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The
Journal of Theological Studies

VOLUME V



The Journal
of
Theological Studies

VOLUME V

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1904

769468

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The Journal
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VOLUME V

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1904

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The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

OCTOBER, 1903

‘AGAINST THE STREAM.’

A FRIEND of the writer once entered into conversation with a tramp who was reclining at his ease by the side of the turnpike road. The traveller was fairly communicative, gave some of his experiences, and told where he had spent the past night. Our friend enquired, ‘And where are you going now?’ ‘I don’t know,’ replied the tramp, ‘the wind has gone down and I never go anywhere unless I’ve the wind at my back.’ It is not merely on the king’s highway that we find people who like to have the wind at their backs and who have no inclination for battling against the storm and the stream.

Under the title ‘Against the Stream’ a theological controversy has been running its course in Norway for a considerable period; and the time seems to have come when it is possible to give some indication of its nature, even if it is yet too early to sum up all the results. The name *Mod Strømmen* (‘Against the Stream’) was the title of a book issued by Bishop Heuch of Christiansand early in 1902, calling attention to the rationalistic tendencies which he attributed to much of the popular theology and preaching of the Norwegian Church. The name was at once recognized as an appropriate one for the book, and for the attitude its author was taking up; and articles *pro* and *con* appeared under this title in issue after issue of every newspaper and magazine in the land. In order to understand the points at stake it is necessary to go back a little beyond the year of publication of the Bishop’s book, and to make acquaintance with some of the leading figures in Norwegian theology and religious life.

In the early part of the last quarter of last century throughout Scandinavia the Positivist philosophy, as represented by Brandes in Denmark, and in Norway by a host of poets, litterateurs, and young scientists, was asserting itself in a wonderful degree. The unrest occasioned thereby was possibly felt more in the theological world than anywhere else. The need of recasting the old dogmas and of modernizing the preaching of the Norwegian Church in order to make its theology more biblical and less scholastic, and to make its preaching more practical and less fruitlessly theoretic, was emphasized by several able men. The first pioneer in this crusade was Dr. E. F. B. Horn of the Garrison Church in Christiania, whose death a few years ago left a blank in the Norwegian Church which no one yet has been quite able to fill. The graphic and genial biography of Dr. Horn, written by the incumbent of Røldal, Johannes Brochmann, is a model of what such a book should be, and gives us an admirable idea of the man and his gifts. Horn was a thinker endowed with a sparkingly original mind, and he let loose a perfect torrent of articles, pamphlets, and books that set men a-thinking. He might have said with Fr. V. Baader, 'I am a seed merchant.' His church in the old fortress of the metropolis was crowded to the door when it was known that Horn was to preach, and his influence on the students and rising clergy was incalculable. Amongst other pioneers of progress were Chr. Bruun, also a Christiania clergyman, the originator and editor of the thoughtful magazine *For liberal-minded Christianity*, and for the last ten years joint-editor of *For Kirke og Kultur* ('For Church and Culture'), a name which very adequately explains itself. Prof. Fredrik Petersen, whose lamented death early this year has left another very great blank, had one of the keenest minds in the Lutheran Church, and rendered yeoman service in driving back the assaults of scepticism and unbelief, and in pointing out desirable reforms. Another champion of progress was the present Dean of Christiania, Gustav Jensen, who is probably the most highly esteemed clergyman in Norway, and has refused the offer of a bishopric at least half a dozen times. To him those in authority always apply for information and guidance when important questions arise. Jensen is the St. Bernard of the Norwegian Church, and it may be said that his influence exceeds

that of all professors and bishops and ministers of state. Another eloquent preacher was J. J. Jansen, formerly of Røken, whose influence, until his health gave way, was immense. Then we must mention Thv. Klaveness, another of the foremost preachers of Christiania and of Norway, founder and joint-editor with Bruun of *For Kirke og Kultur*, a man of indomitable energy, of marvellous dialectic skill, and of dauntless courage, whose equal could not easily be found. Before others get their thoughts in order he is on the field of fight with weapons that are keen of edge and wielded with a master hand. Some other leaders of thought have recently come to the front and must be mentioned in a word. Dr. S. Michelet, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, has written valuable works on *The Old Testament View of Sin*, *The Old Testament View of Righteousness*; and a few months since he sent forth *Ancient Sanctuaries in Modern Light*, a series of lectures giving a clear and popular account of the acknowledged results of Old Testament criticism. Dean M. J. Færden, of Norderhov, has published a volume on the same subject as Prof. Michelet's, entitled *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Biblical Research*. Færden's book is much more radical than Michelet's. Probably many will view it with disfavour on account of its unqualified acceptance of some of the extreme conclusions of modern criticism; but the book gives evidence of most extensive reading and expert knowledge, and the author's style is the most fluent and charming we have had experience of among Scandinavian theological writers.

