις, ἐκεῖ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣτις καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλεύσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἐξορίζει καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείαν ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν γενέσθαι παρασκευάζει.

§ XXIII.

iv 21-22 [τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματι τε πραύτητος; ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία, καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἣτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὀνομάζεται, ὥστε γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν. καὶ ὑμεῖς

XXII 2. 2 Cor. xi 6 4. Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii) 12 7. Rom. vi 12 7-8. Cf. Lc. xvii 21

XXI 12. ἀδελφοί: deest in lcommate 15. ἐστίν deest in MS XXII 7. rasura est ante θεοῦ 1°

πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐπενθήσατε, ἵνα ἐξαρθῆ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας.]

[Ὀριγένους]

Οὐκ αἰεὶ οὔτε ὁ θεὸς οὔτε οἱ τούτου θεσπέσιοι μαθηταὶ κέχρηται χρηστοῖς 90
λόγοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας οὐδὲ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀποτόμοις, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν τούτοις
ποτὲ δὲ ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶχεν βράβδον ὁ Παύλου λόγος, εἶχεν δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα
πραύτητος καὶ χρηστότητος, πυνθάνεται Κορινθίων, μὴ θέλων προπετίστερον 5
καὶ ταχύτερον χρήσασθαι τῷ ἀποτομωτέρῳ· οὐχ ὅτι χωρὶς ἀγάπης γίνεται
ἡ βράβδος, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη κέκρυνται ἐν τῷ τὴν βράβδον ἔχοντι, καὶ οὐ δείκνυσι
τὴν ἀγάπην ἐν τῇ ἀποτομίᾳ τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως. εἶτα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τοιαύτης
πεύσεως ἐπιφέρει λέγων Ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία ἧτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν. μανθάνομεν ὅτι περὶ πορνείας ἡμᾶς κατεπάρδεσθαι δεῖ ἵνα μὴ πέσωμεν, 10
καὶ ἄλλο δε(ῖ) μαθεῖν ἵνα καὶ οἱ μὴ συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς πορνείαν, συνειδότες δὲ
συναγομένο(ι)ς πορνεύουσιν, μὴ φυσιώνται, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ
εἰσι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῶν εἶναι τὸν συναγόμενον μετ' αὐτῶν ὅλη γὰρ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἐγκαλεῖ περὶ ἐνὸς πορνεύσαντος, καὶ τῇ φυσιώσει αὐτῶν ἐγκαλεῖ ὡς οὐ κατὰ 11
λόγον γινομένη, μάλιστα διὰ τὸ ἔτι εἶναι πόρνον ἐν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τρίτον 31
μανθάνομεν ὅτι καὶ πορνειῶν εἰσὶ διαφοραί, ὥστε εἶναι πορνείαν βαρυστάτην 16
τιὰ καὶ ἄλλην ἐλάττονα καὶ ἄλλην ἔτι ἐλάττονα. οὐκοῦν ἐν τῇ κρίσει
τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ἁπλῶς οἱ πόρνοι κρίνονται οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν καταδίκην
λήψονται διὰ τὸ πεπορνευκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ποσότης καὶ ἡ ποιότης αὔξει τὴν
κόλασιν καὶ ἡ προαίρεσις καὶ ὁ χρόνος. ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοίνυν εἰς τις παράνομον 20
γάμον ἐγάμησεν· τὴν γὰρ μητρειὰν αὐτοῦ ἠγάγετο· ἀλλὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον γάμον
πορνείαν ὁ ἀπόστολος καλεῖ καὶ τοιαύτην οἶαν μὴδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐστὶν ἀκούειν,
ἵνα διδάξῃ ἡμᾶς ὅτι, ἐάν ποτε παρανόμως γαμῶμεν, οὐ λογίζεται ἡμῖν εἰς γάμον
τὸν νομιζόμενον γάμον εἶναι ἀλλ' εἰς πορνείαν.

Εἶτα τοῦτον καταλιπὼν κατὰ τῆς τούτου συμμορίας τὴν κατηγορίαν 25
εἰσφέρει. Καὶ ὑμεῖς πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐπενθήσατε, ἵνα
ἀρθῆ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας. πᾶσιν ἐπιπλήσσει ὡς
κακῶς αὐτὸν παραδεξαμένους. ἐπὶ γὰρ (ἐν μέσῳ) ὄντος τοῦ ἁμαρτήσαντος
φυσιώμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ δοκοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς συνειδέναί τὰ κρείττονα, λέγετ(αι) τὸ
καὶ ὑμεῖς πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ. 30

§ XXIV.

ν 3-5 [ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸν τῷ σώματι παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι ἦδη
κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὕτως τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου

XXIII 3. Cf. Sap. Sol. xii 9 11. Cf. Rom. xi 11

XXIII 30- XXIV 1. These passages are separated by six extracts from other
writers, but there is no fresh lemma.

XXIII 11. δὲ μαθεῖν MS: δε(ῖ) μαθεῖν Swete: δὲ (δεῖ) μαθεῖν, nisi uelis δὲ
μα(ν)θ(άνομ)εν Turner 12. συναγομένους MS per incuriam 15. ἐτι linea
transuersa notauit corr. ut uid. 27. ἀρθῆ MS sed in lemmate ἐξαρθῆ 28. ἐν
μέσῳ suppleui: om. MS 27, 30. ποιήσας· ἐστε. MS: ποιήσας; ἐστε; Turner
29. λέγεται scripsi: λέγετε MS

ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σαταρᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῆ ἔν τῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.]

[Ὡριγένους]

93 Οὐκ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐκ εἰς ὄλεθρον τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀλλ' εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός· ἵνα γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῆ ἔν τῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου, παραδίδεται. ἐξέβαλεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος τὸν τοιοῦτον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μετανοήσει καὶ ἐπιστρέψει 5 ἀλλὰ θέλων αὐτὸν παιδεύσαι. ἄλλο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκκόψαι τινα ὡς ἀνεπίδεκτον μετανοίας καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς, ἄλλο παραιτήσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ ἐκβάλλειν τῆς ποιμνῆς, ὡς ποιμὴν ἐκβάλλει πρόβατον ψώραν ἔχον, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νομὴ τοῦ τραύματος ἐκείνου ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ ποίμνιον νεμηθῆ.

Θεραπεύεσθωσαν οὖν οἱ κακῶς διάγοντες ἐξω γεγόμενοι τῆς ποιμνῆς, ἐξομο- 10 λογούμενοι καὶ πενοῦντες τὰ ἴδια ἁμαρτήματα, ἐν νηστείαις καὶ πένθεσι καὶ κλαυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις τὰ τῆς μετανοίας προσάγοντες. παραδίδονται γὰρ ἵνα παιδευθῶσιν, ὥστε αὐτῶν ὀλοθρευθῆναι τὴν σάρκα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός· οὐχ ἵνα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἀψήγῃται, οὐχ ἵνα ἐκστῆσῃ αὐτούς, οὐχ ἵνα ἄλλο τι ποιήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξουσίαν λάβῃ μόνῃς τῆς (σαρκός) 15 αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ δίδοντας τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Ἄπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος αὐτοῦ ὄλην ὀνόμασε τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃ Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα σωθῆ ἔν τῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῆ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ὀνομάσας ὅλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὡς γὰρ σωθησόμενον αὐτὸν κελεύει παραληφθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ 20 ἐπιστολῇ.

Ἄπειναι δὲ τῷ σώματι καὶ παρῆναι τῷ πνεύματι Παύλου ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων αὐτῷ· ἔφη γὰρ καὶ ἐτέρωθι Εἰ γάρ καὶ τῆ σαρκὶ ἀπειμι, 25 ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὺν ὑμῖν εἰμι, χαίρων καὶ βλέπων τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ὑμῶν. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἡμῶν δύναται εἰπεῖν ὅτι Πάρεμι καὶ βλέπω τῆς ἐκκλη- 24 σίας τὰ προτερήματα ἢ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως. 26 τοιοῦτος ἦν Ἐλισσαῖος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ παρῆν τῷ σώματι, πνεύματι συναπῆλθεν τῷ Γιεζῆ καὶ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Οὐχί ἡ καρδίᾳ μου ἦν μετὰ σοῦ ἡνίκα ἔλαβες τὸ διτάλαντον τοῦ ἀργγρίου καὶ ἔλαβες τὰς στολὰς ἀπὸ Νεμὰν τοῦ Σύρου; ἀρ' οὖν Ἐλισσαῖος μὲν ταύτην τὴν χάριν εἶχεν, Παῦλος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπό- 30 στολος ὁ ζηλῶν τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ μείζονα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύῃ, οὐχ εἶχεν τοιαύτην χάριν; ἀλλ' ἀποφαίνομαι καὶ τεθαρρηκότως λέγω ὅτι ἦν Παῦλος οὐ μόνον ἀπόστολος ἀλλὰ καὶ προφήτης· τοιοῦτος ἦν ὅτε φησὶν Ἔσονται οἱ ἀνθρώποι φίλαγτοι, φιλάργγοι, ἀλαζύνες, ὑπερήφανοι, βλάσφημοι, γενεῖσιν ἀπειθεῖς· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος ἀλλ' ὡς προφήτης εἶπεν. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα δέ

XXIV 4. I Joel ii 14 10-11. Cf. I Joel ii 12 13. Rom. viii 6, 7 19. Cf. 2 Cor. ii 7 22-3, 25. Col. ii 5 27. 2 (4) Reg. v 26 28. 2 (4) Reg. v 23, 26 30. 1 Cor. xii 31; 1 Cor. xiv 1 32-3. 2 Tim. iii 2

XXIV 3, 17. κυρίου: + Ἰησοῦ MS in lemmate 7. ποιμῆν MS per incur. 14. σαρκὸς scripsi: ψυχῆς MS

φησιν ῥητῶς λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως. 35 ποιοῦν δὲ πνεῦμα; ὡσεὶ ἔλεγεν Τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεῦμα. ἔχων οὖν ταύτην τὴν χάριν, εἰ καὶ ἀπῆν τῷ σώματι, ὅπου ἐβούλετο παρῆν τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ μόνος γὰρ παρῆν τῷ πνεύματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δύναμις Ἰησοῦ.

§ XXV.

v 7-8 [ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ᾖτε νέον φύραμα, καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτίθη Χριστός. ὧστε ἐορτάζωμεν, μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας.]

[Ὀριγένους]

Ὁ ἀποθέμενος τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς 95 ζύμης (οὐδὲν) ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀλλὰ καινὸν φύραμα ποιήσας τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὗτος πεποίηκε τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἐορτὴν· εἶτα μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἐορτὴν ἡ νέα ζύμη φαίνεται. Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός ἐστιν ἡ νέα ζύμη. ἐσθί- 5 (ω)μεν οὖν πρῶτον ἄζυμα, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης κακίας καὶ πονηρίας. περὶ τούτων ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει φησὶν Ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ᾖτε νέον φύραμα, καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι· οἷόν τι παρὰ Ἰουδαίους γίνεται, ἐὰν ἐπιφώσκη ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ τῶν ἀζύμων, ἐκκαθαίρουσι πᾶσαν παλαιὰν ζύμην, πάντα τόπον τῆς οἰκίας περιαιρούντες μὴ ποτε ζύμη ἐκεῖ εὑρεθῆ, οὕτως καὶ σὺ τὰ ἐν σοὶ 10 ταμεῖα κατανόησον μὴ ποτε ζύμη ἐκεῖ, ἵνα ᾖτε νέον φύραμα.

καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι. ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Κορίνθῳ οἱ μὲν ἅγιοι οἱ δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτοι ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὶ καθὰ ἐν προοιμίῳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς φθάσαντες ἔφαμεν, διὰ τοῦς ἐπαινετοῦς φησι καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι.

καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτίθη Χριστός· ὁρῶν ὅτι κατὰ τὸν Μωσέως νόμον 15 πρῶτον τὸ πάσχα γίνεται καὶ θύεται τὸ πρόβατον, εἶτα μετὰ τὸ πρόβατον ἄζυμα ἐσθίουσι, διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν Ἦδη τὸ πάσχα τέθυται Χριστός·

ὧστε ἐορτάζωμεν, μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας. εἰλικρινείας, κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀληθείας, κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν· ἐν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις χαρακτηρίζεται τὰ ἄζυμα τὰ 20 ἀληθινά.

§ XXVI.

v 9-11 [Ἐγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μὴ συναμιγνύσθαι πόρνοις, καὶ οὐ πάντως τοῖς πόρνοις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἢ τοῖς πλεονέκταις ἢ ἀρπαξῖν ἢ εἰδωλολάτραις· ἐπεὶ ὀφείλετε ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεῖν. νῦν δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν μὴ συναμιγνύσθαι ἐὰν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ἢ πόρνος ἢ πλεονέκτης ἢ εἰδωλολάτρης ἢ λοιδορὸς ἢ μέθυστος ἢ ἀρπαξ, τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν.]

35. 1 Tim. iv 1
iv 22

XXV v. 7. Ex. xii 21

2. Col. iii 9; cf. Eph.

XXV 3. οὐδὲν supplēui : om. MS 4. ἐορτὴν MS* per incur. 5-6. ἐσθίω-
μεν Turner : ἐσθίομεν MS 11. μήπω m. p. ut uid. νέον φύραμα καθὼς MS

[Ὠριγένους]

97 Ὑπέλαβον τινὲς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ῥητοῦ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς προτέρας πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐγέγραπτο ἄλλη τις ἐπιστολὴ τῷ ἀποστολῷ ἧτις νῦν οὐ σώζεται· καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ προκειμένῃ λέξει, 5 ἀκούσας δὲ Κορινθίους τεταράχθαι, οἰομένους λέγεσθαι μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις μὴδὲ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου—ὅπερ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὄντα μὴ ὁμιλεῖν ἔθνηκοῖς συνεργοῖς, πραγματενταῖς, καὶ τοιοῦτοις τισὶν ἑτέροις—σαφηνίζων, φασί, τὸ τότε παραλειμμένον Οὐ περὶ πόρνων λέγω, φησί, τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων μὲν ἀδελφῶν οὐκ ὄντων δὲ σεμνῶν. οἱ δὲ μὴ 10 βουλόμενοι ἐπιστολὴν ἑτέραν εἶναι πρὸ ταύτης ἐροῦσι ταύτην τὴν λέξιν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναφέρεσθαι, ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἔγραψα μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι ὑμᾶς πόρνοις, πόρνοις δὲ λέγω τοῖσδε, οὐ τοῖσδε.

Ἔοικεν δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος συγκρίσει πόρνων πολλῶν χείρονας λέγειν εἶναι τοῖς ἐν ἡμῖν πόρνοισ· ὁ γὰρ ἕξωθεν πορνεύων οὐ καὶ τῷ θεῷ φθείρει, οὐκ ἄρα 15 τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιεῖ πόρνης μέλη, οὐχ ὅλον τὸ φέραμα ζυμοῦ· κἀκεῖνος μὲν ὅτε θέλει μετανοεῖ καὶ ἄφεςιν ἔχει ἁμαρτημάτων, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν πίστιν πορνεύσας κἂν μετανοήσῃ πάλιν ὑστερον ἄφεςιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχει ἁμαρτημάτων δύναται δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικαλύψαι. Μακάριοι γὰρ φησιν ὡς ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσελθόντων· καὶ ὡς ἐπεκαλύφθησαν 20 αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, τῶν μετὰ τὴν πίστιν ἁμαρτανόντων ἐπικαλυπτόντων δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις, ὡς τὴν ἀκολασίαν τῇ πολλῇ σωφροσύνῃ.

98 Καὶ οὐ πάντως τοῖς πόρνοις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἢ πλεονέκταις ἢ ἄρπαξιν ἢ εἰδωλολάτραις. ὡς εἰσὶ πόρνοι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πόρνοι ἐπὶ Χριστὸν κληθέντες, οὕτως καὶ πλεονέκται οἱ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 25 φυλαξάμεθα οὖν μέχρι τοῦ ἐλαχίστου τὴν πλεονεξίαν· συνέζευκται γὰρ καὶ αὕτη τῷ τῆς πορνείας ἁμαρτήματι. καὶ τρίτον ἄρπαγας τινὲς ὀνομάζει, ὅταν ἄρπάζωσι τὰ τῶν πέλας. καὶ εἰδωλολάτραι δὲ τινὲς εἰσι μεθ' ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῖς εἰδωλολάτραις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ θέλοντες διδάσκειν ὅτι ἀδιάφορόν ἐστι τὸ εἰδωλολατρεῖν· μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἁμάρτημα εὑρίσκεται ἐν τοῖς στρατευομέ- 30 νοις· Ἀνάγκη μοι λέγο(υσιν) ἐπίκειται· ἢ στρατιὰ τοῦτο ἀπατεῖ· κινδυνεύω τῇ κεφαλῇ εἰ μὴ θύσω ἢ μὴ λευχειμονήσας τὸν λίβανον ἐπιθῶ κατὰ τὰ νενομισμένα τῆς στρατιᾶς τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ὁ τοιοῦτος λέγει ἑαυτὸν χριστιανόν· τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φησὶ μὴδὲ συνεσθίειν. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀρησιόθεος ἐν καιρῷ διωγμῶν εἰδωλολάτρης ἡμῶν. Ἐγραψα οὖν φησὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ (οὐπῶ) 35 ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ὄντι μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι, ἐπεὶ ὀφείλετε ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεθῆναι. νυνὶ δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι εἰάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζό-

XXVI 9. cf. v. 11 *infra*

14. 1 Cor. iii 17

14, 15. 1 Cor. vi 15

15. v 6, Gal. v 9

18, 19. Ps. xxxi (xxxii) 1

30. Cf. 1 Cor. ix 16

33. v 11 *infra*

XXVI 29 ff. This very interesting reference to Origen's views on military service has apparently escaped Harnack (*Militia Christi* pp. 70-2). Cf. also the slighting reference to soldiers *infra* § XXVII 60-2 Turner.

XXVI 30. λέγουσιν : λέγοντες MS

34. τῷ τοιοῦτῳ MS : οὕτω suppleui

μενος. καλῶς τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐκέτι δ(ὴ) ἀδελφὸν εἶπεν ἀλλὰ μέχρις ἐνόματος μόνον ἀδελφόν.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δυνάμεθα ἑαυτοῖς συνειδέναι οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς καὶ ἑμᾶν τὸν φοβούμαι, μή πως ἐνοχός 40 εἰμι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαρτήμασιν. λέγει γὰρ ἡ λοιδορος ἢ μέθυσος ἢ ἀρπαξ, τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μὴδὲ συνεσθίειν. ἡλικίους κακοῖς τὸν λοιδορον συνηρίθμησεν—τῷ πόρῳ, τῷ πλεονέκτη, τῷ εἰδωλολάτρῃ· οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ λοιδορος ἤδη ἐχθρός ἐστι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούομεν τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος Εὔλογεῖτε τοὺς κατα- 45 ρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος Λοιδοροῦμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν· λοιδορος γὰρ βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ. δεῖ τοίνυν τὸ στόμα καθαρὸν τηρεῖν· τί γὰρ μοι τοὺς ἔξω κρίνεις; μέθυσοι ἔστωσαν ἔξω· πόρνοι συνεσθίω καὶ συνδιατρίβω· οὐ βλέπτει με ἡ ἐκείνων μικρὰ ζῆμη; ὄλον τὸ φῆγμα τοῦτο οὐ ζυμοί;

[v 12] τί γὰρ μοι τοὺς ἔξω κρίνεις; οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; τοὺς δὲ 50 ἔξω ὁ θεὸς κρινεῖ;

Ἐπέτραψεν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κρίνειν τοὺς ἔσω ἀμαρτάνοντας. ἀναφέρομεν αὐτο(ῖ) τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἵνα νόμῳ ἐκβληθῆ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

[v 13] καὶ ἐξαρεῖτε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.

55

Καὶ ἐκ τούτων μὲν ἐξάρτατε τὸν πονηρὸν· ἀλλὰ ζήτει μήποτε θέλων ἔξωθεν 60 τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξάρα, ἔχεις ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν πονηρὸν. διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ποίει ἵνα ἐξάρῃς τὸν πονηρὸν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐξεληθόντος, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐν σοὶ κατοικήσει.

§ XXVII.

vī 1-3 [τολμᾷ τις ὑμῶν πρᾶγμα ἔχων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον κρίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγίων; οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἀγιοὶ τὸν κόσμον κρινουσι; καὶ εἰ ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάξιοί ἐστε κριτηρίων ἐλαχίστων· οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν, μήτιγε βιωτικά;]

[Ἵριγένους]

Δυσωπεῖ τοὺς ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ ἀσχολουμένους περὶ δικαστήρια 105 καὶ βιωτικὰς χρείας καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, καὶ φησὶν ὅτι Ἐκλήθητε ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἵνα τελειωθέντες κρίνητε ἀγγέλους, οὐχὶ δὲ μᾶλλον δυνησεσθε, ἐάν ποτε ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ κρίνηται, κρίνειν τὰ βιωτικά τῶν ἀδελφῶν;

5

[vī 4] βιωτικά μὲν οὖν κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Ἀληθῶς μὲν ἐνίοτε τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν κρινομένων ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι σοφοῦ τοῦ δικάζοντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

44. Matt. v 44 45. I Cor. iv 12 46. I Cor. vi 10 47. I Cor. v 12 *intra* 48. Cf. v 6 *supra* 55. Deut. xxii 24 XXVII 5. I Cor. vi 6 *intra*

37. δὴ Turner: δὲ MS 47. rasura est *ante* ἔξω 2° in MS, locus corruptus uidetur 53. αὐτοὶ Turner: αὐτῶν Nairne: αὐτὸ MS 55. ἐξαρεῖτε MS et in lemmate, cf. LXX ἐξαρεῖς XXVII 3. τούτω m.p.: τοῦτο corr. 8. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον... ἐκκλησίᾳ aliquid excidisse uidetur: fortasse καθίζετε Nairne: τῶν ἐξουθενημένων Swete

ἐστὶν ὁ θεός· ἀφίησι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.' πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσχται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν. μηδεὶς προφασιζέσθω Νέος ἤμην, ἀγαμος ἤμην, πρὶν γυναῖκα λαβεῖν πεπόρνευκα. διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβες γυναῖκα; οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι Εἶ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τούτον ὁ θεός; ἀλλ' αἶρεις τὰ μέλη τοῦ 107 χριστοῦ καὶ ποιεῖς πόρνης μέλη; ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν ἀσεβεῖ. 51

[Ὡριγένους]

[vi 9–10] Μὴ πλανᾶσθε οὖν· οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε εἰδωλολάτραι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν· οὕτω δὲ οὐδὲ μοιχοί. ὁ πορνεύων φθείρει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ μοιχεύων πρὸς τούτοις καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα πλημμελεῖ. οὐδὲ μοιχοὶ οὖν 55 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μαλακοί. παρακαλοῦμεν οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς, ὡ παῖδες, τηρῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὥραν καθαρὰν καὶ μὴ μολγηθῆναι τοιούτῳ γυναικείῳ μολυσμῷ. οὐδὲ ἀρσενοκοίται βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν· ἀλλ' ἀπειθή ἐκκλησίᾳ κὰν ἓνα τοιοῦτον εὐρεθῆναι.

Εἴτα ἐπικαταβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἁμαρτήματα λέγων 60 Οὔτε κλέπται· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τὸ τῆς κλοπῆς σχεδὸν πάντες οἱ στρατενόμενοι ἁμαρτάνουσι, μὴ ἀρκοῦμενοι τοῖς ὀψωνίοις, ὡς ἐδίδαξε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλὰ διασείοντες καὶ γυκοφαντοῦντες. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ψεύσται (κλέπται) εἰσίν, οὐ κληρονομοῦντες τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις πλεονεκτοῦντες πλεονέκται 65 εἰσίν· καὶ ἄλλοι μέθυσοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιδοροὺς φησὶ μὴ κληρονομεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Μηδενὸς οὖν βασιλεῖ(ο) ἢ ἁμαρτία· δεῖ γὰρ καθαρὰν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ πταισμάτων, ἵν' ὁ θεὸς βασιλεύῃ.

§ XXVIII.

vi 12 [Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει. πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπὸ τινος.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Ἐπερὶ τὸ δεῖ εἶναι ὧν ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν ἃ καὶ ποιήσαντες οὐχ ἁμαρτησόμεθα. 109 οὕτω γὰρ (οἱ) φιλοτιμότερον πολιτευόμενοι πολιτεύονται· μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐξουσίαν φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν; μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς; ἢ 5 46 f. 2 Cor. v 10 50. 1 Cor. iii 17 50. 1 Cor. vi 15 54. 1 Cor. iii 17 57. Aroc. xiv 4 62–3. Lc. iii 14 64. Cr. Aroc. xxi 27, xxii 15 65. Rom. vi 12 XXVIII 4 ff. 1 Cor. ix 4–5

XXVII 51, 53. These two passages are separated in the MS by an extract from Photius and a fresh lemma, but there is no break in the sense.

63 ff. οὔτε πλεονέκται οὔτε κλέπται in lemmate sed hic ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν τ. π. ψεύσται εἰσίν οὐ κληρονομοῦντες . . . θεοῦ· οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τ. π. πλεονεκτοῦντες, πλεονέκται εἰσίν MS: +κλέπται post ψεύσται Turner: leg. fortasse mutato ordine οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις πλεονεκτοῦντες πλεονέκται εἰσίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς π. ψεύσται (πλεονέκται) εἰσίν, οὐ κληρονομοῦντες κ.τ.λ. 67. βασιλεύει MS XXVIII 2. ἐλάβομεν Turner 3. οἱ suppleui: οὕτω γὰρ πολιτευόμενοι MS

μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ. οὐκοῦν ἐξῆν μὲν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν τοῖς τόποις οἷς παρεθέμην, συνεξετάζων δὲ αὐτὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ συμφέροντι καὶ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἕωρα ὅτι ἔξεστι μὲν—ἐὰν ποιήσῃ, οὐκ ἁμαρτήσεται—κρίττον δὲ ποιῆ
 10 (οἷ) χρυσάμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. καὶ πάλιν· πάσῃ παρθένῳ ἔξεστι γαμῶσθαι· ἀλλ' ἢ καλῆ καὶ ἀγαθῆ οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἐξὸν γαμῆν ἀπέχεται τοῦ γαμῆν ἀλλ' ἀναβ(ίβασ)ασα τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ βουλομένη καθαρὰ εἶναι καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι παρθελεύει. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρὸς τελευτήσαντος οὐ κεκάλυται ἢ διγαμία παντελῶς·
 15 ἔαν γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀποθῶῃ, ἐλευθέρη ἐστὶν ὡς ἔλεγε γαμνηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ.
 15 ἀλλ' ἀκούσασα ἢ καλῆ γυνὴ (τὸ) μακαριωτέρα ἐστὶν ἐὰν οὔτως μείνη, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, οὐ κέχρηται τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ.
 πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος· ἔχει τι ὁ λόγος ἡψηλότερον· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἢ πάλιν πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σάρκα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, ὅταν ἢ ἐξουσία κρατήσῃ, ἐξουσιασθῆν ὑπ' ἐκείνης·
 20 ἐὰν δὲ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν νικήσω, οὐκ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος.

§ XXIX.

vi 13-14 [Τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ καὶ ἡ κοιλία τοῖς βρώμασιν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ταύτην καὶ ταῦτα καταργήσει. τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξ(ήγειρεν) διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.]

[Ἰωργίνους]

- 110 Μὴ νομίσης ὅτι ὡς περ ἡ κοιλία γέγονεν τοῖς βρώμασιν καὶ τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ σῶμα γέγονε διὰ συνουσιασμόν. εἰ θέλεις τὸν προηγούμενον λόγον μαθεῖν διὰ τί γέγονεν, ἀκουε· ἵνα γὰρ ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ
 5 ἵνα ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ ἁγία καὶ μακαρία οὖσα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὡς περὶ θεραπεύουσα ἱερεὺς γένηται τοῦ ἐν σοὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ ὁ Ἄδὰμ γὰρ σῶμα εἶχεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παραδείσῳ οὐκ ἔγνω Ἄδὰμ εἶναι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐξεβλήθη μετὰ τὴν παρακοήν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγω, οὐ περιγράφων τὸν γάμον· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι εἴ τις οὐκ ἐγκρατεῖται, γαμῆν ὀφείλει
 10 κρείσσον γὰρ ἐστὶ γαμῆν ἢ προῦσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συγκεχώρηται τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ προηγούμενός ἀλλὰ δι' ἀσθένειαν. τὸ γὰρ προηγούμενον ἀγνεύειν καὶ καθαρεύειν καὶ σχολάζειν τῇ προσεγγίᾳ.
 111 Τοῦ γὰρ ἡδὴ ἐγεργθέντος μετὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωμαίῳ γενομένου τῇ ἀνα-

XXVIII 6, 10, 16. 1 Cor. ix 12 12. 1 Cor. vii 34 14. 1 Cor. vii 39
 15 f. 1 Cor. vii 40 18 f. Eph. vi 12 XXIX 7. Gen. iv 1 9. 1 Cor. vii 9
 12. 1 Cor. vii 5 13, 14. Rom. vi 4, 5

XXIX 12, 13. These two passages are separated in the MS by five extracts from other authors, though still included under the same lemma as XXVIII 2 ff.

XXVIII 10. *om.* οὐ MS 11. ἀναβάσα MS : fortasse ἀναβιβάσασα 15. τὸ
 suppleni : *om.* MS XXIX 13. ἐγεργθέντος : unde ἐξήγειρεν scripsi in lemimate
 (ἐξεγερεῖ MS)

στάσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆ καινότητι τῆς ζωῆς τὸ σῶμα ὀφείλει εἶναι οὐδενὸς ἢ τοῦ κυρίου.

§ XXX.

vi 15 [Ὅκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σῶματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;]

[Ὀριγένους]

Ψυχῆς ὄργανα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων σῶματα· καὶ ἀρχούσης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπερη- 112
τεῖται τὸ σῶμα, καὶ χρήται αὐτῷ εἰς ἃ βούλεται. ἰδίως δὲ ὁ λόγος θέλει ἡμῶν
τὰ σῶματα μηκέτι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργεῖσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ· διὸ λέγει ὁ Παῦλος Ζῶ δὲ οἰκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός. μέλη 5
οὖν τότε γίνεται Χριστοῦ, ὅτε πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον κινουῦμεν.

§ XXXI.

vi 18 [φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν· πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιῆσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς
τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει.]

[Ὀριγένους]

Ζητήσῃ τις, εἰ πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν. ἐρεῖ γάρ τις 114
"Ἀμάρτημά ἐστι τὸ μαθῆναι· ἁμάρτημά ἐστι τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου δι'
ἀγχόνης, διὰ κρημνοῦ· ἀρ' οὖν ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
ἁμάρτημα; ἀλλ' εὐγνωμόνως δεῖ ἀκοῦσαι πῶς εἴρηται τοῦτο· ἀφορμὴν δὲ 5
ληψόμεθα τοῦ νοῆσαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκ τοῦ Λευϊτικοῦ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ
λέγεται ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ῥίψεως συνέστηκε τὸ σῶμα αἰτοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ σύστασις τοῦ
σώματος ἀπὸ σπερμάτων ἐστὶ, διὰ τοῦτο (ὃ) ἁμαρτάνων κατὰ τὴν πρό(ρ)υ-
σιν τῶν σπερμάτων εἰς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτάνει· καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἁμαρτία
αὕτη ἀπὸ τούτων γινομένη, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ σώματος. 10

§ XXXII.

vi 19-20 [Ἡ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύ- 119
ματός ἐστιν, οὃ ἔχετε ἀπὸ (τοῦ) θεοῦ; καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν, ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ
τιμῆς. δοξάσατε δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν.]

[Ὀριγένους]

Καλῶς ἀνθυποφορὰν ὑπειδόμενος καὶ προφυλαξάμενος εἶπεν τὸ Ὅκ ἐστὲ
ἑαυτῶν. ἐρεῖ γάρ τις εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνων ἐξουσίαν ἔχω τοῦ ἰδίου
σώματος· εἴτα φησὶν Ἡ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σῶματα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν
ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν, οὃ ἔχετε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ; εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀσε- 5
βούμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν εἰς οὓς βεβαπίσμεθα, ἐὰν

XXX 5. Gal. ii 20
8, 9. Cf. I Cor. iii 17

XXXI 7. Lev. xv 3

XXXII 7. I Cor. vi 15

XXX 6-XXXI 2. The two passages are under the same lemma in the MS,
but separated by four other extracts.

XXXI 8. ὁ suppleui : om. MS πρόρυσιν MS XXXII 2. ὑπειδόμενος MS
(vide L. & S. s.v.) 5. ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ : in lemmate om. τοῦ MS

πορνείωμεν· εἰς Χριστὸν μὲν, ὅταν ἄρας τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσω πόρνης
 120 μέλη· εἰς τὸ ἅγιον δὲ πνεῦμα, ὅταν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος
 φθειρή τις· εἰς τὸν πατέρα δέ, ὅτε τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρω. Πρὸς τοῦτοις
 10 οὖν ὅσα ἂν ἀμάρτωμεν, κἂν φάνους ποιήσωμεν, ἀφθοροὶ δὲ ὤμεν, φθορᾶς μὴ
 γευσάμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν, οὐ λεγόμεθα ἐφθάρθαι ἐκ τοῦ πεφονευ-
 κέναι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ ἀφθαρσία καὶ ἡ φθορὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἁγευστον
 συνουσίας τῆς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐστίν—'Εφθάρη γὰρ ἡ παρθένος, λέγομεν
 καὶ πάλιν Ἄφθορος ὁ κτανίσκος, ἡ ἐφθάρη—πᾶν ἀμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ
 15 ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐδόθη λύτρον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὸ
 αἶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ διαβόλου, δοξάσατε
 τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, ἵνα γένηται τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ἄξιον μακαριότητος
 ὡς ἀγαπησάντων τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ
 μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.

XXXII 18. Eph. vi 24

CLAUDE JENKINS.

SOME COPTIC APOCRYPHAL LEGENDS.

VON LEMM in one of his latest Coptic works¹ has pointed out that the Coptic fragment Borg. ccxci, now at Naples, and Par. Copte 129^{1a} 95-97 belong to the same book, a book treating of the main biblical characters one by one in sections varying from a few lines to a few pages. The Naples fragment I had already copied some years ago but not published, as alone it is of no particular interest. It gives the ordinary biblical account of Moses and Joshua, merely weaving texts into what is perilously near to a sermon. The Paris fragment, on the contrary, proves of considerable interest, as it treats of the Apostles, employing apocryphal legends as well as the Bible. Unfortunately, it is a mere fragment, passages on Andrew, James the brother of John, John, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Jude being all that remain, and even those are not in all cases complete. In four cases only—James, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew—legendary matter is preserved; and generally, as one would anticipate, it agrees with the accounts found in the Arabic and Ethiopian versions of the legends of the Apostles. Two, however, of the sections, those on Bartholomew and Matthew,

¹ *Kleine Kopt. Stud.* xxvi-xlv, *Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. de Saint-Pé.* xxi (1904).

would appear to be based on fuller accounts than those contained in the other two versions, and add details which I cannot trace elsewhere.

¹ [πα]καλος ιωη, τῆπαβροτο εῤῥυνηρε πταμῆτραш Πωωтснс . fol. 1
 πωорп мен жадкω πсωγ ппарωор пкмае, Пπεсотωш стрет-
 мотте ерог же Пншнре птшеере Пфараω . чо прѣраш еротн
 епеташе мппетернт . аτω он енегзотп Пмоотпе етеирни .
 его же он прарш-рнт мпфараω, еотптаг тезотсга Пмат еботѣ
 ебол рпотшаже потот Пмате птепегспотот етбетаре² етош
 птецапῆтрашпотте . пего же он прарш-рнт мппгепос тнрѣ
 ппютаа, егѣсѣω пат етпнт птоотѣ, аτω пегпараттале патпе
 егжω Пмос жемп потте псаота . птоот рωот он епеташмак
 еболпе мпран прппотте пшПмо, аτω етогωшт потмасе .
 птог же пеготωш етогхо ппетψтхн желас етектоот ерог,
 пѣкω пат ебол . пече мωтснс | паг жепхоеис алок рпторгн fol. 1'
 Ппексωпѣ . ошѣ ептажро Ппнт Ппегрωме ртПпнос птажро
 птецапῆтраш, рωсте пѣхоос парремппотте пагаѣос жеалок
 рпторгн Ппексωпѣ . птаμωтснс же тате паг рωс рωме . паш
 гар пре ппаре еоргн рПпекнω ебол . пегсωпѣ гар отталсоне
 Пψтхн, аτω тегоргн отсаепте есрпарре ерωме нωтшωпе³ .
 егѣсѣω пап пѣе потеиωт егпезете ппегшнре . отже гар
 епешареппотте сωпѣ ап рпотпаѣос пѣе етешарепрωме
 сωпѣ Пмос . алла епеган пегпезетсис роот, аτω он
 семонѣ етресарз прωме ешци рароот тепот ебол жесешооп
 потоеш нм епотжа пПψтхн . етнепаг рω сепѣаѣо ппрωме
 стретр-роте рнтѣ Ппнотте желас етеотжа . | ѣжω гар Пмос fol. 2
 рппаотм пепрофнтис жепеттѣнт пѣпатѣѣоц ап, алла петжарП
 ѣпатѣѣоц ртпоткωрѣ мпотколаеис епашωс .

плнп ртпῆтраш Пωωтснс мптегпстис мппегсөөт
 асПпша етреппотте сПп-лаѣоткн пшмаг, аτω асѣаг пюно-
 помос епкосмос тнрѣ . аτω он астрегпрофнтете рпегшнре .
 ртпῆкоти гар паретн етжн ебол шареппотте пωрѣ мпегсмот
 ежппрωме . отже гар, птеремарѣа порѣ ебол еперото, птас-
 прокопте ап катаѣе етерепетатгелюп жω Пмос жемарга же

¹ I have taken the liberty of omitting dots over the letter π, and some other superfluous dots and strokes, and have reduced the diacritical marks to a more uniform standard than the copyist chose to employ.

² Read таретн (!).

³ Read нма етшωпе.

ασμερε τεστυχια, ατω απχοεις ер-μῆτρε ραρος θεασμερε πο
 ετπαποτс, тαι πсенашцѣтѣ πτοотѣ ан. παγαθον γαρ етерепота
 ποτα παααϗ ρῖοτμῆττελιос . πτοϗ он петерепрωме παωηϗ еροϗ .

fol. 2^r εθηετμῆτρῆραϗ он ἕμωтснс аϗϑῆσομ етωотп ρанетпа-
 лаλει ἕμοϗ μῆнетχι-σολ еροтп ρῆпечро . аτω ἵтеротсωпῆ
 еротп ероϗ, аϗῤῥарш-рнт он, аϗмае ἵпернт . аτω ρῖтῆтеϗ-
 мῆтρῆраϗ аϗῤῥарш-рнт, аϗ† πῤῥῆγαιωма πωηϗ ἕпнл . аτω
 аарон печнос ἵсон аϗῤтотассе паϗ ρωс коти ебол хепетпс-
 тоспе парароϗ . аτω ἵтоϗ пентаϗχι-εоот еθηεпечшлнл катаθε
 етῆϗω ἕмос еθηεпамю ἕпмасе хеашлнл ерра ехωтῆ аτω
 ехῆпкеаарон ἕпетоеиш етῆμαт, апχοεις сωтῆ еροι .

μαρεпϗи хе ебол ἕмон ἵтеμῆтатсωтῆ, ἵтῆпно пап
 ἵтμῆтρῆраϗ ἕпнос мωтснс . аτω он μαρεпχι пап ἵте-
 мῆтρῆрнт ἵотωт мῆφнеес пшнре пелеаϗар ἕппечнос πκωϗ
 fol. 3 еротп еппотте ἵтаϗϗи ἕμαт ἵтпоннрн | ἕплаос ρῖтесрω-
 мастнс ἕпепне¹ шаптеппотте сμнне пῆμαϗ ἵотῆαθнки
 ἵерннн етμῆтотннῆ πшаепег .

μαρεппотхе он ἵсабол ἕмон ἵотпокрнснс пῆαααрам
 мῆтеϗμῆтатсωтῆ, аτω ἕпῤῥεлааτ саροτ, ерепχοεις сμот,
 аτω ἕпῤῥεлааτ ἵрωме ρнове . отῆε ἕпῤῥεпспапῆαλнзе ἵот-
 ψтχн ἵотωт хеἵпептсаве н хеἵпῆтако ρωон он ρῆпῆтако
 пῆαααрам, пап птаτκοонсῆ ρῖтснϗе еθηεтеϗμῆтмай-χрнма .

мωтснс ρε аϗпно паϗ ἵтепнос ἕпаррнснα тнρῆ еротп
 еппотте еθηεтеϗμῆтρῆраϗ . аппотте ρ-μῆтρε ероϗ еϗω ἕмос
 ἕмарнрам мῆаарон еϗпно ἕмоот птероткаталаλει ἕмоϗ,
 еϗω ἕмос паτ хеетῆеот ἕпетῆρ-ροте екаталаλει псаμωтснс .

fol. 3^r ершанотпρоφнтнс γαρ тωотп ἵрнттнтῆ н от|реϗпеере-расот,
 епешашахе пῆμαϗпe ρῖотрасот . аλλα ἵтаг апте θε ἕμωтснс
 паϗῆραλ . отпстос γарпe ρῆпечнн тнρῆ . паг ρε ἵтапρo
 ρнтапρo ρῆпαεнне аτω ρῆпαρῤῆαп :—

апшахе етῆемωтснс ппомоθεтнс :—μαρεпшахе етῆенсot
 пшнре ἵпати мῆпота ποτα ἵпекрнтнс :—

аτω пехе пχοεις ἵнсot пшнре ἵпати мῆпсаτρεμωтснс
 мот еϗω ἕмос паϗ хеφпашωпe пῆмак ἵпекроот тнρot
 катаθε ἵташωпe мῆμωтснс паϗῆραλ . отпос γαρ αλнθωс
 ἕμῆтτελносте тαι етρεотсῆотн шωш мῆпечсар . ῥωо γар

¹ Read ἕпепне .

Παιος ρῆπεταγγελιον ετοσααῖ ζωω επεσχοτι κεεφешωπε πῶε
 ἀπεφсар ατω πρῆραλ κεεφешωπε πῶε Ἰπεφχοεις . ετῆεοτπο-
 таян πταφототассе Παιωтснс πρηтс ρωс μαοη|тнс, επεφшоѳе fol. 4
 γар ελαат ап етρηραλ, аφῆψша ρωωφ етρηφχοεις шωпе пшмаф
 πῶе Ἰπεφсар . отае γар πотρηραλ аппе ρῆπεφгенос, аλλα
 аφφρω он πтаптрῆραλ, еφсоотп епетѳо паф πрараλ · отаерит
 протопе ρῆтаптраапотте . етῆепаз ρωωφ афмере пето прῆраλ
 Ἰппотте . аτω афβ-ρῆраλ паф ρῆтеφпрораресис Παιп Παιοφ .
 аτω он мωтснс афβῆптре ρароф кеаφρηραλ¹ паз . етῆепаз ρωωφ
 он апхоεις тρηлаос тпρη Ἰпшнл ρтотассе паф катаѳе етснρ
 ρῆеφекнл непрофитнс жепето прῆраλ птпolic Ἰппотте етер-
 ρῆраλ паф ρωωφ πῶс пεφтлн тпрот пῆшнре Ἰпшнл . птере-
 мωтснс ае он ештпма паф πотсоп етρηпептатχοоф² етῆелааа
 мῆмолаа жесепрофитете, пхоεις мωтснс κω|лт Παιοот, афшоп fol. 4'
 ае ероф πтешω ρῆотпстис, еφсоотп жепефсарпе . епечмеете
 γарпе жешше ес ератῆ Ἰпстпρεарпюп аτω πтаφχοос ап ρῆот-
 парнсна . мωтснс ае еφсоотп жепотωш Ἰпхоειςпе етρηраρ
 Ἰппрофитнс шωпе жекас ерепота пота пафсῶ Ἰпетρпотωφ
 еротп епагаѳоп . афотωшῆ паф жеап³ нм апок жеелеκωлт
 Ἰпепῆа Ἰпхоεις . инсот мен епечмеете κалωс етῆетаκo-
 лотоа . мωтснс ρωωφ печмеете парароф ρωс сар . Παιаοηтнс
 ае тпрот маротκωρ еотпотап πинсот пшнре Ἰпатп жекас
 ρωот он етеш-еоот птеφре . аτω он Ἰпβтρηтρηпашт-ме⁴ еротп
 епетсар жекас ерепееот пашωпе . ехῆпсар мῆпесχοти ехол
 ρтототῆ Ἰппотте .

. . . the just (*δίκαιος*) Job, we shall marvel the more at the meekness of Moses. First, because he left the treasures of Egypt, and would not be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. He was meek towards those who strove with one another, and again he reconciled them to peace. Again, he was patient with Pharaoh, though he had power to wipe him out with a single word of his lips on account of the great virtue (*ἀρετή*?) of his piety. He was patient, too, with the whole race of the Jews, teaching them when they fled from⁴ him: and he announced (*παραγγέλλειν*) to them: 'There is no God but one.' They, too, again cried aloud on the

¹ ? read афβ-ρῆραλ.

² Read етῆе and possibly πεптаφχοоф, 'concerning what he said.'

³ Cf. Leipoldt *Schemute von Atripe* (Harnack *T. und U.*) p. 196, where the form given is пащтпаше.

⁴ Or 'to him'.

Ex. xxxii
12

name of strange gods, and worshipped a calf: and he wished to save their souls that they might turn to him and he forgive them. Said Moses to him: '*Lord, cease from the wrath of thy anger.*' Look at the steadfastness of heart of this man through the great steadfastness of his meekness, so that (ὥστε) he spake before the good God: '*Cease from the wrath of thy anger.*' But Moses uttered this as man: for how wilt thou find wrath in his forgiveness. For his anger is a healing of souls, and his wrath a medicine¹ that cures all men that are sick. He teaches us like a father instructing (παιδεύειν) his children: for the Lord is not wroth with a passion (πάθος) as men are wroth. But since (ἐπειδή) his teachings (παιδευσεις pl.) are ill and grievous for the flesh of man to bear now, because they are always for the salvation of souls: for this reason they teach men to fear God, that they may be saved. For he says in Nahum the prophet: '*The pure shall not be purified, but the impure shall be purified with fire and great punishment*' (κόλασις).²

Luke x 42

But (πλήν) through the meekness of Moses and his faith and his glory he was worthy that God should form a covenant with him: and he made him governor (οἰκονόμος) of the whole world: and again he caused him to prophesy of his son. For through a few virtues that are complete³ God is wont to pour forth his blessing upon men. For Martha when she prostrated herself the more did not advance (προκόπτειν) even as the Gospel saith: '*And Mary loved peace*' (ἡσυχία), and the Lord bore witness to her: '*She has loved the better part, which shall not be taken away from her.*' For the good which every man shall do in perfection, that it is by which a man shall live.

Deut. ix 20

Because of the meekness of Moses, too, he was able to rise over those who spoke against (καταλαλεῖν) him and those who lied to his face. And when they were wroth with him, he was merciful and kept (?) the vows. And through his meekness he was merciful and gave judgements (δικαίωμα) of life to Israel. And Aaron his elder brother was subject to him as though younger, because Moses was more faithful than he. And he it was who received honour on account of his prayers even as he says concerning the making of the calf: '*I prayed for you and for Aaron too at that time and the Lord heard me.*'

Let us rid ourselves of this disobedience, and beget for ourselves the meekness of the great Moses. And, again, let us take to ourselves this prudence, together with Phineas the son of Eleazar with his great zeal towards the Lord, who took there the sin (πονηρία) of the people with

¹ εδειπ (fem.) for ἀπῆτραισι: a form not noticed by Peyron.

² Not in Nahum.

³ For χηκ εἶδη, 'without any object,' cf. Steindorff *Apok. des Elias* (Harnack *T. und U. N. F.* 2) p. 50 note 2.

the spear (σιφομάστῃς) of iron, till the Lord made a covenant of peace Num. xxv
for an everlasting priesthood. 7 f. 13

Let us again cast out from ourselves the hypocrisy of Balaham and his disobedience and let not any curse when the Lord blesses; and let Num. xxiii
not any man sin, neither let us give offence (σκανδαλίζειν) to a single soul⁸
lest we learn¹ and lest we are destroyed too with the destruction of Num. xxxi
Balaham, who was pierced with a sword because of his covetousness. 8

And Moses developed all this great boldness (παρρησία) towards God because of his meekness. God bears witness to him saying to Mariam and Aaron, reproving them when they spake against (καταλαλεῖν) him, saying: '*Why were ye not afraid to speak against Moses. For, if a prophet rise up among you, or a dreamer of dreams, I speak with him in Num. xii 8
a dream; but not so Moses my servant, for he is faithful in his whole house, (with) him (I speak) mouth to mouth in my form and not in my shadow.*'

We have spoken of Moses the lawgiver: let us speak of Jesus the son of Naue and the Judges severally.

And the Lord spake to Jesus the son of Naue after the death of Moses, saying to him: '*I will be with thee all thy days even as I was Josh. i 5
with Moses my servant.*' For this is in truth a great perfection for a pupil to equal his master, for he says in the holy Gospel: '*It is enough Matt. x 25
for the disciple that he be as his master and the servant that he be as his lord.*' Because of the service (ὑποταγή) with which he served (ὑποτάσσειν) Moses as disciple,—for he differed not at all from a servant,—he was worthy too that the Lord should be with him as his master, for he was not a slave in his race (γένος): but he used (χρησθαι) the servitude, knowing him whose servant he was. One beloved² abundantly in piety was he. For this reason he loved one who was God's servant, and was his servant of his own choice (προαίρεσις). And again Moses bore witness to him: '*He was my servant.*' For this reason the Lord subjected the whole people of Israel to him, even as it is written in Ezechiel the prophet: '*He that is the servant of the city of God, to him shall all Ez. xx 40(?)
the tribes of the children of Israel be servants.*' And when Moses again rebuked (ἐπιτιμᾶν) him once for what was said concerning Laad and Molad³: '*They prophecy, my lord Moses hinder (κωλύειν) them*', he Num. xi
received this teaching in faith knowing they were his masters. For he 27 and 29
thought it was right to go to the council (συνέδριον), and he did not speak boldly. And Moses knew it was the will of the Lord that there

¹ Or 'teach'.

² This might also mean 'a thing well pleasing in piety was this', or perhaps 'a thing more pleasing than piety', though in that case one would have expected ἡρόσο to be followed by ε not ὄψι.

³ = Eldad and Medad.

should be many prophets, that each might teach his neighbour righteousness (*ἀγαθόν*). He answered: 'Who am I that I should hinder the spirit of the Lord?' Jesus thought well for the following (?) (*ἀκολουθία*), but Moses thought beyond him as being his master. And let all disciples emulate the subjection (*ὑποταγή*) of Jesus the son of Naue, that they too may receive glory like him. And, again, let them not be stiffnecked towards their master, that honour may come to the master and the disciples from God.

(ρσζ) ψηρε μῆπειπᾶ ετοταᾶβ. ατω ἴπειρε ψαφροκ πσί περῖπᾶ
ηῖςμινε ἴτεπνοτ ρῖοτσοοτῖπ:—

αηψαχε εἰθεανῶρεας:—μαρεψαχε οη εἰθειανῶρος:—

Ἰανῶρος πσον ἴωραπνε αῖταψεοειψ ρῖτμαρμαρικη, ατω
αῖρωτῖ Ἰμοϋ ρῖσενγε¹ ἴσί αῖρινπας πῖρο. αῖταψεοειψ
ἴπετροῖτᾶσπορα:—

αηψαχε εἰθειανῶρος. μαρεψαχε οη εἰθειωραπνε πετ-
αγγελιστικ:—

Ἰωραπνε πεταγγελιστικε οἱπροφитиспе, ατω οἱεταγγελισ-
τικиспе. ατω ἴτοϋπε ψαφροχῆ εχῖτместῖρηт Ἰηχοεис εἰθετεϋ²
μῖπεϋμῖτнарёекос μῖπεϋτῖῆο. ατω πετῖταϋ Ἰματ ἴοτпос
Ἰпаррисια εροτп епχοеис ρωсте петрос пнос ἴαποστολος πῖрим

(ρδн) εροϋ ἴραϋ ἴсон εтρεϋηне пχοеис епψахе ρῖтῖтеϋпаррисиа еροтп
εροϋ. ἴтоϋ ᾶε ἴωραпне αῖρωϋ εχпο паϋ Ἰπεοῖῆῆιο Ἰπεϣῖ.
ατω περῖωме ετοῖ εῖολ οἱαῖἴαποστολος тпрот αῖρω ἴσωϋ
Ἰπειпос ἴран етᾶеиηт χεαποστολος ρῖнарёепос, αῖтρεтᾶотте
εροϋ χεπресῖттерос матааϋ. ατω μῖмаῖοс πελεωпне αῖт
паϋ Ἰпетαγγελιον, ατω μαρκос μῖлотнас. Ἰωραпне πεто
пнос εῖроот ρῖпаποστολος, ατω αῖραаϋ матааϋ ἴсапесит ἴпето
ἴпоти ероϋ. маῖοс γарпе пшорῖ ἴетаγγελистик, μῖἴσωϋ οη
μαρκос μῖлотнас, μῖἴσωот ᾶε тпрот ἴωрапне пнос петсоотп
ἴἸмтстпрпон тпрот. αῖпοхῆ γар еχῖтместῖρηт Ἰηχοеис.
εἰθεпаг αῖψахе εἰθεтарапн Ἰппотте ρῖотχик, ατω αῖтамоп
χεотоп нм етмосте Ἰ.

(ρпа) μαϋ. ατω αῖρ-αпстос, εϋχῖω Ἰμοс χεετῖπᾶт епесῖηεῖт
μῖтешῖплотухη ἴфпапстете аη χεαϋтωотп εῖολ ρῖпстаоотт
ἴσί псωтпρ.

¹ Read ρῖοтснге.

² A word is wanting here.

³ ῖт for ῖтс apparently.

· αλλα σωτη ρωωγ εποτειο . ατριτε Ιηουσααρ, ατριτε Ιηουσαμα ρηρεπποσε ησοοτη . αφρ шомпт ηροот егталит ерог еμμοоше, егташөөеиш, ереотон нм θεωρει Ιημογ . еграе γε он ατρηтп ерог .

αψαχε етһеωμαас :—μαρεψαχε он етһеβαρολομοос :—

Βαρολομοιοс отномаритисне ηсапогооте . аτω аηпατ епаггелос етгтапете етапа-
тасис ηпсωтир . аτω ηтог он пентагташөөеиш ρηтерχωρα
ηотаге . ηперепетрос тшөен өе ηһωк еротп етπολιс, аημеете
етρωһ ηтеишпе, аηтааг еһол ημηтгηραλ :—отшпирепне п|һиос (РПБ)
ηπειρωме мпηrice ηтатшопот ρηпкосиос . етшанһωк γε еротп
етπολιс, шатеи еһол ηсешлотлаг ηсөөт ηпесиот ηпетρηот-
ποлемос . епешареота гар ηρηот алит еота ηпесиот ηпет-
тωһр шаптотшөишом еһωк еротп етπολιс . паг γε тпрот етеире
ημөөт, етотшш есокеп еһол ρηпкәне еротп епотое [1] п :—

αψαχε етһеβαρολομοос :—μαρεψαχε он етһεμαθαίοс
μηпкесеене ηηпапостолос мпπατλοс ηλαс ηпестпотһе :—

Παθιοс аημөөше ерһегаρει ηтетπαροια . аτω паппе песиот
птагшөишом ектоот епжоеис ηρηтг . асшωпе γε ηтеречρωп
еротп ететπολιс,—епагпагаггелие гар ηпетρηηηптλη жешημο
нм етнаеи еротп етπολιс ететпаамагте ημοг шаптетпег ератп
ηηмааг, епагпаг | гар ηпапостолос сωр еһол ρηпкаг тпрг.— (РПГ)
аηжωпг γε кагатаппропиа ηппотте етрегеи ηси пша ηпетей-
ωлон . епети отрпе ηһол ηтетπολιс ηшатеиηе ηпетейωлон
еротп ерог ηотсон теромпе, ηсекааг ηρηтг ηсашг ηроот .
ρηпмерсашг γε ηроот шатеи ηсегтгг, ηсегхорете ρиη ημοг
шаптотжтг еротп етπολιс . аτω маθιοс ηтеречпаг ероот,
агорхעי ρωωг ηηмаг шаптгһωк еротп етπολιс . пезе ηарχωп
ге ηпетρηραλ жегеи ηпейшημο ρωωг епрпе тарефотωм ηη-
μηтп, аτω ηсесω, жеггrice ρωωг ηпоот, егорхעי ρиη ηмоп .
ηтеротжтг γε еротп епрпе, алγαιμονион етсалант епегωлон
паг ерог, аηшш еһол жетои паг . еис ρиηте аге еротп етπολιс
ηси ηетпаотωсгг ηпаρпе . ари ρиηһе ω паотпнһ жепетпегопе (РПГ)
отωсг . аτω αψα кагалеи . пеотпнһ γε агеш-лотлаг еһол,
атмешт тπολιс тпрг, аτω аге еһол еммапμөөше . ηте-
роттшөп ρωме, агятоот еротп епрпе, пезат ημαθιοс жет-
һеот ηток ηпекеи еһол ηηмап етрегт-отои ηсаηхаже ηппотте .

πεχαυ πατ χειτεπισσοτη αν χειρισε, εμμοουε ριτερη. επι
 νειωτω ρω εφ-οτοι πεωωτ ερωτε ερωτη. παλ δε ευχω πμοου
 πατ, ατκαρωωτ. ατω αννωτε † τοωτη ρηητω ερωτη επσοωτη
 πτωε, ατωτκαλ:—

απυαχε εθεμλωεοσ:—μαρεπυαχε οπ εθειωτκαε πυιρε
 πιακωβοσ:—

Ιωτκαε [πυη]ρε πιακωβοε πτωη πεπταεραλ παπ εθεπαυτελοε
 πτατπαραβα. ατω αεραλ παπ οπ εθεμλωωτνεε ππομοωετνεε πταπ-
 καδωλοε ρητ ετρεερωπ . . . μιχαηλ παρκαυτελοε .
 πετ . . καυ πτετηωτ

. . . the Son and the Holy Ghost. And so his spirit would rest and be established straightway aright.

We have spoken of Andrew: let us speak too of James.

James the brother of John preached in Marmarice, and Agrippa the king slew him with the sword. He preached to those of the dispersion.¹

We have spoken of James: let us speak too of John the Evangelist.

(cf. John
 xiii 23-24)

John the Evangelist was a prophet and an evangelist. And he was wont to recline on the Lord's breast because of his . . .² and his maiden-head and his purity; and he enjoyed great freedom (*παρρησία*) with the Lord, so that Peter the great Apostle often motioned him to ask the Lord a question because of his freedom with him. And John was zealous to acquire the humility of Christ: and this man, who was above all the Apostles, laid aside this great and honoured name of Apostle and Virgin (*παρθένος*) and let himself be called only Elder (*πρεσβύτερος*). And he with Matthew the publican and Mark and Luke was given the Gospel. John was greater than them among the Apostles; and he set himself beneath those who were less than him; for Matthew is the first of the Evangelists, and after him Mark and Luke, and after them all the great John, who knew all mysteries, for he reclined on the Lord's breast. Therefore he spake of the love of God fully, and taught us that every one who hates . . .

¹ Marmarica, the coast-land between Egypt and Cyrenaica, is mentioned as the burial-place of James in the pseudo-Dorotheus text of *Cod. Matrit.* 103 and in some Latin authorities (Lipsius *Apokr. Apostelgeschichten* ii 2, 208-211); and the Ethiopic account mentions his burial at Κοτ (or Βατκε) in Mamreke (*Budge Contendings of the Apostles* ii 307). But none of them treat of his preaching there, though they all deal with his preaching to the dispersion and his death at the hand of Agrippa, as does also, according to Lipsius, the Coptic Martyrium (*Zoega Cat. Cod. Copt.* No. 127). The latter has been published by Guidi *Atti della Accad. dei Lincei* ser. iv t. iii (1887).

² A word is missing here in the Coptic.

. . . and he disbelieved, saying : ' *Except I see the print of the nails and John xxi
he print of the lance, I will not believe that the Saviour rose from the*²⁵
lead.' But hear the retribution. His skin and his body were rubbed
with fragments of sackcloth.¹ He was three days raised aloft on it,²
walking and preaching in the sight of every one. And in the end they
. . .³ him.

We have spoken of Thomas : let us speak too of Bartholomew.

Bartholomew was a gardener (κωμαρίτης) and vegetable dealer. And
he was worthy of the Apostleship ; and he saw the angels singing at
the resurrection of the Saviour.⁴ And he it was too who preached in
the Oasis.⁵ When Peter could not find a way of entering into the city,
he bethought him of a thing of this sort ; he sold himself into slavery.
Marvellous is the life of these men and the sufferings they underwent in
his world. When they entered into a city, they would come forth
crying out after them like men in a war, for one of them would ascend
to another like those begging⁶ till they were able to enter into the city.
And all these things they did, wishing to draw us from the darkness to
the light.

¹ This refers no doubt to the slaying of Thomas in India, a distinctive feature of
the Egyptian account, not found in the Greek, Latin, or Syriac (cf. Lipsius i 274-
176, Budge 333, Lewis 87). The title but nothing more of a Coptic version is
found in Zoega p. 227 cxxvii.

² I do not understand the reference here. It can hardly be to the breaking on
the wheel (Budge 332), as he is described as walking.

³ Probably 'stabbed'. The word is somewhat illegible.

⁴ Bartholomew is referred to as a gardener in another apocryphal fragment Par.
Copte 78 f. 6^r (cf. Lacau *Apocr. Coptes* p. 61), where the text runs *ⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲉ*
ⲃⲁⲣⲉⲟⲗⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲕⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ . ⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲗⲓⲛⲱⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲓⲣⲓⲉⲣⲱⲛⲁⲧⲏⲥ , ⲡⲁⲣⲅⲱⲛ ⲓⲧⲉⲡⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ , ⲉⲓⲩⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲣⲱⲛ . 'Is
not this B. the gardener? Is not this he who was in the garden of Hierocates,
the governor of our city, and sold vegetables?' The legend that he saw angels at
the resurrection I cannot trace elsewhere. Possibly both legends originated in the
identification of Bartholomew with Nathanael (cf. Smith *Dict. of Bible* 'Bart.'), who
was found sitting under a fig-tree—presumably in a garden—and was told 'Ye
shall see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon
the Son of man' (John i 48-50). Hence he may have been connected with the
gardener mentioned after the resurrection (John xx 15). The gardener's vision is
described, but his name is given as Philogenes in a fragment in Revillout's *Apocr.*
Coptes pp. 189-190, which—if I recollect rightly—is referred to the gospel of
Nicodemus.

⁵ His preaching in the Oasis and his sale by Peter to a 'master of camels' is
related in Budge 90 foll., Lewis 69 foll., and the Arabic Synaxarium on the first of
Thoth (cf. Lipsius ii 2. 86-90). A Coptic fragment of the story has been published
by Von Lemm 'Kopt. Apok. Apostelacten', *Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de*
Saint-Petersbourg t. xxxiii (1890) pp. 509-581.

⁶ Or 'praying'. I do not fully grasp his meaning. Can he possibly be com-
paring them with the continual relays of beggars that attack one in the East?

*We have spoken of Bartholomew: let us speak too of Matthew and the rest of the Apostles and Paul the tongue of sweet scent.*¹

Matthew went to the Eiarei of Parthia²: and this was the way he succeeded in turning them to the Lord there. It happened, when he approached their city—for they had given orders (*παραγγέλλειν*) to those at the gates: 'Seize ye every stranger that cometh into the city and come with him to us,' for the name of the Apostles was spread abroad in the whole earth,—(and) it happened according to the will (*πρόνοια*) of God that the feast of their idol came. There was a temple outside their city, where they were wont to bring their idol once in the year, and leave it there seven days. And on the seventh day, they would come and take it and dance before it till they take it into the city. And when Matthew saw them, he danced too with them till he entered into the city. Said the governors to their slaves: 'Take this stranger too to the temple, that he eat with you and they (?) drink, for he too has laboured to-day dancing before us. And when they took him into the temple, the demon that dwelt in the idol saw him and cried aloud: 'Woe is me! Behold those who will destroy my temple have come into the city, and the feasts are ended (*καταλείσθαι*?).' And the priests cried aloud and investigated the whole city, and they came forth from the habitations. When they could not find any one, they returned to the temple and said to Matthew: 'Why didst thou not go forth with us to pursue the enemies of the Gods?' He said unto them, 'Know ye not I have laboured walking on the way, for I wished to pursue them even more than you?' And when he spake thus, they were silent. And God aided him: he brought them to knowledge and they were saved.

We have spoken of Matthew: let us speak too of Judas the brother of James.

Judas the brother of James it was who wrote for us concerning the angels who sinned (*παραβαίνειν*). And he wrote for us too concerning Moses the lawgiver. The devil . . . Michael the archangel, who . . . at once . . .

¹ The Coptic word means 'incense' or anything of sweet scent. Probably here *ⲉⲩⲡⲟⲩⲏ* = *ⲉⲩⲧⲓ* in the sense of 'oleum odoratum' for which Peyron refers to Sop. 64. Cf. Budge op. cit. p. 638 (pseudo-Clement), where Paul is called 'the tongue of oil'.

² Matthew's martyrdom in Parthia is related in Budge 130-136, Lewis 110-112, and the Synaxarium (12th of Babeh.) without mention of any town. Various Greek authorities of the fifth century say that he died at Hierapolis in Parthia (or Syria), which is identified with Mabug on the Euphrates. 'The Eiarei' is probably only a corruption of Hierapolis, as a very similar form is found in pseudo-Hippolytus *ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Ἱερῶν* (or *ἱερῶν*) (cf. Lips. ii 2. 124-132), but why the plural article is here used with the name I do not know. The quaint story of his entry which follows does not seem to be preserved elsewhere.

By the kindness of Prof. OSCAR VON LEMM—who has generously placed his copy at my disposal—I am enabled to publish a third fragment from the same MS. This fragment, which consists of two leaves, he has discovered in another of the Coptic volumes at Paris (Par. Copte 132 foll. 15, 16). The leaves are not consecutive: the first, numbered 91, 92, treats of Joseph and Job; the second, which is unnumbered and is apparently in rather bad condition, of Samuel and David. The restorations printed in the text are those suggested by von Lemm, the few that have occurred to myself being added in foot-notes.

5 εἴωτ ἀφ᾽ αὐτῶν εἶλον·—παῖ ἁε Τηροτ ἀτῶπνε εἶλον κεαφ᾽ εἶ
 ψῖνε πῆπορῆῖα ἀφῶφνε πῆαπῶρῆῖα . ἀτῶ ἀφ᾽ εἶτεφανοτ ρωε παρ-
 οεποε . ἀτῶ πῆνιρε πῆνεψνιρε ἀφ᾽ ἴτοτ εἶπῆνεπατ . ἀτῶ Ἄφρ
 ψτετχοῦτε πῆρομπε ρῆπᾶμαρτε πῆαπῆτερο πῆνιαε·—

ἀψῶξε εἶθεῖωσνφ παρῶων πῆνιαε···—

μαρεψῶξε εἶθεῖωῖ πᾶῖναῖοε·—

Нетп отрѡме рѡтѡра жетатсѣтис επεγραп пе ἰωῖ.
 τεχера мен тирс мер πῆρωме . ἀλλὰ πεῖοτᾶ ποτωτ πεптаφῆ-
 ἄλαφ πῆχοεῖε . ἀτῶ ετῶооπ паграф·—Πεσεεῖνε ἁε ρωωφ
 πῆρωме ετοκῆ·—εἶθε παῖ ρω ερεπποττε ϕ πετпаποτῶ πῆко-
 мос εἶθενεψωτπ·—Ἰр-αпῆтре πῆῖ πποτте ρα ἰωῖ εφῶ πῆмоε .
 жеπῆ ρωме εφῆтτωп εροφ ρῖαπῆкаρ . πῆαλ-ρηт . πῆωтп . πῆа-
 п-ποтте εφсаρηт εἶλον πῆεοот πῆи·+

Ἄψ σε пе πῆωῖ εтpорш . εтpосе . ἀτῶ εтῶооп . ερεпρωме
 пащ | ἄἄφ ап·—εἶме се паκ ω πῆρωме жеот петере-пποтте φῆ
 ψῖνε πῆωφ πῆоотя·—Нтафχοос τар ап жеотρωмеле псаθε
 пагаотоп πῆи·+ Ἄλλὰ πῆафχοос жеотῆαλ-ρηт пе πῆεψῶψῆ-
 ποтте·—

Ἄψ σε πῆωῖ петpосе ρῆπῆεῖшоπнт πῆωῖ . πῆпаτ ап се
 εἶлаат πῆκῆατпос ρῆпаῖ εотп σομ πῆмоφ εἶωλτ πῆмоп·—

Ἄψ σε петпотп паграк . τᾶпῆαλ-ρηт те . жῖп πῆмоп
 τᾶпῆаар-ρηт те·—

Смоῖп паκ оп εтpεпρωме амарте πῆεχолн απῆνεφсон . πῆ
 πтоφ εροпн εпетрῖтоτωφ . жῖп πῆмоп εтpεφῆωλ εἶоλ πῆεтпот
 πῆεφχолн·—Ἄτῶ πῆεπεφρηт ἄсаῖ εἶоλ ρῆπῆлогῖсмоε εтжаρῆ
 πῆεπᾶῖᾶолоε . Ἄτῶ πῆαспаξε πῆνεφсон ρῆоτῆρлоε εροпн
 εроφ . εφсоотп жеπῆεчка χолн ρῆπῆεφρηт отае ἄрῖке εροпн
 επεφсон·—

Смoтѣ ꙗе oн ѣхe-ѣмe. aтѡ ѣр-ѣмe ѣрoтѣ ꙗсoл :—Пнoттe
ѡap cooтн ꙗꙗрнт ѣтeїре ꙗѣмe. Нeрѣнтѣ ѡap eт

fol. 16 **Нaщaхe мѣн ꙗнoттe :+**

Сaмoтнл ꙗе нeпpoфитнe aч[кa]oicta ꙗ (about 42 letters) лeї
[.] c [.] мꙗo [. . . . cω]тѣм ѣ[.] ѡ ꙗ [.]
e ѣoл [.] птe [.] ꙗ ꙗлeт [.] ρωμoс a[ε̄ ā n]пoттe
c[ot]ꙗꙗ eтpe[ç]тaлe-oтcїa нaç eрpaї. пapaꙗлeтeїтнe. eпeт ѣoл
ѡap нe ρꙗтeфтлн ꙗꙗшнpe ꙗїωcнф :—

Шннpe ꙗе ρω [oт ꙗрн]лeї aч[çωтe ѣ]oл [eтѣe т]eтꙗꙗт-
aт[çω]тѣм :—

Нoе oн ꙗтaтꙗꙗтcїaнт ꙗрoтo oтoꙗрѣ ѣoл xeoтщeѣpe ρω
тe ꙗтeѣpapaм :+ Aскoтe ꙗе ꙗcωс ꙗнecеїдтe ꙗрeчꙗꙗщe-eїaω-
лoн acoтaрѣ ꙗcaднoеїm тeщoмe. ѣoл xe нe oтꙗтac ρωc
ꙗꙗaт ꙗꙗпoттe eчꙗooп нac ꙗoнooс. aтѡ ꙗꙗꙗꙗoс. eтѣeꙗї
aсклнpoпoмeї ρωc ꙗꙗнecpaї aтѡ aрꙗꙗрꙗoт eї ѣoл ꙗрн-
[тe] нeꙗ [.] їc ꙗ[.] oл ꙗ[.]тe нaтa-
caрꙗ. eтѣeꙗї ꙗꙗeꙗрo ꙗꙗꙗрꙗoт тaкoс :•

Boeс ꙗе aчxek тeчꙗoлтꙗїa ѣoл. aтѡ aчoтꙗꙗр ѣoл xe
oтc[ε]мнoснe eпepoтo :—Шнeчoтꙗ ꙗꙗoтꙗꙗтꙗꙗꙗнe eтѣeꙗoтꙗ.
aллa aчpapeρ eꙗнoмoс ꙗꙗeтxoсe. aтѡ aтeїa aрꙗo eꙗꙗꙗe-
щнpe :+

aꙗщaхe eтѣeсaмoтнл нeпpoфитнe :+

мaрeꙗщaхe oн eтѣe aаa ꙗꙗpo.

Пeхe ꙗxoeїc xeaїre ѣaтeїa ꙗꙗнpe нї[çç]caї eчн[нꙗ] ρꙗꙗa-
рꙗт ꙗaї eтꙗeїpe ꙗꙗoтꙗꙗ тнpoт (14 letters) м[.]
x[.] нeч[.] Aчpω[.] ѡ[.] нeч[.]
м[.] лт[.] aꙗa[.] ωꙗ o[.] cωꙗ . . [oт-
ꙗꙗ]oфитнe нe. aтѡ aчꙗꙗ-рїce ꙗꙗꙗaꙗ. aтѡ aчꙗaоїcтa нeoлo-
мoꙗ нeꙗꙗнpe ꙗꙗpo eпeꙗꙗa eтeї eꙗoнѣ. aтѡ

. . . father, he looked forth. And all these things happened because he cried shame on adultery and mocked at impurity, and he was crowned (*στεφανοῦν*) as a virgin (*παρθένος*). And the sons of his sons he took upon his knees. And he spent eighty (?)¹ years in the power of the kingdom of Egypt.

¹ The numeral *çтeтxoтoтe* is strange. It must stand either for *xoтtаꙗтe* = 24 (cf. the form *тмeрçтoтxoтoтe* = 24th, given in Peyron), or for *ꙗꙗeнe* = 80,

We have spoken about Joseph, the ruler of Egypt: let us speak about Job the just.

There was a man in the land Ausites whose name was Job. The whole land was full of men, but this one alone was pleasing to the Lord, and was before him: and the rest of living men . . . (?)¹. For this man's sake God did what was good for the world for the sake of his elect. God bore witness to Job, saying: 'There is no man like him upon the earth, innocent, elect, a man of God, eschewing all Job ii 3 evil.'

What thing is there, hard, laborious, and existent (?) that man cannot do?

Know, O man, what it is God seeks from thee. For he said not 'A wise man is he beyond all men'. But he said, 'An innocent man and a God-server.' What is there difficult in these three things? I see no danger in these to hinder us. What is it that is right before thee? Innocence or . . . (?)². Is it right unto thee again that a man master his anger with his brother or against his neighbour, or loose his anger straightway? And that his heart be freed from the impure thoughts of the devil; and he greet his brother with sweetness towards him, knowing that he keeps not anger in his heart nor a grudge against his brother. It is right also to speak truth, and to work truth rather than a lie. For God knoweth the heart which worketh the truth. For the things which

. . . shall speak with God. And Samuel the prophet he appointed (καθιστάναι)³ Yet did God elect him to offer sacrifice to

by false analogy with $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\psi\epsilon = 400$. The latter seems preferable since Joseph lived to 110 years, and was carried into Egypt while a youth.

¹ There seems to be something omitted here.

² I cannot find the word $\mu\alpha\rho\rho\eta\tau$. The first part of the compound is possibly connected with the verb $\mu\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon$ 'bind': if so it might mean 'obstinacy'. Both here and below it would make better sense if $\chi\eta\eta\ \pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau$ could be taken to mean 'and not', and the sentences regarded as answers to the preceding questions, rather than as additional questions. But $\chi\eta\eta\ \pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau$ seems to be found only in the sense of 'or' (cf. Crum *Ostraka* 321), or else 'or not' (cf. Peyron $\chi\eta\eta$ and $\mu\alpha\tau$).

³ The sense here may be, 'Samuel he (God, from $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ above) appointed as priest of Israel in place of the sons of Eli. For the Lord (?) said, "Obey him." He was not one of the tribe of Levi, &c.,' if I am right in suggesting the following partial restoration of some of the lines:—

[κα]θισταῖ

.....

.....

.....

[η]λεπαλη

him rather than the Levites. For he was of the tribe of the sons of Joseph. And the sons of Eli he wiped out because of their disobedience. Even as the obedience of Ruth too revealed that she was a daughter of Abraham. And she left her parents, who were idol-servers, and followed after Onoim, her mother-in-law, because she too had God as her helper (*βοηθός*) and security (*ικανός*). Therefore she too received (*κληρονομήν*) a husband, and kings came forth from her womb (and) our (Saviour too) Jesus (sprang) from (her womb)¹ after the flesh. Therefore the King of kings did not destroy her. And Boes fulfilled his life (*πολιτεία*) and revealed that he was reverend (*σεμνός*) exceedingly. He did not excel in shamelessness concerning obedience, but he kept the Law of the Exalted; and David was king over his children.

We have spoken of Samuel the prophet: let us speak too of David the king.

Acts xiii
22

Said the Lord: 'I have found David the son of Jesse, after my heart; he who shall do all my wishes'
a prophet was he; and he took pity on him, and appointed Solomon his son king in his stead while he yet lived. And

In my note on Bartholomew as a gardener I should have mentioned that the subject has already been treated by von Lemm in his *Kleine Koptische Studien* xxv 304-5, where he quotes, in addition to the passages I have mentioned, the *Chronicon Paschale* and the *Ethiopic Acts of Bartholomew*.

E. O. WINSTEDT,

[ширепρη]λει
[απχοει]ε
[γαρ . . .]χο
[οσχεσω]ι̅ι̅ ε̅
[ροφ . ατ]ω̅ η̅
[οτρωμ]ε̅ ε̅βολ
[απερ]ητε
[φτλ]η̅η̅λετ
[ει .] ρωμοο

¹ Reading: η̅ρη̅[ι̅ε̅ . ατω]
η̅η̅ [σωτηρ οη]
ι̅ε̅ η̅[φει (?) ε]
βολη[τεσο]τε

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE HISTORIA MYSTAGOGICA AND OTHER
GREEK COMMENTARIES ON THE BYZANTINE
LITURGY.

II.

39. Περὶ τοῦ Προκειμένου.

Τὸ προκείμενον πάλιν μνηνεὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὴν ἐκφαντορίαν, τὴν προμή-
νυσιν τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοῦ ὡς στρατιῶται προτρέχοντες καὶ
βοῶντες Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χειροβίμ ἐμφάνηθι καὶ ἔλθε εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς
5 καὶ Ὁ Θεὸς κἀθηται ἐπὶ θρόνον ἀγίον αὐτοῦ.

40. Περὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου.

Ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ αὐτόπτης καὶ ὑπουργὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βοᾷ κηρύσσων τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγων Χριστὸς παραγεγόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων
ἀγαθῶν, ὃν (καὶ) ἔχοντες ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς κρατῶμεν τῆς
10 ὁμολογίας αὐτοῦ· μεθ' οὗ βοᾷ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος
ἐστίν ὁ ἁμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὃ ἀίρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου· ἀγίος ἡμᾶς ἀγιάσει
ἐν πνεύματι (ἀγίῳ) καὶ πυρὶ (καὶ) μέσον γῶν ἔστηκε.

41. Τὸ Ἀλληλουῖα τί δηλοῖ.

Τὸ ἀλληλουῖα βοᾷ Δαβὶδ καὶ λέγει Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐμφανῶς ἦξει καὶ πῦρ
15 ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προπορεύσεται καὶ Ἔφαναν αἱ ἀστραπαὶ [τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν] αὐτοῦ
τῇ οἰκομένῃ· τῇ γὰρ ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄλ ἔρχεται καὶ ἐφάνη, τὸ δὲ
ἦλ ὁ Θεός, τὸ δὲ οὐα αἰνεῖτε ὑμνεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν.

42. Περὶ τοῦ θυματοῦ.

Καὶ γὰρ εὐθέως ὁ θυματὴρ ὑποδεικνύει τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα Χριστοῦ, τὸ πῦρ
20 τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁ εὐώδης καπνὸς μνηνεὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
προπορευομένην· ὁ γὰρ θυματὴρ ἐρμηνεύεται [εὐωδία ἢ καὶ] εὐωδιστάτη εὐ-

4. Ps. lxxix 2

10. S. Io. i 27, 29

15. Ps. lxxvi 18

5. Ps. xlvii 8

11. S. Mt. iii 11

8. Heb. ix 11

12. S. Io. i 27

9. Heb. iv 14

14. Ps. xlix 3

2. προκείμενον] responsorium τὴν προμήνυσιν] et praenuntiationem
3. ὡς στρατιῶται] ac similiter (*procul dubio pro acsi milites*) 7. αὐτόπτης]
inspector 8. τοῦ Χριστοῦ] αὐτοῦ καὶ P²: eius et παραγεγόμενος]
παρεγένετο P²: aduenit 9. καὶ] P²: et 11. ἀγίασα] sanctificauit
12. ἀγίῳ] P²: sancto καὶ] P²: et μέσον] μέσος P²: mediis 15. προπορεύ-
σεται] ardebit (*vulg. exardescet*) τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν] om. M¹ αὐτοῦ] tuac
17. τὸν ζῶντα] ὄντας ὄντα P²: uere existentem

φροσύνῃ. (ἢ πάλιν ἡ γαστήρ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου νοσηθεῖ ἂν [ἡμῶν] ἢ [ἡγιασμένη] μήτρα τῆς [ἁγίας] παρθένου [καὶ θεοτόκου] φοροῦσα τὸν θεῖον ἄνθρακα Χριστὸν ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς· διὸ καὶ τὴν ὁσμὴν τῆς εὐωδίας ἀναδίδωσιν εὐωδιάζων τὰ ὑμῶν πάντα. ἢ πάλιν ἡ γαστήρ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου δηλοῖ τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, ἐν ἄνθρακι τοῦ θείου πυρὸς 5 τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας τὴν εὐωδὴν τῆς θείας χάριτος νόθεσιαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἑαυτῇ εἰσοικίζουσα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς εὐωδιαζομένη.)

43. Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου.

Τὸ (ἄγιον) εὐαγγέλιόν ἐστιν ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθ' ἣν ὠράθη ἡμῖν, οὐκέτι διὰ νεφελῶν καὶ αἰνιγμάτων λαλῶν ἡμῖν ὡς ποτὲ τῷ Μωϋσῇ διὰ 10 φωνῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν [καὶ σαλπίγγων καὶ] ἤχων καὶ γρόφῳ καὶ πυρὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἢ τοῖς παλαί προφήταις δι' ἐνυπνίων, ἐμφανῶς δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῆς ἐφάνη καὶ ὠράθη ἡμῖν ὁ πρᾶξις καὶ ἡσυχος βασιλεῖς ὁ [πρὶν] καταβάς ὡς γέτος ἀψοφητὴ ἐν πόκι, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, δι' οὗ ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ 15 στόμα πρὸς στόμα καὶ οὗ δι' αἰνιγμάτων· περὶ οὗ ὁ Πατὴρ [ἐξ οὐρανοῦ] μαρτυρεῖ καὶ λέγει Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, **Σοφία** (καὶ) **Λόγος** καὶ **Δύναμις**, ὁ ἐν προφήταις μὲν προκηρυχθεὶς ἡμῖν, ἐν εὐαγγελίοις δὲ φανερωθεὶς, ἵνα θεοὶ λάβωσιν αὐτόν καὶ πιστεύωσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι. ὃν ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, **Σοφίαν** καὶ 20 **Λόγον** [Θεοῦ] τοῦτον εἶναι πάντες [(πιστεύοντες)] βοῶμεν Δόξα σοι Κύριε. εἶτα πάλιν τὸ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα βοᾷ ἐν νεφέλῃ φωτεινῇ ἐπισκιάζον, νῦν διὰ οὐρανοῦ (P) βοᾷ [Προσέχετε·] αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.

44. Τέσσαρα δὲ εἰσὶν εὐαγγέλια ἐπειδὴ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματά εἰσι κατὰ τὰ τετράμορφα ζῶα ἐν οἷς κἀθηται ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεός· ἐξ ὧν φαίνεται 25 ὅτι ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χεροῦσιν Θεὸς καὶ συνέχων τὰ σύμπαντα φανερωθεὶς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐνὶ δὲ Πνεύματι συνεχόμενον. καὶ γὰρ τετραπρόσωπά εἰσι καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰκονίζουσι τὴν πραγματείαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ὁμοίον λέοντος, τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτηρίζον· τὸ δεύτερον ὁμοίον μόσχου, τὴν 30 ἱερουργικὴν καὶ ἱεραρχικὴν τάξιν ἐμφαίνον· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἔχον πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου,

3. Col. ii 9 10. Num. xii 8 11. Heb. xii 18 sq. 13. S. Mt. xxi 5 (Zach. ix 9); Ps. lxxi 6 14. S. Io. i 14 15. Heb. i 2
16. Num. xii 8 17. S. Mt. iii 17; *Lit. Byz.* (*Litt. E. & W.* p. 372) 19. S. Io. i 12 20. 1 Io. i 12 21. *Lit. Byz.* 22. S. Mt. xvii 5 24. sqq. S. Iren. *Haer.* iii 11 § 8 26. Ps. lxxix 2; Sap. i 7 29 sqq. Apoc. iv 7

1-7. ἢ πάλιν . . εὐωδιαζομένη] P²: uel rursus . . diffundens 4. ἀναδίδωσιν] ex se reddit
6. τῆς . . ἐνεργείας] cooperationem sancti Spiritus εὐωδῆ] suauissimam 7. δι' αὐτῆς] a se 9. ἄγιον] P²: sanctum 11. ἤχων] ἤχῳ P²: in sonitu 12. ἢ] uel sicut ἐμφανῶς δὲ] ἀλλ' ἐμφανῶς P²: sed manifeste 13. ὁ] qui et 15. πλήρης] pleni 17. καὶ] P²: et
18. φανερωθεὶς] manifestatur 20. ὃν] et quia 21. πιστεύοντες] M (προ πάντες) Γ 22. ἐν] qui in 23. οὐρανοῦ] ἀνθρώπου P²: hominem 25. εἶ] et ex 28. τὴν πραγματείαν] unam operationem 31. ἱερουργικὴν] sacram operationem ἱεραρχικὴν] Iren. sacerdotalem: *Anastas. Ierapoliτῆν*: hieraticum

τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν φανερῶς διαγράφον· τὸ (δέ) τέταρτον ὁμοίον λέτῳ πετομένῳ, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιπταμένην δόσιν σαφηνίζον. καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια τοῦτοις σύμμορφα εἰσιν, ἐν οἷς κἀθηται ὁ Χριστός· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡγεμονικὴν (αὐτοῦ) (καὶ 5 ἔμπρακτον) καὶ ἔνδοξον γέννησιν διηγείται (γράφον τὸ) Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος· τὸ δὲ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἀτε ἱερατικοῦ χαρακτήρος ὑπάρχον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζαχαρίου (τοῦ ἀρχ)ιερέως θυμιωτῶτος ἀρχεται· Ματθαῖος δὲ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ γέννησιν διηγείται (λέγων) Βίβλος γενέσεως, ἀνθρωπόμορφον οὖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο· Μάρκος (δέ) ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῖς 10 ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο λέγων Ἄρχῃ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σοῦ, τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διὰ τούτων δεικνύς.

45. Τὸ κατασφραγίσαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν λαὸν ὑποδεικνύει τὴν μέλλουσαν (Χριστοῦ) παρουσίαν ἐν τῷ ἐξακισχιλιοστῷ (πεντηκοσιοστῷ) ἔτει μέλλειν 15 ἔσεσθαι διὰ τῆς ψηφίδος τῶν δακτύλων ἐμφανούσης ἐξακισχιλιοστὸν πεντακοσιοστὸν.

46. Περὶ τῶν Κατηχουμένων.

Οἱ κατηχούμενοι ἐξέρχονται ὡς ἀμύητοι τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων· περὶ ὧν λέγει ὁ Κύριος ὅτι Καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω κἀκεῖνά 20 με δεῖ ἀγαγεῖν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούσουσιν (καὶ γενήσονται μία ποίμνη, εἰς ποίμνην.)

47. Τί σημαίνει τὸ εἰλητόν.

Τὸ εἰλητόν σημαίνει τὴν σινδόνα ἐν ἣ ἐνειλήθη τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Νικοδήμου) ἐκ τοῦ σταυροῦ καταβάν καὶ ἐν μνημείῳ τεθέν.

25 48. Περὶ τῆς Προσκομιδῆς.

Ἡ προσκομιδὴ ἡ γενομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ ἐμφαίνει τὸν Κρανίου τύπον ἐν ᾧ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστός· δεικνύοντος ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἐσταγῶθη.

5. S. Io. i 1 6. Cp. S. Lc. i 9 8. S. Mt. i 1 10. S. Mc. i 1 sq.
19. S. Io. x 16 23. S. Mc. xv 46 26. S. Io. xix 17 27. S. Io.
xix 42, 41

1. δέ] P²: porro 2. τὴν τοῦ . . . σαφηνίζον] sancti Spiritus pedibus (ποσὶν προ
δόσιν!) uolantem praedicationem edisserens 3. τὸ μὲν γὰρ] denique 4. αὐτοῦ]
P²: eius καὶ ἔμπρακτον] *Iren.*: καὶ πατρικὴν P²: et actualem (*Iren.* et efficabilem)
5. γράφον τὸ] P²: dicens (*Iren.* dicens sic: *Anastas.* λέγων) 6. τοῦ ἀρχιερέως] P²:
summo sacerdote (*Iren.* sacerdote: *Anastas.* τοῦ ἱερέως) 8. λέγων] *Iren.* dicens:
Anastas. λέγων: dicens 9. δέ] P²: porro (*Iren.* uero: *Anastas.* δέ) 13. αἱ.
de hoc quod summus sacerdos populum signat 14. Χριστοῦ] P²: Christi
παρουσίαν] secundum aduentum πεντηκοσιοστῷ] P²: quingentesimo 15. ἐμ-
φανούσης] ostendens 19. κἀκεῖνα . . . ἀκούσουσιν] *om.* P² 20. καὶ γενή-
σονται . . . ποιμήν] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς P¹ P² 22. de uelamine 24. ὑπὸ Ἰωσ.
καὶ Νικοδ.] *Ioan.* *Ieiun.*: a Iosepho et Nicodemo καταβάν] καταβιβαθεῖς K:
depositum 25. de praeparatione sacrae oblationis 26. γενομένη] γενομένη
P²: quae fit σκευοφυλακίῳ] uasorum custodiaro

[Τίνος προτύπων ἔχον.]