The great apostle of orthodoxy in Norway has for a long period been Bishop J. C. Heuch of Christiansand. He is not so much a theologian as a witness for Christ, deserving in many respects of honour and regard. In days gone by he was an extraordinary power in the Norwegian Church; but his ultra-conservatism of mind has prevented him from advancing with the age. The interesting thing is that Heuch was the very first vigorous assailant of the Positivist tendency, and he gained great laurels in Denmark for his valiant onslaught on Brandes. When Heuch was a priest in Christiania he had all the intelligence of the metropolis assembled around him, appreciating his realistic, practical teaching. No one suspected that behind those sermons of his, sparkling with the reality of life, lay hidden the Old

Lutheran dogmatic system. But eventually it was discovered that his preaching was altogether based on the theological paradox-system of his former teacher Prof. Gisle Johnson. Heuch never saw its defects or the untenability of the old scholasticism in the face of the exegesis and biblical theology of modern times. This was very likely due to the fact that he never was a theologian in the proper sense of the term, but only a very practical pastor and preacher. In most ecclesiastical gatherings he was the doughty champion of the Old Lutheran confession, which in his early days corresponded with the general spirit in the Norse Church and prevailed until Prof. Petersen, succeeding to the chair of Systematic Theology in 1876, showed the absolute necessity for a reconstruction of the old system. But Heuch's fundamentally conservative theological position and tendencies were forgotten under the charm, the vigour and the appositeness of his practical teaching, until what has been called the 'Christiansand Polemic' broke out in 1895.

The cause of this controversy was the publication by the Rev. J. H. H. Brochmann, of the Cathedral Church of Christiansand, a brother of Dr. Horn's biographer, of a book entitled *Lov og Naade*¹ (i. e. 'Law and Grace,' an abbreviation for 'The place of the Law in the Kingdom of Grace'). Recognizing, as Brochmann says, with sorrow, the impotence of the Norse State Church and the dissolution going on within it, he aimed at restoring harmony and power by setting law and duty in their proper and recognized place within the Kingdom of Grace. The question the book sought to answer was—Has the Norwegian State Church managed to preserve its heritage inviolate, and are its priests worthy preachers of the Law and the Gospel? or has the Law been practically set aside, to the injury of the preaching, as the result of an original obliquity of vision, thus distorting, or falsifying, or minimizing the Church's teaching about the Law? Brochmann's conclusion is that, from the very first, the theory of the Law held by the Norse Church has not accurately corresponded with what was intended by Luther and the Reformers; that the Church cannot attain its purpose without revising its standards of doctrine, 'returning to the forsaken paths of our fathers'; and that the restoration of the old will

¹ Christiania, 1894.

demand, as is frequently the case, that some portions must be rebuilt. Brochmann acknowledged that in Norway from many pulpits the Gospel had been preached from full hearts and the Saviour's love had been pictured with earnestness and power, but the result had been disappointing. 'The Word of God is preached one-sidedly. Christ is preached, but the people are taught more to contemplate and listen to Him than to do what He has commanded.' He holds that in a sermon 'the humbling words, the words that go home, are the best and most precious.' Brochmann does not deny that the preacher will find a difficulty in preaching the Law so as to lead to Christ, and preaching Christ so as to secure fidelity; in preaching the Law so that it does not interfere with Grace, and preaching Grace so that it does not hinder the effect of the Law. There is an apparent chasm between the Law and the Gospel; and if the dualism is to be removed the doctrinal definition of the Law must be recast. The book enters most thoroughly and carefully into all the questions involved in prosecuting the question to be elucidated, and it specially asks for a new statement or definition of the Atonement. One would have thought that such a deliverance, wisely weighed, calmly reasoned and clearly put, could hardly fail to lead to searching of heart in the Norse Church, and to proposals for remedying the defects indicated. The book, of course, is not free from defects, and the author makes a quite uncalled-for and gratuitous charge against the Free Lutherans and other Norwegian dissenters, who in some respects seem by their freedom from State control to have been able to modify their standards in the directions desired.

Law and Grace was received at first with almost universal favour by the secular press and also by the Church magazines. But ere long the book was made the object of a vehement attack by the author's own superior, Bishop Heuch, who thereby originated the 'Christiansand Polemic,' which evoked interest in every corner of the land. Klaveness, in *For Kirke og Kultur*, ranged himself unreservedly on the side of Brochmann. Prof. Mydberg, of Upsala, championed his cause most powerfully, and his journal *The Biblical Enquirer* carried on the fight in Sweden. In Denmark and all through Scandinavian America the controversy was followed with interest and suspense; but Brochmann,

unwilling to dispute with his Bishop, left his book to speak for itself. One has difficulty in understanding the Bishop's vehemence, his inconsistency and his lack of charity. Underneath the controversy lay a great question—Is a Norwegian priest entitled freely to think about and discuss doctrinal problems, or must he have the bishop's permission to think and speak and write about the details of the Creed? Probably that was the issue that roused the Norse clergy, for undoubtedly there were many who did not sympathize with Brochmann's reasons, although they had arrived at his conclusions from other premises, and they rebelled against the Bishop's unwarranted reading of lessons to a better scholar and abler discernor of the times than himself.

Bishop Heuch stamped Brochmann as a rationalist and heretic, declaring that he turned Christ into a lay figure to be used only because He was there and could not decently be passed by. His 'theory of justification' is 'as old as rationalism itself'; it is 'in sharp contrast to the Church's doctrine.' 'The God and the children of God whom Brochmann represents are the old progeny of rationalism, to whom he has given new clothes that he may decently present them as his adopted children.' He 'converts God into a genial old optimist.' 'If Christ had never been born it would not have mattered much.' He holds that Brochmann's preaching is quite silent about what we call 'Christ in us,' and that this silence has gone on 'Sunday after Sunday for years.' 'To Brochmann grace in Christ is not all,' and in his preaching we do not learn 'that we in Jesus Christ, our God and brother, have a real Saviour who does and suffers for us all that we cannot ourselves accomplish.' Consequently Brochmann's teaching is non-Christian.

This was a terrible onslaught by the Bishop on the priest of his Cathedral Church, and one is inclined to fancy that there must be more than the book behind the charges. But it was the book that was challenged, and the Bishop had to justify himself from the book. He ingenuously disarms criticism by saying, 'I am no scholar and am unable to quarrel with Mr. Brochmann for his exegetical interpretations, or to examine the whole apparatus he has employed to set up his system.' But this is just a confession that he is not entitled to criticize, nor able to appreciate the proofs produced, partly from Scripture, partly from the nature and essence of the Christian faith, which had led

Brochmann to the conclusions arrived at. The only justification attempted by the Bishop is quite inadequate to convict Brochmann of being a rationalist, or of heterodoxy; and the two or three passages Heuch quotes are severed from the context, and are incapable of bearing the interpretation placed upon them.

The Bishop writes, 'Some may deny me the right to hold that *Law and Grace* contains pernicious heresy, but since I hold that opinion I have not been able to act otherwise than I have done.' What is expected of a bishop who detects 'pernicious heresy' in one of the clergy in his diocese, especially in the Cathedral Church? Is it sufficient that he write a few newspaper and magazine articles? If he is watching over the interests of his diocese he ought to warn the congregation against the heretical teaching of the priest, and to report the matter to the Church authorities and demand the removal of the heretic. As a matter of fact, *Law and Grace* gave no warrant for the Bishop's vehemence. Brochmann's book shows that he is no rationalist. He believes in the Divinity of Christ, the miraculous conception, the resurrection of the Lord, salvation of grace through Christ, the second advent, the authority of scripture, and so on. The Bishop would never have succeeded in convicting Brochmann of heresy; and he seems at length to have recognized the fact, for he neither denounced him in the Cathedral, nor reported him to the Department of State for the Church. Heuch gave out that he was writing a book fully setting forth his charges against Brochmann and others who held views of a similar nature or tendency that were deserving of vituperation and condemnation. But he wisely let the matter drop; the book did not appear, and Brochmann remained in possession of the field. Bishop Heuch now takes up quite a gracious and friendly attitude to the author of *Law and Grace*, since he has come to understand what Brochmann from the very first had told him, that if he knew him, if he would take the trouble to understand him, he would find in him an ally rather than a foe. The Bishop, however, was to learn that although Brochmann was unwilling to do more in the prosecution of his crusade, yet other men were ready to take up the parable against the Norwegian Church and its theology; and these went further far than Brochmann, and their views were worthy of much more scathing denunciation.