Προετυπώθη δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κρανίου τόπος οὗτος ἐν τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτε ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν ὄρεων ἐκείνων τοῦ Θεοῦ κελεύσματος τὸ θυσιαστήριον [ἐκ λίθων] ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐστίβασε τὰ ἴγλα (καὶ ἔθηκε) τὸν γιόν καὶ ἀνήνεγκε κριόν [ἀντ' αὐτοῦ] εἰς ὄλοκάρποισιν· οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ ὁ ἀναρχος καὶ παλαιὸς τῶν αἰώνων 5 ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀναρχον αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν (εὐδόκησεν) ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων σαρκωθῆναι ἐξ ἀχράντου παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου ἐκ τῆς ὁσφύς Ἀβραάμ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ὄρκου ὃν ἔθηκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥστε ὑπὲρ γένους ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐφέεσται τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ μονογενοῦς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος (ἐν) τῇ σαρκὶ ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἀπαθὴς τῇ 10 θεότητι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπερχόμενος ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ [αὐτοῦ] τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐβάσταζε, καὶ ἀντὶ κριοῦ ἐτύθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἄμωμον ὡς ἄμνος σφαττόμενος τῇ λόγχῃ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς γεόμενος ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ προσφέρων ἑαυτὸν καὶ προσφερόμενος εἰς τὸ ἀνεπίγκαλ ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν καὶ τέθηκε μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀνέστη δὲ ὡς Θεὸς δι' ἣν εἶχε ὑπερκό- 15 σμιον δόξαν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ.

49. Περὶ τοῦ Χερουβικῆ Ὑμνου.

Ὁ χερουβικὸς ὕμνος ἐμφαίνει διὰ τῆς τῶν διακόνων προοδοποιήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ῥιπιδίων σεραφικῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων ἱστορίας τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ δικαίων ἀπάντων συνεισερχομένων μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων ὑπάρχοντος 20 συνεισπορευομένων καὶ προπορευομένων ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χερουβικῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἀγγελικῶν στρατιῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων χορῶν, (καὶ) αὐτῶν τάξεων ἀοράτως προτρεχουσῶν καὶ ὕμνουσῶν καὶ δορυφορουσῶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ προερχομένου εἰς μυστικὴν θυσίαν ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἐνύλων 25 βασταζομένου· μεθ' ὧν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνεισπορεύεται ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τῇ ἀναιμάκτῃ καὶ λειτουργικῇ θυσίᾳ νοερῶς θεωρούμενον περὶ καὶ θυμάρματι καὶ ἁμάρματι καπνοῦ εὐώδους, (τῷ μὲν περὶ δευκνῶν τὴν θεότητα, τῇ

2-5. Gen. xxii 2, 9, 13 5. Dan. vii 9 6. 1 Pet. i 20 7. Heb. vii 5
8. Rom. viii 32 10. 1 Pet. iv 1 11. S. Io. xix 17 14. Lit. Byz. (Lit. E. & W. 318. 34); Heb. ix 28 (Isa. liii 11) 15. S. Io. xvii 5 19. Heb. x 19
26. Act. ii 19 (Isa. li 3)

2. ὁ τοῦ Κρανίου τόπος] ὁ Κράνιος P²: et Caluaria ἐν] etiam in 3. κελεύσαντος] κελεύσαντος P²: iubente 4. καὶ ἔθηκε] Γ: et imposuit: καὶ ἤνεγκεν P²
6. ἀναρχον] συνἀναρχον P²: coaeuum εὐδόκησεν] P²: uoluit 7. παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου] καὶ θεοτόκου παρθένου P²: et uirgine Dei genetrice 10. ἐν] Γ: in
11. αὐτοῦ] om. P² 12. ἄμωμον] τὸ ἄμωμον P² ὡς ἄμνος . . . πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ] et ut agnus occisus est in latere lanceatus 14. καὶ προσφέρων . . . προσφερόμενος] semetipsum obtulit et oblatus est 15. ὑπερκόσμιον] εὐσεβέσιμον P²: priusquam mundus fieret 17. de hymno cherubim 18. διὰ τῆς . . . ἱστορίας] per diaconorum praecedentium uiamque facientium flabellorumque seraphicarum imaginationum contemplationem 20. συνεισερχομένων] qui intraturi et mansuri sunt 21. ἔμπροσθεν . . . δυνάμεων] et ante cherubicas uirtutes 22. καὶ] Γ: et ἀοράτως] uisibiliter quodammodo 24. βασιλέως] regem omnium 25. συνεισπορεύεται ἔμπροσθεν] antecedit 26. λειτουργικῇ] rationali (λογικῇ) 27. τῷ μὲν . . . καπνοῦ] τὸ μὲν πῦρ δευκνῶν τὴν θεότητα, ἡ δὲ ἀμῆς τοῦ εὐώδους καπνοῦ P²: igne quidem ostendens diuinitatem, uapore uero odoriferi fumi

δὲ ἀτμίδι τοῦ εὐώδους καπνοῦ) τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπελθόντος ἀοράτως καὶ εὐωδιάσαντος ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς καὶ ζωοθύτου καὶ ἀναιμάκτου λατρίας καὶ ὀλοκαρπώσεως τῆς διὰ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ τελειουργομένης αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας. λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου [νίκην] γενομένην
5 [καὶ τὴν] ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ κάθοδον καὶ ἀνάβασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνάστασιν τριήμερον ὁρῶσαι αἱ νοεραὶ δυνάμεις καὶ χοροστασίαι τῶν ἀγγέλων σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως βοῶσι τὸν ὕμνον τὸ Ἀλληλοῦϊα.

50. [Καὶ ἄλλως.]

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθ' ἣν ὁ Ἰωσήφ
10 καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐνείλησε σινδόνι [καθαρᾶ] καὶ ἀρώμασι καὶ μύροις αὐτὸ ἀλείψας ἐβάστασε σὺν Νικοδήμῳ καὶ ἐκήδευσεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ λελατομημένῳ ἐκ πετρᾶς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντίτυπον τοῦ ἁγίου μνήματος ἐκείνου τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸ καταθέσιον ἐν ᾧ ἐτέθη τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πανάχραντον σῶμα, ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα.

15 52. Ὁ Δίσκος ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν Ἰωσήφ καὶ Νικοδήμου τῶν κηδευσάντων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ ἐνθα ἐπιφαίνεται ὁ Χριστός, κύκλον οὐρανοῦ ἐμφαίνων ἐν μικρᾷ περιγραφῇ, τὸν νοητὸν ἥλιον Χριστὸν ὁρῶν ἐν τῷ ἄρτεφ ὁρῶμενον.

53. Τὸ Ποτήριον τίνος ἔχει τύπον.

20 Τὸ ποτήριον ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ σκεύους οὗ ἐδέξαντο τὸ ἐκβλυσθὲν τῆς αἱμαχθείσης ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπομύρισμα. ἔστι δὲ πάλιν τὸ ποτήριον κατὰ τὸν κρατήρα ὃν γράφει Κύριος ἦτοι ἡ Σοφία καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκέρασε τὸ ἕαγτοῦ αἷμα ἀντὶ τοῦ οἴνου ἐκείνου καὶ προέθηκε ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ λέγων τοῖς πᾶσι Πίετε τὸ αἷμά μου
25 ἀντὶ τοῦ οἴνου κεκερασμένον ὑμῖν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

51. Περὶ τοῦ Δισκοκαλύμματος.

Τὸ δισκοκαλύμμα ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ σογδαρίου ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς (καὶ) τοῦ προσώπου περικαλύπτων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ.

7. *Litt. E. & W.* 379. 7 10. S. Mc. xv 46, S. Mt. xxvii 59 11. Cr. S. Io. xix 39 sq. 12. S. Mt. xxvii 60, S. Mc. xv 46 22. *Prov.* ix 1 sq. 24. S. Mt. xxvi 28, *Litt. E. & W.* 394. 22 28. S. Io. xx 7

2. διὰ . . . [ζωοθύτου] per mysticam et uiuam hostiam 3. ὀλοκαρπώσεως . . . [οἰκονομίας] holocaustum quod in dispensatione crucis et mortis effectum et consummatum est Christi 9. *tit.* de sacerdotibus et diaconibus portantibus sanctam patenam 13. τὸ καταθέσιον] repositorium 14. ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα] *scriptum modo tituli* P¹ P²: in sancta mensa 15. *tit.* de disco 16. ἐρμηνεύεται δι] item discus interpretatur ἐπιφαίνεται] ἐπιφέρεται P²: portatur 17. ὁρῶν] *χαρῶν* P²: capiens 19. de calice 20. οὗ ἐδέξαντο] ὃ ἐδέξαντο M¹: quod suscepit 21. ἀπομύρισμα] sanctae diligentiae susceptionem 22. ὃν γράφει] ubi secundum quod scriptum est Κύριος . . . Θεοῦ] sapientia id est filius Dei 23. ἐκείνου καὶ προέθηκε] illic etiam addidit (ἐκεῖ καὶ προέθηκε) 27. de disci, id est patenae, cooperimento 28. καὶ] P²: et 29. ἐν] tanquam in

54^a. Ὁ Ἄηρ τί δηλοῖ.

Τὸ καταπέτασμα ἦτον ὁ ἀήρ ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται ἀντὶ τοῦ λίθου οὗ ἠσφάλισε τὸ μνημεῖον Ἰωσήφ ὅνπερ καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἡ Πιλᾶτου κοκτωδιά.

55. (Ὁ δὲ πᾶσι προσφωνούμενος πνευματικός Ἀσπασμὸς τὴν ἐσομένην πάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων [ἀρρήτων] ἀγαθῶν ἀποκαλύψεως κατὰ πίστιν τε καὶ ἀγάπην ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ ὁμογνωμοσύνην καὶ ταυτότητα λογικὴν, δι' ἣν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λόγον καὶ Θεὸν οἰκείωσιν οἱ ἄξιοι δέχονται, προτυποὶ καὶ προδιαγράφει. λόγου γὰρ σύμβολον τὸ στόμα καθ' ὃν μάλιστα πᾶσιν ἅπαντες οἱ λόγου μετεληφότες ὡς λογικοὶ καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μόνῳ Λόγῳ καὶ παντὸς αἰτίῳ λόγου συμφύονται.)

56. (Ἡ δὲ . . . γινομένη Κλείσις τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τὴν τε τῶν ὕλικῶν δηλοῖ πάροδον καὶ τὴν γενησομένην μετὰ τὸν φοβερὸν ἐκείνον ἀφορισμὸν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτέραν ψῆφον εἰς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἤτοι τὸν νυμφῶνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῶν ἁγίων εἴσοδον καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπάτην ἐνεργείας τελείαν ἀποβολήν.)

57. (Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θείου Συμβόλου τῆς πίστεως γινομένη παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογία τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἐσώθημεν παραδόξοις λόγοις τε καὶ τρόποις τῆς πανσόφου περὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας γενησομένην μυστικὴν εὐχαριστίαν κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα προσημαίνει· δι' ἧς εὐγνώμονας ἐπὶ τῇ θεῖᾳ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἑαυτοὺς συνιστῶσιν οἱ ἄξιοι· πλὴν ταύτης τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπειρῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀντεισαγαγεῖν ἄλλο τι καθ' ὅτιοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντες.)

58. Ἴδου ἐσταύρωται ὁ Χριστός, τέθραπται ἡ ζωὴ, ἠσφαλίσθη ὁ τάφος, ἐσφραγίσθη ὁ λίθος· πρόσκειται ὁ ἱερεὺς, (συνεισέρχεται ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς δυνάμεσιν)· οὐκεὶ ὡς (ἐν) ἐπιγεῖῳ τόπῳ ἐστὼς ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ φοβεροῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ παριστάμενος, θεωρεῖ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἀνερμήνευτον καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον. ὁμολογεῖ τὴν χάριν, κηρύττει τὴν ἀνάστασιν, σφραγίζει τὴν πίστιν τῆς (ἀγίας) Τριάδος, πρόσκειται λευχειμωνῶν ὁ ἄγγελος ἐν τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ τάφου, ἀποκλιῶν τῇ χειρὶ, δεικνύων τῷ σχήματι, βοῶν τῇ φωνῇ, ἐντρόμως διὰ τοῦ διακόνου κηρύττων τὴν τριήμερον ἔγερσιν, ὑψῶν τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ λέγων Στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, ἰδοὺ πρώτη ἡμέρα· [καὶ] πρόσχωμεν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἀναφορᾷ, ἰδοὺ δευτέρα ἡμέρα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν, ἰδοὺ τρίτη ἡμέρα. ὁ λαὸς βοᾷ τὴν

2. S. Mt. xxvii 66 4-10. S. Maximus Mystag. 17 11-15. *ib.* 15
16-21. *ib.* 18 26. Eph. v 32, iii 4 28. S. Mt. xxviii 2 30-32. *Litt.*
E. & W. 321

1. de uelo 3. ὅνπερ] ὅπερ P²: quod 4. *tit.* cuius sit symbolum diuinum
osculum ex sancti Maximi dictis 11. *tit.* cuius symbolum sit obseratio ostiorum;
eiusdem 15. ἀποβολήν] + τε καὶ ἀρνησιν M¹: et abnegationem 16. *tit.* quid
inuat diuinum fidei symbolum: eiusdem 22. *tit.* qualis debeat esse sacerdos
sancto assistens altari ἠσφαλίσθη . . . ἐσφραγίσθη] ἠσφαλίσται . . . ἐσφράγισται P²
23. συνεισέρχεται . . . δυνάμεσιν] P²: conuenit cum angelicis virtutibus: συνίρχεται
M¹ 24. ἐν] P²: in ὡς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ] ὡς ἐπουρανίῳ P²: et tanquam supercaelesti
27. ἀγίας] P²: sanctae 28. ἀποκλιῶν] ἀποκλιέει P¹: reuoluit 29. δεικνύων]
ostendit ἐντρόμως] ἐντρομος P²: perterritus 31. καὶ] *om.* P²

τῆς ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ χάριν, Ἐλεον εἰρήνης, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως· ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν λαὸν διδάσκει, τὴν (διὰ) τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαθηκὸς τριαδικὴν θεογνωσίαν, Ἡ χάρις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ὁ λαὸς συνομολογεῖ καὶ συνεχέεται καὶ λέγει Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου. εἶτα
 5 πάντας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀναβιβάζων εἰς τὴν [ἀνω] Ἱεροσολίμην τὴν ἐπογράμειον, ἐν ᾗ ἔστῳτες ἦσαν οἱ πόδες ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀγλαῖς σοῦ Ἱεροσολίμην, εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ, [καὶ] βοᾷ Βλέπετε· ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας· οἱ πάντες διαμαρτύρονται λέγοντες Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ· (ὁ λαὸς συντίθεται λέγων Ἀξιὸν καὶ δίκαιον εὐχαριστήριον ὑμῶν
 10 ἀναπέμποντας τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι ἄνω ἔχειν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα ζητοῦντας τὴν κατοικίην τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ).

54^b. [Περὶ τοῦ Καταπετάσματος.]

Τὸ καταπέτασμα λέγεται διὰ τὸν λέγοντα ἀπόστολον [ὅτι] Ἐχομεν παρρησίαν εἰς τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν
 15 ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦτέστι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἱερέα μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

59. εἶτα πρόσεισιν ὁ ἱερεὺς μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ θρόνῳ (τῆς χάριτος) τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως ἀπαγγέλλων τῷ Θεῷ καὶ λαλῶν οὐκέτι διὰ νεφέλης ὡς ποτὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου
 20 ἀλλὰ ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτεῶν, [καὶ] μεμύηται τὴν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος θεογνωσίαν καὶ πίστιν, καὶ μόνος μόνῳ προσλαλεῖ Θεῷ, μυστήρια ἀπαγγέλλων ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὰ κεκρυμμένα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν, ἡγνὴ δὲ φανερωθέντα ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἅπερ ἡμῖν ἐξηγήσατο ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς.
 25 καθὼς γὰρ ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Μωϋσεῖ ἀοράτως καὶ ὁ Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς μέσον τῶν δύο χειροβίμῃ ἐστὼς ἐν τῷ ἱλαστηρίῳ καὶ κατακύπτων διὰ τὴν ἄσπεκτον καὶ ἀθεώρητον τῆς θεότητος δόξαν τε καὶ λαμπρότητα τὴν οὐράνιον λατρείαν νοερῶς ὀρᾷ καὶ μνεῖται, καὶ τῆς ζωαρχικῆς ὑπερουσίου Τριάδος τὴν [θείαν] ἑλλαμψίν, τοῦ μὲν
 30 Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τὸ ἀναρχον καὶ ἀγέννητον, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ καὶ Λόγου τὸ συνἀναρχον καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ γεννητόν, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὸ συναίδιον

1-9. *Litt. E. & W.* 321 5. *Gal.* iv 25, *Heb.* xii 22 6. *Ps.* cxli 2,
Zach. viii 3 13. *Heb.* x 19-21 17. *Heb.* iv 16 18. *Heb.*
 x 22 19. *Ex.* xl 22 20. *2 Cor.* iii 18 22. *Col.* i 26 23. *2 Tim.* i 10
 24. *S. Ia.* i 18

2. τὴν διὰ . . . θεογνωσίαν] ἦν διὰ . . . μεμάθηκε . . . θεογνωσίαν Γ: trinam Dei cognitionem quam per Christi gratiam didicit διὰ] P^a: per 5. ἄνω] om. Γ
 6. σου] Dei 9. ὁ λαὸς . . . Ἱερουσαλήμ] M¹: populus pollicetur . . . Hierusalem
 13-16. *In lat. hoc legitur post. cap. 54 a* 13. τὸ καταπέτασμα] rursusque uelum
 17. *h. l.* de his quae mystice celebrantur a sacerdote εἶτα] deinde post haec
 τῆς χάριτος] P^a: gratiae 19. λαλῶν] συλλαλῶν P^a: colloquens 20. καὶ]
 om. P^a 25. ἐλάλησεν] ἐλάλει P^a: loquebatur 26. μέσον τῶν] medius
 inter 28. δόξαν] gloriam *cod. Par.*: gratiam *cod. Cam.* 29. ὑπερουσίου]
 et supersubstantialis ἑλλαμψίν] splendorem contemplans

καὶ ὁμοφύεες καὶ ἑκπορευτόν, Τριάδα ἁγίαν κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἦσαν
 προσώπων ἀσύγχυτον αἰδιότητα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἔνωσιν ἀδιαίρετον
 καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον θεότητα καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ δόξαν, καὶ νοερώς ὄρα καὶ βοᾷ
 τὴν τῶν σεραφικῶν δυνάμεων τρισάγων δοξολογίαν, τὰ μὲν χερουβίμ (ἐπισκιά-
 ζοντα, τὰ δὲ σεραφίμ) κεκραγότα· μεθ' ὧν βοᾷ (τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ἀδόντων. 5
 εἶτα ὁ λαὸς ἀντὶ τῶν χερουβικῶν καὶ τετραμόρφων ζώων βοᾷ) *ἅγιος ἅγιος
 ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαώθ, τουτέστιν ὁ τρισάγιος καὶ εἰς Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων
 ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὀψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν δόγματι Κυρίου. [τὸ
 ὡσαννὰ ἐστὶν εὐχολογία δὴ ὡς φῶς ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.]

60. Περὶ τῶν Ῥιπιδίων καὶ τῶν διακόνων.

Τὰ δὲ ῥιπίδια καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἐμφαίνουσι τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα σεραφίμ καὶ τὴν
 τῶν πολυομμάτων χερουβίμ περιφέρειαν· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπουρανίων
 (καὶ) ὑπερκοσμίων ἱερῶν [ὄντως] τάξιν οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια μιμοῦνται. καὶ
 γὰρ τετράμορφα ζῶα ἀντιφωνητικῶς ἀλλήλων ἀντιδεχόμενα βοῶσι, τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ζῶον τὸ εἰς ὁμοίωμα λέοντος βοᾷ *ἅγιος· τὸ δὲ τέταρτον τὸ εἰς ὁμοίωμα 15
 ἀνθρώπου βοᾷ Κύριος σαβαώθ· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον (τὸ) εἰς ὁμοίωμα μύσχου βοᾷ
 *ἅγιος· τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ εἰς ὁμοίωμα ἀετοῦ βοᾷ *ἅγιος· (ἐν) τρισὶν ἁγιασμοῖς εἰς
 μίαν συνιοῦσι κυριότητα [καὶ] δύναμιν καὶ θεότητα, καθὼς Ἡσαΐας (ὁ προφήτης)
 τεθέαται ὅτε εἶδεν τὸν Κύριον ἐπὶ θρόνον ἕψηλοῦ (καὶ ἐπηρμένου) καὶ τὰς
 σεραφικὰς δυνάμεις κῆκλα ἐστῶσας καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς ἐπλήσθη ὁ οἶκος κηροῦ· 20
 τότε ἀπεστάλη ἐν τῶν σεραφίμ καὶ ἔλαβεν ἄνθρακα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἐκ τῆ λαβίδι
 ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θυγαστηρίου· σημαίνει τὸν ἱερέα καὶ αὐτὸν κατέχοντα τὸν
 νοερὸν ἄνθρακα Χριστὸν τῇ λαβίδι τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ
 καὶ ἀγιαζόντα καὶ καθαίροντα τοὺς δεχομένους καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντας. καὶ
 γὰρ εἰς οὐράνια καὶ ἀχειροποίητα [καὶ] ἄγια εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἐνεφανίσθη 25
 ἐν δόξῃ [τῷ προσώπῳ] τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς
 μέγας διεληλυθὼς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς· καὶ ἔχουσαν αὐτὸν παράκλητον πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα
 καὶ ἰλασμόν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (ὡς καταρτισάμενον ἡμῖν τὸ ἅγιον καὶ
 τίμιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα λῆτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων) καθὼς αὐτὸς λέγει Πάτερ ἁγίων ἀγίους
 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκας μοι ἵνα ὡς καὶ ἀγίοι ἁγιασμένοι καὶ θέλω ἵνα 30

5-8. *Litt. E. & W.* 323 sq. 7. Ps. lxxix 7 9. Ps. cxvii 23
 15-17. *Litt. E. & W.* 323 19-23. Isa. vi 1, 2, 4, 6 25. Heb. ix 24
 26. Heb. vi 20, iv 14 27. I Io. ii 1 29. S. Mt. xx 28, S. Io. xvii 11,
 17, 19, 24, 23, 24

2. αἰδιότητα] ιδιότητα P¹: proprietatem 4. ἐπισκιάζοντα . . . σεραφίμ] ἐπισκιάζοντα τὰ σεραφίμ P²: ἐπισκιάζοντων τῶν δὲ σεραφίμ M¹: obumbrantes et seraphim
 5. τὸν ἐπινίκιον . . . βοᾷ] P²: triumphalem . . . clamat ἀδόντων] clamantes 10. ἐκ
 diaconibus rhipizantibus 12. περιφέρειαν] ambitus 13. καὶ] P²: et
 14. ἀλλήλων ἀντιδεχόμενα] inuicem respondentia 15. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον . . .
 σαβαώθ] legitur post τὸ δὲ τρίτον . . . ἅγιος P² lat. 16. τὸ] M¹ 17. ἐν] P²: in
 18. συνιοῦσι] concurrentem ὁ προφήτης] P¹: propheta 19. καὶ ἐπηρμένον]
 P²: et eleuatum 21. τότε] τὸ δὲ P²: illud uero quod 28. ὡς καταρτισάμενον
 . . . πάντων] P²: + ἡμῶν M¹: qui perfecit nobis proprium suum et sanctum corpus
 redemptionem pro omnibus nobis 30. ᾧ] ὡς P²: quos

ὧσιν ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ καὶ θεωρῶσι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμήν, ὅτι ἠγάπησας ἀγτοῖς καθὼς ἐμέ ἠγάπησας (πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.)

[Εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπαγγέλλει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ τὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσεως μυστήρια, τὴν ἐξ ἀγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου ἀνέκφραστον καὶ ἔνδοξον 5 γέννησιν, τὴν ἀναστροφὴν καὶ ἐμπολίτευσιν τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ, τὴν σταύρωσιν, τὸν θάνατον, τὴν ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ κατάβασιν, τὴν τῶν δεσμῶν ψυχῶν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν τριήμερον καὶ ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάστασιν, τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀνάληψιν, τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καθέδραν, τὴν δευτέραν καὶ μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ ἔνδοξον παρουσίαν πάλιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ μυσταγωγεῖται 10 γαστέρα Θεὸν ἀγέννητον, τούτεστι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα, γαστέρα πρὸ ἐωςφόρου καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων τὸν Υἱὸν γενῶσαν, καθὼς λέγει 'Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωςφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. ὄνπερ καὶ παρακαλεῖ τελειῶσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ γενηθῆναι ἥτοι μεταποιηθῆναι τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ πληρωθῆσεται τὸ 'Εγὼ σήμερον γενένηκά σε.]

15 [Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

Ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ βουλήσει τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀοράτως παρὸν ὑποδεικνύει τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν θείαν καὶ τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἐπισφραγίζει καὶ τελειοῖ τὰ προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι 'Υπὲρ ἀγίων ἐγὼ ἀγιάζω 20 ἐμαυτὸν ἵνα ὡς καὶ ἀγτοὶ ἠγιασμένοι, ὅπως ὁ τρώγων μοι τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένη καὶ ἐν ἀγτῷ. ὅθεν γενόμενοι θείων μυστηρίων αὐτόπται καὶ μέτοχοι ζωῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ κοινῶν θείας φύσεως δοξάζομεν τὸ μέγα καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον μυστήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅθεν δοξάζοντες βοῶμεν Σὲ ὕμνοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα· σὲ ἐδλογοῦμεν τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ 25 Λόγον· σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· τριάς γὰρ ἐν μονάδι καὶ μονὰς ἐν τριάδι, ὁμοούσιος καὶ ἀδιαίρετος, παράδοξον ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν προσώπων καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς μιᾶς φύσεως καὶ θεότητος. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπικεκυφώτως ποιεῖν τὸν ἱερέα τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν ἐμφαίνει τὸ συλλαλεῖν ἀοράτως τῷ ἀοράτῳ Θεῷ ὅθεν καὶ τὴν θείαν (φωτοφάνειαν) ὄρᾳ καὶ 30 τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς δόξης τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμφαιδρύνεται καὶ ὑποστέλλει ἑαυτὸν τῷ φόβῳ καὶ τῇ αἰδῷ καθὼς Μωϋσῆς ὅτε εἶδε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν εἶδει πυρὸς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔντρομος γενόμενος ἀπέστρεψε καὶ ἐκάλυψε τὸ πρόσωπον ἀγτοῦ εὔλαβετο γάρ, φησί, κατανοῆσαι τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ.]

[Περὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

35 Γίνεται ἡ μνήμη τῶν κεκοιμημένων πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς τὸν καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων τὴν κυρίαν ἔχοντα καὶ δεσπόζοντα ἐπογρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ

5-9. *Litt. S. Bas. & S. Chrys. (Litt. E. & W. 326-329)* 10. Ps. cix 3 14. Ps. ii 7 16-19. *Lit. S. Bas. (Litt. E. & W. 329 sq.)* 19. S. Io. xvii 19 20. S. Io. vi 56 22. 2 Pet. i 4 24. *Litt. E. & W. 329* 32 sq. Act. vii 32, Ex. iv 6 35. Num. xvi 22 36. Phil. ii 10

2. πρὸ . . . κόσμου] P²: ante constitutionem mundi 29. φωτοφάνειαν] P²
35. πνευμάτων] *Anec. fons* 1555 A: πατέρων P¹ P²

ἀγίου Πνεύματος πάντας προσκαλουμένον ζῶντας καὶ μεταστάντας ἐνθάδε πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖθεν μονὰς καὶ καταπαύσεις εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προέλευσιν συναθροισθῆναι καὶ προφθάσαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοιτισθῆναι τὴν φωνὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ, ὡς πάντων τῶν ἐν αἴθρου ψυχῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολυθέντων διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ 5 ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ καὶ πρωτότοκος τῶν κεκοιμημένων γενόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν ὁδοποιήσας τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀθάνατον καὶ μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἀναπαύων τοὺς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἐγέρσεως αὐτοῦ κεκοιμημένους καὶ συγκαλοῦνται μετὰ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ἱεραρχῶν χριστιανῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ συνελθεῖν καὶ ἀνακλιθῆναι μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ 10 Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ τραπέζῃ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ.]

61. [Ὅθεν εἰς ἐνότητά πιστεως καὶ κοινωνίαν Πνεύματος ἀγίου ἐλθόντες διὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ γένητος ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἐγεγέρτοτος καὶ καθίστατος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς οὐκέτι ἐπὶ γῆς ἐσμεν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρεστηκότες ἐν οὐρανῷ ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶ καθὼς αὐτὸς τῷ Πατρὶ λέγει Πάτερ δίκαιε 15 ἀγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου ἵνα ὅπου εἰμί ἐγὼ κἀκεῖνοι ὡς μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ θεωροῦσι τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκας μοι ὅτι ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμέ. ὅθεν οὖν τὴν γιοθεσίαν ἀπολαβόντες καὶ ἐγκληρονόμοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι, διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἔχομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, οὕτως τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ χάριν ὁ ἱερεὺς θεωρῶν βοᾷ καὶ 20 λέγει ἈΒΒΑ ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος ἀξίωσον ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτως μετὰ παρηγορίας τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε καὶ λέγειν· ὁ λαὸς βοᾷ Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, Χριστός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς χριστιανοὶ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπικεκλήθη ἡμῖν. Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐστὶν ὡς λέγει 25 Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ· τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἀγίῳ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ βασιλεύειν πέλει, τὸ ἀγιάζον καὶ φωτίζον τὰς νοεὰς καὶ ἀγγελικὰς στρατίας καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπων ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ πιστεύοντα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς οἰκονομία τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστίν. Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν 30 ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐπιούσιος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ὢν καὶ προὖν καὶ ὁ μέλλον, ὁ ἀδαπάνητος καὶ αἰεὶ διαμένων καὶ διδοὺς ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ ὃν διὰ βαπτίσματος δεξάμενοι τοῦτον λαβεῖν πάντοτε αἰτούμεθα. Καὶ ἄφεσι ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα καὶ πταίσματα ἡμῶν.]

[Ἡ δὲ παναγία τε καὶ σεπτὴ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ μακαρίου Θεοῦ [καὶ Πατρὸς] 35

3. Ps. xciv 2, lxx 9 6. 1 Cor. xv 20, Aroc. i 5 : *Lit. S. Bas. (Litt. E. & W. 327)* 10. S. Mt. vii 11 12. Eph. iv 13, 2 Cor. xiii 14 13. 1 Th. v 10, Rom. viii 34 15. Col. iii 1, S. Io. xvii 25, 16, 11, 24, 23 18. Gal. iv 5, Rom. viii 17 19. Eph. ii 8 sq., Gal. iv 6 21-24. *Litt. E. & W. 339* 23. S. Ia. ii 7 24. Ier. xiv 9 26. S. Lc. xvii 21 28. S. Io. i 9, iii 18 32. S. Io. vi 33 35 sqq. S. Maximus *Mystag.* 20

30. *vloῦ] leg. θεοῦ* 35. *tit. cuius sit symbolum oratio dominica* 35 sqq. ἡ δι παναγία . . . ἐφαιδρυναν] *praeterea sancta . . . splendidos reddiderunt*

ἐπίκλησις τῆς δοθησομένης ἐνυποστάτου τε καὶ ἐνυπάρκτου κατὰ θεωρεῖν καὶ χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος υἰοθεσίας ἐστὶ σύμβολον καθ' ἣν, πάσης ὑπερρικωμένης τε καὶ καλυπτομένης ἀνθρωπίνης ιδιότητος τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τῆς χάριτος, υἱοὶ Θεοῦ χρηματίζουσιν τε καὶ ἔσονται πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ὄσοι [δι' ἀρετῶν] ἀπεν-
5 τεύθεν ἤδη τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἀγαθότητος κάλλει ἑαυτοὺς λαμπρῶς τε καὶ ἐπιδόξως ἐφαίδρυναν.)

62. [Εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς βοᾷ τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ λέγει ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὁμοιοπαθὲς ὑμῶν· βλέπετε θεωρεῖτε· ἰδοὺ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαγόμενος. ὁ λαὸς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ λέγει Εἰς ἅγιος καὶ Θεὸς ἀναμάρτητος ὁ
10 Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς σὺν Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· ἀγτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.]

(Ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς μυστικῆς ἱεουργίας παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ γινόμενη τοῦ Εἰς ἅγιος καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ὁμολογία τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ νοῦν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῆς θείας ἀπλότητος κρύφιον γενησομένην τῶν μυστικῶς τε καὶ σοφῶς κατὰ
15 Θεὸν τετελεσμένων συναγωγῆν τε καὶ ἔνωσιν δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τῶν νοητῶν αἰῶνι, καθ' ὃν τῆς ἀφανοῦς καὶ ὑπεραρρήτου δόξης τὸ φῶς ἐνοπτεύοντες τῆς μακαρίας μετὰ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων καὶ αὐτοὶ δεκτικοὶ γίνονται καθαρότητος.)

(Μεθ' ἣν ὡς τέλος πάντων ἢ τῶν μυστηρίων Μετάδοσις γίνεται, μεταποιούσα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ ὁμοίους τῷ κατ' αἰτίαν Ἀγαθῷ κατὰ χάριν καὶ
20 μέθεξιν ἀποφαίνουσα τοὺς ἀξίως μεταλαμβάνοντας, ἐν μηδενὶ αὐτοῦ λειπομένους κατὰ τὸ [ἐφικτὸν] ἀνθρώποις [καὶ] ἐνδεχόμενον ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι εἰναί τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι θέσει κατὰ τὴν χάριν θεοῦ, διὰ τὸν αὐτοὺς ὅλως πληρώσαντα ὄλον Θεὸν καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας κενὸν καταλείψαντα.)

63. (Κοινωνία κέκληται ἢ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάληψις διὰ τὸ τὴν πρὸς
25 Χριστὸν ἡμῖν χαρίζεσθαι ἔνωσιν καὶ κοινωνοῦς ἡμᾶς τῆς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν βασιλείας.)

[Ὁ μὲν Μωϋσῆς αἶμα ἑρράντισε τῶν τράγων καὶ μόσχων τῷ λαῷ λέγων Τοῦτο
(τὸ) αἶμα τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἔδωκε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον αἶμα ἐξέχεε καὶ ἐκέρασε (τὸ ποτήριον) τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης λέγων
Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἶμά μου τὸ κλύμενον καὶ διαρραπνιζόμενον
30 εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ὥστε ὁσάκις ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν (μου) ὁμολογεῖτε.]

7. S. Iac. v 17 8. Isa. lvii 15. 9 sq. *Lit. E. & W.* 341 10. Rom. xi 36
12-23. S. Maximus *Mystag.* 21 24-25. S. Isid. Pel. *Err.* i 228 26. Heb.
ix 19 sq., Ex. xxiv 6-8 29. I Cor. xi 24, S. Mt. xxvi 27 sq. 30. I Cor. xi 26
31. *Lit. S. Bas. (Lit. E. & W. 328)*

12. *tit.* quid significet finis mysticae missae, id est cum exclamatur
unus sanctus et caetera: sancti Maximi 12-23. ἢ δὲ κατὰ . . . κατα-
λείψαντα] confessio autem . . . inane reliquit 24. *tit.* quare dicatur
communio 24-25. *κοινωνία* . . . *βασιλείας*] porro communio . . . regni com-
municatores 27. τὸ] P² 28. τὸ ποτήριον] M¹ 31. μου] M¹

[NOTE.—The above text is only provisional. I cannot guarantee its accuracy in detail, since the collations were of necessity hurriedly made, and the MSS used are written with such singular carelessness that sense can be made of them only by very free emendation. But the present text is sufficient to indicate the contents of the treatise and the character of Anastasius's original.]

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS.

A.

ANGLO-SAXON SACRAMENTARIES.

RESEARCH among collections of manuscript fragments, bindings and fly-leaves, and between the chapters of treatises, may be monotonous and tedious, but is seldom without its reward. Stray leaves are occasionally found which illustrate and explain the comparatively few really ancient western *Liturgica*.¹ It will not be considered waste of time or space to rescue and publish such fragments which would otherwise be practically inaccessible; more sacramentaries may be discovered in course of time, but meanwhile we may well welcome all such scraps of antiquity.

As an instance we may cite MS Paris B.N. lat. 9488, which consists of a large number of liturgical fragments 'tirés de la couverture des mss.' which were found apparently loose in 1817 when they were collected and bound in order of date of writing. Reserving for a future number of the *Rassegna Gregoriana* the notice of a page which contains a trilingual musical notation, I select two of the fragments in this collection as throwing light on early English sacramentaries and one which contains hymns by an Irish hand.

A¹

Ff. 3 and 4 of Paris B.N. 9488 are two separate leaves, here cited as A¹, of a sacramentary which must have measured originally about 40 × 30 cm., but the pages have been so cut that they are now from 280 to 283 mm. long and from 205 to 220 mm. broad, four lines being missing from the top of the first and one line from the bottom of the second leaf. The manuscript is written in two columns of twenty-five lines each by a large rounded half uncial Anglo-Saxon hand of the eighth century, which bears a striking similarity to the martyrology of St Willibrord, now Paris B.N. MS lat. 18037 (referred to later on), which I have ventured to ascribe to the first ten, if not five, years of that century, and also to the St Chad's Gospel book at Lichfield and the Lindisfarne Gospels; the initials, which are in the margin, are filled with patches of red and yellow colour.

¹ Omitting Gallican and Irish Sacramentaries, I am only aware of five complete manuscripts which can be dated with certainty before the year 800: the Leonine, two 'Gelasian' (Wilson's V. and R.), the 'Gellonian' A. D. 772-795, and S. Gall. MS 350, which is, however, not perfect.

There is no indication of provenance, the various scribbings on the pages being so late as to be of no value for that purpose, but the great similarity to MS 18037, which is clearly an Echternach one, suggests some monastery in the East of the Frankish kingdom which had inherited English MSS or where English scribes were employed. A search among the other Echternach MSS in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* did not reveal any one which looked as if it had once had this fragment as its fly-leaf. As there is no extant sacramentary written in the eighth or ninth century by an English hand, it would have been highly interesting if these leaves could be proved to have formed part of one. But the Anglo-Saxon script does not necessarily involve the book having been written either in or for England; it may, however, be conjectured, that even if it was written for a foreign house, it may very possibly have been copied from an English exemplar. At any rate it testifies to the practice of English missionaries in Germany in the eighth century; where there was no previous local use which they might have desired to adopt, they would in all probability have continued the use to which they had been accustomed, which, in the case of Willibrord and his friends, would have been their old north English liturgy, not the Scottish rites of Iona but those of Durham or Ripon, the practice of Benedict Biscop, of St Cuthbert and St Wilfred.

Hence the liturgist will at once endeavour to ascertain whether the fragment is Gregorian, like all extant missals written or used in England before the Norman Conquest, or whether it supports the contention of Mr H. A. Wilson¹ that the older as well as the newer 'Gelasian' were in use up to the end of the ninth century. Its evidence is clearly in favour of the latter, for although it does not follow the order and differs from the text of the chief manuscript of that family (V), it agrees with the later 'Gelasian' or mixed Sacramentary S (MS St Gall. 348), usually ascribed to about the year 800 which, as Mr Wilson remarks, 'seems to have left a strong trace on the English books'. His edition of the 'Gelasian' (Oxford, 1894) contains on pp. 365 and 366 the first words of the collects, &c., for the masses of a martyr, a confessor, for virgins and for several saints from that manuscript and from the kindred MS R (the Rheinau No. 30 at Zurich, of the eighth century): the first leaf of our fragment has the preface, post communion, *super populum* and three *aliae orationes* of the first mass, whilst the second leaf has the preface, post communion and *alia oratio* of the mass for virgins, and the two collects, the *secretæ* or *super oblata* and preface of that for several saints; the only difference between the two is that the fragment provides an episcopal benediction and possibly an additional

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iii (April 1902) p. 429, 'English Mass Books in the Ninth Century.'

collect for the first mass. In other words, with this exception, our two leaves with the one missing between them are practically identical with S and with R so far as it goes, and the variants in their texts are so unimportant that we may feel sure that the later Gelasian sacramentaries were in use in the north of England in the eighth century.

A²

Fol. 5 of the same collection is a larger leaf, here cited as A², which has been cut away both at the top and at the bottom so that the twelve remaining lines measure from 255 to 260 mm. in height and from 165 to 170 mm. in breadth; there are no double columns, and the fragment clearly does not belong to the same manuscript as A¹, though there is a certain resemblance between the two scripts. It is evidently later, and cannot well be ascribed to any date before 900. Some German neum-accented and the first words of a sequence have been scribbled on it, but we have no clue as to its provenance, though the punctuation marks, the accents and the contraction signs, all point to an Anglo-Saxon hand.

The prayers are not provided with titles but, judging by analogy, we may describe the *missa* as made up of two collects, two *secretæ*, a preface, a *post communionem* and a *super populum*, the usual arrangement in most 'Gelasian' sacramentaries and in that of Rheims, *circa* A. D. 800. All the contents are to be found in the later Gelasian MSS R and S, but the five prayers which here form one mass are there apportioned to five different ones for use in Advent and Lent. The liturgical footnotes will shew where they are found and how far they are common to the various liturgical families. The composer of the mass of our fragment, intending it probably for some day in Lent, seems to have chosen his materials *ad libitum*; according to Dom Cabrol (*Revue Bénédictine* vol. xxii part 2) before the ninth century the barriers between the various liturgical families had been removed, and their documents had so far become common property that it was not unusual to make up a conglomerate office from Leon., Gel., Greg., &c., at the pleasure of the composer.

It might have been considered sufficient to give the variants from the two manuscripts R and S to which the fragments are akin, but it is not without interest to look back and see how far pre-existing service-books were utilized, and looking forward to ascertain in what respects the fragments, if representative of English use, reappear in later pre-Norman English missals such as those of St Augustine's, Canterbury, the missal of Robert of Jumièges, &c. If it seems strange that the extracts now published are so dissimilar from what one finds in those missals, allowance must be made for the difference of nearly two centuries

and for the almost universal adoption of the Gregorian sacramentary in our country; but perhaps the real explanation may be due to our ignorance of any early *liturgica* which are clearly North English. Hence A¹ is specially interesting as possibly a relic of the Northumbrian public service of the eighth century, just as the Book of Cerne gives us an insight into the private devotions used in the Mercian kingdom in the following century.

Other sacramentaries quoted are:

L. = LEONIANUM	} <i>L. A. Muratori.</i> Lit. Rom. Vet., Venet. 1748,	
G. = GELASIANUM		vol. i.
Gr. = GREGORIANUM	}	
Go. = GOTHICUM		
B. = BOBBIENSE (Gallicanum vetus)		„ „ vol. ii.

The Gelasianum is also quoted from:

W. = *H. A. Wilson.* The Gelasian Sacramentary, Oxford, 1894.

V. = MS Vatic. Regin. 316.

R. = MS Turicen. Rhenov. 30.

S. = MS Sangallense 348. (S¹ original, S² second hand.)

The readings of these two MSS are due to the kind communication of the Rev. H. A. Wilson.

Ger. = *Gerbertus.* Monum. vet. lit. aleman., S. Blas. 1777. vol. ii.

R. = *U. Chevalier.* Sacram. Remense; Biblioth. Liturg. VII, Paris, 1900.

Other Gregorian Sacramentaries:

M. = *H. Menard.* Divi Gregorii . . . liber sacramentorum. Paris, 1642.

P. (II) = *J. Pamelius.* Liturg. Latin. Colon, 1571. vol. ii.

Az. = *Asevedo.* Vetus missale Romanum . . . Rom., 1754.

Lf. = *F. E. Warren.* The Leofric missal. Oxf., 1883.

English Manuscripts of this family:

C. = *M. Rule.* The Missal of St Augustine's, Canterbury. Camb., 1896.

J. = *H. A. Wilson.* The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, H. B. S. XI, Lond., 1896.

W. = *J. W. Legg.* Missale a. u. . . Westmonasteriense, H. B. S. I, V, XII, Lond., 1890-1897.

Ros. = *H. J. Lawlor.* The Rosslyn Missal, H. B. S. XV, Lond., 1899.

D. = *G. H. Forbes.* Missale Drummondense. Burntisland, 1882.

Ambrosian:

Be. = Auctarium Solesmense I. Solesm., 1900.

P(I) = *J. Pamelius.* Liturg. Latin. Colon, 1571. vol. i.

Amb. = Missale Ambrosianum. Mediol., 1903.

Mozarabic:

Mz. = *M. Ferotin.* Monum. eccl. Liturgica V. Liber Ordinum.
Paris, 1904.

The references are to pages, except to Muratori and W. (columns).

In the following transcription expanded letters are in italic type; words or letters either illegible or cut off from the MS are in square brackets; the original punctuation has been retained.

A¹

[In natale unius martyris]

fol. 3. col. 1

pecca]ti Utinte eticia + ¹ ^a exultemus In misericordia In quo ille
letatur in gloria . . .

5 POST COMMUNIONEM Sumpsimus *domine sancti* .il.
martyris solemnitate celestia sacramenta cuius
suffragiis *quaesumus* largiaris Ut quod temporaliter
gerimus, æternis gaudiis consequamur . . .

10 SUPER POPULUM Pleps tua *domine sancti* martyris
[tui .il. te glorificatione magnificet et eodem semper
col. 2

pre]cante te mereatur ² habere rectorem . . .
15 ALIAS ORACIONES Sancti .il. martyris tui *domine*
nos oracio *sancta* conciliet . quesacri[s] uirtutibus
ueneranda refulge[t]

Beati martyris tui .il. nos *quaesumus domine*
precibus adiuuemur et eius digna ^b solemnia
celebrantes ^c tuo nomine ^d facnos ^d semper esse
deuotus + ⁴ *per* ⁵

¹ for *etiam*. ² *te mere*, the top of the letters has been so cut off that they can only be deciphered by means of the printed text. ³ for *nomini*. ⁴ for *devotos*. ⁵ *per* is represented by the Tironian note resembling Z exactly as in the *Missale Gothicum*, fol. 252.

ll. 2-3. Preface for one martyr, beginning: *Te semper in laude martyrum honorare*, Go. 638, Ger. 315 (R. S.) and (omitting the first sentence and beginning *Et in praesenti festiuitate*) Gr. 282, 347, M. 1 and in later missals, J. 234, LL 171, C. 128. ^a *etiam* only in Go. Ger.

ll. 4-7. Post communion in all sacramentaries including L. 305 and the *missa omnimoda* of Mz. 243. n. 1, for one martyr (as here) in Ger. (R. S.) 215, M. 162, Be. 137, S. Fabian, G. 638, SS. John and Paul, Lf. 147; apostles J., D., votive mass of All Saints, W., virgins, C. C. C. Camb. 270 (the 'red book of Derby'). The text of the fragment is identical with that of Ger.

ll. 8-22. These four prayers occur in the same order in Ger. 215 (i. e. S.; R. omits the third and fourth); they appear respectively as the fifth, first, second and third *aliae orationes* of the mass of one martyr, M. 163.

ll. 15-18. Be. 136. ^b *digne* M., ^c *celebramus* Be., ^d *nos* omitted M.

20 Beati martyris tui .il. nos [^o ratiocinium conlatum
non deserat quod ^o fragil]

fol. 3^{vo} col. 1

itatem nostram etmeretis tueatur et precibus,

§ § § § § § § §¹

25 Benedicat uos *dominus deus noster* etipse in cor
uestrum influat ipse loquatur in uobis etipse
operetur in uobis. Ipse graciaram suarum
ymbribus cordium uestrorum aridainriget
uacua repleat inculca fecundet *Atque* isita
intrauos [^a]

30 col. 2

operum incrementa p'e'rducat. ^f Tribue *domine*
intercedente beato martyretuo .il. cupiditatum
laqueos euitare presencium passionum certamina
superare etspiritalium nequiciarum tela
35 contemnere ^f ut rore ^a supereos sue benediccionis
infusum ^a Ita eis iugem tribuat incre[mentum]

[In natale uirginum]

fol. 4. col. 1

5 sa]cratissime uirginis martyrisquetuae .il. fes-
tiuitate laudare etbenedicere debemus ^o per
Christum dominum nostrum. ^h pro cuius care-
tates † ardore ^h ista etomnes *sanctae* uirginis †
abeata maria exemplum uirginitatis accipientes

¹ The added marks before the Benediction are evidently intended to separate it from the preceding prayer. ^a About forty letters cut off. ^b Read either *ros* or *infuso*.

ll. 19-22. Be. 137 (*super sindonem*). ^o *patrociniis collatis non deseras qui*, Ger. (S.¹), *quaesumus domine gloriosa merita prosequantur* Be.

l. 24. A benediction apparently found nowhere else, the Gelasian sacramentaries as a rule not having any. ^{f-t} is probably a collect or the beginning of a collect (Gallican, to judge by its triplicism) which has either got into the text from the margin, or was incorporated in a general preface to adapt it for a martyr's mass; *ut rore*, &c., seems to follow on *ita . . . perducat*, the vocative *domine* is scarcely possible in a benediction, and *eos . . . eis*, for *vos . . . uobis* may be due to the interpolation, but Mr W. C. Bishop (*Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1907) calls attention to similar carelessness in the Mozarabic benedictions in which sometimes the first person and sometimes the second occurs, and even the person is changed in the middle of one benediction.

ll. 1-13. The preface begins *V.D. . . . maxime hodie in beatas et* (cf. Ger. 224 (i. e. S.), M. 172, Lf. 174). ^o *debemus* seems unnecessary, but is found in S.¹ ^{h-h} *pro* omitted in Lf., *caritatis* omitted in S.¹, the source of the fragment was

presentis seculi uoluptatis † omnes¹ hac †
 dilicias † neglexerunt ^k Utipsum filium tuum
 Inuiolabilem sponsam cum ornatis lampadi
 10 [bus ei obuian]

col. 2

tes meruissent abire † ¹ Incuius
 regni gloria cum coronis uirginitatis etpalmas²
 florentibus sicut sol sine fine fulgebunt. *per*³ †
 15 POST COMMUNIONEM Adiuuent nos *quaesumus*
domine ethec misteria sanc[ta] que sumpsimus
 etbeate .il. intercessio ueneranda *per*³

ALIA ORATIO *Deus* qui interceter[a] potenciae
 tuae miracula etiam infragil[i] sexu uictoria †
 castitatis et martyrii contulisti da⁴ *quaesumus*
 20 ut [beatæ et sanctæ et uirginis]

fol. 4^{vo} col 1

martyrisque tue .il. adiuuemur meretis cuius
 beatitudinis Inradiamur exemplis,
 IN NATALE PLURIMORUM SANCTORUM ¶¶
 Presta *domine* *quaesumus* ut sicut *sanctorum* tuorum
 nos natalicia celebranda non deserunt Ita
 iugiter suffragiis¹ comitentur *per*

5 *Sancti* tui *quaesumus* *domine* iugiter nobis ate
 et ueniam postulent etperfectum⁵, *per*
 SUPER OBLATA Munera ple[bis tuæ]

col. 2

domine *quaesumus* beatorum *sanctorum* tuorum
 illorum fiant grata suffragiis etpro quorum

¹ for *habere*. ² for *palms*. ³ Tironian note for *per*, resembling z.
⁴ There is a contraction mark over *da* (= *dona*). Or is it a mark to call attention
 to the word? (see below). ⁵ for *profectum*.

perhaps a conflate version. ¹ omitted in M. Lf. ^k *contempserunt* M. Lf.; after
 this their text is quite different, ours agrees with Ger.

ll. 14-16. Ger. 224 (R. S.), G. 639, M. 173; very common in later missals
 J. D. W.

ll. 17-23. Post communion in Ger. 224 (R. S.), Be. 141, Pa. ii 206. The collect
 with a similar commencement has after *contulisti* a different termination, viz. *concede*
propitius, &c. This may account for the mark over *da*.

ll. 1 sqq. The three prayers and preface in Ger. 225 (R. S.), and, in different
 order, M. 169, 170.

ll. 1-4. G. 678, L. 406, Lf. 174. ¹ *suffragiis* G. S.¹ M. Lf.: *suffragia* L. S.²

ll. 5-6. G. 677.

- 10 triumphis tuo nomine^{1 m} offerunturⁿ ipsorum digna
 perficiantur et meritis, per
 VERE DIGNUM. ette intuorum honore sanctorum
 illorum glorificare qui et illis pro certaminis
 constanciam † ° beatitudinem tribuisti sempiternam
 15 et infirmitati nostre talia prestetisti su[ffragia]

ll. 7-11. L. 330 (SS. Peter and Paul). ^m *tui nominis* R. ⁿ *deferuntur* L.
 ll. 12-15. Lf. 174. ° S.¹ apparently had *constantiam*.

A²

fol. 5

- supplicibus † tuis^a ut ubi^a demeri[torum qua]litate
 defiditur †^b non iudicium tuum sed indulgen[tiam] ° consequi
 mereamur . per]
 COncede nobis^d omnipotens ° et misericors ° deus ut magnae
 festiuitatis [uentura] sollempnia prospero . celebramus^f
 5 affectu †¹ [pariter] que reddamus † et intenti caelestibus
 discipl[inis et] de nostris temporibus letiores. per
 dominum nostrum [. . .]
 IEiunia quæsumus † domine que sacris [exequi]mur
 institutis et nos a reatibus nostr[is] semper expe]diant
 10 et [tuam nobis] iustitiam faciant [esse placatam °]
 DA quæsumus domine fidelibus tuis die^s ieiun[is]
 pascilibus conuen[ienter] aptari ut suscepta
 sollempniter cast[igatio] corporalis cunctis ad fructum
 pro[ficiat] animarum]
 15 Vere dignum et iustum est^h omni[po]tens sempiternæ deus

¹ for *effectus*.² The only letters legible here are *ibil* ? *placabilem*.

ll. 1-2. This collect which commences: *Exaudi quæsumus domine* (or *d. q.*) *gemitus* (or *gemitum*) *populi (tui)* is found in Ger. 61 (R. S.) and Be. 55 *super populum* for Thursday after Passion Sunday, and Gr. 246, among the *orationes pro peccatis*, W. 550 used it for the blessing of ashes, but with *supplicantis* for *supplicibus tuis*. ^m *et qui* R. S.¹ Be. Gr., *ut qui* S.² W. ^b *diffidimus* in all other sources. ^c *misericordiam* in all other sources.

ll. 3-7. An Advent collect, *alia oratio*, in Ger. 209 (R. S.), Gr. 138, B. 791, M. 202, Be. 13, Lf. 130, J. 143. ^d *quæsumus* in all sources. ^e in text only. ^f so in J., all other sources have *celebremus*, except B. *celebratur*.

ll. 8-10. An Advent collect, *alia oratio*, in Ger. 61 (R. S.). G. 531, Wednesday, and Be. 56, Thursday after Passion Sunday.

ll. 11-14. *Oratio*, Friday after Passion Sunday, Ger. 35 (R. S.), Friday in Quinquagesima, G. 507. Cf. W. I. 96, first Thursday in Lent. ^g *de* occurs nowhere else and has apparently no meaning here.

l. 15 sqq. A preface apparently found nowhere else. The Leonine preface (414) *Qui non tantum nos a carnalibus* is slightly parallel, but the general tone seems

qui no[.]nibus informasti per ihesum christum
 [filium]ⁱ amalis omnibus liberasⁱ [. . .]
 per q[uem]ere fecisti quadrag []
 ieiuni[.] me diebus inleri[]
 20 fol. 5^{vo}
 ur et sumitur subreatus luxoria abi[]
 iaritia excluditur et misericordia pro []
] excluditur in iustitia et equitas sum?¹
] fornicatio et continentia suscitatur
 25] cantur discordes sociantur desiuncti †
 ? cessa]nt lites in iuriarum dormiunt plagae
] itantur uincti soluuntur claustra pa
 [te]nt et pax per omne seculum curren
] nstratur traditur cunctis credentibus
 30] plina ut sanctifica[t]os nos (?) possit
 cs (?) uenturus exciperet † et preces nostras
 suis insinuare per christum dominum nostrum
 per quem maiestatem tuam . . .
 Omnipotens sempiternus deus [qui] nobis
 35 in obseruatione ieiunium² et elemosinarum
 semine possuisti † nostrorum [remedia
 peccatorum concede nobis^k opere
 [mentis et corporis] semper tibi esse deuot[os]
 are [] e supplicium usu []
 40 po [] oblationibus.

¹ ? sumi []. ² for ieiunii.

similar to that of several Mozarabic ones, e. g. that for the fifth Sunday in Lent [Migne, P. L. lxxxv 375 sq.] *Per hoc ieiunium peccatores ad veniam reuocantur . . . fugantur daemones, comprimuntur uitia, conrescunt uirtutes.*

^b *Omnipotens . . . filium* is probably part of a collect which, as in A¹, has crept in from the margin, its commencement agrees with the following Post communion; none of the many collects commencing *Om. sem. deus qui nos*, or *nobis*, or *non* contain the word *informasti*. ¹⁻¹ also seems out of place; were it not for the final letter of *liberas*, it might be suggested that it is part of a Gallican *past orationem dominicam*.

ll. 34-38. Ger. 40 (R. S.) for Friday in Quadragesima, G. 508, Go. 569, Gal. 817.

^k due to the preceding *nobis*; all other sources have *nos*.

A³

Leaving for a moment the manuscript from which the two preceding fragments are taken, let us turn to another *missa* of Anglo-Saxon script which is undoubtedly of Echternach origin and was written in the middle of the eighth century. It is found in MS Paris B. N.

lat. 10837, an account of which can be seen in Duchesne and di Rossi's *Martyrol. Hieron.* (*Acta Sanctorum Bolland.* Nov. II p. viii), but as the value of our *missa* depends upon its provenance and date being placed beyond doubt, it is well to fix these definitely. The collation of the MS is:

ff. 45. α^1	A-D ⁸	E ⁸	F ⁸	G ¹	β^1
ff. 1	2-33	34-41	42, 43	44	45

(α and β are twelfth-century additions.)

Ff. 2-32^v contain a martyrology copied probably between 704 and 720.

Ff. 34^v-40^r, a Kalendar and f. 40^v a Computus for the years 703-721, written by one scribe some time during that cycle; the latest name by the first hand in the Kalendar is Pope Sergius (\dagger 701), and the earliest *added* are St Lambert (\dagger 705) and a monk Oedualdus who died before 705. As the names of two bishops of Treves who died in 671 and 695 are added whilst that of St Lutwinus (\dagger 713) is altogether absent, and as St Wilfred (\dagger 709), the master and friend of St Willibrord, does not occur in the original hand, we may fairly date the Kalendar within the first ten, if not five years of the eighth century. It was apparently in use in 717, if we may judge by an added mark against that year, perhaps to denote the refounding of the abbey by Charles Martel. The date 684, when St Willibrord was still at Rathmelsigi, assigned by W. Arndt (*Neues Archiv* vol. ii (1877) pp. 291-293) and A. Reiners (*Publications de la Société historique . . . de Luxembourg*, vol. xl (1889) pp. 13 sqq.), and accepted by Wattenbach and others, is due to fol. 44, the original fly-leaf, which is really the last leaf of an older and disused computus for 684-702,¹ being taken as belonging to the Kalendar, and is plainly incompatible with the names of four persons whose deaths are recorded in the Kalendar, but who died between 684 and 702.

Ff. 41^r, 41^v with cycles for 722-759 are in a later script than that of the rest of the quire. The two leaves 42 and 43 are of different size and texture; fol. 42^r has a *horologium*; our *missa* begins on fol. 42^v and extends to two lines of fol. 43^r where it is followed by cycles for 760-767.

The *missa* then was certainly written before 760; the *terminus a quo* is not so clear, but one cannot be far wrong in assigning it to the second quarter of the eighth century.

The whole of the manuscript was undoubtedly written at Echternach

¹ The statement by Duchesne (*l. c.*) that fol. 44 is of the same script as the cycles for 703-759 is misleading; these cycles are the work of two hands, and the writing and arrangement of fol. 44 differ from both.

where its two chief parts were put together by about the middle of the eighth century. Delisle's *Cabinet des MSS* gives (Planche xix 1-4) four reproductions of it, but, unfortunately, none of the liturgical portion, the script of which, however, has no very distinctive peculiarity; the only punctuation mark is the middle point; contractions are rare, with the exception of the sacred names, \overline{qs} , \overline{scs} and words at the end of a line or of a collect, they are restricted to the titles of the collects. These are in red and, with one exception, on the right-hand side of the page at the end of the preceding collect.

The *missa* which follows has strangely escaped attention, Arndt and Reiners merely noting that additions to the manuscript were made by an Anglo-Saxon hand, whilst Duchesne and di Rossi, who were only concerned with the martyrology, dismiss it with the remark that the page *exhibet orationes liturgicas*. Yet it is the earliest known specimen of a mass in Anglo-Saxon script; in fact, nearly two centuries pass before the date of the next extant English sacramentary. It is to be hoped that the publication of this scrap may lead to the search for and discovery of other longer and more valuable material of the same kind. It differs from the two preceding extracts in being not a leaf of a sacramentary, but one *missa* inserted by a later hand in a non-liturgical MS.¹ The reason for the transcription may be conjectured from its being for use on the vigil of the Ascension. A separate office for this day was apparently unknown to St Isidore of Seville († 636), who states that no fast was observed between Easter and Pentecost; it is not found in the Mozarabic office nor in the Gothic.² Gregor. or Gelasian V. and S., the last two manuscripts have two *missae* for Ascension Day, the former of which is appointed for the vigil in R. The next instance of it is in the 'Gellone' sacramentary (772-795) of the Gelasian family. I have not been able to ascertain exactly when this separate office was appointed or any indication that the first of the two masses in Gel. and Gerbert were used on the previous day, but its first observance may fairly be ascribed to the first half of the eighth century, and certainly before the year 800, about which date the Rogation masses were taken over by Rome.

The mass here published was evidently a new importation to Echternach, and was probably inserted in the manuscript for annual reference when the existing sacramentaries would be of no avail for the new office. It will be noticed that the more ancient 'Gelasian' titles *secreta* and

¹ A similar insertion is found on f. 34^r, where part of the gospel for Palm Sunday has been written by a hand of not later than the middle of the eighth century, at the end of the copy of the letter of Pope Honorius to King Edwin.

² The *Gallicanum vetus* unfortunately breaks off just before the Ascension.

post communionem have given way to the Gregorian *super oblata* and *ad complendum*; that the second prayer of thanksgiving *benedictio super populum* has become *alia (ad complendum)*; that there is only one *oratio*, and that the Roman use of *ad fontes* appears exactly as in the Gelasiano-Gregorian sacramentaries of about the year 800, such as those of Rheims and 'Gellone'. An instructive parallel is afforded by the Echternach sacramentary, now Paris B. N. lat. 9433, which, though apparently written early in the eleventh century, is copied verbatim from an original which had been drawn up between 895 and 900. This sacramentary is arranged after the 'Gelasian' manner in three books, and several times quotes that office; e. g. fol. 82^v, *Incipit ordo secundum Gelasium*, and fol. 163^r, where the mass of S. Willibrord, who died two centuries and a half after Pope Gelasius, has an *alia praefatio GL*. The titles of its prayers agree exactly with those of the *missa* before us.

A³ORATIO¹ IN UIGILIA AD^a ASCENSIONEM DOMINI

^b Deus qui per unigenitum tuum Aeternitatis
nobis aditum deuicta morte reserasti.^b

5 Erige nos ad consedentem² dexteram tuam
nostrae salutis auctorem. Ut qui iudicandus
aduenit. pro nobis iudicaturus
adueniat. qui tecum

SUPER OBLATA

10 Sacrificium domine^c pro filii tui supplices^c
uenerabili nunc^d ascensione deferimus.
Praesta quaesumus ut et^e nos per ipsum
his commerciiis sacro sanctis ad caelestia

¹ Or *orationes*.² A second *ad* must have fallen out here.

1. 1. ^a *Vigilia ad* is apparently unique, the genitive being the usual construction. R. has *vigilia ascensa domini*.

ll. 2-7. ^{b-b} *Deus . . . reserasti* for Easter Day in Gerb. 89 (R. S.) 102, G. 573, Gal. 744, B. 858, Be. 70, and for the Friday after Easter in Gal. 750. Evidently when a collect had to be drawn up for the Vigil of the Ascension, the opening words of the Easter collect were chosen as suitable, and a new conclusion was added to it; here the last clause is rather bizarre.

ll. 9-13. *Secreta* for Ascension Day (first mass) G. 588, Ger. 121 (S.), P. i 374 and Be. 81, for the vigil in Ger. 121 (R.), Rem. 334 and later missals, e. g. W. I. 339, Ca. 50, J. 113, Az. 126, M. 94 (Rogation Wednesday), Ros. 39, Lf. 108. The text of the Post communion in Go. is somewhat different. . . . *tui in caelos hodie ascensione d. p. qs. ut ad tuam gloriam per ipsum his commerciiis venerandis surgamus.* ^{c-c} *supplices pro filii tui* Be. P. ^d The somewhat bold *nunc* is replaced by *quam praevenimus* W., *quam nunc praevenimus* Lf. Ros. (cf. Ros. 138), *quam praevenimus nunc* M. ^e omitted in P.

consurgamur . qui tecum

ALIA

15 ^f Exaudi nos domine ^g salutaris noster.^f
 Ut ^h per ⁱ haec sacro *sancta commercia* ⁱ In
 totius ecclesiae confidamus ^k corpore
 faciendum . quod eius praecessit. In
 capite . per eundem.

20 PRÆFATIO

Uere dignum . per Christum dominum
 nostrum. qui saluti humanae subuenire
 dignatus est . nascendo et ^l nobis donauit.
 gloriam patiendo. diabolum uicit.
 25 resurgendo a mortuis. Vitae aeternae
 aditum ^m praestitit . . Ascendendo ad patrem
 caelestes ianuas reseravit ⁿ . . quem

AD COMPLENDUM

Exultationem ^o condicionis humanae
 30 substantiae respice deus . ut tua
 dignatione mundati sacramentis.
 magnae pietatis aptemur . per
 dominum nostrum

ALIA

35 Erectis sensibus & ^p oculos cordis ad

1. 14. Two *superoblata* with only one *oratio* is unusual.

ll. 15-19. Elsewhere only in L. 313 and in W. 345 (for the following Sunday). It would be interesting to trace the connexion between these two and our fragment. ^{f-i} *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus* W. ^g *deus* L. ^h *qui* L. ⁱ⁻ⁱ the occurrence of the expression *haec sacrosancta commercia* in two consecutive collects strengthens the suspicion that the *missa* was composed from different sources. L. has *mysteria* before *commercia*, either an alternative reading or an insertion from the margin of the exemplar. ^k *confidimus* L.

ll. 21-27. This preface is apparently strictly Gelasian, G. 588. The erased preface for the vigil in Ca. 50 has only the letters *at* now visible in the fifth of the seven lines which the preface occupied; the editor suggests that they formed part of *subiugarat* (P. ii 569), but it is equally, if not more, probable that they represent part of the word *patrem* of the present preface. ^l *etenim* G. ^m *aditus* G. ⁿ *reparavit* G.

ll. 29-33. Only found in L. and in MSS of the Ambrosian family for Ascension Day. L. 315, Ger. 122 *alia missa ambrosiana* (second collect). In Be. 81, P. i 374 *super sindonem*. The opening words are a little difficult. Ger. P. Be. insert *conditor* after *substantiae*, and Ger. has also *eiusdem* between *humanae* and *substantiae* which looks like an afterthought. L. agrees with the text in having no *conditor*, but has *nostrae* before *conditionis*. *Conditor* seems strange after *conditionis*, and the text does make a certain sense. ^o *exultationem* Be., *exultatione* L.; *exultationem* is probably the original reading, slightly paralleled by one of the preceding prefaces in L. *iusta enim nobis exultatione lactandum est*.

ll. 35-39. *Ad populum* G. 589 (first Ascension Day mass) and Lf. 109 (Sunday);

sublimia eleuantes ^p. *quaesumus* ut quae
 inprecum uota detulimus. Ad impetrandi
 fiduciam referamus . per *dominum nostrum*
 ADUESPEROS

40 *Sancti* nominis tui *domine* timorem
 pariter et amorem fac nos habere
 perpetuum. quia numquam tua ^q
 gubernatione ¹ destitues quos in soliditate ^r
 tuae dilectionis ¹ institues. per *dominum*.

45 ALIA
Deus qui te ^a rectis ^t ac sinceris ^t manere ^u
 pectoribus adseris. da nobis tua
 gratia tales existere in quos (quibus ^a)
 habitare digneris. per

¹⁻¹ For *destituis*, *instituis*. ² Added by a later hand to correct the original *quos*.

ad communionem (Sunday) Ger. 122 (R. S.). ^p *oculis* G. Ger. Lf. S.¹, *elevatis*
 S.² Lf. has *elevantes* corrected into *elevatis*. (See note in Wilson, p. 108.)

ll. 40-45. First collect for the Sunday in G. 590. For the Ambrosian family cf.
 Ger. 123, Be. 82, P. i 376. Its original position was for the first collect for the
 second or third Sunday after Pentecost, Gr. 165, M. 176, Ger. 133 (R. S.), P. ii
 403, Lf. 115, J. 123. ^a *a tua* Be. ^r *soliditatem* Ger. in both places.

ll. 46-49. This collect follows the preceding as the second collect for the Sunday
 in G. 590, which also has it in a similar position *in ieiunio mensis septimi*. It is
 found for the second or third Sunday after Pentecost in Ger. 131, 133, M. 177,
 P. ii 404. ^a *in* follows after *te* in S.² P. M. ¹⁻¹ om. G. 669. ^u *manere* before
asseris in all sources except G. 669, which has *asseris manere*; *manere* seems to
 require *in*. Is it possible that the text has the original reading, *adseris* in the sense
 of *inseris*?

B.

IRISH MISSAL.

The Vatican MS lat. 3325 provides the next fragment. If in searching for scraps of sacramentaries one had trusted the catalogue or even a printed account of this manuscript (PIERRE DE NOLHAC, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887), one would have learnt from the former that it was a Sallust and from the latter (p. 276 n. 4) that the fly-leaves were an ecclesiastical manuscript in Lombard writing, and one would doubtless have passed on to the next volume; but the opportunity so liberally granted me of searching in all the manuscripts of the Vatican library for specimens of early musical notation for a prototypic edition revealed to me that the two fly-leaves of the eleventh-century Sallust had formed part of an Irish sacramentary (now 265 x 65 mm. 26 lines to a page) before they had been used apparently in the eleventh century for the binding of the manuscript.¹ The provenance of the Sallust is clear: on one leaf *Liber sancti Petri de Blandinio monasterio*, on another *Liber sancti petri ecclesie. de monte blandinio*, and a third inscription in three lines which, where legible, is similar to the other two, all three of the eleventh century, point to the celebrated abbey of Blandain near Tournai. Whether the sacramentary which was probably there in the eleventh century was written there, or whether it came from one of the numerous Irish houses in the north-east of France cannot be known, but the script is clearly that of an Irish continental copyist, and, if one may ever venture to date an Irish hand, should be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. Among its palaeographical features we may note that the upper part of the initial letters is filled up with red, and the lower part with yellow; some of them are remarkable, for the P. cf. BM. Nero D. iv (eighth century) and for the ET. BM. 1 B. v; the vacant spaces at the end of collects are used up by the end of the next line, preceded by the peculiarly Irish sign *ceann fa eite*; contraction marks are very numerous, many of them purely Irish; the punctuation mark at the close of each collect is . . . whilst a middle point is employed before the final clause of each collect. The transcription will shew the use of accents, the frequency with which a letter or letters are written above the line, the constant junction of a preposition with the word it governs and the peculiar orthography. Two of the leaves

¹ It is of course not impossible that the leaves may have been utilized for a later rebinding, but there are no signs of such; that they are slightly smaller than the manuscript is not inconsistent with their being original fly-leaves. But it is not a matter of certainty.

have been photographed for V. Federici's *Esempi di scritture latine* (scrittura irlandese ed anglosassonica).

The two leaves contain three *missae* for the feasts of the Holy Innocents and the Circumcision, and for the vigil of the Epiphany; the first and last are defective, the former beginning at the preface and the latter breaking off at the Alleluia verse, but all three are arranged on the same plan and provide for each *missa*, Introit and psalm-verse, two collects as in the 'Gelasian' (without titles), an epistle followed by a *responsorium* and its verse, an *Alleluia* and its verse, gospel, *offertorium* without any verse, *super oblata*, preface, *communio* and verse, and two prayers (without titles), probably *post communionem* and *ad populum*. It will be noticed that here again we have the pre-Alcuinian system of 'Gelasian' arrangement but Gregorian nomenclature.

The most startling feature in the fragment is the apparently deliberate rejection of a biblical gospel for the Circumcision in favour of one not taken from one of the four canonical gospels; so far as I know, there is no record of any other liturgical gospel of this sort, it is absolutely unique. The case is complicated by the fact that this gospel 'of James the son of Alphaeus' is not known otherwise; it is not the *Protevangeliium*, and the vague Spanish tradition that there was a 'Gospel of James' rests on no solid foundation. Neither Dr Montague James nor Dr Rendel Harris could give me any explanation; Mr F. C. Conybeare tells me that, according to Armenian tradition, St James arranged the lessons for the Epiphany, but that will not help much here. The structure of historical and didactic sentences suggests that it was originally an exposition of a gospel, but that it was here used as a real liturgical gospel seems beyond doubt. One must be content to publish this strange production in the hope that further light may eventually be thrown upon it.

POSTSCRIPT.

A further examination of this gospel with Mgr Mercati leads us to suggest that the very obscure and corrupt passage on p. 418, *partum . . . dilectari*, with its almost impossible construction and the readings *quoniam* (? = *quondam*) and *dilectari*, is clumsily interpolated and disconnected with its context which apparently had reference to the apocryphal¹ narrative of the inspection by the two midwives. 'To these who in their ignorance of the heavenly mystery of the *partus Mariae* were investigating the child's origin, although it is really *inenarrabilis* (cf. Is. liii 8 (Old Version) *nativitatem ejus quis narrabit?*), the virgin-birth is revealed, shewn by a clear sign of divine providence

¹ *Protevangeliium Jacobi* cc. xviii, xix; *Pseudo-Matth.* cc. xiii, &c.

as carried and suckled (*lactari*) by a virgin-mother.¹ This paraphrase is merely given to shew the possible meaning of the passage which can only be understood by a reference to the pseudo-Matthew gospel, c. xiii (ed. Tischendorf, 1876, p. 78): *Nunquam hoc auditum est nec in suspicionem habitum ut mamillae plenae sint lacte et natus masculus matrem suam virginem ostendat. Nulla pollutio sanguinis facta est in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente. Virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permansit.* If one could read *indaginem* for *imaginem* and connect *p. i. d. d.* with *querentibus*, a better sense would be obtained, the women's search being providentially arranged; but *dilectari* still remains a problem; *delactatus* is 'weaned from', not 'nourished at'; Mr Madan suggests *dilatari*, which requires less altering of the text, especially in Anglo-Saxon script, and goes well after *gestari*, conceived and growing in the womb, but this could not be a matter of demonstration.

It is curious that this apocryphal gospel of St Matthew is in some MSS (Tischendorf, p. 54) ascribed to 'James the son of Joseph', i. e. the James τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου of the *Protevangelium*, identified by St Jerome with James the son of Alphaeus, and it is therefore not impossible that our Irish gospel was founded on the pseudo-Matthew, but from a MS and a recension which bore the name of James.

B

december¹

[^a Et in pretiosis mortibus parvulorum ^a]
 qu'o's propter ^b nostri saluatoris ^b infantiam bestiali ^o
 seuitia hirodis ² d occidit immensa ^o clementię
 5 tuę dona cognoscimus ^f ^g fulget namque ^h magis
 sola ^h gratia quam uoluntas & ⁱ clara est prius
 confesio quam loquella ⁱ ^k ante passionem &
 antequam membra passioni ^k existerent ^l testes

¹ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}$ in the middle of the upper margin.

² for *Herodes*.

I. 1. This division of the sacramentary according to months is apparently only found in the Leonine.

II. 2-14. L. Gr. (*in calce vatic. codicis*) M. Re. Lf. J. Be. Pa I. Amb. and Tr. where it is marked as found in *l(eon), el(igii) g(re)g.* ²⁻⁴ *Pretiosis enim mortibus p.* L. Re. (Re. has *moribus*, but the readings of the *Bibliothèque Liturgique* must be received with very great caution). *Nos in pretiosa morte p. te sancte pater omnipotens gloriosius collaudare*, the Ambrosian Pa. Be. Amb. ^{b-b} *filius tui domini nostri saluatoris* Pa. Be. Amb., *filius tui domini nostri et saluatoris* L., *nostri redemptoris* M. ^c *immani*, Amb. ^d *Herodes funestus* in all sources. ^o *immensa*, Gr. Tr. (*L. El. gg*) Re. Between ^f and ^g *praedicare in quibus* L. Gr. M. Tr. Lf. J. which is difficult to construe with *namque*, which, however, is absent in M. Lf. Tr. ^{h-h} *sola magis* all sources except L. ^{l-l} cf. Amb. p. 34 *Oratio super oblata quorum clara prior est c.q.l.* ²⁻⁴ All the other sources have *ante passio quam membra*, though they are divided between *assionis* L. Re. Be. Pa. Amb. and *idonea passioni* Gr. M. Tr. Lf. J. ³ *existunt*

- 10 *christi qui^m nondum fuerant agnitores* ⁶
infinita benignitasⁿ cum^o prosuo nomine^p
trucidatis^q meritum glorię perire non patitur sed
prop^r proprio¹ cruore profussis² et salus^r
regenerationis expletur^s & inputatur corona
martirii . per . . .
- 15 *COMMUNIO . . .*
Uox inrama audita est ploratus &^t ulutatus
multusⁿ rachiell plorans filios suos &^x noluit
consulari³ quia non sunt . . .
- 20 *Discat ecclesia tua deus infantum qui^os*
hodie ueneramur exemplo sinceram
tenere pietat[em] quae prius [uitam]⁴ prestatit
sempiternam quam possit^r nosse presentem . per . . .
- 25 *Quesumus omnipotens deus do'cente nos*
hodiernę sollempnitatis affectu & nostra
malitia paruuli & christi discamus esse
- 28 *confesione perfe'cti . per . . .*

1 INTROITUS KALENDAS IANUARIAS DECIRCUMCISIONE . . .

*Postquam consummati sunt dies .viii. ut
circumcideretur puer uocatum est nomen*

¹ for *proprio*. ² for *perfusis*. ³ for *consolari*. ⁴ *uitam* was
omitted by the copyist.

Gr. M. Lf. J., *existerunt enim* Tr. ^m *qui eius* all sources. ⁿ *b. omnipotentis* Be. Amb., *b. omnipotentis O ineffabilis misericordia* Gr. M. Tr. J. Lf. Our text is that of L. ^o *quae*, Gr. M. Tr. Lf., *qui* (1) J. ^p *nam*, L. ^q *t. etiam nescientibus* L. Be. Amb., *t. etiam nescientibus aeternae* P. ^r *salutem* Tr. ^s *adhibetur* Gr. M. J. Lf., *adhibetur et imputat* Tr. (? for *exhibetur et imputatur*).

On the whole the fragment agrees mostly with L.

ll. 15-18. *Mat.* ii 18. *Communio* Gerb. 367 (Rheinau gradual, eighth cent.) S. Gall. ms. 339. Pamelius ii 71. Tommasi opp. v p. 24 and the Irish missal at Corpus Christi, Oxford, p. 96. *Confractorium* Amb. The absence of any psalm-verse is either an evidence of late date or bears witness to some recension of the *missa*.
^t absent in S. Gall. Pam. Tom. ⁿ only in the Corpus missal. ^x absent in Pam. Tom.

ll. 19-23. *Ad populum* Ge. Re., *super populum* Tr(g). ^r *posset* Re., *possit* Tom., *possent* Tr.

ll. 25-28. This prayer is apparently found nowhere else; the *post communion* in Amb. begins *Hodiernae solemnitatis effectum*, but the rest is quite different. A similar conception is expressed in L.: *Tribue domine quaesumus fidelibus tuis ut sicut ait apostolus non efficiantur pueri sensibus sed malitia innoxii et repperiantur et (=ut?) paruuli, &c.*

l. 1. The title *circumcisio* instead of *octavae domini* would be a mark of com-

5 eius^a quod uocatum est ab angelo priusquam
in utero conciperetur
-versus. et erit nomen benedictum in secula ante
solem permanet nomen eius & ante lunam
sedis eius . . .

10 Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui^b in unigenito
tuo nouam creaturam^c nos tibi^e esse fecisti
custodi opera misericordiae tuae & ab omnibus
nos maculis^d uetustatis emunda ut per
15 auxilium gratiae tuae^e in illius inueniamur
forma in qua^f tecum est nostra substantia^g. per . . .

Deus in cuius precibus¹ mirabilibus [est]² humana
reparatio solue opera diaboli & mortiferas
20 peccantium clades rumpe^g ut distructa
malignitate quae nocuit uincat misericordia
quae redemit. per . . .

LECTIO PAULI APOSTOLI AD GALATAS . . .

25 Fratres postquam^h uenit plenitudo temporis
missit deus filium suum. natumⁱ ex muliere
factum sub lege. ut eos quiⁱ sub lege erant
redemeret. ut adoptionem filiorum israel^k

¹ for *precipuis*. ² est omitted.

paratively recent date if the fragment were Gelasian or Gregorian, but it is found in *Gothicum*.

ll. 3-6. Luc. ii 21. Tommasi (V p. 25) gives it as the Introit from MS Rom-Angel. 123 and Valicel. c 52, but omitting *Postquam* and reading *circumciscus est puer*.

^a The omission of the name *Jesus* is strange.

ll. 7-9. Ps. lxxi 17. Nowhere else as the Introit verse; Text as in the *Vet. It.* (Psalt. Rom. and Corb.) [Sabatier. ii 144] but omitting *eius* before *benedictum*, and reading *permanet* for *permanebit*, though the contraction mark here is doubtful.

ll. 10-16. Nowhere else as the first collect; Ge. Re. Tr. (*g. et*), second collect; Me. P ii, *super populum*; Ambrosian sources *super sindonem*. ^b absent in Ge. Be. Amb. ^c *nobis* Re. ^d *malis* Re. (possibly a mistake of the modern copyist).

^{e-e} cf. Go. 517, *collectio post nomina* for the vigil of Christmas. ^f *quo* in all sources.

ll. 18-22. Gal. vet. 755 (*missa dominicalis post pascha, collectio*), Ge. 583 (*dom. = secunda = post octabas paschae*, second collect), Ambrosian sources (Be. 48. P. i 333, Amb. 116) for *dominica de caeco*. Nowhere apparently for the first of January, but the text suggests that it may be taken from some sacramentary which, like the 'Gelasian', had on that day a *missa 'prohibendum ab idolis'*. ^{g-g} *mortifera peccati vincula dirumpe* in the other sources, and probably in the copy before our scribe who read *vin* as *um* and made *clades* out of the last syllable of *vincla* and the first of *dirumpe*; cf. *ut gustu mortiferae profanitatis abiecto* in Ge. (*ad populum*) and J (*ad uesperum*) for January 1.

l. 24-32. GAL. iv 4-7, where the Vulgate has ^h *at ubi*, ⁱ *factum*, ^k absent,

reciperemus. quoniam¹ estis filii dei misit
 deus spiritum filii sui in corda nostra^m
 30 clamantem abba pater. itaque iam nonⁿ estis
 serui sed filii. quod filii & heredes per
 dominum christumⁿ. ,, . . .
¹RESPONSORIUM . . .
 Diffusa est gratia in labis tuis. usque in eternum . . .
 35 .UERSUS. Propter ueritatem & mansuetudinem . . .
 ALLELUIA. Specie tua & pulchritudine. & regna³

³LECTIO EUANGELII SECUNDUM IACOBI ALFEI INCIPIT. . . .

Die autem .viii. partus sui maria cum
 40 ioseph sponso suo circumdederunt⁴ infantem
 qui remissus⁵ penes eos. & imposuerunt ei nomen
 ihesum secundum preceptum nuntii^p gabriel . .
 & in ipso die⁶ imposuerunt^q eum in templo dei
 secundum consuetudinem. quoniam ipse prior

¹⁻³ written by a later hand, no coloured letters employed. ³ more vacant
 space than usual. ⁴ for circumciderunt. ⁵ for remansit (?). ⁶ die,
 with contraction mark over the i.

¹ quoniam autem, ^m uestra, ⁿ⁻ⁿ est seruus sed filius, quod si filius et haeres per
 deum.

ll. 33-36. β . and γ . in S. Gall. 373; Gerb. P. ii 72. . . . *consortibus tuis*, but
 none of these have the Alleluia v. which, however, appears in Tommasi v 26,
 though from what source is not clear. l. 35, Ps. xlv 9; l. 36, Ps. xlv 5 b; l. 37,
 Ps. xlv, 5 a. Ps. xlv 3 b, 5, 11, 12, 15-16 are appointed in P. ii 79 as the Tract for
 the Purification.

ll. 38-52. Both the Gospel and the Respond, &c., which precede it are apparently
 written by a scribe who is not the one who copied the beginning of the fragment.
 The vacant space before the gospel is strange; there is no trace of any erasure,
 possibly the gospel here provided occupied less space than the one in the exemplar,
 and the second copyist preferred to leave a lacuna before instead of after the
 gospel. In other words, the proper gospel for the circumcision, probably not the
 present very short one, was deliberately rejected in favour of another which, when
 written down, proved to be shorter.

l. 38. The heading *Lectio . . . incipit* differs widely from the usual *Initium* or
Sequentia euangelii. ^o *secundum Iacobi* seems to require *euangelium* understood.
^p *nuntii* for *angeli* is archaic; it occurs in the *praefatio* of the *missa in caena domini*
 of *Gothic*. ^q It is here that we first meet with the confusion between the circum-
 cision and the presentation which will be found further on in the *missa*. It is true
 that Moz. has the same gospel (Luc. ii) for both days, and in one of its collects
 connects the two events, but nothing can justify the placing them on the same day.
 The repetition of the word *imposuerunt* in two different senses and of *secundum*
 suggests that we have here a composite narrative; it was perhaps to avoid a third
 use of the word *secundum* that on l. 51 we find the strange *in mandatum*.

45 metram^x aperuit primitivus natus & singularis
matri eius. partum uirginem¹ ostendit demonstrans
ignorantibus. quoniam partus marię sacramenta
celestia his querentibus innarabilem
pueri natiuitatem perimaginem diuine
50 dispositionis gestari² ac dilectari². et cum
accipissent † eum sacerdotes omnia inmandatum
moisi impleuerunt in eo . . .

OFFERTORIUM . . .

Et donauit illi nomen quod est super omne
55 nomen ut in nomine ihesu omne genu flectat³
celestium & terrestrium et infernorum . . .

SUPER OBLATA . . .

Omnipotens sempiternus deus maiestatem tuam
supplices exoramus ut sicut unigenitus † tuus
60 filius † hodierna die cum nostra⁴ substantia
intemplo est presentatus ita nos facias
purificatis tibi mentibus presentari. per . . .

Uere dignum quod ut nos graui seruitute legis
65 † exemeret legem & circumcisionem non indignatur
purgationis accipere † in qua⁵ & obseruationis
antique probatur⁶ existeret & humanam inse
naturam uetustate⁷ expoliens⁸ innouaret
preteriti⁹ sacramentorum consummatorque¹⁰
70 misterii idem legislator & custos precipiens
& oboedens † quod natus est insimilitudinem
pasionum † nostrarum¹¹ diues insuo pauper
innostro¹² par turturum uel duos pullos

¹ for *virgineum* or *virginis*.
probator.

²⁻³ for *ac dilatar* or *atque lactari*.
⁴ for *exspolians*.

⁵ for

⁶ for *consummator*.

^x *metram* looks back to a Greek original as does also *his querentibus* (τοῖς ζητοῦσι or ταῖς ζητοῦσαι).

ll. 54-56. PHIL. ii 96. ³ The Vulgate has *flectatur*.

ll. 58-62 is only appropriate for the presentation, for which feast it is appointed in Gr. Tr. Re. Lf. J. W. Ca. Amb. ¹⁻⁴ *filius tuus*, Gr. Tr. Re. Lf. J. Ca. Amb., *tuus* W. ⁵ *nostrae carnis* in all sources.

ll. 64-80. An Ambrosian preface for Jan. 1 (Tr. ('*Missa Ambrosiana*') Be. P. i Amb.). The preface for Feb. 2 in J. beginning *In exultatione* includes *Idem legislator . . . salvator*. ²⁻³ *redimeret circumcisionis legalis purgationem accepit* in all the other versions; ours which is the more difficult may be the original. ⁷ *uetustatem*, Tr. † ⁸ *prasterita*, Be. ⁹ *consummator* in all sources. ¹⁰⁻¹² only found in this fragment; it is a gloss; *est* spoils the sense. ¹² The modern Amb. concludes

- 75 columbarum^d sacrificio uix sufficit^d celi^e &
 terre^e posesor. f hodie^e grandei semionis¹
 inualidis gestatur ĩn^h manibus . . aquo'^o
 i rector mundiⁱ & dominus preditor³ accidit
 autem^k etiam testificanti¹ oraculum uiduę.
 quoniam decebat ut^m abutroque annuntiaretur
 80 sexu utⁱ trisusque[†] saluator . per . . .
 COMMUNIO
 Responsum accepit semion spiritu sancto
 nonuisurum se mortem n'isi priusⁿ uideret
 christum domini^o. surge illuminare hierusalem
 85 quia uenit lumen tuum alleluia . . .
 Fac nos domine quaesumus multiplicatis
 sollempnitatibus intrare^p quod^q pro nobis
 causa^q perpetuę saluationis operatur. per . . .
 90
 Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta
 misteria quae preparationis³ contullisti

¹ for Simeonis. ² for praedicatur. ³ VERSUS omitted. ⁴ ITRE can only be expanded as intrare, all other sources have iterare; as the scribe could not place the two contraction marks for er and ar over the t, he placed the first over the i: but the mark used is that for n. The letters ra added at the foot of the page if they refer to this word supply the missing syllable. ⁵ for pro reparationis.

here. ^{d-d} sufficit vix sacrificio J. ^{e-e} terraeque in all other sources. ^f possessori (Tr. Be.) due to a misconception of the meaning of sufficit here appropriately used of offering something as a substitute. ^g here only. ^h only here and in J. ⁱ⁻ⁱ mundi rector, Be. P. J., mundi saluator, Tr. ^k here only. ¹ all the sources have testificantis, in J. after viduae, but testificanti can stand, referring to Symeon. ^m wanting in J.

ll. 81-84. Luc. ii 26. The Vulgate has acciperat but accepit appears in all liturgical quotations. This is the *communio* for the Purification in all old Antiphoners, e. g. Tom. v 166, P. ii 79, Gerb. S. Gall. 373 usually without ⁿ prius and occasionally without ^o domini.

ll. 85, 84. Is. lx 1 a, usually restricted liturgically to the Epiphany.

ll. 87-89. Purely Ambrosian (Be. Pa. Tr. Amb.), all with ^p iterare and ^{q-q} nobis causam. Ca. p. 15 has (in the original hand): Praesia quaesumus domine ut quod nostri saluatoris iterata solemnitate percipimus, perpetuae nobis redemptionis conferat medicinam.

ll. 91-94. A post communion of such general terms that it was used not only for the Purification (Gr. 23, Be. Tr. Re. Lf. Ca.) but in Advent (Gr. 137, P. ii 443, W.) and Eastertide (Gr. 75). J. has it for all three occasions, and the Ottoni MS (Gr. 284) for a votive mass of saints. ^r pro reparationis nostrae munimine in all sources; the copyist omitted the last two words and misunderstood the contraction mark for pro in his copy. ^{s-s} naturally absent in some of the sources. ³ esse facias in all sources except Ca. (facias esse).

94 ⁸ *intercedente beata maria semper uirgine* ⁸
& *presens nobis remedium sit* ¹ & [futurum] . per . . .

INTROITUS VIGILIA EPIFANIÆ DOMINI...

In excelso trono uidi sedere uirum quem
adorat multitudo angelorum psallentes in unum ecce
5 *cuius imperium* [†] ⁹ *nomen eius* ⁹ *in æternum*
. UERSUS. Celi enarrant gloriam dei . usque firmamentum.

² *Omnipotens sempiternæ deus* ² *corda nostra quaesumus*
domine uentura ¹ ⁷ *festiuitatis splendor illustrare* ²
10 *qu' o' mundi huius tenebris* ² *carere ualeamus*
& *perueniamus* ⁸ *ad patriam claritatis æternæ . per . . .*

Da nobis *quaesumus domine* digne celebrare
mysterium quod in nostri saluatoris
15 *infantia miraculis curruſcantibus declaratur*
& *incorporalibus* ⁸ *incrementis manifesta*
dignatur ⁸ ¹⁰ *humanitas . per . . .*

LECTIO APOSTOLI AD COLOSSENSES.

20 *Fratres* ⁹ *deus pater* ⁹ *dignos nos fecit in partem*
sortis sanctorum in lumine . qu' eripuit
nos de potestate tenebrarum & tranſtullit
in regnum fili' dilectionis suæ in qu' o'
habemus ^d *remissionem* [†] *peccatorum & redemptionem* ^d.

¹ for *uenturae*.² for *illustrat*.⁸ for *designatur*.

I. 1. An office for the Vigil of the Epiphany can scarcely go back earlier than the seventh century; it occurs in Mone's palimpsest Roman sacramentary (Karlsruhe, Aug. 112) of the end of that century and in *Goth*.

II. 2-6. This Introit, which is one of the very few which is not strictly Biblical, though founded on Is. vi 1, is appointed for the Sunday after the Epiphany in Ger. P. ii 74, Tom. v 29, S. Gall. 373, and in later missals, e. g. W. Rosslyn. For the readings *adorant, psallentium* see Tom. I. c. ⁹ *imperii* P. ⁹⁻⁹ *non deest*, S. Gall. 372, *non est* P. Valic. C. 32. Ros., *numen est* Angelica 123. Valic. B. viii. W. The fragment agrees exactly with Gerb.

I. 6. Ps. xviii 1. All the graduals which have the above introit have for its Psalm verse *Iubilate Deo*.

II. 8-11. Ge. Tr. (*g. gg.*) Re. J. Ca. and Mone's palimpsest, without ⁸⁻¹¹ which is the beginning of another collect inserted in error, and with ² *uenturae*. ⁸⁻¹¹ *carere et peruenire*, Tr.

II. 13-17. In a similar position Gr. Me. Tr. (*gg*) P. ii 197, *ad populum* for Epiphany, Lf., post communion W., all with ⁸ *corporalibus* and ⁹ *designatur*.

II. 18-32. Col. i 12-18, where the Vulgate has ⁸⁻¹¹ *gratias agentes deo patri qui* ⁸⁻⁸ *redemptionem per sanguinem eius remissionem*, ⁹ *omnis*, ¹ *quoniam*, ² *in terra*.

25 *qu'ī est imago dei inuisibilis primogenitus*
uniuersę^o creature. quia^f in ipso condita
sunt uniuersa in celis & in terris^o uisibilia
& inuisibilia siue troni siue dominationes
siue principatūs siue potestates. omnia
 30 *per ipsum & in ipso creata sunt. & ipse*
est ante omnes & omnia in ipso constant.
& ipse est caput corporis ecclēsię qu'ī est
principium . . .

RESPONSORIUM.

35 *Fide intellegimus abta¹ esse secula erubo dei*
ut ex inuisibilibus uisibilia fierent.
VERSUS. Omnes gentes qu'a'scunque
fecisti uenient & adorabunt coram te
domine
 40 *ALLELUIA Christus autem assistens pontifex*
futurorum bonorum . per amplius &
perfectius tabernaculum non manufactum
introiit. ALLELUIA. ALLELUIA.
VERSUS. Mare qu'īd fugisti &
 45 *tu ior'danis qu'a're conuersus es*
retrosum . . .

¹ for *aptata*.

ll. 35, 36. HEB. xi 3.

ll. 37-39. PS. lxxxv 9.

ll. 40-43. HEB. ix 11.

ll. 44-46. PS. cxlii 5. *Quid est mare quod fugisti et tu jordanis quia c. e. r.*The fragment agrees with the old version in reading *quare* for *quia*.

C.

IRISH HYMNS.

Ff. 75 and 76 of the collection of fragments quoted above, MS Paris B.N. 9488, are now respectively 268 × 182–188 mm. and 235 × 175 mm., written in twenty-three long lines to the page in Irish script of probably the eleventh century; the letters are minuscule, with the exception of R, which has both the uncial and the Irish form; the only contraction in addition to the sacred names is that of *que*; compared with the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* at Trinity College, Dublin, the fragment has a final long *s*, and a long *s* before *t*, without, however, being joined to it. There is no clue as to the provenance, but the script is decidedly continental rather than insular.

The leaves contain three pieces, viz. *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, which lacks its first three verses, *Spiritus divinae lucis* and *Te deum laudamus*. As their text has been published recently (see below) with careful critical notes, it is needless to do so again now, but as the sources of the first and second items are so few in number and the interest in the third is so widespread, it is proposed to notice the readings found in the fragment, neglecting merely orthographical variants.

The references cited below are:

B. The Bangor Antiphoner of the seventh (?) century (MS Ambros. c. 5 inf.) ed. F. E. WARREN, Henry Bradshaw Society. Vols. iv (1892) and x (1895).

T. Six leaves of a Bobbio MS, now Torino. F. iv 1, also assigned to the seventh century, edited by Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (Phil.-Hist. Klasse)* 1903, vol. ii pp. 163–214, a *résumé* of which, by Mr F. E. Warren, appeared in the *J.T.S.* vol. iv (1903) pp. 610–613. For a photograph see C. Cipolla's *Codici Bobiesi*, 1907, Pl. XXXIV.

The two eleventh-century Irish hymn-books published by Drs Bernard and Atkinson, H. B. S., vols. xiii, xiv (1898), viz.

D. MS, Trinity College, Dublin, E. 4. 2.

F. MS, Franciscan Convent, Merchants Quay, Dublin.

(I quote from the former MS, the latter being unfortunately inaccessible during my visit to Dublin.)

C. The so-called Cerne Book of Prayers, *circ.* A. D. 800, ed. by dom A. B. Kuypers, as *The Prayer Book of Edelwold the Bishop*, Cambridge, 1902.

H. MS, British Museum, Harl. 7653 (ninth century).

The three pieces contained in our fragment occur in the first part (*Cantica*) of the Bangor Antiphoner where they are respectively

Nos. 2, 12, and 7; in T. they are Nos. 11, 14, and 17; but as Nos. 12, 13, 15 and 16 are prose collects, our MS gives the three metrical pieces in the order of T. The first is No. 70 and the third No. 5 of C.

C'

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum

This Hymn is found in B. T. D. F. C., in two S. Gall. MSS 2 (eighth century) and 577 (ninth or tenth century), and in Brussels MS 207/208 (thirteenth century). On the manuscript tradition, cf. Meyer, l. c.

In the fragment the first three verses are lacking and also the title, if there was one; hence we gain no fresh evidence either as to its liturgical use or as to its authorship; it would have been interesting to have produced some further hint as to the tradition which assigns it to S. Hilary (cf. *J.T.S.* viii p. 599).

D. has been taken as the standard of comparison as most accessible, H. B. S., vol. xiii, p. 36 (the numeration of the verses in Meyer l. c. agrees with it). The following variants from D. are found in the fragment; occasionally the manuscript is illegible, but attention is only called to this when other sources give a different reading from D., unique readings are marked *, those in which D. prefers a more perfect metrical form are marked †.

l. 6. *spo* [+++++] *columba*; the last four letters of *sponsus* and the two succeeding ones are illegible, hence it is impossible to decide whether the text had *el* or *vel*.

l. 7. *nostra natus saecula*.*

l. 8. *saecla tu* †.

l. 9. as in B. C. H. *et* is omitted before *terrae*, to avoid the elision.

l. 13. *virginem puerperam*; pace Warren, F. has *virgine puerpera*.

l. 14. *parvum* * †: all the other sources have *primi adorant parvulum*, with *i* elided before *a*; in seven cases out of nine our MS has elisions.

l. 16. *Herodi* †.

l. 18. *occulendus*.

l. 21. *lecuntur* *, possibly a scribe's error.

l. 26. *nuptis mera* * *reddentis propinnando populo*.

l. 27. *pisce pino*.

l. 28. *et refert fragment*[*a*] the usual reading; there is no authority for Warren's *refectis fragmenta*.

l. 31. *prouit* with *ba* written above the line = *probavit*, the reading of T. *prouavit* may account for the error.

quibus as in B., an older unmetrical reading than *quis* D. F. *Iuda* with *s* added above the line, exactly as in B., both probably copied from one exemplar. C. has *Iuda*.

l. 32. *instruntur* with *u* added above; D. F. have rightly *instruuntur*. T. has *instruentur*, B. *instruntur* with *e* above the line; this is further evidence for a common original.

l. 35. It is impossible to see whether the text has *crimen* or *cremen*.

l. 38. *impis* (as C.) for *impiis*, contrary to the metre; similarly,

l. 39. *noxis*, as P. C.

l. 40. *uincit* as C. for *vicit*.

l. 43. *pendunt* for *pandunt* which is peculiar to D. F.

l. 47. *praecipit*.

l. 48. *spondederat*.

l. 49. *veste amicum* with *t* above, between *e* and *u*.

l. 50. *vincit* * *siricum*.

l. 52. *videret*, as in B. only.

l. 53. *munentur* *. l. 61. *praecipit*. l. 65. *concinamus* *.

l. 66. *futuros*; only *sempi*[] remains.

l. 68. Impossible to see if the MS has *cantantes* or *canentes futuro* *.

l. 70. Only *saecu*[] left.

l. 71. *ante lucem decantes* for *decantantes*.

l. 72. Only *rect*[] left.

l. 74. *cum sancto* [*spiritu*] as in C. T., *simul cum* B. D., *una cum* F. H.

Merely orthographical variants are: l. 12 *aluus*, l. 19 *Herodem*, l. 22 *adprobat*, l. 23 *lucæ inluminat*, l. 28 *corbibus*, l. 34 *grasatur*, l. 33 *Cesaris*, l. 38 *grasatur*, l. 44 *sepulchris*, l. 45 *adfuit*, l. 46 *linto*, l. 47 *Anna*, l. 51 *sepulchro*, l. 52 *mendax*, l. 54 *complet*, l. 56 *redisse*, l. 69 *concinemus*.

Though our fragment is comparatively a late one, it certainly derives from a copy of the hymn which is as old as, if not older than, any one extant; nearly all the variants bear witness to an old original, and the two places where additions have been made in order to make grammatical sense are exactly the same as those which underwent a similar alteration in the Bangor Antiphoner.¹ The lines (25, 26, 67 sqq.) which Dr Atkinson (H. B. S. vol. xiv pp. xi-xiii) considers spurious, are found here as in fact in all extant versions, but they must evidently have been added at a very early date. Marks of a reviser are seen in two places (ll. 9 and 14) where the original text seems to have been altered on purpose to avoid the elision which, elsewhere, in undoubtedly genuine lines, is universal. Hence, though our fragment bears witness to an old exemplar, it has clearly been altered to suit current views of metre.

¹ Dr Meyer (p. 169) was struck with the similarity between B. and T., *finden sich in B. und Tur. etliche seltsame Schreibfehler ganz gleich; also gehören die beiden Hss. einerseits eng zusammen*. All three MSS evidently derive from an original faulty exemplar.

C³*Spiritus divinae lucis*

This paraphrase of the Nicene Creed has hitherto only been known from its occurrence in the Bangor Antiphoner, where it has for its title *Ymnus ad matutinam in dominica*, and in the Turin fragment, edited by Meyer (l. c.), where it bears no heading. Our fragment is similarly without a title, but its text helps to clear one or two difficulties raised by Mr Warren in his edition of it (H. B. S. vol. x, 1895, p. 48). The following are the variants from the Bangor MS as printed on p. 13 (the last words of each line of the fragment have unfortunately been cut off).

The refrain is carried on to the end of each line at greater length than in B.

iii 2. The accurate *referimus* (as T.) instead of *referemus*.

iv 2 and vii 2. *obtemus* and *obtens* with, in the first case *ne*, and in the second *en*, added above the line.

vi 6. The right-hand margin is cut off, but there is no room for the words *qui nunc cepit* of B. and T. which Warren suggests were accidentally borrowed from the first line of stanza viii. The fragment is therefore derived from an older and purer MS than the copies used by the writers of B. and T.

vii 1. *unigenito* with B. as against *unigenitus* T.

vii 3. *claritate*. viii 1. *caepit*.

ix 3. Rightly (with B.) *qui*, not *quae* (T.).

ix 4. *diximus*, as B. T. According to Warren, it 'hardly makes sense'. May it not be taken as a reference to iii 1 *lumen de lumine*?

x 2. the ambiguous *sē sē* is cut off.

C³*Te deum laudamus*

The fragment is most valuable as providing another instance of the distinctively Irish readings of this canticle, which may be seen either in Warren's *Bangor Antiphoner* (H. B. S. vol. ii p. 10), in pp. 200–203 of Meyer's note on the Turin fragment, previously referred to, or in Bp John Wordsworth's article *s. v.* in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*. A full notice of readings other than Irish by the present Bp of Gloucester, Dr Gibson, is in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1884, p. 19.¹ Here it will be sufficient to call attention to the new light here thrown on the readings of Irish MSS; variants which

¹ Dom Cagin's *Te Deum ou Illatio*? Solesmes, 1906, had not appeared when this article was written. It goes to the very heart of the question, and deserves the careful study of all who are interested in liturgiology.

are peculiar to this family are marked *, the verses are quoted according to the numeration of the *Liber hymnorum*, H. B. S. vol. xiii p. 59.

Our MS has no title, but commences, as in B. T. D. F., with the introductory verse (Ps. cxii 1) * *Laudate pueri dominum, laudate nomen domini*.

v 4. * *hierufin et serabin*. The MS agrees with B. in omitting the *dicentes* of T. D. F.

v 6. * *universa* before *terra*; * *honore gloriae tuae* as in B. T. D. F.

v 9. There is no justification for *laudet* B. which is probably a scribe's error, though strangely the verb is altogether absent in H.

v 11. There is no trace of *tuae* after *maiestatis* as in F.; Warren is incorrect as giving it as the reading of D.

v 12. *unigenitum filium* as in all Irish sources and the oldest Ambrosian (Vatic. 82).

v 16. *Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem* as in all the Irish versions.

v 18. *sedes*.

v 20. *Te ergo, sanguine*.

v 21. * *Aeternam . . . gloriam munerari*, as D. F. B. has *Aeternam . . . gloriae munerari*, and T. *Aeternum . . . gloriam muneraris*. The reading of H. *Aeternam . . . in gloriam intrare* is unique, and may be due to a copyist's misconception of *GLORIAMVNARI*, the second member of V being run into the first one of N, and N with the contraction mark for ER over it being taken for a combined NT. The MS does not, as D. F., add *tuis* after *sanctis*.

v 22 sq. It is after v 21 *Aeternam . . . munerari*, the original ending of the canticle, that the liturgiologist will at once turn to the fragment to see how many, if any, it contains of the biblical verses which gradually got added,¹ and he will find an important piece of evidence. H. is the only manuscript at present known which has no such verses, and as it does not begin with the Antiphon *Laudate* &c., it may be considered to represent the original form of the *Te Deum*.² Vv 22, 23 *Salvum . . . in aeternum*, and vv 24, 25 *Per singulos . . . saeculi*, with the readings (v 23) *usque in saeculum* and (v 25) *nomen tuum in aeternum* are in our MS as in all other Irish versions, but the transposition of these verses in the Ambrosian MS, Vatic. 82, and the omission of vv 24, 25 in the seventh-century Greek MS (Vatic. Alex. xi), suggests that they were either added at different times or, as Dr A. E. Burn supposes (*An Introduction to the Creeds*, Lond., 1899), formed the

¹ The varying arrangement of the end of the canticle can be seen in the Tables of the Bangor Antiphoner pp. 93, 94; Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds* p. 278, and Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (s. v. *Te Deum*) and, in fullest form, in Dom Cagin (o. c.), p. 127.

² This view may have to be recast if Dom Cagin's theory is accepted.

Gallican *capitella* or Antiphons respectively to the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria in excelsis*. Of the latest addition to the original hymn, vv 27-29 *Miserere . . . in aeternum*, only v 28 *Fiat . . . in te* occurs in the four Irish versions B. T. D. F., but it is most important to note that it is not found in our fragment, which was therefore probably copied from an exemplar written before the introduction of this verse. That none of these four verses nor the preceding v 26 *Dignare . . . custodire* (also missing here) formed part of the original or even of the enlarged *Te Deum* seems clear from the *Amen* which precedes them at the end of v 25 in the Bangor Antiphoner: *Et laudamus . . . saeculum saeculi. Amen.* Mr Warren remarked: 'one suspects the Amen of being a thoughtless insertion by a scribe at the conclusion of words where an Amen might naturally be likely to occur', but he added that 'it may mark the actual termination at one period of the hymn'. Dr Burn came to this latter conclusion, which is now justified, for, whilst the Turin fragment, published three years ago, corresponds exactly with B. in the *Amen* and the verse following it, our recently-discovered page has the *Amen* after *saecula saeculorum* (a unique variant for *saeculum saeculi*, but perhaps reminiscent of the *Gloria (et honor) patri et filio*) as the end of the hymn. Mr C. H. Turner, who has kindly re-examined the manuscript for me in order that there may be no doubt on the matter, writes that the last half line *et in saecula saeculorum, Amen* is crowded into the bottom of the page and is evidently intended as the close of the canticle.

The various antiphons or other sentences found in some MSS at the end of the *Te Deum*, such as *Te decet laus, &c.*, or *Gloria et honor, &c.*, have nothing corresponding to them in ours which may be looked on as representing the earliest (before the seventh century) form of development of the original *Te Deum*, viz. with two antiphons at its conclusion and one at its beginning, and it will be noticed that, thus arranged, the concluding and the introductory antiphon both have as their theme the praise of the name of the Lord.¹

HENRY MARRIOTT BANNISTER.

¹ It would be out of place here to reopen the question whether the canticle is addressed to the first or the second person of the Holy Trinity; but if vv 5, 6 *Sanctus . . . gloria tua* are neglected as interpolated from Is. vi 3 or, more probably, from the liturgical *Sanctus* (H. reading *gloria tua Osanna in excelsis*), and if vv 11-13 *Patrem . . . spiritum*, in spite of Dr Burn's contention (*Guardian*, July 31, 1907), are considered as a later interpolation due to a doctrinal definition, all the verses of the primitive composition begin with *Te, Tibi, or Tu*, and form a harmonious whole in honour of the incarnate Son. (If *aeternum patrem*, v 2, is original and must refer to the Father, the break from vv 1-13 *Te, Tibi* of the Father to v 14 *Tu gloriae rex Christe* is very harsh.)

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE HYMNS OF
ST AMBROSE.

I AM preparing an edition of the early Latin Hymns, of which the Hymns of Ambrose will form perhaps the most important part. My chief reason for publishing these notes is the hope of receiving criticisms on them which may be of service to me in the forthcoming volume. By 'the Hymns of Ambrose' I mean the eighteen attributed to him by Biraghi, not the twelve of the Benedictines.

The books referred to are these:—

The Benedictine edition of the works of Ambrose, 1690.

Biraghi *Inni sinceri . . . di Sant' Ambrogio*, 1862.

Daniel *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*.

Dreves *Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchengesangs*, 1893.

Kayser *Beiträge zur Geschichte . . . der alten Kirchenhymnen*², 1881.

Lipp *Die Hymnen des Cistercienser Breviers*, 1890.

Mone *Lateinische Hymnen . . .* 1853 &c.

Pimont *Les Hymnes du Bréviaire romain*, 1874 &c.

Thomasius *Psalterium . . .* (1685 and) 1747.

Trench *Sacred Latin Poetry*³, 1886.

Werner *Die ältesten Hymnensammlungen von Rheinau*, 1891.

[Thomasius I have referred to as Tomasi, because his own countryman Biraghi does so. I have seen only the edition of 1747.]

The MSS to which I refer in especial are those of the Ambrosian use or closely connected with it, the Roman figures indicating the dates of the MSS.

(a) Vat. reg. 11^{vii}. (b) Vat. 82^x. (c) Vat. 83^{xi}. (d) Ambrosian T 103 sup. ^{ix}, ^x. (e) Cap. Mediol. s.n. ^x, ^{xi}. (f) Ambr. A. 189 inf. ^{xii}. (g) Ambr. A 1 inf. ^{xii}. (h) Ambr. J 27 sup. ^{xii}. (i) Ambr. J 55 sup. ^{xi}, ^{xii}. (k) Ambr. E 71 b inf. ^{xii}, ^{xiii}.

All these I have collated twice, in 1902, and again in 1904.

I *Aeterne rerum conditor* [MSS *ceik* and thirty-four others¹].

9 f. *Hoc excitatus lucifer
soluit polum caligine,
hoc omnis errorum chorus
uiam nocendi deserit.*

¹ i. e. thirty-four other MSS that I know to contain the hymn.

All MSS read *errorum*. But the Roman Breviary of 1632 reads *erronum*, and this has been adopted by Kehrein,¹ Biraghi, Trench, Lipp, and Dreves. But is this comparatively modern conjecture desirable? I think not. The word *errones* means 'idle and malingering slaves', and is explained here, by most of those who read it, of evil men: Lipp translates it by *Landstreicher*. Dreves says that *erronum* is necessitated by the wording of Hex. V xxiv 88 (a parallel passage several periods in length closely connected with the hymn) *hoc canente latro suas relinquit insidias*. But these words seem to me to answer rather to lines 21 f of our hymn: *gallo canente . . . mucro latronis conditur*. This last line is mere tautology if we take *errorum* (or *erronum*) as referring to *men*. *Errorum* is to be taken of wandering *spirits*, 'the extravagant and erring spirit' of Hamlet I i. The abstract is used for the concrete, —no extraordinary liberty. Prudentius probably had this stanza in his mind, Cath. i 37 f *ferunt uagantes daemones, | laetos tenebris noctium, | gallo canente exterritos | sparsim timere et cedere*. Trench's argument, that the common word *errorum* had ousted the rarer *erronum*, is hardly to the point here, where the latter word is found in no MS.²

For *chorus* the Rom. Brev. substitutes *cohors*, perhaps to avoid the sinister sense thus given to *chorus*, which is, however, a more significant word here, and is illustrated by *laetos* of the passage quoted from Prudentius.

ib. 15. *hoc ipsa petra ecclesiae
canente culpam diluit.*

So most MSS and editors. But three good MSS [*h*, Rheinau 111 2, Turin G v 38 21] read *ipse*, which we must certainly read. MSS would be sure to change the *e* to an *a*. And Biraghi points out that it is better to give the tears of repentance to the person *ipse* than to the metaphor *petra*. Pimont argues strongly but unconvincingly in favour of *ipsa*.³

ib. 25. *Iesu labantes respice.*

The great majority of MSS read *labentes*, which gives a good sense but brings a spondee into the 2nd foot.⁴ Some good MSS have *labantes*, 'ready to fall', which is to be preferred as suiting both sense and metre.

¹ *Latinische Anthologie aus den christlichen Dichtern . . .* 1840.

² p. 249. Cp. Kayser, p. 166.

³ i p. 57 f.

⁴ Ambrose is strict as to his prosody. Cp. Ebert *Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 i p. 181 'das Metrum ist mit aller Sorgfalt beobachtet'. Trench p. 90 'no single instance in the genuine hymns of St Ambrose . . . of a line beginning with two spondees'. Manitius *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, p. 140. Biraghi p. 29 f, Dreves p. 44 f. Pimont, on the other hand, thinks that Ambrose was indifferent on such a point and would read *labentes*. Certainly the scribes who copied the hymn would have no opinion about it, but take what they found in their exemplar.

The Ambrosians have *pauentes*, introduced, Pimont suggests, by the monkish copyists under the influence of the fear of nightly demons: cp. this stanza of a Mozarabic hymn: *hinc te Deus deposcimus, | ut peruagantes daemonas | signo salutis destruas | nos a pauore liberans*. Dreves, influenced by the Ambrosian tradition, is inclined to read *pauentes*. But the parallel passage in Hex. V xxiv 88 *Iesus titubantes respicit* seems to show that a word of 'tottering to a fall' is required.

ib. 27. *si respicis lapsus cadunt
fletuque culpa soluitur.*

Most MSS and editors read this, but we find many varieties in the tradition: *si respicis lapsi (laptos) cadunt* [i.e. fall on their knees]; *si respicis lapsos, stabunt*, this giving a spondee in the 4th foot. For *laptus* we also find *laptis, laxis*. The Oxford MS Junius 25¹² rewrites unmetrically *si nos respicis lapsi non cadunt*. For the peculiar use of *cadunt* cp. Ambr. Carm. i 16 [Biraghi p. 137] *ut puncto exiguo culpa cadat populi*.

ib. 32. *et uota soluamus tibi.*

Most MSS (the scribes not understanding what the 'vows' were) read *et ora soluamus tibi*, a good many *et ore psallamus tibi*, either of which readings after line 31 *te nostra uox primum sonet* would be mere tautology.

II *Splendor paternae gloriae* [MSS *a b c e f i k* and forty-one others].

3 *primordiis lucis nouae*, the Benedictine reading, comes in no MSS of this hymn: *quod unde sumpserint, prorsus ignoro*, says Daniel. It is the 3rd line of the ferial hymn *Lucis creator optime*.

4 *diem dies inluminans*.

This reading, although adopted by the Rom. Brev., the Benedictines, Mone, Biraghi, Dreves, and Pimont, is not found in any of the older MSS, almost all of which read the undoubtedly true text *dies dierum inluminans*. Participles used as adj.'s regularly take a gen.; cp. Verg. *patiens uomeris*, Cic. *sui despiciens*. Then as to the use of the plural Kayser well says: 'Es bedarf kaum der Bemerkung, dass der Gegensatz des einen ewigen Tages zu den unzähligen einzelnen irdischen Tagen der Schreibung *dies dierum* den Vorzug einräumt. Ebenso sieht jeder, wie treffend durch die Genitivkonstruktion bei dem Participium Präs. die bleibende und dauernde, regelmässig und unabänderlich wiederkehrende Lichtwirkung des Sohnes ausgedrückt ist.' Some MSS read *dies diem inluminans*, which no doubt is a misreading of the contracted form in which *dierum* would be written. Moreover,

¹ Stanza 3 of the hymn *Gallo canente uenimus*; Dreves *Analecta* xxvii p. 84.

when elision was no longer in use, it would be easier to sing and more natural to write *diem* than the longer *dierum*.

III *Iam surgit hora tertia* [MSS *a b c e f i k*, in no others].

4 f *Qui corde Christum suscipit
innoxium sensum gerit
uotisque praestat sedulis
sanctum mereri Spiritum.*

So all the MSS. Biraghi and Dreves, however, with Tomasi, read *perstat*, which is certainly easier. But *praestat* is defensible = 'endeavours', 'exerts himself' to obtain. Forcellini quotes Livy xxx 30 *quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem eius paeniteret praestiti*.

17 f *Celso triumphu uertice
matri loquebatur suae
'en filius, mater, tuus',
apostolo, 'en mater tua'.*

apostolo is governed by *loquebatur*. This is my conjecture, as I cannot think that the vulg. *apostole* is right.

21 *Praetenta nuptae foedera.*

So all the MSS. *Praetenta*, from *praetendere*, gives a good sense. But I cannot help thinking that we should read *praetexta*. Ambrose (who so often repeats himself) says in Luc. x 133 *quo loco* [i. e. Joh. xix 26 f] *uberrimum testimonium Mariae uirginitatis adhibetur . . . neque enim abrogatur uxor marito, cum scriptum sit, quod Deus coniunxit homo non separet; sed quae propter mysterium coniugium praetexuit, completis mysteriis iam coniugium non egebat.*

IV *Rector potens, uerax Deus*, [MSS *b c e f i k* + 43].

*qui temperas rerum uices,
splendore mane instruis
et ignibus meridiem.*

If Ambrose is strict in prosody, he cannot have left such a hiatus as that in line 3. I should read *splendore mane qui instruis*, the *qui* having dropped out of the archetype. Then the structure of the hymn will be like that of the similar hymn for none, *Rerum Deus tenax uigor*. The whole of the 1st stanza is taken up with the invocation, and the petition follows in the next stanza.

V *Deus creator omnium* [MSS *a b c e f i k* + 29].

9 f *Grates peracto iam die
et noctis exortu preces
uotis reos ut adiuues
hymnum canentes soluimus*

This is the vulg. and most difficult, indeed hardly to be translated. But eight MSS, *a c* among them, read in line 3 *uoti* for *uotis*, and all becomes clear. 'We pay our thanks and prayers . . . that thou wouldest help us who are bound in our vow.' The phrase is taken from Verg. Aen. v 237, where Cloanthus addresses the sea-gods: *taurum | constituum ante aras, uoti reus.*

27 *ne hostis inuidi dolo.*

Here we have an unpleasant hiatus. Mone read *nec* for *ne* from a XV cent. MS at Freiburg, and it is also in our MSS *a e*, but not (as Dreves says, p. 141) in *b*.

VI *Veni redemptor gentium* [MSS *a b c d e f g h i k + 39*].

This well-known line is not the 1st but the 5th of the hymn. The 1st stanza runs thus: *Intende qui regis Israhel, | super cherubin qui sedes, | adpare Ephrem coram, excita | potentiam tuam et ueni.* It is in all the Ambrosian MSS, in Trier 592-1578^{ix}, * and in Munich clm 17027^x, ^{xi}; and it is taken almost as the words stand from psalm lxxix (lxxx) 1. The first words of the psalm in the old Gallican use and in others formed the antiphon for the 1st Sunday in Advent, for which *excita quaesumus, Domine, potentiam tuam & ueni* was (and in the Roman use still is) the collect, as it is for our 4th Sunday.

The stanza is an integral part of the hymn, Ambrose incorporating a passage of Scripture (as he also does in his hymn *Amore Christi nobilis*). In it he prays that Christ may come as the shepherd of Israel, in the 2nd stanza that He may come as redeemer of the Gentiles. The two ideas are often combined in the NT and even in the OT, cp. Ps. xcvi (xcviii) 2 f, Mt. x 5, xv 22, 24, Lk. i 32, Ac. xiii 46. Prud. Cath. xii 41 f.

hic ille rex est gentium | populique rex Iudaici is probably imitated from this passage. When elisions were disused the stanza would become hard to sing, and may have thus fallen out of use; or some copyist may have deliberately left it out, thinking *Veni redemptor gentium* to be a finer opening, as it no doubt is. Cp. Förster, Ambrosius p. 329.

29 *praesepe iam fulget tuum
lumenque nox spirat nouum.*

Our MS *a*, with three other good MSS, reads *sperat*, which Mone alone accepts. On such a point *a* is valueless, as like many other old MSS it writes *e* and *i* indiscriminately. Thus it has *strinuus*, *mins*, *mystirium*, and on the other hand *crededit*, *tumescet*.

VII *Amore Christi nobilis* [MSS *b c d e g h i k + 2*].

7 *turbante dum natat salo.*

So all the MSS. Biraghi, however, followed by Dreves, conjectures *nutat* to match *de uirginit.* xx 131 *hic ergo piscator dum ipse turbato*

agitatur salo mobili mente statione nutantes fundavit in petra. Before changing we should make sure that the original reading there is *nutantes*. For *nata* is quite suitable here, being used both of physical and mental disturbance; cp. Ov. Met. v 72 *oculis sub nocte natantibus atra | circumspexit*; Hor. Sat. II vij 7 *pars multa natat, modo recta capessens, | interdum pravis obnoxia.*

14 *mundi supernatans salum,*

So the MSS, but the editors (except Daniel) read *salo*, and Ambr. uses it with the dat. elsewhere. But why not follow the MSS here? If *superscandere* takes an acc., why should not *supernatare*?

22 *sed laude ipse resonet*

is the reading of *d e f g i*, and must be corrupt. Biraghi corrects to *sed ipse laude resonet*, which is at least fairly metrical, with the exception of the long *rē-* of *resonet*, though this may, I think, be justified by the fact that the original form of the prefix *re* was *red*, which explains such forms as *red-do*, *red-eo*, &c. But the sense is not easy to see. Two MSS *b c* [the hymn is not in *a*] for *resonet* have *se sonet*, but this again is hardly satisfactory.

VIII *Inluminans altissimus* [MSS *a b c d e f g i* + 19].

27 *f quis haec¹ uidens mirabitur
iuges meatus fontium?*

Thus read about three-quarters of the MSS, and so most editors rightly, Mone, dismissing *fontium* as 'ohne Sinn', follows the other eight in reading *faucium*! So, too, Werner, who professes especially to follow his Rheinau MSS: the two that contain this hymn have *faucium*. That *fontium* is right is shewn by a parallel passage from Ambrose in Luc, vi 86: *hoc quidem mirum, quidquid de fluminibus haurias, signo dispendii non notari, quidquid de fontibus haurias, usurario quodam reparari meatu. sed et fluminibus, si nihil decedere nihil tamen uideatur accedere, at uero hic panis, quem frangit Iesus, . . . dum diuiditur augetur.*

IX *Hic est dies uerus Dei* [MSS *a b c d e f k* + 10].

7 *quem non graui soluit metu
latronis absolutio?*

So all the Ambrosian MSS, except *a*, which reads *soluet*, but is unreliable on such a point.² However, Tomasi and Mone read *soluet*; —Tomasi because he found it in *a*, Mone because he thinks it should be in the same tense as *mirabitur* of viii 27. The present is as suitable as the future, and being much better supported should be read here:

¹ i. e. the miraculous feeding of the five thousand.

² See above on vi 29.

'Whom does not the pardoning of the robber free from grievous dread?' The variant *solvat* is not, as Mone suspects, a correction of Junius himself; it is found not only in Bodley Junius 25 ^{ix} *init.*, but in Werner's two Rheinau MSS. Ambrose in another hymn uses the subjunctive in a similar question: *hic quis requirat testium | uoces, ubi factum est fides?*¹

5 *fidem refundens perditis | caecosque uisu inluminans.*

This is the vulg., but Tomasi, Mone, and Werner are no doubt right in reading *perfidis* with *a*² and three other MSS. *perfidis* is contrasted with *fidem*, as *caecos* with *inluminans*.

9 f *qui praemium mutans cruce*
Iesum breui adquisit fide,
iustosque praeuio gradu
praeuenit in regnum Dei.³
opus stupent et angeli. . .

The variants here are many. In 10 *a* and two good MSS read *adquisiuit*, the Ambrosians, Junius 25 and Rheinau 111 *quesiuit*, the other 6 *querit*. Thus there is a decided balance in favour of the perfect. I read *adquisit*, because a copyist who found *querit* or *quesiuit* would be most unlikely to change it into the longer word, which would be awkward in singing when elision was no longer in use. Mone reads *quaerit* chiefly because *mutans* is present, as if the tense of the participle could affect the tense of the verb.

In 11 *iustos praeuenit* = 'preceded the righteous'. That the *iusti* of Lk xv 7 are meant is shewn by the mention of the angels in the next line, with a further reference probably to Mt. xxi 31. Mone explains '*iusti* sind die Altväter in der Vorhölle, ehe Christus diese befreit hatte, war der Schächer schon im Paradiese'. This seems to me very far-fetched.

About half the MSS, *a* among them, have *iustus*. But *a* is most unreliable on this point also, writing e.g. in this hymn *corpuris* and *hictu* (= *ictu*).⁴

Two MSS have *peruenit*, which would naturally go with *iustus* taken as nom. sing.

a and Junius 25 have *regno*, which may be right.

¹ Daniel xxxviii 13 f. He there reads *dic quis . . .*, the reading which he found in Acta SS for June iii 842 from a Milan breviary of XVIth cent.

² *a* actually reads according to its wont *perfidis*.

³ 10 Of the edd Tom. Wern. *quassiu* (which will not scan), Bir. Drev. *quassit* Dan. *acquirit* (found in no old MS). The MSS which read *adquisiuit* are *a*, Rheinau 83 ^v, ²¹, St Gallen 387 ²¹. 11 Tom. Dan. Bir. Drev. *iustus . . . peruenit*.

⁴ Other exx. in *a* of confusion between *o* and *u* are *infurmet* (= *informet*), *actos* (= *actus*), *subria* (= *sobria*), *apostule*, *manos*. Cf. note on vi 29.

27 f *moriatur uita omnium,*
resurgat uita omnium.

So edd. (and MSS) except Mone, who rewrites 27 *iam mortua est uita omnium*, and Mone and Dan., who with *a* read *resurgat ut uita omnium*. If Ambrose is strict in metre¹ he cannot have left 27 as it stands, with a spondee in the 2nd foot and a hiatus after a short unaccented syllable. Biraghi thinks that the semi-vowel *u* of *uita* would not lengthen the preceding *-tur* and *-gat*. But this is not the case: *u* before a vowel is a consonant, is often transliterated in Greek by β , and constantly in MSS confused with δ . I believe that *ut* has fallen out in both verses, and would read *moriatur ut uita omnium, resurgat ut uita omnium*. The two verses are parallel, and if *ut* is inserted in the one, it must be inserted in the other.

X *Aeterna Christi munera* [MSS *b c d e f g i* + 34].

This hymn, as Ambrose wrote it, was in honour of martyrs. Its subsequent adaptation to Apostles and the consequent breaking up into two hymns have introduced some perplexity into its text. Daniel truly says *hymnum . . . ab ecclesia misere dilaceratum uidemus*.

12 *uitam beatam possident.*

So the vulg., but Tom., Biraghi, and Drevés rightly read *lucem b. p.* with *b c g i*, cap. Veron. XC^{ix} Cas. 420^{xi}. *uitam* would come in from *uitam beatam carpere* line 16 of *Hic est dies uerus Dei*.

XI *Agnes beatae uirginis* [MSS *b c d f g i* + 3].

8 *cedebat et fessus senex.*

So all editors. But the codd. have *effessus d f³ h i*, or *efessus f¹*, Cap. Veron. XC or *effessi* Vat. 7172^{xi}. *effessus* is a rightly formed word meaning 'worn out' and should be read. Similar adjectives are *edurus*, *efferus*.

13 f *prodire quis nuptam putet,*
sic laeta uultu ducitur,
nouas uero ferens opes
dotata censu sanguinis.

So runs the stanza in Tomasi. *nuptam* 'a bride' makes good enough sense, but later editors rightly prefer *nuptum* (supine) of all the older MSS = 'going forth to her bridal'. 15 is unmetrical, which fault Mone remedied by reading *uero nouas*. But the true reading *nouas uiro* ('for her husband') is found in Veron. cap. XC^{ix} and Cas. 506 Q^x.

¹ Cf. notes on i 25, iv 1.

25 f *percussa quam pompam tulit!*
nam ueste se totam tegit,
curam pudoris praestitit,
ne quis relectam cerneret.

In 25 Daniel reads *percussam*, without authority and against the metre. Mone conjectures *qua* for *quam* 'as the sense demands', which I do not understand.

In 26 the true reading *tegens* is preserved in *b d*. The present *tegit* between the two perfects would be very awkward.

A. S. WALPOLE.

THE CATACOMB OF PRISCILLA AND THE PRIMITIVE MEMORIALS OF ST PETER.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Serie V: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1906.

THIS volume contains a brief summary (p. 304 ff) of the discoveries made during the year 1906 in the Catacombs. The chief interest of these lies in the fact that they contributed something to the solution of what is perhaps the most important question debated in recent years in this field of study. A tradition of great antiquity placed the scene of St Peter's administration of the rite of baptism in the region to the east and north-east of Rome bounded by the Via Nomentana and Via Salaria. The Basilica and Catacomb of St Agnes adjoin the first-named of these roads, while the Catacomb of Priscilla borders on the latter. In the later recension of the list of Christian cemeteries¹ the *coemeterium fontis* (or *ad nymphas*) *S. Petri* takes its place between the *coemeterium S. Agnetis* and the *coemeterium Priscillae*; but this of course leaves its precise situation an open question. The *Gesta Liberii*, a document which Duchesne² considers to have been written not later than the beginning of the sixth century, carry us a step further. We are told by the author³ that Liberius, when ordered by Constantius to leave Rome, took up his residence *ab urbe Roma milliario tertio quasi exul in cimiterio Novellae Via Salaria*. All that we know concerning the Cemetery of Novella is contained in a passage of the *Life of St Marcellus*

¹ De Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* i p. 159, from the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*.

² *Liber Pontificalis* i p. cxxii.

³ *Constant Epp. Rom. pont.* p. 90; *Migne Patrol. Lat.* viii 1391.

in the Liber Pontificalis, which runs as follows:—*hic rogavit quandam matronam nomine Priscillam et fecit cymiterium Novellae Via Salaria*. From this passage it has been concluded—though the inference is not binding—that the Cemetery of Novella was an extension of that of Priscilla, possibly due to the munificence of a descendant of the saint who gave her name to the original foundation. To return to the Acts of Liberius; we learn that as the season of Easter approached the Pope summoned an assembly of the clergy and laity and took his seat ‘in the cemetery’. The question was debated whither Liberius should repair in order to administer the rite of baptism, and Damasus (the future successor of Liberius) advised him to remain where he was—*erat enim ibi non longe a cymiterio Novellae cymiterius Ostrianus ubi Petrus apostolus baptizavit*. These words—especially the adverb *ibi*—lead naturally to the conclusion that the *coemeterium Ostrianum* (the name is not otherwise known, and its derivation is uncertain¹) is to be sought on the Via Salaria, but there remains a piece of evidence which convinced the great De Rossi that the name was applied to a portion of the Catacomb of St Agnes. This is contained in the Passio S. Marcelli, dating probably from the sixth century, which enumerates the martyrs who suffered in Marcellus’s pontificate, amongst them SS. Papias and Maurus, of whom the following words are used:—*quorum corpora collegit noctu Ioannes presbyter et sepelivit via Numentana sub die quarto Calendarum Februariarum ad nymphas S. Petri ubi baptizabat*.² Here we have to all appearance a definite statement to the effect that the spot where St Peter baptized was on the Via Nomentana; and it seems to derive confirmation from the fact that the burial-place of St Papias adjoined that of St Emerentiana, the foster-sister of St Agnes, whose crypt was discovered in 1873 and identified by means of an inscription found three years later.³ This crypt forms part of the catacomb which adjoins, but is distinct from that immediately beneath and around the basilica of St Agnes, and is designated in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum⁴ as the *coemeterium majus* in which the bodies of St Papias and St Emerentiana reposed. The same term is found in an inscription, now in the Museo Capitolino, which runs as follows:—*xvi Kal Octob Martyrom [in in cimi]teru maiore Victoris Felic[is Papias] Emerentianetis et Alexan[dri]*; unfortunately it is not certain that the

¹ The name Ostrius occurs on a brick stamp (*C. I. L.* xv 1871) which Borghesi read *ex praediis Albanianis C. Ostrii Serr(ani)*.

² *Acta SS.* Jan. 16.

³ Cf. Armellini *Scoperta della cripta di Santa Emerentiana*, Rome, 1877. It was thought that the letters SANC PET could also be read on this wall of this crypt, but this seems very doubtful. St Emerentiana is said in the Acts of St Agnes to have been buried *in confinio agelli beatissimae Martyris Agnetis*.

⁴ Sept. 16, ed. De Rossi-Duchesne, p. 121.

name of St Papias was contained in the missing portion. De Rossi, arguing from the passage in the *Passio S. Marcelli* quoted above, had, even before the discovery of the crypt of St Emerentiana, identified the *coemeterium Ostriarium* of the Gesta Liberii with the *coemeterium majus* adjoining that of St Agnes,¹ and his opinion was shared by all students of Christian archaeology until the year 1900, when excavations were carried on in a portion of the Catacomb of Priscilla which had been superficially examined by De Rossi in 1889, but had failed to attract his attention by reason of the absorbing interest attaching to the crypt of the Acilii Glabrones and the basilica of St Sylvester, which were discovered at the same time. The excavations of 1900 brought to light a subterranean reservoir or *piscina* approached by a broad flight of steps. At the foot of the stairway was a chamber paved with travertine and terminating in an apse in which was a rectangular niche pierced with an opening giving access to the *piscina*.² Comm. Marucchi saw that this was no ordinary reservoir like others found in the same catacomb, which doubtless belonged originally to the *Villa* of the Acilii Glabrones, transformed into a Christian cemetery; he recognized in it a primitive baptistery, appealing in support of his view to a fragmentary inscription scratched on one of the arches surmounting the *piscina* which reads QVI SITET VEN [iat ad me et bibat]; the quotation is one naturally inscribed at a spot where baptism was administered, and was employed by St Damasus in lines written for a baptistery.³ Marucchi was at first inclined to think that the excavations had revealed the spot where Liberius baptized in his enforced retirement from the city (*v. supra*), but he soon became convinced that a site to which so great importance was attached must have been hallowed by more august traditions, and that, in fact, this was none other than the *fons S. Petri*. Upon reviewing the question, he found that there were certain indications pointing to the neighbourhood of the Via Salaria as the scene of St Peter's ministry. The most important of these was contained in the famous parchment of Monza, which gives a list—or, to speak more accurately, two lists—of the oils collected at the tombs of the martyrs for the Lombard Queen Theodolinda in the time of St Gregory the Great.⁴ The collection was made by a certain Johannes, who wrote the names of the saints on slips of parchment attached to the vials containing the oils, and afterwards made a list of the whole number. We possess both the slips and the list transcribed from them (which must not be taken

¹ *Roma Sotterranea* i p. 191; *Bull. Crist.* 1867, p. 40.

² These remains are described and illustrated in the *Bollettino di archeologia cristiana* for 1901.

³ Cf. *Ihm Damasi epigrammata* p. xvii.

⁴ First published by Marini *Papiri diplomatici* (1805) p. 208 f.

to indicate the order in which the catacombs were visited), and on each slip we find a group of names belonging to the same region. Now one of these slips is thus inscribed :—

‘Sedes ubi prius sedit S^c̄s Petrus ex oleo¹
S^c̄i Vitalis S^c̄s Alexander S^c̄s Martialis S^c̄s Marcell
us S^c̄i Silvestri S^c̄i Felicis S^c̄i Filippi & ali
orum multorum S^c̄orum.’

All the saints here mentioned were buried on the Via Salaria—the first three in the so-called ‘Cimitero dei Giordani’, which is contiguous with the catacomb of Priscilla, the remainder in that catacomb itself. It may be reasonably inferred that the *Sedes S. Petri* was to be found on the Via Salaria, and the importance of the site would naturally lead to its mention at the head of the list which refers to that region. Marucchi found a second argument in support of his theory in the fact that in the ‘Sylloge of Verdun’, a collection of Christian inscriptions formed about the eighth century A.D.,² the epitaphs of the saints and martyrs buried in the Basilica of St Sylvester in the Catacomb of Priscilla are immediately followed by two inscriptions relating to the rite of baptism. The first of these (No. 25) bears the heading *isti versiculi sunt scripti ad fontes* and contains in its closing lines an allusion to St Peter and the Apostolic See, which, owing to the corruption of the text, is wrapped in obscurity; the second (No. 26) is prefaced by the words *isti versiculi scripti sunt ubi pontifex consignat infantes* and evidently belonged to a baptistery of some importance, since it ends with the words :—

‘Tu cruce suscepta mundi vitare procellas
disce magis monitus hac ratione loci.’

These two inscriptions are followed by four others copied within the city (at the SS. Apostoli, S. Maria Maggiore, the Lateran, and the Vatican), with which the collection closes, and it is not, therefore, certain that they belong to the cemetery of Priscilla. De Rossi, in fact, supposed that they were copied in the baptistery of St Damasus appertaining to the Vatican basilica,³ but only on the ground that no baptistery was known to exist on the Via Salaria. Since the recent discoveries have removed this objection, Marucchi’s conjecture seems highly probable.

Thus positive indications are not wanting which point to the cemetery of Priscilla or its immediate neighbourhood as the traditional site of

¹ In the list of oils we find the expression *oleo de sede ubi prius sedit S^c̄us Petrus*.

² De Rossi *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae* ii 131 ff.

³ *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae* ii p. 178 f.

St Peter's ministry, and nothing could be on *a priori* grounds more likely than that the memorials of the Apostle should be found in this, the earliest of the Catacombs, whose remains carry us back to the sub-apostolic age. The passage from the Passio S. Marcelli quoted above seems, however, to raise a serious difficulty in the way of this identification. On a closer examination, however, the objection loses much of its force. Although the Acts of St Marcellus mention both saints, our other authorities refer only to St Papias as buried in the *coemeterium maius*; on the other hand, the *Liber de locis SS. martyrum* couples a St Maurus¹ with SS. Crescentianus and Marcellinus, who suffered martyrdom in the same persecution and were certainly buried in the Catacomb of Priscilla. This suggests that the passage from the Passio S. Marcelli stands in need of correction, and that the words *Via Numentana* refer to St Papias only, while the note *ad nymphas S. Petri ubi baptizabat* applies to the burial-place of his fellow martyr. The order of the words is, however, in any case unusual, for in the parallel sections of the Passio which deal with other martyrdoms the date is always given at the end. Now the opening words of the passage relating to SS. Papias and Maurus run as follows:—*post dies duodecim iussit Laodicius praefectus Papiam et Maurum milites qui baptizati fuerant a B. Marcello episcopo sibi praesentari in circo Flaminio, &c.* Hence it has been conjectured by Marucchi that the words *ad nymphas S. Petri ubi baptizabat* in the later passage are a marginal note which has been displaced and should be read immediately after *episcopo*; the subject of *baptizabat* will then be St Marcellus and not St Peter. The conjecture is undoubtedly attractive; and in any case the uncertainty attaching to the interpretation of the text of the Passio S. Marcelli renders the argument based thereon by De Rossi inconclusive.

Nevertheless, the use of the phrase *ad nymphas* is of great importance, inasmuch as it clearly implies that the place where St Peter baptized was marked by the presence of abundant sources of water. Now this is especially true of the Catacomb of Priscilla, and the excavations of 1906 have placed the fact in a clearer light than before. In the first place, the region adjoining the baptistery brought to light in 1900 was more fully excavated, and it was found that the *piscina* was surrounded on all sides by galleries containing tombs, which were earlier than the monumental staircase giving access to the baptistery, but themselves cut through ancient conduits in the tufa which here covers a stratum of clay about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres in thickness. The presence of this stratum causes the subsoil to be impregnated with water, and the excavation of

¹ Not to be identified with the child-martyr buried with his mother Hilaria, whose tomb is mentioned by William of Malmesbury.

Christian burial-places in such surroundings is unexampled and would be unintelligible were it not that the baptistery was an exceptionally hallowed site. Nor was the *piscina* found in 1900 the only reservoir regarded with veneration in the cemetery of Priscilla. In the lower level of the catacomb, not far from the crypt of the Acilii Glabriones, but at a considerably greater depth,¹ is a second *piscina*, likewise approached by a flight of steps.¹ The recent excavations have demonstrated that this stairway was prolonged until it reached the surface of the ground by the Basilica of St Sylvester. It is evident, therefore, that we have here another site hallowed by early Christian tradition ; and the view that the *nymphae* which furnished St Peter with the means of baptism have been brought to light is likely to be very generally accepted. It must be further remembered that the Basilica of St Sylvester itself appears to have been specially adapted for the administration of the baptismal rite ; but the questions relating to this building, the remains of which have now been rendered accessible to archaeologists by the kindness of the King of Italy, upon whose property they are situated, must be reserved for future discussion.

H. STUART JONES.

¹ De Rossi had already suggested that this was used for baptismal purposes (*Bull. Crist.* 1887, p. 17).

REVIEWS

MR E. F. SCOTT ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL.¹

THE authorship and date of the Fourth Gospel are not fully discussed in this volume: but a definite theory on both points is assumed and made the basis for an examination of the contents of the Gospel. The theory is this—the writer was not an eyewitness, he was ‘one who had never seen Christ in the flesh’ and who lived at the beginning of the second century; he was ‘a man of profound religious feeling’, ‘with a unique religious temperament’, ‘an active leader of the Church in a difficult time’, who composed this Gospel to meet the special needs of his time. His object was to re-interpret the Gospel message to a new generation, to adapt it to Hellenic thought, to express it in the language of inward religious experience: for the Church was face to face with serious and pressing difficulties; the Jewish antagonism was still strong, urging the objections to the Lord’s claims which are to be found in Celsus and the Talmud; there were still disciples of John the Baptist, regarding him as the Messiah; and a rising Gnosticism was tending to evacuate the Gospel of its historical content and to reduce it to a philosophical theory, ‘making its primary appeal to the logical intelligence’: meanwhile the Church itself, standing sharply apart from the world with its organized ministry and regular sacraments, needed, on the one hand, to have a theology formulated which should be the adequate expression of its common faith, and, on the other, to have its conception of the sacraments deepened and spiritualized and saved from being degraded into magical formulae. In the presence of these difficulties the writer sets to work to compose this Gospel: he despairs of winning over the Jews, but he hopes to make an appeal to the followers of the Baptist and the Gnostic philosophers by shewing the amount of truth and the limitations of the truth which they hold.

As against Gnosticism he feels that it is important to insist upon historical fact, to revive the historical setting of the Life of the Lord and the foundation of the Church; on the other hand, he wants to interpret the facts and the teaching of the Lord in the light of subsequent developments, ‘in the retrospect of an enlightened faith’. Accordingly he follows the Synoptic tradition in its main outlines (the preaching of the Baptist, the formation of ‘the twelve’, the misunderstanding of the masses, the antagonism of the rulers, the crucifixion and resurrection), but adapts its materials very freely (e.g. the story of the raising of Lazarus is created out of the Lucan accounts of the visit to Mary and

¹ A short notice of this book appeared in the *J. T.S.* of October 1907.

Martha, of the raising of the widow's son at Nain, and of the parable of Dives and Lazarus), and at times freely invents incidents (e.g. the miracle at Cana) to illustrate certain spiritual truths. To these facts he adds his own prologue, partly under Jewish influence and partly under that of Philo, identifying the human Christ with a metaphysical Logos ; and he also puts into the Lord's mouth illustrative discourses which are modified, partly by Gnostic tendencies in the stress laid on the Spirit of Truth and on the value of knowledge, partly by the teaching of St Paul, and partly by his own theology which often (as in the theory of the nature of sin and the identification of the Parousia with the Resurrection) differs from that of St Paul. Jesus is made to speak in His earthly life as He was speaking in the second century in the consciousness of the Christian Church : and the writer's main aim is to shew that Jesus is as truly a giver of life and light and truth now as He was when He walked in Galilee and Jerusalem. These incidents and discourses are then grouped together on an artificial framework, which is mainly influenced by arrangements based on the numbers seven and three.

Such is Mr Scott's theory of the composition of the Gospel ; this is assumed from the first, and the main substance of his volume is an examination of the positive teaching of the writer in respect to such vital subjects as the work of the Logos, the meaning of the Christ, the Son of God, the Son of Man, the significance of sin and of the Death of Christ in relation to it, the method of the communication of Life, the influence of the Spirit, the time of the Parousia. This work is done with much thoroughness and power of insight ; but in nearly every case it is pointed out that the Evangelist oscillates between two theories which he fails to reconcile and which the writer regards as incapable of reconciliation, the metaphysical theory of the Logos on the one hand, on the other the traditional memories of the truly human life of the historic Jesus.

Such is the main substance of the book. In estimating its value let me say first of all, without any reserve, strong words of praise. It is a work of great ability and extraordinarily full of interest : it is reverent in tone, and lucid in style ; far more than lucid, it is often illuminating ; I should myself class it in this respect with Canon Scott Holland's sermons on the Gospel in 'Creed and Character' and Dr Sanday's early book on 'The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel' (London, 1872). The chapters on 'The Ecclesiastical aims' of the Evangelist, on 'The Work of Christ', and 'The Return' are especially valuable ; and perhaps in no other English book is the main substance of the Gospel so clearly and fully analysed.

Yet there are important respects in which the argument fails to convince and to satisfy. I will single out a few.

(a) There are certain details, comparatively unimportant in themselves, which yet seem fanciful and tend to create a distrust of the writer's judgement. I doubt very much whether the arrangement of events by groups of seven and of three can be sustained. There is indeed no *a priori* objection to such a use of numbers: it prevails in St Matthew's Gospel (cf. W. C. Allen, p. lxy), and would afford an interesting point of contact between this Gospel and the Apocalypse: my objection is rather that the events so often fall into groups of two, e.g. two striking signs—one in Galilee, one in Judaea (c. ii): two interviews with individuals—one in Jerusalem, one in Samaria (cc. iii, iv): two miracles followed by controversy—one in Jerusalem, one in Galilee (cc. v, vi): indeed, as the narrative of the Gospel turns upon the contrast of faith and want of faith, there necessarily arises a succession of groups with a contrast of the two sets of actors; perhaps the most striking instance of this is to be found in c. xii, where we have four such sharp contrasted pictures, Mary and Judas (1-8), the crowd from Jerusalem and the high priests (9-11), the crowd coming to the feast and the Pharisees (12-19), the Greeks wishing to see Jesus and the Jews with their eyes blinded (20-43). Similar instances of fancifulness are the identification of Nathanael with St Paul, the resolution of 'the mother of Jesus' into the ancient faith of Judaism, of 'the beloved disciple' into the Church in its essential idea, or lastly, the statement that the second testimony of John the Baptist (in c. iii) corresponds with the Synoptic account of his sending the embassy from prison (p. 37): if a scene the essence of which is that John's faith wavers can be identified with one in which the essence is that he reiterates his faith, surely black may as easily 'correspond with' white.

(b) Mr Scott's account of the Evangelist's relation to other writings of the N.T. is at times unsatisfactory. Thus with regard to the first Epistle of St John, he does not identify the writer of this with the Evangelist but regards it as 'a later writing of the Evangelist's school': this may be a tenable position to hold, but my main criticism is that he draws upon the Epistle for illustration of the Gospel in an arbitrary way; at one time its language becomes the chief argument for an anti-Gnostic tendency in the Gospel; at another, its teaching is ignored, e.g. in relation to the nature of sin. It is, indeed, inadequate to the language of the Gospel itself to treat sin as 'the natural incapacity of man to possess himself of the higher life', but it is hopelessly inadequate if the language of the Epistle is to be taken into account as a late comment upon it by a sympathetic writer.

Again in relation to the Synoptists the reasons given why the Evangelist has omitted their narratives (v. pp. 42-45) are often fantastic. To take but one instance, the account of the Agony in Gethsemane:

we are told that his conception of Jesus as the Son of God did not admit of the apparent humbling of Himself implied in this and other scenes ; the scene did violence to the Logos hypothesis : yet he has to admit that there is a faint reminiscence of it in xii 27, 28, which indeed is scarcely more faint than the scene itself and does not stand alone, cf. xiii 21 ; and elsewhere (p. 185) he asserts that 'the authority of Jesus rests not merely on Divine Prerogative but on His victory over temptation, His knowledge of human needs and weakness, His brotherhood with men'. But on his own hypothesis of date, the Synoptist tradition is already well known, as much well known as the organization of the Church and the Sacraments : consequently, the problem never is to explain why the Evangelist has omitted facts narrated in the Synoptists, but only why he has inserted any which are so narrated : the investigation of the reason for such insertions is far more likely to be fruitful and will prove very suggestive of the points which were of primary importance in the Evangelist's eyes.

(c) Deeper still goes the inconsistency attributed to the Evangelist's attitude to historic fact. 'It would be scarcely too much to say that the history which forms the ostensible subject of his Gospel is only of secondary interest to our Evangelist, who feels himself free to modify, to adapt, to invent. Yet to sit so loose to fact is very inconsistent with the purpose so often attributed to him of counteracting the Gnostic tendency to sublimate the facts. The Gnostic urges, we will suppose, that the real essence of the Messianic power is that it transmutes life into something higher and better than existed before the Messiah came : that the essence of the Resurrection lies in the spiritual change from sin to newness of life. 'Quite true,' our Evangelist makes answer, 'yet this is not sufficient, you need some assurance guaranteed by facts that have happened ; remember the marriage feast at Cana, when water prepared for Jewish purification was transmuted into wine : remember the scene at Bethany where Lazarus did rise from the dead . . . yet, if you press me very hard, I must admit that these events did not actually take place, but were built up by myself out of hints supplied by the Synoptist tradition.' More than this, it is also difficult to reconcile such freedom of treatment, either with the frequent appeal to the historic life of that Master (*ἐκεῖνος*) in 1 St John, or with the appeal to many-sided witness in the Gospel itself, especially to the evidence of an eyewitness in one event, the blood and water issuing from the side of the Crucified, an event which lends itself more readily than any other to symbolic treatment.

This incident supplies a good instance in which to test the symbolism of the Gospel. All such symbolism is patient of two explanations : either the fact happened and then the writer saw a deep principle at work in

it; or the writer wished to illustrate a principle and invented a pictorial embodiment of it. Now in some cases in our Gospel the symbolism is so far-fetched that it is more natural that the event happened independently and that the writer's mind, being fond of symbolic treatment, tried to symbolize it as best he could, even though the results should seem forced and obscure. Such is the case with the suggested symbolism in this incident here and with the interpretation of the word Siloam: the healing of the blind man happens at Siloam; the writer sees an analogy between the name Siloam, the water sent out from the rock, and the healing water of Him who was sent out from the Father. The analogy is forced and remains obscure; yet it is more intelligible than that a story to illustrate the value of baptism should have been intentionally located at Siloam, and left in such obscurity.

No doubt there are other cases in which it would be less easy to feel sure whether the fact suggested the principle or the principle the fact, as also it is difficult to draw sharp lines between the account of what the Lord said and the comment upon it. We should all agree with Mr Scott that the events are looked at 'in the retrospect of an enlightened faith'; the comments upon our Lord's sayings and upon the saying of Caiaphas prove this. We may state the fact more strongly still: they are looked at in the retrospect of a Christian experience, which has found the facts to be living facts, repeating themselves again and again with a persistent vitality. The miracle at Cana had symbolically proved itself true in every Jewish household whose joy had been enriched by the incoming of the Presence of Christ; the Feeding of the Five Thousand had lived again each time the Apostles had broken bread and satisfied the spiritual need of new churches: the cry 'come forth' at the raising of Lazarus had been re-echoed in each converting appeal and had found its answer in lives re-quickened into holiness. And these miracles had proved themselves living realities under the hands of the Apostles themselves, perhaps of the writer himself: he, it may well be, had seen the joy kindling in bride and bridegroom and the wedding guests as he came to give them the blessing of Christ: as he had himself distributed the bread at the Eucharist, he had felt the Christ still working in him and making that bread go further than he himself had ever deemed possible: he had perhaps literally (as tradition says) repeated the raising of the dead; most certainly he had raised the spiritually dead to life: he had known what it was to feel the Spirit pleading on his side in the law-courts, and convicting the world of sin; he had felt guided by it into truth. The whole narrative glows with the retrospect of the religious experience of the Church, which has made the Apostles feel that God's work in Christ has repeated itself as God's work in them: but the force of the narrative, the value of it as against

an enervating Gnosticism, is tenfold stronger if the facts were facts starting a chain of facts, and if the discourses were in the main the utterances of the Master. And are there any which we are obliged to deny to Him, which are not natural in His mouth?

There are, it is quite true, a few scattered verses which offer serious difficulties: it is difficult, though not impossible, to see the exact meaning of the plural in iii 11 ('we speak that which we know'), and more difficult to assume that iv 38 ('I sent you out', 'you have reaped') was spoken so early in the ministry: but Mr Scott thinks that the whole Jewish antagonism (esp. in cc. vii, viii) points to a later date; yet there is no reason why all these objections should not have been raised in the Lord's lifetime, nor does it seem to me that there is anything of the essential substance of the discourses in xiii-xvii which is not quite appropriate on the lips of a great spiritual teacher, brought face to face with the end of his career, realizing that his work has for the future to be entrusted to others, anticipating the necessary persecution which they will have to face, and conscious that his influence will revive in their hearts, his spirit of faith and love will reproduce itself in them. In this connexion it is important to remember that the technical language of the Prologue, which came naturally to the writer's pen when writing his own dogmatic statement in the language of his own day, does not recur in the discourses. He is certainly conscious of some line to be drawn between his own words and those of the Lord. According to Mr Scott the great object of the writer was to assure his disciples that Christ could be as real a Lord to those who had not seen Him as to those who had. That is doubtless true; but this was exactly the task which St Paul had performed for the Church; it would be a slightly different task and one no less important if the writer was an eyewitness, assuring the Church that he had found the Lord as real a Lord and Master after He had passed from earth, as He had been while living upon it.

(d) The last point on which I would dwell is the oscillation of the Evangelist between two irreconcilable theories. The readers of this volume would naturally compare the Evangelist to an acrobat riding a pair of horses with a leg on the back of each, of which one is constantly getting before the other, and the rider is left with one leg in mid-air until he can rein in his restive steed: or they would be reminded of the simile of Aeschylus:—

ὄξος τ' ἀλειψά τ' ἐγχείας ταύτῃ κύπει
διχοστατοῦντ' ἀν οὐ φίλως προσενέποις.

Are we really shut up in these many irreconcilable antitheses? Let us examine some of them.

(i) The communication of life, it is said, is conceived of sometimes as ethical, as a moral regeneration and the formation of spiritual qualities

in the disciples ; sometimes as an almost magical quasi-physical gift of a Divine substance resident in a metaphysical Logos and communicated through the Sacraments (p. 282). But where is the trace of anything magical ? The new birth is conveyed through the Sacrament of Baptism : true, but the language is used in the Gospel only of the new birth of adults, of men that are old, i. e. of people who approach Baptism with the spiritual qualities of a desire for spiritual cleansing and belief in the possibility of a higher spiritual life : the moral desire for regeneration is present already. Even if the language is transferred to children, where there is no accompanying conscious moral change, yet even so there is nothing magical in the act, for then it is the conscious action of the Spirit-bearing society receiving a new-born child into its circle and conveying new spiritual powers to it by treating it from its infancy as a child of God. The highest life, the corporate life, comes out to meet and to reinforce the Godward aspirations or potentialities of the individual.

So again, the life is perpetuated (it is said) in one way by a quasi-physical eating of the Body and drinking of the Blood of the Son of Man, in another way by growth in faith and love and holiness, by abiding in the Vine and bearing fruit. But here, too, it is the eating and drinking of grown-up men, of men who necessarily interpret such an action in a religious and non-material sense, of men who are trying to enter into the meaning of the life and death of the Son of Man, and who are doing so not by private meditation but by a common meal in which each strengthens his brother's hand in God and helps him towards holiness and love. Again there is no trace of magic to be found.

(ii) Again, with regard to our Lord's outlook into the future, we are told that the Evangelist held that the Parousia, the Lord's return, took place at the Resurrection ; consequently this view not only entirely changes the expectation of a Return at the end of time, but also makes the doctrine of the Holy Spirit unnecessary. That is regarded as an alien element borrowed from St Paul and never really assimilated.

In the same way the Evangelist is deemed to have held that the real judgement takes place on earth, that the attitude of men to the Lord while they are on the earth is the final *κρίσις* : yet at times he lapses inconsistently into language about a Resurrection and Judgement at the last day when the dead shall hear His voice and rise again.

But it is surely a mistake to think that the Evangelist identified the Resurrection with the permanent Return : after the Resurrection the Lord still speaks of the beloved disciple tarrying till He come. It is more natural to identify the Return with the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost ; with such a view the doctrine of the Spirit fits naturally into its proper place : nor would such a mystical coming be inconsistent with a fuller Parousia at the end of the world any more than a present

continuous judgement is inconsistent with a final manifestation of the issue of all previous κρίσεις.

(iii) I do not dwell upon the inconsistency which is implied between the spirituality of the teaching and the value attached to ecclesiastical organization : this rests upon an ignoring of the importance which the Lord attached to the unity of the one flock, to the close inter-communion of Vine and branches, and runs up into an unreal contrast between the Spirit and the form in which the Spirit manifests itself. On such a point I could not add anything to what has been excellently said by Dr Moberly in his ' Ministerial Priesthood '.

(iv) The fundamental antithesis is that between the manifestation of a super-human metaphysical Logos and the realities of human life. This is treated as irreconcilable : because of it the human elements which stand on the face of the Gospel are unduly minimized : the tears over the grave of Lazarus are explained away as *not* marking the humanity of Jesus, but only His divine exaltation : there is no allusion (we are told) to any intercourse on His part with publicans and sinners (this strangely overlooks the interview with the Samaritan woman) : ' the moral attributes, trust, pity, forgiveness, infinite sympathy, are replaced by certain metaphysical attributes ' (p. 173) : the speculative theory serves in the end to obscure the religious idea.

Such a judgement as this seems to me to despair of metaphysic and of the abstract intellectual statement of moral and religious truth. It seems to despair of all possibility of union between the Divine and the human : it treats the Divine as wholly different in kind from the human : they are as vinegar and oil and can never amalgamate. But that is not the Evangelist's view ; if to him God is Spirit, it follows by a natural inference that man is akin to God and can worship Him in spirit ; to him the Divine Logos can dwell in all created things and through them reveal the Divine meaning ; but, above all, he can dwell in a human life which can express the highest qualities of grace and truth : to him (or perhaps to a later writer of his own school) the love of God is impossible without love of the human brotherhood : he can think of no way in which the Divine can manifest itself better than through a perfect human life : nor do I know that we can get near to a true conception of the Divine in any other way than by combining our abstract conception of Divine qualities with the impression made upon us by the best human lives that we have known ; as we do so, as we work down from the former and try to picture them in some concrete form, or as we work upwards from the latter and try to combine those human traits in one complete picture, we shall find that they meet best of all in the Life portrayed in the Gospel.

Mr Scott has said some noble, far-reaching things about that real union

between Christ and His Church which enables it to manifest Him: but he has scarcely reached the high level of the Evangelist in realizing the real kinship between the Divine and the Human, which makes it possible that God can be manifested through the Son of Man and the sons of men.

WALTER LOCK.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

The Human Element in the Gospels: A commentary on the Synoptic Narrative. By GEORGE SALMON, Late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. (John Murray, London, 1907.)

DR SALMON'S contribution to the Synoptic Problem, which has been published since his death under the title of *The Human Element in the Gospels*, must come as a surprise to many who were brought up on his *Introduction to the New Testament*. There are probably many of us who would gladly recognize the debt which we owed to that book in the beginning of our attempts to study. It helped us to think at a time when the danger was great of taking a line of less resistance, and accepting as infallible 'results', orthodox or critical, as the case might be. It added a call to thought in the dreary processes of loading the memory for competitive examinations. And its humour lightened the darkest hours of cramming up the facts. But whether we were persuaded by its arguments or not, we could not long escape the conviction that there was something of the advocate about it, though the advocate was pleading with conspicuous fairness a case of the truth of which he had convinced himself by weighing its merits rather than by accepting them on authority. In the later volume the change of attitude is remarkable. As the result of an enquiry begun late in life it is very remarkable indeed. It is perhaps the greatest sign of intellectual vitality for a man to change his mind in the declining years of life, when the majority even of able men would find little to say but that the old is good. We owe a real debt of gratitude to the executors of Dr Salmon for their decision to publish the striking proof of the power of a very able mind to continue the search for truth to the very end.

The volume consists of a series of notes on all the parallel passages in the Synoptists both of the triple and of the double tradition, and also the few incidents peculiar to St Mark. Dr Abbott's mechanical process, which he persuaded Mr Rushbrooke to carry out in his costly *Synopticon*, and its underlying assumption that 'a writer who derives his information from another, would not venture to deviate in the slightest degree from the very words in which the information had been conveyed' are justly criticized. It is rightly suggested that the safest method of study is

first to write out the parallel passages, then to consider the agreements in order and substance, and the similarities or identities of expression afterwards. The aim of each note is to determine what light the passages concerned throw on the mutual relations of the evangelists. Space is given to exegesis and textual criticism only in so far as they help to determine this question. The result is a series of *obiter dicta* rather than a reasoned exposition. Naturally the notes differ considerably in their importance, and power to convince, and also in the directness of their bearing on the subject. But they are always interesting, and can hardly ever be safely neglected. The work is incomplete, but it is work of the first order.

The views which Dr Salmon's investigation has led him to adopt involve some important modifications of the usual two-document theory. He holds that St Mark was used by both the later Synoptists, and that they also drew upon another common source, which, like other investigators, he finds it convenient to call Q. But he also holds that this source was known to St Mark, who draws upon it, especially in those parts where the information which he derived from St Peter failed him. And he thinks that the chief source of St Luke's knowledge of the history of our Lord was the public recital of the history in the Church of Antioch, 'of which all the evidence leads me to regard him as a member'. His views are thus similar to those of Weiss. And perhaps the most interesting sections of his notes are those which attempt to indicate St Mark's knowledge of Q. He has rightly called attention to the meagreness of Mark's narrative till he comes to the call of St Peter. But the positive proofs that his information is curtailed from the document or 'source' known to St Matthew and St Luke are slight. St Peter may well have told more shortly the story of events of which he was not himself an eyewitness, and many other explanations are at least as probable. But Dr Salmon has done good service in again reminding us that the final answer to the Synoptic Problem is not Mark + Q. This answer leaves indeterminate the mutual relations of these two documents. And it tells us nothing about the general character of Q. Dr Salmon believes it to have been a 'Gospel' and not a collection of sayings, or *λόγια Ἰησοῦ* according to the language of the latter part of the nineteenth century. But as he has clearly summed up his own results, it is best to quote (p. 405) 'We may place the Gospel records in chronological order as follows: First must have come the lost Aramaic by St Matthew, which is the basis of all three Synoptics; next would come Mark, whose Greek appears to have been used both by "Matthew" and St Luke. As between the last two, the Greek St Matthew seems to shew more signs of posteriority; but until I am shewn more satisfactory proof of acquaintance by either with the work of the other, I must hold that the

interval between their dates of composition was not so long as to allow time for the earlier of the two to pass from being the local form in which in a particular district the history of our Saviour's life was told to become the property of the whole Church, and thus arrive at such general circulation as necessarily to become known at a distance from its place of composition.'

We cannot but regret that Dr Salmon was not able to deal more fully with the questions connected with the Fourth Gospel. There are several hints that in this matter his change of attitude was even more complete. He makes it quite clear that he hesitates to accept its testimony against that of the Synoptic Gospels. Cf. among other passages, p. 512, where he suggests the possibility that 'the evangelist John is not a historian on whose accuracy we can rely'. But there are equally clear indications that he is not prepared to reject its authority altogether. Cf. p. 290, 'I believe that that Gospel has preserved for us some valuable traditions'; p. 429, 'However useful the Fourth Gospel is as a commentary, *written by one with special sources of information*, it is certainly of later date than the Synoptics.' In spite of his first title, 'the human element in the *Gospels*', the scope of his enquiry, which is limited to the investigation of the mutual relations of the Synoptists, did not allow of any adequate treatment of the Fourth Gospel. Its credibility 'requires separate examination' (p. 429). It would have been a great gain to us if he had had time to carry out such an 'examination'. Recent criticism of the Fourth Gospel groans under the weight of critical authority. He might have done much to free us from the '*entweder—oder*', beyond which so much of it seems unable to get. The conclusions of so candid an enquirer, who could keep his mind open even to the very last hour of his work, would have been of the greatest value.

A. E. BROOKE.

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. By G. MILLIGAN, D.D.
(Macmillan & Co., 1908.)

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S contemplated Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians was never completed, and only saw the light in an inchoate form, embodied in his posthumous volume entitled *Notes on Epistles of St Paul*. Now we have a volume by Dr Milligan evidently intended to supply its place, conceived on the same scale, arranged in the same way, printed in the same type, bound with the same binding. Does it really supply the gap? Scarcely that: Dr Milligan has not the bishop's command of patristic knowledge, nor that originality and power of initiative which enables a commentator

to break ground in some new direction ; yet in orderly method, in lucidity of style, in lexical and grammatical scholarship, and in the sense of proportion between the linguistic notes and the interpretation of the subject-matter, Dr Milligan is an apt pupil of his master, and as he has at command a good knowledge of the work done within the last few years on Greek Inscriptions, the papyri, and on Jewish eschatology, he has produced a very useful volume, probably the most useful commentary, for scholars, on these Epistles that exists in England.

The volume falls into three parts, Introduction, Text and Notes, and some Additional Notes. In the first part we have clear accounts of the city of Thessalonica, St Paul's relations to the Thessalonian Church, the general character of the Epistle, its style and literary affinities, its doctrine, its authenticity and integrity, and a short account of the authorities for the text, and of the chief commentaries on the Epistles : in all we have clear, careful work, and there are only two points which lie open to criticism. The number of passages quoted to illustrate the dependence of the language of these Epistles upon that of the O. T., as well as that of the words of our Lord, seems unduly great ; all the passages quoted to illustrate i 8, 9, 10 on p. lviii, and those to illustrate ii 7, v 11, 18 on p. lxi, would be better omitted, as they give the appearance of an undue effort to prove a point. The dependence of the eschatological sections both on the O. T. and on the Gospel eschatology seems clear, but beyond this there is no sure standing-ground. Again, in the discussion on the authenticity of the Epistles Dr Milligan has evidently not *felt* the strength of the argument from the difficulty of reconciling 1 Thessalonians with the narrative in the Acts (he speaks as if it was easy to fit in the additional facts supplied by the Epistle with that account, whereas they nearly all contradict the *prima facie* view which that account gives), or that of reconciling the eschatological outlook of 2 Thessalonians ii with that of Romans xi : this latter point is quite cursorily put aside and never looked in the face. There is also one small detail of translation on which I should like to feel more certain that Dr Milligan is right. On p. xlvi he translates Isidore's description of St Paul, ὁ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ῥυθμίσας, 'who carried "music" with him wherever his influence penetrated'. This is a beautiful thought, but does the word mean more than a description of St Paul's travels, 'who measured land and sea' or 'who trained land and sea to be his instruments' ?

The text is that of Westcott and Hort : the notes consist of a careful paraphrase of each paragraph, with good notes, linguistic, grammatical, and doctrinal on each verse. It might have been well to illustrate i i 4 from Deut. xxxiii 12, on i i 7 to bring out the climax in the

word *τύπων* ('imitatores fiunt typi' Bengel), on 1 ii 7 to quote the beautiful word *συννηπιάζειν* as used by Irenaeus and Cyril, on 1 iv 4 the use in the Epistle of Barnabas of *τὸ σκεῖος τοῦ πνεύματος* (c. 7), *τὸ καλὸν σκεῖος* (c. 21) is a much closer analogy than that quoted from 2 Cor. iv 7, on v 22 the metaphor from testing coin is not clearly brought out, and should have been illustrated by some of the passages quoted in Resch's *Agrapha*. Again in 1 ii 12 the present *καλοῦντος* is probably neither 'our caller', nor to be explained eschatologically, but is rather a semi-quotation of the words used by the Apostle when at Thessalonica; in 1 ii 13 the passive interpretation of *ἐνεργεῖται* is very doubtful; in 1 ii 16 the aorist *ἔφθασε* may refer to the time of the Lord's lifetime, when He pronounced the doom on the Jews; in 1 iv 4 *κτᾶσθαι* need not be translated as = 'to possess', but in its strict meaning 'to acquire', 'gradually to gain the complete mastery of his body', and as such will be parallel to the gradual acquisition of the true life in St Luke xxi 19; in 1 v 12 *προΐσταμένους* seems unduly narrowed down to 'informal guidance in spiritual matters', whereas it would much more naturally refer to presiding at the meetings of the Church, whether for worship or for discipline: I doubt indeed whether the reference of this whole section to the community at large is right; it is at least possible that *ὑμᾶς* (12) and *ὑμᾶς* (14) stand in antithesis to each other; the letter would be read aloud, and the reader may be supposed to turn to the body of the faithful in 12, to the leaders of the community in 14, whereas in 15, or perhaps only in 16, the language is meant to include all; in II ii 3-12 the lawless one is identified with Beliar, the apostasy with a Jewish apostasy, and the controlling power is the Roman Empire; this is probably right, but the view of Warfield and Moffatt deserved fuller discussion than is allowed to it: on II ii 15 it would have been well to give some illustration from ecclesiastical writers who apply *κρατοῦντες* to Christians: I expect it is doubtful whether there is any connexion between the title and this verse.

The Additional Notes deal carefully with St Paul as a letter-writer, his use of the epistolary plural, his Thessalonian friends, the Divine Names in the Epistles, the history of the words *εὐαγγέλιον*, *παρουσία*, *ἐπιφάνεια*, *ἀποκάλυψις*, *ἀτακτεῖν*, *κατέχειν*, and the history of the doctrine of the Anti-Christ. The whole of this is not only careful, but full of interest: the account of St Paul as a letter-writer and of the Divine Names are especially interesting, but the discussion of words brings out the point in which Dr Milligan makes his own special contribution to exegesis, that is, in the light which he is able to throw upon Pauline Greek from the language of inscriptions and papyri, both here and in the course of the commentary. I doubt whether in any case light has come from this source sufficient to *alter* the interpretation

of any word or phrase in these Epistles; but it is clear that St Paul's language is akin to that of ordinary daily life of the time, that certain phrases which have been explained as Hebraisms or Aramaisms are of pure Greek growth; many illustrations of their meaning have been found, and in a few cases delicate shades of allusion have enriched that meaning; such are the use of *παρουσία* for the formal visit of a king, of *ἀτακτεῖν* for a schoolboy or apprentice playing the truant from his work, of *ἐπιφάνεια* as applied to the accession of a Roman emperor, of *ἀποδεικνύειν* for the formal nomination of a king or magistrate. These and many others Dr Milligan has collected with great care and discrimination, and no student will rise from a perusal of his work without a better hold on Biblical Greek. It is to be added that the book is equipped with four excellent indices, and that the printing has been most carefully done. On p. lxxxix l. 4 the references seem wrong; on p. 35 *η* occurs for *ἦ*; on 107 *ο* for *ὄ*; on 108 *ἑλλατοῦντες* for *ἑλαττοῦντες*; on p. 111 *ος* for *ὄς*; these are the only exceptions I have noticed to the author's painstaking accuracy.

WALTER LOCK.

THE TRADITIONS OF GENESIS.

The Secret of Genesis: an Astro-religious Record; by GEORGE ST CLAIR.
(Griffiths, 1907.)

The Early Traditions of Genesis; by ALEX. R. GORDON, D.Litt.
(T. & T. Clark, 1907.)

THESE two works, though written from vastly different standpoints, exemplify the changes which have been forced in the attitude of most independent minds to the early narratives in Genesis. All but a very few would agree that it is no longer possible to 'reconcile' them with scientific knowledge, and would probably hold (as with Drummond) that the past heated debates on the 'harmony' between modern science and Genesis were irrelevant. We no longer look for science in an age when there was none, and in recognizing that the Hebrews, like other early peoples, had their own conceptions of the dawn of history, we are better able to appreciate those characteristics of the Hebrew tradition which a careful comparison of the related forms brings into such strong relief. The value of the narratives having been more permanently appraised, it remains to place the results in a more historical light and to estimate their position in the religious and political development of Israel. Mr St Clair, for his part, offers 'an interpretation of Genesis which brings out the long-concealed meaning of its figurative descriptions', and 'believes that he has found the true solution of the problem which has distressed so many minds and led to so much controversy'.

He claims that the advantage of his key lies in the fact that Genesis so far from being given up as 'discredited' is, when read aright, 'a substantially true record of events'. These events, so far as we have been able to trace them, consist of a series of profound movements affecting the ancient calendar. The 'Adamic' year failed, Cain and Abel represent rival forms of the registration of time; and in the murder of the latter 'we must understand that the Abel calendar and ritual goes down before that of Cain'. Noah represents a more perfect calendar, a method of winning the world back to Jehovah worship by the reconciliation of solar and lunar measures of time; the Deluge marks a scientific and religious revolution, and finally in the building of the Tower of Babel we may see an ambitious attempt to establish a new system 'making use of the equinox in Aries and regulating time by the moon'. Much curious information is ingeniously brought together, but only those who have immersed themselves in astral lore will feel competent to express an opinion upon the validity of the evidence wherewith Mr St Clair discovers in the early traditions in Genesis 'sober narrative with serious meaning'. To judge from the results, the author insists upon the discovery of some theory which shall accord with scientific research, in much the same way as a highly intricate evolution-theory has been sought—and found—by other reconcilers. It is obvious that if the records are allegory and are to be rationalized in this manner, similar methods of enquiry should be pursued in other fields where literal history is wanting, and Mr St Clair does not doubt that his principles may prove fruitful outside the Bible. However, though one need not deny that certain esoteric speculations of a more or less astral character may have influenced the rewriting and reshaping of current tradition in certain circles, Mr St Clair's account of the struggles and disputes of early mankind in their anxiety to set the almanac upon a scientific basis will scarcely satisfy those who study the remote ages rather more comprehensively; and it may be questioned whether the light which he has tried to throw upon Genesis will comfort those who are unable to find a middle path between *either* discrediting *or* implicitly accepting the book as a whole.

Dr Gordon, on the other hand, has a keen appreciation of the value of method, employs no single 'key' of research, and has a sounder estimate of the character and value of the book of Genesis. His scholarly study is based upon an independent examination of the work of recent research and will repay careful perusal. He presents an analysis and discussion of the contents of Gen. i-xi which is supplemented by a translation of the several constituent sources with seventy pages of critical and exegetical notes. He handles the sources of the traditions themselves, the nature of 'myth and legend', Israel's con-

ceptions of God, the bearing of the traditions upon social and religious institutions, and the permanent religious value and positive gains which comparative research has brought to the book. Where so much helpful matter is laid before the reader it is inevitable that here and there one must dissent from the author's views, and perhaps he lays himself most open to criticism in the constructive portions of his work which depend for their validity upon a more complete survey of problems which he would probably admit to be still awaiting solution.

In his chapter on the 'historical traditions of the Hebrews' he attempts to place the historical nucleus of Genesis against the background, which recent contemporary evidence for conditions in Palestine enables us to visualize. There is no room there for the patriarchal figures as portrayed in Genesis, and those who lay stress upon the conformity of certain details with the known culture and custom of the age usually forget that these would be equally suitable centuries later. But in the entrance of the ancestors of Israel good ethnological tradition can be found which requires some historical setting. Without stopping to discuss Dr Gordon's identification of this event with the appearance of the Khabiri in the fifteenth or fourteenth century B.C., we need only observe that he allows that some Israelites remained behind in Palestine while 'the main body' continued its movement south to Goshen. In its bare outlines this agrees with the familiar critical view that not all the tribes were in Egypt, and since the author only reckons 150 years from the descent to the Israelite Invasion under Joshua, it is disappointing to find that he has not gone more closely into the questions which arise. The belief that there was an element in Israel which had not experienced life in Egypt or in the Wilderness has its adherents who claim support in external and internal evidence, and so far the author is justified. Moreover, his argument that the nucleus of the old Yahwistic or Judaeon traditions is of desert—more specifically, of Kenite—origin is equally justifiable, and Dr Gordon might have compared the recent studies by Ed. Meyer and Bernhard Luther on the presence of nomad elements in Israelite literature and on the tribal relations of the Kenites. But when distinctive features can be localized in a historical compilation which has incorporated older material, and when the importance of Kenites and allied clans is admitted, a definite clue is obtained which merits the fullest enquiry. So far from following up this clue, Dr Gordon fails in his attempted differentiation of the sources of the divers traditions: Canaanite, Israelite, Babylonian, and Kenite. Babylonian influence is held to have been always intermittent, although, while some features are due to direct importation, others are the 'dim memories of Babylonia and its luxuriant plains' which the early Hebrews had brought with them.

What ground is there for minute differentiation except on rather *a priori* conceptions of the history of the early Israelites? It is unnecessary to mention other unsafe arguments, but it is somewhat astonishing to find that Dr Gordon, after recognizing the position of Palestine in Western Asia during the period of the Amarna Tablets (p. 68), subsequently asserts that Israel 'entered a larger world' with the establishment of the monarchy (p. 192). This is part of the older view which traces the development of Israel within the covers of the Old Testament and ignores outside light. Contemporary inscriptions and archaeological results have given us a new Palestine, one which it is difficult for the Old Testament student to realize; a background has been furnished against which the national history of Israel has yet to be set. This is the problem of the future, and while Dr Gordon is always stimulating and suggestive when he is examining the early traditions in Genesis, his conclusions, in so far as they affect biblical history, appear incomplete and inadequate when one proceeds to apply them to the course of Palestinian history as a whole.

STANLEY A. COOK.

THE GOSPEL OF BARNABAS.

The Gospel of Barnabas, edited and translated from the Italian MS in the Imperial Library at Vienna: by LONSDALE and LAURA RAGG. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907.)