Some two years ago Klaveness set the whole of Norway in commotion by a lecture in which he attacked the Christiania public for their homage to the Danish poet Drachmann and the singer Miss B. Lassen, who had openly transgressed all the ordinary conceptions of permissible intercourse between a married man and an unmarried woman. *Morgenbladet*, one of the leading journals of Norway, and many other newspapers, repeatedly attacked him. Even the *Lutherske Kirketidende* kept him at a respectful distance; and the Bishop of Christiania was induced by Miss Lassen's relatives to give Klaveness a public rebuke. But other ministers, among them Brochmann, took the side of Klaveness; and in the end he and his co-editor of *For Kirke og Kultur* won the day. But Klaveness was so exhausted by the numerous blows and attacks directed against him that he had to obtain a long leave of absence in order to recover strength.

He had scarcely returned from abroad before he appeared at the Conference of Lutheran Clergy, at Lund in Sweden, in 1901, and delivered a lecture on 'Modern Indifferentism and the Church,' which gave rise to a most heated discussion both at the meeting and following it.

Klaveness began his lecture by proposing the questions: Why do not our men go to church? And what must be done to draw them? Men, he says, do not despise religion or deny faith in God or Christ; they do not attack the Church or its doctrines, or its service, or its priests; they let these go for what they are worth. But they reserve to themselves the right to do as they please; and as they think they have no need for the Church they choose to be indifferent. These are men with modern culture; and this modern culture has a wonderful faculty for spreading far and wide. This religious indifference of men is at least in part a heritage from the free-thinking propaganda of the last generation.

One great stone of stumbling to which Klaveness directs attention is, that Church leaders and priests are often afraid of free enquiry and scientific examination of the Bible and its dogmas, a fact of which Bishop Heuch's action in the 'Christian-sand Polemic' supplies an instance. Yet it is liberty that has brought to Europe and to particular countries such immeasurable progress in moral as well as in material respects. Norwegian

preachers, in many cases, are not only afraid of progress, but they oppose it; and the most vehement resistance of the truths which science has discovered and of the political and social reforms which the age demanded has come from the Church.

These and other causes have exercised an influence; but the main cause of the desertion of the Church by the modern man is the preaching. The 'whine and pulpit jargon' (Klaveness never minces words), which preachers have inherited from former days, will not be tolerated now. And the matter of the preaching is not much better; although the Gospel itself contains all that is needed to attract and charm, the attractive notes are drowned by notes that repel.

Now what are these? Among others he specifies the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas as they are set forth in the Lutheran Church standards, dogmas which nowadays no man without special theological training is able to understand or accept. To modern thought they are unintelligible, and the modern man is a *thinker*. The modern man has even more difficulty in accepting that which occupies most space in sermons, viz. the doctrine of the Atonement in connexion with the order of salvation. The modern man, he says, cannot reconcile the old dogma of *satisfactio vicaria* with his conceptions of law and justice. That is bad enough; but it is worse when one minute men hear that Christ has done and suffered all in their stead, so that they need not do anything except only to believe themselves saved through Christ; and next minute they are warned not to deceive themselves, for salvation is not so very simple: in order to be saved one must go through a succession of stages linked together—awakening, conversion, justification, regeneration, sanctification. Is it strange if many prefer in the circumstances to keep away from the church where such conflicting doctrines are taught?

Practically there is a great gulf between Culture and the Church. Culture has gone steadily forward, but the Church has lingered behind in the orthodox dogmatism of the seventeenth century and the pietistic ideas of the eighteenth. The Church lies stranded in a by-past age, and the modern man will have nothing to do with what is wrecked or absolutely out of date.

Klaveness instances the Inspiration dogma. No scientific theologian now holds the old mechanical Inspiration theory.

Science, consequently culture, has quite given it up. But Theology has not yet managed to formulate a new theory of Inspiration which has met with general acceptance. Theology gropes and fumbles; and so the exploded theory of Inspiration, discarded by Theology, is taught in the schools, and is preached from the pulpits, inevitably drawing upon the Church the charge that it teaches what it no longer believes.