In the opening words of their preface the editors remind us that two articles upon the Gospel of Barnabas have already appeared in this JOURNAL: one by Dr W. Axon in 1902, the other by Canon Ragg in 1905. They add that these articles may be said to have paved the way for the present publication. That such a publication has been long desired by students of apocryphal literature and frequently demanded by those engaged in missionary work among Mohammedans we can testify. The volume before us was sure of a welcome, and in every way deserves it. Its plan and execution are admirable.

The document which it introduces for the first time to the world at large is not to be classed with the older apocrypha. It must take its place with such recent impostures as the Book of Mormon, the Archko Volume, the Book of Jasher published by Iliffe of Bristol in the early part of the nineteenth century, and the Buddhist Life of Christ by Notovitch. The editors have said all that is reasonable on the question whether it contains any matter borrowed from the Gospel of Barnabas which was condemned by the 'Gelasian' decree. For

my own part, while admitting the possibility, I hold that there is no traceable connexion between the two books.

I also incline to the view that the date of the book is not much earlier than the date of the manuscript which has preserved it: that is, that it is a product of the sixteenth and not of the fourteenth century. The reference to the Jubilee as occurring every hundred years (see p. xli), which the editors quite allowably adduce as pointing to the earlier date, cannot, I think, be pressed.¹

The dependence of the author of *Barnabas* upon the Latin Vulgate has been proved to the hilt by the editors, and affords good ground for thinking of the author as a renegade ecclesiastic. I have noted an acquaintance on his part with another Latin document which was highly popular throughout Europe. This is the account of the fifteen signs which are to mark the fifteen days preceding the Day of Judgement. It will be found embodied in ch. liii (p. 124). St Jerome was the reputed author, and perhaps the most accessible source in which a writer of the sixteenth century could have found it was the *Legenda Aurea* (cap. 1, ed. Graesse, p. 6).

I suspect also that the *Vitae Patrum*, if narrowly searched, would afford striking parallels to the stories of Obadiah, Haggai, and other 'true Pharisees', which occupy chapters clxxv, &c. Popular legends are occasionally referred to, e.g. on pp. 79 (penitence of Adam and Eve), 93 (origin of 'Adam's apple'), 317 (the nine pains of Hell), and elsewhere. But the author owes comparatively little either to current legends or to the written apocryphal literature.

The book as a whole is a very curious specimen of an elaborate falsification carried out by a man whose thought is often elevated and beautiful. It is, to be sure, much too long; and its uglinesses are almost as striking as its beauties. Yet of the latter it has a considerable share.

I am unable to suggest any material improvements in the arrangement of the present edition. It is probable that some of the sources employed by the author will be identified as time goes on, and that his date will be more certainly ascertained. But the student could not wish for a better presentation of the document than the editors have given him. I will note two slight errors which I have observed: on p. xiv line 22 *fifteenth* should be *sixteenth*: and *dano* on p. 188 line 4 should be *daro*.

M. R. JAMES.

¹ On the other hand, do not the views of the 'Pharisees of this present time' (see ch. clxiv) on predestination suggest speculations current in the sixteenth century?

PROF. GWATKIN'S GIFFORD LECTURES.

The Knowledge of God and its Historical Development. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906.)

IT must no doubt be difficult to discuss the problems of the philosophy of religion within the limits laid down by the founder of the Gifford Lectures. It is very probable that Lord Gifford himself was inclined to a notion, less congenial to thinkers of to-day than to those of an earlier generation, that it is possible to arrive by abstraction at a common or 'natural' religion, from which all those elements in historical religion are eliminated which are due to 'special revelation'. Such a revelation might contain otherwise unattainable information respecting the God whose existence natural reason might divine; or new incentives to conduct derived from a knowledge of His purposes which could not have been discovered by the unassisted powers of the human mind; or, perhaps, a system of sacred histories and doctrines which might make vivid to those who are not philosophers the truths which, except as thus embodied, would escape their perception. On a theory of this kind it might be easy to define the sphere within which a Gifford Lecturer is bound to restrain himself; but to us in an age whose thought is throughout dominated by the conception of development, such definition is more difficult. Hegel has taught us to regard the historical religions not as adding specific doctrines to the common stock of natural religion, but as necessary stages in the development of the religious idea. The philosophically-minded Gifford Lecturer, if he be the adherent of a particular form of religion, will nowadays not be content to regard its distinctive features as merely supplementary to what it has in common with all other creeds; if he be the adherent of no particular form of religion, he will still regard such forms not as superfluous, but as inadequate manifestations of the religious idea, which cannot be understood apart from them. It does not, however, to my mind by any means transcend the wit of man to distinguish a treatment of the subject of religion by the adherent of a particular religious body which may fairly be taken to correspond to the main intention of Lord Gifford from one which is plainly at variance with that intention. It is quite possible to contend on general philosophical grounds that a particular type of religion is a more adequate expression of the religious idea than any other which has appeared in the world; and this may surely be done in a Gifford Lecture. On the other hand, to make a Gifford Lecture a vehicle for abuse of a particular religious system; still more, deliberately to raise the dust of ecclesiastical controversy in the lecture-room from which it was the clearly expressed purpose of the founder of the lectures to exclude it: this is surely altogether

inadmissible. But this is what Prof. Gwatkin has done. He has used his Gifford Lecturer's chair as a place from which to cry 'No Popery' and to hit shrewdly at parties in the Anglican Church whose ways are not to his own taste.

Learned as Prof. Gwatkin is—and his style, to which the wealth of obscure allusion gives a mysterious charm, betrays throughout the full scholar—the conception of developement has, despite the title of his book, taken no real hold upon his mind. His interest in tracing the evolution of the religious idea is quite secondary to a partisan interest. He does not desire to understand the doctrines which he discusses so much as to commend these and to condemn those; and in particular to cry up Greek theology against Latin, and that of Dr Westcott against that of the Oxford Movement. This partisan interest destroys all sense of proportion and leads him in his account of the developement of the knowledge of God in recent times, while remarking that a discussion of the contribution of Kant and Hegel is 'not required for our purpose', to find ample room for the castigation of English 'ritualists'.

It is only by degrees that this partisan interest is allowed to thrust philosophy altogether to the wall. The first volume contains something better than the polemics of the second. The remark on p. 5 that 'any fact that gives knowledge is a revelation' and that therefore 'revelation and the knowledge of God are correlative forms expressing two sides of the same thing' is truly philosophical, and prepares us for a different sequel. So, too, the spirit shewn in the discussion of 'inspiration' on p. 170 seems quite other than that which finds utterance in the controversial violence of the second volume and the view of the history of Christian theology implied there. I should also like to call attention to the interesting remarks on 'design' in nature on p. 60 and to the sensible chapter on 'Primitive Religion'.

Yet Prof. Gwatkin does not seem to me even in his first volume to have made a substantial contribution to the philosophy of religion. I do not find his reasoning cogent or his sense of difficulties acute. To instance in a few cases: I cannot think that the discussion of freedom is much assisted by the argument that if there were no freedom there would be no truth or untruth because every belief would be a necessary effect of past states of mind. As a matter of fact it is not as a rule for belief, as such, that freedom has usually been claimed; and it is surely as hard to understand what can be meant by the dependence of truth on free-will as what can be meant by its dependence on past states of the mind which is aware of it. Again, in his defence of the right of a church to make a test of historical facts, Prof. Gwatkin seems to me to ignore the difference which must exist

between a society founded 'to promote particular opinions in politics, history, or philosophy', but not claiming that all men ought to belong to it, and a church which does make this claim. Within the limits of this review I can do no more than declare my complete dissent from the whole treatment (in which Prof. Gwatkin seems to follow Dr Westcott) of the distinction between religions which stereotype dogmas and those which declare historical facts, as drawn on p. 146. A fact, as such, is no doubt, as Prof. Gwatkin says, not a dogma; but when a certain alleged historical fact is made an article of belief it is rightly called a dogma; and when insistence on historical facts is classed with insistence on dogmas this is surely what is usually meant.

It would be unwise to complain that Prof. Gwatkin's handling of metaphysical problems betrays a lack of philosophical training; he has won his fame in other fields; but one may doubt whether he is sufficiently conscious of his deficiency in this respect. What is meant by 'matter being evolved from the timeless world' (p. 188) I cannot even guess. No doubt some philosophers have held and do hold that the reason is but an instrument of the will and that the will is the more fundamental part of our nature; but to speak, as Prof. Gwatkin does, carelessly of 'outside things like mind and beauty' (p. 298) is to tempt a student of philosophy to read no further.

If, however, the first volume is not an important contribution to the philosophy of religion, it is at any rate an attempt to discuss its problems. But in the second volume, where we should expect to find Prof. Gwatkin, as a historical scholar, on his own ground, we are disappointed to find history almost completely subordinated to polemical purposes.

A critic is said to have characterized Maine's *Popular Government* as 'a rattling Tory pamphlet'; the second volume of these Gifford Lectures might be with greater justice described as a rattling anti-popery tract. Prof. Gwatkin sometimes seems almost to write as though a period of theological darkness extended from the Alexandrine Fathers to Dr Westcott, only relieved by a promise of day at Cambridge in the age of the so-called Platonists of the seventeenth century. It is difficult not to think that Prof. Gwatkin in the loyalty of his discipleship gives Dr Westcott a higher rank among theologians than that in which the judgement of posterity is likely to confirm him. For all his spiritual insight and large sympathy, his accurate scholarship and wide culture, he was not an exact thinker. Prof. Gwatkin would not regard this as a defect; for he tells us that a 'summer haze' must rest always upon the noblest thought. Those trained in a different school will never agree with him that haziness, however golden, is a philosophical merit.

But however this may be, it is with his violent prejudice against all,

or nearly all, that is Roman in the history and theology of Christendom that I would rather quarrel. To say that 'even Rome had never ventured to stamp out entirely the mystic element' (p. 58) is at once to betray the partial spirit in which he approaches this subject. It is only necessary to set over against this the view of Harnack (which Prof. Gwatkin discusses in a note on p. 199) that mysticism is essentially 'Roman Catholic piety'; though neither view seems to me to be tenable. 'It would ill become one,' says Prof. Gwatkin on p. 159, 'who has been the colleague of Lord Acton, to throw scorn on the Romish layman.' But it is no merely personal tie that should make a Gifford Lecturer refrain from 'throwing scorn' on any religious denomination in a Gifford Lecture: and in such a work to call those who pass from Protestantism to Catholicism 'perverts' and the head of the Roman communion 'the high priest of irreligion' is an offence against common courtesy and the dignity of learning.

Even where the criticism of Roman Catholicism is just, it is so put as to leave an impression of unfairness. It is, no doubt, to a large extent true that much popular worship of saints in the Church of Rome 'differs from that of the old gods only in a change of name and a partial change of the legends connected with them'. Of course Prof. Gwatkin cannot mean to suggest that this is any less true of saint-worship in the Greek Church. Again, it may be that the mediaeval Church 'instead of the spiritual equality of men, now preached their common dependence on the priest'; but it is surely very questionable to suggest, as Prof. Gwatkin goes on to do, that the exaltation of the priest in a religion which is not tribal or national but catholic has a natural tendency to emphasize secular distinctions. I would refer here to the interesting observations of Mr. Bryce (certainly no apologist of sacerdotalism) in his *Romanes Lecture for 1902 on The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind* (p. 41). Once more, when Prof. Gwatkin says that 'the control of the Church by the nobles which commonly followed the Reformation was not entirely the novelty it seems' but rather an inheritance from the state of things immediately preceding the Reformation, however true the remark may be, his desire to take the anti-Roman side leads him to ignore the close connexion of that supremacy of the civil magistrate 'in things as well ecclesiastical as temporal', which the Reformation often brought with it, with the Reformation protest against a division between the outward duties of the religious and the secular life. Surely Luther's *Address to the Nobility of the German Nation* was not a piece of opportunism but the assertion of a principle. The Reformation principle, which in England was called that of the Royal Supremacy, is certainly not necessarily undemocratic in its ultimate issue; but is

bound to shew itself as undemocratic so long as the constitution of secular society is itself undemocratic. Again, sometimes (unless, as is very likely, I wholly fail to catch his meaning) the canon that whatever is Roman is likely to be bad seems to take the place in Prof. Gwatkin's mind of all the more usual rules of logic; as when he appears on one and the same page to contend that the emphasis on Common Prayer in Elizabethan Anglicanism is a remnant of mediaeval legalism, and to hold up the Roman Church to obloquy because (according to him) by causing the mass to be said in a tongue not understood of the people it disparaged common prayer in favour of private devotion.

This rancour against Roman Catholics is extended to those whom he elegantly calls 'their Anglican tail' (p. 195). I wonder what his Scottish audiences thought of his preoccupation with the internal dissensions of the Church of England. It can hardly have escaped them that the tone of his attacks on ecclesiastical opponents was such as to raise suspicions of exaggeration and unfairness. To speak without qualification of the Tractarians as taking 'the intensely sceptical view that' reason 'is an essentially irreligious faculty' is, to put it mildly, very one-sided. It might quite as easily be made out that they were in some respects the bondmen of an abstract logic; and beyond all doubt they were champions of a reasoned theology (whether a reasonable one or no) against the merely emotional type of religion which they found much in vogue, and which seemed to them but little able to resist the assaults of scepticism. Prof. Gwatkin can, I think, know but little at first hand of Tractarian piety.

There are doubtless many arguments in favour of regarding Newman's position as fundamentally sceptical; but, if it were so, then in this respect the greatest of the Tractarians was by no means representative of the school as a whole. Hostility to natural reason was at the outside no more characteristic of the Tractarian than of the majority of religious revivals. No Tractarian that I know of called reason the 'evil beast' as Luther did. Yet it would be a very shortsighted way of writing history (and one which Prof. Gwatkin would be the first to expose) to treat the Lutheran movement as one in the direction of mere unreason. Singularly unworthy, too, of a serious historian is the remark that the Tractarians 'posed as the stricter party' (p. 249), and the remarks both on the Tractarians and on their successors, the 'ritualists', on p. 319 can only be characterized as outrageous. I hold no brief for either Tractarians or ritualists; I differ from the most characteristic positions of both schools; but such indiscriminating abuse as Prof. Gwatkin deals out can only damage the reputation of their critic.

Although Newman was one of the earliest of English thinkers to grasp the importance of the principle of development (we must grant this, however little we may agree with his application of it), and though no one who watches the course of religious movements on the Continent at the present time can fail to be struck by the growing interest in him and by the spread of his influence, yet it is doubtless true that the Tractarians as a school stood apart from the general movement of European thought; but here Prof. Gwatkin is scarcely in a position to criticize them. They were occupied almost exclusively with the problems of the church in their own country, and Newman, as Stanley said in an often-quoted phrase, did not know German; Prof. Gwatkin does know German and is professedly treating of the 'knowledge of God' in the widest, least sectarian, sense. Yet for him the Tractarians and their successors in the Anglican Church occupy the foreground, and he rivals Dr Thwackum in *Tom Jones* in the insularity of his outlook. Buddhism, for example, is barely mentioned, and at the other end (as I have already mentioned) the consideration of 'the great age of German philosophy', as he himself calls it, seems to him 'not required for our purpose' (which is in this chapter to deal with the effect of 'Modern Thought' on the knowledge of God), while he finds no lack of room for local and occasional controversy. We may give the explanation of Prof. Gwatkin's procedure in a phrase which he himself uses of the ancient Romans—'In short, they had no philosophy'. Prof. Gwatkin has, in the proper sense, no philosophy, at least no philosophy of history. What he gives us in its place is controversial divinity. I am not concerned to deny that there may be a time and a place for controversial divinity: but I am sure that it is not the same time and place as that which is assigned to a Gifford Lecture.

C. C. J. WEBB.

SOME RECENT PAPHYROLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

WHEN in 1905 Nicolas Hohlwein published his useful bibliography,¹ he was able to give no fewer than 819 references to books and articles dealing with the Greek papyri. Since then the literature on the subject has increased enormously, and all that can be attempted here is to enumerate the more important recent collections of texts, and to draw attention to one or two works of a general character which the student of the New Testament, who is interested in papyrology, may find useful.²

¹ *La Papyrologie grecque*, Louvain, 1905.

² Full bibliographies appear from time to time in the indispensable *Archiv für Papyrologie*, edited by U. Wilcken, Leipzig, 1900-. See also Deissmann in

Of texts three large volumes have recently been issued in this country, the first to appear in point of time being the third volume of the British Museum Catalogue,¹ under the editorship of Mr F. G. Kenyon and Mr H. I. Bell. Of the skilful and painstaking manner in which the work has been done, it is as superfluous as it would be unbecoming for the present writer to speak. It must be sufficient to record that besides brief descriptions of 846 texts the editors have given us 251 texts in full, classified according to periods and subjects, and accompanied by explanatory notes. One's only regret is that owing to the exigencies of space it has not been possible to make these last more numerous. Amongst the documents themselves the palm in point of novelty is assigned to a diploma (No. 1178, 194 A.D.) conferring on a boxer from Hermopolis membership in an athletic club with the high-sounding designation of 'the Worshipful Society of Nomads under Royal Patronage' (ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστική περιπολιστικὴ Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωσιανὴ Σεπτιμιανὴ σύνοδος). But for the student of the New Testament there is perhaps nothing more interesting in the volume than the ἀπογραφὴ (No. 904, 104 A.D.) requiring all persons who were residing out of their own homes to return to their homes in view of the approaching census. 'The analogy,' as the editors remark, 'between this order and Luke ii 1-3 is obvious,' while in view of Sir William Ramsay's argument regarding the date of the nativity in *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?* it is of importance to remark that 'the census in question is that of the 7th year of Trajan (A.D. 103/4), and the determining date is the last day of the year'. Other documents of a different character, but to which there attaches a very living human interest, are No. 1164 (i) (212 A.D.), from which it appears that a boxer, who was entitled to public support (σίτησις) owing to his victories in the great games, had the power of transferring this privilege to another, and No. 854, a letter of 1/A.D., describing a journey up the Nile, in which the writer states that on visiting the oracle of Ammon he was careful to carve the names of his friends in the temples (τῶν φίλων [ε]μ[ῶν τ]ὰ ὀνόματα ἐνεχάραξεν τοῖς ἱ[ε]ροῖς).

Closely following upon this important volume came the second volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri*,² containing documents which were discovered by Drs Grenfell and Hunt in 1899-1900, and are now edited by them in conjunction with Dr E. J. Goodspeed of the University of Chicago. Unlike its predecessor, this volume is not confined

the *Theologische Rundschau*, 1906, pp. 210 ff., and F. G. Kenyon in the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund for 1906-1907*, pp. 55 ff.

¹ *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue with Texts*, vol. liii, London, 1907.

² *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part II, London, 1907.

to Ptolemaic documents, but contains a large number of non-literary texts of the Roman period, especially i/ii A. D. Many of these are of the character with which previously published texts have rendered us familiar; but they include also an important section (Nos. 291-315) on the relation of the temples to the Government, and another (Nos. 336-371) dealing with taxation. In the former section two texts (Nos. 292, 293) are concerned with the circumcision of aspirants for the priestly office, one of these being a boy only seven years of age: another (No. 294) is an application by a priest for the purchase of the office of 'prophet' at the temple of Soknebtunis. In the latter there is a receipt for ἀριθμητικόν (No. 361, 132 A.D.), by which the editors understand a tax on land held by κάτοικοι, as against Wilcken's view of an impost for the maintenance of ἀριθμηταί (*Griech. Ostraka* i p. 351); while amongst the miscellaneous documents there is an interesting will (No. 381, 123 A.D.), in which a mother leaves all her property, with the exception of 8 drachmae of silver, to her daughter, on the condition that she shall properly discharge all her funeral expenses (ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ποιήσεται τὴν τῆς μητρὸς κηδῖαν καὶ περιστολὴν ὡς καθήκει). The excepted 8 drachmae are to be paid to the son of a deceased daughter of the testatrix. And from a parallel in B. G. U. 183 the editors are led to regard this sum as 'a conventional legacy where a serious bequest was not intended'. The private letters present no very striking features, though the brother's invitation to his sister to meet him at the metropolis (*sc.* Arsinoe) at the New Year has a familiar ring—καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀνέλθε εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐπὶ καλῶ ἀνέρχομε εἰς τὴν πόλιν (No. 412, late ii/A.D.); and there is a fine touch of irony in the manner in which one Sarapammon recalls to a correspondent that he was owing him seven years' rents and dues—εἰ μὲν ἐπιμένεις σου τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, συγχέρω σοι· εἰ δὲ μετανοεῖς, σὺ οἶδας, 'If you persist in your folly, I congratulate you; if you repent, you only know' (No. 424, late iii/A.D.). The principal Appendix deals with *The Topography of the Arsinoite Nome*, in which much valuable material is brought together in supplement and correction of Dr C. Wessely's monograph on the subject.¹

Were it not that we have almost ceased to wonder when Drs Grenfell and Hunt are concerned, it would be hardly credible that the third collection of the year is again due to their apparently inexhaustible energy and versatility. This is Part V of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*,² and opens with the Gospel-fragment, regarding which, when its discovery was first announced, such high expectations were formed. These may now to a certain extent be disappointed, as it is clear that

¹ *Topographie des Faijûm (Denkschr. d. K. Akad. in Wien, Band I, 1904).*

² London, 1908. *The Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel* has also been reprinted separately with slight alterations (Frowde, London, 1908, price 1s.).

the historical character of the episode described—a conversation between our Lord and a chief priest in the Temple at Jerusalem—cannot be maintained. At the same time the contents of the fragment, which the editors regard as from a fourth-century copy of an uncanonical Gospel belonging to the second century, are full of interest as shewing how teaching such as that contained in Matt. xv 1-20, Mark vii 1-23, came afterwards to be elaborated in Egypt. The remainder of the volume is occupied with various important classical texts, including the *Paeans* of Pindar, and the *Hellenica* of a new historian, to be identified in all probability with Theopompus of Chios.

Passing to foreign publications, the first part has appeared in Germany of the important collection of papyrus-documents preserved in the Imperial Library at Strassburg.¹ It contains only 23 texts, but each is accompanied by a full introduction and notes, which greatly enhance the practical value of the publication. Amongst its contents we can only mention an important legal rescript on the tenure of property (No. 22, iii/A.D.), and another document (No. 19, 105 A.D.) which throws much light on ancient banking transactions.

A similar beginning has been made with the Lille papyri under the direction of M. Jouguet,² the nine documents that go to make up the first instalment all belonging to iii/B.C., and being again accompanied by a very useful commentary.

Of the great Berlin *Urkunden*³ only one Hefst appeared during 1907; but apart from it we have a 'Sonderheft' of quite exceptional interest, containing a small collection of Greek papyri discovered by O. Rubensohn in the course of the German excavations at Elephantine, and now edited by him with very full notes.⁴ All the documents, with the exception of the first, a marriage-contract of 311/10 B.C.,⁵ are iii/B.C., and form perhaps the most convenient introduction we have to the study of the earlier papyri, especially when taken along with Witkowski's *Epistulae Privatae Graecae*,⁶ a complete collection of all the extant private letters belonging to the Ptolemaic period. Apart from its Latin notes, the value of this last book to the student is much enhanced by the elaborate indices, which contain lists not only of the words and

¹ *Griechische Papyrus d. Kaiserl. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, Bd. i Hefst 1 ed. F. Preisigke (Strassburg, 1906).

² *Papyrus grecs* tome I fasc. I. Paris, 1907.

³ *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*, Band iv Hefst 4 (Nos. 1062-1083), Berlin, 1907.

⁴ *Elephantine-Papyri*, ed. O. Rubensohn, Berlin, 1907.

⁵ This claims to be the earliest dated Greek papyrus-document. Other ancient marriage-contracts are No. 21 in the Geneva papyri (ii/B.C.), and No. 104 in the Tebtunis papyri (92 B.C.).

⁶ Leipzig, Teubner, 1906.

phrases discussed, but of the grammatical peculiarities exhibited by the documents.

For a full discussion of these peculiarities, so far as questions of accident are concerned, reference can now be made to Mayser's indispensable grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri.¹ And there is also much valuable material in R. Helbing's *Grammatik der Septuaginta*,² which, having for its principal aim the providing of materials for a critical reconstruction of the original text, constantly refers to the evidence of the Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions to prove how completely the forms of the language of the Septuagint belong to its own time. The English student has, however, probably discovered long before this that for the study of the papyri on their lexical and grammatical sides far the most suggestive book for him is Dr J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena*,³ in which the mass of illustration gleaned from the papyri and the later inscriptions serves to break down finally the isolation in which the language of the New Testament has too often been placed, and to bring it into direct connexion with the contemporary vernacular. This result, and other conclusions of great importance for all who are engaged in the study of the New Testament, will be found succinctly and graphically stated by the same writer in his lecture on *The Science of Language and the Study of the New Testament*.⁴ Nor in this connexion can we omit to recall Dr Deissmann's useful little book on *New Light on the New Testament*,⁵ which has already been noticed in this JOURNAL (vol. ix p. 136). A much enlarged German edition of this book under the title *Licht vom Osten* is announced to appear immediately.

One or two smaller publications of importance may also be mentioned here, such as Lietzmann's convenient selection of eleven *Greek Papyri*⁶ principally for the use of the theological students, Kuhring's thesis on the prepositions in the Κοινή,⁷ which may well serve as a timely warning against over-subtlety in interpretation of New Testament usage, Gerhard's elaborate investigation into the history of the Greek letter,

¹ *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit: Laut- und Wortlehre* by Dr Edwin Mayser, Leipzig, 1906.

² Göttingen, 1907.

³ *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. i, *Prolegomena*, 2nd Ed., Edinburgh, 1906.

⁴ Manchester, 1906.

⁵ Edinburgh, 1907. See also the brilliant lectures delivered by Dr Deissmann to the Cambridge Summer School on 'The Philology of the Greek Bible: its Present and Future', which have since been printed in the *Expositor* ser. vii vols. iv and v.

⁶ Published in the *Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*, ed. H. Lietzmann, Bonn. An English edition of these most useful texts is issued by Deighton Bell & Co., Cambridge, price 6d. each.

⁷ *De Praepositionum Graecarum in Chartis Aegyptiis Usu Quaestiones Selectae*, Bonn, 1906.

the lengthy first part being wholly occupied with the opening formula $\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\iota$ $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\upsilon\nu$,¹ and Wackernagel's *Hellenistica*,² which contains many important lexical remarks.

In the domain of palaeography attention may be drawn to Dr Wilhelm Schubart's *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1907), which, like its useful predecessor Erman und Krebs' *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen* (Berlin, 1899), is primarily intended as a handbook to the papyrus-collection in the Royal Museum at Berlin. Its illustrations are therefore drawn wholly from the Berlin papyri, and citations from previous writers on the same subject, such as Birt and Dziatzko, are purposely excluded. But within these limits it presents a vivid picture of the method of 'Buchwesen' in the Graeco-Roman world, and may be strongly recommended to those who desire a clear and trustworthy introduction to a subject which is not only full of interest in itself, but has important bearings on many questions connected with the Canon and Text of the New Testament.

The same may be said of the increasing use of the papyri in the wider fields of criticism and exegesis. A notable beginning in this direction was made by the Dean of Westminster in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians,³ especially in the important appended note *On some current epistolary phrases* (pp. 275-284). And more recently both papyri and inscriptions have been largely utilized by the present writer to illustrate the form and contents of *St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*.⁴ There are also a number of apt citations in the scholarly volume on St Matthew's Gospel by the Rev. W. C. Allen in the *International Critical Commentary*.⁵ As was to be expected, the same tendency is very marked in Germany, as is to be seen, for example, in the commentaries on *Romans* and *1 Corinthians* by H. Lietzmann, and on *St Mark* by E. Klostermann, in the comprehensive *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, which is at present in course of publication.⁶

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

¹ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des griechischen Briefes I* in *Philologus* lxiv (N. F. xviii) 1.

² Privately printed at the University Press, Göttingen, 1907.

³ London, Macmillan, 1903.

⁴ London, Macmillan, 1908.

⁵ Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1907.

⁶ Tübingen, 1906.

CHRONICLE

ASSYRIOLOGY.

Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Von MORRIS JASTROW, Jr.
Lieferungen 8, 9, 10, 11. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1905-7.)

PROFESSOR JASTROW continues his great work on Babylonian Religion. Chapter xviii deals with Psalms and Lamentations. The Oracles follow, then Omens and their interpretation. These chapters are of great interest for the illustrations they afford of the Old Testament and for the religious conceptions they embody. The translations of specimen passages are in most cases improvements on previous attempts, and many will be astonished to see the amount of such literature and to learn of its great age. The discussion of the oracles is most valuable, and to most readers will introduce a completely new subject for comparison with both O. T. and classical examples. To the investigation of omen texts and the actual nature of the appearances observed on the liver of the slain animal Dr Jastrow has contributed a brilliant piece of research. Consequently a flood of light is thrown on Etruscan augury as well as many obscure O. T. references. The book is a mine for comparative religion and challenges all who are interested in Old Testament study.

Babylonisches im Neuen Testament. Von DR A. JEREMIAS. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1905.)

DR JEREMIAS, well known by his invaluable *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, here extends his researches into the New Testament. His special theory of Calendar myths and their importance for the understanding of ancient religion is developed with great skill, and one may here see what is to be said for it. The Apocalypse is naturally the chief field of exploration, but classical parallels and even less known religions are used for illustration. The remarkable nature of the likenesses between the early Christian presentation and pagan religious thought shew what a struggle the early apologists must have had to face, and it is instructive, also, in view of attacks now made in the name of comparative religion. The book is a mine of interesting illustrations.

Die Panbabylonisten, der Alte Orient und die Aegyptische Religion. Von DR A. JEREMIAS. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1907.)

THIS first number of a series entitled *Im Kampfe um den Alten Orient, Wehr- und Streitschriften, herausgegeben von Alfred Jeremias und Hugo Winckler*, is an attempt to bring the knowledge of the new views of ancient religion and culture under the notice of the layman. It is very interesting and will quicken the impulse given by Delitzsch's *Babel und Bibel* to the study of Babylonian antiquities. Probably some such theorizing as is here given is absolutely necessary to stir up interest in subjects which more sober treatment would ensure being entirely ignored. Criticism will doubtless refute the errors, and more mature reflexion modify the point of view, and the usual turmoil made by new theories will settle down into lasting appreciation of the truth. Meantime this sort of thing must be read and considered.

Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe religiösen Inhalts aus der Sargonidenzeit. Inaugural dissertation. Von DR EMIL BEHRENS. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1905.) 57 pp. 8vo.

DR BEHRENS has taken for his dissertation a number of the letters published by Professor R. F. Harper from the Nineveh collections in the British Museum, selecting those which are interesting for the light they throw upon the religion of Assyria. By comparing passage with passage, culled not only from the letters but from the whole field of Assyrian literature, he has succeeded in solving many of the difficulties of these very difficult documents. The letters did not attempt to explain what their recipient was bound to know, and, consequently, at every step we are faced by unanswered questions.

The introduction gives the literature of the subject and a brief sketch of the many contributions to the lexicon, which the letters make. Then follows an admirable outline of what can be gained from these documents for the history of the cults. This part is full of interest and well arranged. Then follow the selected texts, more of which are to appear as Heft I of the second volume of the *Leipzig Semitic Studies*. They are discussed with a full commentary and no difficulty is shirked, though naturally much is left unsolved. This is largely due to the many technical expressions, which are usually found with the same context and thus remain as obscure as if they were only found once. The publication of more texts is our only hope of discovering some different usage which will fix their meaning.

Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts aus der Sargonidenzeit.

VON DR EMIL BEHRENS. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1906.)

THE number of the *Leipziger Semitische Studien* which extends the above dissertation discusses a number of other passages from the Assyrian Letters, and is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the religious rites and ceremonies.

The work is most carefully and thoroughly done, and its value is increased by the numerous little notes (marked Z.) by Professor Zimmermann, whose vast knowledge and rare insight rarely fails to bring light into obscure places. The general contents are of high value for the study of religion in Assyria and for the lexicon. It is noteworthy that the writers sometimes quote from their religious books such phrases as 'the fear of the gods begets favour', or 'the veneration of the Anunnaki restores life'. The section on the 'holy days' is valuable for the question of the Sabbath. The connexion of sickness and sin is full of interest, as are also the references to the cult of the dead. The mention of Nabû's writing the 'credit on account' of the king and his sons in the 'book of life to last for ever' is noteworthy. Deeply interesting are the pilgrimages of the king's 'double' and the royal cloak (or *pallium*?).

The lexicon benefits greatly. Thus the *riḫhi*, so long obscure, are seen to be a sort of spice or incense, with which we may compare the female name *Marḫiḫitâ*, root *raḫḫu*. Some thirty or forty new words are discussed which bear more or less on Hebrew etymology and deserve the attention of comparative philologists.

The Origin of Some Cuneiform Signs. By GEORGE A. BARTON.

Reprinted from *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*. (University of Chicago Press.)

THIS is a useful attempt to trace the origin of certain cuneiform signs, and incidentally serves to make plain the reasons why certain signs are used with more than one syllabic value. It is naturally somewhat precarious to argue back from the objects which the signs represented in their later forms to the original picture or pictures. Incidentally illustration is afforded of Hebrew and other Semitic metaphors. That any picture at all could be used to denote an abstract idea must have involved a convention as to its meaning is probably obvious, but it is very difficult to be sure of the development from picture-writing to spelling. The value of Dr Barton's monograph lies in its collection and comparison of the oldest forms of the signs, and doubtless he has rightly divined much that will only be confirmed. He can scarcely feel much disappointment if fresh evidence obliges him to modify a large number of his conclusions.

Researches in Assyrian and Babylonian Geography, Part I. By OLAF A. TOFTEEN. (University of Chicago Press, 1908.)

WHATEVER may be our opinion of the value of the historical inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, there is no doubt that they have greatly increased our knowledge of the geography of Mesopotamia. A king would hardly record his conquest of a land or city that had no existence. His reference may, however, be so vague that much uncertainty is still left as to the exact locality. Consequently some of the conclusions reached by Dr Tofteen will have to be revised. The ancient Babylonians and Assyrians very conveniently inscribed the name of the temple on the bricks with which it was built or restored. If they did not also name the city where it stood, the temple name will usually give a clue. Not much excavation is needed to find such bricks, and the geography would be rapidly made out with little effort if this clue were followed up. Dr Tofteen has made use of the hints contained in deeds of sale, letters, and most of the literary remains, so recovering a vast collection of place-names. Few of these can yet be localized with certainty, but he has made some noteworthy advances, and one can only hope he will be further successful. One source of much confusion is that places far apart bore the same name, or names so nearly alike as to be easily confounded. A future task will be to trace the cause of this, whether due to emigration or racial identity, or merely accidental.

Siebenezahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im Alten Testament.
Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie, von DR J. HEHN. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1907.)

THIS is one of the excellent *Leipziger Semitische Studien* edited by Professor A. Fischer and H. Zimmern. Dr Hehn collects all the passages in the published cuneiform texts which seem to bear in any way on the meaning of the number 'Seven' or would elucidate its connexion with the Sabbath. Naturally he finds no account of the origin or institution of the Hebrew Sabbath, which remains as obvious or as inexplicable as before. Much that he has collected is of great interest for the history of religious ideas, and he definitely lays many a ghost. It has always been matter of conjecture what suggested the number of the days in the week, and he does well to shew the slightness of its connexion with the planets. His observations on other sacred numbers, three, four, twelve, &c., are equally illuminating.

The discussions of the passages bearing upon the word *Sabattu* are by

no means satisfactory, but the facts are all marshalled with care and great accuracy. The views which he sets out are marked by originality, and his arguments will have to be met in detail. Whether his investigation of the Old Testament evidence bear the test of time or not, he adds once more proof that we know about all that can be obtained from that quarter. Whether the Babylonian evidence really throws any light at all upon the question is more doubtful. It is a boon to have it collected and arranged in such convenient form.

The Assyrian Word Nubattu. By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON. Reprinted from *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper.* (University of Chicago Press.)

THE word is of importance in connexion with the Sabbath question, and this monograph is a welcome supplement to the Babylonian evidence as to the real meaning of the Calendar references to the 7th, 14th, &c. days of the month. Dr Johnston has made out a good case for his contentions, and incidentally explains many of the words treated by Dr Hehn above. Much still remains to be worked out concerning the Babylonian calendar, but this piece of work will render advance much easier.

The Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons. By ALBERT T. CLAY. Reprinted from the *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper.* (University of Chicago Press.)

MANY Babylonian Tablets contain inscriptions in Aramaic characters briefly indicating the nature of the business involved. They are valuable as checking in various ways the conclusions of cuneiform scholars. Thus we now know that the Babylonian *GUR* is the same as the Hebrew *cor*, at least in name. The Assyrian *homer* was probably the same measure. These Aramaic legends also give welcome light on the reading of certain divine names, hitherto conjecturally read by consideration of the values of their separate elements. Thus a divine name read Šad-rabû because compound of the sign for *šadu* 'a mountain' and that for *rabû* 'great', and quoted by some in support of a derivation of Shaddai from *šadu*, is now known to have been read Amurru. This is another instance of the precarious nature of deductions from so-called Sumerian words. The monograph is a valuable contribution to both cuneiform and Aramaic knowledge.

Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus. Von HUGO WINCKLER. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1907.)

THIS is the second number of the series *Im Kampfe um den Alten Orient*. It is a militant little book written by Professor Winckler to make his views clear and defend them against irrelevant attack. It is perhaps a pity that he could not have been clearer before, but people certainly will be stupid in a perfectly astonishing way. Even now most of us would like less assertion and more rigid proof: there are many assumptions which all cannot make at once. At any rate, no one will waste time by attentively reading what Winckler has to say. Not only his opponents, but his patrons, appear frequently to have misunderstood his position.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

*RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO
THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, January 1908 (Vol. lxxv, No. 130: Spottiswoode & Co.). BISHOP OF ST ALBANS The Lambeth Conference and the Pan-Anglican Congress—The Law of the Church and the Law of the State—A. W. WARD A new edition of Evelyn's 'Diary'—W. G. E. REES Education and Crime—A. H. CRUICKSHANK Schools of Hellas—J. G. SIMPSON Methodism and Reunion—H. EGERTON Socialism and Reform—The Papacy in the nineteenth century—W. A. SPOONER Oxford University Reform: Is a Commission necessary?—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1908 (Vol. vi, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). G. TYRRELL The prospects of Modernism—J. GERARD The papal encyclical from a Catholic's point of view—L. H. SCHWAB The Papacy in its relation to American ideals—BISHOP OF CARLISLE The Catholic Church: What is it?—O. LODGE The immortality of the soul—W. WALLACE The religion of sensible Scotsmen—N. SCHMIDT The 'Jerahmeel' theory, and the historic importance of the Negeb—J. H. MUIRHEAD Religion a necessary constituent in all education—G. A. COE The sources of the mystical revelation—E. S. MOORE The magic and mysticism of to-day—W. A. BROWN The reasonableness of Christian faith—L. P. JACKS The alchemy of thought—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1908 (Vol. xx, No. 78: Macmillan & Co.). H. H. SPOER Some new considerations towards the dating of the book of Malachi—N. PORGES Eine Geniza-studie—E. J. WORMAN The exilarch Bustāni—S. POZNAŃSKI The Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah Gaon in the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries | S. POZNAŃSKI Addenda and corrigenda to *J. Q. R.* x—A. MARX The expulsion of the Jews from Spain—I. ABRAHAMS Some Rabbinic ideas on prayer—J. H. A. HART Philo of Alexandria—A. BÜCHLER The new 'fragment of an uncanonical Gospel'—Critical Notices.

The Expositor, January 1908 (Seventh Series, No. 25: Hodder & Stoughton). W. M. RAMSAY The morning star and the chronology of

the life of Christ—J. G. SIMPSON The teaching of Edward Irving—J. ORR The resurrection of Jesus: I The present state of the question—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the Papyri—A. DEISSMANN New Testament philology—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher—S. A. COOK Supplementary notes on the new Aramaic papyri.

February 1908 (Seventh Series, No. 26). R. H. STRACHAN The personality of the Fourth Evangelist—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus—J. R. HARRIS Dr Gregory on the canon and text of the New Testament—J. ORR The resurrection of Jesus: II Its nature as miracle—G. G. FINDLAY The parable of the pearl-merchant—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical Notes from the Papyri—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher.

March 1908 (Seventh Series, No. 27). A. E. GARVIE Studies in the Pauline theology: I The Experience of Paul—J. R. HARRIS The present state of the controversy over the place and time of the birth of Christ—J. MOFFATT The new Schürer—J. ORR The resurrection of Jesus: III The Gospel narratives and critical solvents—J. DE ZWAAN Shaking out the lap—A. R. EAGAR St Luke's account of the Last Supper: a critical note on the second sacrament—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the Papyri—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher—R. H. STRACHAN Notes and appreciations of recent foreign theology.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1908 (Vol. xii, No. 1: Chicago University Press). C. H. TOY On some conceptions of the Old Testament Psalter—G. F. MOORE Notes on the name *יהוה*—F. C. PORTER The pre-existence of the soul in the Book of Wisdom and in the rabbinical writings—A. O. LOVEJOY Pragmatism and Theology—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1908 (Vol. vi, No. 1: Princeton University Press). E. RUSSELL John Knox as statesman—J. O. BOYD Ezekiel and the modern dating of the Pentateuch—C. W. HODGE The idea of dogmatic theology—L. M. SWEET Heathen wonder births and the birth of Christ—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1908 (Vol. xxv, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Les *Dicta* d'Heriger sur l'Eucharistie—U. BERLIÈRE Épaves d'archives pontificales du xiv^e siècle—R. ANCEL Le Vatican sous Paul IV—P. DE MEESTER Étude sur la théologie orthodoxe, iv: Le monde matériel—D. DE BRUYNE La *Regula con-*

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sensoria : une règle des moines priscillianistes—G. MORIN Le commentaire inédit sur les LXX premiers psaumes du ms. 18 d'Einsiedeln—U. BERLIÈRE I Les coutumiers monastiques des viii^e et ix^e siècles : II Deux lettres de D. A. Legrand de St-Maur—F. WOLPERT Un type peu connu de la croix de S. Benoît.

Revue Biblique, January 1908 (New Series, Vol. v, No. 1 : Rue Bonaparte 90). Sanctissimi Domini nostri Pii divina providentia Papae X motu proprio—Communication de la Commission pontificale pour les études bibliques—A. DURAND Les frères du Seigneur—M.-J. LAGRANGE Le règne de Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament—P. DHORME L'élogie de David sur Saül et Jonathan—D. DE BRUYNE Une concordance biblique d'origine pélagienne—M. LEPIN A propos de l'origine du quatrième évangile—M.-J. LAGRANGE La revision de la Vulgate—H. VINCENT Chronique : Les fouilles anglaises à Gézer : Les fouilles autrichiennes à Jéricho : Une mosaïque chrétienne au mont des Oliviers : Bustes funéraires palestiniens—Recensions—Bulletin.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January 1908 (Vol. ix, No. 1 : Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). E. TOBAC La δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ dans saint Paul—F. CUMONT Une inscription manichéenne de Salone—L. GOUGAUD L'œuvre des *Scotti* dans l'Europe continentale (fin vi^e—fin xi^e siècle) (à suivre)—A. FIERENS La question franciscaine : Le manuscrit II 2326 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (*suite, à suivre*)—T. HEITZ Les sources de deux lettres attribuées à saint Ignace de Loyola—L. WILLAERT Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598–1625) : Intervention des souverains anglais en faveur du protestantisme aux Pays-Bas (*suite, à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, Sept.–Dec. 1907 (Vol. xii, Nos. 5–6 : Paris, 82 Rue Bonaparte). L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN *Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas* par Çantideva ; ch. vii, viii, ix ; traduit du sanscrit et annoté—A. LOISY La Transfiguration—G. HERZOG La sainte Vierge dans l'histoire—A. DUFOURCQ *Les Gesta Martyrum*—A. LOISY Chronique biblique—M. DE WULF Histoire de la philosophie médiévale—Index bibliographique—À nos lecteurs.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, December 1907 (2nd series, Vol. ii, No. 4 : Paris, Rue du Regard 20). S. VAILHÉ Saint Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine (376–479) (*suite*)—F. TOURNEBIZE Étude sur la conversion de l'Arménie au Christianisme (*suite*) : Grégoire et Tiridate—S. GREBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine (texte éthiopien du *Mystère du jugement des pécheurs*) (*suite*)—F. NAU Histoires des solitaires égyptiens (*suite* : ms. Coislin. 126 fol. 176 seqq.)—M.-J. LAGRANGE Le sanctuaire de la lapidation de saint Étienne à Jérusalem—F. NAU

I Traduction de la chronique syriaque anonyme éditée par S. B. Mgr Rahmani, patriarche des Syriens catholiques: II Note sur quelques mss. latins de l'invention du corps de saint Étienne: III Le XV^e Congrès international des orientalistes—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, January 1908 (Vol. xxvii, No. 1: Brussels, 775 Boulevard Militaire). A. PONCELET La vie et les œuvres de Thierry de Fleury—E. KURTZ Einige kritische Bemerkungen zur Vita des Hl. Demetrianos—H. DELEHAYE Le pèlerinage de Laurent de Pászthó au Purgatoire de S. Patrice—F. SAVIO Sur un épisode peu connu de la vie de S. Bassien de Lodi—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—A. PONCELET Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum: X. Codices bibliothecae Vallicellanae p. 321-352.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, February 1908 (Vol. ix, No. 1: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). E. PREUSCHEN Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos.—F. SPITTA Jesu Weigerung, sich als 'gut' bezeichnen zu lassen.—J. CHAPMAN On the date of the Clementines—H. KOCH Die Sündenvergebung bei Irenäus—A. BERENDTS *Analecta zum slavischen Josephus*—Miscellen.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, February 1908 (Vol. xxix, No. 1: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). THIMME Literarisch-ästhetische Bemerkungen zu den Dialogen Augustins—ZICKENDRAHT Eine anonyme Kundgebung des Erasmus aus dem Jahre 1522 im Lichte seiner Stellung zur Reformation—VOLLERS Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem, I—HOFMEISTER Zur Erhebung Eberhards I auf den Salzburger Erzstuhl 1147—CLEMEN Ein Bruderschafts- und Ablassbrief von 1485—HASENCLEVER Neue Mitteilungen über den Verbleib von Melanchthons lateinischer Originalhandschrift der *Confessio Augustana*—ELKAN Duplessis-Mornay und die *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*—Nachrichten—Bibliographie.

The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JULY, 1908

THE HERESY OF THE PHRYGIANS.¹

IT may be well at the outset to make clear the purpose with which this paper has been written. For some time the suspicion has forced itself upon me that a good deal that has been published on the subject of Montanism has been based on investigations which proceeded on a faulty method. I propose to set forth the reasons which have led me to entertain this suspicion. My hope is that, if my argument is not accepted, it may elicit criticism which shall suggest a truer interpretation of the evidence which is here presented.

The most illustrious adherent of the Montanist movement was undoubtedly Tertullian of Carthage. And for the purpose of the enquirer into the inner meaning of Montanism Tertullian has the advantage of being a voluminous writer, of whose treatises moreover many have survived. The later writings of Tertullian are in fact—if we except a few oracles of the Phrygian prophets not quoted by him—the only source from which we can acquire a first-hand knowledge of Montanist principles and practice. Historians can scarcely be blamed if they have given them a very high place among the materials now available for ascertaining the character of the Phrygian heresy. And the procedure usually adopted by investigators has, if I am not mistaken, been suggested by an unquestioning assumption of their primary authority for the purpose in hand. It has been assumed that what Tertullian reckons as Montanist doctrine and custom is really such. The evidence supplied by him has been accepted as indisputably reliable: the statements of Catholic writers which appear to conflict with it have either been tortured into agreement

¹ A paper read before the Cambridge Theological Society on Friday, January 31, 1908.

with his *dicta*, or have been rejected as calumnies. It has thus come to pass that what passes current as Montanism is in the main identical with the later theology of Tertullian. We seek a description of a system which penetrated from its first home in Phrygia into many regions; and we have been content to accept instead an account which we have no assurance for believing to be more than the picture of a local development of the movement, or even of its embodiment in a single individual.

The hypothesis which is the ground of this method is the homogeneity of Montanism. Phrygian Montanism and African Montanism are assumed to be, in great measure, the same thing. But is this assumption justified? Was Montanism really homogeneous?

It seems to me that *a priori* we should scarcely expect this to be the case.

The movement began, as we learn from early documents preserved by Eusebius and Epiphanius, at an obscure village called Ardabau in Mysia, not far from the border of Phrygia. There, probably in the fifties of the second century, Montanus, a new convert to Christianity, who had been a priest of Cybele, began to prophesy. And his prophesyings were accompanied by strange phenomena closely resembling those associated with demoniacal possession. He spoke in an ecstasy, as his followers would have expressed it.

Montanus was soon joined by two women, Maximilla and Priscilla or Prisca, who also claimed to possess the prophetic charisma, and whose utterances were similar in matter and in manner to those of their leader. Before long the movement acquired a local centre at Pepuza and Tymion, villages of Phrygia, to which the name of Jerusalem was given. Its adherents were by and by excommunicated by many synods, and Montanism became a sect with a definite organization. The prophecies of Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla were committed to writing, were widely circulated, and were regarded by friends and foes as authoritative statements of all that distinguished the Montanistic teaching from current Christianity. By the Montanists themselves the prophetic oracles were placed at least on a level with the Gospels and the Apostolic Scriptures.

Now it is evident that the moment the oracles of the original

exponents of the New Prophecy were written down, and read without the explanations of the prophets, they became, as truly as the Scriptures which they in part superseded, 'a nose of wax'. All depended on their interpretation. And as Montanism spread into different countries, and was accepted by men of different environment and mental training, the interpretations put upon them were certain to be diverse. From this we have ample warrant for the expectation that Montanism would, in some degree, display a divergent type in each country to which it gained admission.

It may, perhaps, make the meaning of what I have said clearer, and at the same time justify the conclusion which I have reached on *a priori* grounds, if I proceed to give what may be termed an example of the forces of disintegration at work.

Didymus of Alexandria,¹ or rather the early and valuable document on which he bases his account of the sect, charges the Montanists with three errors. The first of them is, that on the plea of a prophetic revelation, supported by certain passages from the latter chapters of the fourth Gospel, they affirmed (*ἀπομαντεύονται*) that there is one *πρόσωπον* of the three divine *ὑποστάσεις*. That is to say, they taught what later came to be known as Sabellianism. The oracle on which they relied for this teaching, according to Didymus, was a saying of Montanus, 'I am the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' This certainly sounds like Monarchian heresy. So also does a saying of Maximilla recorded by Asterius Urbanus,² 'I am Word and Spirit and Power'—for the words *ῥῆμα*, *πνεῦμα* and *δύναμις* must be taken as equivalent to Montanus's Son, Spirit, and Father. And in support of the inference drawn from these, appeal might have been also made to some other oracles among the few that remain. If we had only the statement of Didymus and the oracles to which I have referred we might have confidently classed the Montanists with the Sabellians. But we turn to Tertullian. There is no need to say that he, whether as Catholic or as Montanist, did not deviate from orthodoxy. He was an ardent opponent of the Monarchian Praxeas. And he declares that it was exactly his Montanism which specially fitted him to be the champion of the true faith.³ For the Paraclete had made

¹ *De Trin.* iii 41.

² *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 16. 17.

³ *Adv. Prax.* 13, *De Carn. Res.* 63.

use of expressions which, without any such ambiguity as was found in the phrases of Scripture, denounced the teaching of Praxeas as false. It is true that the only oracle which he quotes in this connexion rather tells against his contention;¹ but he refers to another, which, if his paraphrase of it is reliable, must have been emphatically orthodox.² Moreover he vouches for the orthodoxy of the entire body of the Montanists. No one, he assures us, had ever accused them of heresy.³ Their rules of discipline—such is his argument—cannot be corrupt, for error in doctrine always precedes error in discipline.⁴

The fact is that, in spite of the vehemence of Tertullian, the Montanists were as much divided as their opponents on the question of the Divine Monarchy. Besides the orthodox party among them, to which Tertullian himself belonged, known as the Cataproclans, there was a heterodox party, which he was ignorant of, or, more probably, chose to ignore—the Cataeschinites. This we may gather from the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, and from the treatise *Against Heresies* of Pseudo-Tertullian, who, no doubt, here as elsewhere, derives his information from Hippolytus's *Syntagma*.⁵ It is unnecessary to cite other authorities in confirmation of the statements of Hippolytus. The remarkable fact is that both the orthodox and the heterodox parties among the Montanists sheltered themselves behind the oracles of the prophets.

But it was not only the difficulty of interpreting the oracles, and applying them to controversies which did not belong to the place and period of the original prophets, which tended to divide the Montanists. There were at least three other influences, all closely related to each other, which might well lead to this result.

The first of these was the oracles of later prophets. For the charismata were by no means confined to the first three. Theodotus, 'the first steward of the New Prophecy,' was a fellow-worker of Montanus, and he was almost certainly a prophet.⁶ Apollonius, about the year 200, mentions both a prophet and a prophetess;⁷ and, notwithstanding the opinion of so eminent a historian as Harnack,⁸ one can hardly suppose that they are to be identified with Montanus and Maximilla or Priscilla.

¹ *Adv. Prax.* 8.² *Ib.* 30.³ *De Ieiun.* 1.⁴ *De Monog.* 2.⁵ Hippol. *Philos.* 19, Ps.-Tert. *Haer.* 7.⁶ Anon. *ap. Eus. H. E.* v 16. 14.⁷ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 18. 4, 6, 7, 10.⁸ *Chronologie* i 370.

In any case Apollonius implies that Maximilla and Priscilla had successors by his remark that they were the *first* prophetesses to abandon their husbands.¹ Firmilian, in his letter to Cyprian, speaks of a prophetess (probably a Montanist) who appeared in Cappadocia about 236 A.D.² And finally Epiphanius tells of a prophetess named Quintilla.³ Whether she was one of those already mentioned we cannot determine.⁴ She was certainly not a member of the original group. There is no evidence that the inspired utterances of these later prophets were circulated in writing. Certainly none of them is quoted in writings now extant. They probably had no more than a local celebrity. The same remark may be made about Themiso, whose Catholic epistle, written 'in imitation of the Apostle',⁵ claimed, we cannot doubt, to have been inspired. But that they furthered the development of Montanism in the districts where they were known it is impossible not to believe. And the narrower the sphere of their influence so much the more their sayings tended to generate purely local forms of the system.

In the West, so far as I know, there is no mention of later prophets. But Tertullian several times refers to the visions of sisters,⁶ and he appeals on one occasion to the vision of Saturus, which we can still read in the Acts of Perpetua.⁷ In each case the vision is used as giving authority to a disciplinary custom or a doctrine advocated by the writer. Thus in the West, as in the East, the means was at hand of explaining or adding to the original deposit of the New Prophecy by an authority which was held to be divine.

A second agent of development which must be taken into account is the weight of influence exerted by prominent members of the sect, who were not themselves prophets, or possessed of charismata which involved the capacity for receiving revelations by visions or otherwise.

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v 18. 3 δεικνυμεν οὖν αὐτὰς πρῶτας τὰς προφήτιδας ταύτας . . . τοὺς ἀνδρας καταλιπούσας. ² Cyp. *Ep.* 75. 10 (Hartel, p. 817). ³ *Haer.* 49.

⁴ Bonwetsch (*Die Geschichte des Montanismus*, Erlangen, 1881, p. 171) suggests that she may have been the prophetess mentioned by Firmilian, Salmon (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.* iii 939) that she was the prophetess referred to by Apollonius.

⁵ Apollonius *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v 18. 5. ⁶ e. g. *De An.* 9, *De Virg. Vd.* 17.

⁷ *De An.* 55.

Tertullian, in his own person, notably illustrates the power of this influence. He nowhere claims to have had revelations. He was simply, in his own view, an adherent of the Paraclete. Yet his influence in determining the form of Montanism in Africa must have been immense. Dr Rendel Harris and Professor Gifford, in the introduction to their edition of the *Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*,¹ direct attention to 'the difficulty with which any of his writings, except a very few tracts, can satisfactorily be labelled non-Montanist'. They have themselves transferred what previous writers had regarded as 'probably Tertullian's earliest existing writing'² to the Montanistic period of his life. The fact is that the unquestionably Montanistic treatises are recognized merely by more or less explicit allusions to the revelations of the Paraclete. The doctrines and practices advocated in his latest works are, for the most part, essentially the same as those upheld in the earliest now extant. If there is any difference between them it is amply accounted for by the development of opinion which would inevitably take place in a man of Tertullian's character. They are presented from new points of view and under new sanctions, but in their main substance they are unchanged. Of this fact it is superfluous to give proof, and the inference from it is irresistible. Tertullian brought far more to Montanism than he found in it. It is an inference which might have been drawn if we knew nothing more of the man than what his writings reveal of his masterful personality. But if African Montanism was largely made by Tertullian, it must have differed widely from the Montanism which in his day, or at any other time, existed in Phrygia.

We have from Tertullian himself a story which well illustrates how the influence of later revelations and the influence of personality helped each other in producing the local development of Montanism. In his treatise *de Anima* 9 he speaks of a certain sister, who had the charisma of revelations. The material for visions was often supplied by the lessons, psalms, discourses, &c., of the church service. During service, on one occasion, when Tertullian was discoursing on the soul, the sister fell into an ecstasy and saw a vision. Subsequently, when service was over, and the congregation dismissed, she was invited to describe her vision.

¹ Cambridge, 1890, p. 28 ff.

² *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* iv 822.

Among other things she declared that she had seen a soul which displayed all the signs of a corporeal nature. Thus was established a favourite doctrine of the preacher, on which he had no doubt been insisting in his sermon. I shall have occasion to refer to this story again. For the present it is sufficient to observe that the preacher obviously, though he was unconscious that he had done so, produced the vision, while the vision in its turn was adduced to impart divine sanction to the preacher's doctrine. A new tenet was thus added to the official teaching of African Montanism, nominally by a revelation, really by the personality of Tertullian.

The third power which co-operated with revelations and personal force in the moulding of Montanism need only be mentioned—the power of local environment. This always exercises its subtle influence on a transplanted faith. It has in no small degree affected Christianity itself. And wherever its influence is effective it produces a change of form.

The conclusion to which these considerations compel us is, I believe, that any large measure of homogeneity in Montanism is a thing which could not be looked for beforehand. Any method of investigation which assumes it must therefore be radically wrong. The only way to arrive at a true conception of Montanism is to begin by examining Phrygian Montanism and African Montanism apart. It may be urged that the only Montanism of which we can learn anything is a developed or a decadent Montanism. That may be in part true. But we can reach a knowledge of its inner principle in no other way than by a preliminary study of the later forms, each by itself, and by tracing them back to their common root. By combining them merely we can attain no sure result. And for this purpose an enquiry into Phrygian Montanism—the heresy of the Phrygians in its original home, shaped only by its original environment—scanty and unsatisfying as the materials for such an enquiry are, is immeasurably more important than an enquiry into the exotic Montanism of Tertullian.

It remains to point out one or two very striking instances of dissimilarity between Phrygian Montanism and the current conception of Montanism, mainly drawn from Tertullian, which such a study seems to me to reveal.

Let us note, in the first place, what we may learn from the

earliest documents as to the conception which was held in Phrygia of the nature of the New Prophecy. It is well known that Montanus and his companions prophesied in ecstasy, and that their utterances were accompanied by strange ravings.¹ The Catholics laid hold of this fact as demonstrating that they were inspired by an evil spirit; and the defenders of Montanism replied that being in a state of ecstasy was a condition of the exercise of the prophetic gift. But all this seems to me to have been an afterthought. The Catholics made much of the frenzy of the prophets, merely as a way of evading an argument of the Montanists which, without bringing in this other issue, was not easily disposed of. This earlier argument is revealed by the anonymous writer quoted by Eusebius.² The Montanists, he says, evidently quoting from one of their books, boasted of Agabus, Judas, Silas, the daughters of Philip, Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus; and from the last two they claimed to have received the prophetic gift *by way of succession* (*διεδέξατο*).³ That is to say, they received their charismata as successors in the line of New Testament prophets, which all believed would remain until the end, just as the Bishops had received their office from a line of predecessors which went back to Apostolic days. They were the last prophets, no doubt; they had the gifts in a pre-eminent degree; in them was fulfilled the promise of the Paraclete. All Montanist writers maintained that position. But still, they were the last and the greatest *in a line of succession*.

It is hazardous to assert a negative. But I cannot recall any trace of this notion of a prophetic succession in the West. Tertullian seems consistently to ignore all prophecy between the Baptist, or at any rate the Apostles, and Montanus.⁴

And I may here observe that the impression left by a perusal

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v 16. 7, 9.

² Lightfoot (*Ignatius* i 482 f) and Harnack (*Chronologie* i 364 f) agree in dating the anonymous treatise A. D. 192-193. It was undertaken at the request of Avircius Marcellus of Hieropolis in the Phrygian Pentapolis (Eus. v 16. 3), and the writer speaks of Avircius and Zoticus of Otrous, a neighbouring town, as his fellow presbyters (§ 5). It is probable therefore that all three were bishops of the Pentapolis, and that Miltiades, against whose followers the treatise was directed, was a Montanist leader of the same district.

³ Eus. *H. E.* v 17. 3, 4.

⁴ *De An.* 9, cf. *De Virg.* Vol. 1, *De Monog.* 3, *De Ieiun.* 12.

of the extant passages of Tertullian¹ in which he refers to ecstasy as a condition of prophecy is that the ecstasy which he contemplated was something very different from the violent and uncontrolled ravings of the Phrygian prophets as reported (possibly not without exaggeration) by the Anonymous.² Epiphanius says truly that the word *ἔκστασις* has different meanings,³ and I am inclined to think that Western Montanists used it in one sense, and their Phrygian brethren in another. The account of the sister whose ecstasy was kept so well in hand that she could wait patiently till service was over before relating her vision stands in curious contrast to the narrative of the proceedings at Ardabau.

A comparison of these two stories recalls also another marked difference between the Montanism of Phrygia and that of Africa. In Phrygia women were given a high position in the native cults. And among the Montanists they retained it. Montanus evidently prophesied in the midst of a congregation. There were large numbers present (*ὄχλοι*), some of whom would have silenced him, while others opposed their efforts. And it seems to be suggested that Maximilla and Priscilla likewise addressed a Christian assembly.⁴ But however that may be, Firmilian, as we have seen, makes mention of a third-century prophetess, probably a Montanist, of whom he states that she baptized and celebrated the Eucharist.⁵ Epiphanius describes a curious service of the Quintillians (who were obviously the Montanists under another name) at Pepuza, in which the officiants were seven virgins, who prophesied to the people; and he declares that they had female bishops and priests.⁶ We are not surprised to find Catholics

¹ See especially *De Anima* 45, where he makes use of the favourite Montanist text, Gen. ii 21. The whole chapter should be compared with Epiph. *Haer.* 48. 3, 4. In several respects Tertullian appears to be more in harmony with the Catholic writer used by Epiphanius than with the Montanist opinions which that writer combats. See also *De Anima* 11, 21, *De Ieiun.* 3.

² *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 16. 7, 8; 17. 2. It will be observed that the Anonymous substitutes for *ἔκστασις* the stronger word *παρέκστασις*. ³ *Haer.* 48. 4.

⁴ They spoke in the same way as Montanus (§ 9). And it is added, by way of explanation, that they did so *ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀκαίρως καὶ ἀλλοτριωτρόπως*. There is nothing corresponding to the second adverb in the description of Montanus's utterances. It may perhaps indicate that they spoke during a Church service; which would be an improper occasion for speech for women, though not for a man.

⁵ *Cyprian Ep.* 75. 10 (Hartel. p. 818f).

⁶ *Haer.* 49. 2, 3.

indignantly quoting St Paul's injunction about women keeping silence in the Church.

This peculiarity of Montanism certainly never found its way into the West. It is not a Catholic, but Tertullian, in one of his most distinctly Montanist writings, who says, 'It is not permitted to a woman to speak in Church, nor yet to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to assume any office which belongs to a man, least of all the priesthood.'¹

Not much is known of the penitential discipline of the Eastern Montanists. But there is ground for believing that in this matter also they differed from the Africans. Apollonius² discusses the case of one Alexander, whom the sectaries regarded as a martyr, but whom he affirmed to have been tried not for the Name but for robbery.³ After his release he spent some years with a prophet. Apollonius sneers after his accustomed fashion: 'Which of them forgives the sins of the other? Does the prophet forgive the robberies of the martyr, or the martyr the extortions of the prophet?' This implies that prophets were supposed by the Montanists to have the power of absolution. And in this insinuation Apollonius is confirmed, not only by Tertullian, but also (which is more to the purpose) by an oracle which Tertullian quotes.⁴ We have therefore no reason to doubt the further insinuation that martyrs were regarded as possessed of the same power.⁵ But the African Montanists allowed no such prerogative to the martyrs. In Carthage it was only the Catholics who admitted the validity of their absolutions, and Tertullian heaps much scorn upon them for so doing.⁶

But we must now proceed to discuss two questions which will be recognized as of fundamental importance. Did Montanism

¹ *De Virg. Vil.* 9.

² Apollonius says that he wrote forty years after the beginning of Montanism (*Eus. H. E.* v 18, 12). Hence Harnack (*Chronologie* i 370-375) dates his treatise A. D. 196-197. But, though it is probable that Montanus prophesied for the first time in 156, we cannot be sure that Apollonius was accurately informed on that point, neither are we certain that he did not use round numbers when he spoke of the forty years that had elapsed since the New Prophecy began. The recrudescence of prophecy to which he bears witness seems to indicate a longer period than four years between the Anonymous and him. Possibly therefore he wrote as late as A. D. 200. He was certainly an Asian, and possibly, as Praedestinatus says, bishop of Ephesus.

³ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 18. 6-9.

⁴ *De Pud.* 21.

⁵ Cf. Bonwetsch, p. 112.

⁶ *De Pud.* 22.

inculcate asceticism? No one can doubt that, as expounded by Tertullian, it did. But we are concerned with Phrygian Montanism. What evidence have we as to asceticism among the adherents of the New Prophecy in Phrygia?

The writer who gives us most help in answering this question is Apollonius. In the passages quoted from him by Eusebius he insists that the lives of the Montanist martyrs and prophets do not conform to the requirements of the Gospel. He roundly charges them with covetousness. Montanus himself, he tells us, appointed *πρακτῆρας χρημάτων*, agents for the collection of money (Eus. *H. E.* v 18. 2), and out of the fund raised by them he actually paid salaries to the teachers who propagated his doctrine. Moreover he devised a system of receiving gifts under the name of 'offerings'. Accordingly the prophets took gifts (*ib.* § 11), and both prophets and martyrs made gain not only from the rich, but from the poor and orphans and widows. Prophets and prophetesses and martyrs, unmindful of the saying of our Lord: 'Ye shall not take gold or silver or two coats,' accepted offerings not only of gold and silver, but also of costly garments (§§ 4, 7). Themiso, a leader of the sect, who claimed to be a 'martyr', or as we should say, a 'confessor', was rich enough to purchase his liberation from prison with a large sum of money (*πλήθει χρημάτων*). Themiso was, in fact, clothed with covetousness as with a garment (§ 5). Another, who was counted as a prophet, was a money-lender (§ 11). And, finally, Apollonius asks the scornful questions, 'Does a prophet dye his hair? Does a prophet paint himself? Does a prophet delight in self-adornment? Does a prophet play with tables and dice? Does a prophet lend money at interest?'; and he offers to prove that all these things were done by the Montanist prophets (§ 11).

In some of these statements and insinuations—those namely which relate to the financial organization of the sect—Apollonius is confirmed by the Anonymous. For when he calls Theodotus the 'first steward' of the new prophecy (*τὸν πρῶτον τῆς . . . προφητείας οἶον ἐπίτροπόν τινα*¹) I do not see why we may not take his words in their literal sense. And indeed the very innocency of some of the things laid to the charge of Montanus is a strong guarantee that the accusations are true. For who nowadays

¹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 16. 14.

would find fault with a man who provided preachers with salaries, or who organized the collection of money for the purpose? And we shall not greatly blame prophets and confessors for taking the gifts which were offered to them, nor be greatly surprised if the more eminent and popular leaders became rich. There is really no need for Bonwetsch's suggestion that what Montanus aimed at was the establishment of a community of goods.¹ The statements about salaries and the wealth of certain individuals is quite inconsistent with such a supposition.

What scandalized Apollonius was perhaps the fact that Montanus was making the clerical and even the prophetic office into a profession. His preachers no longer worked at secular trades, as, in all probability, most bishops and priests at that period did: they derived their income solely from the payment made to them for the exercise of spiritual functions. One who is not a member of an established Church may perhaps be allowed to express sympathy with him if he also felt that absorption in financial organization is not conducive to the highest spiritual interests of Church or sect.

We may take it, at any rate, that Montanus desired that the officials of his sect should live, not indeed in luxury, but in ordinary comfort.

The remainder of Apollonius's charges Bonwetsch² asks us to disbelieve, on the ground that Socrates (iv 28) bears testimony to lack of zeal among the Paphlagonians and Phrygians of his day for the hippodrome and the theatre. The argument is scarcely convincing. He further reminds us, indeed, of Jerome's statement that in the lost work *De Ecstasi* Tertullian exposed the falsity of all Apollonius's assertions.³ But even if we are bound to interpret rigorously the words of Jerome, we must still remark that an Asian writer is more likely to have known the facts than one who lived in Africa, and that if the probable prejudice of Apollonius is to be taken into account, the prejudice of Tertullian must not be left out of consideration. The explanation devised by Bonwetsch, for the benefit of those who are not disposed utterly to reject the witness of Apollonius—that the

¹ p. 165.

² p. 100.

³ *De Vir. Ill.* 40 'septimum [volumen] proprie adversus Apollonium elaboravit in quo omnia quae ille arguit conatur defendere'.

Montanists, in order to express their spiritual joy as Christians, indulged in an 'apparent worldliness' which as the symbol of mere earthly merriment would not have been permitted; and that the gay clothing of the prophetess served only to enhance her dignity, and to enforce the festive character of her utterances—need not detain us.

I am willing to grant that the statements of Apollonius are exaggerated. But is it possible that such charges could have been publicly made in Asia, and have been accompanied by an express challenge to the Montanists to disprove them, if they had not considerable foundation in fact? Could they have been made at all by him against the leaders of a numerous Asian community, of which asceticism was one of the most prominent characteristics? And would Tertullian have answered them if they were so contrary to the truth that no one could have believed them?

But Apollonius makes two statements about Montanus which may seem to imply that he inculcated an asceticism which exceeded that of the Catholic Church. 'This,' he says, 'is he who taught dissolutions of marriages, and made laws of fasting' (ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας).¹ It is scarcely probable, indeed, considering the context in which this sentence occurs, that it was intended to convey the idea of special austerity on the part of Montanus. For it is immediately followed by accusations of extortion and gluttony. But let us examine the statements in their order.

1. Montanus taught 'dissolutions of marriages'. It is quite certain that in the East as in the West, Montanism was so far ascetic as absolutely to reject second marriages (Epiph. *Haer.* 48. 8, 9,²

¹ Eus. *H. E.* v 18. 2.

² Epiphanius evidently bases this part of his account of Montanism on a very early document. Bonwetsch (p. 36) argues, not altogether convincingly, that it was a treatise of Hippolytus. Its date seems to be earlier than the work of Apollonius, for the writer still asserts (§ 2) that there have been no prophets since the death of Maximilla, a statement which in the time of Apollonius would have been untrue. To connect it with Phrygia we have the statement (§ 11): 'Immediately after Montanus had said this'—viz. an oracle which he had quoted—['God] gave us a suggestion to remember the words of the Lord', &c. (ὅτε γὰρ εἶπὸς τοῦτο εἶπε Μοντανὸς ὑπόβοιαν ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ἀναμνησθῆναι κτλ.). This seems to imply that the writer had actually heard Montanus. Moreover, several of his arguments resemble those of the Anonymous.

Tert. *De Monog.* 3, &c.). But this can hardly be referred to here. The words λύσεις γάμων have sometimes been rendered 'dissolution of marriage', leaving one to infer that Montanus was so strenuous an advocate of virginity as to lay it down that married couples on their acceptance of the new prophecy were bound to separate for the purpose of living in strict continence. And there is certainly an oracle of Priscilla, which Tertullian quotes and understands as a commendation of chastity.¹ We only know it in Tertullian's Latin rendering, which is not free from ambiguity. But it certainly does not enjoin the annulling of marriages already contracted. And if Apollonius had wished to indicate the sanction by Montanus of such an annulling in all cases, would he not have used the singular, λύσις? At any rate his language is easily explained as a rhetorical allusion to the fact, for which a somewhat later passage in his treatise² is our sole authority, that Maximilla and Priscilla (and probably other women also) deserted their husbands when they became prophetesses. Montanus must of course have sanctioned their conduct: he could not well have done otherwise, if it was his wish that prophetesses as well as preachers should give undivided attention to their spiritual work. But abandonment of married life under such circumstances does not necessarily imply an ascetic view of the relation between the sexes. It is true that it seems to be implied by Apollonius that the Montanists recognized an order of virgins. For after asserting that the prophetesses had left their husbands to join Montanus, he adds, 'How then did they speak falsehood, calling Priscilla a virgin?' But the existence of such an order did not strike the anti-Montanist writer as unfitting: what he counted outrageous was not the ascetic tendency of his opponents, but their laxity in giving one the rank of a virgin who had been married. So far as these indications go it would seem that the Montanists were less ascetic in their opinions about marriage than the Catholics.

2. But then Montanus 'made laws for fasting'. Does not this imply an unusually rigorous asceticism? Tertullian in his *De Ieiuniis* contrasts the Montanist fasts with those of the Catholics, and actually accuses the latter of gluttony because their fasts were less frequent and less severe. But how much meaning there

¹ *De Exhort. Cast.* 10.

² *Eus. H. E.* v 18. 3.

is likely to be in such rhetoric may be judged when we find Apollonius making the same accusation against the Montanists because they had salaried preachers. The truth is that when we fix our thoughts on the facts which Tertullian mentions and not on the rhetoric beneath which they are buried, we perceive that the difference between him and the Catholics concerned far less the frequency and duration of fasts¹ than the principle on which they rested. The Catholics held that, with certain exceptions, they were 'ex arbitrio', Tertullian held that they were 'ex imperio novae disciplinae'.² And similarly in Epiph. *Haer.* 48. 8, where apparently Montanists and Gnostics are classed together, there is no allusion to difference in the amount of fasting, but only to difference in the principle which lies behind it. And nothing more is implied in the words *ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας*. The fasts were reduced to rule, no doubt by command of the Paraclete; but it does not follow from this that they were increased in number or in severity. That would depend on the frequency and rigour of fasting in the already existing usage of Catholic Christians. The Montanist rule may even, in this matter, have fallen below the standard of Phrygian Catholic custom. It is at least remarkable that when Sozomen enumerates the local differences as to the duration of Lent, the shortest Lent which he mentions is that of those who 'minded the things of Montanus', and who kept but two weeks.³

The remark about marriage and fasting therefore leaves unimpaired the impression produced by the charges of greed and worldliness brought by Apollonius against the Montanists. We cannot regard those whom he had in view as an ascetic community.

Not unconnected, in the mind of Tertullian, with the question of asceticism, was the eagerness for martyrdom to which as a Montanist he urged his readers. It is necessary therefore to enquire what we can learn as to the attitude towards martyrdom of the Phrygian Montanists.

Tertullian quotes oracles of the prophets in favour of his view

¹ Bonwetsch (p. 96) scarcely succeeds in proving that in these respects the Montanists (in Africa) differed to any considerable extent from the Catholics. He shews (p. 95) that Jerome exaggerated the number of fasts peculiar to the Montanists.

² *De Ieiun.* 2, 13.

³ *H. E.* vii 19.

that Christians should seek rather than evade martyrdom;¹ but they are not appreciably stronger than words spoken by our Lord, upon which at least one of them is plainly founded. Both alike are patient of different interpretations by different men. What then was the actual practice of the Montanists of Phrygia? Did they court martyrdom or did they avoid it? The answer must be, I think, if we are to be guided by the available evidence, that they behaved much in the same way as Catholic Christians did under similar circumstances.

A passage of the Anonymous has been interpreted to mean that the Montanists had no martyrs. 'Is there any,' he asks,² 'of those who began to speak, from Montanus and the women on, who was persecuted by Jews or slain by lawless men?' And he answers, 'Not one.' It is instructive to observe the use which has been made of these words, and some others like them which follow. Mr McGiffert, in the notes to his English translation of Eusebius,³ affirms that 'there is a flat contradiction' between them and a subsequent passage of the same writer, in which he admits that the Montanists had many martyrs; and he infers that the Anonymous had 'no regard whatever for the truth'. He adds that 'we know that the Montanists had many martyrs, and that their principles were such as to lead them to martyrdom even where the Catholics avoided it', referring to Tertullian's *De Fuga*. In the latter remark he assumes that African and Phrygian Montanism were identical in principle. And all that precedes it is based on a misinterpretation of the Anonymous.

For that writer is answering the argument—based on Matt. xxiii 34, 'I will send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes; some of them ye shall kill and crucify'—that because the Catholics had not received Montanus and his companions they were slayers of the prophets. Any one who reads the whole passage with attention will perceive that his answer amounts to this: The text must be taken literally; and in its literal sense it has not been fulfilled in the Montanist prophets. None of them has been put to death by any one, still less by the Jews, to whom Christ was speaking. Montanus and Maximilla and Theodotus were all dead, but not one of them had died as a martyr. The

¹ *De Fuga* 9; cp. cap. 11; *De Cor.* 1.

² *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 16. 12.

³ p. 232 f.

Anonymous makes no reference to the general body of Montanists. He neither denies nor affirms that they had martyrs. Hence his words cannot contradict the later passage in which he allows that the sect had numerous martyrs.

But it is not without significance that, if we may believe him—and I see no reason why we should not—none of the early Phrygian prophets had suffered for the faith. Is it likely, if they preached, with the vigour of a Tertullian, that the glory of martyrdom should be eagerly sought, that all of them should have passed through the persecution of Marcus Aurelius unscathed?

But let us proceed to consider the second passage of the Anonymous to which Mr McGiffert refers. In it he tells us that when all other argument failed them the Montanists fell back on their martyrs. And he admits the truth of their contention that their martyrs were many in number.¹

What was the argument based on this fact? The Anonymous only says that they regarded it as 'a proof of the power of the prophetic Spirit that was among them'. We may perhaps guess that what they meant was something of this kind. The Anonymous plainly refers to the persecution of Marcus Aurelius; for after it according to him the Church had enjoyed continuous peace up to the time when he wrote.² Now the martyrs of Lyons had during that persecution testified by their letters in favour of the Catholic party in Phrygia.³ Their judgement would have had great weight with all Christendom. Just in the same way we cannot doubt that the arguments of Praxeas against the Montanists were the more readily listened to by the Bishop of Rome because of his 'martyrdom' of which he made such proud boasting, and the reality of which Tertullian so eagerly disputed.⁴ By way of reply the Montanists may have appealed to their own martyrs: 'We too had then many martyrs who testified on our behalf.'

But, however that may be, the Anonymous gives us no reason to suppose that there was any balancing of one set of martyrs against another in regard either to their number or their eagerness and steadfastness. As yet we have nothing to guide us to a sure

¹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v. 16. 20 f.

² *Eus. H. E.* v. 3. 4.

³ *Ib.* § 19.

⁴ *Adv. Prax.* 1.

judgement about the attitude of the Phrygian Montanists towards martyrdom.

We turn to the treatise of Apollonius. Here at length we find a hint. Apollonius tells us that Themiso purchased his liberation from bonds with a large sum of money, and thereafter boasted as a martyr.¹ This statement may of course be false; but it is not proved to be false because Tertullian in his *De Fuga* denounced the practice of purchasing release.² And it is worthy of remark that in this case it is not a Montanist but a Catholic who says that Themiso's act of cowardice ought to have humbled him. Moreover the statement (whether true or false) would hardly have been made if it had admitted of an easy retort. So far as it goes it indicates that in Phrygia the Montanists were more inclined to avoid martyrdom than the Catholics.

This is confirmed by a document of later date. Under Decius one Achatius, apparently bishop of Melitene in Armenia Minor, was examined by a governor named Martianus. The record of the examination was printed by Ruinart,³ and has many marks of genuineness. In it the governor is represented as urging Achatius to sacrifice by an appeal to the example of the Cataphrygians, 'homines religionis antiquae,' who had in a body abandoned Christianity and made their offerings to the gods. This address cannot have been put into the mouth of Martianus by an orthodox writer. For such a one would not have made him speak of the Montanists as men of an ancient religion; and still less would he have made him immediately afterwards contrast their faith with the 'nouum genus religionis' of their Catholic rivals. The governor is struck by the difference between the faint-heartedness of the Montanists and the courage of the Catholics.

Another indication of the position taken by the Eastern Montanists in the matter of martyrdom remains to be noticed. The sect which was commonly known as 'the heresy of the Phrygians' must have included among its members a large number—perhaps the majority—of the Christians of Phrygia. And we have direct testimony that this was so even as late as the

¹ *Ap. Eus. H. E.* v 18. 5.

² Bonwetsch, p. 163.

³ *Acta sincera*, ed. Amsterdam, 1713, p. 152.

fifth century (Soz. *H. E.* ii 32). But Sir William Ramsay¹ points out that in Phrygia as a whole martyrdoms in the latter part of the second, and throughout the third, century were rare. From a study of the inscriptions he is able to suggest a reason for this fact. The Christians lived on good terms with their heathen fellow countrymen, and did not obtrude their Christianity unnecessarily; and, speaking generally, a spirit of compromise and accommodation in matters religious prevailed. If this description is at all near the truth the attitude of the Phrygian Christians towards paganism and towards persecution must have been as different as possible from that which is enforced in Tertullian's Montanist treatises, and, for that matter, in many other writings which have never been suspected of Montanist leanings. So far from courting persecution the Phrygian Christians sought to avoid it, and succeeded. If the Montanists had not been in this point in agreement with the Catholics such a result would have been impossible.

But this paper must be brought to a close. Professor Harnack, following many other writers, has said that 'what is called Montanism was a reaction against secularism in the Church'.² The considerations which I have now adduced seem to me to prove that, if this be true, Montanism, in the place of its birth, must have departed from its original standpoint far more rapidly than the Montanism which, in the last years of the second century, established itself at Carthage, and is represented, for us, by Tertullian.

H. J. LAWLOR.

¹ *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* ii (1897) chaps. xii, xvii, esp. p. 501.

² *Encycl. Brit.* xvi 777.

DOCUMENTS

ORIGEN ON I CORINTHIANS.

III.

§ XXXIII.

vii 1-4 [Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατέ μοι, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἀπειθεῖν· διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἔχέτω, καὶ ἑκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἔχέτω. τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδότω, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή.]

[Ὡριγένους]

- 121 Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀμαρτάνοντες γενικῶ λόγῳ διχῶς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ὑποβαίνοντες τὰς ἐντολὰς ἢ ὑπερβαίνοντες. ὅταν γὰρ μὴ ἀπὸ ἐπιστήμης πολιτευώμεθα μηδὲ γινώσκοντες τὰ μέτρα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σφαλ(ό)μεθα, καὶ ἔσθ' ὅτε ὑπερ-
5 βαίνοντες τὸν κανόνα φαντασίᾳ τοῦ ποιῆν τι κρεῖττον ἐκπέπτομεν τοῦ προκειμένου. σταθμῖον οὖν ἐστίν, ὃ οὔτε μέγα ἐστίν οὔτε μικρὸν ἀλλὰ σύμμετρον, τὸ εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ βιοῦν. Δέδεσαι μετὰ γυναικός· ἐν σταθμῖον μέγα ποιεῖς, οὐ φροντίζεις τῆς γυναικὸς ἀλλὰ λέγεις Ἐγὼ δύναμαι ἐγκρατεῦσθαι καὶ ζῆν καθαριώτερον· ἀλλ' ὄρα ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ σου ἀπόλλγται, οὐ
10 δυναμένη φέρειν τὴν καθαρότητά σου, δι' ἣν Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν.

Τοιοῦτόν τι γέγονεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ ἦν ἀκαταστασία ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, πῆ μὲν ἀνδρῶν πῆ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐγκρατεῦσθαι πειρωμένων καὶ ἀλλήλων κατεξανισταμένων. ἔγραψαν οὖν περὶ τούτου ἐπιστολὴν οἱ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην ἀντιγράφει ὁ ἀπόστολος τὰ
15 προγεγραμμένα· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέτεινεν τὸν περὶ ἀγνείας λόγον καὶ ἀνείλεν τὸν περὶ γάμου, οὔτε τ(ὸ)ν περὶ γάμου προκρίνας ἀνείλεν τὸν περὶ παρθενίας, ὡς καλὸς οἰκονόμος, ἀλλὰ τηρεῖ δι' ὅλου τοῦ λόγου τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ τσα τρόπον καὶ προτρέπεται καθαρεύειν καὶ συγχωρήσας συγκαταβαίνειν, προτρέπεται πάλιν ἀσκέειν τὴν ἀγνείαν καὶ προτρεψάμενος ἀσκέειν τὴν ἀγνείαν, πάλιν
20 φέρει ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ συγκαταβαίνειν τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων. ἤρξατο δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, οὐ γὰρ ἔπρεπεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν τελειοτέρων πραγμάτων, λέγων Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατέ μοι, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἀπειθεῖσθαι· Ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ἠθεληκέναι ἀγνεύειν τοὺς ἀποστατάς τῆς

XXXIII 6. Prov. xx 10 7. 1 Cor. vii 27 9-10. Cf. Rom. xiv 15 17. 1 Pet. iv 10

XXXIII 4. σφαλλώμεθα MS: lege σφαλλόμεθα

16. τὴν MS per incur.

μίξως τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ λογίσασθε μὴ τὸ ἐαγτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικός· Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἐαγτῆς· διὰ τοῦν τὰς πορνείας 25 ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, καὶ ἐκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα. οὐ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πορνείαν ὁ ἰσχυρότερος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ μὴ πως πορνείῃ τῇ ἐγκρατεΐᾳ (τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς) τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ· αἰρετώτερον γὰρ τοὺς δύο σωθῆναι εὕρισκομένους ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ 128 γάμου ἢ τῇ προφάσει τοῦ ἐνὸς τὸν ἕτερον ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ· 30 πῶς γὰρ καὶ σωθῆσεται ἔνοχος ὢν τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς γυναικός; οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν καθαρὰ ἢ σεμνότης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὅτε μὴ ἐκ συμφωνίας τῆς γυναικὸς γίνηται ἢ ἀσκησις ἀμφοτέροις ὑπὲρ τοῦ σολάσαι ταῖς κατὰ θεὸν εὐχαῖς.

[vii 3] Τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδότω, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. προνοήσατο καὶ τοῦ θεραπεῦσαι τὴν ἀσθένειαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ 35 το(ῦ) εὐσχημονέστατα οἰκονομήσαι τὸ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους· διόπερ εἶπεν ὀφειλὴν ὀφείλεισθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός. εἶτα ἵνα μὴ δυσωπήσῃ τοὺς ἐν γάμῳ ὡς δούλους ἀλλήλων τυγχάνοντας μὴ χωρὶς συμφωνίας ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν τῆς καθαρότητος φησὶν· Ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἴδιου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν γυνή· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἴδιου σώματος 40 οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν γυνή. ἐξουσίαν οὖν ἔχει ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ σώματος τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐὰν θέλῃ μὴ χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ· ἀλλ' οἷον ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, οἶμαι τοῦτο διδάσκων τ(ῷ) λέγειν μὴ οἷον ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφῆν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς; ἐξουσίαν οὖν ἔχει ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ 45 ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐ δύναται μὴ χρῆσασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ;

Τὸ δὲ ὁμοίως δις κείμενον δίδωσι νοεῖν ὅτι μὴ νομιζέτω ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν γάμον πράγμασιν ὑπερέχει τῆς γυναικός· ὁμοιότης ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσότης τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

§ XXXIV.

vii 5 [Μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μὴ τι ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρὸν ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε.]

[Ὁριγένους]

Ὁφείλετε γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ αὐτὴ εὐχὴ ἀπὸ καθαρότητος 128 ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός καὶ εὐχὴ ἀπὸ κοινωνίας. εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδώλων

24. Phil. ii 4
ix 12

25. 1 Cor. xiii 5
44 f. 1 Cor. ix 5

33. Cf. vii 5 infra

42. 1 Cor.

XXXIV. It is possible that the section Ὁφείλετε γὰρ . . . εἰς κρίμα; should be transferred to follow ἐν καιρῷ εὐχῆς καὶ νηστείας infra, but there is no break in the MS at that point.

28. τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῇ ἐγκρατεΐᾳ suppleui: om. MS per homoeotel. ut uidetur
32. ἢ σεμνότης τῆς τοῦ MS per dittograph. 36. τὸ MS 42. χρῆσθαι MS:
fortasse χρῆσθαι Turner 43. τὸ MS 46. ἐξουσίᾳ MS: ἐξουσίᾳ; scripsi
XXXIV. Legimus in lemmate ἵνα σχολάζητε τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέρχῃσθε sed uide infra

Ἐλληνες ἔστιν ὅτε ἀγνεύουσι, πόσῳ πλέον σὺ ὁ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὄλων εὐχόμενος;
 5 καλὸν οὖν ἔστι συγκαταβαίνειν μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἀνέχειν δὲ διὰ τὰς
 εὐχάς. καὶ Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἀγνίζει τὸν λαὸν καὶ λέγει τρεῖς ἡμέρας μὴ προσέλθετε
 γυναικί, ἵνα δυναθῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ προκεκαθαρευέμεναι ἀκραταὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ.
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς Βασιλείαις δὲ ἄγιοις ἄρτοισι βούλεται παραστῆσαι τῷ Δαυὶδ
 φεύγοντι τὴν τοῦ Σαοὺλ ἐπιβουλήν Ἀβιάβαρ ἢ Ἀβιμέλεχ ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ
 10 βουλόμενος ἄγιοις ἄρτοισι παραθεῖναι τί φησι πλὴν Εἰ καθαρὰ τὰ παιδάρια ἀπὸ
 γυναικός; οὐχ οἶον δὲ ἀπὸ ἀλλοτρίας γυναικός ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γαμετῆς. εἴτα ἵνα
 μὲν ἄρτοισι προθέσεως λάβῃ τις, καθαρὸς εἶναι ὀφείλει ἀπὸ γυναικός· ἵνα δὲ
 τοὺς μείζονας τῆς προθέσεως λάβῃ ἄρτους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ πολλῶ πλέον ὄφθαλι τοῖς
 15 εἶναι καθαρώτερος, ἵνα ἀληθῶς εἰς σωτηρίαν λάβῃ τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ μὴ εἰς ἐρίαι;

[Ἐργένους]

- 124 Οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν οἴονται τὸ ἀποστερεῖν ἐπὶ μόνου χρυσοῦ ἢ ἀργυρίου ἢ τιῶς
 τῶν τοιοῦτων λέγεσθαι· σαφῶς δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν γάμοις ὄντων
 καὶ ἀκαίριος καὶ χωρὶς συμφωνίας ἀγνείαν ἀσκούτων ἀποστέρησιν ἰσχύουσι.
 20 ἀπαξ δὲ ἀπλῶς ὁ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον μὴ ἀποδιδούς ἀποστερεῖ ἐκείνον ὃ ὀφείλει,
 μὴ ἀποδιδούς τὸ ὀφειλόμενον. ἐνίοτε δὲ συγκλείεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸ μὴ
 δύνασθαι ἅμα δύο ὀφειλᾶς ἀποδιδόναι· διὸ γέγραπται ἵνα τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀποδῶ
 ὀφειλήν. ὃ δὲ λέγω οὕτως ἔσται σαφές· οὐκ ἔνεστι καὶ θεῷ ἀποδιδόναι δεόντως
 τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ὀφειλήν τὸν γεγαμηκότα τῇ γυναικί· διότι τὸ
 25 ὀφείλημα τὸ εἰς θεὸν ἐὰν ἐπέιγῃ, δεῖ τὸ ἕτερον ἀποστερεῖν. ἀκουε γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 λέγοντος Μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μὴ τι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρὸν ἵνα
 σχολιάσῃτε τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε· ὡς μὴ καθαρὰς ἀναπεμπο-
 μένης τῆς εὐχῆς τοῖς καὶ συνελθούσιν, εἰ καὶ νομίμως συνελθούσιν. ἀπέ-
 χεσθαι δὲ δεῖ γυναικός καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἀφένδρω, καὶ εἰς μέγα γε ἔγκλημα
 30 λογίζεται τὸ συνέρχεσθαι γυναικί οὔση ἐν τῇ ἀφένδρω. ἐν γούν τῷ καταλόγῳ
 τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων καὶ τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων παρὰ τῷ Ἐζεκιήλ
 ἀναγέγραπται ὅτι καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκα ἐν χωρισμῷ οὐ μὴ προσέλθῃ. καὶ δεῖ
 καθαρεύειν πάντως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός ἐν καιρῷ εὐχῆς καὶ νηστείας.
 125 [vii 5-6] καὶ πάλιν, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε, ἵνα μὴ πειράξῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς
 35 διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω κατὰ συγγνώμην, οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν.
 Πανταχοῦ ἀνίησι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τὸν λόγον, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιτείνει διὰ τὸ
 ἐπιστρέψαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν λόγον.
 [vii 7] θέλω δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτόν. ἀλλ' ἕκαστος
 ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, ὃς μὲν οὕτως, ὃς δὲ οὕτως.

XXXIV 6. Ex. xix 15 8. 1 Reg. xxi 4 12. 1 Reg. xxi 6, cf. Mc. ii 26
 15. 1 Cor. xi 34 23. 1 Cor. vii 3 29. Cf. Lev. xv 19 sq. al. 31 f. Ezech.
 xviii 6, cf. Lev. xviii 19

13-14. The Eucharistic reference is noteworthy.

4. Ἐλληνες MS: leg. fortasse of Ἐλλ. 11. οἶον δὲ MS: fortasse οἶον δὲ Turner

Πνείε χαρίσματος ὁ γάμος, ὅτε τὰ μέτρα τηρεῖται, τοῦ ἐκ συμφωνίας. καὶ 4^ο
ἀληθῶς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τινῶν ὅτι τούτῳ ὁ γάμος χάρισμα ἔστιν, ὅτε οὐκ
ἀκαταστάσια, ὅτε πᾶσα εἰρήνη, πᾶσα συμφωνία· εἰπεῖν μέντοιγε ὅτι χάρισμα
ἐκ θεοῦ ἔστιν ὁ γάμος πιστοῦ πρὸς ἐθνικὴν καὶ ἐθνικοῦ πρὸς πιστὴν; τούτο
οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι. οὐ γὰρ δύναται τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ φθάνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἐθνικοῖς· ἐὰν πιστεύσῃ, ἐὰν σωθῇ, τότε ἀρχὴν λήφεται τοῦ χαρίσματος. 45

Χρῶνται δὲ τῷ ῥητῷ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, καὶ ἀναισθήτως κωλύουσι
τὸν γάμον, λέγοντες τὴν ἀγνείαν πρόσταγμα εἶναι τοῦ ἄλλου θεοῦ ὃν ἀνέ-
πλασαν παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν. πλὴν ἐκ τοῦ ῥητοῦ ἔστιν αὐτοὺς συμβιβάζειν
ὅτι κακῶς κωλύουσι τὸν γάμον, κακῶς καὶ διαιροῦσι τὴν θεότητα. εἰ γὰρ
χάρισμα ἔστι τ(ῷ) μὲν οὕτως τ(ῷ) δὲ οὕτως, χάρισμα ἔστι καὶ ὁ γάμος· εἰ 5^ο
χάρισμα καὶ ὁ γάμος, κακῶς κωλύεται τὸ χάρισμα ὁ γάμος· εἰ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ὁ
δὲ οὕτως ἀπὸ θεοῦ, δῆλον ὅτι εἰς θεὸς ὁ δεδωκὼς τὴν ἀγνείαν καὶ ὁ δεδωκὼς τὸν
γάμον, καὶ εἰς ὁ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου θεός ἔστιν, ὃν κατήγγειλαν
πρότερον μὲν οἱ προφῆται ὑστερον δὲ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

§ XXXV.

vii 8—12 [Λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μείνωσιν
ὡς κἀγώ· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν· κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστι γαμῆσαι
ἢ πυροῦσθαι. τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσι παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἄλλ' ὁ κύριος,
γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι—ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, μενέτω ἀγαμος ἢ τῷ
ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγῆτω—καὶ ἀνδρα γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφίεναι. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς λέγω ἐγώ,
οὐχ ὁ κύριος.]

[Ὁριγένους]

Τινὲς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἕπερ ἃ γέγραπται διδάσκουσι· καὶ οἰόμενοι τι ποιεῖν, 12^ο
δέον προτρέπειν ἐπὶ μονογαμίαν μετὰ τοῦ μὴ βρόχον ἐπιτιθεῖναι τοῖς μὴ
δυναμένοις, τούτο μὲν οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ἀνάγκην δὲ ἐπιτιθέασιν καὶ θέλουσι μὴ
συνάγειν τοὺς διγάμους μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς παραβεβηκόσιν, οὐκ αἰ- 5
δούμενοι οὐδὲ τὰς τοῦ ἀποστόλου φωνάς. ὁ γὰρ λέγων τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ
ταῖς χήραις, εἰ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται γαμησάτωσαν, ἀντικρὺς ἐπέτραψεν μετὰ τὸν
πρῶτον γάμον μετὰ τὸ χηρεῦσαι γυναῖκα γαμῆσαι, μετὰ τοῦ λοιδορῆσαι
τὸν γαμοῦντα, μετὰ τοῦ λοιδορῆσαι τὴν γαμουμένην· εἶπεν γὰρ Εἰ οὐκ
ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν· ὅρα γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἤδη κατηγορία ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ 10
ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ὅσον ἔστι λέγεσθαι ἀνθρώποις χριστιανοῖς Κἀλλιον γαμῆσαι ἢ
πυροῦσθαι, πύρωσιν ὀνομάσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιθιμίαν τῆς σαρκὸς μὴ σβεννυ-
μένην(ν) ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἀλλὰ κρατοῦσαν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ.

42. 1 Cor. xiv 33 XXXV 2. 1 Cor. iv 6 3. 1 Cor. vii 35 12. 1 Io. ii 16,
cf. Gal. v 16 al.

XXXV 2 ff. Mr Turner suggests that this is perhaps a reference to Tertullian
De Monogamia.

41. τούτῳ MS: τούτων Turner 50. τῷ μὲν . . . τῷ δὲ Armitage Robinson: τὸ μὲν
. . . τὸ δὲ MS 52. δηλοῦσι MS XXXV. καλὸν αὐτοῖς: + ἔστιν MS in lemmate
sed vide infra l. 31 8. τὸ Armitage Robinson: τοῦ MS 13. σβεννυμένης
MS per incur.

Ἡμεῖς οὖν διδαχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου οὐ κωλύομεν τὴν δευγαμίαν, 15 συγκρίσει γὰρ πυρώσεως αἰρετιωτέρα δευγαμία· ὅταν δὲ κακοῖς συγκρινόμενοι κρείττον εἶναι τι νομίζεται, ἐκείνο ἀντικρυς οὐκ ἔστι καλόν· οὐκ ἔστιν σωφροσύνη ὁ δεύτερος γάμος· οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ φύσιν Ἀδὰμ τῷ πρωτοπλάστῳ οὐ γὰρ δύναται τῇ δευτέρᾳ λέγεσθαι γυναικί· Τοῦτο νῦν ὁστοῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁστών μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου· ἔσχεν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὴν Ἄγαρ, γέγονεν καὶ 20 μετὰ τῆς Χεττοῦρας· ὅτε δὲ ἐτελεύτα, οὐδεμία ἐτέθη σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλ' ἡ φύσις γυνή· Ἀβραὰμ γὰρ καὶ Σάρρα ἦν ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ· καὶ Ἰακώβ δέ, τῆι καὶ ἔσχεν μετὰ Ῥαχὴλ καὶ μετὰ Λίαςτ' γεγένηται καὶ μετὰ τῶν παιδισκῶν, ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ μόνη Δία ἐγένετο σὺν αὐτῷ.

† Μετὰ τοῦ τῆς τῶν πατέρων ἔσεσθαι οἰκονομίας μυστικῆς† οὐ δῆπου δὲ 25 καὶ νῦν ὁ λαμβάνων δευτέραν λέγει ὅτι Τελῶ οἰκονομίαν μυστικὴν· ἐλεύσεται γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος λέγων λέγετέ μοι οἱ τὸν νόμον ἀναγινώσκοντες, τὸν νόμον οὗ ἀκούετε; γέγραπται γάρ Ὁ δεῖνα λόγος γιόσος ἔσχεν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· οὐ μέλλει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι Ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα, καὶ αἴται γὰρ εἰς λόγος διαβῆκαί· ταῦτα γὰρ τυπικῶς συνέβαινον ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς εἰς ὅς τὰ τέλη τῶν 30 αἰώνων κατήντηκεν.

Λέγω δὲ ταῖς χήραις καὶ τοῖς ἀγάμοις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἔαν μείνωσιν ὡς 35 κἀγώ· τοῦτο δὲ δεύτερον καλόν ἔστιν· ἔστι γὰρ πρῶτον τοῦτου ἄλλο καλόν· καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι· ποῖον δεύτερον καλόν; καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἔαν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν· κρείττον 35 γὰρ ἔστι γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν γάμοις πρῶτοις ὄντες καὶ μηδέπω πεπειραμένοι δευτέρων ἀσκέτωσαν τὴν ἀγνείαν, ἵνα ἔαν γένηται τι ἀνθρώπινον μὴ ἀνάσκητοι καταληφθέντες ἀσχημονήσωσιν· κρείττον οὖν τὸ γαμῆσαι δεύτερον γάμον, οὐ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον λέγει ἐνθάδε ὡς δῆλόν ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πυροῦσθαι.

40 Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἐτίραν μεταβαίνει νομοθεσίαν· Τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσι 128 παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγώ ἄλλ' ὁ κύριος· ἡ νομοθεσία ἢ πρὸς τοὺς γεγαμηκότας οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου· ἅμα δὲ τηρεῖ ἀναγκαῖον παρατήρημα, ὅτι γεγαμηκότας ὠνόμασεν ὅταν ἀμφοτέροι ὦσι πιστοὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡ γυνή· ὅ(τ)ι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι ἑτεροζυγοῦσιν οὐκ ὠνόμασεν ἐν γεγαμηκόσιν, 45 δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιφέρειν αὐτὸν τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς λέγω ἐγώ, οὐχ ὁ κύριος· οὐκ οὖν οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ γεγαμηκότες; οὐ γὰρ μετρεῖ αὐτοὺς γεγαμηκότας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτων ἀρμόζεται γυνή ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θεοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πιστῶν, ὅτε

18. Gen. ii 23 26 f. Gal. iv 21-2 28 f. Gal. iv 24 29 f. 1 Cor. x 12
33. vii 1 supra 44, 58. 2 Cor. vi 14

21. ἦσαν Turner: ἦν MS fortasse recte 21-22. ἔσχεν μετὰ Λίαν Ῥαχὴλ καὶ γεγένηται καὶ μετὰ τῶν παιδισκῶν Turner: ἔσχεν μετὰ Λίαν Ῥαχὴλ, καὶ μετὰ Ῥαχὴλ γεγένηται κ.τ.λ. Swete: ἔσχεν Ῥαχὴλ καὶ μετὰ Λίας γεγένηται κ.τ.λ. A. Nairne: fortasse ἔσχε μὲν καὶ Ῥαχὴλ μετὰ Λίας, γεγένηται καὶ κ.τ.λ. 24. Deest aliquid ut uidetur: fortasse Μη ταῦτ' οὖν φῆς... μυστικῆς; cf. XXXVII 5. A. Nairne 42. fors. τῆρον Turner 44. ὅσοι MS: ὅτι Turner 45. in lemmate ἐγώ λέγω MS
46. οὐκ οὖν scripsi; οὐκ οὖν MS

ἀμφότεροι κοινωνοῦσι καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παιδοποιίας ἀγίας καὶ πάντων ὧν
χριστιανοὺς κοινωνεῖν δεῖ, λέγει ὅτι ὁ γάμος οὐκ ἀλλότριός ἐστι θεοῦ.

Παραγγέλλω οὖν, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ὁ κύριος, γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρίζεσθαι. 50
τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον τοῦτο ἐστίν, συζυγίαν φθάσασαν δεδέσθαι μὴ λυθῆναι.

Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο αἷτια τοῦ καὶ χωρισθῆναι· ὡς
πορνεία ἐὰν γέν(η)τ(αι) τῇ γυναικί, ἁμαρτία ἐστὶ κατέχειν τὴν πεπορνευκυῖαν
γυναῖκα. ἐὰν οὖν καὶ χωρισθῇ καὶ γέν(η)τ(αί) τι (αἷτι)ον χωρισμοῦ, μενέτω
ἄγαμος ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγήτω. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα θέλω τοιοῦτον εἶναι, 55
ἵνα μὴ ἀφίῃ γυναῖκα.

Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς λέγω ἐγὼ, οὐχ ὁ κύριος. τοῖς μὲν γεγαμηκόσιν οὐκ ἐγὼ
νομοθετῶ, ἀλλ' ὁ κύριος· τοῖς δὲ μὴ γεγαμηκόσιν· ἀλλ' ἑτεροζήτοισιν
ἀπίστοις οὐκ ἔχω νόμον δοῦναι ἀπὸ θεοῦ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀξιοὶ εἶσι νόμων θεοῦ·
ἀλλ' ἀκουέτωσαν ἡμῶν. καὶ χρῆσομαι εἰς τὸ νοηθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον 60
γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ νόμῳ. οἱ νόμοι οἱ κατὰ Μωσέα οἱ μὲν θεοῦ εἰσιν,
οἱ δὲ Μωσέως. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος ὁ κύριος διαφορὰν νόμων θεοῦ καὶ
νόμων Μωσέως εἶπεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ νενομοθετημένων· Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς
εἶπεν Τιμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Μωσέως Μωϋσῆς
διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν γμῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ἡμῖν ἀπολῆσαι τὰς γυναῖκας. τηρήσας 65
γούν τὰ τοῦ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ τοῦ ἀποστασίου εὐρήσεις οὐκ ἐκ προστάγματος κυρίου
τὸν νόμον γεγραμμένον. Μωϋσῆς μὲν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν θεῷ νόμους ἔδωκεν
δευτέρους παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ θεοῦ· Παῦλος δὲ ὑπηρετῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
νόμους ἔδωκεν δευτέρους τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μετὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἀπὸ
θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ καλόν ἐστιν ἀκούειν νόμων ἀπὸ κυρίου 120
ἢ ἀκούειν νόμων Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. κἂν γὰρ ἅγιος ᾖ, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν 71
ἵποδεστέρους ἔχει νόμους τῶν νόμων τοῦ κυρίου.

§ XXXVI.

vii 14 [Ἦγίασαι γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀπίστος ἐν τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἡγίασαι ἢ
γυνὴ ἢ ἀπίστος ἐν τῷ ἀδελφῷ.]

[Ἦριγένους]

Ὡς κρᾶσίς τις γίνεται τῶν δύο, ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός, εἰς σάρκα μίαν ὡς περ 138
οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος· καὶ ὡς περ μεταδίδωσιν ὁ πιστὸς ἀγιασμοῦ τῇ ἐθνικῇ γαμετῇ,
ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον ἢ πιστῇ τῷ ἀπίστῳ ἀνδρὶ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀπίστος μεταδίδωσι
μολυσμοῦ τῇ πιστῇ γυναικί ἢ τῷ πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἀπίστος γυνή. διὰ τί γὰρ 5
φησὶν Ἦγίασαι ἢ ἀπίστος ἢ ὁ ἀπίστος τ(ῷ) λαμβάνειν τι ἀπὸ τοῦ πιστοῦ
ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς πιστῆς, καὶ οὐχὶ βεβηλοῦται τ(ῷ) λαμβάνειν τι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπίστου

51. 1 Cor. vii 27

63. Matt. xv 4 (Ex. xx 12)

64. Matt. xix 8

66. Matt. xix 7 (Deut. xxiv 1, 3)

XXXVI 2. Gen. ii 24

53. γένηται scripsi : γένοιτο MS
54. γένηται τι αἷτιον scripsi : γένοιτό τι ὡν MS
66. τὰς τοῦ MS per incur.
70. leg. fortasse κάλλιόν
71. ἦν MS : ᾗ corr. m. p.
XXXVI 6, 7. τῷ scripsi : τὸ MS

μέρους; ἕκαστος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρίας διαλεγόμενος τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἢ μεταδίδωσιν ἢ μεταλαμβάνει, καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ πάντως νικᾷ τὸ ἕτερον. καὶ
 10 τίς χρεία, φησί, τοιοῦτου ἀγῶνός τε καὶ κινδύνου; ἢ γὰρ ἐπιτείνεται ἢ ἀποτεύχεται, καὶ ἦτοι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ προσαπολέσει ἢ πολλὰ καμὸν μέγιστον κερδήσει δυνήσεται. διὰ τοῦτο καλὸν ἐστὶ πρὶν προληφθῆναι ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιμελῶς οὐ μόνον τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον σκοπεῖν, καὶ σκοπήσασθαι ἢ μὴ γαμεῖν ἢ γαμοῦντα ἐν κυρίῳ γαμεῖν. γυνὴ γὰρ δέδεται ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον εἰς
 15 ὁ ἀνὴρ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρη ἐστὶν ἣ θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ. οὐκ ἀκούομεν τοῦ μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐλευθέρη ἐστὶν ἣ θέλει γαμηθῆναι ἀναγινώσκωμεν, οὐκέτι δὲ συνετάξωμεν τὸ μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ. καίτοι γε κάκει ὅτε εἶπεν μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ, πάλιν ἀνέκρουσεν τὸν λόγον εἰπὼν μακαριωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐὰν οὔτως μείνῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. τὸ οὖν εἴφη-
 20 μότερον εἰπὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὸ Ἁγιαζεται γὰρ, ἀφήκει ἡμῖν τὸ ἄλλο νοεῖν.

§ XXXVII.

vii 18-20 [περιτετημένος τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ ἐπισπάσθω ἐν ἀκροβυστίῳ τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ περιτεμένεσθω. ἢ περιτομὴ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ. ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ κλήσει ἢ ἐκλήθη ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω.]

[Ὁριγένους]

- 137 Δόξει ἀκαίρως παραβεβληκῆναι τῷ περὶ γάμου καὶ ἀγνείας λόγῳ, μηδεμίαν ζητήσεως γενομένης περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστεύοντας ἐπισπάσθαι καὶ πάλιν τοὺς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ περιτέμεσθαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ
 5 τοῦ δοῦλος ἐκλήθης; μή σοι μελέτω, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μὴ ποτ' οὖν παράδειγμα ἔλαβεν τὴν δουλείαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν γεγαμηκότων καὶ ἀγαμῶν, περιτετημένον μὲν καλὸν τὸν ἀποβεβληκότα τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπερίτμητον δὲ τὸν γεγαμηκότα; ὡς γὰρ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν καὶ εἰσὶ μία σὰρξ ἢ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀποβέβληκε δὲ τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ὁ περιτετημένος, οὕτως
 10 ὁ ἀποβαλὼν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ οἰοεὶ περιτέμνηται τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ οὔτω καὶ δούλον καλεῖ· ἐπ(ε)ὶ γὰρ φησι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις οὐ δεδογῆναι ὁ ἀδελφός ἢ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ὡς δούλων ὄντων τῶν γεγαμηκότων, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐνθάδε δούλον ὀνομάζει τὸν μετὰ τὸν γάμον κεκλημένον, ἐλευθέρου δὲ τὸν ἀγαμον.
- 138 Λέγεται οὖν ὡς περὶ περιτομῆς καὶ περὶ δούλων τὰ εἰρημένα εἰς τὸν
 16 τόπον. πλὴν οὐκ ἄτοπόν ἐστι τῷ ῥητῷ χρῆσασθαι ποτε πρὸς τοὺς οἰομένους μετὰ τὴν πίστιν δεῖν περιτέμεσθαι ἐξ εὐλαβείας, εὐλαβείας δὲ τῆς οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν, διὰ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ περὶ περιτομῆς· πάλιν οὐ καλὸν ἐστὶ διὰ τινος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστεύοντας (καὶ) οἰομένους

8. Matt. xii 34 14 f. 1 Cor. vii 39 19. 1 Cor. vii 40 XXXVII § ff.
 1 Cor. vii 21 8. Gen. ii 24 11. 1 Cor. vii 15 17-18. Rom. x 2

16. οὐκ ἀκούομεν: praec. καίτοι γε κάκει MS, sed punctis superscriptis notant
 17. τό scilicet: τοῦ MS 20. Ἁγιαζεται: leg. fortasse Ἁγιασται XXXVII
 11. ἐπὶ MS per incur. 19. οἰομένους MS: καὶ οἰομένους Swete

αἰσχύνῃν φέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν περιτομὴν, καὶ βουλομένο(ν)ς ἀκροβυστίαν 20
 περισπᾶσθαι, χρῆσθαι ῥητῇ τῇ λέγοντι Περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ
 ἐπισπᾶσθω; καὶ ἔχει γὰρ λόγον λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους, ὅτι κατ' αὐτὸ ἡ
 περιτομὴ πρᾶγμα ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν. οὔτε οὖν περὶ περιτομῆς νῦν ἐστιν οὔτε περὶ
 ἀκροβυστίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀγάμου καὶ τοῦ γεγαμηκότος· Περιτετμημένος
 τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ ἐπισπᾶσθω ὡσεὶ ἔλεγεν Μὴ ἐπισπᾶσθω γυναῖκα· ἤδη 25
 περιετμήθη· ἀπέβαλεν γυναῖκα, μὴ γαμείτω ἄλλην. Ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ἐκλήθη
 τις; μὴ περιτεμνέσθω· ὄλον· Ἐν γάμῳ ἐκλήθη; μὴ ἀπόβαλέ σου τὴν γυναῖκα.
 Ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδὲν ἐστὶν. ἐπεὶ τινὲς οἰοῦνται
 τὸν ἀγάμον πλέον τι ἔχειν κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ γεγαμηκότος, τὸν δὲ γεγαμηκότα
 ἥττον τι ἔχειν παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ γεγαμηκέναι τοῦ ἀγάμου, θέλομεν, φησί, διδάξαι 30
 ὅτι τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἡ ἀγαμία ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ὁ γάμος
 ἀδιάφορό(ν) ἐστίν. δύναται γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀγάμος ὢν καὶ ἀληθῶς καθαρεύων
 ἀπὸ πάσης μίξεως, ἄλλως δὲ κακῶς βιούς, μὴ ὠφελείσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγαμίας·
 δύναται δὲ τις καὶ ἐν γάμῳ ὢν καὶ τὰ τοῦ γάμου πράττων τάξει δὲ καὶ καιρῷ
 αὐτὰ ποιῶν, τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν σώζων, μὴ ἐλάττων εἶναι τοῦ ἀγάμου. ὅτι 35
 γὰρ ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀγαμία καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ καθαρότης, οὕτως ἀποδείξ(ο)μεν.
 εἰ μὲν μόνοι οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἤσκουν τὴν ἀγαμίαν, ἦν ἂν εἰπέιν ὅτι ἡ
 ἀγαμία τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ καθαρὸν τι καὶ θεῖον πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν· νῦν δὲ ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν
 καὶ μοχθηρᾶ προθεῖσαι ἀγάμους. οἱ γοῦν ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος ἀσκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ
 τὴν ἀγαμίαν καὶ τὴν καθαρότητα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί· οὗτοι γὰρ 40
 ἵνα ἀρτίσωσι τῷ κτίσαντι τὸν κόσμον θεῷ, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἵνα μὴ συναργήσωσι τῷ
 τοῦ κόσμου θεῷ. κοσμίεται δὲ ἡ ἀγαμία ἐκκλησιαστικῷ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ,
 γινώσκει καθαρᾶ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀγάμος ἀδιάφορός ἐστὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ·
 ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ ἐν γάμῳ ὄντα ἀνεγκλήτως εἶναι, καθὰ καὶ προαποδεδώκαμεν. 139
 ἡ περιτομὴ οὖν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδὲν ἐστὶ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν 45
 καὶ κατὰ τὰ προκειμένα. ἀλλὰ τί ἐστὶ τὸ σῶζον; Τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ.
 πᾶς γὰρ ὅς ἐάν μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων λύσῃ τῶν ἐλαχίστων καὶ διδάξει οὕτως
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐκ εἶπεν Οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν
 ἀλλ' ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. εἰ δὲ ὁ λύσας μίαν
 τῶν ἐντολῶν τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, 50
 ὁ δύο λύσας ἐντολᾶς ποῦ εὐρεθήσεται; ἕκαστος οὖν ἐν τῇ κλήσει ἢ ἐκλήθη, ἐν
 ταύτῃ μενέτω. ἐκλήθη ἐν γάμῳ; μὴ ζήλου τὸν (ᾧ)γάμον. ἐκλήθη ἀγα-
 μος; μὴ πάντως ἐπισπῶ, εἰ δύνασαι καθαρώτερον ζῆν.

§ XXXVIII.

vii 21-24 [Δούλος ἐκλήθη; μὴ σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος
 γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δούλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου
 ἐστίν· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δούλος ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ. τιμῆς

41. Cf. 1 Cor. vii 32 47 ff. Matt. v 19

20. βουλομένοις MS 31. ἀδιάφορον... ἀδιάφορος MS: leg. ἀδιάφορον... ἀδιά-
 φορον (ut infra) aut ἀδιάφορος... ἀδιάφορος 36. αὐτῇ MS: leg. fortasse αὐτῇ
 ἀποδείξωμεν MS: ἀποδείξομεν corr. s. l. 52. ἀγάμον Armitage Robinson: γάμον MS

ἠγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δούλοι ἀνθρώπων. ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῶ.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Δούλον ὠνόμασεν ἀναγκαιῶς τὸν γεγαμηκότα· δούλος γὰρ τῆς γυναίκος ὁ ἀνὴρ, μὴ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος, καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυνῆ· οἱ ἐξουσιάζει γὰρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνὴρ. δούλος οὖν ἐκλήθη; μὴ σοι μελέτω
5 ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ παρανομεῖς κατὰ τὸν λόγον, δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος εἶναι· πῶς; ἐκ σωματικῶν ἢ σχολάσῃτε τῇ προσεγγίῃ μετὰ πάσης ὁμοιοῦς.

Ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δούλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν· οἷόν· Ἐκλήθη δούλος; τοῦτο ἴσθι ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ εἶ δούλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχεις τι ἐλευθερίας
10 διὰ τὸν κύριον. ὁ γὰρ ἀπελεύθερος οὔτε καθαρῶς ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν οἷδὲ ἐπὶ δούλος, ὡς εἶναι τὸν μὲν καθαρὸν πάντῃ ἐλεύθερον τὸν δὲ ἐν γάμῳ δούλον ὅταν δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ἢ δούλος, τότε λέγομεν ὅτι ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δούλος ἐστίν οὐ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ.

15 Τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δούλοι ἀνθρώπων. ὅση δύναμις νοήσατε τὸν ἐξαγοράσαντα ἡμᾶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ αἶμα τὸ ἐκχθὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξευμενίσωμεν. Ἐλέγομεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ ἀγάμων καὶ γεγαμηκότων ὅτι ἐπιτείνει καὶ ἀνίησι τὸν λόγον. οὕτως καὶ ἐνθάδε πεποιήκειν εἰπὼν Μὴ γίνεσθε δούλοι ἀνθρώπων· οἰοεὶ γὰρ ἐπιτείνει καὶ σφοδρότερον ποιεῖ τὸν
20 λόγον, προτρεπόμενος τοὺς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν οἴους τε καθαρεύειν καὶ καθαρεύειν ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ κλήσει ἢ ἐκλήθη.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ ἐρμηνευταὶ περὶ ἀκροβυστίας καὶ περιτομῆς κατὰ τὸ ῥῆτὸν ἐκδεδώκασι τὴν ἔννοιαν· συνήθως γάρ, φασίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου εἰς ἕτερα μεταβαίνει, πᾶσι νομοθετῶν τὰ κατάλληλα.

§ XXXIX.

vii 25 [Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω, γνώμην δὲ διδῶμα ὡς ἠλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι.]

[Ὡριγένους]

Τῶν ἐντολῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ἐπιτεταγμένα, αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἀλλ' αὐτεξούσιοι καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἐπιτετραμμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. αἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνευ σωθῆναι, αὐταὶ εἰσιν αἱ προστεταγμένα· αἱ δὲ
5 μείζονες τῶν προστεταγμένων, ἃς κἂν μὴ ποιήσωμεν σωζόμεθα, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐπίταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ. ἄκουε γάρ, φησίν, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

XXXVIII 3. 1 Cor. vii 4 6. 1 Cor. vii 5 16. Cf. Gal. iii 13 16. Cf. Lc. xxii 20, Matt. xxvi 28, Mc. xiv 24 17-18. Cf. ad 1 Cor. vii 1-4, 5-6 supra

XXXVIII 17. For ἐξευμενίσω cf. *Contra Celsum* viii 64 (ed. Koetschau, p. 280) where it is applied to God.

XXXVIII 9. τὶ MS per incur. XXXIX 6. suppl. fortasse ἢ καὶ ante ἱ. X. Swete

διδάσκοντος ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντος ὅταν ποιήσῃτε πάντα τὰ διατεταγμένα ἡμῖν, ὀφείλετε λέγειν δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοί ἐσμεν, ὁ ὀφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. καὶ εἰ, ἐὰν ποιῶσιν πάντα τὰ διατεταγμένα, δοῦλός εἰμι ἀχρεῖος, πότε φεύξομαι τὸ εἶναι δοῦλος ἀχρεῖος; ἐὰν φιλοτιμ(ό)τερος ὢν ἐπαναβαίῃς ἀπὸ τῶν διατε- 10 ταγμένων ὁσόν. Τὸ οὐ μοιχεύσεις ἐὰν τηρήσῃ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμβλέψαι γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθιμῆσαι, ὁ ὀφείλον ποιῆσαι πεποιήκα. ἐὰν δὲ παρθένος μείνω, 148 οὐ κελευσθεῖς οὐδὲ διαταχθεῖς, οὐκέτι λέγω ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρθενίας κατορθώματι δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοί ἐσμεν, ὁ ὀφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐντολῶν, ἐὰν μὴ (κ)λέψω ἢ πλεονεκτῶ, ὀφείλομεν λέγειν 15 ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοι ἐσμέν. ἐὰν δὲ πωλήσῃ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι καὶ δώσω πτωχοῖς, οὐκέτι λέγω Ἀχρεῖός εἰμι, ὁ ὀφείλον ποιῆσαι πεποιήκα. διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω, γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι ὡς ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ λέγειν τοῖς μαθη- 20 ταῖς τὸν κύριον οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται καὶ ἐπιφέρει 20 ὁ ἀγνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω· οὐκ ἐπέταξεν, ἀλλ' αὐτεξούσιον εἶασεν. Γνώμην οὖν, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, δίδωμι, καὶ ἵνα παραστήσῃ ὅτι κύριος ἐν αὐτῷ λέγει εἶπεν ὡς ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι.

[vii 26] Νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο καλὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην, ὅτι καλὸν ἀνθρώπων τὸ οὕτως εἶναι. 25

Ἀνάγκην φησὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι διατριβήν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέρωθι φησὶ τὸ δὲ ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ σαρκὶ ἀναγκαιότερον δι' ἡμᾶς. τετράκις δὲ ἐν τῷ τύπῳ τὸ καλὸν ὠνόμασεν ὁ ἀπόστολος· φησὶ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν καλὸν ἀνθρώπων γυναικὸς μὴ ἀπτεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ καλὸν ἀγίοις ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ· τρίτον Νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο καλὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην· τέταρτον Καλὸν ἀνθρώπων 30 τὸ οὕτως εἶναι. ὁρᾶς, ὅσα περὶ ἀγνείας εἴρηται, ταῦτα μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ ὠνόμασται· ὅσα δὲ περὶ τοῦ γάμου, μετὰ τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν γαμοῦντα.

[vii 27] Δεδεσθαι γυναικί; μὴ ζῆτει λύσιν. λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικὸς; μὴ ζῆτει γυναῖκα.

Δι' ὅλου τοῦ λόγου, καθὰ εἴρηται, ἐπιτείνει καὶ ἀνίσχιν, ἵνα ὁ ἀκροατῆς 35 ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ λαβῶν κρίνη εἰ τι δύναται καὶ ποῖα ἀσκήσει ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι δυναθῆ. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐνθάδε ἀπέτραψε μὲν τοῦ λύειν τὸν γάμον, προτρέπεται δὲ πάλιν καθαρεύειν. οὐκοῦν δεδεμένον μὲν εἶπεν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν γεγαμηκότα· εἰ δὲ περιστάσις ἐστὶ τὸ δεδέσθαι, καὶ δεῖ φεύγειν τὰς παριστάσεις ὅση δύναμις. καὶ τὸ δεδέσθαι γυναικὶ μὴ ζῆτει λύειν, ὁ δὲ μὴ δεδεμένος 40 ὀφείλει φυλάττεσθαι ἵνα μὴ δεθῆ· ἀληθῶς γὰρ εὐρήσεις αὐτοὺς δεδεμένους τῷ φίλτρῳ τῷ γαμικῷ. οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὖν τὸν ἐν γάμῳ προληφθέντα ζητῆσαι ἄκαιρον ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ μένειν ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ· καὶ εἰ λέλυνται τις, μὴ ζητεῖν 147 γυναῖκα.

XXXIX 7 f. Lc. xvii 10 11. Matt. v 27 (Ex. xx 14, Deut. v 18) 11-12. Matt. v 28 16 f. Cf. Matt. xix 21 20. Matt. xix 11 21. Matt. xix 12 26. Phil. i 24 28. I Cor. vii 1 29. I Cor. vii 8 35. uide supra ad I Cor. vii 1-4, 5-6, 21-24

10. φιλοτιμότερος MS 14. ὀφείλομεν corr. ut uid. 15. βλήψω ut uid. MS 20. ἐπιφέρει MS: leg. fortasse ἐπιφέρειν 35. διόλου MS

45 [vii 28 α] Ἐάν δέ καί γήμης, φησὶν, οὐχ ἤμαρτες. οὐκ εἶπεν Ἐάν γαμήσῃ, καλόν· ἀλλ' Ἐάν γήμης, οὐχ ἤμαρτες· τήρει τὴν διαφοράν. καὶ ἐάν γήμῃ ἢ παρθένος, οὐχ ἤμαρτεν· οὐκ εἶπεν πάλιν Καλόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἤμαρτεν.

[vii 28 β] Θλίψιν δὲ τῆ σαρκὶ ζήσουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι.

Πῶς γὰρ οὐχ ζήσουσι θλίψιν ὅτε τὰ εἰρημένα πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἔρχεται ἐπὶ
50 τὴν γεγαμημένην· Ἐν ἀγίαις τέσῃ τέκνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα σοῦ ἢ ἀποστροφῆ σοῦ
καὶ ἀγίος σοῦ κυριεύει. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἐλευθέρῃ ἐστὶν ἡ παρθένος, διεν-
θερωθεῖσα ἀπὸ τῆς καθαρότητος, νυμφίον εὐλογίας περιμένουσα. τῆς γάμου
ἐν σκότῳ γίνεται, διὰ μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις· ὁ δὲ Χριστοῦ γάμος, ὅτε
ἀπολάβῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ γίνεται. διὰ τί γὰρ μετὰ λα-
55 πᾶδων καὶ ἐλαίου διαρκούντος εἰσέρχονται παρθένοι εἰς τὸν γάμον; διὰ
εὐσχημοσύνης ἐστὶν ὁ γάμος ἐκεῖνος. ὁ σαρκὶ κολλώμενος ἐν σώμα ἐστὶν
πνεύματι δὲ ὁ κολλώμενος ἐν πνεύματι ἐστὶν. τί δὲ εὐσχημονέστερον ψυχῆς
πνεύματι κολλωμένης καὶ ἐνουμένης αὐτῷ, καὶ μηκέτι αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ
γινομένης ὅπερ τὸ πνεῦμα; ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ γάμου εἴρηται ἔσονται οἱ δύο ἐκ
60 σάρκα μίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἔσται ἐν πνεύματι.

§ XL.

ix 7-9 [Τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίοις ὄψωνίοις ποτέ; τίς φυτεῖται ἀμπελῶνα καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει; ἢ τίς ποιμαίνει ποίμνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος
τῆς ποίμνης οὐκ ἐσθίει; Μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λαλῶ; ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα
λέγει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῆν ἀλοῶντα.]

[Ὀριγένους]

107 Ὅτε μὲν στρατιώτης θεοσεβῆς φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ Τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίοις
ὄψωνίοις ποτέ; ὡς δὲ θεοῦ γεώργιον πεπιστευμένος καὶ γεωργῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
τὸ Τίς φυτεῖται ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει; ὡς δὲ μαθητῆς
5 τοῦ καλοῦ ποιμένος καὶ θεεικότος τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων τὸ Τίς ποιμαίνει
ποίμνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος τῆς ποίμνης οὐκ ἐσθίει; καὶ ὡς μὲν στρατιώτης
διδάσκει καὶ ἡμᾶς στρατεύεσθαι λέγων Οὐδεὶς στρατεῖται ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ
βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ· ὡς δὲ γεωργὸς διδάσκει καὶ ἡμᾶς
γεωργεῖν· ἐγὼ ἐφίτεγσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἠΐσανεν. περὶ δὲ ποιμένων
10 οἱ προφῆται ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξαν, τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοὺς μισθοὺς διηγούμενοι καὶ τῶν
ἄλλως ποιμαίνοντων τὰς κολάσεις ἀπαγγέλλοντες.

Καὶ δόξα μὲν ὁ ἀπόστολος διὰ τούτων τῷ μὴ προσέχοντι τῇ γραφῇ ἐπι-
λελησθαι τοῦ προκειμένου· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἔχεται τοῦ
λόγου. περὶ εἰδωλοθύτων πρόκειται αὐτῷ διδάσκειν, ἵνα κἂν γνώσιν τις ἐπαγ-

50. Gen. iii 16 53. Rom. xiii 13 54. Cf. Matt. xxv 1 56-7. Cf. 1 Cor. vi
16-17 59. Gen. ii 24 60. 1 Cor. vi 17 XL 3. 1 Cor. iii 9 5. Io. x 15
7. 2 Tim. ii 4 9. 1 Cor. iii 6 10-11. Cf. Is. lvi 11; Hier. xliii 4, xxv 34,
xxxiii 12; Ezech. xxxiv 2; Zeph. ii 6; Zech. x 3 al.

51. fors. ἐλευθερωθεῖσα, ἀπὸ τῆς καθαρότητος νυμφίον κ.τ.λ. Armitage Robinson
XL 8. ἀρίσει MS*: ἀρίση corr. s. l. 14. τῶ MS per incur.

γελλόμενος φάσκη μὴ βλάβησθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων χρήσεως αἰτία 15
 δὲ ἐτέροις βλάβης γίν(η)ται, ὀφείλει πεφροντικένας τοῦ πέλας, ἵνα μὴ τῇ
 προφάσει αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι ἀπολλύωνται. εἰς τοῦτο παραλαμβάνει τὰ παρα-
 δείγματα καὶ λέγει Οὐ πάντως ἐάν τις ἐξουσίαν ἔχωμεν, ὀφείλομεν κατα-
 χράσθαι τῇ ἰσοσσίᾳ. εἴτε γὰρ στρατιώτης ἐστίν, οὐ στρατεύεται ὥστε μηδὲν
 τοῖς ὀφθύνιοις περιποιεῖν ἑαυτῷ· εἴτε γεωργός, οὐκ ἀρκείται τῷ μισθῷ ἀλλ' 20
 ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῆς σταφυλῆς· εἴτε ποιμὴν, πρὸς τῷ μισθῷ μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ
 γάλακτος. οὕτως καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλω, πρὸς ταῖς ἀποκειμέναις μοι ἐπαγγελίαις ἐκ
 τοῦ καλῶς ἐστρατεύεσθαι ἢ γεωργεῖν ἢ ποιμαίνειν, μεταλαμβάνειν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
 τούτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ στρατιωτῶν, τῶν γεωργουμένων,
 τῶν ποιμαυομένων. ἀλλ' ὁμως, εἰ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω τῶν πρὸς τὰς χρείας, 188
 σκοπῶν τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ καταχρῶμαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, εὐλαβού- 26
 μενος ἐκκοπήν τινα δοῖναι τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ, ἢ καὶ δίδοναι πρόφασιν τοῖς
 περιπατοῦσιν ἀτάκτως καὶ μηδὲν ἐργαζομένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περιεργαζομένοις. ὥσπερ
 οὖν ἐγὼ οὐ χρῶμαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἢ ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ
 ὑμεῖς οἱ φάσκοιτες εἶναι σοφοὶ ὀφείλετε μὴ χρ(ῆ)σθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀλλὰ προνο- 30
 εῖσθαι τῆς τῶν πέλας οἰκοδομῆς. Εἰ δὲ ἀμάρτυρός τις ὁ λόγος εἶναι νομί-
 ζεται καὶ κατὰ λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπινον λέγεσθαι, ἀκούτω τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος
 Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῆν ἄλλοῦντα καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

§ XLI.

ix 9-11 [Μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ; ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς
 γὰρ ἐγράφη, ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ' ἐλπιδὶ ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν καὶ ὁ ἀλοῶν ἐπ'
 ἐλπιδὶ μετέχειν. Εἰ ἡμεῖς ὁμῖν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπείραμεν, μέγα εἰ ἡμεῖς
 ὁμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσομεν;]

[Ἐργένους]

Οὐκοῦν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην παρεληφότας εἴρηται ταῦτα, καὶ 169
 περὶ ἀνθρώπων γέγραπται, πνευματικῶς τοῦ ῥητοῦ νοουμένου κατὰ τὸν θεῖον 170
 ἀπόστολον. τίς δὲ ὁ νοῦς; Ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ' ἐλπιδὶ ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν καὶ
 ὁ ἀλοῶν ἐπ' ἐλπιδὶ μετέχειν. ἀροτριᾶ Παῦλος ὁ γεωργὸς κατηχουμένου ψυχῆν, 5
 νεώματα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἱερεμίαν τὸν φάσκοιτα αὐτοῖς
 Νεώσατε ἐλαγτοῖς νεώματα, πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν δηλονότι σπερμάτων, περὶ ὧν
 γέγραπται Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σπείραι τὰ νεωθέντα
 Ἐπιτηρῶ, φησί, τὰ σπέρματα, μήποτε ἐλθόντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄρῃ τὸν

18-19. Cl. i Cor. ix 18 22. Cl. 2 Tim. iv 8 26. i Cor. ix 18 27. i Cor.
 ix 12 28. 2 Thess. iii 11 33. Deut. xxv 4, cf. i Cor. ix 9 infra, i Tim. v 18
 XLI 6-7. Hier. iv 3 8. Matt. xiii 3, Mc. iv 3, Lc. viii 5 9. Matt. xiii 4

15. αἰτίας MS: leg. αἰτία cum MS Vat. gr. 692, nisi uelis αἰτιος 16. γίνηται
 scripsi: γίνεται MS 19. μὴ δ' ἐν MS ut uid. 21. μεταλαμβάνειν: + καὶ
 Vat. gr. 692 23. ἐστρατεύεσθαι (sic) MS 29. ἢ MS = ἢ: leg. fort. ἢ
 30. χρᾶσθαι MS XLI 4. ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὀφείλει MS, in lemmate 5. ἐπ' ἐλπίδι μετέχειν
 MS: in lemmate autem τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι 6-7. ποιῶν ...
 νεώματα omissa per homoeotel. addidit in marg. m. p. 7. δηλονότι MS

- 10 σπόρον καὶ ὅταν καρποφορήσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ καρποὺς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὅ(ε)
 λεγκί ἐστιν ἡμῖν πρὸς θερικῶν, ἕξεστί μοι λατὸν λαβεῖν. οὐ γὰρ σκαρδαλισθή-
 σεται ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὅσα κέρμηκα, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποτραύσω, ἵνα σπῆρα
 πῶς ἐπέμεινα μέχρι οὐ ἔλθῃ ὁ σπόρος αὐτοῦ τελευθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἅλιαν. καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο λαμβάνειν μοι ἕξεσται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τροφάς. ἀλλ' οὐ πάστωσ κέρμηκα
 15 τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπ' Ἀπιδι τοῦτο ποιῶ, παραστήσαι τὸ γόννημα τῆς οἰκοδομητῆ
 γεωργός γάρ εἰμι· οὐχ ἵνα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀποδοθῆναι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰς ἡμῶν
 λάβω ἀποθήκας. εἰτά τι περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκων φησὶν Εἰ
 ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπείραμεν, μέγα; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

§ XLII.

ix 16 [Ἐάν γὰρ εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστι μοι καύχημα· ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι
 ἐπικεῖται· οὐαὶ δέ μοι ἐστὶν ἐάν μὴ εὐαγγελίζωμαι. εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν τοῦτο
 πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι.]

[Ἦριγένους]

- 176 Διδασκόμεθα ὅτι ὅσα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ποιούμεν, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχει καύχημα· ὅσα
 δὲ προαιρέσει ποιούμεν, οὐκ ἐπικειμένης ἀνάγκης, ταῦτα ἔχει καύχημα. οἷον
 ὁ μὴ μοιχεύων ἢ φονεύων (οὐκ) ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' ὁ παρθενεύων· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ
 5 ἀνάγκης ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ παρθενεύειν ἀλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως. ὅπου δὲ τὸ οὐαὶ
 παράκειται ἐάν μὴ ποιῶ, οὐκ ἔχω καύχημα. διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν Εἰ μὲν
 ἐκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι. Πάλιν
 καθολικὸν διδασκόμεθα. τινὰ ποιούμεν ἐκόντες ὅλην ψυχῇ, τινὰ δὲ ποιούμεν
 μὲν, οὐκ ἐκόντες δὲ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ὅλην ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ λύπης ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης. τῶν
 10 μὲν γὰρ ἐκουσίως ὑφ' ἡμῶν γινομένων ἐστὶ μισθός· τῶν δὲ γινομένων μὲν, ὡς
 ἐκ λύπης δέ, οὐδὲ μισθός οὐδὲ κόλασις. οἷον Ἐλεημοσύνην ποιῶ· εἰ ἐκὼν,
 μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμαι μετὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων Ἐπεικῶν καὶ οὐκ
 ἐδάκατέ μοι φαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. οὗτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ μισθός, ἵνα ὅπου ἐξουσίαν
 ἔχω μὴ ποιήσω.

§ XLIII.

ix 19-23 [Ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἰδούλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς
 πλείονας κερδήσω· καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους
 κερδήσω· τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον (μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον), ἵνα τοὺς
 ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω· τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεῷ ἀλλ' ἔνομος
 Χριστ(οῦ), ἵνα κερδήσω ἀνόμους· ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα
 τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω· τοῖς πᾶσι γέγονα τὰ πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω.
 (πάντα) δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα συγκοινωνός αὐτοῦ γένωμαι.]

[Ἦριγένους]

- 177 Τὸ ἐκ πάντων εἶναι ἐλεύθερον ἀποστόλου ἐστὶ τελείου. δύναται γὰρ τις

10. Cf. Iac. iii 18 11. Io. iv 35 XLII 12. Matt. xxv 42

10. ὅτε scripsi: ὅτι MS 11. λευκή sc. ἡ χώρα 17. τί MS XLII. 4. om.
 ὅτι MS male 8. τίνα . . . τίνα MS: leg. τινὰ . . . τινὰ 12. ἐπί|νον MS per incur.

ελεύθερος εἶναι ἀπὸ πορνείας ἀλλὰ δούλος ὀργῆς, ελεύθερος ἀπὸ φιλαργυρίας ἀλλὰ δούλος κενοδοξίας· δύναται εἶναι ελεύθερος ἀπὸ ἄλλου ἁμαρτήματος, ἀλλὰ δούλος ἄλλου ἁμαρτήματος. τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν Ἐλεύθερος ὢν ἐκ πάντων ἀπο- 5 στούλου τελείου ἐστίν· ὅποιος ἦν Παῦλος. κατὰ δὲ τὸ προκείμενον τοιοῦτον νοῦν ἔχει· Ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω. ελεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ, ἐδούλωσα ἑμαυτὸν Ἰουδαίοις, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω· ελεύθερος ὢν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι ὑπὸ νόμον ἑμαυτὸν ἐποίησα ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω. συγκατέβαιεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος εἰς συναγωγὰς 10 Ἰουδαίων, εἰσῆρχετο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐποίει κατὰ τὰ ἔθη αὐτῶν χωρὶς βλάβης, οὐ συνποκρινόμενος ἀλλὰ θηρεύων τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Τινὲς ἐζήτησαν τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τ(ὸ)ν νόμ(ο)ν παρὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· 17B φημὲν οὖν ὅτι οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον ἕτεροι Ἰουδαίων εἰσίν, ὡς Σαμαρεῖς.

Τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος· ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· εὗρεν ἐκεῖ φιλοσόφους· 15 ἐχρήσατο οὐ προφητικαῖς λόγοις οὐδὲ νομικοῖς, ἀλλ' εἶ που ἦν ἐκ προπαιδείσεως μάθημα Ἑλληνικὸν τοῦτο ὑπομηθεῖς ἔλεγεν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· φησὶ γὰρ Ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἀνόμοις γέγονεν ὡς ἄνομος, ἵνα τοὺς ἀνόμους κερδήσῃ. καὶ πάλιν φησὶ Διερχόμενος καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ἡμῶν, εἶδον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπετέγραπτο 20 Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. ὃν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εἰσεβείτε, τοῦτον ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ἡμῖν. καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀρχεται θεοσίβειαν παραδιδόναι. τοῖς οὖν ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεῷ. οὐκ ἐν τῷ συγκαταβαίνειν αὐτοῖς ἀνομίαν τινὰ ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐτήρουν ἑμαυτὸν ἄνομον Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδήσω τοὺς ἀνόμους. ἅμα δὲ τηρεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ· Ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος· οὐκ εἶπεν ἐνθάδε, 25 Μὴ ὢν Ἰουδαῖος. Ἰουδαῖος γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. καὶ πάλιν τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον· ἀναγκαιῶς ἐνθάδε ἔθηκεν τὸ Μὴ ὢν ὑπὸ νόμον. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρᾳ· ὡσανεὶ ἔλεγεν, Μὴ ὢν Σαμαρεῖς.

Τοῖς δὲ ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεῷ. ἀλλ' ὑπολήγεται μέ τις ἀπο- 30 στατήν τοῦ νόμου γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἄνομον τῷ θεῷ· φημὶ δὲ ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ τηρῶ τὸν νόμον κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄνομος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔνομός εἰμι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῶν τῆν πολιτείαν τῆν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα κερδήσω τοὺς ἀνόμους.

Ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής· οὐκ εἶπεν ἐνθάδε Μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ἀσθε- 35 νής· ἀλαζονικὸν γὰρ ἦν, ὑπερήφανον ἦν, οὐκ ἦν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον εἰπεῖν Οὐκ ὢν αὐτὸς ἀσθενής, τὸν ἀπὸ κύριου ἀκούσαντα ὅτι ἡ δύναμις μοι ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ἀσθενείαις καυχώμενον. πῶς δὲ τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενής; ὅτε ἐπιτρέπει τοὺς πυρουμένους γαμῖν, ὅτε συμπάσχει ταῖς ἀπο- 17D βαλούσαις ἄνδρας, ὅτε φησὶ Διὰ δὲ τὰς πυρνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικα ἐχέτω

XLIII 18. Act. Ap. xvii 28 20 f. Act. Ap. xvii 23 28. Gal. iii 13
36. 2 Cor. xii 9 37. 2 Cor. xii 5 38. Cf. 1 Cor. vii 9 39 f. 1 Cor. vii 2

4. εἶναι ελεύθερος εἶναι MS 13. τῶν νόμων MS 23. μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ
MS: desunt in lemmate 24. Χριστοῦ MS: in lemmate Χριστῷ τηρεῖ MS: leg.
fortasse τηρεῖ

40 καὶ ἐκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἔχεται καὶ τὰ λοιπά. ἐν τούτοις ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσῃ.

Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει τοῖς πᾶσι γέγονα τὰ πάντα ἵνα πάντας ἢ τυτὸς σώσω. Ὁν ἔαν λάβῃς ἄνθρωπον, ἐν τῶν πέντε ἐστίν ἢ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν, ἢ ὑπὸ νόμον, ἢ ἄνομος, ἢ ἀσθενής, ἢ πάντα ἐστίν. ὁ τέλειος πάντα ἐστίν τοῖς
45 οὖν πᾶσι, τούτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τελείοις, γέγονα τέλειος, ἵνα πάντας κερδήσω. Σοφία γάρ φησι λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. οὗτος δύναται εἰπεῖν Ἑλληνικὰ τε καὶ βαρβάρους, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί.

[Ἦριγένους]

180 Μόνος ὁ τέλειος δύναται εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ τελείου ἀποστόλου ἐν κυρίῳ φωνήν τῆ
50 Πάντα ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. ὁ γὰρ ἁμαρτάνων οὐ δύναται τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ ὁ πάντα ποιῶν διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κοινωνός ἐστι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὁ ποιῶν δὲ τὴν πορνείαν κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς πορνείας τοῦ πνεύματος, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν. ἕκαστος οὖν κοινωνός ἐκείνῳ ᾧ ἐκοινωνήσεν γίνεται. ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις τῶν ἀκούοντων Ὁ βίος μου μκτός ἐστιν οὔτε πάντα ποιῶ διὰ τὸ
55 εὐαγγέλιον, οὔτε πάντα ποιῶ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν. πρὸς τοῦτο φήσομεν Ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρίματα ἔχει κατὰ τὰ κρίματα τὰ πολλὰ ποικίλα ἀποδίδωσι.

§ XLIV.

ix 24 [Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες, πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε.]

[Ἦριγένους]

182 Ἄρ' οὖν πάντες ἡμεῖς τρέχομεν καὶ εἰς λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπολλύμεθα; ἕνα γὰρ εἶπεν τὸν λαμβάνοντα τὸ βραβεῖον, πολλῶν τρέχοντων. πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ἐν εἰσιν καὶ ἐν σώμα· οἱ γὰρ πάντες εἰς ἄρτος ἐσμέν καὶ
5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρτου μετέχομεν, καὶ πάντες ἐστὲ εἶμα χριστοῦ. πάντες οὖν οἱ σωζόμενοι, εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ λαμβάνων τὸ βραβεῖον. ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ οὖν πάντες τρέχουσιν, ὅσοι πρὸς δόγμα πολιτεύονται καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων πρὸς δόγμα πολιτεύονται, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τάχα, καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς δόγμα πολιτεύονται φιλοσοφοῦντες. καὶ οἱ τοὶ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες τρέχει καὶ
10 ἡ ἐκκλησία· ἀλλ' εἰς λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον ὁ εἰς ἄνθρωπος, περὶ οὗ φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος Μέχρι κατανήσωμεν εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ. πᾶσαν δὲ κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖ εὐρεθῆναι περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τρέχοντας, ἵν' ὁ μὲν τις λάβῃ πρωτεία ἐξῆς δὲ ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν.

45. 1 Cor. ii 6 46. Rom. i 14 XLIV 4. Gal. iii 28 1 Cor. x 17,
cf. Eph. iv 4 5. 1 Cor. xii 27 11. Eph. iv 13

42. πάντας ἢ τινὰς MS: in lemmate autem πάντως τινὰς 45. Incertum utrum πάντας an πάντας scripserit m. p. 46. οὗτος MS: fors. οὗτος 50. πάντες: τοῦτο in lemmate MS 52. δὲ om. MS, suppl. s. l. corr. XLIV 4. leg. fortasse ἐν (πνεύμα) εἰσι καὶ ἐν σώμα (cf. Eph. iv 4) 8. leg. fortasse οἱ τὰ Ἑλλ. φιλοσοφοῦντες: οἱ τὰ Ἑλλ. φρονούντες Vat. gr. 692

CLAUDE JENKINS.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY.

FOR reasons which I propose to submit to the judgement of scholars, I believe the greater part of the acephalous collection of *missae* and other items preserved in the chapter library of Verona (cod. lxxxv) and known by the speculative title of *Sacramentarium Leonianum* to have been composed either by or for Pope Leo the Great (A. D. 440-461) and his immediate successor Hilarus (A. D. 461-468), and in the first instance to have been set forth on twenty-five line pages of the average capacity of 28 letters to a line; that under Hilarus a second and somewhat amplified redaction was elaborated with no less care than its predecessor, on twenty-five line pages of the average value of 30½ letters to a line; and that a third and considerably augmented edition was compiled by or for Simplicius, the next Bishop of Rome (A. D. 468-483), on twenty-five line pages, the lines of which had the average capacity of 32 letters each. The three stichometrical units—28, 30½, 32—postulated by my theory are in the following essay denoted by the symbols θ , α , β .

In setting the period of editorial activity within these three pontificates I find myself at variance with the author of *Origines du culte chrétien*, who does not seem to have entertained the idea of a possible succession of redactions, and attributes the compilation of the work to as late a date, at the earliest, as the year 538. He bases his opinion on two passages in the document.

One of these is the *Secreta* of XVIII xxviii (73 : 19),¹ 'Munera nomini tuo . . . deferimus qui nos ab infestis hostibus liberatos paschale sacramentum secreta placida tribuisti mente suscipere per.'² On this

¹ By 73 : 19 I mean page 73, line 19 of Dr Feltoe's very useful little edition (Cambridge University Press, 1896). For purposes of reference the Abbé Migne's reprint from the Ballerini is equally serviceable (*Series Latina* vol. lv). In the 'De Rebus Liturgicis Dissertatio' prefixed to Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (col. xvi et seqq.) will be found a carefully written account of the theories and queries that have been hazarded on the subjects of date and authorship.

² Muratori makes 'secreta', not 'placida', the excepted word. He, with the other editors before Dr Feltoe, reads 'tribuis', not 'tribuisti'; thus misinforming Mgr Duchesne on a detail of some significance. The past tense serves to prove that the Mass was written after, not at, the *paschale sacramentum*.

he says (p. 130) 'Les sièges ou pillages de Rome par Alaric, Genséric, Ricimer, se placent tous dans les mois d'été; il ne peut donc y avoir été fait allusion dans la prière qui nous occupe. Au contraire, le long siège de Vitiges, qui dura une année entière, fut levé au mois de mars. Cette année-là (538) le dimanche de Pâques tombait le 4 avril. La coïncidence est remarquable'; where it is evident that he restricts 'paschale sacramentum' to Easter Day, thus contravening the evidence of the Leonianum itself, which in one of the Pentecostal prayers of Section X (23:18) gives a scope of no fewer than fifty days to the phrase.—'O. s. d. qui paschale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum uoluisti mysterio contineri,' &c.—and thus forbids us to exclude from consideration any day between Easter and Whitsunday.

The other passage, into which I restore in italics words overlooked by Mgr Duchesne, is more to the purpose than that just cited. It is part of the Preface of XVIII vi (59:11):—'Agnoscimur enim . . . agnoscimur sicut profetica¹ dudum uoce testatus es ad peccantium merita pertinere ut seruorum tuorum labore quaesita sub conspectu nostro manibus diripiantur alienis et quae desudantibus famulis nasci tribuis ab hostibus patiaris absumi.' On this he says (p. 131) 'En 537 ce furent les Goths qui moissonnèrent dans la campagne de Rome, et, du haut de leurs murailles, les Romains durent assister avec douleur à cette opération qui faisait passer entre les mains des assiégeants le fruit de leurs propres travaux'. This may be true of the summer of 537; but it cannot be correlated with the Preface of XVIII vi, which gives no hint whatever of sorrow-stricken spectators gazing from beleaguered walls. That Preface tells us of two distinct things, a *direptio* and an *absumptio*, a *direptio* carried out under the eyes of the Romans and an *absumptio* permitted by an angry God; and, while it leaves us free to infer that the *absumpta* may have been the cereal crops of the Campagna, its explicit employment of the very words of the prophet Ezekiel (vii 21) obliges us to see in the *direpta*, not the fruits of the earth, but the products of human skill; the handiwork of goldsmith, silversmith, and other like artificers. The reference to the prophet's words is, I repeat, explicit—'Dabo illud (*scilicet* argentum et aurum et ornamentum monilium) *in manum alienorum ad diripiendum*.' Since, then, it is of common knowledge that no such *direptio* followed the siege of Rome by Vitiges and his Ostrogoths, for after attempting its walls for a year and nine days they retired and left the city untaken, the positive argument from XVIII vi may be dismissed.

My predecessor has, however, a negative argument which he formulates thus:—'Il est d'ailleurs absolument impossible de rapporter cette prière aux temps d'Alaric et de Genséric . . . Quand ces envahisseurs se pri-

¹ Dr Feltoe omits 'profetica'. See Mur. *Leon.* col. 355.

sentèrent (the italics are mine) devant Rome la saison était trop avancée pour que les récoltes fussent encore sur pied.' Not at all. The wheat harvest of the Roman Campagna begins in the second half of June,¹ and thus at a moment which in the fifth century, and as computed by the Julian calendar, synchronized as nearly as may be with the middle of the month. What, then, are the facts? The long and terrible siege by Alaric ended on August 13, 408, and thus included both the wheat and the barley harvest. The five months' siege by Ricimer ended on or about July 11, 472, and thus included the earlier, if not the later, ingathering. Between those events, and in the summer of 455, occurred not a siege, but the leisurely, if exceptionally clement, pillage of Rome by the hosts of Gaiseric. It began, according to the computation of one of our most trustworthy authorities, on the last day of May and ended on Tuesday, the fourteenth of June²; while another reckoning, which I suspect to be more accurate, sets the happy day on Saturday, the eleventh, the very eve of the day on which the Romans in that year kept Whitsunday. Thus an *abreptio* such as that implied in the Preface of XVIII vi, a Preface which, with remarkable significance, gives no hint of either arson or massacre, was brought to an end at the very moment when the cornfields round Rome were ready for the sickle; while, by a coincidence equally remarkable, the summer of 455 is the only summer in which it is possible to set the *Secreta* of XVIII xxviii in chronological co-ordination with the Preface of XVIII vi.

Instead, therefore, of saying that the Leonianum cannot have been compiled before the year 538 it will be safer to say that it comprises material which cannot have been in existence before the June of 455.

The theoretical reconstruction which I propose to make of the Leonianum at each of the three redactions postulated by my theory will suffice to prove that each of the successive constituents of its several items must have begun at the beginning of a line; and that the scribes employed on the work did not anticipate the very ingenious method by which under Gregory the Great, more than a century later, rubrics,

¹ My authority is Professor John Martyn (sometime Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge), who in his commentary on the *Georgics* (London, 1741) says on iii 132, 'The beginning of the Roman harvest was about the latter end of their June. . . . The barley harvest was reckoned to begin about the latter end of June or the beginning of July.'

² I am not aware that historians have made use of the *Secreta* of xviii xxviii in their endeavours to determine that date of Gaiseric's entry into Rome. Dr Hodgkin, who has bestowed much pains on the subject, in the second, not the first, edition of his *Invaders of Italy*, makes the thirty-first of May the day of Gaiseric's entry; but I think that this is three days too late. The data are these:—Maximus was acclaimed emperor on March 16 and was killed on the seventy-second day, May 26. On the third day after the 26th, that is to say on the 28th, Gaiseric entered Rome, which he plundered 'per quattuordecim dies' and thus until June 11.

text and minor rubrics were so distributed and packed together as to avoid the occurrence of residuary blank spaces.¹

Now, although it is theoretically conceivable that a group of *missae* which in a document executed after the older method had filled an integral number of θ pages (i. e. pages each of whose five-and-twenty lines was capable of holding, on the average, 28 letters) would when transferred to α or β pages (i. e. pages each of whose five-and-twenty lines had the average value of $30\frac{1}{2}$ or 32 letters) require for its accommodation the same or some smaller number of integral pages, we may assume that the coincidence would happen, if ever, yet very rarely indeed. What, then, are the devices by which an editor who was set on bringing about the coincidence could so enhance his material as to gain that object?

1. He might amplify the capitulum so as to make it need one or more lines than heretofore for its accommodation. 2. He might, instead of affixing the customary 'per' to a Preface, write *in extenso* the conclusion proper to it; or make a like addition to a *Communicantes* or a *Hanc igitur*. 3. He might make good one or more lines in this place or in that by appending, before the usual 'per', a new sentence to a prayer or Preface. Caution would in such case be needed, lest the resultant whole should fall asunder on inspection; but should he be careless of detection he would perhaps take no pains to avert it. Careful he certainly would be, if but ordinarily careful, to eschew a repeated 'dñe', a second 'quaesumus' and an awkward repetition of the copulative 'et'. 4. Or, more intimately, he might expand existing work by engrafting here and there a new clause into it. The risk attending such an artifice would be considerable; such as tautology, disbalanced antithesis and crippled rhythm.

I believe the compiler of the second edition postulated by my theory to have used each of these expedients in order to counteract a necessary 'shrinkage': but the last of them was, by reason of its ready adaptability to occurring needs, so serviceable (especially in the case of a long series, when a careful bibliographer would divide his material into parts each of which was to fill an integral number of carefully computed pages) that the compiler of the third of my postulated editions would also be likely to use it.

¹ St Gregory's method, a method employed by his early successors, is more easily illustrated than described, thus:—

tibus pium benignus au-
M unera dñe sc̄r̄a. | ditum. p.
oblata sc̄ifica nosque a
peccatorum nr̄orum ma-
T ua nos p̄c̄c̄o. | culis emunda. p.
dñe sacramenti libatio
&c., &c.

5. Or, an editor might introduce here another *Secreta*, there another Preface, elsewhere another Postcommunion.

6. If his wants were few, or if he was working his way carefully he might here and there introduce a brief elucidatory rubric which, however short, would yet monopolize a line. This would leave intact work which was not his own but another's. 7. Or, he might extend the series to a predetermined limit by adding one or more new Masses.

I believe, as the result of a laborious analysis of the document, that the last two expedients were in favour with the editor of the third general recension.

A word or two must here be added about the second of the seven devices just enumerated. There are in the Leonianum sixteen Prefaces¹ which, while undoubtedly older than the last redaction, do not end with the bare notification 'per',² but with a few words suggestive of what was meant to follow and, besides these, 'etc.'; thus, 'unde profusis gaudiis etc.', 'et ideo etc.' The 'etc.' is never absent. Now, when in these sixteen instances we have to compute the stichometrical value of the Preface as written at the third of my postulated redactions our course is, I think, clear. We must assume it to have been written as it stands in the Verona MS. But if we wish to reconstruct the *a* text and, behind that, the *θ* text, we must provide ourselves with a working hypothesis possessing a stronger *a priori* claim to probability than any other.

I infer, then, from the invariable presence of 'etc.' in these sixteen cases, as contrasted with its absence in all others, that in the *a* redaction the several conclusions may have been set forth at full length, and that they may have been so set forth because at that time they were not as yet of common knowledge; and, regard had to their comparatively small number and to the striking dissimilarity of the forms employed—such as 'unde profusis' &c., 'et ideo' &c.—to the conventional 'per'—by which was meant 'per xpm dnm n per quem' &c.—that they were more recent than the first edition. This is the working hypothesis which would seem to follow the 'line of least resistance'. I venture to hope that whenever I have to make use of this hypothesis the reader may find that, though it complicates the argument, it strengthens it.

SECTIONS VIII, X.

The first two complete Sections of so much of the Leonianum as survives at Verona are those devoted to the Ascension and to Whitsun

¹ At VIII ii, iii; x i; XIII ii, iii; XIII iii, vi; XVI ii; XVIII iii; XX vi; XXVI i; XL ii, iii, iiiii, vii, viii.

² The older editors persistently printed 'per etc.' instead of 'per'. Dr Felton has happily corrected them.

Eve. Like Sections XIII and XIII, like XXIII, XXV, and XXVI, like XXVIII and XXVIII, like XXX and XXXI, like XXXIII and XXXIII, like XLI, XLII, and XLIII, they represent when taken together, though not singly, an integral number of such pages as I believe to have been used by the compiler of the third edition postulated by my theory. A fact so attested may not be regarded as fortuitous. I therefore deal with Sections VIII and X not separately but together. In terms of letters the values of their several constituents are as follows:—

VIII. PRECES IN ASCENSA DÑI. (no numeral) 179, 128, 152, 105, 100, 143. i: 292. ii: 319. iii: 167, 97. iiiii: 228, 149. v: 113, 336. vi: 88, 216, 92, 150.

X. ORATIONES PRIDIE PENTECOSTEN. (no numeral) 177, 216, 152, 89. ITEM ALIA: 173, 138, 114, 140, 113, 73, 457, 79, 187.

IN PENTECOSTEN ASCENDENTIBUS &c. i: 134, 109, 171, 190, 147, 391. ii: 155. IN IELUNIO, &c. 117, 98. PRAESUMPTIO &c. 475, 168, 91, 121, 100, 85.

When computing in terms of letters the value of a prayer or other constituent I assume not only the *nomina sacra* to have been written in their immemorial forms, but also 'spiritus' and 'sanctus' when used as common nouns and in their derivatives. I also assume 'christianus' to have been written 'xp̄ianus', and 'noster' when in agreement with 'dñs' or 'd̄s' to have been expressed by the single letter 'ñ'. I always neglect the first letter of a constituent, since I assume it to have been set in the margin and thus outside the lineation.

In the foregoing list of values five corrections are needed, corrections which we must not forget when expressing those values in terms of lines. 1. The words 'mysteria . commercia.'—the second enclosed by points—in the sixth constituent of VIII (20 : 26) are rival forms,¹ one of which must be neglected. 2. Instructed by the Ambrosian Missal (Pamelius 374), I insert 'conditor'² between 'substantiae' (22 : 2) and 'respice' in the 'humanae substantiae respice d̄s' of the first prayer of VIII v, thus raising 113 letters to 121 (4 θ lines to 5). 3. In the Preface of the same item 'uetustate' must, I feel sure, be introduced between 'pestifera' and 'destructa' (22 : 10)—'nisi qui, pestifera uetustate destructa, subversa tyranni iura calcarit'. For an instructive parallel compare the 'omni ritu pestiferae uetustatis abolito' (79 : 17) in the Preface of XVIII xxxvii. My correction raises 336 letters to 345 (12 θ lines to 13, 11 α lines to 12). 4. In the Benedictio Fontis

¹ For 'commercia' see the *Secreta* of VIII xxiii (10 : 21) of XVIII xxv (71 : 30) and of XL iiiii (161 : 22). See also my *Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, pp. lvii 9 a 10 b.

² For 'nostra', 'humana', 'conditor', 'substantia', see 32 : 18, 23 : 25, 24 : 3, 32 : 31, 55 : 18.

Mellis et Lactis of X i 'patribus' (25 : 9) must be governed by an omitted 'promisisti',¹ and 390 raised to 400 (13 α lines to 14). The value in terms of θ lines of this insertion into the Canon will be considered anon. 5. In the fifth prayer from the end of X (26 : 6) a word seems to have fallen out before 'et pacem'. I shall revert to this presently. Whatever it be, it gives the constituent the value of 7 θ lines.

A textual correction, though not of stichometrical significance, may here be proposed. In the prayer next before the first Preface in X, for 'societ' (24 : 2) I should read 'satiēt'.

Now that I am about to construct my first table of linear values let me explain that in the horizontal rows of Arabic figures on the reader's left such of these as are unbracketed represent ordinarily the values of rubrics or constituents in terms of α lines; but that when θ values differ from these they are set before them between brackets, and that when β values differ from these they are subjoined between brackets. The aggregated values in terms of θ , of α and of β lines are ranged in the perpendicular columns. Here, however, let me add that before dividing the number of letters in a constituent by 28, by 30½ and by 32, in order to ascertain its equivalent in terms of such lines as I conceive to have been used in the three redactions postulated by my theory, I deduct 3 from that number, if, as is generally the case, the word 'per' is appended to the constituent, for, written as a crossed 'p', it could, should necessity so require, be set in the margin; and, further, that when, in the case of a short constituent, the number of letters divided yields a remainder of not more than three or, at the most, four letters, I neglect such remainder, for an ordinarily expert scribe would in a case like that foresee and provide against so small a surplus.

These details borne in mind, I now resolve the values in terms of letters of Sections VIIII and X into their equivalents in terms of θ , of α and of β lines; with the following result:—

	θ	α	β
VIIII. PRECES IN ASCENSA DŪI.	3	3	3
(7) 6, 5 (4), (6) 5, 4, 4, 5	31	29	28
i: 1, (11) 10 (9)	12	11	10
ii: 1, (11) 11 + 4 (10)	32	16	11
iii: 1, (6) 6 + 4 (5), 4 (3)	11	15	9
iiii: 1, 8 (7), (6) 5	15	14	13
v: 1, (5) 4, (13) 12 (11)	19	17	16
vi: 1, 8, (8) 7, (4) 8, 6 (5)	<u>22 = 125</u>	<u>20 = 125</u>	19

¹ For this see Mur. Greg. 506.

	θ	α	β
X. ORATIONES PRIDIE PENTECOSTEN, 8(2)	8	3	2
(7) 6: (8) 7, (6) 5, 8	24	21	21
1, 6, 5, 4, 5: 4, 3, (17) 15, 3, (7) 6, 0(1)			
[= 21: (34) 31 (3 ²)]	55	5 ²	53
i: 1, 5 (4), 4, (6) 6+4(6), 7 (6), (5) 5+2(5),			
(11) 14+1(13), 0 (1)	39	49=125	40=225
ii: 1, (6) 5, 0(1), 4, 4(3), 0(1), (17) 16(15), (7) 6	39	36	36
3, (5) 4, 4, 3	<u>15=175</u>	<u>14=175</u>	<u>14=275</u>

As to Section VIII, the estimate for the first of my postulated redactions needs but little explanation. I assume that the Preface under 'ii' (21: 11) ended with 'participes. per', thus comprising 310 letters, not 319 (11 θ lines, not 12); and that the Preface of iii ended (21: 16) with 'conlocavit. per'. The text of the next Preface invites no modification; for it is that usual in the Leonianum, but prolonged for the insertion of a needed 'eundem'. In v, as already explained,¹ necessary corrections raise the two totals to 5 and 13 θ lines. Thus, the ultimate result, five integral pages of five-and-twenty θ lines each, attests not only my main theory of an original thus paginated, but so much of my subsidiary theory on the subject of Prefaces as relates to the first redaction, and, besides these, the textual emendations proposed in the item numbered 'v'. It remains for us to see whether or not the attestation is fortuitous; whether or not, that is to say, like treatment applied to other Sections is destined to yield the analogous result of an integral number of θ pages.

As to Section X in such first redaction as is postulated by my theory I assume, in obedience to my hypothesis, that at that redaction it appeared in its 'simplest expression'. I assume, that is to say, that there were as yet no needless prolongations of Preface (24: 29) of Communicantes (25: 5) or of Benedictio Fontis Mellis et Lactis (25: 13). I further assume that the three subordinate rubrics (at 24: 18, 25: 19, 25: 25) were not as yet inserted: the first, 'IN PENTECOSTEN ASCENDENTIBUS A FONTE,' because it is implied in the capitulum of the Section; because it is, though superfluous, yet a general heading and therefore one of the rubrics which, if analogy may guide us, the original editor never set elsewhere than on the first line of a page; and because it is belied by the numerals—'i', 'ii'—which follow it: the second, 'IN IEIUNIO QUARTI MENSIS,' because it is wrongly placed (25: 19), being set after the first prayer of the Mass; because it is worded unlike those of its class elsewhere²; and because it resembles others which,

¹ See above, p. 520.

² 'In ieiunio quarti mensis.' Analogy gives 'In ieiunio mensis quarti'. See xii (27: 31), xxvii (108: 29), xxviii (114: 24), xlvi (168: 1).

as the sequel shews,¹ are proper to the third redaction; the last (25 : 25), 'PRAESUMPTIO &c.', because it is one of those supererogatory 'advertisements' which, as again the sequel shews,¹ are peculiar to the last redaction. And, yet again, I assume that the Benedictio Fontis Mellis et Lactis was in its first estate considerably shorter than it now is. I gather from a footnote of Dr Feltoe's that each of the phrases 'et pota . . . ueritatis' (25 : 6-8) and 'terram fluentem melle et lacte' (25 : 10) is enclosed by points. This must be taken to mean that they are extraneous to the original text² and that 'enutri eos' must be corrected to 'enutri famulos tuos'—a nett enhancement of 8 letters. The first value of the Benedictio would thus be $[391 + 8 - (63 + 26) =] 310^3$ letters, or 11 θ lines.

Thus reduced to its simplest textual form, X resembles VIII in representing an integral number of pages of 25 θ lines.

On the assumption, which will be justified in the sequel, that at the second of my postulated redactions unwonted conclusions to Prefaces were written *in extenso*, we have for that redaction of VIII an aggregate of five *a* pages, and for X a provisional total of seven such pages. I call it provisional, because I assume that the Communicantes (25 : 5) and the Benedictio Fontis Mellis et Lactis—the latter now enhanced by the phrases 'et pota . . . ueritatis' and 'terram fluentem melle et lacte'—were then extended, the one as far as 'xpi', with a total of 205 letters (7 *a* lines), the other as far as 'benedicis',⁴ with a total of 432 (15 *a* lines). The sequel will shew, for only thus can each several detail of my reconstruction be verified with the rigour which it challenges, whether or not I am well advised in assuming the 'etc.' appended to those constituents to have a significance analogous to the 'etc.' at the end of a Preface.

In the third pair of columns I reckon the capitulum of X as equivalent in textual requirement to two, not three, lines, because its place is not at the head of a page. The like will be done in all such cases.

¹ See xvi; xvi xi, xiii, xvii, xxi; xvii i; xviii xxxi, xxxiii; xxvii vi, vii, viii, &c., &c.

² For other instances of words or phrases thus enclosed see 10 : 10, 13 : 18, 17 : 7, 20 : 26, 28 : 16, 38 : 6, 48 : 11, 66 : 22, 79 : 9, 119 : 16, 123 : 31, 126 : 15, 149 : 21.

³ Or, possibly, 304, by omitting 'fontis' (25 : 6) from the first clause of this most interesting Benediction. It would almost seem as if, besides the milk and honey heretofore blessed at Pentecost in the Roman as in the African Church, water had been given a place in the Roman rite at some time in the interval which separated the second from the first redaction. See Mur. *Grig.* 505.

⁴ The formulae in the Canon of the Mass are, as the reader may remember, 'Communicantes . . . et memoriam uenerantes in primis gloriosae semper uirginis mariae genitricis di et dni n ihu xpi' and 'Per quem haec omnia dne semper bona creas scificas uiuificas benedicis.'

The Ballerini¹ stigmatize the Leonianum as a 'magna congeries . . . ualde perturbata', and visit with special censure several peculiarities which I should prefer to regard, not as inherent faults, but as evidences of its evolution. One of the counts of their indictment is this, 'Missae in ieiunio quarti mensis inseruntur duae missae *in dominicum pentecosten* quae praemitti debebant.' This is far from accurate. The so-called 'missae insertae' are not two in number, but four (26 : 7, 26 : 18, 27 : 1, 27 : 19); and, of the total six, not only are the second, third, fourth, fifth and last ranged in proper chronological order, they are duly subordinated to the capitula of the Sections in which they severally stand; so that the first (beginning at 25 : 14) is the only anomalous Mass of the six. And even this would, as of course, be classed as Pentecostal, were it not for the notification 'IN IEIUNIO QUARTI MENSIS' which precedes its second prayer. For two reasons: First, because its heading 'ii. ITEM ALIA' sets it in the same category with the Mass next before it (24 : 18), which is certainly of the Vigil; secondly, because two of its prayers, 'Da nobis' &c., and 'Concede nobis' &c. (25 : 15, 20), appear in the Gelasianum (Mur. *Gel.* 600) as members of an *Item aliter in uigilia pentecosten*. In a word, there is nothing in the six Masses that presents any difficulty save the 'IN IEIUNIO QUARTI MENSIS'; and in that notification I see, not chaos, but a problem that challenges solution. A solution I now attempt.

The Whitsuntide of the year 455 is on two accounts memorable in the history of Rome.

It was in that year that Leo the Great reluctantly kept the Feast of Easter on a day which, though by the Alexandrian computation it was the twenty-first day of the first lunar month, was by the Roman computation the twenty-fourth; and thus, as he protested, a week after the proper time.² As a consequence of this seven days' postponement, he perforce kept the Feast of Pentecost on the twelfth of June; not, as he would have preferred, on the fifth. Now, it is, I believe, impossible to infer from the letters and sermons of Leo what was the rule by which he computed in any year the incidence of the first of the summer ember-days; whether, that is to say, his first summer ember-day was always the Wednesday in Whitsun week, to the exclusion in any and every year of the second Wednesday in June as a preferable date. But the question need not detain us, for in 455 the Roman Whitsun Wednesday, as distinguished from the Alexandrian, fell on the eighth of June, and was thus the second Wednesday in the month. If, then, we assume that in 455 Leo kept his first summer ember-day on the eighth, we assume him to have obeyed what he believed to be a binding

¹ Migne S.L. lv 14.

² See S.L.M. *Epp.* cxxi, cxxii, cxxvii, cxxxvii, cxxxviii.

law in ordinary cases. If on the fifteenth, we assume him to have imposed on the Roman Church more than Proterius, his antagonist at Alexandria, had asked of him, and in doing so to have forgone the most practical protest in his power against what Prosper of Aquitaine, his assessor on subjects of both sacred and secular lore, characterizes as the 'pertinax intentio Alexandrini episcopi'.¹ I prefer the former alternative, and find the preference justified by several characteristics of the two Masses (25 : 14 and 26 : 7) which have suggested the foregoing considerations.

The first constituent (25 : 15) of the former contains in the striking phrase 'Da nobis . . . nouam tui paracliti sp̄italis obseruantiae disciplinam'—a phrase which is yet more striking if, as is possible, the proper reading be 'Da nobis . . . noua² tui paracliti sp̄italis obseruantiae disciplina'—what looks like an allusive reference by way of *aequiuocatio* to the novel computation which Leo so reluctantly adopted in the year 455. Again: the second constituent of this penultimate Mass of Section X embodies three phrases (25 : 20), 'militiae xp̄ianae,' 'sc̄is inchoare ieiuniis' and 'contra sp̄itales nequitas pugnaturi', identical with three of Leo's on the summer fast,—'Hi itaque doctores . . . tirocinium militiae christianae sanctis inchoauere ieiuniis ut contra spiritales nequitas pugnaturi abstinentiae arma caperent.'³ Yet again: the Preface of the Mass is circumspectly worded; for, unlike the corresponding constituent in XII (28 : 7-11), it neither says nor implies that the Pentecostal feast is over. Nevertheless, by its oblique citation (25 : 27) of the passage, 'Numquid potestis filios sponsi, dum cum illis est sponsus, facere ieiunare?' (St Luke v 34), it invites the inference that it was composed for use between Ascension Day and Whitsunday. Nor is this all. The next constituent embodies a prayer for *peace* (26 : 6), and the Preface of the following Mass (26 : 30) declares *unity* to be the perfecting of true religion. Can it be by mere accident that Leo himself in his letter of instruction to the Gallican and Spanish bishops (Ep. cxxxviii) says 'studio unitatis et pacis malui orientalium definitioni acquiescere quam in tantae festiuitatis obseruantia dissidere', and that Prosper,¹ who, since he was the reputed writer of many of Leo's most important letters,⁴ may have given Leo's written prayers the benefit of his censorship, has left a like statement upon record,—'Exstant eiusdem papae epistolae ad . . . Marcianum datae . . . quibus ecclesia catholica instrui potest quod haec persuasio studio unitatis et pacis

¹ *Chronicon*, s.f. (Migne S.L. li 606 A).

² The MS has 'noua . . . disciplinam'.

³ S.L.M. *Sermo lxxviii* (Migne S.L. liv 416 B).

⁴ 'Epistolae . . . Leonis . . . aduersus Eutychem . . . ab isto [Prospero] dictatae dicuntur,' Gennadius *De Scriptoribus* § 84 (Migne S.L. viii 1108 A).

tolerata sit potius quam probata, nunquam deinceps imitanda'? For these reasons I propose 'unitatem' as the word awaiting reinstatement in the last prayer (26:5) of the penultimate Mass. Nor must we overlook the parallelism between the 'noua obseruantiae disciplina' in the first prayer (25:15, 16) of these two *missae* and Leo's phrase in the letter just cited, 'tantae festiuitatis obseruantia.'

The other event which made memorable the Whitsuntide of 455 was the fourteen days' plunder of Rome by the hosts of Gaiseric. It began on one of the last three days of May and ended on or about the Whitsunday of Leo's reluctant adoption. Bearing this in mind, let us revert (26:7) to the Mass, the Preface of which I mentioned just now; the Mass immediately following the ember *missa* we have been discussing.

The sequence is in literal truth immediate; for no heading, however brief, separates the one item from the other. In this I see no oversight, but a confirmation of my view. The former of the two, a Mass *in ieiunio*, would be said at sunset; but before it was over the evening star must already have appeared, and a Mass for the Vigil would therefore follow without delay and without the preliminary of a Collecta. Hence, as I venture to think, the absence of a distinctive heading to the latter of the two *missae*; hence also the absence of a prayer antecedent to the Oratio, 'Da quaesumus' &c. (26:7). On such a night, then, as that of the eleventh of June, 455, when the Vandal still lurked near, if not in, the city, could any Oratio have been more appropriate than this prayer to the 'all-merciful God' that the assembled congregation might not be thrown into confusion by 'hostilis incursio', or any Post-communion better fitted to the occasion than the brief and hurried cry (26:15), 'Adesto dñe quaesumus populo tuo et quem mysteriis caelestibus imbuisti ab hostium furore defende. per'?

If this be so, we may reasonably see in Section X an aggregation of six groups of liturgical compositions:—1. A series of four preliminary prayers (23:2-16), penitential in character, and, since they contain (23:7) a reference to 'uerbera multiplicata', compiled in a year of many troubles. 2. A series of four prayers (23:18-30) separate, it may be, from these in respect of time. 3. To be said consecutively with one or other of these (23:31-24:17) the constituents of a Mass proper to Whitsun Eve. 4. As an alternative to this Mass, and for use on a Whitsun Eve when there had been a solemn baptism of catechumens, a second, beginning with the Oratio 'Praesta nobis' &c. (24:20), and ending with the Benedictio Fontis Mellis et Lactis. 5. A Mass (25:15-26:6) compiled for the concurrence in 455 of ember-fast and vigil. 6. The sequel of this, and used instead of 3 or 4, a Mass (26:7-16) proper to Whitsun Eve.

Of these groups 5 and 6 are certainly synchronous; so in all proba-

bility are 3 and 4, which, with the capitulum and group 1, represent an aggregate of [3+24+34+39=] 100 θ lines. It is, therefore, theoretically possible that the Section as now known to us is the result of a revision which, made in or after the year 455, raised its stichometrical value from four θ pages to seven by the introduction of groups 2, 5 and 6, groups of the value of [21+39+15=] 75 lines. If so, the original scheme of the Section may be referable to a yet earlier year in the summer of which there happened events of such a sort as to provoke not only the cry for propitiation and succour which rings through the four prayers of group 1, but the specific mention (23 : 3, 7) of 'merita supplicia' and 'uerbera multiplicata'; and thus to 452, the year of Attila's invasion of northern Italy. This would give us:—

	θ_1	θ_2
X. ORATIONES PRIDIE PENTECOSTEN	3	3
[1] 7, 8, 6, 8	24	24
[2] 1, 6, 5, 4, 5		21
[8 and 4] 4, 8, 17, 8, 7 and 1, 5, 4, 6, 7, 5, 11	<u>73 = 100</u>	73
[5 and 6] 1, 6, 4, 4, 17, 7 and 8, 5, 4, 8		<u>54 = 175</u>

SECTIONS XI, XII.

Here we have in terms of letters:—

- XI. IN DOMINICUM PENTECOSTEN. 120, 109, 372.
ii: CONTRA INIMICOS &c.
- 132. CONTRA IMPETITORES, 172, 95, 277.
iii: 86, PRÆCE. EF. 95, 151, 94.
- XII. IN IEIUNIO MENSIS QUARTI, 123, 149, 136, 239, 90, 185.

As in analogous instances, I assume the needless rubrics (27 : 2, 6) in XI ii to be 'padding' peculiar to the third redaction postulated by my theory; and to that redaction I attribute the 'XII' prefixed to the heading of the ember Mass, for only then do I find that, throughout the remainder of the document, a capitulum was ever made to stand elsewhere than at the head of a page. I also assume that, as in all analogous instances, the editor of the second general redaction, differing thus from the other two, prolonged the text of the Communicantes in iii by adding where 'etc.' now stands (27 : 28) 'inprimis gloriosae . . . xp̄i', thus giving the constituent 212 letters (7 α lines) instead of 151.

We shall find on an early page that the last constituent of XVI xvii (44 : 29) would seem to have been amplified by a process of cumulation from 2 θ lines, first to 5 of α value and then to 6 of β ; and that the last prayer of XVI xxi (47 : 7) falls asunder into two parts, the first of which is found elsewhere standing alone as a prayer complete in itself. We shall also see that an obvious stichometrical reason is to be given for each of these peculiarities. Like phenomena, and a like explanation, will be found in the final constituents of XVIII xv and XVIII xxiii. These evidences of editorial economy in compensation

of the 'shrinkage' consequent on the use of ampler units of linear capacity are anticipated in the last constituent (28:14) of the series with which we are now concerned. It falls asunder into two distinct prayers, the first of which, 'Adesto . . . conserua,' Muratori (Mur. *Greg.* 255) in one of his MSS finds standing alone as a composition complete in itself. The needless 'dñe' (28:16) in the second of these looks like a survival, and justifies us in inferring that, with a now cancelled subject, perhaps 'populi tui', it is the original Super Populum of the Mass, in [87-9=] 78 letters (3 θ lines), and that 'Adesto dñe . . . conserua' is adventitious.

But, curiously enough, a point (.) has been set between the two halves.¹ In this I see a corrective memorandum by a reviser of the third general redaction; in all probability the last editor himself. We shall find traces of his pen in later parts of the document. The intention seems to have been to resolve the double whole into two distinct prayers, thus replacing one constituent of 185 letters (6 α lines and 6 of β) by two, of 110 and 87 letters (4 and 3 β lines) respectively; and by that means to make the series fill 99 lines.

These qualifications borne in mind, we obtain the following list of equivalents in terms of lines:—

	θ	α	β
XI. IN DOMINICUM PENTECOSTEN	3	3	3
(5) 4, 4, (14) 13 (12)	23	21	20
ii: 1, 0(2), 5, 0(1), 6, (4) 3, 10(9)	26	25-49	27-50
iii: 1, 3, (4) 3, (5) 5+2(5), (4) 3	17	17	15
XII. IN IUNIUS MENSIS QUARTI, 1(2)	1	1	2
(5) 4, 5, 5, (7) 3, 3, (3) 7(4, 3)	<u>30=100</u>	<u>32=99</u>	<u>32=99</u>

The second item—the record, it may be, of a Whitsun-Monday Mass celebrated by Leo—invites notice. 1. Although the first, second and last of its four constituents made mention of the Holy Spirit, the mention is subordinated to the governing theme, the *evacuatio* and *expugnatio* (27:4, 5) of assailants who were not only enemies of Rome but foes to the Catholic faith. In these assailants I see, as do the Ballerini,² the Arian Vandals who held possession of Rome in the early June of 455. 2. The choice of 'captiuitas' in antithesis to 'uictoria' (27:8) in the second prayer, a choice the more remarkable as the words are there employed in a spiritual sense, is such as might have

¹ The thanks of scholars are due to Dr Feltoe for his care in noting this and other like instances.

² Migne S.L. iv 42 D. They are mistaken, however, in their chronology. Gaiseric did not enter Rome on Whitsun-Tuesday. His fourteen days' plunder of the city had by that time come to an end. He was then outside the walls ravaging the Campagna.

been suggested by that occupation: in other words, its 'de captiuitate uictoriam' reads like an allusive reference, by means of *aequinocatio*, to that event, as does the 'noua disciplina' (25: 15) in XI ii to the new-fangled yoke of a Paschal computation which St Leo so keenly resented. That 'captiuitas' was his word for such an occupation as Gaiseric's is proved by the oft cited sermon in which he passionately demanded of his hearers 'Quis hanc urbem a captiuitate eruit? Quis a caede defendit?'¹ 3. A like allusive reference would seem to be discernible in the 'securitas' and 'tranquillitas' of the Preface (27: 14, 15). Viewed in its seeming relation to the last two items of X (25: 19, &c. and 26: 7, &c.), this is a very interesting Mass. It serves to prove that the series in its present completeness cannot have been put into bibliographical form before the summer of 455, although there may have been an earlier scheme in which the second of the extant items had no place. 4. Regard had to the circumstances in which the Preface would seem to have been composed, the Ballerini are therefore probably right in suggesting 'et terror illatus' as preferable to 'et error illatus' in the last clause of the Preface.

The 'PRAECE · SF' which occurs in the third item is probably a corrupt reading of two corrective memoranda which we should be able to understand if we had them in their proper guise. My predecessors have failed to remark that the first prayer (27: 20) of the item as now arranged is not an Oratio, but a Secreta; that the second reads like a Postcommunion converted into a second Secreta by the substitution of 'praeparet' (27: 23) for 'reparet', and that the proper place for the last is at the beginning of the group. The oversight is the more remarkable because the order I suggest is that observed by St Gregory on the Tuesday in Whitsun Week.² St Gregory, however, instead of 'Purificet . . . perficiat' (27: 21) wrote 'Purificet . . . efficiat', and instead of 'Mentes . . . praeparet' (27: 23) 'Mentes . . . reparet'. I venture, therefore, to suggest that in 'PRAECE · SF' we have the mutilated residuum of memoranda directing one or both of two necessary changes; the distribution of the three prayers in their right order—'Adsit', &c., 'Purificet,' &c., 'Communicantes,' &c., 'Mentes,' &c.—and the substitution of 'reparet' for 'praeparet'. But why this disorderly sequence? The question is the more pertinent because this is the only instance of the kind that occurs in the document. It is also

¹ *Sermo lxxxiv* (Migne S.L. liv 433 B).

² For this I have the authority of the Missal of St Augustine's, Canterbury (p. 53 a). The academical exploit of Alcuin for some time current in the Frankish kingdom (Mur. Greg. 7-182) has 'praeparet', although it makes the prayer a Postcommunion. On this curious *collectio orationum Gregorianarum* see my communications to *The Athenaeum* of August 5, 19, September 2, 1905, on *The Last Eighth-Century Gregorianum of the Roman Church*.

the more interesting because the only case which in any way resembles it is that of a complementary prayer added to XXI *iiii* in a second θ scheme of the series for St Laurence. Now, we have seen it to be possible that there had been a prior scheme of Section X, a scheme of 100 lines; a scheme the value of which was raised to 175 in or after the summer of 455. We have also seen that in the present series item *ii* is referable to the summer of 455.¹ If, then, as I suggested just now, item *ii*, in 26 lines, was *ex post facto* to a prior scheme of presumably 75 lines, an abatement of the value of a line must have been made in some one of the other items when *ii* was introduced. I would suggest, therefore, that *iii* was the Mass marked for retrenchment, the reviser's intention being to replace one of its constituents by a shorter prayer; and that by a blunder of the scribe's the right order of the item as thus re-cast was disturbed in the course of transcription.

SECTIONS XIII, XIII.

The first list of values for XIII and XIII is as follows:—

XIII. VIII. KAL. IUL. &c., &c. (no numeral) 193, 109, 610, 97, 209. *ii*: 104, 127, 863, 106, 141. *iii*: 197, 92, 287, 112, 104. *iiii*: AD FONTEM, 175, 149, 260, 123. *v*: 157, 220, 215, 439, 110, 143.

XIII. IN N̄ SCORUM IOHANNIS ET PAULI. *i*: 144, 68, 304. *ii*: 128, 109, 252. *iii*: 109, 212. *iiii*: 127, 221, 117, 212. *v*: 154, 131, 403. *vi*: 94, 403. *vii*: 99, 222. *viii*: 81, 212, 105, 115.

A few textual modifications would seem to be necessary:—

I 1. The 'et' (28 : 25) in the first *Secreta* of XIII, unless it be redundant, a possible echo of the preceding 'ut', should not stand before 'uenerando', but before 'gratiam'. 2, 3. The 'sedula uoce benedictione susciperet' (29 : 4) in the Preface must, I think, be due to vocal or visual misdirection, the true form being 'sedula uoce benedictionis susciperet'; and for 'seraque' (29 : 6) I propose 'seroque'. 4. For 'inueniant' (29 : 16) in the first *Super Populum* I read 'perueniant'. 5. For 'consecrari' (30 : 26) in the Preface of XIII *iii* we should perhaps read, with Dr Feltoe, 'consecrare dignatus es'. 6. The 'et ut' (31 : 29) in the second prayer of *v* (31 : 29) resembles the 'ut et' in that of *i*; and the copulative, unless it be due to clerical oscitancy or other error, should be set before 'praesentia'.

II 1. In the second prayer of XIII *ii* (33 : 7) we should perhaps insert 'munera' after 'Dicata nomini tuo'. See the same prayer in VIII *xl* (18 : 23). 2. In the Preface of the same Mass (33 : 10) insert 'generis' after 'humani', 3, 4, 5. In the last prayer of *iiii* (34 : 7)

¹ See above, pp. 527, 529.

cancel the second 'dñē'; substitute, with Dr Feltoe, 'adsequantur' for the first 'percipiant', and for 'humili' read 'humiliter et'. See a similar phrase in XVI xvii (44 : 31). 6. In the first prayer of v (34 : 13) for 'beatorum . . . glorificatione' read 'de beatorum glorificatione'. 7. In the Preface of viii (35 : 25) 'sčas' would seem to be an error for 'suas'.

To effect a probable reconstruction of the first and second redactions postulated by my theory we must bear in mind the following considerations :—

1. That the rubric 'AD FONTEM' in XIII iiiii (31 : 5) is not necessarily to be assigned to the first of these, or even to the second. Analogy suggests the third. The reference would seem to be to the chapel which Hilarus, the successor of St Leo, built and sumptuously embellished (A. D. 461-468) as part of an architectural scheme enclosing the Baptistery of Constantine at the Lateran. The Liber Pontificalis mentions it as 'ad sanctum Ioannem iuxta sanctum fontem'.

2. That XIII ii has two Secretae (33 : 4 and 7), a redundancy to which, if analogy may guide us, the third redaction has the presumptive claim.

3. That of the juxtaposed alternatives in the Preface of XIII ii (33 : 13, 14) the less elegant form, 'atque in membris . . . sequeretur,' may be presumed to be the earlier; while, if analogy may guide us, the briefer and better, 'et eadem . . . in membris,' may with some confidence be attributed to the *a* reviser. We should thus have, as against the 252 letters of the Verona book, a first total of 225 (8 θ lines) and a second of 217 (7 *a* lines).

4. That the textual blemishes crowded into the Super Populum (34 : 6) of XIII iiiii suggest the inference that there has been some none too careful cumulation of phrase by way of compensation for the 'shrinkage' consequent on transference to pages of ampler capacity.¹ The prayer as originally written would seem to have comprised the first and last of the three parts which now compose it,—'Beatis . . . intende, sed ut . . . percipiant.' They yield a total of 120 letters (5 θ lines, 4 of *a*). The present form of the prayer, regard had to the slovenly condition of the text, is more likely to be referable to the third redaction than to the second.

5. In accordance with my theory concerning such forms as 'propterea' &c. and 'unde cum angelis' &c., I compute thus the *a* values of the Prefaces to which those forms are added :—

Preface of XIII :	ii	863-17+128 = 974	(33 <i>a</i> lines);
"	"	iii 287-17+128 = 398	(13 ");
"	"	v 438-17+128 = 549	(18 ");
"	XIII :	iii 212-19+128 = 321	(11 ");
"	"	vi 402-12+143 = 533	(18 ").

¹ See the curiously parallel instance in XVI xvii (44 : 29-32).

These considerations kept in view, we obtain the following values in terms of lines:—

	θ	α	β
XIII. VIII KĀL. IŪL N̄ SCĪ IOHANNIS BAPTISTAE	3	3	3
7(6), 4, (22)20(19), (4)3, (8)7	45	41	39
ii: 1, 4, (5)4, (31)29+4(27), 4, 5	50	51	45
iii: 1, 7(6), (4)3, (10)10+3(9), 4, 4	30	32	27
iiii: AD FONTEM 1, 0(1), 6, 5, 9(8), 4	25	25	25
v: 1, (6)5, 8(7), (8)7, (15)15+3(14), 4, 5	<u>47=200</u>	<u>48=200</u>	43
	θ	α	
XIII. IN N̄. SCORUM IOHANNIS ET PAULI	3	3	2
i: 1, 5, 3(2), (11)10	20	19	18
ii: 1, 0(4), 4, (8)7	13	12	16
iii: 1, 4, (7)7+4(7)	12	16=50	12
iiii: 1, (5)4, 8, 4, (5)4(7)	23	21	24
v: 1, (6)5, 5(4), (15)14(13)	27	25	23
vi: 1, (4)3, (14)13+5(13)	19	22	17
vii: 1, 4(3), 8(7)	13	13	11
viii: 1, 3, (8)7, 4, 4	<u>20=150</u>	<u>19=150</u>	<u>19=224</u>

Henceforth the occasions are infrequent on which in the second general redaction a Preface or Communicantes is supplemented by a fully developed conclusion in order to make good the 'shrinkage' consequent on transference of text from the θ to the α lineation; but where it was freely used there was little, if any, likelihood of need for other expedients. For example: in Section VIII the eight lines thus lost—two in the first item, one each in i and iii, and two each in v and vi—were made good by four lines of developed conclusion in ii and the like in iii; no other means being employed (see above, p. 521). Similarly, in XIII the ten lines lost by 'shrinkage'—four, three, one, two lines, respectively, in the first, second, third and fifth items—were compensated by a fully evolved 'unde cum angelis' in the second, third and fifth; and by no other means. Again; in XIII nine lines similarly lost were made good by nothing more than fully evolved conclusions in iii and vi. So far as our examination has hitherto gone, the compiler of the second redaction postulated by my theory has only once resorted to any other mode of textual enhancement; I refer to the addition made in the last prayer of XII (28: 16).¹ (See pp. 527, 528.)

¹ The amplifications in the Benedictio Fontis Mellis et Lactis cannot have been made for a merely stichometrical purpose.

But the compiler of the third redaction employed different methods. When he transferred VIII, X from the α to the β lineation, the two Sections underwent a contraction of the value of eight-and-twenty β lines. Twenty-five of these were equivalent to a page and might therefore be neglected; but the remaining three were made good by the needless rubrics, 'IN PENTECOSTEN ASCENDENTIBUS A FONTE' (24 : 18), 'IN IEIUNIO QUARTI MENSIS' (25 : 19) and 'PRAESUMPTIO ET REPARATIO PRIMI HOMINIS' (25 : 25). Again; the four lines lost by the transference of XI, XII from α to β pages were made good by the 'CONTRA INIMICOS' &c. (27 : 2) in XI ii, which required two lines for its accommodation, by the 'CONTRA IMPETITORES' in the same Mass and by the anomalous 'XII' prefixed to the ember Mass.¹ Similarly; the like transference of XIII, XIII caused a 'shrinkage' of the value of thirty-four lines. Twenty-five of these might be neglected, for they were equivalent to a page; but the scribe adequately rectified the remaining deficit by the needless 'AD FONTEM' (31 : 5) in XIII iii, the supernumerary *Secreta* (33 : 4) in XIII ii, and the 'tui sunt . . . exspectant' somewhat clumsily thrust into the Super Populum of XIII iii (34 : 7).

SECTIONS XV, XVI.

Sections XV and XVI, though nominally two, would seem to have been in the first instance a single and undivided series; for their collective items are comprised in a single numeration, they have a common subject-matter, and the rubric to which the dividing numeral 'XVI' is prefixed (36 : 21) governs no more than one short paragraph, and that a paragraph of separate attribution and merely occasional applicability.

The manifestly cumulate construction of some of their many prayers and Prefaces attests my theory of three successive redactions on pages of θ , α and β lineation; as also do the six *notae*—'FĒ.' in one place, 'F. Ē. SP.' in three, 'P. SP. F. Ē.' in one, and 'P. F. Ē. SP.' in one—which have long baffled the curiosity of the learned.

The first list of values is :—

XV. IN Ñ. APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI (no numeral) 152, 141, 332.
 XVI. CONIUNCTIO OBLATIONIS &c., 226. ii : 126, 756. iii : 149, 185. iii :
 137, 140, 141, 169. v : 225, 143, 927. vi : 109, 144. vii : 74, 98. viii :
 127, 129, 149, 118. viii : 173, 140, 251. x : 110, 370. xi : POST INFIRMI-
 TATEM, 390. xiii : 128, 143, 161, 158. xiii : 103, POST INFIRMITATEM, 337, 105,

¹ See above, pp. 522, 527, and 528.

142. xliii: 190, 116, 479, 138, 126. xv: 162, 97, 465, 97, 119. xvi: 182, 112, 273, 104, 134. xvii: 152, 110, POST INFIRMITATEM, 400, 135, 171. xviii: 92, 140, 98, 103, 83. xix: 202, 289, 161, 144. xx: 172, 125, 171, 132, 134. xxi: 127, 158, IN IUNIUNIO, 127, 458, 104, 257. xxii: 174, 180. xxiii: 127, 118, 433, 144, 117. xxiiii: 175, 138, 336. xxv: 117, 83, 177, 101, 135. xxvi: 135, 147, 582. xxvii: 105, 191. xxviii: 144, 114, 106.

As by 'corrections' to be explained presently, the next list is:—

	θ	α	β
XV. IN N. APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI	3	3	3
(6) 5, 5, (12) 11	23	21	21
XVI. CONIUNCTIO OBLATIONIS ETC. 1(3), 8(7) .			10
ii: 1, (5) 4, (20) 23 + 5 (24)	26	33	29
iii: 1, (6) 5, (7) 6	14	12	12 = 75
iiii: 1, 5, 5, 5, (6) 5	22	21	21
v: 1, 8(7), 5, (25) 31 (29)	39	45	42
vi: 1, 4, 5	10	10	10
vii: 1, 3, 4(3)	8	8	7
viii: 1, 5(4), 5, (6) 5, 4	21	20	19
viiii: 1, FE. 6, 5, 9(8)	21	21	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 = 175^* \\ 19 \end{array} \right.$
x: 1, 4, (8) 13 (12)	13 = 200	18	17
xi: 1, 0(1), (14) 13 (12), F. E. SP.	15	14	14 = 225*
xii: 1, 5(4), 5, 6(5), 6(5)	23	23	20
xiii: 1, 4, 0(1), 12(11), 4, 5	26	26 = 275	26
xiiii: 1, (7) 6, 4, (12) 16 (15), 5, (5) 4	34	36	35
xv: 1, 6(5), 4(3), (17) 16 (15), 4(3), (5) 4	37	35	31
xvi: 1, (7) 6, 4, (10) 9, 4, 5(4), F. E. SP.	31	29 = 375*	28
xvii: 1, (6) 5, 4, 0(1), (15) 13, 5, (2) 5(6), F. E. SP.	33	33	35 = 400*
xviii: 1, (4) 3, 5, 4(3), 4(3), 3	21	20	18
xviiii: 1, 7, (11) 10(9), 6(5), 5	30 = 450	29	27
xx: 1, 6, (5) 4, 6, 5(4), (5) 4	28	26	25
xxi: 1, (5) 4, (6) 5, 0(1), (5) 4, (17) 15, 4, (4) 9(8)	42	42 = 525	42
xxii: 1, (7) 6, (7) 6, P. SP. F. E.	15	13	13 = 525*
xxiii: 1, 5(4), (5) 4, (15) 14 (12), 5, 4	35	33	30
xxiiii: 1, (7) 6, 4(3), (12) 11	24	22	21
xxv: 1, (5) 4, P. F. E. SP. (0) 3, (7) 6, 4(3), 5(4)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 = 600^* \\ 16 \end{array} \right.$	23	21
xxvi: (1) 2(1), 5(4), (6) 5, (21) 20 (18)	33	32	28 = 625
xxvii: 1, 4, 7(6)	12	12	11
xxviii: 1, 5, 4, 4	$\underline{14 = 675}$	$\underline{14 = 674}$	$\underline{14 = 650}$

Memorandum. We shall see in due course that xx-xxviii, though set forth in the first instance on θ pages, are in all probability of later date and other origin than the nineteen preceding items.

For the manifestly corrupt 'quamque uniuersa praecipua uiderentur in saeculo' in the Preface of v (38 : 21) I propose, with Dr. Feltoe, 'quaeque uniuerso praecipua uiderentur in saeculo'; and for 'si . . . Romana cognosceres' (47 : 31) in that of xxiii 'si . . . Romana cognosceres ecclesia'. The difficulty in the first prayer of xxi (46 : 17) will perhaps be surmounted if for 'exhorta' we read 'exorata'.

I had long suspected the 'Hanc etiam' &c. between the first and second *missae* (36 : 22) to be later than the θ and α redactions, when, on drawing up my synopsis of linear values I found that opinion justified by two out of the six *notae* already mentioned, one at the end of xvi, the other in xxv.

A few textual peculiarities must now be examined :—

1. As in all similar cases, I believe the suggested conclusion of the Preface of ii (37 : 15) to have stood at the third redaction as it now stands in the Verona MS. ; but I believe it to have been developed to the full at the second, when it thus attained a total of 843 letters (28 α lines), as against an original total presently to be determined.

2, 3. The passage relating to St Paul—'huic quoque . . . nomen' (37 : 10)—to which 'huius igitur' &c. (37 : 13) is now subjoined, is structurally independent of what precedes it, and of which the prerogative of St Peter is the inspiring idea. The like is true (39 : 3) of the 'beatum quoque . . . poenam' in the extant Preface of v. I therefore think it more likely than not that the former of these Prefaces ended originally at 'pateret introitus' (37 : 10), and, with an added 'per', comprised 542 letters (20 θ lines); and that the second, ending with 'post mortem. per' (39 : 3), comprised originally 679 letters (25 θ lines).

4. The Preface of x as far as the word 'uniuersitas' (40 : 26) is, *mutatis mutandis*, identical with the Oratio of v (38 : 9); and my suspicion that what now follows it—'salubrique compendio' &c.—was added *ex post facto* receives an unexpected confirmation from the fact that, if we assume x to have ended at 'uniuersitas', thus numbering 220 letters, the first ten *missae* of my hypothesis filled precisely eight such pages as I believe to have been used at the first redaction.

The memoranda, 'POST INFIRMITATEM', in xi, xiii, xvii, and 'IN IEIUNIO', in xxi, may be tentatively attributed to the compiler of the third redaction; because, being merely rubrical, they are more likely to have been inserted by him, and for a technical purpose, than by the α reviser, whose pen dealt, primarily at least, with the text. This attribution will be justified in the sequel.

5. The Preface of xiii, as far as 'dissonant' (42 : 25), where, with an added 'per', it would have reached a total of 337 letters (12 θ lines), is only not a verbal repetition of the first Preface in the series (36 : 15). After 'dissonant' it is prolonged by a dogmatic statement which we may

fairly doubt whether St Leo and his theologians would have made before the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). However this may be, the analogy of this Preface, as compared with the first in the series, to that of x, as compared with the Oratio of v, advises me to note 'ipsaque sit', &c., as a probable enhancement of the first text.

On referring to my synopsis of linear values the reader will note that this *ex hypothesi* addition occurs in a short group of three *missae*, xiiii-xvi, which but for it would not have had their present value of four α pages. He will also note, and note with I think curious interest, that the fifteen pages of my α scheme which they thus complete are marked at the point of completion with the letters 'F. E. SP.'

6, 1*. The Super Populum of xvii (44 : 29) is noteworthy. Like several others (as at XIII iii, XVIII xxiii, XXXII iii) which would seem to have been elaborated with a stichometrical object, it falls apart into three; and it has the further characteristic of a repeated 'dñe'. It therefore seems reasonable to assign the first part 'Tuere . . . subsidiis' to a first edition; the first and third, 'Tuere . . . subsidiis' and 'benedictiones . . . expectant', to a second; and the extant whole, with its needlessly repeated 'dñe', to a third. The several totals are 57 (2 θ lines), 130 (5 α lines, 4 of β), 171 (6 β lines).

On referring to my list of linear values the reader will see the meaning of this cumulation of phrases in the last constituent of xvii. (i) But for the 'CONIUNCTIO OBLATIONIS' &c. and its 'Hanc igitur' &c. (36 : 21), immediately before ii, precisely seven β pages would not have been completed at the point signaled by the *nota* 'F. E.' (40 : 5) between the major rubric and the first prayer of viii. (ii) But for the 'POST INFIRMITATEM' in xi, nine β pages would not have been completed at the end of that Mass and at the point marked by the *nota* 'F. E. SP.' (41 : 7). (iii) But for the 'POST INFIRMITATEM' in xiii, the like rubric in xvii, and, again in xvii, the seemingly interpolated 'tui famuli . . . subiecti', sixteen β pages, presumably the sixteen pages of a quire, would not have been completed at the end of that Mass and at the point marked by another 'F. E. SP.' (44 : 33).

7. The Super Populum of xxi (47 : 7) falls into two parts, the first of which figures elsewhere [see Mur. *Greg.* 247 and Pam. *Amb.* 322] as a complete composition. This, in 101 letters (4 θ lines), I assume to be the original prayer. The extant whole, in 257 letters (9 α lines), I attribute to an enhancement at the second redaction postulated by my theory; partly because the additions characteristic of that redaction were textual rather than rubrical, partly because, but for it, the Mass would not have ended on the last line of twenty-one α pages. The case is thus in two respects analogous to that of the Super Populum of XII (28 : 14).

Meanwhile, the 'IN IEIUNIO' between the second and third prayers of xxi, a seemingly needless rubric which analogy invites us to attribute, like the thrice occurring 'POST INFIRMITATEM' (40 : 30, 41 : 26, 44 : 17), to the third redaction, has raised the β total of xviii-xxii to 125 lines, thus making a twenty-first completed β page coincide with the end of xxii and at the point marked by the *nota* 'P. SP. F. E.'

2*. There can be no doubt that the extant text of the Preface of xxiii is conflate. I italicize what I conceive to be the earlier reading, and bracket its rival (48 : 1):—'nulli te hostes impeterent . . . si . . . ueraciter atque [veraci fidelique proposito] *fideliter eos proposito xpianae sinceritatis ambires,*' &c. If this be so, we have two totals; an earlier of 417 letters (14 α lines, 15 of θ), and a later of 382 letters (12 β lines).

3*. The cumulation of conjunctions in the Secreta of xxiii (48 : 19) arrests attention. Here again I see a conflate text which I discriminate thus:—'precatur ut *pariter* ad laudem tui nominis [et apostolicae reuerentiam dignitatis] *et ad nostrum* proueniat *scificata praesidium,*' assigning posteriority of date to the shorter reading because of its Petrine reference. The two totals are 105 and 101. Slight as is the difference in terms of letters, tested by the β criterion it is the difference between four lines and three. If, then, it was by deliberate design that each of the four consecutive groups of β lines to which *notae* have been appended was a multiple of five-and-twenty, we must infer that the remainder of the Section, xxiii-xxviii, represented another such multiple; and this is possible if in xxiii and xxiii we assign to the third redaction the shorter alternatives just noted. But if, on the other hand, we suppose the briefer readings to be those of the second redaction we make this fall short of 675 lines, or 27 pages, by the unparallelled deficit of three lines.

4*. Even so, however, the last redaction would not have been confined to $26 \times 25 \beta$ lines if it had spared a second line for the heading of xxvi. That it did not do so may fairly be inferred from the evidence of the Verona MS. In its anomalous 'xxvi ITEM AD SCUM PAULUM' I see fairly certain evidence of 'xxvi' and 'AD SCUM PAULUM' on two lines at the second redaction, of an original 'xxvi ITEM ALIA' at the first redaction, and of a fusion due to clerical error at the third.

I briefly recapitulate as follows:—

As they stood at the second redaction postulated by my theory the twenty-eight Masses in honour of SS. Peter and Paul were an unbroken series. This the third editor broke into two by the numeral and capitulum 'XVI CONIUNCTIO OBLATIONIS' &c. As a consequence of these rubrical additions and the 'Hunc etiam oblationem' &c. (36 : 22) then introduced, he caused the heading of viiii to stand at the foot of the seventh β page, a stage now marked by the *nota* FE. (40 : 5). By

inserting the rubric 'POST INFIRMITATEM' into xi he carried on that Mass to the foot of the ninth β page, a stage now marked by the *nota* 'F. E. SP.' (41 : 7). By inserting like rubrics in xiii and xvii and by thrusting the clause 'tui famuli . . . subiecti' (44 : 30) into the last prayer of the latter Mass, he carried on this into the last of 400 β lines, presumably the last line of a quire, a stage now marked by another 'F. E. SP.' By inserting 'IN IEIUNIO' into xxi (46 : 22) he made xxii end on the last line of the twenty-first β page, a limit now marked by the *nota* 'P. SP. F. E.' (47 : 21). Finally, by economies of text in xxiii (48 : 3) and xxiiii (48 : 19) and of rubric in the heading of xxvi he compressed the remainder into the last five of six-and-twenty such pages.

When, then, we have eliminated these *ex hypothesi* amplifications, we find ourselves in presence of material sufficient to make *missa* xvi end on the last line of a fifteenth α page at the very point marked 'F. E. SP.', and to carry on the series into the penultimate line of twenty-seven such pages.

And when, still working back, we have reduced to its simplest expression the text of the second *ex hypothesi* redaction thus obtained, by eliminating what look like *ex post facto* additions in the Prefaces of ii, v, x, xiiii, and in the last prayers of xvii and xxi, we obtain the successive totals of eight θ pages ending with x, of ten more such pages ending with xviii, and of nine more such pages ending with the last item of the series. Nor is this all. The twenty-fourth of these θ pages, presumably the last page of a second *ternio*, ends at the very point (48 : 32) in xxv where we now find the *nota* 'P. F. E. SP.'

Now emerges a question of some interest and of more than slight importance.

The difference in stichometrical value between the text of ii, v, x and xiiii as I conceive it to have stood in the first redaction postulated by my theory and the text of the same Masses as I conceive it to have been left at the second redaction represents 28 α lines¹; so that we are not at liberty to attribute the amplifications which are the cause of that difference to a mere desire of the second editor's that xvi should end on the last line of a page; for, obviously, it would have so ended if his amplifications had been confined to the value of 3 α lines. The subject demands consideration, for it raises the historically important question whether (a) the passage (37 : 10-13) about St Paul in the second

¹ The values would have been:—

For ii : 1, 4, 18 not 28 =	23 not 33	} 104 not 132.
„ v : 1, 8, 5, 23 not 31 =	37 not 45	
„ x : 1, 4, 8 not 13 =	13 not 18	
„ xiiii : 1, 6, 4, 11 not 16, 5, 4 = 31 not 36		

Preface, (*θ*) the further passage in the same Preface about the 'huius triumphus dies', (*c*) that about St Paul in v, and (*d*, *e*) those in x and xiii about the Petrine prerogative of the Roman see, are textually such that they cannot have been added but on pages of *a* lineation, a lineation presumably more recent than the pontificate of Leo; or whether they are textually such that they may have been added while the *θ* lineation was still in use, and in the pontificate of Leo, though presumably after the Council of Chalcedon and its famous 'Petrus locutus est per Leonem'.

By my hypothesis the fully expanded conclusion of the Preface of ii (37 : 14), 'hostias tibi . . . sine fine dicentes,' is proper to the second redaction; but there is no reason why its preceding context, with 'celebramus per', where we now have 'celebrantes', should not have been introduced at an earlier date. This would give us a total of 727 letters, or 26 *θ* lines; the totals for the other three Prefaces being 927, 370, 479, or 33, 14 and 17 *θ* lines respectively; i.e. a second aggregate of [26 + 33 + 14 + 17 =]90 as against a first of [20 + 25 + 8 + 12 =]65. We should then have two *θ* schemes for the first nineteen Masses of the Section; namely, the original in eighteen pages as already divined, and after it a second, executed like the first at the instance of Leo himself, and so contrived as to fill nineteen pages. Thus:—

	<i>θ</i> ₁	<i>θ</i> ₂
XVI. IN N. APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI	8	8
6, 5, 12	23	23
ii : 1, 5, 20 (raised to 26)	26	32
iii : 1, 6, 7	14	14
iiii : 1, 5, 5, 5, 6	22	22
v : 1, 8, 5, 25 (raised to 33)	39	47
vi : 1, 4, 5	10	10
vii : 1, 3, 4	8	8
viii : 1, 5, 5, 6, 4	21	21
viiii : 1, 6, 5, 9	21	21
x : 1, 4, 8 (raised to 14)	13 = 200	19
xi : 1, 14	15	15
xii : 1, 5, 5, 6, 6	23	23
xiii : 1, 4, 12, 4, 5	26	26
xiiii : 1, 7, 4, 12 (raised to 17), 5, 5	34	39
xv : 1, 6, 4, 17, 4, 5	37	37
xvi : 1, 7, 4, 10, 4, 5	31	31
xvii : 1, 6, 4, 15, 5, 2	33	33
xviii : 1, 4, 5, 4, 4, 8	21	21
ix : 1, 7, 11, 6, 5	<u>30 = 450</u>	<u>30 = 475</u>

It surely is remarkable that a series possibly edited on eighteen 6 pages and with significant additions re-edited on nineteen, as though on each occasion they were deemed to be a distinct and homogeneous group, comprised it may be in a separate libellus, should almost equal in number the one-and-twenty anniversaries of SS. Peter and Paul that fell in the pontificate of Leo the Great. I venture to look on them as exclusively his, carefully edited, and as carefully re-edited by him in the last two years of his life.

A few more words on the chronology of the Section may here be opportune.

East and west of the baptismal font of Constantine¹ and within a few paces of the octagonal peristyle which enclosed, and still encloses, it, Pope Hilarus, the successor of Leo the Great, constructed two small but sumptuously adorned chapels, dedicating one to the beloved disciple and the other to the Baptist. The ground plan of each was a rectangular parallelogram; but so accurately placed were they in respect of the baptistery that their major axes were in line with one and the same diameter of the font. A radius at right angles to that diameter was, in its turn, in line with the major axis of a third chapel equidistant with the others from their common centre; this was dedicated to St Stephen. The three structures were not contiguous at any point, and yet they were not so much three as a triad; for Hilarus made their several fronts serve as three of the eight sides of the outer perimeter of a vaulted ambulatory encompassing the baptisterium, its inner perimeter being the small octangular peristyle already mentioned.

Had Hilarus in proximity to his own palace and patriarchal church built no more than this interconnected triad of chapels, I might have hesitated to call attention to it. But close to it was another architectural scheme of his devising; a single chapel, the ground plan of which was a Greek cross. That is to say, it comprised four limbs of like plan and equal dimension converging to a central square; so that the whole area was enclosed by twelve rectilinear foundations set at right angles each to its neighbour, and bonded together by twelve corner stones.

Thus, the three chapels disposed about the baptistery of Constantine were on twelve foundations, four to a chapel: the chapel of the Holy Cross was on twelve foundations, three to each of its four limbs.

Now let us turn to the Preface (46 : 26) of XVI xxi:—' Vere dignū. qui in omnibus² sc̄is caelestis Hierusalem fundamenta posuisti quae duodecim solidata lapidibus apostolorum chorus ecclesiae tuae sp̄ali

¹ Ciampini *Vetera Monumenta* i 239; De Rossi *Bulletino*, 1866, p. 75.

² The MS at Verona has 'omnis', which Bianchini corrects to 'montibus'; but I think 'omnibus' is safer. On the other hand, 'montibus' is supported by the first prayer of xvi (43 : 24).

constructione declarat ostendens nobis et in trinitate quadriformis euangelii constare mysterium et in unoquoque euangeliorum trinitatis plenitudinem contineri.' Could anything be more felicitous than the correspondence of the two architectural *chori*, or schemes, of Hilarus to this twofold description of the *chorus ecclesiae*; or any inference more justifiable than that XVI xxi is one of a group of *missae* composed by or for that pope?

Another chronological clue is yielded by the Preface of xv, which strikes the lyre of triumph over some persecutor of the orthodox who had borne the 'regiae potestatis insignia' (43 : 14). This, one would suppose, must have been the usurper Maximus, who, himself the slayer of the Emperor Valentinian III, was assassinated in the early summer of 455, a few weeks before the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul. If, then, *missa* xv be referable to the summer of 455, the fifteenth in the pontificate (A.D. 440-461) of Leo, the coincidence justifies the suggestion which I made just now, that i-xviii are the tale of Masses composed by or for Leo in nineteen of the twenty-one years of his episcopate.

Of the remaining nine (xx-xxviii), xx, xxvi, xxviii, and perhaps xxvii, would seem to have been designed for a second celebration in the basilica of St Paul *foris muros*, and xxi is for the Vigil; so that we may fairly regard it as likely that xxii-xxv should be assigned to the first four years (A.D. 462-465) of the pontificate of Hilarus, and as possible that the second general redaction, the redaction executed on pages of a lination, was carried out at some period between the summer of 465 and the close of that pontificate in the spring of 468.

SECTION XVII.

The values of the constituents of XVII are, in terms of letters, as follows:—

VI IDUUM IULIARUM, &c., &c., &c. (no numeral) 78, 97. (no numeral) 133, 106, 102. (no numeral), 145. i: IN IUNIUS, 130, 261, 148, 119. ii: 79, 138, 143, 367, 111, 132. iii: 139, 107, 240, 86. iiij: 122, 125, 177, 123. v: 166, 143, 150. vi: 185, 137, 90, 202. vii: 111, 278.

The only correction needed is, that in the Preface of iii (52 : 30) we read 'esset ueneranda', not 'esset et ueneranda'.

The siege of Rome by Ricimer in the year 472, and thus in the pontificate of Simplicius (A.D. 458-483), the successor of Hilarus, was ended early in July; but on precisely what day is not known. Historians say 'on or about the eleventh'; but, regard had to the frequent danger of reckoning chronological intervals *exclusive*, instead of *inclusive*, which in doubtful cases is the safer method, the true date is more

likely than not to have been a day or two earlier, and thus on or before the tenth of the month, the Feast of the Septem Fratres, to which the present Section is devoted.

The text of the Section is in four places remarkable:—

1, 2. The Postcommunion of *i* (51:24) has two pairs of conflicting readings; one member of each of which I now italicize, bracketing the other:—‘Repleti dñe *munificentia gratiae tuae* [benedictione copiosa] *et pro nostrae seruitutis obsequiis* [et pro celebritate scōrum] caelestia dona sumentes gratias tibi referimus. per.’ The value of the whole is thus reduced from 148 to 107, if we neglect the bracketed text; to 93, if we neglect the italicized.

3. Similarly, in the Preface of *iiii* we have (53:8) ‘Vere dign. qui sic tribuis ecclesiam tuam scōrum martyrum commemoratione proficere ut eam [semper illorum et festiuitate laetifices] *et exemplo pia confessionis exerceas* et grata tibi supplicatione tuearis. per’, where I bracket ‘semper . . . laetifices’ because of its manifest correlation to the ‘pro celebritate scōrum’ in the Postcommunion of *i* just noticed.

Now there can be no doubt that by ‘scōrum martyrum festiuitas’ we are to understand the Feast of the Septem Fratres, and that ‘semper’ = ‘year by year without intermission’; or that the more likely of the juxtaposed readings to be second in point of time is that which has in ‘semper’ a retrospective reference. For these reasons I infer that in the Postcommunion of *i* the lower total of 93 letters (3 β lines) is more recent than the higher total of 107 (4 α lines, and 4 of θ), and that the earlier of the two numerical values of the Preface of *iiii* is 141 and the later 144; and I think it highly probable that, in gratitude for the deliverance of himself and his flock in the July of 472, Simplicius, in the first of these constituents, replaced ‘pro nostrae seruitutis obsequiis’ by ‘pro celebritate scōrum’, and in the second ‘et exemplo pia confessionis exerceas’ by ‘semper illorum et festiuitate laetifices’.

4. The third of the constituents characterized by conflate text is the Preface of *vi* (54:3):—‘Vere dign. quoniam martyrum beatorum . . . sanguis effusus simul et tua mirabilia manifestat *quo perficis in infirmitate uirtutem et nostris studiis dat profectum*. [et infirmis apud te praestat auxilium.] per.’ The longer of these rival phrases would seem to be correlative to those which I have already italicized; for, inspired by a well-known passage in St Paul’s Epistles (2 Cor. xii 9), it reads like the composition of one in whom the cares of office had been superadded to more intimate trials. The shorter phrase has no such personal attribution and is of public applicability. The longer, and presumably older, form gives the constituent a total of 170 letters (6 θ lines, 6 of α); the briefer form yields a total of 142 letters (5 β lines).

I therefore draw up the subjoined table of linear values in accordance with these inferences. And, further, I assume that, as in analogous cases, the capitulum was briefly expressed in the first redaction postulated by my theory, 'VI. ID. IŪL. ¹ N. SCORUM SEPTEM FRATRUM'²; and that, again as in analogous cases, the extant 'etc.' (51 : 13) appended to the prayer immediately before i represents a conclusion written *in extenso* at the second redaction in place of the usual 'per' at the first :—

	θ	α	β
VI IDUUM IULIARUM, ETC., ETC. XVII. (3)9(7)	3	9	7
8, 4(3)	7	7	6
1, 5(4), 5(4), 4(3)	15=25	15	12=25
1, (5)5+8(5)	6	9	6
i: 1, 0(1), 5(4), (10)9(8), 4(3), (5)4	25	23	21
ii: 1, 8, 5, 5, (13)12, 4, 5(4)	36	35	34
iii: 1, 5, 4, (9)8, 8	22	21	21
iiii: 1, (5)4, (5)4, 5, (5)4	21	18	18=125
v: 1, 6(5), 5, (6)5	18	17	16
vi: 1, (7)6, 5, 8, 6(5)	<u>22=175</u>	<u>21=175</u>	20
vii: 1, 4, (10)9			<u>14=175</u>

This means that the extant Section finally responds to the θ criterion at the end of *missa* vi³, and at the same point to the α criterion; but that not until its last line is reached does it for the last time respond to the β criterion. I therefore infer that at the first and second redactions it ended at vi, and that vii was added at the third redaction; the compiler—perhaps Pope Simplicius, to whom, engaged on that redaction, I have just attributed alternatives in i, iii and vi—wishing the Section to fill precisely seven of his ampler pages, as heretofore it had filled first seven pages of the θ and then seven of the α lineation. Analogous cases are in store for us over and over again; that is to say, in XX, in XXI, in XXVI, in XXVIII, in XXXII, in XXXIII and XXXVIII, in XXXVI and in XLIII. Hence the inference has the logical value of a conclusion.

¹ 'IŪL.' not IULIARUM. See 28:19, 85:7, 103:26, 105:15, 152:10, 159:6.

² See the capitula of XX, XL (90:19, 159:6).

³ The transference to α pages involved a 'shrinkage' of nine lines, two in i, three in iii, and one each in ii, iii, v, vi. To counteract this the compiler or scribe of the second redaction added six nett lines of major rubric and, immediately before i, three of text.

SECTION XVIII.

In Section XVIII the values in terms of letters are as follows :—

XVIII. ORATIONES ET PRECES DIURNAE. (no numeral) 121, 129, 105, 854, 105, 168. ii: 172, 189, 151, 437, 119, 156. iii: 98, 80, 94, 895, 85, 140. iii: 85, 85, 153, 335, 90, 144. v: 149, 182, 95, 544, 114, 165. vi: 118, 108, 118, 451, 182, 170. vii: 83, 125, 95, 155, 93, 127. viii: 86, 77, 135, 319, 119, 152. viii: 139, 150, 80, 79, 102, 98, 184. x: 92, 106, 109, 86, 103, 164. xi: 125, 123, 222, 113, 149. xii: 119, 125, 152, 194, 95, 105, 99. xiii: 120, 143, 98, 261 + 102, 205. xiii: 143, 192, 130, 242, 117, 157. xv: 107, 104, 93, 402, 146, 201. xvi: 98, 121, 291, 130, 147. xvii: 82, 92, 150, 199, 84, 179. xviii: 163, 124, 152, 278, 109, 110. xviii: 73, 124, 112, 176, 121, 119. xx: 57, 82, 80, 1555, 90, 124. xxi: 125, 113, 85, 134, 63, 89. xxii: 115, 143, 97, 145, 92, 98. xxiii: 87, 97, 110, 73, 111. xxiii: 183, 201, 227. xxv: 100, 91, 94, 94, 94. xxvi: 96, 96, 136, 227, 114, 105. xxvii: 106, 133, 218, 105, 96. xxviii: 182, 137, 290, 93, 116. xxviii: 133, 150. xxx: 95, 75, 123, 85, 96, 98. xxxi: 166, 108, 75, 104, 128. ORATIONES MATUTINAE &c., 120, 77, 124, 165. ITEM AD VESPERUM, 124, 103, 116. xxxii: 145, 111, 136, 115. xxxiii: 103, 164, 120, 143, 157, 102. xxxiii: INC PRECES DIURNAE &c., 109, 94, 107, 288, 88, 191. xxxv: 145, 105. IN Ieiunio, 187, 157, 212. xxxvi: 78, 91, 201, 105, 176. xxxvii: 129, 102, 107, 562, 149, 197. xxxviii: 93, 151, 132, 235, 127, 247. xxxviii: 116, 101, 86, 299, 85, 139. xl: 127, 109, 182, 75, 206. xli: 86, 77, 175, 96, 135. xlii: 104, 107, 93, 271, 79, 123. xliii: 78, 117, 107, 238, 104, 138. xliiii: 93, 113, 164, 92, 195. xlv: 87, 82, 105, 326, 110, 151.

The order of the numbered items of the Section is broken between xxxi and xxxii by a double group of prayers (75 : 9-31) which serve as a copula for connecting the two parts into which the forty-five items are thus divided. Besides this cross-division there is another ; for xxxiii-xlv are preceded by a heading, 'INCIPIUNT PRECES DIURNAE CUM SENSIBUS NECESSARIIS,' which, in seeming contradiction to their numerical continuity with i-xxxiii, gives them the semblance of a separate series. These two cross-divisions promise to be of service in elucidating the bibliography of the Section.

By reason of its five *notae*—'P. F. E. SP.' in two places, 'P. S. F. E.' in one, and 'P. F. E.' in two—and of the numerous phrases which would seem to have been engrafted into it *secundis curis*, it strikingly resembles the series, recently examined, in honour of SS. Peter and Paul. To these five *notae* we must, I think, add the strange 'MEMORES' (81 : 8) which, since it interrupts the construction of the Preface of xxxviii, has always seemed to me to be a marginal memorandum incorporated into the text by clerical error.

A few textual emendations are necessary :—

1. In the first *Secreta* (54 : 24), for 'ut sit' we must read, with Dr Feltoe, 'ut tuo sit.' 2. In the 'ita mites ad omnes nos esse inbuis' of the first Preface (55 : 5) 'inbuis' should, as Bianchini sug-

gests, be corrected to 'iubes'. 3. In the 'non subripiat facilitas caritati' (58 : 17) of the Preface of v, the verb should be 'subrepat'. Frequent instances of this confusion might be cited from other documents. 4. In the first prayer of viii (61 : 7) 'retribuuntur' has by a commonplace blunder been written instead of 'retribuimur'. 5. In the Oratio of xi (62 : 11), for the 'crescamus . . . aumentum' of the Verona MS, I propose 'capiamus . . . augmentum'. 6. In the Postcommunion of the same Mass (62 : 22) 'diuinis' and 'perpetuis' cannot stand together. The latter is the preferable word, for it balances 'temporalibus'. 7. In the last prayer of xii (63 : 15) for 'Inclinantes . . . propitiatus' read 'Inclinantes . . . propitiatus intende', thus raising 99 letters to 106 (3 β lines to 4). For this see Mur. *Greg.* 28.¹ 8. In the last prayer of xv (65 : 17) for 'boni operis instruatur' we should perhaps read 'boni operis studio instruatur'. 9. In the last of xx (69 : 18) for 'et potius postulata concede' we should perhaps read 'et percipere postulata propitiatus concede', thus raising the total from 124 to 136 letters (4 α lines to 5). 10. In the last prayer of xxxiii (77 : 22), where we find 'Fidelem populum . . . inuicta defensio sc̄um . . . percipiat', the verb should surely be 'perficiat'. 11. In the Preface of xxxv (78 : 4) the Verona MS has 'ieiuniis et orationibus expiatur consequi nos posse', where Bianchini proposes 'speramus' in place of 'expiatur'. I think that 'expiati speramus' would be better. 12. Instructed by parallel passages elsewhere [see Mur. *Gel.* 587, Mur. *Greg.* 164], I see an insertion of the second editor's in the 'et salutaria . . . capiamus' (78 : 25) of the Postcommunion of xxxvi, and thus discern the cause of the dislocation of the extant text. Set 'praesta quaesumus ut' next after 'muneribus' where it was at first, and 'et' next before 'a tua nunquam laude cessemus'. The lower total of 76 letters represents 3 θ lines, the higher total, 106, represents 4 α lines. 13. In the first prayer of xxxvii (79 : 2) either 'morbiferis' or 'sacrilegis' must be eliminated and 129 letters reduced to 119 (5 α lines to 4). 14. For 'celebraturi sc̄orum' (81 : 20) in the Secreta of xl I propose to read 'celebraturi sc̄a tua'. See the 'sc̄a tua nobis . . . proficiant' (91 : 17) in the Secreta of XX iii. The like correction may here be suggested for the Postcommunion of VIII xviii (7 : 18).

Let us now endeavour to trace the modifications which the Section would seem to have undergone in its passage through the three redactions postulated by my theory.

1. The Preface of ii would have been adequately developed and crowned with the rhythmical and sonorous termination proper to that class

¹ See also p. 21a of my *Canterbury Missal*. Bianchini and Muratori give 'intende'. Its absence from Dr Feltoe's text may therefore be due to editorial oversight.

of compositions, if it had ended with 'quos amamus optemus' (56:7). The relative clause, 'quibus praeceptis' &c., which now prolongs it has all the appearance of *ex post facto* work added by the compiler of the second edition. The two totals are 349 (13 θ lines, 12 of α) and 437 (15 α lines).

2. The Preface of iii runs 'inoffensive' as far as its penultimate sentence, when, after 'conueniunt', we encounter the awkwardly placed 'iam de poena diuini uenire iudicii' (57:6). One would suppose that if this had been part of the original text it would have preceded 'quod traduntur . . . conueniunt'. Then comes 'Quapropter huiusmodi . . . miserantes quo debemus affectu et ideo' etc., where 'et ideo' would seem to be a suggested substitute for 'quapropter'. This medley gives the extant text 895 letters, a total which falls to 889 if we deduct 'et ideo', but which, if we now supply 'cum angelis et archangelis . . . canimus sine fine dicentes', rises to 1015 letters (34 α lines) for the second redaction postulated by my theory. If, on the other hand, we make the text end, with an added 'per', at 'conueniunt', we have for a first redaction 793 letters (29 θ lines).

Memorandum. It will be seen from the table of linear values which I now subjoin that this hypothetical restitution of the first and second texts postulated by my theory makes the capitulum and first three Masses fill six θ pages at the first redaction, and six α pages at the second.

	θ	α	β
XVIII. INC. ORATIONES ET PRECES DIURNAE	3	3	3
(5) 4, 5 (4), 4, (31) 29 (27), 4, 6 .	55	52	49
ii: 1, 6, (7) 6, (6) 5, (13) 15 (14), 4, (6) 5	43	42	41
iii: 1, 4 (3), 3, (4) 3, (29) 28 + 6 (28), 3, 5	49 = 150	53 = 150	46
iiii: 1, 3, 3, (6) 5, 11, 3, 5	32	31	31
v: 1, (6) 5, (7) 6, (4) 3, (20) 18 (17), 4, 6 (5)	48	43	41
vi: 1, 4, 4, 4, (16) 15, (7) 6, 6	42	40	40
vii: 1, 3, (5) 4, (4) 3, (6) 5, (4) 3, (5) 4	28 = 300	23	23
viii: 1, 3, 3, 5, (12) 11 (10), (5) 4, 5	34	32	31
viiii: 1, 5, (6) 5, 3, (0) 3, 4, (4) 3, (7) 6 .	30	30	30
x: 1, (4) 3, 4, 4, 3, 4, (5) 6 (5)	25	25	24
xi: 1, (5) 4, (5) 4, 8 (7), 4, (6) 5	29	26 = 400	25
xii: 1, (5) 4, (5) 4, (6) 5, 7 (6), (0) 3, 4, 4	32 = 450	32	31
xiii: 1, (5) 4, 5, 4 (3), 10 (9), (8) 7	33	31	29
xiiii: 1, 5, 7 (6), 5 (4), (9) 8, 4, (6) 5	37	35	33
xv: 1, 4 (3), 4, (4) 3, (12) 14 (13), (6) 5, (3) 7	34	38	36
xvi: 1, 4, (5) 4, (10) 9, 5 (4), 5	30	28	27
xvii: 1, 3, (4) 3, (6) 5, 7, 3, (6) 5 (6)	30	27	28
xviii: 1, 6 (5), 5 (4), (6) 5, (8) 9, 4, 4	34	34 = 625	33 = 600

xviii: 1, 3, (5) 4, 4, (7) 6, (5) 4, (5) 4	30	26	26
xx: 1, 2, 8, 8, (55) 52 (49), 8, 5 (4)	72=750	69	65
xxi: 1, (5) 4, 4, 8, 5, 2, 8	23	22	22
xxii: 1, 4, 5, 4 (3), 5, (4) 8, 4 (3)	27=800	26	24
xxiii: 1, 3, (4) 8, 4, 8, 4	19	18	18
xxiiii: 1, (7) 6, (8) 7, P̄. S̄. F̄. Ē. (3) 8 (7)	19	} 14=800*	8
xxv: 1, 4 (3), 8, (4) 8, P̄. F̄. Ē. SP̄. (4) 8, (4) 8	} 12=850*		
xxvi: 1, 4 (3), 4 (3), 5, (5) 8 (7), 4, 4		27	30
xxvii: 1, 4, 5 (4), 8 (7), 4, 4 (3)	26	26	23
xxviii: 1, (5) 6, 5 (4), (8) 10 (9), (4) 8, 4	27	29	27
xxviiii: 1, 5 (4), (6) 5, P̄. F̄. Ē. SP̄.	12=950*	11	10
xxx: 1, (4) 8, 8, (5) 4, 8, (4) 8, 4 (3)		21	20
xxxi: 1, 6, 4, 8, 4, 5		23	23
[ORATIONES MATUTINAE UEL AD UESPERUM			3=925
[4, 8, 4, 4			15
[<i>Item ad uesperum</i>			1
[4, 4, 4			12
xxxii: 1, 5, 4, P̄. F̄. Ē. [5, 4		10=975*	19
[xxxiii: 1, 4, 6 (5), 4, 5, 6 (5), 4, P̄. F̄. Ē.			28=1000*
INC. PRECES DIURNAE ETC. (3)			3
xxxiiii: 1, 4, (4) 8, 4, 10 (9), 8, 7 (6)	33	32	30
xxxv: 1, 5, 4, 0 (1), (7) 6, 6 (5), (8) 7	31	29	29
xxxvi: 1, 8, (4) 8, 7, 8 (4), (7) 6	25	23	24
xxxvii: 1, (5) 4, 4 (3), 4 (3), (20) 19, (6) 5, 7 (6)	47	44	41
xxxviii: 1, (4) 8, (6) 5, 5 (4), (9) 8, (5) 4, (9) 8	39=1125	34	33
xxxviiii: 1, 4, 4 (3), 8, (11) 10 (5 MEMORES 5), 8, 5	31	30	} 16=1175*
xl: 1, (5) 4, 4, 6, 8, (8) 7	27	25	
xli: 1, 3, 8, (7) 6, (4) 8, 5	23	21	21
xlII: 1, 4, 4, (4) 8, (10) 9, 8, (5) 4	31	28	28
xlIII: 1, 8, 4, 4, (9) 8 (8+3), 4, 5	30	29	29+3
xlIIII: 1, (4) 8, 4, 6 (5+1), 8 (3+1), 7	25	24	23+2
xlV: 1, 3, 8, 4, (12) 11, 4, (6) 5	33=1825	31=1825	31=1850

3. The Preface of *iiii* bears in its final clause (57 : 26) evident marks of aftertouch:—'quatenus dum per alterutram pietatem se reperiant communes [in singulis fieret semetipsam diligens] *esset*¹ mens una cunctorum'. My discrimination gives us 301 letters (11 θ lines) for the first redaction and 333 (11 α lines) for the second.

4. I account as follows for the 'et . . . et . . . et' (61 : 2, 3) of the

¹ Here, as in other cases, I italicize what seems to be the first reading and bracket its competitor. The *Ballerini* banish 'fietet' from their text, but in a footnote seem to imply that in the MS it stands before 'diligens'. *Muratori* omits it.

last constituent of viii:—'Porrige . . . misericordiam . . . per quam [et terrores declinet humanos] et solacia uitae mortalis accipiat et sempiterna gaudia comprehendat,' thus assigning 127 letters (5 θ lines) to the first edition and 152 (5 α lines) to the second.

5. In viiii (61:13) there is a second *Secreta*, 'Sit nomini' &c., of 79 letters (3 α pages). It is inconsistent with the simplicity of a first redaction, and the analogy of similar cases invites us to assign it to the second edition postulated by my theory.

6. The 'sustenta circumtege' which in x follow 'prosequere', the governing verb of the *Super Populum* (62:6), look like an insertion made casually and on the spur of the moment. This may be important. To me it seems to shew that the compiler of the second edition is cautiously enhancing his text as he finds himself in view of a not distant goal. These two needless words raise 146 letters to 164 (5 α lines to 6). But for them, the last of the first 400 lines of the second edition—presumably the last line of an integral quire—would not have coincided with the final words of the first eleven Masses of the series.

7. The twelfth item of the series comprises seven, instead of six or five, constituents; and of these the 'Libera nos' &c. (63:10) is, I suspect, *ex abundanti*. Its 95 letters represent three α lines.

Memorandum. The textual discriminations thus far made would seem to be verified by the stichometrical values yielded in consequence of them. For the original scheme we have the capitulum and three items in six integral pages of θ capacity, and after these two groups of items (iiii-vii and viii-xii) each in its turn filling six integral pages of the same value. For the second redaction we have the capitulum and three items in six integral pages of α capacity, and after these eight items (iiii-xi) in ten such pages; the whole being the equivalent of a quire.

8. In xiii there survive (63:28), under the form of juxtaposed alternatives, editorial instructions of great interest and value. 'Vere dignoniam . . . nos conuenit laudes tuas quia non possumus competenter explere saltem *sine cessatione* [obseruationis annuae celebritate gratulantes] depromere *ut quas nunquam sufficienter exsoluimus nunquam reddere desinamus. per.* [ut eorum quorum actionibus inhaeremus plenis effectibus gaudeamus. per.]" My suggested discrimination of earlier and later work gives us a first total of 261 letters (10 θ lines), and a second of 288 (10 α lines).

¹ Dr Feltoe thinks that the presumably later text, which I therefore bracket, may be 'a form of *Communicantes*'. This theory is untenable, for the passage has none of the characteristics of a *Communicantes*. Misled by the 'per.' after 'desinamus,' some copyist must have disjoined it from the phrase it was meant to supersede, instead of leaving the two alternatives side by side. For a similar instance, see the Preface of XXVIII xviii (136:11-14).

9. The commonplace and structurally needless maxim, 'ita sicut a nemine' &c. (65 : 11), which now terminates the Preface of xv, is, I venture to think, the next modification made by the editor of the second redaction in order to accommodate the Section to its new home in *a* pages. The value of the constituent is thus raised from 315 letters (12 *θ* lines) to 402 (14 *a* lines).

10. The last constituent of xv (65 : 16) is one of the many benedictory prayers¹ as to which we can safely say that they are patchwork compositions studiously, if unskilfully, accumulated with a stichometrical purpose. Its nucleus, 'Consequatur . . . ecclesia,' which, with an added 'per', comprises 79 letters (3 *θ* lines), is all that we need attribute to the original editor. If analogy may guide us, it was worked up to its present complement² of 207 letters (7 *a* lines) at the second redaction.

11. By appending 'unde benedicimus' &c. (67 : 8) to the Preface of xviii the compiler of the second redaction raised 230 letters to 278 (9 *a* lines) and thus carried on the item to the last line of a twenty-fifth *a* page.

In the next five Masses (xviii-xxiii) we find no traces of editorial aftertouch, and for a good reason. By a half-dozen devices³ more or less skilful, devices some of which must, one would think, have been adopted in the very course of transcription, the compiler of the second redaction had so economized his material as to make the eleventh Mass of the series end on the last line of sixteen pages, presumably an integral quire, of *a* lination; by five more such devices⁴ he had fitted xii-xviii into precisely nine pages, the first nine, it may be, of a second quire; and now he hoped—so, at least, I surmise—that xviii-xxiii, which in his exemplar filled [30 + 72 + 23 + 27 + 19 + 19 =] 190 *θ* lines, would fill only 175 of his *a* lines. But this was physically impossible, for their value was 178; and, if I am right in thinking that, though he might add to existing work, he made a conscience of cancelling nothing, it was morally out of the question to attempt the consummation. He was therefore fain to copy xviii-xxiii as they were, subtracting nothing and adding nothing, and to complete his second quire before the end of the last prayer of xxiii. And of this I see a convincing record in the *nota* 'P. S. F. E.' at the very point where, by my hypothesis, the last of 800 lines had been pressed into his service. It is the only *nota* of its kind; and I venture, but with all proper diffidence, to interpret it as meaning

¹ They are to be found at XII, XVI xvii and xxi, XVIII xxiii, XXVII iii, vii, and xi, XXXII i and iii, XLIII ii and iii.

² The insertion of 'studio' after 'operis' raising 201 to 207, as already intimated.

³ As explained in 1-6 of my numbered paragraphs.

⁴ See 7-11 of my numbered paragraphs.

Pugillaris secundi finis est. Be this as it may; like the *notae* in Section XVI, and like those which we are yet to meet in the present Section, it marks the end of one of the pages postulated by my hypothesis.

I must now notice two passages which differ conspicuously from those which we have thus far examined. I attribute their peculiarities to the editor of the third redaction, and regard them as memoranda for the guidance of the scribe, should occasion require the latter to make use of one or other of them.

We have seen that, when the editor of the third redaction found himself within easily measurable distance from the end of Section XVI, he escaped the impending difficulty of a surplusage of one or two lines over and above a multiple of 25 by means of a corresponding reduction of text in items xxiii and xxiii.¹ In xvi of the present Section he seems to have made provision for a possibly needed reduction of text, and in xvii for a possibly needed augmentation.

1*. As it stands in the Verona MS, the Preface of xvi (65:26) is curiously worded: 'Vere dign . . . cum tuorum sensibus . . . infundis . . . tua uirtute confidere, et indeficientem gratiam comprobamus cum nos *uel* in hac deuotione tribuis permanere *uel* de perceptis beneficiis non in nobis sed in tuo nomine gloriari. per'; where the disjunctives, which I italicize, would seem to be out of place if regarded as part of the text, as indeed does one or other of the phrases they denote; for, taken as it stands, the passage yields neither good sense nor good theology. I therefore see in 'in hac deuotione permanere' and 'de perceptis beneficiis non in nobis sed in tuo nomine gloriari' two juxtaposed alternatives. The longer of these, which I believe to be of the original text, would, if retained to the exclusion of the shorter, give the scribe a total of 262 letters, the equivalent of 9 β lines; while the shorter would, if preferred in place of it, give him a total of 232 letters, the equivalent of 8 β lines, or even—the 'per', written as a crossed 'p' and set in the margin—of 7 β lines.

2*. In the last prayer of xvii (66:20) we have a yet clearer case of editorial economy in 'te protegente seruentur *aliter* te largiente copiosius augeantur'; where *aliter* is unquestionably an editorial memorandum. I see in it a memorandum instructing the scribe, should he find it necessary, to raise the total value from 150 to 179 letters, or from 5 to 6 β lines. It was the second of these provisions which I conceive to have met the requirements of the case; for, as will be seen from the table of linear values, by enabling the scribe to give xvii twenty-eight,

¹ In the Preface of XVI xxiii and in the Secreta of XVI xxiii. See above, p. 537. I have often thought that the *pariter* (48:18) in the latter of these may be a corruption of *aliter*.

instead of twenty-seven, lines, it enabled him to write the final words of xviii on the last of 600 lines.

On the whole, then, it may, I think, be fairly claimed for the explanation which I have offered of the thirteen exceptional passages thus far encountered that it enables us to trace the evolution of the Section through three several editions down to the point in each thus far attained. That is to say: For the first edition we have, first, the capitulum and three Masses carefully lodged in 6 pages of θ lineation, then four Masses in 6 such pages, then five Masses in yet another 6, then eight Masses in 12 such pages, and finally the twenty-first and twenty-second Masses on two, presumably the *recto* and *verso* of the last leaf of a second θ quire. For the next edition we have the same material on pages of a lineation; but the same material so economized by means of six textual modifications as that the first eleven Masses fill precisely an a quire, and so economized by means of five more textual modifications as that, with the addition of xxiii and the greater part of xxiiii, the point in xxiii thus reached is at once the very point at which we encounter the *nota* 'P. S. F. E.' and the very point at which by my hypothesis a second a quire came to an end. For the third redaction all that was needed to lodge the capitulum and items i-xviii in two ternions of β lineation was that, taking the second redaction as he found it, the scribe should, as in all like cases, dispense with the *in extenso* conclusion of the Preface of iii and prolong the Super Populum of xvii in accordance with the instructions given him by the editor.

I now resume my examination of the Section, beginning with xxiii for the first redaction and with xviii for the third, and for the second at the *nota* 'P. S. F. E.' in xxiiii.

12. The extant Postcommunion of xxiiii (71:19) comprises two complete and independent prayers which it links together by the words 'misericordiam . . . exorantes ut'. The now needless 'dñe' of the 'hoc tuum' &c. would seem to shew that this was the original constituent. We thus have 84 letters (3 θ lines) for the first redaction and 227 (8 a lines) for the second.

13. The Preface of xxvi (72:16) falls asunder at 'salutem'; and here the original would seem to have ended, for the axiomatic statement which follows is not in logical connexion with 'quia . . . salutem'. Hence the inference that we have an original of 128 letters (5 θ lines) augmented by 'quoniam' &c. to 227 (8 a lines).

14. In the first prayer of xxviii not only should the copulative 'et' (73:18) precede, instead of following, 'ut . . . concedas,' the extant whole has the added demerit of questionable theology. I therefore regard all that now follows 'absoluas' as an addition meant to raise

123 letters (5 θ lines) to 182 (6 α lines). A case in both respects analogous to this awaits us in xxxvi.

15. The extant text of the Preface (73 : 22) of the same Mass would seem to fuse together a superseded and a superseding phrase:—'Vere dign. maiestatem tuam deprecantes ut sic uitia *nostra* depellas *sicut* [quorum] ferales exstinguis inimicos . . . sed ut . . . largiaris'; and, by also adding the ill-assorted 'semper nos' &c., to raise an original total of 220 letters (8 θ lines) to 290 (10 α lines).

16. The 'eruis a peccatis' (75 : 1) in the Preface of xxxi must, one would suppose, be an enhancement of text inserted in the course of transcription. Its adoption would raise the total from 61 letters to 75, or from 2 to 3 α lines. See the Super Populum of VIII xiii (5 : 12), where, unless 'ab hoste securus' be a mere alternative to 'a peccatis liber', the two phrases should be connected by a copulative conjunction, as in Mur. *Greg.* 255.

17. And in the 'praesentibus' and 'futuris' (75 : 7, 8) in the last constituent of the same Mass—the Super Populum next before the Morning and Evening prayers which now break the series—I see no mere alternatives, but material for some such added clause, should stichometrical need arise, as 'praesentibus remunerare praemiis et futuris'. This would raise the total from 109 letters to 148, from 4 α lines to 5. Its purpose resembles that of the seemingly suggested enhancements of text which we have noted in xv, xvi, xvii. In it, as in them, I see the cautious work of one who is approaching a point which he must neither miss nor overstep.

3*. In xxxii and xxxiii there is nothing that at the present moment invites attention; nor yet in the text of the remaining items, xxxiii–xlv, of the Section; except that the ill-placed 'et salutaria semper dona capiamus' (78 : 24) in the Postcommunion of xxxvi may fairly be attributed to the third redaction, and the total lowered from 105 to 76 letters (3 θ lines, 3 of α) for the first and second.

We shall see presently that the extant numbering of the Section is referable to the second redaction. I therefore regard the rubric (77 : 5) now appended to the numeral of the thirty-fourth item as a cross-division introduced at the third; and to that stage of the evolution of the document do I, as in analogous instances, attribute the rubric, 'IN IEIUNIO,' now prefixed to the Preface of xxxv (78 : 1).

The account which I have proposed of the seven textual anomalies just examined (one each in xxiii and xxvi, two each in xxviii and xxxi, and one in xxxvi) is an account suggested by their context, by the literary character of the document as a whole, and by their resemblance to like anomalies which we have found to be susceptible of an analogous explanation. So, too, is my attribution of the rubrics in xxxiii and

xxxv. And since we have reached a stage in our examination of the Leonianum at which the result may with some confidence be submitted to a stichometrical test, that test I now apply. Assuming, then, that I have rightly appraised these peculiarities of text and rubric, what do we find?

We find, in the first place, that all that in the first redaction of Section XVIII postulated by my theory intervened between the termination of its thirty-second page, where xxii ends, and the point in xxv now marked by the *nota* 'P. F. E. SP.' had the value of 50 θ lines; and that from this point to the end of xxviii where now stands the next 'P. F. E. SP.' there were a hundred such lines. And, since between the point just named and the subsidiary series, xxxiii-xlv, with which the Section closes, there is no place where the end of a Mass can have coincided with the end of a θ page, I infer that the second 'P. F. E. SP.' marks the end of the main series in the first redaction.¹

We find, in the second place, that, taking care to eliminate the two groups of prayers which, interpolated between xxxi and xxxii, break the continuity of the numeration, there intervened at the second redaction 175 α lines between the end of the thirty-second page, at the point marked by the *nota* 'P. S. F. E.' in xxiii and the end of xxxii, at the point there marked by 'P. F. E.' And, since xxxiii is not amenable to the α criterion, I infer that at the second redaction the main series terminated at this latter point. We further find that the subsidiary series, xxxiii-xlv, has the value of 350 α lines, thus giving the second redaction of the Section a total of 1325 α lines, or 53 α pages.

We find, in the third place, that at the last of the three redactions all that intervened between the termination of its twenty-fourth page, where xviii ends, and the point, at the end of xxxiii, where stands the second 'P. F. E.', had the value of 400 β lines, presumably those of an integral quire of β lineation. And we further find that when the subsidiary series, beginning presumably on the first page of a gathering, and headed, as though it were a new section, with the rubric 'Iñc. PRECES DIURNAE CUM SENSIBUS NECESSARIIS', had run through the 175 lines of 7 β pages, the very point² in xxxviii (81 : 8) must have been reached where now stands the 'MEMORES'—or as, I think, we should read it, the 'MEMOR ES'—which from the days of Bianchini to our own has puzzled all careful students of the Leonianum who have

¹ On revising these pages for the press I observe that both here and in XVI 'P. F. E. SP.' is peculiar to the first redaction, and that this in its turn has no other form of *nota*. Can 'P. F. E.' mean '*paginae finis est*'? The 'SP.' baffles me.

² I say 'the very point' advisedly. The value in terms of letters of 'Vere dignū . . . inpugnatione' is 161, the equivalent of 5 β lines. Then comes 'MEMORES'. The Preface began on the fifth line from the foot of the page.

been so fortunate as to know of its existence, for Muratori and the Ballerini have not printed it. What account shall we give of it?

Its position, immediately after the last word written on the seventh page of the fourteen devoted to the subsidiary series suggests a plausible account of its nature, meaning, and purpose.

I believe it to be an editorial memorandum which, set in the margin of the archetype of the third redaction, has by clerical error been incorporated into the text. I see in it the two words 'MEMOR ES', and these I interpret as a warning to the scribe, 'Bear in mind the instructions I gave you.' What those instructions may have been will best be surmised when we shall have examined the textual peculiarities of the remaining pages of the Section.

The reader has not forgotten the anomalous '*uel . . . uel*' alternatives (65 : 29, 30) in xvi or the equally anomalous '*aliter*' (66 : 22) in xvii; precautions taken, as I conceive, by the last editor, whose design it was that the last words of xviii should be written on precisely the last of 600 lines, presumably the last of a gathering; nor has he forgotten that the former of these precautions was taken early on the third page from the limit just mentioned.¹ By a curious coincidence the first of the passages I am about to cite stood early on the third page from the end of the Section.²

4*. It occurs (83 : 18) in the Preface of xliii, 'dum simul et experientiam fidei declinarat ad afflictio et per te superata uitae praesentis efficit gloriosam.' Now, it so happens that Muratori [Mur. *Greg.* 282, 331] in two of his MSS finds a Preface identical with this as far as 'ad afflictio', except that for 'declinarat' they read 'declarat'. After 'ad afflictio', however, it diverges thus, 'et uictoriosissima semper perseuerat te adiuuante deuotio. per.' The account, therefore, which I would hazard is that 'uictoriosissima' &c. was the original reading; that some phrase, the mutilated remains of which survive in our impossible 'et per te superata' &c., was proposed by the last editor as an addition to it; but that the scribe, instead of adding, substituted, and substituted carelessly.

If so, what can the last editor's marginated *aliter* have been?

The passage as a whole is reminiscent of St Paul's teaching to the Romans (Rom. v 3) at a place rendered thus by the Vulgate, 'scientes

¹ The third β page from the end of xviii began at or about the second syllable of 'totis' (65 : 27) in the Preface of xvi. The '*uel . . . uel*' alternatives are a line or two lower down and in the same constituent.

² The third β page from the end of the fourteen pages which the third editor devoted to the subsidiary series began at the middle of 'perficiens' (83 : 16), one line of the Preface of xliii having been written on the preceding page. The passage cited above occurs in this constituent.

quod tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem, probatio uero spem.' Equating *tribulatio* = *adflictio* and *patientia* = *experientia*, we get 'scientes quod adflictio operatur experientiam, experientia autem probationem, probatio uero spem'. I suspect, therefore, that it was the editor's design to amplify the passage by the words which I now italicize, 'dum simul et experientiam fidei declarat adflictio et adflictio declarat experientiam et experientia probationem et probatio spem uitae praesentis efficit gloriosam, et uictoriosissima semper perseuerat te adiuuante deuotio. per.'; but that the scribe, forgetful of the warning 'MEMOR ES', cancelled 'et uictoriosissima . . . deuotio', which he should have allowed to stand, and, instead of writing 'et adflictio declarat experientiam . . . et probatio spem', so far mistook the editor's note as to interpret it as meaning either 'et per te superata' or something which might easily take that form in future transcriptions. In offering this suggestion I assume that the editor did not write the proposed insertion *in extenso*, but satisfied himself with notifying the repeated words of the strictly biblical portion of it in shorthand or by other compendious intimation.¹ If it be worthy of consideration, I would further remark that the 'et per te' of the Verona text may be referable to 'experientia' and the 'perata' of 'superata' to 'probatio'. If it be worthy of acceptance, it gives us a total of 347 letters (11 β lines) for the value of the Preface of xliiii at the third redaction as against 243 (8 α lines and 8 of β) at the second.

5*. The extant text of the Preface of xliiii (84 : 4) cannot be right, 'qui ideo . . . prospera . . . impendis cum haec in tui nominis cultu transferimus promptiorem'; where for 'cultu' and 'promptiorem' the editors read 'cultum' and 'promptiores'; two bold but simple changes which give us good syntax but nothing else, for 'tui nominis cultus' is too unlikely a phrase to be hazarded with safety. I suspect that the original reading was 'cum haec in tui nominis transferimus laudem'; and that it was the last editor's intention, intimated in a marginal memorandum, to raise the total of the Preface, should need be found for doing so, but not otherwise, from 154 letters (6 α lines, 5 of β) to 169 (6 β lines), by developing the phrase into 'cum haec in tui nominis laudem cultu transferimus promptiore'. Here, again, if this be so, we see the reason of the warning 'MEMOR ES'; as though the writer of it meant to say 'I have left the text as it was; but should amplification be needed, as doubtless it will, you will find all you want in my shorthand adversaria. But, *memor es*, be careful in adopting any or all of them to develope them in scholarly fashion'.

6*. The last of these exceptional cases—exceptional because, unlike

¹ For a perhaps similar case see my *Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, p. clii.

the juxtaposed alternations with which the document abounds, they violate the laws of grammar—is in the Postcommunion (84 : 9) of the same Mass:—‘qui nos et temporalibus subsidiis refoues et pacis aeternis,’ with a superscribed ‘aeternae’. This I resolve into an original ‘qui nos et temporalibus subsidiis refoues et aeternis’ in 86 letters (3 lines of θ , α , β), and, should occasion be found to require it, a suggestion in the margin of some such phrase as ‘qui nos et temporalibus subsidiis refoues et pacis aeternae promissione sustentas’ or the like, in 111 letters (4 β lines).

Thus the aduersaria, to which I believe the editor of the third redaction meant to call the attention of his amanuensis by the memorandum ‘MEMOR ES’, would, if duly developed, have raised the contents of the last seven pages of the Section from 170 to 175 lines.

MARTIN RULE.

(To be continued.)

SOME LITURGICAL AND ASCETIC TRADITIONS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

I. GENUFLEXION.

WALAHFRID STRABO († 849) in his *De Ecclesiasticarum rerum exordiis et incrementis* writes:—

‘Quamvis autem geniculationis morem tota seruet Ecclesia, tamen praecipue huic operi Scotorum insistit natio: quorum multi pluribus, multi paucioribus, sed tamen certis vicibus et dinumeratis per diem vel noctem genu flectentes, non solum pro peccatis deplorandis, sed etiam pro quotidianae devotionis expletione studium istud frequentare videntur.’¹

A manuscript in Irish character, belonging to the Berne Library, *Codex Bongarsianus*, n. 363 (ninth century), contains, among other things, the commentary of the grammarian Servius Maurus on Virgil. Naturalists, it is said there, maintain that each part of the body is dedicated to a special virtue: ‘. . . frontem genio, unde venerantes deum tangimus frontem; dexteram fidei; genua misericordiae, unde haec tangunt rogantes.’ And the Irish scribe adds in the margin, by way of gloss: ‘de flexu genuum ut Scotti faciunt.’²

¹ Walafr. Strabo *De eccles. rer.* 25 (Migne *P. L.* cxiv 952–953).

² L. C. Stern *Bemerkungen zu den Berner Glossen in Zeitsch. f. celtische Philologie* iv p. 180.

The author of the *Miracula Columbani*, a monk of Bobbio in the tenth century, remarks, after mentioning a pious practice ascribed to St Columbanus: 'Consuetudo est enim hominibus huius gentis unumquemque per diem centies et eo plus genuflectere.'¹

Here, then, are three instances which agree in inducing us to believe that genuflexion was a practice in favour among the Scots, i. e. the Irish. Still, it is probable that the last two texts quoted here are but echoes of Walahfrid Strabo. In this case, the three instances are reduced to a single one; but this one, as we shall see, is the mere expression of the reality.

Walahfrid was a monk, and afterwards abbot, of Reichenau, the library of which was one of the richest on the Continent in manuscripts of Irish origin,² and the biographer of St Gall and of the Irish martyr St Blaithmac († c. 827).³ He alludes in his works⁴ to Irish contemporaries, and he must have had the opportunity of coming into contact with Irish pilgrims or monks travelling in Germany. The words or the example of these pilgrims will have acquainted him with the particularities of their ascetic discipline.

Like stations for prayer in cold water⁵ and vigils passed with arms extended crosswise (*crossfigill*), genuflexion was one of the most striking features of Irish asceticism.

Walahfrid notices the repetition of this action an exact number of times day and night, and this is further attested for us by a number of hagiographical and disciplinary records.

Tírechán, in his notes for the Life of St Patrick, written before A. D. 656, in mentioning a fast of three days and three nights performed by the saint, says that it was accompanied with a hundred prayers and frequent genuflexions ('cum centenis oraculis flectenisque⁶ assiduis').⁷ His subsequent biographers and panegyrists speak of these austerities as

¹ Mabillon *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, Paris, 1669, 2^o saec., p. 42.

² Cf. Alfred Holder *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, Leipzig, 1906, vol. i: *Die Pergamenthandschriften*. There were, in A. D. 822, three copies of the *Regula Coenobialis* of St Columbanus, under the title of *Regula Hybernensium fratrum*, in the library of Reichenau (G. Becker *Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonnæ, 1885, n. 382, 383, 384, pp. 11-12).

³ On the composition of the latter biography see H. Zimmer in *Neues Archiv* xvii p. 210.

⁴ Walafr. Strabo *Miracula S. Galli* ii 47 (P. L. cxiv 1029-1030); *Visio Wettini* (*ibid.* 1067).

⁵ Cf. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, art. 'Bains' § v: *Immersiones celtiques*.

⁶ In the Irish texts genuflexion is expressed by *slechtaim*, from Lat. *flecto* (cf. Whitley Stokes *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, *The language of the Lives* p. lxxxix).

⁷ *Tírechán's Collections*, in Wh. Stokes's *Tripartite Life*, London, 1887, p. 312.

habitual. According to *The Book of Lismore* he made a hundred genuflexions in the morning and as many again at night.¹ According to the Homily in the *Lebar Breac*, it was the angel Victor, his faithful counsellor, who taught him this practice.² The homilist becomes enthusiastic when he is describing Patrick's rules. He was accustomed, among other devotions, to make the sign of the cross a hundred times on his face, from one canonical hour to the next; to recite a hundred Psalms during the first watch of the night, genuflecting meanwhile two hundred times; and to spend the second watch immersed in cold water. The third watch was devoted to meditation; and it was only during the fourth watch that he took a short rest on the bare ground.³ These details are apparently only amplifications of the records of his practice which the saint himself has left in his barbarous Latin: 'frequens in die orabam . . . , et fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter . . . ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem per gelu per pluuiam.'⁴ Genuflexions are not mentioned.

The Cummin's Poem on the Saints of Ireland states that St Jarlath († c. 540) was wont to make three hundred genuflexions in the night, and three hundred more in the day.⁵ Oengus the Culdee, every night, made as many.⁶ This kind of mathematical mortification and adoration was not, however, peculiar to the Celtic saints. The Oriental monks practised it before them. To quote but one instance, the *Historia Lausiaca* speaks of an abbot Apollo, an inhabitant of the Thebaid, who prayed all day long, and again a hundred times in the night, bending his knee as many times.⁷ It is nevertheless certain that in this, as in their macerations generally, the insular ascetics shewed an exceptional enthusiasm. Thus the Irish rule for solitaries, under the name of St Columba, has the direction, 'on the measure of thy work of labour, or of thy genuflexions, until thy sweat often comes, if thy tears are not free.'⁸

¹ *Betha Patraic* (Life of Patrick) l. 145 in *The Book of Lismore* pp. 5 and 153.

² In Wh. Stokes's *Tripart. Life* p. 441.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 485.

⁴ *Patricius Confessio*, ed. Wh. Stokes, p. 361; ed. Newport J. D. White, Dublin, 1905, p. 239.

⁵ Ed. Wh. Stokes, in *Zeitsch. f. celt. Philol.* i p. 67, v p. 117 sq.

⁶ *The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Wh. Stokes, London, 1906, p. xlviij.

⁷ *Migne P. L.* lxxiii c. 1155.

⁸ Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Eccl. docum.*, London, 1869-1878, ii part 1 p. 120 ' . . . until the perspiration often comes' (E. O'Curry's translation in W. Reeves's *Primate Colton's Visitation* p. 112). The gloss of the *Amra Coluim ail* upon the following text relating to St Columba himself, 'He kept vigil as long as he lived' is remarkable: '12,000 genuflexions by him every day except *tantum* on festival days, so that his ribs were visible through his dress' (cf. *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Bernard and Atkinson, London, 1898, i p. 170, ii p. 63).

Walahfrid Strabo speaks of the genuflexion performed as a work of penitence ('pro peccatis deplorandis'). Penitentials and hagiographical works are full of details on this point. *The Book of Lismore* mentions a sinner who, having retired to a solitary island, recited seven times during the day the *Beatus*¹ and the Psalms, while he prostrated himself a hundred times.² Genuflexion appears chiefly in the Penitentials as a commutative (*arrecum*) or subsidiary punishment. It accompanies the recitation of the Psalms: the penitent is condemned to recite the Psalms standing upright and to bend the knee twelve times in an hour ('duodecim quoque flectiones genuum flectantur in omni hora').³ Elsewhere, he is ordered to kneel forty times during the same space of time.⁴ The Irish treatise *de Arreis* decrees the following practices, equivalent to and in place of a penance normally lasting a week: 'seven hundred honest genuflexions and seven honest blows, and crossvigil at the end of every hundred until the arms are tired.'⁵

In times of public calamities genuflexion was likewise employed as a penitential exercise. To obtain preservation from a threatened plague the people are urged to apply themselves to a series of prayers and bodily mortifications, as follows: 'a hundred genuflexions with *Biait*, and *Magnificat*, and *Benedictus*, and *Miserere mei Deus*, and cross-vigil, and Patrick's Hymn, and the Hymn of the Apostles, and a smiting of hands, and a *Hymnum dicat*,⁶ and Michael's Hymn, and a genuflexion thrice at the end of each hymn; and they strike their breasts and say: "May mercy come to us, O God, and may we have the kingdom of heaven, and may God put away from us every plague and every mortality."'⁷

So far we have only considered the private and individual practice of genuflexion. But, though Walahfrid Strabo does not mention it, this action had its place also in the conventual psalmody of the monks of Ireland. But, here again, we must not suppose that this ceremony was peculiar to them; it is to the East we must again look to discover its origin.

Cassian has left in the second book of his *Institutes* a description of the arrangement of the Psalmody in the monasteries of Egypt.

¹ The Psalm cxviii, *Beati immaculati*.

² Fo. 42 b, 2; cf. Wh. Stokes *op. cit.* preface p. x.

³ Wasserschleben *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Halle, 1851, p. 139.

⁴ Wasserschleben *ibid.*; Wh. Stokes and J. Strachan *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, Cambridge, 1903, ii p. 38.

⁵ Kuno Meyer *The Old Irish Treatise de Arreis* in *Revue Celtique* xv 1894, p. 494.

⁶ Hymn attributed to S. Hilary of Poitiers.

⁷ *Adamnan's Second Vision* in *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Bernard and Atkinson, i p. xxiv sq.

Twelve Psalms were recited both in the evening office and in that of the nocturnal vigils. After each Psalm, which one of the brethren chanted, while the others listened seated in silence, all rose and meditated upon what they had heard, and prayed mentally. Afterwards they knelt and prostrated themselves one moment to implore the Divine mercy; then they rose up again, and, standing upright with their arms extended, listened to the collect or prayer the priest recited ('... antequam flectant genua paulisper orant, et stantes in supplicatione maiorem temporis partem expendunt. Itaque post haec puncto brevissimo proidentes humi, velut adorantes tantum divinam clementiam, summa velocitate consurgunt, ac rursus erecti expansis manibus eodem modo quo prius stantes oraverant, suis precibus intentius immorantur'¹). Cassian further remarks that in his time the monks of Southern Gaul made it a rule to prostrate themselves at the end of each Psalm.²

The rules of St Isidore of Seville († 636)³ and of St Fructuosus of Braga (c. 650)⁴ mention the same custom. Let us note, however, that in these texts it is a question of prostration and not of mere genuflexion. In the writings of Cassian genuflexion appears as the first stage, so to speak, of prostration. On the contrary, in the treatise *de Virginitate*, formerly attributed to St Athanasius, the reference is really to genuflexion proper: 'After each Psalm offer prayer and bend the knees' (*κατὰ ψαλμὸν εὐχὴ καὶ γονυκλισία ἐπιτελείσθω*⁵). The *Regula Magistri*, which was followed in the seventh and eighth centuries in Gaul and in Italy, orders twenty or twenty-four genuflexions, according to the season, during the night offices, and twenty-four more during the *Lucernarium*. Genuflexions were not made on Sundays, at the Epiphany, nor at the Paschal season.⁶

According to the Irish tradition, which has found expression in a curious document entitled *Cursus Scottorum*,⁷ Cassian played an important part in the introduction of Oriental monastic usages into the West—as was in fact the case; and Ireland herself was indebted to this influence in a remarkable degree. Indeed, the liturgical *cursus* of the rule of St Columbanus is somewhat similar, in certain points, to the *disciplina psallendi* described in the *Institutes*. At the end of each Psalm we find a collect and a genuflexion; but the number of Psalms at Matins (*ad Matutinam*) varied from twenty-four to thirty-six on week-

¹ Cassianus *Instit.* ii 7 (Migne *P. L.* xlix 91 sq.).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Regula* c. vi; *P. L.* lxxxiii 876.

⁴ *Regula* c. iii; *P. L.* lxxxvii 1101.

⁵ Migne *P. G.* xxviii 275.

⁶ *Regula Magistri* c. xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxix, xli, xlv (*P. L.* lxxxviii 1003, 1005, 1006, 1007).

⁷ F. E. Warren gives this text in *The Antiphony of Bangor*, London, 1895, ii pp. xxv-xxvi.

days.¹ All, except the sick, were to make the genuflexion. It was to be made in silence, and Columbanus, more precise than other legislators or writers, marks its duration—the time occupied in reciting three times the versicle: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, &c. On Sundays, and during the *quingagesima* of Easter, this practice was suspended.²

If it is objected that the *Regula Columbani*, having been composed on the Continent and for continental monks, is imperfect evidence for insular customs—and this is by no means certain—, attention may be drawn to a rule written in Gaelic verse and ascribed to St Ailbe of Emly († c. 540) which prescribes yet more liturgical genuflexions. It says: ‘A hundred genuflexions every Matin are due in the Church of a believer from the feast of John (doubtless the 29th August) whom they adore unto the solemn pasch of abstinence.’³

The *Ordo Monasticus de Kil-Ros*, a kind of a retrospective consuetudinary, of an uncertain date but of a genuine Celtic stamp, notes that the Scottish Culdees also knelt during the vigils at the end of each Psalm and even prostrated themselves on the ground, after the custom of the Egyptians.⁴

The same document adds that when the three nocturns were ended, all, except the abbot of the monastery, who remained in prayer in the oratory, were to withdraw and to occupy themselves in meditation, with genuflexions and pious works.⁵ In the evening, vespers having been chanted, each was to spend the time in private prayer with genuflexions, in winter until the first stars appeared, and in summer until sunset: ‘quisque privatis precibus et genuflexionibus inserviebat, quoadusque sidera caelo visa finitum clauderent diem, in aestate autem, ob noctis brevitate, usque ad occasum solis.’⁶

LOUIS GOUGAUD, O. S. B.

¹ Warren *op. cit.* p. xvi.

² Columbanus *Reg. coenobialis* 10 (*P. L.* cxxx 220–221): ‘. . . die dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschae in Pentecosten usque gaudemus’ (cf. Tertul. *De Corona* 3).

³ *Metrical Rule of St Ailbe of Emly* st. xviii, in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* viii 1871–1872, p. 182; Joseph O’Neill’s edition in *Ériu: the Journal of the School of Irish Learning*, Dublin, iii part 1, 1907, p. 99.

⁴ ‘Quae vigiliae per integras tres horas durabant, quia singulis viginti psalmos deputabant, et ad finem cuiusque psalmi profunde genu flectebant, sese in terram prosternentes’ (*Ordo Monasticus in veteri Scotiae monasterio de Kil-Ros olim observatus*; *P. L.* lix 564). See on this *Ordo* the *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, art. ‘Bains’.

⁵ *Ordo* loc. cit.

⁶ *Ordo* col. 565.

THE LUCAN AND THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.

THE Lucan and the Johannine writings are at first sight so different that the former have been supposed to be concerned with the outward, historical, practical side of the Gospel, and the latter with its inward spiritual verities—the former regarding it from the point of view of time, the latter from the point of view of eternity. But when they are more closely examined, it is found that the minds of both writers are steeped in the same ideas and impressions and associations. The following lists of parallels in thought and expression seem to point to some bond between the two writers more intimate than literary acquaintance, however well the Johannine writer may have known the writings of St Luke. The close resemblances between them seem to demand the assumption of some personal link of association; the writers seem to have been brought into close contact with each other. Such a link of association would be found in the Virgin Mother of the Lord, the probable source of the Lucan account of the Nativity and the Lord's last charge to the beloved disciple. Common work at Ephesus may also have been another link, although the tradition that places St Luke's tomb there is apparently not ancient, and the hypothesis that associates St Luke with Antioch rather than with Ephesus has strong support. I may add that the study of the Johannine writings on which I have been engaged for the purpose of this comparison has led me to the conviction that they are all by the same author. (I have also made a similar comparison between St Matthew and St John, and between St Mark and St John. The comparatively insignificant results of this study have served to emphasize the closeness of the relation between St Luke and St John.)

I. Parallelisms in the treatment of the same subject-matters (*all except two* connected with the Passion and the Resurrection).

1. The question raised whether St John Baptist is the Christ.

Lk. iii 15.

Jo. i 19, 20.

2. Martha and Mary.

Lk. x 39 παρακαθίσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Κυρίου.

Jo. xi 20 ἐκαθίζετο.

Jo. xi 32 ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας.

Lk. x 40 ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν . . . ἡ ἀδελφὴ μου μόνην με κατέλιπεν διακονεῖν.

Jo. xii 2 καὶ ἡ Μάρθα διηκόνει.

3. Judas and Satan.
Lk. xxii 3 εἰσῆλθεν δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν. Jo. xiii 27 εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σατανᾶς.
4. St Peter's denial foretold *in the upper room*.
Lk. xxii 31-34. Jo. xiii 36-38.
5. Our Lord and the Mount of Olives.
Lk. xxii 39 ἐπορεύθη κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. Jo. xviii 2 πολλάκις συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.
6. The *right* ear of the high priest's servant.
Lk. xxii 50 ἀφείλεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τὸ δεξιόν. Jo. xviii 10 ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑπάριον τὸ δεξιόν.
7. Pilate and our Lord.
Lk. xxiii 14 οὐδὲν εὔρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ αἴτιον. Jo. xix 4 ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρισκω.
Lk. xxiii 22 οὐδὲν αἴτιον θανάτου εὔρον ἐν αὐτῷ. Jo. xix 6 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ εὗρισκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν.
8. The Title.
Lk. xxiii 38 [γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ ἑβραϊκοῖς]. Jo. xix 20 ἦν γεγραμμένον ἑβραϊστί, ῥωμαϊστί, ἑλληνιστί.
9. Note of time during the Passion.
Lk. xxiii 44 καὶ ἦν ἤδη ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη. Jo. xix 14 ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη.
10. The new Tomb.
Lk. xxiii 53 οὐ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὐπω κείμενος. Jo. xix 41 ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος.
11. The Burial and the 'Preparation'.
Lk. xxiii 54 καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε. Jo. xix 42 ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων . . . ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.
12. The stone found already taken away from the Sepulchre.
Lk. xxiv 2 εὔρον δὲ τὸν λίθον ἀποκεκυλισμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου. Jo. xx 1 βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἠρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου.
13. Two angels in the Sepulchre.
Lk. xxiv 4 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτύσῃ. Jo. xx 12 καὶ θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκοῖς καθιζομένους.
14. The grave clothes.
Lk. xxiv 12 [καὶ παρακίψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα]. Jo. xx 7 καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα.

15. Our Lord 'took bread', &c., *after* His Resurrection.
 Lk. xxiv 30. Jo. xxi 13.
16. Our Lord shews His hands and feet and side.
 Lk. xxiv 40 ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας.
 Jo. xx 20 ἔδειξε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῖς.
17. 'The promise of the Father.'
 Lk. xxiv 49. Jo. xiv, xv, xvi.

II. Parallelisms in the treatment of different subject-matters.

- Lk. ii 4 ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέτ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν εἰς πόλιν Δαβὶδ ἧτις καλεῖται Βηθλεέμ.
 Jo. xi 54 ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Ἐφραῖμ λεγομένην πόλιν.
- Lk. ii 46 εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.
 Jo. v 14 εὗρίσκει αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.
- Lk. v 1-12.
 Jo. xxi 1-15.
- Lk. v 6 διερήσθη τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν.
 Jo. xxi 11 οὐκ ἐσχίσθη τὸ δίκτυον.
- Lk. iv 30 αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο.
 Jo. viii 59 [διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως]. Cp. x 39, 40, xi 54, xii 36.
- Lk. v 8-10 προσέπεσε τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ . . . μὴ φοβοῦ.
 Apoc. i 17 ἔπεσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ . . . μὴ φοβοῦ.
- Lk. vii 38 τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασεν καὶ κατεφίλει τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤλειφεν τῷ μύρῳ.
 Jo. xii 3 ἤλειψεν τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐξέμαζεν ταῖς θριξὶν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
- Lk. ix 51-57, x 33, xvii 11-20.
 Jo. iv 1-43.
 (Treatment of Samaritans.)
- Lk. xiii 2-6.
 Jo. ix 2, 3.
 (Relation of sin and suffering.)
- Lk. xix 41 ἔκλαυσεν.
 Jo. xi 35 ἐδάκρυσεν.
- Lk. xxii 67 sq. Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἶπὸν ἡμῖν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς, Ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἶπω οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε.
 Jo. x 24 sq. Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἶπὸν ἡμῖν παρρησίᾳ. ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Εἶπον ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε.
- Lk. xxiv 8 καὶ ἐμνήσθησαν τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ.
 Jo. ii 22 ὅτε οὖν ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐμνήσθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοῦτο ἔλεγε.

- Lk. xxiv 18 εἰς ὄνοματι Κλεόπας. Jo. i 40 ἦν Ἀνδρέας . . . εἰς ἐκ τῶν δύο.
(In both cases the name of *only one of the two* is given.)
- Lk. xxiv 39 ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου Jo. xx 27 ἴδε τὰς χεῖράς μου.
καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου.
- Lk. xxiv 41 ἔχετε τι βρώσιμον Jo. xxi 5 μὴ τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε ;
ἐνθάδε ; οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ Jo. xxi 13 τὸ ὀψάριον.
ἰχθύος ὁποῦ μέρους.
- Acts i 6, 7. Jo. xxi 21, 22.
- Acts iv 13 θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Jo. vii 15 ἐθαύμαζον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
Πέτρου παρρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάνου λέγοντες Πῶς οὗτος γράμματα
καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι οἶδεν μὴ μαμαθηκῶς ;
ἀγράμματοί εἰσι καὶ ἰδιῶται
ἐθαύμαζον.
- Acts v 22, 23. Jo. vii 45, 46.
- Acts x 25 sq. πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς Aποc. xix 10 ἔπεσα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν
πόδας προσεκύνησε . . . Ἀνά- ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ
στηθι. . . Ὅρα μὴ.

The fruitless errands of the ὑπηρέται.

III. Resemblances in form or in matter or in both, in discourses.

- Lk. ii 49 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου Jo. ix 4 ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα
δεῖ εἶναί με : xiii 33 πλὴν δεῖ τοῦ πέμψαντός με ἕως ἡμέρας ἐστίν
με σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἔρχεται νῦν ὅτε οὐδεὶς δύναται
ἐχομένη πορεύεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐργάζεσθαι
ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολείσθαι
ἔξω Ἱερουσαλήμ.
- Lk. ii 49 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου. Jo. ii 16 τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Πατρός μου.
- Lk. ix 56 [ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Jo. xii 47 οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον ἵνα κρίνω
οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπο- τὸν κόσμον ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσω τὸν
λέσαι ἀλλὰ σώσαι]. κόσμον.
- Lk. x 18 ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν Aποc. ix 1 εἶδον ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ
ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν.
πεσόντα.
- Lk. xvi 11 εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ Jo. iii 12 εἰ τὰ ἐπίγεια εἶπον ὑμῖν
μαμωνᾶ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε, πῶς ἂν εἶπω
ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει ; ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια πιστεύετε ;
- Lk. xvi 15 ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ δικαιοῦντες Jo. v 44 πῶς δύνασθε ὑμεῖς πιστεῦσαι,
ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, δόξαν παρὰ ἀλλήλων λαμβάνοντες,
ὁ δὲ Θεὸς γινώσκει τὰς καρδίας καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου
ὑμῶν ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις Θεοῦ οὐ ζητεῖτε ; 46 sq. εἰ γὰρ
ὑψηλὸν βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἐπιστεύετε Μωυσῆ, ἐπιστεύετε ἂν
Θεοῦ : 31 εἰ Μωυσῆς καὶ τῶν ἐμοί· περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν

- προφητῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσι, οὐδ' ἂν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆ πεισθῆσονται.
- Lk. xviii 41 τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω ;
- Lk. xxi 24 καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν [καὶ ἔσονται] καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.
- Lk. xxii 53 ἀλλ' αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους.
- Lk. xxii 67 sq. εἰ ἂν ὑμῖν εἶπω, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε· εἰ δὲ ἐρωτήσω, οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτε.
- Lk. xxiii 30 τότε ἄρξονται λέγειν τοῖς ὄρεσι, Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς, Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς (Hos. x 8).
- Acts ii 20 ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφῆσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα (Joel ii 31).
- Acts xx 24 ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιῶμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαυτῷ, ὡς τελειώσω τὸν δρόμον μου.
- εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν οὐ πιστεύετε, πῶς τοῖς ἑμοῖς ῥήμασιν πιστεύετε ;
- Jo. v 6 θέλεις ὑγιᾶς γενέσθαι ;
- Apoc. xi 2 ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν πατήσουσιν μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα [καὶ] δύο.
- Jo. xiv 30 ἔρχεται γὰρ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν.
- Jo. xviii 23 εἰ κακῶς ἐλάλησα, μαρτύρησον περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ· εἰ δὲ καλῶς, τί με δέρεις ;
- Apoc. vi 16 καὶ λέγουσι τοῖς ὄρεσι, Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.
- Apoc. vi 12 ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα.
- Apoc. xii 11 καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου.

IV. Phrases.

- φόβος ἐπέπεσε Lk. i 12, Acts xix 17 : Apoc. xi 11.
- λατρεῖν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν Lk. ii 37, Acts xxvi 7 : Apoc. vii 15.
- προσκυνεῖν ἐνώπιον Lk. iv 7 : Apoc. iii 9, xv 4.
- ἀκούω with participle Lk. iv 23, Acts vii 12 : 3 Jo. 4.
- ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανός Lk. iv 25 : κλείσαι τὸν οὐρανόν Apoc. xi 6.
- λαλεῖν βλασφημίας Lk. v. 21 : Apoc. xiii 5.
- ἐλεξάμενος δώδεκα Lk. vi 13 (Acts i 2) : Jo. vi 70.
- δεῖ τὸν νιὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Lk. ix 22, xxiv 7 : Jo. iii 14 (Mk. viii 31).
- φωνῆ ἐγένετο Lk. ix 35, Acts ii 6, x 13 : Apoc. xi 15.
- ἀκολουθεῖν μετὰ Lk. ix 49 : Apoc. vi 8, xiv 13.
- ὁ Κύριος (of our Lord : in the Gospels) Lk. x 1, &c. : Jo. iv 1, &c.
- πληγὰς ἐπιτίθεσθαι Lk. x 30, Acts xvi 23 : Apoc. xxii 18.
- ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον Lk. x 34 : Apoc. vi 6, xviii 13.
- ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ (in the Gospels) Lk. xi 42, Jo. v 42.
- φίλοι μου (of the Disciples) Lk. xii 4 : Jo. xv 14.
- ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων Lk. xii 9, xv 10 : Apoc. iii 5, xiv 10.

- πῦρ βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν Lk. xii 49 : Aroc. viii 5.
 εἰς μὴ μετανοῆτε Lk. xiii 3, 5 : Aroc. ii 5.
 πνεῦμα ἔχουσα ἀσθενείας ἔτη δέκα ὀκτώ Lk. xiii 11 : τριάκοντα [καὶ]
 ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ αὐτοῦ Jo. v 5.
 πτωχοὺς ἀναπήρους χωλοὺς τυφλοὺς Lk. xiv 13 (cf. 21) : τυφλῶν χωλῶν
 ξηρῶν Jo. v 3.
 εὐφρανθῆναι καὶ χαρῆναι Lk. xv 32 : Aroc. xi 10.
 πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον Lk. xvi 19 : Aroc. xviii 12.
 Μωσοῦς καὶ οἱ προφῆται Lk. xvi 31, xxiv 27, 44 : Jo. i 45.
 λίθος μυλῆς Lk. xvii 2 : λίθος μύλινος Aroc. xviii 21.
 ἐν τάχει Lk. xviii 8, Acts xii 7, &c. : Aroc. i 1, xxii 6 [Rom. xvi 20,
 1 Tim. iii 14].
 ἐχάρη λίαν Lk. xxiii 8 : 2 Jo. 4.
 ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Lk. xviii 10, Acts iii 1 : Jo. vii 14.
 οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων Lk. xviii 11 : Aroc. ix 20.
 φωνεῖν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Lk. xxiii 46, Acts xvi 28 : Aroc. xiv 9.
 ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι Lk. xxiii 53 : τεθῆναι εἰς μνήμα Aroc. xi 9.
 ὁ ζῶν Lk. xxiv 5 : Jo. vi 57, Aroc. i 18.
 ὀνόματα Acts i 15 : Aroc. iii 4, xi 13.
 ῥήματα ζωῆς Acts v 20 : Jo. vi 68.
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος Acts v 41, ix 16 : 3 Jo. 7.
 ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου Acts vii 44 : Aroc. xv 5.
 οὐ . . . πᾶν κοινόν Acts x 14 : Aroc. xxi 27.
 διδῶμι Acts x 40 : Aroc. iii 9.
 θηρία τῆς γῆς Acts xi 6, Aroc. vi 8.
 μεγάλη φωνῇ Acts xiv 10 : Jo. xi 43.
 ἐξ ἡμῶν [ἐξεληθόντες] Acts xv 24 : 1 Jo. ii 19.
 μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος Acts xv 28 : οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
 ἄλλο βάρος Aroc. ii 24.
 ὁδός Acts xvi 17, xviii 25, xxii 4 : Jo. xiv 6.
 πανοικὶ πεπιστευκῶς τῷ Θεῷ Acts xvi 34, ἐπίστευσε σὺν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ
 αὐτοῦ xviii 8 : ἐπίστευσεν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ὅλη Jo. iv 53.
 κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ . . . τῆς γῆς Acts xvii 26 : Aroc. iii 10, &c.
 σιγῆς γενομένης Acts xxi 40 : Aroc. viii 1.
 ἄχρι θανάτου Acts xxii 4 : Aroc. ii 10.
 στῆθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου Acts xxvi 16 : Aroc. xi 11.
 μικρὸς καὶ μέγας Acts xxvi 22 (cf. viii 10) : Aroc. xi 18, xiii 16.
 μέλλειν γίνεσθαι Acts xxvi 22 : Aroc. i 19.
 μέλλοντι πλεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους Acts xxvii 2 : πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ
 τόπον πλέων Aroc. xviii 17.

V. Words.

ἀβυσσος Lk. Apoc.	ναύτης Acts, Apoc.
[Rom. x 7 = Deut. xxx 13.]	νεύ Acts, Jo. ; καταρεύω Lk.
ἀδίκημα Acts, Apoc.	ὀθόνα Lk. Jo.
ἀνακίπτω Lk. Jo.	ὄρθρος Lk. Acts, Jo.
ἀποβαίνω Lk. Jo.	πατέω Lk. Apoc.
[Phil. i 19.]	πλέω Lk. Apoc.
ἀπόκρισις Lk. Jo.	πλύνω Lk. Apoc.
ἀποχωρίζομαι Acts, Apoc.	προτρέχω Lk. Jo.
ἀρεστός Acts, Jo.	προφήτης Lk. Apoc.
ἀριστία Lk. Jo.	ρομφαία Lk. Apoc.
βάπτω Lk. Jo. Apoc.	σημαίνω Acts, Jo. Apoc.
γείτων Lk. Jo.	σκορπίος Lk. Apoc.
γνωστός Lk. Acts, Jo.	σουδάριον Lk. Acts, Apoc.
[Rom. i 19.]	στάδιον (measure) Lk. Jo. Apoc.
γόμος Acts, Apoc.	[Mt. xiv. 24 ?.]
διαδίδωμι Lk. Acts, Jo.	σταθῆναι Lk. Apoc.
εἶδος (= form) Lk. Jo.	στήθος Lk. Jo. Apoc.
ἐκμάσσω Lk. Jo.	συντίθεμαι Lk. Acts, Jo.
ἔλκος Lk. Apoc.	σύρω Acts, Jo. Apoc.
ἐμφοβος Lk. Acts, Apoc.	σωτηρία (in Gospels) Lk. Jo.
ἐξηγέομαι Lk. Acts, Apoc.	τέχνη Acts, Apoc.
θεῖον Lk. Apoc.	τρυνάω Lk. Apoc.
θεραπεία Lk. Apoc.	ὑπολαμβάνω Lk. Acts, 3 Jo.
κῆπος Lk. Jo.	φρέαρ Lk. Jo. Apoc.
κόλπος Lk. Acts, Jo.	χάραγμα Acts, Apoc.
κυβερνήτης Acts, Apoc.	χάρις (in Gospels) Lk. Jo.
λαμπρός Lk. Acts, Apoc.	ψηλαφάω Lk. Acts, 1 Jo.
[Ja. ii 2, 3.]	[Heb. xii 18.]
λίμνη Lk. Apoc.	ψηφίζω Lk. Apoc.
μαστός Lk. Apoc.	ψηφός Acts, Apoc.

VI. Names.

Annas Lk. iii 2, Acts iv 6 : Jo. xviii 13, 24.
Judas (not Iscariot) Lk. vi 16 : Jo. xiv 22.
Siloam Lk. xiii 4 : Jo. ix 7.
Peter and John Lk. xxii 8, Acts iii 1, viii 14 : Jo. xiii 24, xx 3 sqq xxi 21.
Caesar mentioned to Pilate Lk. xxiii 2 : Jo. xix 12, 15.
Solomon's Porch Acts iii 11, v 12 : Jo. x 23.
[Cleophas Lk. xxiv 18, Jn. xix 25]

H. GAUSSEN.

ST LUKE XXII 15, 16: WHAT IS THE GENERAL
MEANING?

'WITH desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before suffer!'—what is the general meaning of these familiar words of our Lord? If we are to be guided by the almost unanimous consensus of commentators there is no doubt at all. Naturally all are agreed that it is an expression of deep feeling, but the remarkable thing is that it should be so generally assumed to be an expression of thankfulness, of *attained* desire. The object of this Note is to suggest the direct opposite: I believe the words to be an expression of disappointment and regret. I believe 'this Passover' means 'the Paschal meal of this present year', not 'the meal now spread before us'.

Before going any further let me quote a few recent comments to show how very generally held the opposite opinion is. To begin at the end: LOISY says of this very passage 'L'évangéliste considère évidemment la dernière cène comme un festin pascal' (*Évangiles synoptiques* ii 526). WELLHAUSEN is equally explicit: 'Lc hebt offensichtlich hervor, dass das Abendmahl das Pascha war. . . . Dass Jesus nicht bloss sein Verlangen nach dem Pascha spricht, sondern dass auch wirklich mit den Jüngern isst, unterlässt er zu sagen, weil es sich von selbst versteht' (*Evangelium Lucae* 121). From English expositors two characteristically different selections will suffice: SALMON illustrates the construction of the verse by the parallel of a man stricken with disease who had doubted whether he should live over Christmas and who when the day comes says to his family 'How I have been longing to spend one more Christmas Day with you, but this will be the last' (*Human Element in the Gospels* p. 492); WESTCOTT quotes the sentence *I desired to eat this Passover with you*, and then goes on to say 'If these words stood alone, there can be no doubt that we should explain them of the Paschal meal taken at the legal time' (*Study of the Gospels* note to chap. vi p. 348).

But is this really the impression which Lk. xxii 15, 16 leaves on any one who will consider these verses by themselves? Our Lord says 'With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer; for I say unto you I shall not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God'. Does not the pathos of the saying imply that the desire is unfulfilled? Does our Lord not say in effect 'Near is this Passover is and much as I have longed to celebrate it with you, it is not so to be, for I shall not eat it; within the next twenty-four

hours the enemy will have done his worst and the next Passover that I shall eat with you will be the Messianic Feast'.

Perhaps it will be objected that the general sense of Lk. xxii 15, 16 is to be determined by the whole narrative and, as St Luke has elsewhere plainly shewn that he adopts the so-called 'Synoptic' as opposed to the so-called 'Johannine' date of the Passion and Crucifixion, we must interpret the verses before us in such a way as to support the 'Synoptic' date. This consideration has doubtless been the dominant factor in the interpretation of single verses and expressions in the Synoptic narratives of the Passion which seem to conflict with the 'Synoptic' date, but I am sure it ought not to be pressed here. This is just one of the problems upon which clearer light has been thrown by the general advance of the last twenty years in the study of the Synoptic Problem. As long as it was possible to speak of the Synoptic tradition in a vague and general way, to regard, that is, the Synoptic Evangelists as writers who were giving individual expression to a common heritage, that common heritage being (roughly speaking) the matter that was common to all three, then, indeed, we were obliged to think of this common heritage as something consciously set forth by each of the Evangelists. But if, on the contrary, the common matter of the Synoptic Gospels is shared by the Evangelists in common simply because two of them have based their work on the other, then it may very well be that here and there the later Evangelists have followed their main source (i. e. Mark) mechanically, and that the other sources which they use support a view inconsistent with that which they have taken over from the Gospel of Mark. This is especially the case with the story of the Passion as told in Luke. In Lk. xxii-xxiv the use of Mark is indeed apparent, but Mark has ceased to be the main authority. From Mark are taken Lk. xxii 1-13, 18, 21-23, 39, 52, 53, and some other passages, such as the story of Simon the Cyrenian (Lk. xxiii 26), but the rest of the narrative seems to come from another source, and we have very little *a priori* right to assume that this source supported the date which is so strangely indicated in Mk. xiv 12.

There can be of course no doubt that in Mk. xiv 12 ('on the first day of the Unleavened Bread, when they used to sacrifice the Passover') the Evangelist does mean to imply that the Last Supper was a Paschal Feast. It is urged on the other side that the wording of this verse is in itself a contradiction in terms, and that it is inconsistent with other indications in the Marcan account which shew that the Crucifixion took place before the Feast had really begun.¹ It may

¹ See especially Mk. xiv 2, xv 21.

therefore be seriously questioned whether the theory that the Last Supper was the Paschal Meal had any existence before St Mark wrote his Gospel.

But to discuss this would go beyond the object of this Note, which is to express my conviction that it is hazardous to interpret St Luke's special source for the Passion Story in the light of the Marcan theory, and also to suggest that the saying of Jesus at the Supper which expresses His earnest desire to have kept the Passover Feast with His faithful followers does not imply that the Supper was a Paschal Meal, but rather that it was not a Paschal Meal.

F. C. BURKITT.

PROF. BURKITT suggested to me, when he discovered that I had independently arrived at the same conclusion which he has reached about the interpretation of Luke xxii 15, 16, that we should both write notes to the *J. T. S.* to call attention to what seems to both of us the natural meaning of the verses; especially as it would seem that we are in a minority of two on the subject. He has been kind enough to shew me his note, and I fear that I have little to add to what he has stated so clearly, except to express my complete agreement with his main conclusion, which had suggested itself to me three or four years ago. The history of the text of these and other cognate verses reflects the difficulty which was felt in interpreting such words in accordance with the so-called 'Synoptic' presentation of the Last Meal. It may be worth while to recall the evidence. In Luke xxii 16 the true text οὐ μὴ φάγω is found in \aleph A B C*^{vi} H L al⁴ sah cop. (I quote from Tischendorf. The Bohairic $\pi\iota\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ is quite clear, and Horner quotes no variants in Bohairic MSS.) The reading of D (οὐκέτι μὴ φάγομαι, omitting the preceding $\delta\tau\iota$) perhaps recalls the Latin of the opposite page, 'iam non manducabo'. At any rate the evidence suggests Western modification of a probably harmonizing character. In ver. 18 οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου κ.τ.λ. is the better attested text, but the words ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν are not found in A C X Γ Δ Λ Π unc^d al pler it^{pler} vg syr^{soh}. Turning to Mark xiv 25 (οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος κ.τ.λ.) the evidence quoted for the omission of οὐκέτι is not inconsiderable (\aleph C D L b^{scr*} a c f h em gat cop aeth). In St Matthew alone the corresponding phrase ἀπ' ἄρτι is undisputed.

It may also be worth pointing out that the earliest form of the Syriac, in which the Lucan account has been rearranged, leaves ver. 15 in its position at the beginning of the narrative, before there has been any mention of eating, or of distributing the bread.

Thus the saying which Luke alone records, if we consider its

position and its original form, would seem to point unmistakably to the view that the wish, to which expression had been given just before, was felt by the speaker to be one which could not be fulfilled. In the light of later views about the meal at which it was spoken it was felt to need modification. And the textual evidence for the similar saying with regard to the fruit of the vine, which is recorded in all three Synoptists, suggests that here also the need for modification was felt, though very likely for different reasons.

May we not add Luke xxv 15, 16 to the indications, considerable in number, that the so-called Synoptic view of the Last Supper is not the view which lies behind, or is presupposed by, the earliest forms of the tradition which they embody? It may be incorrect to speak of the Fourth Gospel as 'correcting' a Synoptic mistake. It has at any rate preserved more clearly the truer tradition.

A. E. BROOKE.

ON APHRAATES *HOM.* I § 19.

In the January number of this volume of the *JOURNAL* (pp. 267 ff) Mr H. L. Pass has set forth a new and interesting theory in explanation of the well-known passage in the first Homily of Aphraates¹ which by several eminent scholars has been pronounced to be an early Syriac Creed.

Mr Pass opens his case with a reference to an article of mine on 'The Early Syriac Creed',² in which I maintained that the passage just referred to has no claim to be regarded as Aphraates' Creed, inasmuch as there are evident traces of a much less abnormal formula in others of his Homilies. Mr Pass, whilst accepting my main conclusion, justly criticizes me on a point of detail. I had failed to take account of the evident connexion, mediate or immediate, between the passage in *Hom.* i § 19 and a similar passage in the Letter written to Aphraates by a friend and now prefixed to his Homilies. Mr Pass rightly lays stress upon the resemblance between these two passages. Throughout *Hom.* i Aphraates follows closely a line of treatment laid down for him by his friend. The latter has asked him to set down for him some thoughts on the subject of Faith—what it is, what its basis and the substructure upon which it is to be reared, what is the best means of developing it and bringing it to perfection, and, finally, what are the

¹ In Parisot's ed. cols. 44, 45.

² In the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, July 1906.

works that should follow the possession of it. Then he makes the very primitive-looking profession of faith which Mr Pass has translated on p. 270 of his article.

In his first Homily Aphraates evidently has his eye constantly upon this letter : he begins by promising to give his friend all the information he has asked for, and to add a little more also ; and he proceeds to frame his answer according to the outline sketched for him. *Hom. i* is consequently an entirely mystical, or moral, not a dogmatic treatise on Faith. But when he has spoken of Faith in itself—what it is, on what based, and how built up—Aphraates pauses before giving the list of ‘the works of Faith’ for which he has been asked, and sets forth a short summary of the substance of Faith to balance that given by his friend. This runs so closely parallel to the passage in the Letter that it practically amounts to an expression of approval of the confession made by his friend.

There can be no reasonable doubt, when the two passages are carefully considered, that the contents of *i 19* are directly conditioned by those of the similar passage in the Letter. Aphraates, however, adds a couple of clauses which have a much more creed-like ring, viz. an expression of belief in the resurrection, and in baptism.

Now although Mr Pass recognizes and insists upon the connexion between the two passages, he does not appear to have drawn the conclusion that *Hom. i 19* is directly based upon the Letter : he traces the resemblance rather to the independent use of a common source,—which on other grounds he conjectures to have been a Jewish Creed. Here I cannot agree with him ; and before discussing the hypothesis of a Jewish Creed I wish to express my opinion that the agreement between *Hom. i 19* and the Letter really adds nothing to his argument, since the two passages are virtually not two witnesses, but one.

Mr Pass’s argument for the existence of an early Jewish Creed is presented in a nutshell in the synoptic table he prints on p. 281. There we see at a glance four passages which present what appears to be an extraordinary family likeness. These are (1) Aphraates *i 19*, (2) the similar passage in the Letter, (3) a passage from Irenaeus *Haer. iii 3*, and (4) one from the apocryphal Syriac *Acts of Philip*. The resemblance between the first two has already been sufficiently accounted for. The passage from Irenaeus comes from the famous chapter where he makes an appeal to tradition against the heretics who taught the existence of another God beside and above the Creator of the world. For his purpose he has singled out the Church of Rome, with which ‘*necesse est omnem conuenire ecclesiam*’. Here, he says, we can trace back the succession of bishops to the Apostles. What then is the witness of this Church as expressed in

the letter of Clement, who held the bishoprick in the third place from the apostles? In this letter, if the heretics will trouble themselves to read it, they will find the tradition of the apostles, 'annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae' [and the rest as given in Mr Pass's table, p. 281].

It is to be observed that Irenaeus tells us that all the items of faith which make up this passage are contained in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians; and in fact they may be found in substance scattered up and down that letter. There is, certainly, a temptation to explain the agreement as to contents and arrangement which this passage shews with the Letter and the *Acts of Philip* by referring all three passages to a common source; but still it is quite possible that the agreement is only accidental. The similarity of order may be accounted for by chronological arrangement. The first and third, then, of Mr Pass's columns are probably to be eliminated from the argument—the first as not being an independent witness, the third as being possibly no witness at all.

The really striking feature in Mr Pass's case lies in the marked resemblance between (2) and (3), the passage from the Letter and that from the *Acts of Philip*. Here it is difficult to believe that the two passages are not in some way related. But the connecting link is to be found, I believe, in a Christian liturgical formula rather than in a Jewish Creed.

In bk viii ch. xii of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in the Preface of the Anaphora, there is a passage which shews a considerably closer agreement, both verbal and as to contents, with the passage in the *Acts of Philip* than even the Letter to Aphraates presents. The Preface in question is very long, extending over several pages, but an abstract of it, including the crucial passage, must be given here.¹

'It is very meet and right before all things to hymn Thee, the verily existent God, who art before all created things.' [It goes on to address the Almighty as the 'unoriginate knowledge, everlasting sight, unbegotten hearing, untaught wisdom, the first by nature and alone in being, beyond all number; who didst bring all things out of nothing into being'. The next couple of pages are taken up with an account of the furnishing and 'adorning'² of the world.]

'And Thou didst not only *create the world*, but didst also make man the citizen of it . . . for Thou saidst to Thy Wisdom: Let us make man *after our image and after our likeness*.' [Here the gifts of man are described at some length.]

¹ The italics call attention to the points of contact with the passage in *Acts of Philip*.

² Cf. the passage in the Letter: 'and He adorned the world with His works.'

'And while Thou didst *accept the sacrifice of Abel*, as of an holy person, Thou didst *reject the gift of Cain, the murderer* of his brother, as of an abhorred wretch.

'And besides these Thou didst accept of Seth and Enos, and didst *translate Enoch*: for Thou art *the creator of men* . . . who didst *bring the great flood upon the world* (τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμόν ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ κόσμῳ) . . . and didst *deliver righteous Noah from the flood* in an ark . . . who didst kindle the fearful fire against the five cities of Sodom . . . but didst *snatch holy Lot out of the conflagration*.

'Thou art He who didst deliver *Abraham* from ancestral impiety, and didst appoint him to be heir of the world . . . who didst advance Melchizedek to be a high priest of Thy service . . . Job . . . *Isaac* . . . *Jacob* . . . *Joseph* . . . Thou didst appoint Thy holy servant *Moses*, and by him Thou hast given the written law . . . Thou didst glorify Aaron and his posterity with the priestly honour . . . Thou didst punish the Egyptians . . . and didst *divide the sea* and *bring the Israelites* through it; and didst drown and *destroy the Egyptians* who pursued after them. Thou didst sweeten the bitter water with wood; Thou didst pour forth water out of the rock of stone; Thou didst rain *manna from heaven*, and *quails* as meat out of the air. Thou didst afford a pillar of fire by night . . . and a pillar of cloud by day . . . Thou didst declare *Joshua* to be general of the army, and by him didst overthrow seven cities of the Canaanites. Thou didst divide Jordan, and dry up the rivers of Etham. Thou didst overthrow walls without instruments or the hand of man. For all these things, to Thee be the glory, Lord Almighty.'

If this passage is read side by side with that in the *Acts of Philip* (the full context given by Mr Pass on p. 273, not the abridged form in the table on p. 281) I think there will be little doubt as to where the latter came from. I do not mean that it was necessarily taken straight from bk. viii of the *Apostolic Constitutions*: it may have come from an older liturgical document, on the basis of which bk. viii was drawn up with additions or omissions such as we find in bks. i-vi as compared with the *Didascalia* which underlies these books. But with the passage in *Acts of Philip* goes, *ex hypothesi*, that in the Letter to Aphraates, and indirectly (through its dependence on the Letter) that in Aphraates *Hom.* i 19. That the passage from Irenaeus is based on a similar liturgical text might appear a tempting hypothesis, were it not that, as we have seen, Irenaeus professes to be giving a doctrinal analysis of the Epistle of Clement, and that the contents of the passage are to be found in substance in Clement. As regards the selection of the particular items of which the passage is made up and the apparent

¹ 2 Pet. ii 5; cf. Iren. *Haer.* iii 3 (the passage spoken of above) 'qui induxit cataclysmum'.

quotation from 2 Pet. ii 6 ('induxit cataclysmum'), found also in *Const. Apost.* viii 12, but not in Clement, I do not think we are justified in saying more than that they are 'curious'.

If then the common source of the Syriac passages in Mr Pass's table is a liturgical formula, the passage in Aphraates i 19 has no claim to be regarded as a 'Symbol'¹; and it is idle to base theories upon the accident that it may be divided up into seven clauses and connect it with a seven-clause Waldensian Creed, as Bert and others following him have done. As Mr Pass rightly observes, Bert's Waldensian Creed 'has very little in common with that of Aphraates'. Moreover, if Aphraates i 19 be divided on the same principle as the Waldensian Creed, it will be found to contain not seven clauses, but eight—and this without including the 'works of faith', which Bert regards as an integral portion of the 'Creed' of Aphraates.

A German scholar, Paul Schwen, who has recently published a study on the *Homilies* of Aphraates,² though he had not seen my article on 'The Early Syriac Creed' until after his book was completed,³ arrived independently at the same main conclusions as I had reached: (1) that i 19 is no Symbol of faith; (2) that there are traces in others of Aphraates' *Homilies* of a more normal type of Creed. In support of this view he adduces the three passages on which I mainly relied, viz. those numbered 2, 3, and 5 on pp. 206-207 of my article (= *Aphr. Homs.* xiv 39, xvii 2, xvii 12).

Schwen⁴ considers my 'reconstruction' of Aphraates' Creed to be in other respects hazardous. It would be so if I had claimed that it was anything more than a rough approximation—a bare outline. But I called it only a 'tentative reconstruction', and in making it I restricted myself to the actual words and phrases used by Aphraates. If the method I adopted needs any justification, a precedent may be found in Gebhardt-Harnack's reconstruction of the earliest symbol of the Church of Rome.⁵

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ We have seen, however, that the passage, though evidently suggested by, and based on, the similar passage in the Letter, contains two clauses not found in the Letter, viz. one on the resurrection and one on baptism; and there is no reason why these additions should not be explained as reminiscences of a Symbol. The further addition in the first clause of the words 'Lord of all'—a very natural Syriac equivalent for 'Almighty'—in itself suggests such reminiscence.

² *Aphrahat, seine Person und sein Verständnis des Christentums*, Berlin, 1907.

³ *Ib.* p. 62.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 62.

⁵ Appendix to *Barnabae Epistula, graece et latine* pp. 115 ff.

AN OLD ARMENIAN VERSION OF JOSEPHUS.

In the year 1787 was printed in Constantinople an Armenian volume of 496 pages thus inscribed on the title-page :

'The book of history (*lit.* histories) of Josephus, the Hebrew, about the war of the Jews with the Romans and the destruction of Jerusalem. Translated from the Latin tongue into Armenian by one Stevanus Ilowatzi [i. e. of Lemburg], a servant of God's word.'

A further title-page follows, on which Stephanus is described as 'a pious coenobite of the holy See, a learned doctor, the noble-minded and sincere translator, in the year of the Armenians 1109' (= A.D. 1660).

And this paragraph is added :

'This actual volume was printed and published from an accurate manuscript of the above translator at the luminous throne of Edschmiatsin, by the sublime command of the lord Lukas, holy Catholicos of all the Armenians in the seventh year of his Patriarchate.

'And in the Pontificate of holy Jerusalem and Constantinople, of the lord Yovakim and the lord Zachariah, divinely-wise Vardapets and Archbishops.

'At the press of St Gregory our Illuminator,

'in the year of the Lord 1787, and in our reckoning 1236.'

This Stephen was born in Poland, but migrated back to Armenia, and many of his productions still adorn the shelves of the Patriarchal library of Edschmiatsin. They include a great Armeno-Latin lexicon, a translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* often copied, a translation of Dionysius Areopagita,¹ of Lives of the Fathers called *The Mirror of Life*,² of the *Liber Causarum* of Proclus.

At the end of our volume of Josephus are several colophons. The first of them is one added to Stephanus's own copy of his version by his knightly friend Yohan (John) of the village of Kartschavan, rebuilder of St John Baptist's Convent of Aprakuniq in the canton of Erndschak. This Yohan relates that having often heard of Josephus, he persuaded Stephanus to translate his works, and that he himself retained as a keepsake the translator's autograph copy.

In a second colophon the editors of the book declare that the older version of Josephus attested by Yohan had perished in the invasion of Tamerlane and was nowhere to be found. Wherefore Stephanus had

¹ This is a revision of an older eighth-century version made by Stephen of Siunik.

² Translated from Polish.

retranslated it in the time of Philip Catholicus. 'When we began' continues this colophon 'to print it, although there reached our hands copies by other scribes, some accurate and some defective, we only compared (sic) the single exemplar of the work and from that exemplar took the text here printed, from the manuscript, to wit, which Stephanus Howata the wardapet wrote with his own hand, and which lay in the library of the holy See of Edschmiatsin. . . . Minas the archbishop read the exemplar of the book, simplified confused passages in the text, and in the long paragraphs separated each sentence by a capital letter.' In another passage the editors write thus: 'This author (Josephus) was translated in ancient times by our early wardapets into our language and script for its utility and to supplement our knowledge of divine writ, and we possessed it of old as our wardapet Yohan of Kartschavan says in his colophon, and as we see some holy words adduced in testimony by our holy wardapets of old, as for example by Saint Gregory [1340-1411] of Dathev and others. But in the course of the trials and troubles brought on our land by Lank Thamur, the devastator of the world, and other ancients this book was lost with other valuable and useful monuments of our literature. And nowadays it is nowhere to be found.'

It has been assumed by all who have worked at Armenian literature that these colophons are reliable, that the old translation of Josephus was really lost, and that the published text of 1787 is merely a seventeenth-century version of Rufinus's Latin. Some years ago, however, I had occasion to compare it with the Greek text, especially for the account of the Essenes, and was so struck by the classical idiom and purity of the language, that I asked my friend Dr Baronean to seek out citations of Josephus in old Armenian writers for comparison with the printed text, which—as he had never seen it—I lent him. He wrote to me a little before his death that it was cited by Moses of Khoren, but he did not specify in what passages. Following his clue I have detected several passages in which this romancer, who wrote as some hold about 700, but as I myself believe before 500, weaves whole sentences of this version into his text. Two examples will suffice :

Moses, bk. II ch. 19.

Իբրև ետես Հիւրկանոս Հրէից
 . . . եթէ զզօրս Հրոմայեցւոց
փախտական արարեալ, զոմանս
 ի ծով, զոմանս ի քաղաքս, խա-
 զազու թեամբ ընդ երկիրն ան-
 ցանէր բարդափրան . . . առարէ

Josephus, *B. J.* I ch. 2 § 3 foll.

Ընդ Հիւրկանու և փառայե-
լոսի կռուին. . . . չամենեսեան
 ի փախուստ գարձոյց զոմանս ի
քաղաքն զոմանս ի տաճարն և
 զայլս ի ձորն վերջին փակեաց :
 Հայնժամ անտիզոնոս խնդրեաց

յերուսաղեմ Տանդերձ Տեճեւա-
զօրու, իբր թէ ի պատճառս
խաղաղութեան, բայց ի գաղտ-
նիս օգնել անտիգոնեայ . . . և
տակառապետին դաւով խրատ
տուեալ Տիւրկանու՝ զի առ բար-
զգափրան երթիցէ վասն աւերա-
ծոյ աշխարհին . . .

առ բարզափրան ի ծովեզրն ի
գեօղն որ կոչի եքտիպոն :

Եւ բարզափրան խորաման-
կութեամբ պատուէր զնոսա. և
ինքն յանկարծակի գնացեալ
անտի մնացելոց զօրացն Տրաման
տայր ի բուռն առնուլ զնոսա . . .

Եւ բարզափրանայ Տրաման
տուեալ տակառապետին Տայոց
յերուսաղեմ զՏերովդէս որսալ-
իսկ տակառապետն ելեալ ար-
տաքս քան զպարիսպն զՏերո-
վդէս պատրել. զոր չառեալ
յանձն Տերովդի, այլ ոչ կալ ի
քաղաքին երկուցեալ ի պատառ-
մանէ անտիգոնեանցն, իգիշերի
ի ծածուկ ընդանեօքն Տանդերձ
առ եղոմայեցիս փախչէր.

զպակորոս իբր ի պատճառս
խաղաղութեան . . . զպարթևն
Տանդերձ եճ Տեճելով ի քաղաքն
Տիւրընկալութեալ ընկալաւ. որ
եկեալ էր իբր թէ Տամոզել զնն
ի խաղաղութիւն, բայց իսկա-
պէս օգնել անտիգոնեայ : Ապա
փասայելոսի դաւով խրատ ետ,
զի առ բարզափրան Տրեշտակու-
թեամբ երթիցէ վասն խաղա-
ղութեան

և նոքա գնացեալ ի տեղի ինչ
ծովեզերեայ որ կոչի էքտիպոն
դղան իմացան.

Եւ բարզափրան խորամանկու-
թեամբ Տրաժարէր . . . և ինքն
յանկարծակի գնաց անտի առ
պակորոս, մնացելոց զօրացն
Տրաման տուեալ ի բուռն առ
նուլ զփասայելոս և զՏիւրկա-
նոս . . .

ապա տակառապետն
Տրաման առեալ զՏերովդէս որ-
սալ, ջանայր պատրել զնա զի
ելանիցէ տրտաքս քան զպարի-
սպն . . . ոչ էառ յանձն արտաքս
ելանել . . . Տերովդէս ի գիշերի
Տանդերձ ընտանեօք և բարե-
կամօք իւրովք յերկիրն եղովմա-
յեցեոց անգիտելով թշնամեացն
փախստեայ գնաց.

I add one shorter example out of many equally available.

Moses, bk. II ch. 25.

Որովք լցեալ զհրապարակս
անտիրացւոց քսան վտանաւ
երկայնութեամբ յատակեաց
սպիտակ կճասալ յատակօք, զի
ուխաւուորք յատակացն դիւրա-
գոյնս կարգեցենն առ ոչ ինչ
վնաս առնել քաղաքին: Ըպց

Josephus, bk. I ch. 21 § 11 (425)

Ոչ սպաքէն ասորւոց անտիր
քաղաքին զանանց և զանկիք
հրապարակն տղմայիք քսան
վտանանաւ երկայնութեամբ
յատակեաց սպիտակ կճասալ
յատակօք, և փողոցիւք զար-
դարեաց առ ի վանել զուղիս
անձրեւաց, զի մի ինչ վնաս
առնիցեն քաղաքին. բայց . . .

The so-called history of Armenia by Moses is a romance largely woven together of extracts from all sorts of writers, to whom a Byzantine Armenian of about 500 easily had access in his own tongue or in Greek. It claims for Armenians every exploit awarded in the sources to Syrians, Parthians, or Georgians. In the chapters from which I pick out the above scraps of Josephus he turns the Parthians into good Armenians. It is clear that he had an Armenian version of the *De Bello Iudaico* almost identical with that published in 1787. Even if he wrote as late as 700, the version of Josephus must still be a thousand years older than Stephanus of Lemberg about the year 1660 asserts.

Let us next turn to an old Armenian source, containing long extracts from the text of Josephus. This is the old Armenian version of Eusebius's History, made from the Syriac by Mesrop before A. D. 450—a date admitted by Prof. Merx, Dr Nestle, Mr Norman McLean, Dr E. Preuschen, and others. These extracts we find to be identical with the corresponding sections of the printed text of 1660, but we must not jump to the conclusion, however natural, that the translator of Eusebius took the text of these extracts from an existing version of Josephus. For as a matter of fact the debt lies the other way, and these extracts are taken from the Armenian Eusebius. It follows that of the two authors, Eusebius and Josephus, the latter was the last to be translated into Armenian, and that his translator, being already familiar with the Armenian Eusebius, saved himself trouble, when he came upon these excerpts, by just copying them out from it. A single example suffices. I give first the version of Rufinus, then Dr Nestle's accurate version of the old Syriac, and lastly, in parallel columns, a Latin version of the Armenian printed text and the Greek.

B. J. V 10 § 2:—

Ditioribus quidem manere etiam sicut profugere, par causa erat per-eundi: nam quasi transfugere voluisset, propter patrimonium quisque occidebatur. Cum fame autem crescebat desperatio seditiosorum, et in dies singulos utrumque malum amplius accendebatur. Et palam quidem nulla erant frumenta, irrupentes autem scrutabantur domos. Et siquidem invenissent aliquid, eos qui negaverant verberabant; si vero nihil invenissent, quasi diligentius celavissent, tormentis itidem afficiebant. Habendi autem argumento erant corpora miserorum, cum ea quae solidis viribus starent, abundare putarentur, tabidi autem transfigebantur: nec rationis esse videbatur, statim fame morituros occidere.

Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt von Eberhard Nestle (Leipzig, 1901) bk. iii ch. 6 = Josephus *De Bello Iud.* V 10 § 2:—

Denjenigen, welchen ein Besitz war, war zu bleiben oder umzukommen gleich für sie. Unter dem Vorwand nämlich, den sie einem (*A* gegen einen) andichteten, als ob er an die Römer ausliefern wollte, kam er um wegen seines Besitztums. Und mit dem Hunger wurde auch die Frechheit der Aufwiegler stark, und jeden Tag entflamnten sich diese zwei Übel. Weizen aber wurde offen auch an keinem Orte mehr gesehen. Sie sprangen nämlich und traten ein und durchsuchten die Häuser. Und wenn sie etwas fanden bei einigen und leugnend, schlugen sie sie, und wenn sie nichts fanden, so folterten sie sie als Leute, die aus Not verborgen hätten. Der Beweis aber (*A* nämlich), ob einem etwas war oder nicht, war das Aussehen der Leiber der Kranken. Und diejenigen von ihnen, deren Leiber feststanden, galten als solche, deren Nahrung reichlich sei; zu töten aber diejenigen, die vor ihrem Hunger nahe waren zu sterben, das war ohne Gedanke.

Armenian Edition of 1787.

Quicumque habebant possessiones, manere atque perdi par erat illis. nam per praetextum quem concinnabant in accusationem quam intentabant hominibus, quasi ad Romanos manum velit dare, perdebatur ille propter possessiones eorum. Ac secundum famem (+ etiam) audacia conturbatorum inualescebat, et in dies singulos duo mala ista (magis magisque) accendebantur. Frumentum autem palam omnino nullibi apparebat, quia celeriter ibant intrabantque

Greek Text of Niese.

Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἴσον ἦν προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρέϊτό τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δ' ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζε, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίετο τὰ δεινά· φανερὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ σῖτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς οἰκίας, ἐπειθ' εὐρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρησαμένους ἠκίζοντο, μὴ εὐρόντες δ' ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς

domos et cellaria (+ et peruestigabant) et scrutabantur. Et siquidem apud aliquem aliquid inuenirent, (+ et) qui negabant, uerberabant plagis crudelitatis. Si uero nihil inuenirent (+ apud hominem), *quasi* propter famem (diligentia) celauissent, immanibus (itidem) tormentis cruciabant illos. At argumentum (+ demonstratiuum) *habendi aliquid uel non habendi corpora* miserorum erant. Cum qui (+ cunque) ex illis erant corporibus (+ suis) (fortes), opinione uiderentur quod cibus abundans esset illis. (Marcescentes autem corpore trucidati sunt,) *et* occidere eos qui fame propinqui erant morti (non erat discretio).

ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηρόμενοι δὲ ἤδη παραδύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον εἶσθε τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους αἰτίαι.

In rendering into Latin the Armenian text printed in 1787 I have enclosed in angular brackets, thus (<...>), matter omitted in the Armenian version of Eusebius, and have added in round brackets, thus (+...), matter added in that version. Also words italicized are differently rendered in that version, e.g. for *quasi* it involves *qui*; and for *habendi* to *corpora* . . . *erant* it involves *si esset cuiusuis aliquid siue non esset, species corporis* . . . *erat*—in closer agreement with its Syriac original. In these two changes we trace the influence of the old translator of Josephus adapting to the Greek a version made from Syriac, for the Greek runs τοῦ τ' εἶχειν καὶ μὴ. The change cannot be ascribed to Stephanus of Lemburg, for the Latin of Rufinus, which he used, is less close to the Greek: *habendi autem argumento erant corpora*. To him, however, must be reckoned the addition of the words *magis magisque*, for Rufinus rendered *amplius accendebantur*. On the other hand, the change *quasi diligentia* exactly renders ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον, and so may be assigned to the early translator who had the Greek before him rather than to Stephanus, although here the latter found *quasi diligentius* in Rufinus's version. To the latter, however, must certainly be ascribed the introduction of *itidem* which has no equivalent in the Greek text. *Fortes* must belong to the original Armenian version of the Syriac Eusebius, but is wanting in the MSS. The words *Marcescentes autem corpore trucidati sunt* are lost in the Syriac Eusebius, and so absent from the Armenian version of it. They have been added from the Greek text by the fifth-century translator of Josephus, as also have been the words

non erat discretio, though these words are an inadequate rendering of *ἄλογον ἰδόμεναι*, which Rufinus turns *nec rationis esse videbatur*.

Thus for these sections of Josephus which appear in Eusebius we can detect in the printed edition of 1787 three layers of translation, viz. these :—

1. An accurate version of the Syriac, proper to the translator of Eusebius.
2. Modifications of this and additions adjusting it to the Greek, due to the early translator from the Greek of Josephus.
3. Further modifications and additions made in 1660 by Stephanus of Lemburg from the Latin of Rufinus.

In the sections contained in Eusebius we have a fair criterion of how far Stephanus in 1660 remodelled the older Armenian text from the Latin. His industry was fitful and, fortunately, seldom excessive. Still it is enough to prejudice the printed text as a witness to the Greek original. For wherever we open the book we find perhaps six lines palpably translated in the fifth or sixth century from the Greek, but in the seventh a turn of the sentence or a phrase as clearly taken from Rufinus. Very often the words are those of the old version, but the sentence has been remoulded after the Latin.

The editors of 1787 assert that they had other MSS of the Armenian version, but rejected them in favour of the autograph copy of Stephanus. Those other copies probably contained the unaltered older text, and it is much to be desired that Armenians should make a search in their libraries and try to find the uncontaminated text of one of the noblest monuments of their fifth-century literature. A copy of the older text is known to have been lost in a shipwreck off the Cape in 1832, together with hundreds of other Armenian codices which were on their way from Madras to San Lazaro. Among these was a complete ancient version of Irenaeus.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CRITICISM OF
ZMARAGDUS'S *EXPOSITIO LIBRI COMITIS*.

The Work. The commentary which Zmaragdus, Abbot of St Michael's near Verdun, compiled on the Lectionary in the early years of the ninth century, was edited by Caspar Hedio¹ and published by Georges Ulricher at Strasbourg in 1536. The only other edition is the reprint of Hedio which Pitra superintended and issued in tom. cii of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* in 1851. Pitra contented himself with the correction of some misprints and the addition of an appendix in which (pp. 1111-1132) he called attention to some matters of interest connected with the compilation. From that time till 1905, when Riggenbach used it as a source for Pelagius's commentary on the Epistles of St Paul, it appears to have attracted few readers. Yet it is far from being without interest and importance.

The word 'compiled' has been used advisedly of this commentary, for it is a compilation from earlier authors, and its value is that of its sources. There is almost nothing that is original in it; but the author, obviously a man of great learning, has put it together, as he tells us in his preface, from the following authors:—Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Cyril, Gregory, Victor, Fulgentius, John (i.e. Chrysostom²), Cassiodorus, Eucherius, Tyconius, Isidore, Figulus (?), Bede, Primasius, Pelagius, and Origen. He mentions that he abridged as well as transferred, but of the former process I have seen but little trace in confronting his work with its sources. These sources he was very careful to mark in the margins by using contractions of the names of the authors employed. This method had been practised by Bede, and our compiler may have borrowed the system from him.

The first editor had three MSS only at his disposal, of which one was both carelessly written and defective, while the others were complete, old and carefully written. By his own confession he went about his

¹ Riggenbach, *Unbeachtet gebliebene Fragmente des Pelagius-Kommentars zu den Paulinischen Briefen* (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, hrsg. von Schlatter u. Lütgert ix 1) p. 7.

² The epithet is wanting in the MSS. For its history see Dom Baur's *St Jean Chrysostome et ses Œuvres* (Louvain, 1907) p. 58 ff.

work in a wrongheaded way. He tells us he was 'adiutus maxime *αὐτογράφοις* et ut sic dicam originalibus Catholicorum patrum'. In other words, where the MSS appeared to him wrong he looked out the passages in works of the Fathers themselves from which Zmaragdus was making the compilation. The text, as Zmaragdus wrote it, has thus been frequently obscured. Hedio also expanded the symbols in the margin indicating the sources, but he has frequently expanded them wrongly, has often omitted them, and has sometimes put them in at the wrong place. Pitra in his appendix has given a collation of the marginal symbols as they appear in the Boulogne MS, and has thus cleared away some of the errors. It is but fair to state that the MSS themselves are far from consistent in their reports of these symbols, and it is chiefly because I have had occasion to collate seven old MSS of Zmaragdus for the sake of his Pelagian quotations that I have taken the extra trouble of collating all the symbols in the margin.

The preparation of a new edition of Zmaragdus is a task which may be commended to any scholar of enthusiasm and industry. A moment's thought will shew that the MSS of Fathers used by him must have been at least as old as the end of the eighth century. His readings, therefore, are of importance to all editors of the authors above named. The future editor of Zmaragdus would also track all the quotations to their original sources, and note the exact references with or without mention of the differences in text between the original source and Zmaragdus's quotation from it. An index of sources would profitably close the volume. The task would be rather a long than a difficult one, as the MSS are fairly numerous and not far removed in time from the author. It is hoped that the present paper will smooth the future editor's path.

The Manuscripts. In this JOURNAL (vol. vii p. 571) I was able to enumerate twelve MSS. I have since then discovered three others: Zürich, Kantonsbibliothek (Rheinau) XII (saec. X), XXXII (saec. X), the latter being imperfect: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional I (saec. XII). I have further to point out that the Einsiedeln MS is imperfect; that the St Gall MS 435 is almost worthless; and that the Paris MS, as Dr Holder informs me, was formerly at Reichenau, and is, perhaps, the best of all. The Boulogne MS is probably a copy of the St Omer MS, or else both are copies of one original. The imperfect British Museum MS was one of those used by the first editor.¹ It is probable that there are a good many other MSS of this work on the Continent. The difficulty of identifying them from catalogues is

¹ *The Commentary of Pelagius: the Problem of its Restoration* (Proceedings of the British Academy vol. ii p. 431 [= p. 23]).

very great, as they are generally anonymous and may be catalogued in so many different ways. From the early dates of the MSS it looks as if Zmaragdus's work had passed almost entirely out of use after the tenth century.

The Authorities Used. Hilary, Cyril, Fulgentius, Eucherius and Tyconius are very rarely cited, Cyprian perhaps never. The quotations from Victor (of Capua probably), Pelagius, and Frigulus (?) have been discussed at some length by Pitra in his appendix, and those from Pelagius have been further discussed by Riggenbach and by Hellmann in his *Sedulius Scottus*. The identity of the mysterious Frigulus seems as far from being discovered as ever. In the preface he appears variously in MSS as *Figulus*, *Frigulus*, *Fidulus*, and the contractions in the body of the work which appear to represent him vary somewhat. The first editor has made one serious mistake. He has expanded \bar{P} always as 'Primasius', not having observed that $\bar{P}R$, $\bar{P}R\bar{I}$, which occur only in comments on the Apocalypse, are the symbols for Primasius, and that \bar{P} , which occurs only in comments on St Paul's epistles, means therefore Pelagius. It was, I believe, on this slender foundation, and on it only, that Gagney in the following year (1857) published under Primasius's name the anonymous commentary, which I have proved to be that of Cassiodorus, and which he had found in a MS now at Grenoble.¹ All the quotations labelled \bar{P} belong therefore either to the pure Pelagius commentary or to some adaptation of it. The quotations from $\bar{O}R$, $\bar{O}R\bar{I}$, which the author gives in commenting on the Epistle to the Hebrews, are criticized by Riggenbach in his masterly monograph (*Die ältesten lateinischen Kommentare zum Hebräerbrief* [Leipzig, 1907] p. 7 ff).

I have endeavoured to track all the quotations made on the Pauline Epistles to their original sources. The most remarkable thing about them is that neither the Ambrosiaster nor the Latin translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia was used by him. The following appear to be the only authorities he employed for this part of the work: Origen-Rufinus on *Romans*, Jerome on *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, Pelagius, Pseudo-Jerome on *Second Corinthians*, Chrysostom (*Homilies on First and Second Corinthians?*), Cassiodorus (*Complexiones?*), Isidore (*On First Corinthians?*), Cyril (on *Philippians*), Victor of Capua, Gregory, Chrysostom-Mucian on *Hebrews*, Augustine *De Diversis Quaestionibus*, and the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*.²

¹ Riggenbach agrees (*Theol. Literaturblatt* xxviii [1907] 74-75); Souter *Comm. Pelag.* 428 [= 20].

² The passages are given in the 'prolegomena' to my edition (*CSEL*, vol. 1 908] p. xxvi).

Errors of Printed Editions. In this section I propose to give all the certain corrections of wrong attributions in the editions, which collation of the MSS has enabled me to make. The MSS collated are the Bodleian, British Museum, Paris, Berlin, Einsiedeln, St Gall 424 and St Gall 435; but to save space and confusion I refrain from mentioning MSS, except where the truth is doubtful.¹ The numbers and letters indicate pages of Migne *P. L.* cii. Though the fortunate possessor of a copy of the *editio princeps*, I have refrained from quoting it, because of its excessive rarity. The left-hand column contains the place of the error, the right-hand the correction.

*Migne.**Corrections.*

- At the first lection. There is evidence of two recensions in the MSS, both of which ought to be represented.
- 17 C Before *Ipsa est* insert '(ex August.)'.
D After *unici Filii sui* insert section from Origen.
- 18 A After *filii resurrectionis* insert a section from Ambrose, beginning *Filium Dei dicens*.
B At *ostendit* Sang. 435 has $\overline{\text{OR}}$.
D At *Hoc est, uidebunt* Sang. 435 has $\overline{\text{EOR}}$.
- 19 B For 'Ex Hieron.' substitute $\overline{\text{FI}}$, $\overline{\text{FR}}$ or $\overline{\text{FRI}}$ (i. e. Frigulus).
D The 'Ex Beda' should be transferred to *Notandum quod ait* above.
- 20 A At *In utero, inquit, habens* the Paris MS has $\overline{\text{FR}}$.
B *Vulg.* is absurd and wrong here and everywhere else. MSS here have $\overline{\text{V}}$ (i. e. Victor).
- 21 A See 20 B (MSS $\overline{\text{V}}$, $\overline{\text{VI}}$).
At *Tinebat namque* two (or three) MSS have $\overline{\text{H}}$.
- 24 A The Paris MS has $\overline{\text{B}}$ opposite *prospera*.
- 29 D Some begin the Cassiod. quotation at *Ecce habes*.
- 32 B See 20 B. MSS have $\overline{\text{VIC}}$.
- 33 A The Paris MS has $\overline{\text{AG}}$ opposite *Et quis est* and $\overline{\text{H}}$ opposite *Ut testimonium*.
B The Paris MS has $\overline{\text{VIC}}$ opposite *Vos estis*.
- 34 B See 20 B. MSS have $\overline{\text{VIC}}$.
C Insert '(ex Beda)' before *Carnalis quippe nostra*.
- 35 C After *et Deus* some MSS have a bit of Aug.
- 36 D At *Quia plenus* insert '(ex Origene)'. At *Stantem* insert '(ex Hieron.)'.
- 37 A At *Cum Dominus* insert '(ex Beda)'.
D At *Videte* insert '(ex Beda)'.
- 40 B At *Et pulchre* the Berlin MS has $\overline{\text{R}}$.
- 45 A At *Non inquit* Paris MS has $\overline{\text{B}}$.
- 46 D Insert '(ex Beda)' at *Hic manifeste*.

¹ I have refrained from using the readings of the Boulogne MS, recorded on pp. 1115-1118, because I have not verified them.

- | <i>Migne.</i> | <i>Corrections.</i> |
|---------------|--|
| 47 D | At <i>In hoc istarum</i> Paris MS has \bar{B} . |
| 48 B | At <i>Agnus</i> insert '(ex Primas.)'. |
| D | At <i>Magna vox</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 49 A | At <i>Quid per</i> insert '(ex Primas.)'. |
| B | At <i>Concitharistae</i> (<i>cum citharistae</i> codd.) <i>Dei</i> insert '(ex Beda)'.
At <i>Quid per canticum</i> insert '(ex Primas.)'. At <i>Hoc (hunc</i>
<i>codd.) enim canticum</i> insert '(ex Cassiod.)'. |
| C | At <i>Quod nulla</i> insert '(ex Primas.)'. At <i>Sedes Ecclesia</i> insert
'(ex Cassiod.)'. At <i>Quattuor enim animalia</i> insert '(ex
Primas.)'. |
| 50 A | At <i>Singulariter canticum</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| B | At <i>quando ueniat</i> the Einsiedeln MS has $\bar{P}\bar{R}\bar{I}$. |
| C | At <i>redempti pretioso</i> the Einsiedeln MS has \bar{B} . |
| 51 C | At <i>Non dicit</i> insert '(ex Frigulo)' (MSS have variously \bar{F} ,
$\bar{P}\bar{R}\bar{I}$, $\bar{F}\bar{L}$). Insert at <i>Quia Babylon</i> '(ex Io. Chrys.)'. |
| D | Insert at <i>Possumus quoque</i> '(ex Beda)'. |
| 52 A | Insert at <i>Aegyptus tenebrae</i> '(ex Frigulo)' (MSS have \bar{F} , $\bar{F}\bar{I}$).
Insert at <i>Quod dicit</i> '(ex Beda)'. |
| B | Insert at <i>Hoc dicimus in</i> '(ex Hieron.)'. Insert at <i>Quod</i>
<i>iterum</i> '(ex Frigulo)' (MSS have \bar{F}). Insert at <i>Potest</i>
<i>tamen</i> '(ex Orig.)'. |
| C | Insert at <i>In morte innocentium</i> '(ex Beda)'. |
| 53 A | Insert at <i>Quod autem dicitur</i> '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| B | Insert at <i>Quid enim Rama</i> '(ex Io. Chrys.)'. At <i>Spiritualiter</i>
<i>vox</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| C | At <i>De Rachel</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. At <i>Figuraliter autem</i>
insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| D | At <i>Plorat autem</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. At <i>Spiritualiter Rachel</i>
insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 58 B | At <i>Non utique</i> perhaps insert '(ex August.)'. (MSS are
confused here, giving \bar{A} , $\bar{A}\bar{G}$ at <i>Circumciditur</i> which belongs
to Ambrose, and at <i>Non utique</i> \bar{A} , $\bar{A}\bar{M}$, $\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{B}$, though the
passage does not appear in him.) |
| 61 B | At <i>Non solum ab</i> insert '(ex Ambros.)'. |
| 63 A | At <i>Secundum acceptam</i> the Berlin MS gives \bar{H} . |
| B | At <i>Si enim</i> insert '(ex [Pseudo-] August.)'. |
| D | Insert '(ex Pelag.)' at <i>Mulier non</i> (so the Berlin MS: the
Bodleian and Paris MSS give \bar{P} not there, but at <i>In eo</i>
<i>autem</i> , while the British Museum MS gives \bar{A} at the latter
place). |
| 65 D | At <i>Duae</i> four MSS give \bar{A} , which may mean Augustine.
I cannot find the passage in Ambr. |
| 66 A | For '(Ex Hieron.)' read '(Ex Beda)'. At <i>Nos quippe</i> insert
'(Ex Hieron.)'. |
| C | At <i>Sed (et Migne) usque</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 67 A | (At <i>Nam Anna</i> MSS give \bar{A}). |
| C | (At <i>Multorum</i> MSS give \bar{A}). |

- | <i>Migne.</i> | <i>Corrections.</i> |
|---------------|--|
| 71 A | At <i>Pulchre autem</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 72 B | See 20 B. MSS give \bar{V} . At <i>Alii dicunt</i> insert '(ex Frigulo)' (MSS give \bar{F}). |
| 73 D | At <i>Natiuitate</i> Einsiedeln MS gives \hat{A} (?). |
| 76 D | Some MSS omit <i>Dum enim—discutimus, aberremus</i> . |
| 77 A | |
| 80 C | At <i>Donum</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| D | At <i>De ministerio</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| 81 B | At <i>Maxime</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| C | At <i>Tota puritas</i> insert '(ex Pelag.)'. |
| 82 A | At <i>Ac si</i> insert '(ex Pelag.)'. |
| B | At <i>Hoc si</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| | At <i>Ne per</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| D | At <i>Propter gaudium</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| 83 C | At <i>Habenda</i> the Einsiedeln MS gives \bar{H} . |
| 84 B | At <i>Superbe</i> (<i>Superbia</i> ed.) substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| 85 C | At <i>Quod Dominus</i> Paris MS has \bar{I} . |
| 86 A | The Bodleian and Paris MSS. give the $\bar{A}\bar{G}$ of 85 D at <i>Hora ergo</i> and <i>Nondum venit</i> respectively. |
| B | The Bodleian MS gives \bar{B} at <i>Sciebat</i> . |
| 87 B | The Bodleian MS gives \bar{B} at <i>Et quidem potuit</i> . |
| 89 C | The Einsiedeln MS gives \bar{P} at <i>Modo meruisti</i> . |
| 91 A | At <i>Qui sibi</i> insert '(ex Orig.)'. |
| B | At <i>Nolite in</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. At <i>Si malum</i> insert '(ex Orig.)'. |
| C | At <i>Humana</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| 92 A | At <i>Quod uestrum</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| B | At <i>Aut fugiendo</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| 93 A | Insert '(ex Pelag.)' at <i>Ille dicitur</i> . |
| 94 C | The Bodleian and Paris MSS give another \bar{B} at <i>In testimonium illis</i> . |
| 99 A | At <i>Suscitant</i> the Einsiedeln MS gives $\bar{O}\bar{R}$. |
| D | For '(Ex Hieron.)' substitute '(ex Frigulo)'. (MSS give $\bar{F}\bar{R}$, \bar{F} .) |
| 103 A | At <i>Ad undecimam</i> the Einsiedeln MS gives A. At <i>Pensate, fratres</i> the Bodleian MS gives \bar{G} . |
| 104 D | At <i>Id est</i> the Berlin MS gives \bar{B} . |
| 105 B | At <i>Hoc est, si</i> the British Museum MS gives $\bar{O}\bar{R}$. |
| C | At <i>Ut minus</i> the Berlin MS has $\bar{I}\bar{H}$.
The section from Bede is sometimes not at this point but at the end of the passages for this day. |
| 107 C | The Einsiedeln MS omits <i>Numquid iam . . . campum quaesivit</i> . |
| 111 B | Transfer the '(Ex Greg.)' from <i>Et tamen</i> to <i>Mirum quomodo</i> above. |
| 114 B | For (<i>Vulg.</i>) see 20 B. MSS have $\bar{V}\bar{I}$, $\bar{V}\bar{I}\bar{C}$, $\bar{V}\bar{T}$. |
| D | At <i>Leuem</i> MS Sang. 424 has \bar{P} , and at <i>Non excidit</i> \bar{A} . |
| 115 B | At <i>Exemplo</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |

- | <i>Migne.</i> | <i>Corrections.</i> |
|---------------|--|
| 115 B | At <i>Sic ergo</i> substitute '(ex Aug.)' for '(ex Ambrosio)'. |
| C | At <i>Ostendit</i> substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for '(ex Primas.)'. |
| | At <i>Aenigma est</i> substitute '(ex Aug.)' for '(ex Amb.)'. |
| 117 D | At <i>Quid isti designant</i> the British Museum MS has \bar{G} , suggesting that some other author has been used just before. |
| 119 B | See 91 C. |
| C | See 91 C. |
| C, D | There is some uncertainty about the source and the labelling of the section <i>Id est . . . institutum</i> . The Berlin MS gives \bar{P} , and the British Museum MS gives \bar{P} at <i>Nemo</i> instead of \bar{H} . |
| 120 B | For '(ex Ambros.)' substitute '(ex [Pseudo-] Aug.)'. |
| D | For '(ex Ambr.)' substitute '(ex Aug.)'. |
| 121 B | See 91 C. |
| D | Substitute '(ex Aug.)' for '(ex Ambr.)'. |
| 125 B | Substitute '(ex Aug.)' for '(ex Ambros.)'. (The Berlin MS has \bar{P} at <i>Tentatur quadraginta</i> !) |
| 126 D | See 20 B. MSS have \bar{V} , \bar{VI} . |
| 127 B | Substitute '(ex Aug.)' for '(ex Amb.)', and for '(Ex Fulg.)' '(ex Frigulo)': in the latter case MSS have \bar{FRI} , \bar{F} . |
| 128 C | At <i>Dicens diabolus</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 129 C | See 91 C. |
| 130 A | At <i>Uus, id est</i> insert '(ex Pelag.)'. |
| 131 C | The Bodleian MS gives \bar{B} opposite <i>Et alias oues</i> . |
| D | The Bodleian MS gives \bar{B} opposite <i>Notandum sane</i> . |
| 133 A | See 91 C. |
| 136 C | The Bodleian and St Gall 435 MSS give \bar{B} at <i>Non haec</i> . |
| 137 C | (The Paris MS gives \bar{R} opposite <i>Iste est digitus</i> .) |
| D | At <i>Igitur manus</i> the Bodleian and Paris MSS give \bar{A} . |
| 138 B | For '(Ex Beda)' substitute '(ex Aug.)'. |
| 139 C | At <i>Inmundus</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 142 C | At <i>Iesus ergo</i> Einsiedeln MS gives \bar{G} (?). |
| 148 D | See 91 C. |
| 149 A | The MSS give \bar{A} . Probably substitute 'Aug.' for 'Ambr.' |
| D | The Paris MS gives \bar{P} at <i>Id est Ecclesiae</i> . This is right: therefore expand to '(ex Pelag.)'. |
| 150 B | At <i>Qui possunt</i> MSS give \bar{A} : therefore expand to either '(ex Aug.)' or '(ex Ambr.)'. |
| C | At <i>Nunc igitur</i> insert '(ex Isidoro)'. |
| 160 C | At <i>Genus humanum</i> insert '(ex August.)'. |
| 166 A | Transfer '(ex Orig.)' from <i>Si enim</i> to <i>et in hac ipsa</i> , and see Riggensbach, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 7 ff. |
| 168 C | Insert '(ex August.)' at <i>Quem uult</i> . |
| 174 D | At <i>Post duos dies</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. At <i>Hoc sane iuxta</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 175 A | At <i>Congregantur</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| B | At <i>Mulier ista Maria</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |

- | <i>Migne.</i> | <i>Corrections.</i> |
|---------------|---|
| 176 D | At <i>Multi hodie</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 177 C | At <i>In alio euangelista</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 178 A | My MSS give nothing here. Substitute '(ex Beda)' for '(ex Hieron.)' (?). |
| C | At <i>Frangit autem ipse</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 179 B | Insert '(ex Hieron.)' at <i>Hoc est, quod</i> . |
| C | Insert '(ex Beda)' at <i>Potest autem hymnus</i> . |
| 180 A | Insert '(ex Beda)' at <i>Cum uero Satanas</i> . |
| B | My MSS lack both instances of '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 181 A | At <i>Quod autem</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. At <i>Hoc aduersus</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| B | At <i>Lucas autem ait</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 182 A | At <i>Ac si diceret</i> Paris MS has \bar{H} . |
| B | At <i>In alio euangelio</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| C | At <i>Postquam plenitudo gentium</i> Paris MS has \bar{H} . |
| 183 B | At <i>Refert Iosephus</i> Paris MS has \bar{H} . |
| D | At <i>Sed falsus testis est</i> Paris MS has \bar{H} . |
| 184 A | At <i>Altiore autem</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| C | At <i>Ut compleretur</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. At <i>Uelauerunt</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| D | At <i>Non quod alterius</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 185 D | At <i>Hoc est quod</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 186 C | At <i>Pilatus autem accepit</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| D | At <i>Pro regia</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 187 C | At <i>In chlamide coccinea</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 189 C | Opposite <i>Postquam autem</i> Bodleian MS has \bar{N} , perhaps by error for \bar{H} , as elsewhere. |
| D | My MSS have no '(Ex August.)'. |
| 190 D | At <i>Blasphemabant</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'.
Opposite <i>mouebant capita</i> Berlin MS has \bar{B} . |
| 191 B | The Bodleian and Paris MSS have \bar{G} opposite <i>Nunc autem manet</i> , and \bar{R} the former opposite <i>Fidem namque</i> , the latter opposite <i>Spem habuit</i> . |
| D | At <i>uelut impium scelus</i> insert '(ex Victore)': MSS have $\bar{V}\bar{I}$, \bar{V} . |
| 192 A | At <i>Rationis igitur</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 193 A | My MSS have no '(ex Beda)', but opposite <i>Lignum aduersus</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)'. |
| B | Insert at <i>Velum templi scissum</i> '(ex Hieron.)' and withdraw it from <i>In Euangelio</i> . |
| C | At <i>Quaerendum est utrum</i> Bodleian MS has \bar{B} . |
| 194 C | See 20 B. MSS have $\bar{V}\bar{I}$, \bar{V} . |
| 196 A | At <i>Decurio uocatur</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. At <i>Magnae quidem Ioseph</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| D | After <i>promisisti</i> the Einsiedeln and Berlin MSS add a little.
At <i>De monumento</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 198 D | At <i>Non suffecerat</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |

- | <i>Migne.</i> | <i>Corrections.</i> |
|---------------|---|
| 200 A | At <i>Hoc loco</i> insert '(ex Pelag.)', but MS Sang. 424 has \bar{H} . |
| B | For '(Ex Ioan. Chrys.)' substitute '(ex Cyrill.)'. MSS have $\bar{C}\bar{Y}$. Transfer '(Ex August.)' to <i>Cum igitur</i> . |
| C | Substitute '(ex Cyrill.)' for '(Ex Chrys.)'. MSS have again $\bar{C}\bar{Y}$. |
| D | At <i>Nomen habitus dicitur</i> insert '(ex August.)'. |
| 201 D | At <i>Quomodo accepit</i> insert '(ex Victore)'. MSS have $\bar{V}\bar{I}$, \bar{V} , $\bar{V}\bar{I}\bar{G}$ (<i>sic</i>). |
| 202 A | At <i>Praeter Einsiedeln</i> MS has $\bar{A}\bar{C}\bar{M}$ (i. e. it corrects an orig. Aug. to Ambr.). |
| B | After this day follows the <i>Passio</i> in the Paris and St Gall 424 MSS. |
| 220 B | At <i>Haec</i> MS Sang. 424 has \bar{V} . |
| 222 C | For '(Ex August.)' substitute '(Ex Frigulo)'. MSS have $\bar{F}\bar{R}\bar{I}$, $\bar{F}\bar{E}$, $\bar{F}\bar{V}$. |
| 223 B | Some give '(ex August.)' at <i>In prima</i> , etc. |
| C | See 20 B. MSS have $\bar{V}\bar{I}$, \bar{V} . |
| 225 A | At <i>In Evangelio Lucae</i> insert '(ex Beda)', but British Museum MS has \bar{G} . |
| 226 A | At <i>Et introeuntes</i> Bodleian MS has F. |
| B | At <i>Notandum uero</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)', but the Einsiedeln MS gives \bar{G} at <i>scribit enim</i> , the Paris MS at <i>Illae ergo mulieres</i> . |
| 229 A | Insert '(ex Beda)' at <i>Id est, Pater</i> .
Insert '(ex Ambros. [August. ?])' at <i>Christus passus est</i> (MSS give \bar{A} , except Einsiedeln MS which gives AM). |
| B | Insert '(ex August.)' at <i>Quis suscitauit</i> . |
| 233 A | At <i>Nihil simplex</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)' (but Bodleian MS gives \bar{A}). |
| D | At <i>Iam erat</i> insert '(ex August.)'. |
| 234 D | At <i>Omnes quibus</i> insert '(ex August.)'. |
| 235 A | At <i>Dei autem</i> insert '(ex August.)'. |
| 236 A | The Berlin MS gives \bar{G} at <i>Salua historia</i> . |
| 237 A | Insert '(ex Gregor.)' at <i>Quid mirum si</i> (MS Sang. 424 gives $\bar{C}\bar{R}$). |
| B | Insert '(ex August.)' at <i>Quod heretici Manichei</i> . |
| D | At <i>Resurrectionem suam</i> Paris MS gives \bar{G} . |
| 238 B | At <i>Aliter namque</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 240 B | My MSS have no '(ex Beda)'. |
| 241 B | At <i>Notandum quod</i> Sang. 435 has \bar{B} . |
| 245 A | My MSS have no '(ex Greg.)'. |
| 246 A | My MSS have no '(ex August.)'. |
| 251 D | At <i>In corde</i> the Berlin MS has B (erased). |
| 252 A | At <i>Non solum</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 253 B | Substitute '(ex Beda)' for '(ex Primas.)'. (The editor mistook a \bar{B} for a \bar{P} , and then expanded wrongly, as always.) |
| 257 B | At <i>Pensandum</i> the Berlin MS gives \bar{G} (rightly?). |

- | <i>Migne.</i> | <i>Corrections.</i> |
|---------------|---|
| 263 D | Insert '(ex August.)' somewhere here. One MS gives it at <i>Sed ut legi</i> , another at <i>De Christo</i> , another at <i>In quo subauditur</i> . |
| 264 B | At <i>Id est quattuor</i> insert '(ex Frigulo)': Berlin MS has $\overline{\text{FRĪ}}$. |
| (274 C | At <i>Una sabbati</i> the British Museum MS gives G(?) and the Berlin MS gives B.) |
| (280 D | At <i>Et hoc</i> Berlin MS gives $\overline{\text{AG}}$.) |
| 282 B | At <i>Quod autem dicit</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 285 D | Before <i>Ostensa</i> some MSS (for example, the Einsiedeln) give a passage beginning with <i>Fecit</i> . |
| 295 B | At <i>Velocitas</i> the Einsiedeln MS gives $\overline{\text{H}}$. |
| 300 A | At <i>Sic et</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| (303 B | Here British Museum MS ends.) |
| 306 A | At <i>Rogatus</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 311 D | At <i>Cum autem dicatur</i> the Einsiedeln MS has $\overline{\text{A}}$. |
| 312 D | At <i>Quid in his</i> Einsiedeln MS has $\overline{\text{G}}$ (?). |
| (316 D | The Einsiedeln MS ends here.) |
| 328 B | At <i>Probatio</i> the Bodleian MS has $\overline{\text{G}}$. |
| 332 A | My MSS are without '(ex Beda)'. |
| 339 C | At <i>Princeps scilicet</i> the Paris MS has $\overline{\text{B}}$. |
| 343 D | At <i>Quomodo</i> the Berlin MS has $\overline{\text{B}}$. |
| 349 A | At <i>Nonnulli autem</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)'. |
| 350 C | At <i>O quanta</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)'. |
| 355 D | For '(ex Hieron.)' substitute '(ex Gregor.)'. |
| 358 C | At <i>Hanc ergo</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 360 C | At <i>Quia non solum</i> insert '(ex Beda)'.
At <i>ad conuiscendum</i> Bodleian MS has $\overline{\text{G}}$. |
| 363 A | At <i>Si quis</i> insert '(ex Orig.)'. |
| 367 A | At <i>Quidam etiam</i> the Paris and Berlin MSS give $\overline{\text{P}}$. |
| 369 B | At <i>Dimittere nos</i> insert '(ex Victore)' (MSS have $\overline{\text{VIC}}$, $\overline{\text{V}}$). |
| 374 B | At <i>Dominum autem</i> Berlin MS gives $\overline{\text{S}}$. |
| 375 A | My MSS have no '(ex Beda)'. |
| 377 B | (At <i>Potest</i> the Berlin MS has $\overline{\text{q}}$). |
| 378 A | At <i>Non quod</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. |
| 379 D | At <i>Plerumque iustitia</i> insert '(ex Beda)'. |
| 380 A | At <i>Qui enim</i> the Berlin MS gives $\overline{\text{M}}$. |
| C | At <i>Non inmerito</i> insert '(ex Ambr.)'. |
| (381 A | At <i>Sicera</i> the Berlin MS has $\overline{\text{M}}$: possibly therefore the $\overline{\text{M}}$ at 380 A should be $\overline{\text{B}}$.) |
| B | My MSS are without the '(ex Amb.)'. |
| 382 A | My MSS are without the '(ex Hier.)', but the Bodleian MS has $\overline{\text{SQR}}$ at <i>Hoc est ab</i> (382 B). |
| 385 A | At <i>Neque poterat</i> the Paris MS has $\overline{\text{M}}$. |
| 388 C | See 20 B. MSS have $\overline{\text{VI}}$, $\overline{\text{V}}$. |
| 389 D | For '(ex Iosepho)' the Paris MS has $\overline{\text{B}}$, no doubt rightly. |
| 391 A | At <i>Philippus iste</i> put the '(Ex Hieron.)' which is given below, and erase it there. |

Migne.

Corrections.

- 392 B This '(ex Fulgentio)' is very doubtful. The only MSS which give anything are the Berlin, which gives $\overline{\text{FIN}}$, and the Sang. 424 which gives $\overline{\text{ERL}}$. Therefore probably read '(ex Frigulo)'.
- 393 B At *Verbum* (v. l. *uotum*) *ipsum* insert '(ex Hieron.)'.
- 398 A At *Hic discimus* MSS have $\overline{\text{A}}$: therefore perhaps expand '(ex Ambr.)'.
- 401 A My MSS are without '(ex Orig.)'.
- D See 91 C.
- 403 A See 91 C.
- 404 A At *Id est* insert '(ex Frigulo)'. (The Paris MS has $\overline{\text{FRI}}$, the Sang. 424 has $\overline{\text{AG}}$ by anticipation.)
- 405 A At *Gehenna nomen* insert '(ex Frigulo)'. (MSS have $\overline{\text{FRI}}$, $\overline{\text{FRA}}$, $\overline{\text{FI}}$.)
- B At *Docet utique* insert '(ex Hilar.)'. (MSS have $\overline{\text{HIL}}$, $\overline{\text{NIL}}$.)
At *Si in mentem* perhaps we ought to substitute '(ex Ambr.)'.
(MSS have $\overline{\text{A}}$.)
- 406 C See 91 C.
- D See 91 C.
- 407 B At *Romanis militibus* the Bodleian MS has $\overline{\text{NIL}}$: therefore insert '(ex Hilaro)'.
- C At *Ergo stipendium* the Bodleian MS has $\overline{\text{A}}$.
Insert '(ex Pelag.)' at *Non dixit*, or rather at *Ergo qui*.
- 408 A For '(ex Beda)' substitute '(ex August.)' [or '(ex Ambr.)'].
(MSS have $\overline{\text{A}}$.)
- 411 B See 91 C.
- C My MSS are defective in omitting the '(ex Pelag.)', which should come at *Hoc enim dicit*, the '(Ex Orig.)' at *Qui ergo*, and the '(ex Pelag.)' which should come at 412 A.
- 412 A See 91 C.
- (B MSS have $\overline{\text{A}}$.)
- 413 D At *Spinis reor* insert '(ex Beda)'.
- 414 B The extract from Bede is different in the Paris MS.
- D The last two-thirds of the Epistle for 'Hebdomada X post Pentecost.' differ greatly in MSS.
- 416 A After *tribulationibus probat* there is in some MSS an extract labelled $\overline{\text{A}}$. In some of these MSS the rest of the comm. on the Lesson is cited only from $\overline{\text{IS}}$ and $\overline{\text{A}}$. The Isidore extract begins *Mortuo Aaron*.
- C See 91 C. Substitute '(ex August.)' for '(ex Hieron.)'.
(MSS have $\overline{\text{A}}$.)
- D See 91 C.
- 417 A At *Humana* Sang. 435 has $\overline{\text{P}}$. Opposite *id est* the Bodleian and Sang. 435 MSS have $\overline{\text{A}}$, and are rightly without '(Ex August.)' at *Fidelis qui*.
- 418 B Opposite *Ablata quippe* the Paris MS has $\overline{\text{PRIS}}$, and opposite *Medicare confusionis* has $\overline{\text{A}}$.

<i>Migne.</i>	<i>Corrections.</i>
418 C	Opposite <i>Cadus Graece</i> the Paris MS has \bar{G} .
420 A	My MSS are without '(ex Orig.)'.
421 D	Substitute '(ex Gregor.)' for '(ex Beda)'.
427 D	At <i>At cum ea</i> the MS Sang. 424 has A.
433 D	See 91 C.
437 A	See 91 C.
439 D	See 91 C.
443 A	At <i>Hic certe</i> insert '(ex August.)'.
B	See 91 C.
(C	At <i>Ac si</i> the Paris MS has \bar{A} wrongly, and the Berlin MS has a letter erased.)
D	Opposite <i>Ita timor</i> the Berlin MS has a letter erased.
444 A	See 91 C. Substitute '(ex Pelag.)' for the second '(ex Primas.)' also, and transfer it to <i>Quidam mediatorum Mosen</i> .
445 A	See 91 C.
446 B	About opposite <i>Et ecce</i> the Berlin MS has one letter erased in margin.
C	Opposite <i>Dum legisperito</i> the Berlin MS has one letter erased.
D	Opposite <i>Homo</i> the Berlin MS has one letter erased.
447 D	Opposite <i>Iumentum eius</i> Paris MS has NIL (IL in ligature): this points to HIL.
449 B	At <i>Hoc tripliciter</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'.
451 C	The words <i>de Neotericis Graecum uersum transferens</i> , omitted in at least two MSS, would appear to be no part of the text.
454 C	At <i>Samaritanus</i> Sang. 435 gives \bar{H} .
D	At <i>Unum si</i> Sang. 435 gives \bar{S} .
456 A	See 91 C.
C	See 91 C.
457 A	See 91 C.
B	See 91 C.
458 B	See 91 C. At <i>Id est, qui</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)', and remove it from before <i>Praeuidentis</i> .
C	See 91 C. Correct '(Ex Primas.)' (alt.) to '(ex Hieron.)'.
459 A	See 91 C.
B	See 91 C.
C	At <i>id est</i> insert '(ex Pelag.)'.
460 B	At <i>Patietur</i> insert '(ex August.)'.
461 A	'(Ex Fulg.)' is probably wrong. Substitute '(Ex Frigulo)': MSS have \bar{F} , $\bar{F}\bar{I}$. Substitute for '(Ex Hilar.)' '(ex Hieron.)'.
463 B	At <i>Haec est communio</i> insert '(ex August.)' [or '(ex Ambr.)'].
464 D	Insert at <i>Naim ciuitas</i> '(ex Beda)'.
465 A	At <i>Ecce defunctus</i> , at <i>Qui bene</i> and at <i>Nam et electus</i> the Berlin MS has a letter erased in margin.
B	At <i>Et haec uidua</i> the Berlin MS has a letter erased in margin.
467 D	My MSS have nothing here.
473 B	For '(Ex Fulg.)' substitute '(ex Frigulo)'. (MSS have $\bar{F}\bar{R}\bar{I}$, $\bar{F}\bar{I}$, \bar{F} .) At <i>Pharisaei et</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'.

<i>Migne.</i>	<i>Corrections.</i>
474 C	Opposite in <i>reliquis</i> Paris MS has \bar{B} .
478 C	Two MSS give the \bar{B} at <i>Nota quod</i> , not at <i>Notandum</i> .
483 B	At <i>Curatio paralytici</i> insert '(ex Beda)'.
486	My MSS give none of the ascriptions.
492 A	At <i>Aestimo</i> insert '(ex August.)'.
B	Opposite <i>sed a quibusdam</i> the Berlin MS gives \bar{H} .
D	At <i>Non aduersus</i> the Berlin MS gives \bar{P} , probably by anticipation: the others give nothing.
493 A	See 91 C. For '(Ex August.)' substitute '(Ex Hieron.)'.
D	See 91 C.
494 A	See 91 C.
D	See 91 C. At <i>Fidelis quasi</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'.
500 D	My MSS have no '(Ex August.)'.
502 A	The '(Ex August.)' should be transferred to <i>Id est, me</i> , where the Bodleian and Berlin MSS give it, but the ascription to Aug. is an error, probably going back to the archetype: read '(ex Pelag.)'.
506 D	At <i>Octauum signum</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'. Substitute '(Ex Beda)' for '(Ex Primas.)'. Cf. 253 B.
508 D	See 20 B (Paris MS has \bar{VI}). At <i>Ubi tetragrammaton</i> MS Sang. 424 has \bar{OR} .
510 D	For '(Ex Eucherio)' substitute '(Ex Frigulo)'. (MSS have \bar{FRI} , \bar{F} .)
511 A	For '(Ex Fulg.)' substitute '(ex Frigulo)'. (MSS have \bar{FI} , \bar{F} .)
C	For '(Ex Fulgentio)' substitute '(ex Frigulo)'. (MSS have \bar{ER} , \bar{F} .)
517 B	See 91 C, but the '(Ex Pelag.)' ought to come at <i>Sicut audire</i> .
C	At <i>Quoniam Iesse</i> insert '(ex Orig.)'.
518 B	At <i>Quod uero dicit</i> insert '(ex Beda)'.
521 C	Substitute '(Ex Frigulo)' for '(Ex Fulgent.)'. (MSS have \bar{FRI} , \bar{FR} .)
523 D	At <i>His uerbis</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)'.
524 B	At <i>Quod ergo</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)'.
525 D	At <i>Soluere calciamentum</i> insert '(ex Victore)'. (MSS have \bar{VL} .)
526 A	At <i>Bethania villa</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)'.
528 A	At <i>Permisit tradi</i> insert '(ex Pelag.)'. (MSS have \bar{P} .)
C	At <i>Numquid accusare</i> MS Sang. 424 wrongly gives \bar{OR} .
532 C	For '(Ex Beda)' the Paris MS gives \bar{G} .
538 C	At <i>Aliter lumbos</i> insert '(ex Gregor.)'.
545 B	For '(Ex Fulg.)' the Paris MS reads \bar{N} : read probably '(Ex Frigulo)'.
546 D	For '(Ex Hieron.)' substitute '(ex Frigulo)'. (Berlin MS has \bar{F} .)
547 B	At <i>Crebris paraboliarum</i> insert '(ex Hieron.)', removing it from <i>Thesaurus iste</i> .
548 B	Opposite <i>cum autem uenerit</i> Paris MS has \bar{N} , but whole section is Jerome.

<i>Migne.</i>	<i>Corrections.</i>
549 C	Insert '(ex Hieron.)' at <i>Hanc parabolam.</i>
D	Insert '(ex August.)' at <i>Lampades autem.</i>
	Insert '(ex Tyconio)' at <i>Ergo non possunt.</i>
550 A	Substitute '(ex Ambr.)' for '(Ex August.)'.
	Insert '(ex Gregor.)' at <i>Per oleum.</i>
B	Insert '(ex August.)' at <i>Laetitia.</i>
C	Insert '(ex Hieron.)' at <i>Consequenter.</i>
D	Insert '(ex Hieron.)' at <i>Per angelorum.</i>
551 A	(The Paris MS gives \bar{A} opposite <i>virgines surgunt</i> , the Berlin MS opposite <i>Oportet.</i>)
B	For '(Ex Hieron.)' my MSS give nothing.
D	At <i>Euntibus</i> for '(Ex Aug.)' the Berlin MS. gives \bar{G} .
552 A	Opposite <i>O si sapere</i> Berlin MS gives \bar{G} .

The defects of the printed editions in this matter of citation are sufficiently apparent. They can be paralleled by defects in the texts presented. The student is warned not to trust the editions for critical work of any sort. It is hoped that the present paper will save a good deal of vain searching after passages wrongly ascribed. I have left the MSS to speak for themselves, and have rarely searched in the original authors for verification of their testimony, except in the case of comments on the Pauline Epistles.

A. SOUTER.

RENDERINGS OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE IN THE LXX.

A VERY common usage of the Hebrew language is that of the infin. abs. of a verb in conjunction with the finite parts of the same verb, to express emphasis of some kind, e.g. *מוֹת תָּמוּת*, 'thou shalt surely die'. The translators of our English A.V. have shewn much skill and versatility in their renderings of this form of expression. Most often they employ an adverb or an adverbial phrase. The following are a few examples:—Gen. ii 16 'Thou mayest *freely* eat', xvii 13 '*must needs* be circumcised', xxxi 30 '*sore* longedst', xl 15 '*indeed* I was stolen away', 1 Sam. ii 27 '*plainly* appear', vi 3 '*in any wise* return', Is. xxiv 19 'The earth is *utterly* broken down, the earth is *clean* dissolved, the earth is moved *exceedingly*'.

The Greek translators have, for the most part, employed one of two methods for rendering the infinitive absolute, one of which is not

foreign to the spirit of the Greek language, while the other is, to say the least, distinctly unidiomatic.¹ These two methods are (1) the use of the finite verb with cognate noun, usually in the dative (sometimes in the accusative), and (2) the use of the finite verb with the participle of the same verb or a verb of kindred meaning.

Both these equivalents for the infin. abs. occur in each section of the Greek Bible, and the total number of instances of the two constructions is about the same, but there is a marked diversity between the earlier and the later books in the preference shewn for the one mode of translation or the other.

(1) The books of the Pentateuch prefer the *construction of noun and verb*, which is found in them more than twice as often as the use of part. and verb. The former construction had some classical authority in phrases like γάμψ γαμείν ('in true wedlock'), φυγή φεύγειν ('flee with all speed'), and in the use of the cognate accusative. The construction with the noun is always used in the Pent. where the verb is in the passive, e.g. Gen. xvii 13 περιτομή περιμηθήσεται, xl 15 κλοπή ἐκλάπην, Ex. xviii 18 φθορά καταφθαρήσῃ, xxi 20 δίκη ἐκδικηθήτω, xxi 22 ἐπιζήμιον ζημιωθήσεται, xxi 28 λίθους λιθοβοληθήσεται (instrum. dat.), Lev. xix 7 βρώσει βρωθή, N. xv 31 ἐκτρέψει ἐκτριβήσεται (cf. Dt. iv 26), Dt. xxi 14 πράσει οὐ πραθήσεται. Where the verb is active or middle either construction may be used, and there seems to be no very definite rule for determining the choice. Thus we have Gen. ii 16 βρώσει φάγγ beside L. vii 8 φαγὼν φάγγ, Dt. xxiv 13 ἀποδώσει ἀποδώσας beside Dt. xv. 10 διδοὺς δώσεις. But in general it may be said that the Pentateuch translators prefer the former construction wherever there is a convenient cognate noun available.

If the translations of the LXX are considered with regard to their degree of proximity to classical style, the five books of the Pentateuch stand at one extreme and the four books of 'Kingdoms' at or near the other.² In these four books all endeavour to write a good classical Greek has been abandoned: the one aim of the 'translators' is to produce a literal rendering of the Hebrew, with the natural result that they are often unintelligible. In rendering the infin. abs. these translators, apart from a single phrase³ θανάτῳ ἀποθαν(εῖται) (θανάτωσῃτε, etc.), (1 K. xiv 39, 44, xxii 16: 2 K. xii 14, xiv 14: 3 K. ii 37, 42, iii 26 f: 4 K. i 4, 6, 16, viii 10) and its opposite ζωῇ ζήσῃ (4 K. viii 10, 14), have

¹ See, however, J. H. Moulton *Grammar of N. T. Greek* vol. I p. 75 f.

² This and the following sentence apply more especially to the portions which I have elsewhere called βδ, viz. 2 K. xi 2—3 K. ii 11 and 3 K. xxii 1—4 K. end: see *J. T. S.* vol. viii pp. 262 ff.

³ The occurrence of this phrase in the familiar story of the Fall (Gen. ii 17, iii 4) probably accounts for its retention.

practically dropped the construction of verb and cognate noun and used the other construction (part. + verb) throughout. 2 K. has, besides, three instances of the noun construction, viz. i 6 περιπτώματι περιέπεσαν, xviii 3 φυγή φύγωμεν, xix 42 βρώσει ἐφάγαμεν (βρώσιν A): 1, 3 and 4 K., apart from the two phrases already named, have none. A comparison of Pentateuch and Kingdoms gives the following results (if my calculation is correct):—

Inf. absolute rendered (1) by noun + verb.	(2) by part. + verb.	
Pentateuch	108	49
1-4 Kings with θανάτω or ζωῆ	} 15 }	18
with other nouns		

In the remaining books of the LXX both constructions are used, but the participial construction preponderates except in Isaiah (8 exx. of noun to 3 of part.), Ezekiel, Micah, the A text of Joshua (2 exx. of noun to 1 of part.), and the A text of Judges (10 exx. of noun to 8 of part.).

(2) With regard to the *participial construction*, it may be noted that where this is used in the Pentateuch an attempt is often made to render it more classical by varying the verb (e.g. Gen. xviii 10 ἐπαναστρέφων ἦξω, Ex. xxi 5 ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπη, xxiii 4 ἀποστρέψας ἀποδώσεις, Lev. xiii 7 μεταβαλοῦσα μεταπίεση, xiv 48 παραγενόμενος εἰσέλθη, cf. Gen. xviii 18 γινόμενος ἔσται) or by using the simple and compound verb (Gen. xliii 7 ἐρωτῶν ἐπηρώτ., Lev. x 16 ζητῶν ἐξεζήτησεν, N. xii 14 πτύων ἐπέπτυσεν, xxx 15 σιωπῶν παρασιωπήσῃ). The use of the aorist participle also helps in the same direction. Instances of the bald use of the present participle and finite form of the same verb, such as πληθύνων πληθυνῶ Gen. iii 16, xvi 10, γινώσκων γνώσῃ Gen. xv 13, are not frequent until we come to Deuteronomy which has nine of them.

In the four books of Kingdoms, besides the great increase in the number of participial constructions, we note these further points. (i) This construction is used even where the main verb is passive, e.g. 1 K. ii 27 ἀποκαλυφθεὶς ἀπεκαλύφθη, 2 K. vi 20 ἀποκαλύπτεται ἀποκαλυφθεὶς, xx 18 ἠρωτημένος ἠρωτήθη(ν) (where there is a doublet with ἐρωτῶντες ἐπερωτήσουσιν), 3 K. ix 6 ἀποστραφέντες ἀποστραφήτε: (ii) the second instance quoted above shews that the usual order of words is sometimes reversed (cf. 1 K. x 16, xiv 30, xx 21, 2 K. xvii 9): (iii) the use of different verbs or simple and compound verb is abandoned (the nearest approach to this is seen in 1 K. xx 21 εἶπω λέγων, 3 K. xiii 32 γινόμενον ἔσται, 4 K. xiv 10 τύπτων ἐπάταξας).

The use of the passive participle occurs also in Jeremiah (iii 1, x 5, xxviii 58, xxix 13, xxxix 28, xlv 3) and in some of the minor Prophets (Am. v 5, Mic. ii 12, Zech. xi 17 δις). The use of different verbs or roots may be illustrated by Ψ. cviii 10, cxvii 13, cxv 6.

The tense of the participle may be present or aorist. The future is used in Jd. iv 9 A πορευσομένη πορεύομαι (B πορευομένη) and in Sir. xxviii 1 διαστηριῶν διαστηρίσει (-ριεῖ): cf. Aquila Ψ. xlix 21 ἐσόμενος ἔσομαι.

(3) Once the place of the participle is taken by an adjective: N. xiii 31 δυνατοὶ δυνησόμεθα.

(4) In the B text of Jos. xvii 13 there seems to be the solitary attempt in the LXX to render the Hebrew construction quite literally: ἐξοληθρεῦσαι (A ὀλεθρεύσει) δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐξωλέθρευσαν.

(5) The method adopted by the English translators of the A.V. of using an adverb, adverbial phrase, particle or other form of paraphrase is sometimes, though sparingly, employed by the Greek translators. In the Pentateuch we have Gen. xxxii 12 καλῶς εὖ σε ποιήσω (not a doublet apparently), Ex. xv 1 ἐνδόξως δεδόξασται, N. xxii 17 ἐντίμως τιμήσω σε. In the other books we have 4 K. v 11 πάντως ἐξελεύσεται, (?) Is. lvi 3 Ἐφοριεῖ με ἄρα, and in Proverbs the infin. abs. is rendered by an adverb in the three cases where it occurs in the M T (xxiii 1 νοητῶς νόει, xxiii 24 καλῶς ἐκτρέφει, xxvii 23 γνωστῶς ἐπιγνώσῃ): in xxiv 22 a of the same book the participial construction occurs in a Greek addition (δεχόμενος εἰδέξατο). Paraphrases occur in Job xiii 10 οὐθὲν ἤττοι ἐλέγξει and (with εἰς τέλος) in Gen. xlii 4, Am. ix 8. Θανάτου ἰνοχου ἔσται replaces the usual θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται in Gen. xxvi 11.

(6) In a considerable number of passages (some fifty in all) the infinitive absolute is not rendered. The majority of these occur in the first four books of the Pentateuch and in 'Jeremiah a'.¹ The omission in the case of these books was no doubt intentional, and is not merely due to difference of text. The translators of these books shewed a greater freedom in their work. In some cases it was quite unnecessary and would have been difficult to reproduce the Hebrew construction. Cf. Gen. xlii 28 θηριόβρωτος γέγονεν with Ex. xxii 13 εἰὰν δὲ θηριώλαστον γένηται.

(7) In some passages one of the two main forms of the Greek construction is found where there is no infin. abs. in the Massoretic text. This is generally no doubt due to the translators having a different text from our Hebrew. Examples are Gen. xix 17, Ex. xi 9, Lev. xiv 48 (N.B. the double negative οὐ διαχύσει οὐ διαχεῖται), N. v 6 (καὶ πλημμυλῶν πλημμ.), xxx 6 = 9, 1 K. v 5, 2 K. xvii 11, 3 K. xi 34, xxii 6, Jer. iii 1 (ἀνακάμπτουσα ἀνακάμψει), xii 11, xxii 24, xli 2.

(8) Neither construction appears to be used in the 'Greek' (i.e. untranslated) books, but, as already stated, we have one instance of the participle, δεχόμενος εἰδέξατο, in a section of Proverbs (xxiv 22 a) for which there is no Hebrew equivalent extant.

¹ i.e. the first twenty-eight chapters of the Greek text. See *J. T. S.* vol. iv pp. 245 ff.

(9) The participial construction was purely 'translative' and does not appear to have been adopted in the colloquial or the literary language. There are no examples of it in the New Testament except in Old Testament quotations (Blass *Gramm. d. neut. Gr.* § 74, 4). On the other hand the New Testament has several examples of the verb with dat. of the cognate noun: in Lc. and Acts ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, ἀπειλῇ ἀπειλ., παραγγελία παρηγγ., ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεμ., in Jo. χαρᾷ χαίρει, in James προσευχῇ προσήξαστο (ibid. § 38, 3).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF NESTORIUS: SCHENUTE, ZACHARIAS, EVAGRIUS.

THE recovery of the work of Nestorius cited by Ebed Jesu under the title 'the Book of Heraclides' shews conclusively that Nestorius survived the Council of Chalcedon.¹ There is no doubt that Schenute survived Nestorius. Schenute cannot, therefore, have died on July 7, 451; and Dr Leipoldt's confident assertion² 'Schenutes Todesjahr ist und bleibt 451' must be revised in the light of the new evidence. If it is certain that he died on July 7 (the day of his commemoration) the earliest year would be the year 452—a date which on other grounds some scholars have preferred. But there are references in Schenute's writings which imply that Nestorius had been long dead, and if Schenute 'must have died in 451 or in 466', as Dr Leipoldt says before deciding for the earlier date, we must now without hesitation choose 466 as the year of his death. Part of the evidence on which Dr Leipoldt depends, in coming to his own conclusion that Schenute died in 451, is the statement of Evagrius³ that Nestorius had already departed this life at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. This statement Dr Leipoldt misrepresents in claiming the authority of Evagrius for the view that Nestorius had been already *a long time* dead (*dass Nestorios im Jahre 451 längst nicht mehr unter den Lebenden weilte*). But his argument has drawn my attention to the fact that I have myself much more seriously misrepresented the evidence of Evagrius on this point: whereas he has only overstated this evidence, I regret that I have

¹ See my *Nestorius and his teaching* p. 34 f.

² J. Leipoldt *Schenute von Atripe Texte u. Unters.* xxv, n. F. x 1 p. 46.

³ Evagrius *H. E.* ii 2.

inadvertently mis-stated it altogether.¹ I desire at once to correct the error, and, as Evagrius was clearly mistaken, to examine briefly how his mistake arose.

Evagrius, in his account of the Council of Chalcedon, quotes the statement of the historian Zacharias Rhetor (who wrote some fifty years after the Council) that Nestorius was sent for from his place of exile (*ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας μετ'ἀπεμπτον γενέσθαι* ? summoned to the Council *or* recalled from exile). He describes this statement as 'prejudiced' (*ἐμπαθῶς . . . φησί*), in accordance with his general estimate of Zacharias (a strong monophysite), and rejects it on the ground that the Council anathematized Nestorius. But he also goes on to cite evidence which in his opinion shews that Nestorius was already dead. This evidence he finds in a letter of Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, one of the bishops who had been consenting parties to the proceedings of Dioscorus at the Council of Ephesus of 449, and were therefore deposed at Chalcedon, and again reinstated on the ground that they had acted at Ephesus under constraint. A fragment of a letter of this Eustathius in defence of Leo's *Letter to Flavian* is extant;² but of the letter quoted by Evagrius nothing is known but what he tells us, viz. that it was written about the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon to two persons of the name of John, one a bishop and the other a presbyter. The passage he cites is as follows: *ὑπαντήσωμεν δὲ πάλιν οἱ ζητοῦντες Νεστορίου τὰ λείψανα τῆς συνόδου κατεβίων· οἱ ἄγριοι δὲ διὰ τί ἀναθεματίζονται; ὡς ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπιτρέψαι μακρὰν αὐτοῖς ἀπελάσαι.*

This apparently refers to some incident in the course of the Council when the Emperor was present (? at the sixth session) and means 'and those who were going to fetch the remains of Nestorius came again and cried out against the Council, saying, Why are holy men anathematized? so that the Emperor was indignant and ordered his guards to drive them off to a distance'. And the comment which Evagrius adds—'How then Nestorius was summoned (*or* recalled) when he had already departed this life (*τῶν ἐντεῦθεν μεταστάς*), I cannot tell'—shews that he understood it to mean that Nestorius was already dead.

This appears to be the only evidence Evagrius had to shew that Nestorius was then dead. It is all the evidence he adduces here, and earlier in his *History* (bk i ch. vii) he has said that he found no information in the historians as to the fortunes of Nestorius after his banishment, though he knew that one who wrote an account of his death said that his tongue was eaten by worms. His authority for this report may have been the same passage of Zacharias from which he drew the statement already mentioned. Books iii-vi of the extant Syriac

¹ *Nestorius and his teaching* p. 34.

² Migne *P. G.* lxxv 1803.

history under the name of *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene* are an epitome¹ of the work of the Zacharias (who wrote a history of the years 450-491) to which Evagrius refers, and in bk. iii ch. i, about the Council of Chalcedon, we read: 'This Marcian [the Emperor] favoured the doctrine of Nestorius, and was well disposed towards him; and so he sent by John the Tribune to recall Nestorius from his place of banishment in Oasis; and to recall also Dorotheus, the bishop who was with him. And it happened, while he was returning, that he set at naught the holy Virgin, the *Theotokos*, and said, "What is Mary? Why should she indeed be called the *Theotokos*?" And the righteous judgement of God speedily overtook him, as had been the case formerly with Arius, who blasphemed against the Son of God. Accordingly he fell from his mule, and the tongue of this Nestorius was cut off, and his mouth was eaten by worms, and he died on the roadway. And his companion Dorotheus died also.' The author goes on to represent the Emperor as greatly grieved by the death of Nestorius and in doubt as to what he should do, but yet as persisting in summoning the Council. The statement that Nestorius died in this particular way may be due to misunderstanding of a remark of Schenute about him;² and the other details of the narrative have no *vraisemblance* to recommend them. Marcian was known to be opposed to the teaching of Eutyches, and Zacharias was a hot partisan of monophysitism, one of those who thought that the Council of Chalcedon did in fact support Nestorianism. The belief that Nestorius was actually summoned to the Council might easily be entertained by one who thought that it was the teaching of Nestorius that the Council affirmed. If this evidence stood alone, we might dismiss it at once. But now that we have Nestorius's own work before us, we see that Zacharias was at least right in believing that Nestorius was alive on the eve of the Council.

The letter of Eustathius of Berytus, however, seems to shew clearly that the report of his recent death was current at the time of the Council, and that some of his friends were starting for Egypt to bring back his remains³; and this is contemporary evidence. Can its origin

¹ See the translation by F. J. Hamilton & E. W. Brooks (Methuen & Co. 1899) *Introduction* p. 2.

² See *Nestorius and his teaching* p. 36 n. 1.

³ M. E. Revillout in his article 'Sénuti le prophète', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* viii p. 571 n. 1, translates the passage cited above 'là arrivèrent ceux qui suivent avec opiniâtreté le parti de Nestorius et ils se mirent à vociférer contre le concile', and says that without the comment which Evagrius adds *en guise de conclusion* it would be indecisive. I have quoted the words as they stand in the text of Valois and of Bidez and Parmentier, and the comment of Evagrius shews that he understood them as I have translated them. (M. Revillout's rendering would

be traced? The wish is often father to the thought, and I think we can assign the source of this rumour and the tale that Zacharias tells to the 'dream' which came to Macarius, the Egyptian bishop of Tkoy, just before the Council met, while he was with Dioscorus at Constantinople, about to start for Chalcedon.¹ Afraid, as the party opposed to Nestorius obviously were, that he might be reinstated by the Council, it was clearly to their interest to have it believed that he was already dead. The narrative states that a eunuch who was devoted to Dioscorus came running to tell him that he had just heard that, four days before, the Emperor had sent to fetch Nestorius. Macarius replied that he already knew the fact, but that four nights before he had had a dream in which he found himself with Schenute in Egypt in the presence of Nestorius. 'We found the man whom they have just sent to fetch to the Council', the narrative runs, 'much weakened in body and incapable in mind of measuring himself with us . . . and I saw that Nestorius said to Schenute: Take this treasure and distribute it to the poor. The holy prophet said to him: Confess that the Virgin Mary is *Theotokos* and I will give it on your behalf. The impious Nestorius replied with his tongue that deserved to be cut off: The bishops (of Ephesus) could not persuade me to say that word, and who are you to make me say that a woman bore God as her child! That is what he said. Then Schenute replied to him: You are accursed, you and your money!—and he shook his hand over him. An angel then struck Nestorius, and he lay there three hours in great torment, and his tongue came out of his mouth. Mortification set in, and he died in a terrible way. When that took place, Schenute said to me: Go and inform the patriarch Dioscorus . . . —At that moment I awoke, and here we have letters coming now to confirm it all.' Such is the narrative, and while we allow for later embellishment of the details, we can hardly be wrong in drawing the inference from it that the report of the death of Nestorius, which was current at the time of the Council, originated with the party who wished him dead and eagerly seized on any evidence that came to their hand, whether by the 'dream' of Macarius at Constantinople or by letters from their partisans in Egypt. The letter of

require something like ζηλοῦντες for ζητοῦντες, and the sense he gives to *Νεστορίου τὰ λείψανα* is surely impossible. He also reads 'Leo' instead of 'John' as the name of the bishop and the presbyter to whom the letter was addressed.)

¹ The dream is narrated, as above, in the memorial oration which Dioscorus is said to have composed in exile at Gangra when news of the death of Macarius reached him. This oration is extant in Coptic (E. Amélineau *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux iv^e et v^e siècles* in the *Mémoires de la mission française du Caire* tom. iv). As to the question of its genuineness see Leipoldt *op. cit.* pp. 17 f, and the opinions of other scholars there cited. I quote from the French translation of M. Revillout *op. cit.* pp. 570 f.

Eustathius, accordingly, simply shews that the report spread by the enemies of Nestorius was believed by his friends at the moment, and that a casual reference to their belief at the time was accepted by Evagrius more than a hundred and forty years later as decisive evidence that Nestorius was dead at the time of the Council.

One point further remains. Evagrius had apparently handled the book of Nestorius himself which in its Syriac version is now again accessible. His reference to it (*H. E.* i 7) indicates that he dismissed it lightly as only a prolix repetition of the 'history' which he mentions. If it was the complete book as we have it, he would have found at the end of it evidence very much to his purpose. But it is easy to understand how the tedious doctrinal discussions with which it begins, and which continue all through it, may have deterred him from reading it to the end: he would not have thought it likely to contain anything of historical importance. It is, however, possible that the copy which he found was an early edition lacking the latter part which Nestorius added as a supplement¹ after he had read Leo's letter to Flavian and had heard of the proceedings at Chalcedon and the triumph there of the faith for which he had contended all his life.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

¹ *Nestorius and his teaching* p. 35.

REVIEWS

CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, von Lic. theol. Dr phil. JOHANNES LEIPOLDT. I. Teil. Die Entstehung. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1907.)

THE appearance of Dr Leipoldt's *History of the Canon of the New Testament* (part 1) is a welcome sign that the silence of Germany on this subject has at last been broken. With the exception of Holtzmann's slight sketch in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, and a rewritten section of the last edition of Julicher's *Introduction to the New Testament*, the subject has been generally avoided since Zahn published a separate and somewhat enlarged form of his article in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*. This may have been partly due to the hope still entertained by all students of the subject that the greatest living authority on the Canon will be able to complete his monumental work. Perhaps, too, the recollections of a painful controversy are partly responsible for the comparative silence of recent years. Dr Leipoldt's work has, in fact, something of the nature of an eirenicon. Whether the disputants will accept his view of the controversy, that it concerned names rather than ideas, may be open to doubt. But his estimate is worth quoting. 'Harnack understands by the New Testament Canon a collection of books possessed of authority *because regarded as Holy Scripture*. Accordingly he places the rise of the New Testament Canon at the end of the second century. Zahn, on the other hand, equally regards it as a collection of books possessed of authority, but he does not insist that this authority should be based on the thesis "The New Testament is Holy Scripture". He is satisfied if, for instance, the Gospels are an authority because of the authority of the Lord's sayings which they contain. He can therefore speak of the existence of a New Testament Canon a hundred years earlier than Harnack can. The actual facts are hardly touched by the controversy.' At any rate the writer has learnt from both the disputants, and his own conclusions are probably not far from those that will ultimately prevail. But his book is no mere balancing of opposite opinions which results in a commonplace compromise; it is an original contribution to the subject, thorough, and eminently sensible.

The writer's method is his own, and there is much to be said for it.

Dr Zahn's long sections on separate subjects leave it difficult to trace the development of the subject as a whole. The English plan of examining the witnesses in more or less chronological order, or of considering the evidence in favour of each book in turn, is only too likely to burden the memory without elucidating the subject. Dr Leipoldt tries to determine what 'Canonicity' meant to the earliest generations of Christians by examining its application to the Old Testament. He then traces the history of how the different groups of Christian writings, Apocalypses, Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Acts, attained in turn to the same position; and lastly he shews how the different lists of different centres were modified till one list prevailed throughout Christendom. The method is undoubtedly right, though it may not lend itself to the purposes of teaching. In some such way alone the development of the subject can be adequately presented.

The most original part of the book is that which deals with the Apocalypses of the early Church. The view that they were the first class of literature to attain to what may fairly be called a 'Canonical' position is open to criticism. If the notes of Canonicity are public use in the services of the Church, inerrancy, Apostolic (or quasi-Apostolic) origin, and so forth, the position of books at any definite early date in respect of one or more of these 'notes' may possibly obscure the actual position which they held in Christian estimation. No doubt prophecy was greatly honoured in early days, and the contents of prophecy as recorded in Apocalypses unhesitatingly accepted. But does it follow that the Apocalypse of John, or that of Peter, was actually esteemed more highly than the Epistles of Paul, or their contents equally venerated with the contents of the Gospels? In certain respects they may have more nearly attained to 'Canonicity'; were they more highly valued, or more influential? But perhaps this is hardly fair criticism of a history of the Canon. The writer has made a real contribution to the history of the subject by shewing clearly the position of Apocalypses at an early date, and the value attached to them in consequence of the high honour paid to prophets and their message.

Occasionally the author's general views have led him into curious interpretations of details of evidence. One instance in particular cannot be passed over without notice. The disparagement of the Apocalypse (of John) at Alexandria is no doubt the outcome of the more spiritual views which were characteristic of Origen. He hated the Chilliastic tendencies which for a long period discredited the book from which they drew their chief support. But we can hardly follow Dr Leipoldt in detecting Origen's real dislike of the Apocalypse,

which as a rule he manages to conceal, in what he says in the preface to the fifth book of the Commentary on St John. 'He remarks there that the Apostle John wrote also the Apocalypse, although he was bidden to keep silence and not to write down the utterances of the seven thunders. However one interprets this sentence, it is certain that Origen here reproaches the Apostle for acting against God's will.' Surely the whole point of Origen's remark is that there are mysteries too deep to be expressed in human speech or human words, such as the ἀρρητα ῥήματα heard by St Paul, and the voices of the thunders, which St John was forbidden to record (ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράφειν τὰς τῶν ἑπτὰ βροντῶν φωνάς). Further acquaintance with the context, and with Origen's use of σιωπᾶν and of the aorist participle would have saved the author from such questionable support for his views. And other instances of building on doubtful interpretations more than the evidence, rightly interpreted, would carry are not wanting. The author's method of dealing with the question of the position of the Gospels in the Roman Church about the year 150 is one of the more obvious. But these are blemishes which may easily be removed. The remainder of our space will be better used in quoting the general results to which the author's study of the subject has led him. 'Our New Testament is the result of a complicated history. Collections of Gospels and Apostolic letters were made very early, before the end of the first century. But it was a long time before the collections obtained Canonical authority. Comparatively soon—about the middle of the second century—men learnt to treat Apocalypses and Gospels as Holy Scripture. But Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Acts, were not so treated till one or two generations later. A longer period ensued before one single New Testament was created, which was the common possession of all Churches. Our present Canon is first found in the fourth century, in Athanasius, Damasus, Augustine. The causes which led to this developement were most various. They lie partly in the facts of the case, in the imperishable worth of the books of the New Testament, which resulted in their public reading in the services of the Church; partly "outside the facts", in the peculiar circumstances of particular provinces, in dogmatic needs, in the necessities of controversy with heretics.' No one theory, he holds, is sufficient to explain the process. 'It was a perfectly natural developement which raised to the rank of Canonical Scriptures Gospels and letters which were much used, often read, and held in reverence from the beginning.' And again 'Origen was quite right when he called the Fathers, who formed the Canon, good bankers. With the help of historical and religious criticism (*religiöser Kritik*—the phrase is worth noticing) it can be shewn that our New Testament books put Christ

before us. There is no book of the ancient Church which can be compared with the New Testament in importance for history or edification.' 'The knowledge that our New Testament contains the best sources for the history of Jesus is the most valuable knowledge which we can obtain from the early history of the Canon.' 'Whatever judgement we may form of the Christianity of the earliest times, it is certain that the men who formed the Canon had a very fine perception of the Gospel of Jesus.' These dicta are intended for laymen. The book is confessedly an attempt to provide them with an intelligible account of the subject in large type, while the notes and sections in smaller print are added for more scientific students. But the large type has much from which even Professors of Theology can learn. At the same time we may perhaps hope for some modification in a second edition. The results to which Dr Leipoldt has been led by the study of the History of the Canon, interesting as they are, will not carry conviction to all. And his statement of them is not always very fortunate. Sentences which are apparently added to justify preceding sentences do not always prove the point. There is often a looseness of statement which will hardly impress the holders of divergent opinions.

Canon and Text of the New Testament. By C. R. GREGORY.
(T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907.)

IF in many points Dr Leipoldt's work is open to serious criticism, it undoubtedly marks an advance. It makes us hope that a satisfactory history of the New Testament Canon may soon be written. The same can hardly be said of Dr Gregory's account of the Canon in the International Theological Library. It is not a history of the subject. It would be more accurately described as a tract in favour of certain views about the authenticity and general acceptance of New Testament books at an early date. Christians were great travellers, the great age to which many of them attained connect the earliest times with the later generations, so no mistake can have been made except with regard to the Second Epistle of St Peter. We have heard this before, and its latest repetition is not convincing. If a heretic does not accept, he rejects, and his rejection is proof positive that the Church accepted fully in his time. 'Marcion rejected all the Gospels but Luke and attested thereby the four of the Church' (p. 131). 'Observe the fact that these people (the Severians) do away with Paul's Epistles. That can have only one single sense, and that is, that the Church all around and for long years before this time, let us say it up and down since the days of Paul, had treasured his Epistles. It is almost worth a mild heresy to get in this negative way the confirmation of what we have all along insisted

upon' (p. 126). 'When he (Eusebius) says that Hegesippus relates that some of these (apocryphal books) were fabrications of heretics of his own day, we feel sure that with that word the genuine books of the New Testament are placed for Hegesippus beyond all doubt as from the time of the Apostles' (p. 121). Of the passage (c. xiii) in which Clement of Rome quotes the words of the Lord about meekness and long-suffering we are told 'He makes a thorough combination of various verses from Matthew, partly also found in Luke'. Of the similar 'combination' in Clement of Alexandria, and (in part) in Polycarp we are told nothing. The two Epistles of John mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment are quietly assumed to be the second and third, without a hint of the natural interpretation of the passage and the support it receives from other evidence of about the same date. The account of Hermas in the same Fragment is quoted, without any reference to the passages of Tertullian which throw light upon it. With regard to its silence about Hebrews we are informed 'There may have been some special reason for its omission in this Fragment'. The more 'general' reason, usually regarded as a satisfactory explanation of its silence, that the Epistle was nowhere in the West regarded as Scripture till the fourth century, is not even hinted at. Irenaeus's account of the opponents of the Fourth Gospel is quoted, we learn, and that they 'appear to be certain Christians, whom a later writer, Epiphanius, calls Alogians, or people who were against the Logos, the Word. We might call them No-Worders!' And they are dismissed as people of no account. 'The rejectors of John appear to have had as good as no influence, for we find almost no traces of them.' The necessity which was felt by the author of the Muratorian Fragment and by Hippolytus to defend the Fourth Gospel is apparently not worth mentioning. Surely a student who attempts to begin the study of the New Testament Canon with the help of such a handbook as this will gain some queer notions about the results of modern criticism on the subject. One further instance is too glaring to be passed over. Dr Gregory holds that the Syriac version of the bulk of New Testament Books was in existence in the year 170. 'So far as we can tell, this old Syriac translation contained all the Books of our New Testament except Revelation, 2, 3 John, 2 Peter and Jude.' The peculiar usage of Edessa, and the evidence of Ephrem and Aphrahat are apparently not of sufficient importance to deserve even a passing mention. Every one who is interested in the study of the history of the New Testament Canon will read the book with regret and amazement. A great opportunity has been missed.

The book also suffers from another serious defect. The language in which it is written is often not English. A knowledge of German or

Greek is often necessary to determine its meaning. The following examples, all taken from pp. 97-99, may serve as illustrations. 'He appears to have been exceedingly small in mind, as can be put forth, so to speak, from his own words.' 'Papias' whole neighbourhood was millenarian, and he could not suspect that a Church historian two hundred years later would throw that up to him.' 'He counts the name of John twice, the former of which he combines with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the Apostles, clearly aiming at the Evangelist.' 'He himself was an own hearer of Aristion.' 'The fact then that Philip the Apostle together with his daughters lived at Hierapolis is made known by the forefathers.' Speaking of the *pericope adulterae* and its presence in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he says 'It may have been thrust into it, just as it was thrust into the Gospel of John'. This defect is perhaps most conspicuous in the account of Papias, but it is by no means confined to this section. Surely the editorial revision which submitted to the sentences quoted above must have been very long-suffering, unless it was somewhat too cursory. These blemishes, however, are not so serious as those which affect the substance of the book. There is naturally much information contained in it which will be useful to those who know enough about the subject to use it safely. As an introduction to the study of the Canon it is merely misleading.

A. E. BROOKE.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

The Doctrine of the Trinity apologetically considered, by J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A., D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1907.)

DR ILLINGWORTH'S latest work forms a worthy addition to the series of apologetic essays which he has already published. It is not inferior to its predecessors in literary merit; but, written like them in a style at once simple and lucid, graceful and dignified, it maintains the high standard which, in this respect, its author has accustomed us to expect from him.

The book is intended to serve the same class of readers to which Dr Illingworth has previously addressed himself. Its purpose, I believe, is not to minister to the needs of the advanced student; still less to present an 'apology' to the non-Christian professor of philosophy—the Church of the twentieth century, at least the Anglican branch of it, hardly possesses the ambition of the Church of the second in this direction; it rather undertakes the task, which is scarcely less important and ought to be regarded as scarcely less exacting, of discussing such

historical and philosophical difficulties connected with the doctrine of the Trinity as may beset the faith of an ordinary educated man.

An obvious danger attends apologetic works of this type if, while seeking to answer questions or to remove difficulties which are offshoots of some of the more complex and intractable problems of philosophy, they do not, for any reason, discuss those problems sufficiently to indicate their intricacy and to exhibit their relevance to the subject in hand. Such apologies may unintentionally evade difficulties that threaten the results at which they arrive; may, consequently, offer a solution of their problems more plausible than satisfactory, and may, perhaps, sometimes proclaim peace where there is no peace. Despite the great services which Dr Illingworth's essays have rendered in the way of theological instruction and spiritual illumination, they do not seem to me wholly to have escaped this danger; and while they abound in reflexions for which many a scholar will cherish feelings of gratitude, their treatment of the deeper problems they have touched upon appears sometimes a little too facile to inspire conviction.¹ The present work seems to share the excellences and the failings of its predecessors.

The greater part of the volume is concerned with the origin and early development of the doctrine of the Trinity. Dr Illingworth gives reasons for believing that this doctrine was 'taught' by our Lord as well as by New Testament writers. This, however, cannot be maintained with so much certainty as the theologically equivalent proposition that the doctrine of the Trinity is *implied* in Christ's conception of God and of His own relation to Him. The further contentions, that the doctrine was certainly not derived from without the Church; that it is a revealed, and not a speculatively obtained, doctrine, and was so regarded by its early exponents; that its development consists in translation of an original belief into new language to meet the requirements of new situations, and not at all in the incorporation of alien and now worthless or obsolete metaphysical elements, seem to be well grounded; though a critical estimate of the arguments by which they are sustained could only be offered by a reviewer with more of the specialist's knowledge of the

¹ In *Personality, Human and Divine*, the crux of the problem of the Personality of God is scarcely dealt with, the difficulty which even some theistic writers feel to be involved in the conception of an infinite and eternal Personality being rather lightly dismissed in a page or so of a note. In *Divine Immanence*, the relation of God to the world and the finite self is not defined, so that the meaning of 'immanence' is left vague, and insecurity attaches, in consequence, to much of the author's argumentation. Moreover, the bearing of the fact of physical evil on the doctrine of divine immanence is not considered, and the disturbing influence of the problem thus emerging is consequently neither eliminated nor allayed.

history of dogma than I can claim. With the preliminary protests which, in his first two chapters, Dr Illingworth delivers against popular misuse of the term 'evolution' as applied to theological doctrine, and against the subjectivity of much of the destructive ingenuity which would pass for scientific criticism, one may concur with no diffidence whatever. In the latter portion of the book, which deals with questions such as the intellectual bearings of the doctrine of the Trinity, and how far its 'worth' is a presumption of its truth, there are one or two points which call for criticism.

Dr Illingworth maintains that the Trinitarian conception of God, though not speculatively or theoretically demonstrable, has advantages over that which characterizes Unitarian forms of theism. He here has in mind the difficulties attaching to the notion of a solitary Person, such as the unitarian conceives his Deity, prior to the creation of finite spirits, to have been: difficulties such as were made familiar by some of the writings of the late Aubrey Moore. How far these difficulties are real is a question which, in a work undertaking to treat at all of the philosophical implications of the Trinitarian doctrine, demands more discussion than is here accorded. The problem is a very difficult one, though the reader who does not happen previously to have come in contact with it would hardly gather from this book that such was the case. The view which Dr Illingworth briefly expounds may well be true; but some notice and refutation of forms of theism which profess to dispense with the conception of a triune God was called for in his treatise. In his essay on *Personality, Human and Divine*, the author relies, apparently without any misgiving, on Lotze's authority, when that philosopher maintains that personality can be predicated of God without implying that He is limited by something not Himself; yet in his present work he omits to allude to the fact that the same philosopher, developing the same line of argument, does not find the conception of eternal differentiation into Persons essential to his idea of a Personal God. The omission is unfortunate, because it is apt to create the impression, in a reader familiar with both aspects of Lotze's teaching, that the apologist is unintentionally playing the advocate, relying on philosophers' authority and silently ignoring it as suits the occasion. Indeed, apologetics cannot be said to take its task sufficiently seriously, unless it deliberately seeks the path of greatest, not of least, resistance; nor should it point out the path to others till it is prepared to shew grounds for its conviction that it has fought its own way through. One regrets that in his latest volume Dr Illingworth again seems unconsciously to invite this criticism upon portions of his work, and the more so because of the value which, in many respects, his essays in apologetics undoubtedly possess.

Among much that is excellent in the latter half of *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, the least satisfying discussion is that which is contained in chapter ix on 'the worth' of the doctrine 'a presumption of its truth'. Dr Illingworth clearly states (p. 173) that judgements of value, if they are literally predications of value and nothing else, cannot logically carry us a single step beyond themselves: the fact that a given belief is useful or edifying cannot, in abstract logic, prove that it is true, or in correspondence with reality. This plain issue has been so confused by friends and foes of the Ritschlian and pragmatic schools, that it is pleasing to meet with its naked assertion. But in dwelling on the fact that our theoretical and our practical reason are inseparable elements in the self-same personality, Dr Illingworth seems to me to come near to confusing it again. The logical disparateness between predications of existence and of value is not obliterated by the fact that they may be made by the same personality. We emerge into clearer light again, however, when emphasis is placed on the fact that logic cannot connect worth and truth except in one way, viz. by means, as a major premiss, of the proposition that 'the world is rational'. When we first come upon the phrase 'the rationality of the world' in this chapter, there seems to be nothing in the context to forbid our taking 'rationality' in its primary sense, in which it refers to truth; so that the 'rationality' is synonymous with the 'intelligibility' of the world. The word, however, is very dangerously ambiguous; and, indeed, we soon find that Dr Illingworth begins to use it exclusively as a value-term, so that the rationality of the world means its teleological orderliness. Now if the frustration of any serious human hope or aspiration could only be shewn to be inconsistent with the rationality of the universe in the former, primary, sense, we should obtain a refutation by *reductio ad absurdum* of the possibility of such frustration; or, in other words, a proof that we can argue from aspiration to fulfilment, from value to validity. This, of course, we cannot shew, as Dr Illingworth clearly sees. The mere intelligibility or knowableness of the world offers no guarantee that our moral aspirations will be fulfilled here or hereafter. Indeed, the only sense that the 'rationality of the world' must possess in order to enable us in strict logic to argue from worth to truth, longing or belief to realization, is this: 'the world is a perfectly harmonious whole with which any error, any frustration of human hope, is incompatible.' We must be assured that the universe respects all our aspirations before we can argue with certainty from any one of them to its fulfilment, or from the value of any doctrine to its truth. But here, too, as Dr Illingworth again recognizes, we have before us, for our desired major premiss, a proposition which neither theoretical knowledge nor revealed religion supplies. The ambiguity of the word

'rationality', as it is used by Dr Illingworth (and by Prof. Ormond, whom he cites), does not then lead to the vitiation of his argument, because it is clearly acknowledged that such a degree of teleological orderliness or conformability to our needs as we can possibly imply when we predicate 'rationality', as a value-term, of the universe, is insufficient to furnish us with a *demonstration* of the validity of our passage from worth to truth. We must conclude, then, that Dr Illingworth's discussion leaves this question, so far as its general or universal form is concerned, as it found it, and that he succeeds no better than others in enabling us to get any more existential truth out of particular judgements of worth than we have previously put into them and have previously derived from theoretically or metaphysically grounded propositions.

The Future Life and Modern Difficulties, by the Rev. F. CLAUDE KEMPSON, M.B. (Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1907.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE title which Mr Kempson has given to his book does not convey at all an adequate idea of what the reader will find discussed within its pages. The heading of its first chapter, 'The religious explanation of the universe,' would in many respects have better served to summarize its contents; for the volume treats of manifold relations and points of contact between the Christian Faith and the natural sciences. Indeed, the variety of the topics with which its author deals makes a brief review of the work almost impossible. One may say of it, however, that it is a book to be recommended to persons who, possessing little technical knowledge of science or theology, desire simple but trustworthy guidance in the light of which they can better face such doubts and difficulties as may be 'in the air' around them.

Mr Kempson is gifted with quite exceptional powers of lucid exposition and of clever and forcible illustration. His style is free and homely, not to say colloquial, but never on that account suffers in its refinement; and behind the popular teacher we can easily discern the widely-read scholar and, sometimes, the original thinker.

The main gist of his book is that science leaves room for a religious 'explanation' of the world when it has given its own 'description' of it; and this general principle is applied to several particular problems. Most of these problems are within the compass of one who, like Mr Kempson, is an expert in certain departments of science and well informed in various branches of theology. In the treatment of one or two of them, however, we rather miss the qualifications which none but the specialist can bring to the task. For instance, interesting as is the attempt which Mr Kempson makes to maintain the 'truth' of the early chapters of Genesis, in spite of their not being historical,

I cannot think it will commend itself to the modern Old Testament scholar. Mr Kempson would look upon narratives such as those of Paradise and the Deluge as allegories, comparable with portions of *Pilgrim's Progress*, and yet as embodying fundamental scientific, as well as moral, truth concerning man. Few would deny that the Fall-story, for instance, contains moral truth; but that it was composed as an allegory and was intended to convey the kernel of the doctrine of original sin, are suppositions which the cumulative results of several departments of science—exegesis, history of literature, archaeology, Assyriology—would seem now entirely to forbid. Here, certainly, the author does not write as if he were abreast of the knowledge relevant to his problem or as if he understood the position of writers whose views he rejects. It is only fair, however, to state that faults of this kind are few in Mr Kempson's book.

F. R. TENNANT.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

Early Christian Ethics in the West from Clement to Ambrose, by H. H. SCULLARD. (Williams & Norgate, 1908.)

DR SCULLARD, who is Professor of Church History in New and Hackney Colleges, London, speaks of 'the present dearth of full and satisfactory histories of Christian Ethics' and modestly puts forward this book as an 'imperfect attempt to partially fill a conspicuous blank'. We may complain of the split infinitive, but any one who has attempted to teach Christian Ethics historically must have felt very conscious of this dearth, at any rate as far as English works are concerned, and will be ready to welcome this small book. A study of its contents leaves the impression that the author has executed his task well, and produced a good handbook and something more. The arrangement is clear, the treatment sober, critical, and yet sympathetic. There are two main divisions, *The Groundwork* and *The Ethical Ideas*.

'Die christliche Ethik ist nicht sowohl in den Hand- und Lehrbüchern der theologia moralis oder der ethice christiana zu suchen, als vielmehr in der Dogmatik und in der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche,' says Ziegler, and it is interesting to see that Dr Scullard comes out on the same side as opposed to those who think that Christian Ethics can be divorced from Christian Doctrine.

He says, 'It is not simply by the contemplation of human nature as it now appears, but as it also is in the thought of God, that we can form a Christian Ethic' (p. 13); and again, 'As a man's thoughts are concerning God, the world, and self, so will be his moral views, as far as they have consistency.' So the groundwork consists in comparing

the world-views of the principal heathen writers with that of the Christian authors. In reference to the latter he says, 'Both in practice and in theory what is Christian in morals proceeds from Jesus Christ as its source, from Christ as manifested to men, and so from the fact and truth of the Incarnation.' And it is one of the most patent facts to any one who studies the early Christian writers, that their ethics are inextricably interwoven with their theology.

The author is very clear that there is a fundamental difference between Christian and heathen morality, though he is not blind either to similarities of thought and language, or to the fact that a good deal of the heathen morality was incorporated into the Christian. He contends that after its absorption it was worn with a difference. I should feel inclined to criticize some of his statements under this head, though one is glad to see his vindication of the truly Christian character of Ambrose's moral teaching (cf. pp. 183 ff, 233 ff, 278). Dr Scullard's point of view is expressed in the sentence, 'Christianity transforms every idea which it claims as its own.'

The Ethical Ideas are arranged under the three heads, The Highest Good, Duty, and Virtue, and the contribution of each writer to each of these subjects is considered in turn. This method has some advantages, but the effect is scrappy and one is prevented from getting a clear view of the ethical position of each writer as a whole. Also it is not always quite easy to see why certain quotations which occur under the head Virtue, e.g., might not equally well have appeared in the chapter on the Highest Good. This section, however, has the great merit that Dr Scullard lets his authorities speak for themselves, and to many students to whom these authorities are not readily accessible, this will form one of the most valuable parts of the book. In the list of authors chosen as exemplifying Christian Ethics in the West there is one serious omission. There is no discussion of the teaching of Jerome, although room is found for people who, from the point of view of the subject of the book, are quite unimportant, as, e.g., Minucius Felix. To leave out such a giant is a mistake, and especially one whose influence on the ideas of Christians as to the right and wrong of conduct was so great. Dr Scullard realizes that 'he was a powerful influence at Rome before the close of the fourth century', but dismisses him as representing an extreme tendency.

One of the dominant thoughts of the book is the absoluteness of Christian morality as seen in the pages of the New Testament, and this sometimes prevents the author from seeing the wonderful power of adaptation that Christian moral principles possessed. It is difficult in these dynamic days to say that 'the Christian Church has discovered nothing new', or to assume that modern Christianity is

necessarily inferior to that of the Apostolic age. And perhaps hardly sufficient allowance is made for the extraordinary variety of view to be found within the pages of the New Testament itself. The teaching of St Paul seems to be regarded by the author as exclusively the norm of Christian Ethics, and even this teaching does not seem to be fully grasped. Otherwise we should have a greater recognition of the quite remarkably social character of the ethical ideas of the early Fathers. The conception of Christianity as a society is one of the bases of their thinking. This it is which gives the ethical importance to organization, on which they are always insisting.

The author tries to be just, even where, as in the cases of Tertullian and Cyprian, he does not sympathize. But surely it is a misunderstanding to say that Tertullian conceives of Christianity 'not merely as a law but as a rule, the acknowledgement of which makes a man a Christian independently of any moral change'. If the *regula fidei* is to be acknowledged at baptism, there are other requirements. 'Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris, ieiuniis et geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum' (*de Baptismo* xx).

Again, does Cyprian's account of baptism really go beyond the δ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτροπον τὴν σωζομένην βαπτισμα of 1 Peter iii 21?

I have noted a few mistakes or misprints in the book.¹

I would not end with criticism, however, for books of this kind are too rare, and this particular example is a straightforward and useful attempt to deal with an important problem. Dr Scullard speaks of studying the ethics of the churches of the East. I hope that before long he may give us a companion volume on that subject.

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

THE STOIC CREED.

The Stoic Creed, by WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907.)

THIS volume is one of a series entitled 'Religion in Literature and Life'—a fact, which, taken with the careful translation of the passages quoted from ancient Stoics, and the scanty use of Greek type, indicates

¹ Professor Gwatkin's title is 'Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History', not 'Regius'. The reference on p. 30 to Massebieau, not Masebieu, as it is spelt there, is to *Revue de l'histoire des religions* t. xv (1887), though there is no indication given beyond the page number. Did the author intend *incarnations* on p. 130? On p. 186 *autem* is put for *autem*.

the purpose of the writer. His aim is to give to the ordinary English reader, who has a reasonable interest in 'Literature and Life'—to which in Scotland 'Philosophy' is a subaudite third term, always implied and quickly felt—an account of Stoicism, which shall be neither popular in the sense of being a mere string of generalities, nor technical, but a fair and sympathetic treatment, that will enable any thoughtful person to enter into the feelings and conceptions from which the Stoics worked, and to follow them up to the goal which the Stoics reached, and thus to know Stoicism from within. And it must be said that Professor Davidson has achieved his purpose. His book should interest its readers, and often set them rethinking old problems, and reconsidering old judgements. This at least befell the reviewer as he read.

For the professed student of Ancient Philosophy Zeller or some such author will not be superseded by this new book. The original words of Epictetus and Seneca, in the Greek and Latin they spoke or wrote, matter to such a student very much, and here *ex hypothesi* they are absent. Again, the modern reader will find in Dr Edward Caird's Gifford Lectures (the latter series) a treatment of Stoicism as a philosophy coming in a sequence of other philosophies. This, again, is not Dr Davidson's aim.

Taking the book, then, and treating it as intended to be what it is, it impresses the reader as a good piece of work. It is very luminous and orderly; the plan is carefully mapped out—a full Table of Contents supplying a very helpful chart to the whole; and point by point is developed with happy illustrations well chosen and well rendered from the books of the Stoics. Throughout there is evidence of the trained thinker's knowledge, instinctive and acquired, of what lies over the frontier of his immediate subject: books on which it is written 'Thus far and no farther' have, however thorough, a drawback for which there is no compensation. Dr Davidson's range in modern thought gives his work the stamp of a value beyond that of the classical scholar who abandons Philosophy when the Germans enter the Roman Empire.

As one part of the writer's aim is to bring Stoicism into living relation with our thinking to-day—not, of course, by the method of parallelisms, which rarely prove anything—it is worth remarking here how sober his judgement is, for Stoicism is to some thinkers a possible successor to Christianity even yet. Followers of Renan and Matthew Arnold may think him too cold in his judgement on Marcus Aurelius; others, who are not so greatly moved by Stoic thought, will hold that he sets too high a value on Epictetus. But, whatever his judgements upon them, the Stoics are living men to Dr Davidson, and so he treats them. They are thinkers whose work in the sphere of thought is rational and is to be considered. He does not write as an apologist.

In conclusion, it may perhaps be suggested that a careful study of this book, side by side with (let us say) Dr Oakesmith's *Religion of Plutarch*, would help the student of the New Testament and of the Fathers to a wider outlook over the period with which he deals, and also to a deeper insight into the thoughts of men who lived and talked and questioned, and formed the intellectual company, or environment, at once of New Testament writers and of those who followed them, and also of those about whom they wrote. This background is a material part of the picture, for one thing, and it is at the same time not altogether clear that the Stoics are always to remain mere background.

T. R. GLOVER.

CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

Christliche Antike: Einführung in die altchristliche Kunst, von LUDWIG VON SYBEL. *Erster Band: Einleitendes, Katakomben.* (Marburg, N. G. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906. pp. viii + 308; four coloured plates and 55 text-blocks.)

Die klassische Archaeologie und die altchristliche Kunst: Rektoratsrede, von LUDWIG VON SYBEL. (Marburg: N. G. Elwertsche Buchhandlung, 1906. 18 pp.)

THE title which the veteran Rector of the University of Marburg has given to the first-named of these works imports a theory which has probably never before been put forward in so explicit or extreme a form. 'Christian antiquity' means to von Sybel antiquity in its culminating phase. The universalistic tendency which runs through ancient history attained its threefold triumph in the political unity of the Roman Empire, the 'cultural' unity of Hellenism, and the religious unity of Christendom. But the force which made for unity was that of Hellenic ideas, and therefore Christianity, in order to become universal, became Hellenized—'a Greek religion, the last religion of the Greeks.' We are thus invited to treat Christianity (or at any rate early Christianity), not as the beginning, but as the end of an evolutionary process, and to regard the study of its monuments as a branch of classical archaeology. It would be easy to justify the application of methods derived from the more highly organized science to that of more recent growth without having recourse to a theory which borders on a paradox. But there was room for an account of the catacombs and their monuments which should bring into relief the salient fact—not always sufficiently recognized—that the strength of Christianity in the battle of religions which fills the first three

centuries of our era lay in its sure pledges of personal immortality.¹ We are not to seek, in the paintings of the catacombs, illustrations of Christian dogma, nor yet of evangelical tradition—these belong to a later phase of Christian art, when places of public worship called for a scheme of decoration. The catacombs are places of burial, and the interest of the humble artists who decorated their walls is entirely centred in the life beyond the grave. The interest of von Sybel's book lies in the thoroughness with which this conception is applied. The direct representation of the sacramental meal, for example, though it is not to be rejected *a priori*, must yield in probability to that of the heavenly meal of which the earthly sacrament is the foretaste. The so-called 'orantes' are engaged, not in prayer, but in adoration of God whom they see face to face. It has long been recognized that Old Testament figures such as Jonah and Daniel were selected because their deliverance from death was typical of that which the Christian owes to Christ: and it is seldom difficult to trace the 'other-worldly' significance of the New Testament scenes chosen by the catacomb-painters. Their *répertoire* was strictly limited; and the progress of discovery and criticism tends to diminish rather than increase the number of typical scenes. Even since von Sybel wrote, it has been shewn that the painting in the Catacomb of Praetextatus which was held to represent the Crowning with Thorns—a strange exception to the rule that the story of the Passion furnished no subjects to the Christian artist—is in reality an illustration of the narrative of our Lord's baptism; this is a subject fitted for representation in the Catacombs by reason of the importance of the Sacrament of Baptism as the first step in the Christian *τελετή*.

Von Sybel's book, then, should be read by all students of the art of the Catacombs, who will of course use it (as the author intends) in conjunction with Wilpert's fine series of coloured or photographic reproductions. We may regret that he should have thought it necessary to increase the length of his book by a series of introductory sections, the substance of which (so far as it was necessary to give it at all) might have been compressed into a much smaller compass. We have a lengthy discussion of the ultimate problems of Belief and Inquiry, the upshot of which is that all theories of the universe are to be waived aside as mere hypotheses in favour of pure rationalism (which, as the author does not seem to recognize, is after all a 'Weltanschauung' like any other); this is followed by a mere outline sketch (in fifteen pages) of Old and New Testament criticism, with references to well-known textbooks; and then comes an equally summary account of the doctrines

¹ Cumont's treatment of Isis-worship deserves to be remembered in this connexion.

concerning the future life held by the various nations of antiquity. All this is a sore trial to the reader's patience: and we would gladly exchange it for a fuller and more readable account of the several Christian cemeteries hitherto explored. Marucchi's excellent handbook (which still remains indispensable) deals only with the Roman catacombs: and there is great need of a work which shall present the results of excavation in Sicily and other places in a handy form.

Von Sybel's interpretations of the Catacomb paintings are occasionally open to criticism in details; for example his suggestion (p. 228) that a typical scheme which clearly represents one of Christ's miracles of healing (it is hard to say which) may depict the Blessing of the Children is far from happy. Again, more use might have been made of liturgical texts in illustration of the monuments (cf. p. 242 note 1), especially as the subject has been discussed in recent years. It does not appear what is to be the scope and extent of the work when completed; but we note that von Sybel includes the reign of Justinian in 'Christian antiquity'.

H. STUART JONES.

Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne. By DOM H. LECLERCQ, O.S.B.
2 vols. (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1907.)

THOSE who have had occasion to consult the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne* will doubtless have been struck by the preponderance of one name among those of the contributors; indeed, if they have had the curiosity to examine the work in this respect, they will have realized that the articles not written by Dom Leclercq are comparatively few and far between. His name is identified with every sort of subject: archaeological, historical, topographical; and each is treated with a wealth of knowledge which must excite the wonder of those who find all their energies fully engaged by the slow cultivation of some one, restricted field. Yet, as if this encyclopedic collaboration in Abbot Cabrol's great undertaking gave not sufficient scope for one scholar's activities, Dom Leclercq has, during the recent years since the publication of the Dictionary began, produced a number of independent works, any one of which might well occupy the productive powers of most men for as many years.

The present *Manual* is intended, we are told, to serve as a guide to the Dictionary, which will probably take 'several years' to complete; and various references, throughout the *Manual*, to articles in the larger work, far down in alphabetical sequence, set us marvelling at the confidence which can thus look forward to achievement still necessarily so far distant.

The *Manual* professes to deal with the period from the beginnings

of Christian art to the reign of Charles the Great in the West, and to the Iconoclast controversy in the East. And although, owing to the vastness of the subject, the author has been obliged to restrict himself to its more prominent features, the quantity of information brought together upon the *minutiae* of all its branches is astonishing. His intention is to trace the evolution of Christian art, rather than to attempt its monumental history; the aim of such a book being, he holds, to understand, rather than to depict, antiquity: to give exposition rather than narrative.

The first volume is prefaced by a highly interesting sketch of the developement of the study of Christian antiquity, as illustrated by the exploration of the Roman catacombs, from the humble beginnings of the sixteenth century down to the triumphs of De Rossi. In treating then of the still more recent period, Dom Leclercq takes occasion—to-day he could not well avoid it—to describe and to express his acceptance of the views whereby Strzygowski has revolutionized the formerly accepted standards as to the course of early developement and the relative importance of eastern and western, oriental and Roman, influences (*v.* the concluding note at end of vol. ii). Throughout the *Manual*, indeed, the new theories are constantly taken into account—as, for example, in the sections on architecture and on miniatures. Those who wish to make further acquaintance with any branch of the subject, where Dom Leclercq's discussion of the arguments appears not exhaustive, will find in the new handbook a wealth of bibliographical reference such as none of its predecessors could attempt. Indeed, the constant supply of footnotes and the special bibliographies closing each chapter, form one of the most valuable features of the work.

A preliminary chapter, containing classified lists of earlier publications (from 1568 to 1905), a descriptive topography of Christian antiquities, an estimate of the literary sources and a vocabulary of technical terms, is followed by one dealing with the various influences—classic, Jewish, Christian—which went to produce the art characterizing the Christian period. The third chapter is devoted to the catacombs; the next to the pre-Constantinian churches. Three appendices conclude this volume: the first consisting of a valuable classification, on geographical principles, of the chief extant monuments; the second treating of the Jewish catacombs in Italy, N. Africa, and Palestine; the third attempting a classification of the frescoes in the Italian catacombs.

With the second volume we approach more concrete and technical questions. The first chapter elaborately describes the architectural methods in use, in the earlier and in the 'Byzantine' portions of the period respectively. This chapter owes, of course, much to the investigations of M. Choisy. The buildings themselves of the various

provinces are treated in chapter ii. The following chapters deal with the pictorial arts: painting and mosaic; then follow the plastic arts, then engraving and metal and jewel work, glass, pottery, metal casting, coinage, and finally, textiles, miniatures, and 'minor arts'. Each of these subjects occupies an independent chapter, terminating with its special bibliography. The whole concludes with an adequate, if not superabundant, index.

The illustrations, with which the book is liberally provided, may well claim, like those in the Dictionary, to maintain a level of excellence above that usual in such works. Many of them are drawn from photographs or directly from the objects themselves, others are borrowed from recent and reliable publications.

To the general reader the *Manual* offers all that he can desire as an introduction to the study of Christian art, by one who, at the present time, must assuredly be the best equipped of archaeologists, as he has already proved himself among the sanest of critics. 'L'infatigable atelier de Farnborough' is yearly giving fresh proof that the noble heritage of Benedictine erudition can be as successfully vindicated upon foreign as upon French soil.

W. E. CRUM.

ISAIAH AND THE MINOR PROPHETS.

Le Profesie d'Isaia tradotte e commentate da SALVATORE MINOCCHI.
(Bologna, 1907.)

WE have here a translation of Isaiah into Italian accompanied by brief notes mainly exegetical, and introduced by an adequate discussion of the higher criticism of the book. The author is a Roman Catholic Professor at Florence, who submits his work to the judgement of the Church, and yet is not afraid of using the most modern commentaries, those in particular of Duhm, Marti, Cheyne, and Père Condamin. He does not, however, follow any of these authorities slavishly, but writes with a mind and a pen of his own. On p. xiii f he makes the ingenious suggestion that the author of Ezra (i 1) found Isa. xl ff attached to the prophecies of Jeremiah. 'Si vuole,' he writes, 'citare in proposito Geremia 25, 12, e 29, 10, ma bisogna riconoscere che non fanno al caso. Il parallelismo, infatti, della citazione consiste in ciò: come il profeta aveva detto, Ciro decretò la riedificazione del Tempio.' The reference according to Minocchi is to Isa. xlv 28, though the author of Ezra cites 'Jeremiah'.

On p. xxii the writer puts forward forcibly the view that neither composite authorship, nor repeated editorial redaction, can affect the fact of inspiration. 'La ispirazione biblica . . . è . . . un fatto di

divina predestinazione in quei moltissimi, numerosissimi scrittori e redattori . . . contribuirono a formare l'integrità del sacro testo.'

In his treatment of the text Minocchi is generally more reasonable than most moderns, and in spite of his acceptance of late datings of particular prophecies the general tendency of his work is conservative. Of ix 1-6 he writes that it contains 'la profezia della natività del Messia dalla casa di David'. Verse 5 is thus translated :—

Poiché, ci è nato un bambino, ci fu dato un figlio,
e l'imperio sarà su la spalla di lui ;
e nome avrà 'Mirabil di consiglio',
'Dio forte', 'Padre eterno', 'Re di pace'.

It is satisfactory to find in a note that he rejects the rendering 'Padre [possessore] di prede', which many (including Duhm) accept instead of 'Padre eterno'. Professor Minocchi's work, though sometimes disappointingly slight, is as a brief exegetical commentary very good.

Les douze Petits Prophètes traduits et commentés, par A. VAN HOONACKER.
(Paris, 1908.)

THE Minor Prophets or, to speak more accurately, the twelve books to which the names of the Minor Prophets are attached, can be described as 'Petits' only in reference to the space they severally fill in the Old Testament. They must, in fact, be considered to be of very great importance when estimated by their historical value, by their theological and moral teaching, and by the interest of the critical problems which belong to them in common with other important parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. They are, however, beset with many difficulties. In style they are often brief and obscure, and even when the language is simple, the historical allusions which it conveys are often hard to decipher.

The task of commenting on the Minor Prophets demands all the high qualities which Dr van Hoonacker shews himself to be possessed of in this volume of 750 closely printed pages. It is a noble piece of work worthy of the high reputation of a great scholar. The Commentary is written on a somewhat larger scale than that of Nowack ; difficulties of the text are fully and patiently examined ; no word is wasted. Some of the editor's emendations are, perhaps, unconvincing, but on the other hand van Hoonacker rarely suspects the soundness of the text without good reason. He spares himself no labour in recording and weighing the most recent views such as those of Wellhausen, Löhr, Nowack, and W. R. Harper. At the beginning of each section he traces the course of the prophet's thought helpfully but sometimes perhaps a little too briefly. The spirit in which the book is written

is excellent; the writer gives confidence not only by his thoroughness but also by the frankness with which he acknowledges changes in his own views of the meaning of certain passages. The Introductions to the several Prophets are brief and good. The section entitled 'Osée témoin historique, prophète et auteur' is an excellent summary. In the Introduction to Amos (pp. 198-204) the writer gives his views on theories of metre with a fullness of knowledge and a careful exercise of judgement which stamp his utterances as those of a real master in this field. Amos is the happy hunting-ground of Hebrew metricists, but van Hoonacker after considering the results offered by them, and pointing out their discrepancies, ends with a great plea for patience: 'Let the study of metre be continued with care and with zeal, but let not texts be emended until the laws of metre are better known.' In the Introduction to Haggai we find a summary of the editor's views on a very important historical question—the return of the Jews under Cyrus. Van Hoonacker, as in 1892, 1896, maintains against Koster and others the historical character of Ezra i, ii. *Les douze Petits Prophètes*, to add a final word, is furnished with a full index. The book is one to feel profoundly grateful for.

W. EMERY BARNES.

WAYSIDE SKETCHES IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

In *Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1906), Dr Bigg gives us a series of fascinating essays on the Development of the Church, treating of 'three great moments in the fateful process—the making of the mediaeval system, the decay of the mediaeval system, and the beginnings of modern Christianity'.

Under the first head Dr Bigg writes on Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Sidonius Apollinaris. He shews how Prudentius transfers to Christian martyrs grotesque fairy tales which were first told of pagan heroes, but does full justice to the literary merits of his martyrologies and his hymns. Paulinus of Nola receives the honour due to his humility and charity, but the mischief done by his credulity in accepting legends about saints is clearly shewn. Sidonius Apollinaris is described admirably in the words: 'a great noble and landlord, a man of letters, magistrate, statesman, who became a bishop, not in order that he might fly from the world and shut his ears to its cries, but in order that he might protect his beloved Arvernians from the Goths. It is a fine but rare type of sanctity, very practical and very modern.'

The lectures which follow on Grosseteste, Wycliffe, and à Kempis, illustrate the history of the transition from the old world to the new,

Dr Bigg describes vividly the tragedy in the life of Grosseteste, devoted servant both of Pope and of King, yet rebelling.

A short account of Wycliffe's life is prefaced by an admirable sketch of the social conditions of the time. Wycliffe is described as a religious thinker, not eminent though remarkable. He taught the directness of the soul's relation to God, but failed to recognize the teaching of the Spirit through others. Dr Bigg brings out very clearly the point that the perfect reformer would be one who combined 'the resolution of Grosseteste, the keen logic of Wycliffe, the loving simplicity of à Kempis', who failed because in each case their efforts were one-sided.

The lectures on the English Reformation are written to illustrate the ideas of Unity and Continuity, and are fresh and vigorous. Dr Bigg gives Reginald Pole his due as a clear-sighted thinker and, in a sense, a moderate man, and emphasizes the great merit of Jewel and Hooker, ending with 'the catastrophe of Archbishop Laud'.

A. E. BURN.

PROF. GWATKIN'S *GIFFORD LECTURES*.

THE reviewer of Prof. Gwatkin's *Gifford Lectures* in the last number of the JOURNAL (pp. 460 ff) stated it was the 'clearly expressed intention of the Founder' to exclude ecclesiastical controversy from the scope of the lecturer. Prof. Gwatkin points out that there are no words to this effect in Lord Gifford's instructions nor anything that debars the lecturer from freely discussing the origin, nature, and truth of the Roman or any other conception in its historical development. The reviewer joins with us in regretting that we have inadvertently given currency to a criticism which is inaccurate and misleading. Prof. Gwatkin also points out that, fully conscious as he is of the deficiencies of his discussion of the German philosophers, he did, as a matter of fact, devote the larger part of a chapter to such a discussion, and that it was a conspicuous part of his plan; so that the words quoted by the reviewer to the effect that a discussion of the contribution of Kant and Hegel was 'not required for our purpose' did not mean that he omitted to discuss those writers. The reviewer did not intend to convey the impression that discussion was entirely omitted, but rather that in his judgement it was altogether inadequate and that Prof. Gwatkin's own words shewed that he did not realize the importance of the contribution made by Kant and Hegel to the subject of the Lectures.

EDD.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION AND RELATED WORKS.

THE annotated list of *Books for Old Testament Study*, by J. M. P. SMITH (University of Chicago, 1908: 54 cents postpaid), is reprinted from the *Biblical World* with additions and corrections. It is a booklet of seventy pages classifying the literature under about thirty headings, each section being followed by a short criticism. The price, the number of pages, and the publisher (American for preference) are stated, and though the list cannot be exhaustive it will prove of great service for popular or for specialist use. The criticisms make interesting reading, and are as deserved and fair as an average of fifteen or twenty words per item will allow. In the list of periodicals the *Revue des Études Juives* might have been included. In the sections on religion we miss Dr J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, and though the works on 'primitive Semitic religion' (p. 55) are of course invaluable, room should have been found for some of the more general introductory literature (e. g. Clodd, Haddon, Jevons, Tylor).

IN *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research* (Parker, London, 1908, 4s.), the Rev. J. R. COHU gives a very instructive, earnest and readable account of Biblical criticism. Criticism, he tells us, removed his troubles, and poured a flood of light upon the pages of his Old Testament; his wish thenceforth was 'to help others in their perplexities'. The book makes no pretence at originality, but it has been prepared with thought and care. It has in view the reader ignorant of, or perhaps repelled by, modern biblical scholarship, and its tactful and sympathetic tone should make it useful. Dr Duff, on the other hand, appeals to more ready listeners. His *Hints on Old Testament Theology* (Black, London, 1908) consists of papers from the 'Christian Commonwealth' with an introductory chapter. They cover much ground, are rather more discursive, and manage to crowd a great deal of interesting matter into small compass. Some attention is devoted to Assyriological and other external evidence; but by an oversight Dr Duff forgets that Winckler's edition of the *Amarne Tablets* was translated into English twelve years ago (p. 167), and

in fact for all critical purposes the new collation by Knudtson must be employed. Beginners will find here many 'hints' of interest, and should not overlook the remarks upon Professor Petrie's view of the Exodus (pp. 154 sq.). Dr Duff points out that the renowned archaeologist, in spite of his attitude to biblical critics, declares 'as results of his own archaeological study some things that are anything but orthodox'. It is right that the reader should appreciate at what cost those who are opposed to methodical biblical criticism appear to succeed in substantiating a few traditional positions.

A THIRD work, also of an introductory character, is a deeper contribution to Old Testament religion. *Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament* (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908, 5s.), by the Rev. H. J. D. ASTLEY, Litt.D., a keen student in archaeological and anthropological subjects, is based upon his Donnellan Lectures at Dublin, 1906-7. Its aim is to illustrate the efforts to reconcile 'the anthropological and the theological views of the origin and constitution of man, and of the nature of sin'. The book discusses the relation between Genesis and Science (astronomy and geology), the teaching of biology with its concomitant results in the doctrine of evolution, and then turns to the dawn of intellect and the early suggestions of an awakening religious feeling. After a survey of the progress from the lowest savagery to advanced stages of civilization, Dr Astley gives some account of biblical criticism and its bearing upon Israelite history and religion, emphasizing the progressive character of the Old Testament revelation to its culmination in the New Testament. His pages deserve attentive regard, and such criticisms as will occur to professed scientists or biblical scholars will not affect the interest of the book as a whole. Of the work of Aaron he observes that 'Aaron was the priest of a simple cultus, the full ritual of which did not develop for a thousand years' (p. 219). Dr Astley means that literary criticism has practically proved that the fully-developed priestly ritual as preserved in the Old Testament is a thousand years later than the traditional date of Aaron. This is a literary-critical result, and its place in the history depends upon a great number of important considerations, some of which are usually ignored. Any discussion of the religious development of Israel necessitates some appreciation, not merely of prehistoric archaeology and anthropology, but of the actual sociological and religious conditions in and around early Palestine; and though there is not the material for the solution of problems, there is much external evidence (overlooked here) which allows one to avoid some errors of method and fact. In reading this book one notices a gap between the purely anthropological data and the

writer's attitude when he proceeds to consider them from his point of view of Israelite religion. In his chapter on the origin and development of religious belief he deals clearly enough with the rudimentary forms which modern research has recovered, but his conception of what is meant by 'religion' appears indefinite, and he does not—in my opinion—bring out sufficiently the organic relation between primitive religion and sociology. At a certain stage, which has left its mark in many places, man, his land, and his gods form a single structure bound together by understood laws any infraction of which was—to use a modern term—a 'sin'. Dr Astley's discussion of 'Sin' is more theological than anthropological, and to say that sin is essentially the hereditary tendency or bias towards wrong-doing (p. 237) cuts and does not loosen the knot. It is difficult, moreover, to follow Dr Astley's remarks on totemism. I am not sure that cup-marks are 'proof' of its existence (pp. 114, 151), I can see no hint of it in the naming of animals by Adam (p. 159), and the evidence on pp. 162 sq. in favour of it should have been expressed more cautiously. Totemism in its bearing upon religion cannot be separated from its sociological aspect, and though one may readily grant survivals, it is more to the point to know whether they have any value for the conditions in historical times.

WE pass now to the *Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets* by Professor W. H. BENNETT (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907, 6s. net). It is the first of a series of volumes, under Dr Hastings's editorship, entitled 'The Literature and Religion of Israel'. Where definite portions of literature are handled, it is proposed to describe briefly the sources and authorship, to bring out more fully the ideas contained in them, and to shew their place in the development of the religion. So Prof. Bennett, after a preliminary sketch of the conditions at the beginning of the Exile, devotes 130 pages to a survey of the teaching of the prophets from the fall of Jerusalem (excluding Jeremiah, but including Ezekiel) to the close of the Canon. It is in harmony with critical views, that Isa. xiii 1-xiv 23 find a place in the exile, lvi-lxvi are severed from xl-lv, and xxiv-xxvii with Zech. ix-xiv appear in the concluding chapter on the Greek period. The general standpoint is 'moderate'. For example, after discussing rival views of the Return, Prof. Bennett prefers the more familiar one in Ezra, which looks at history from the standpoint of those who returned to Jerusalem. Consequently, 'the only inhabitants of whom we read are the hostile Gentile tribes and the half-heathen Samaritans with whom the returned exiles refused to associate' (p. 70 sq.). This is one-sided enough; perhaps the latest papyri from Elephantine will teach us to appreciate standpoints other

than that of the Judaeans. On the other hand, the objection that the reconstruction of the history required by the alternative view is not very convincing (p. 69) is unfortunately only too true of all reconstructions. The remaining 240 pages give an excellent account of the doctrines of the exilic and post-exilic prophets. They are classified under the headings God, His attributes, relations with man, Israel and the heathen, revelation, the nature of man, normal religious life, &c. It is extremely useful to have this carefully sifted collection of material alone, and if all the volumes deal as thoroughly with their subject as the present one, this addition to the vast accumulation of Old Testament literature will be distinctly welcome. The plan of the series is comprehensive: the development of religion from the earliest times down to the time of Christ. Prof. Bennett, who naturally views his subject in the light of his conceptions of the pre-exilic age, begins at the point where Prof. Kennett will leave off. Prof. Jastrow, who is to be the author of 'Foundations', will come fortified by his profound and *bahnbrechend* work on the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Prof. Kennedy, who will handle 'Institutions and Legislation', will have unlimited chronological range, while to Prof. Hogg in the 'History' will fall the difficult task of weaving into one whole the fortunes of Israel from every point of view. It will obviously be impossible to avoid some overlapping, but the individuality of the volumes will amply make up for any lack of coherence in the series. A discussion of the distinctive religious features in the priestly narratives and in the books of Chronicles would have illuminated the *development* of post-exilic religion, but Prof. Bennett is primarily concerned with the prophets and perhaps it is reserved for Dr Moffat's volume on Historical Apologues? The Psalms, at all events, are to be dealt with separately by Prof. Gray. Moreover, it will be interesting to observe the influence of each volume upon its successors. In particular, Prof. Bennett here and there notices various religious conceptions which are regarded as 'primitive'; some are of the kind freely adduced by writers elsewhere (e.g. in Samuel) as indications of the primitive religion of Israel in early times, whereas they belong to the stock of fundamental and persisting ideas which were variously shaped according to circumstances, and have no chronological value by themselves. Another point is suggested by Prof. Bennett's study of the Messiah. He illustrates Isa. ix 6, 7 by the 'conventional' titles of Eastern monarchs and refers to the Amarna Tablets, where the Palestinian chiefs address their Egyptian overlord as 'my god(s), my king' (p. 358). But this was not merely convention; it was part of the fundamental belief in the divinity of kings which can be profusely illustrated from Khammurabi to the Ptolemies. The Pharaoh was the son and incarnation of the national

gods and was recognized as such by his subjects. Theoretically he performed priestly duties for the people alive or dead, and at his own death he mingled with the gods. The old Oriental belief manifests itself in many features, some of which Prof. Bennett illustrates. In post-exilic religion the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty is conspicuous (p. 336 sq.) and Yahweh is organically related to his people and land (pp. 241, 242 sq.); He is father, husband, and bridegroom (p. 147; a similar relation is found between the Pharaoh and his domain). His representatives are sacred and have divine powers, and not only had the king been the most important person in the community (p. 350), but he had been as much a part of the national religion as the priest (p. 239), and sometimes king and kingdom can hardly be distinguished (p. 353; cp. 2 Sam. xxi 17). This organic relation between God, king, people, and land applies to the monarchical period. In the post-exilic age one has to observe the change from the royal to the priestly head (pp. 342, 356 sq.), and it is noteworthy that necromancy and a belief in the potency of earlier exalted beings should now become more prominent (cp. p. 369). From the interdependence of religious cults and political or sociological conditions it would seem that one of the essential problems in the development of Israelite religion is a consideration of the changes at the establishment of a monarchy and after its downfall.¹

PROFESSOR RUDOLF KITTEL, well known for his *History of Israel*, his commentaries on Kings and Chronicles, and the recent edition of the

¹ The failure to divide virtues and vices into categories, whether secular or religious, ceremonial, moral or spiritual (pp. 263, 265 sq.), agrees with anthropological evidence which indeed suggests that the wide forensic sense of 'righteousness' (*šēdāḫah*) is not the original. The idea seems to be that of conformity to the obligations which bind together, not merely the social unit (cf. p. 261 sq.), but that organic unit of which the Deity formed part. Thus it is that one could speak of the 'righteousness' of God. Perhaps it is not so much a 'divinely appointed standard' (p. 275), as the accepted standard of the relations between God and man, man and his kin—a norm capable of the highest spiritualization. The English 'loyalty', 'citizenship', are not wide enough, and though 'kin' and 'kind' are suggestive the latter had never the usage of the Semitic 'righteous'. In the Amarna tablets, where 'sin' means intrigue and disloyalty, the king of Jerusalem declares that he is *šaduk* 'loyal' to the Pharaoh, his Sun(-god). The late Nabataean inscriptions use the technical term (*ašdāḫ*) of a man's kin, who have burial-rights by virtue of their relationship (in Syriac there is the cognate word for 'relations'). In both N. Arabia and Assyria a derivative with the meaning 'obligatory' or 'due' (temple-offering) is attested. That which was 'due' among a definite social group and between it and its gods may be an adequate paraphrase of the root, the advance in religion shewing itself when the idea is extended to other groups.

Hebrew Bible publishes four valuable studies in Hebrew archaeology and religion. His *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908, 6m. 50) cover new ground and will be a welcome stimulus to research in an extremely interesting field. The first is a very elaborate discussion of the Sakhra, the holy rock in the Harâm esh-Sherif at Jerusalem, whose history he traces back as far as the sources allow, viz. to 2 Sam. xxiv (pp. 1-96). As he himself emphasizes, some points in his investigation need verification on the spot, but he is able to prove that the rock with its hollows, channels, and mysterious cave (1 Chron. xxi 19?) has remained essentially unchanged throughout its lengthy career. This is only to be expected, but none the less one is glad to have Prof. Kittel's exhaustive investigation. In the second study he deals at length with the primitive rock-altars, whether laid bare by recent excavation or surviving exposed to the present day, and he discusses the various developments which they have undergone elsewhere (pp. 97-158). The third is a rather slighter study of the stone Zohemoth and the well En-Rogel, and the last deals with the Brazen Altar, with special attention to the views of Stade and Furtwängler (pp. 189-242). The book is well illustrated and forms the first of a series which will be edited by Prof. Kittel himself. There are many valuable details which invite remark; we have only space for a word on the *religionsgeschichtlich-theologisch* value of archaeological research (p. viii). The primitive rock-altars upon which blood and drink-offerings were poured are associated by the writer with the pre-Semitic age of subterranean spirits. Baal came in with the Canaanites, first as a god of the produce of the soil, but later, to judge from the introduction of altars for burnt-offerings, was regarded as a sun-god—perhaps through Aegean influence. Finally, the entrance of the Israelites brought Yahweh, who was no mere sun-god, but, as God of fire, storm, and air, could be confused with Baal. Prof. Kittel's theory of the development of early Palestinian religion (pp. 151 sqq.) deserves careful consideration; his evidence certainly suggests varying stages of religious thought. But even if he is right in the interpretation which he gives of the archaeological details, his distinction between animism and fetishism brings difficulties; he does not appear to allow that these are not systems but attitudes of mind, and he seems to overlook the fact that the fetish is virtually the link between the worshipper and the object worshipped and is not devoid of certain spiritual associations (cp. Astley, pp. 234 sq., 264). Next, to his conceptions of Baalism and nature-worship it may be objected that any specialized deity who produced springs, agricultural wealth, &c., was no mere earth-god. The sun and the rain were all important for the agriculturist, and early place-names and personal names in Palestine

suggest the presence of sun- and weather-deities. Owing to their nature they were readily combined, and while they are prominent in North Syria (fifteenth century) and among the Hittites (about 1300), the old Assyrian name Shamshi-Adad (nineteenth century) practically assimilates them. It is noteworthy, therefore, in connexion with the recognized character of the Egyptian Pharaoh that he is hailed as sun-god and as weather-god (Addu, in its destructive aspect), or even endowed with the attributes of both. Not to mention other deities whose presence in Palestine can be inferred, Prof. Kittel's particular theory does not take into account contemporary monumental evidence, or the course of history at the period. But none the less, his book is a very stimulating contribution to a problem certain factors in which are here convincingly set forth.

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue (Pitman, London, 1907, 10s. 6d.), by the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, B.D., and the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., presents a popular and comprehensive account of the origin, tenets, and practices of Judaism to modern times. More extensive in its survey than Weber's compendium of Talmudic theology, less one-sided than Schürer's history, the book describes sympathetically the Jewish standpoint for non-Jewish readers. Indebtedness to Dr. Schechter's writings is especially acknowledged. Introductory chapters deal with the rise of Rabbinism, its sources and its subdivisions (pp. 1-134). Under Dogmatic Judaism (pp. 135-264) are included sketches of the law, Jewish conceptions of God and the Messiah, the doctrine of Sin and of Baptism, and eschatological teaching. A chapter on the intermediate agencies between God and man is instructive as an illustration of the normal development of Divine representatives and mediators in spite of the opposition of the more orthodox (similarly in Mohammedanism and modern Palestine). Finally, a series of chapters gives an account of the education and life of the Jew from the cradle to the grave, the synagogue and the modern rites and festivals, and a concluding sketch collects some miscellaneous remarks on the retention of old rites and 'primitive' beliefs. The book has been very highly praised by Jewish reviewers for its fairness and grasp, though one may agree with Mr C. G. Montefiore in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1908, pp. 347-357) that it gives us an impression of mediaevalism, of a religion as archaic as the illustrations themselves appear. From the Jewish standpoint it may be thought that too much weight has been laid upon the non-scholastic apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings which Pharisaic Judaism rejected, but it is certain that for a just estimate of the position and development of

Rabbinism, especially in its relation to Christianity, this is a field the importance of which it would be difficult to overestimate.

THE edition of the *Books of Kings* in the Cambridge Bible is by Professor W. E. BARNES, who also undertook *Chronicles* in the same series. The notes are as numerous and full as space allows, and though they are introductory and elementary rather than critical, a surprising amount of information has been packed into the pages without making them dull. It is good to see so many illuminating references to the results of excavation in Palestine; one must heartily welcome anything which may stimulate an intelligent interest in the ancient land. Some attention is paid here and there to the critical questions: thus, Dr Barnes simplifies the troublesome problem of the Deuteronomic recensions by accepting 561 B.C. as the *terminus a quo* for the compilation (p. xxi); the view is entirely justifiable but has important consequences. Also, on p. 166 sq., he looks favourably upon a suggestion that 1 Kings xx 27-43 is a fuller record of events abbreviated in 2 Kings xiii 18 sq., 25; but it will surely be very difficult to isolate this concession from my own theory that all the detailed records of the Aramaean wars in the time of Ahab belong to the dynasty of Jehu (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April). Opinions will of course differ as to the needs of 'schools and colleges' (which the series has in view), but there can be little doubt, first, that a fuller bibliography would be more useful than the list of 'authorities consulted' (p. xlv sq.), and secondly, that it is high time that the 'stock' maps were replaced by more modern ones. In that of the Holy Land the tribal divisions are misleading, and there should be fewer names and more queries. How many of us are interested in the place-name Bilhah? The reading is uncertain, the site is unknown, but it is duly located below Gaza and (*mirabile dictu*) reappears among the dozen Palestinian names retained on the comprehensive map of Assyria, Armenia, and Syria! This map, too, is not above criticism, though in less important particulars. Having regard to the general utility of the Cambridge Bible, and the value of this volume for younger students, it is to be regretted that greater care has not been taken by the publishers to give effect to the positive and negative results of geographical research during the last decade.

FINALLY, I must include in this Chronicle *Sermons in Syntax* by the Rev. JOHN ADAMS, B.D., of Inverkeilor (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908, 4s. 6d.). As in his earlier *Sermons in Accents*, the author publishes studies in the Hebrew text for preachers and students, and endeavours to encourage divinity students not only to acquaint themselves with the

original language of the Old Testament, but also to keep up their knowledge of it. The author rightly condemns easy-going dependence on the labours of others, and remarks upon the bewilderment caused by those who, instead of cultivating a first-hand acquaintance with the text, will rely upon second or even third-hand sources. He has a useful word, too, upon that method of dealing with Scripture which he calls the 'handy concordance plan', and he urges the more systematic method of Biblical Theology which observes the development in ritual and doctrine. For the rest, his book is a readable exposition of the Hebrew tenses, shewing, by practical illustrations, that a careful knowledge of their use leads to the greater appreciation of Old Testament thought. Although the more expert student may occasionally hesitate to follow the author's guidance, this popularization is admirable in principle, and 'tenses without tears' (if I may invent a sub-title) should smooth the path of beginners.

STANLEY A. COOK.

Ancient Chronology (Part I). By OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, Ph. D.
(Chicago, 1907.)

THIS first part of Prof. Toffteen's work brings the subject down to 1050 B.C. only. It is consequently like Ezekiel's valley, 'full of very dry bones.' But the second part is to deal with the better known periods of Biblical and Assyrian history, and should be more immediately interesting. Even in this first part an inspiring teacher would be helped to make dry bones live. A good deal of material bearing on Babylonian and Egyptian as well as Biblical and Assyrian history is brought together here in the compass of a handy volume. The chief criticism to be passed on the book is that it seems to sway between a scientific and a popular aim; yet taken as a whole it is likely to be of considerable use to the advanced student of the Old Testament, who is neither an Assyriologist nor an Egyptologist.

W. EMERY BARNES.

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Church Quarterly Review, April 1908 (Vol. lxxvi, No. 131: Spottiswoode & Co.). The Education Bill 1908—John Wesley and the psychology of revivals—The Athanasian Creed—The Brethren of the Lord—Tractarian Fiction—G. F. HILL Adonis, Baal, and Astarte—Fathers and Sons—The new Elephantine papyri—BISHOP OF VERMONT The Church in the United States of America—Short notices.

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(2) AMERICAN.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédicte, April 1908 (Vol. xxv, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE Nouveaux fragments des Actes de Pierre, de Paul, de Jean, d'André et de l'Apocalypse d'Élie—G. MORIN Un lectionnaire mérovingien avec fragments du texte occidental des Actes—L. GOUGAUD Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises—U. BERLIÈRE Jacques de Vitry. Ses relations avec les abbayes d'Aywières et de Doorezeele—R. ANCEL La disgrâce et le procès des Carafa (*suite*)—A. WILMART Les *Fragments Historiques* et le synode de

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