Klaveness points out that the ancient Church appropriated ancient culture, and obtained from it method and form and a fullness of thought which it combined with the Gospel. Then it gave the age its culture back as a Christian view of the world which conquered the age. The Church of the Reformation did something the same with the Humanism which was the culture of its day. The Church of the present day has not risen to the occasion. It has made attempts, such as rationalism, speculative theology, and the Ritschlian theology; but only rationalism ever looked like succeeding. The Church life of the nineteenth century has been a reaction; and the reaction was warranted and brought its blessing. But we cannot live on reaction without suffering. Life demands progress. Culture has progressed; but the Church has not, and so an increasing indifferentism has taken possession of the cultured throng.

Now what must the Church do to meet this indifferentism? Klaveness answers that the natural conclusion from his premises is, that the Church should appropriate the culture of the present day and give it back to the age as a Christian view of the world suited for present needs. But for that a religious genius like Augustine or Luther would be required; and such a genius does not come at call.

He therefore says: Let the clergy preach the Gospel and thereby, if possible, change the indifferentism into love for Christ. That is a matter of course; but what else must be done? Modern men will not come to hear. Can we compel them? It will not do to use compulsion. The Church has tried that often enough, and it partly does so still—compulsory confirmation, first communion, forced catechization, to some extent (e. g. in the case of soldiers) even compulsory church attendance. But it is not seemly that the Church should rely on the State; and the Church must do without the aid of the State.

How is it to be done? Let the Gospel be preached so that by its own inherent power the message will draw the indifferent so that they *must* hear, and then they will be convinced of its truth. But it is of no use trying, as so many do, to terrify men with the pangs of hell. A sensible man will not be forced or terrified into believing. He only believes what his conscience has testified to be the truth. And he cannot believe anything else, even with hell before his eyes. Consequently the whole style and character of preaching must be changed.

Preachers must place themselves with brotherly sympathy by men's sides and enter into their thoughts and feelings. In this way they may form some idea of what amount of religious truth their hearers can receive, and learn how to preach that it may be received. That was how Jesus and the apostles acted. They gave the religious truth which their hearers could bear. If the pulpit is to win the educated men of the present day it is necessary to find their *hearts*. The modern man feels himself under a supreme power, which never fails to return a crop not only of what an individual sows but also of what his ancestors through generations and the society round about have sowed. Life becomes a burden, and men are ever sighing, in secret, for a Father's heart on which they can lean and to which they can bring their pains and griefs.

Now what must be preached to such a generation? Will it do to refer to Adam's guilt and sin, and to explain that God reckoned Adam's guilt to Christ, and Christ accepted it and paid the penalty; and that we receive the benefit of Christ's sacrifice by faith so that God imputes it to us for righteousness? Such a system of imputing and reckoning and appropriating is far too involved, to say the least. Christianity must be simple in order that men may grasp it and believe. Preaching must be simple like that of Christ. The preacher's message should be like this:

‘The Father-heart you sigh for, you children of the twentieth century, may be found. The Power which rules the world, and whose adamant consistency you feel, has such a Father-heart. However much it may seem so, that power is no blind fate; it is a Father, a holy Father, who wishes His children to become perfect and who therefore punishes their sins and trains them strictly; but yet a Father who forgives the penitent child,

improves everything, improves wholly and fully: who comforts the suffering child, who nurses the meek child, and trains him for his kingdom.

That is the Gospel of Christ. Jesus preached that with His life and with His life: and He sealed that preaching with His blood on the Cross, and God sealed it by raising Christ up from the dead and setting Him at His own right hand. And thence the Holy Spirit comes and seals that Gospel in the hearts of all that are opened to receive Him. It becomes a divinely witnessed truth which no logical process and no argument can undermine. Thus we can show the man what is the kernel of the Gospel: God's Father-heart, opened and revealed in us in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son.

Of course so much is spoken of sin, and is spoken of that men's eyes may be opened to its iniquity. For here most preachers try to bring men to a confession of sin by teaching the dogma of man's total depravity and maintaining that this depravity must be felt if there can be no salvation. Now it is by the Law that the knowledge of sin comes. The legal way to work a knowledge of sin is to present man with downright Christian morality, and it is easy to point here to the law of cause and effect, a lesson present-day men will not deny or overlook.

But it is of no use to teach men that God's Law is so hard that ordinary mortals cannot fulfil it. Even the Gentiles do by nature the things which the Law requires. But if we assert what is not true we make the Law of none effect. When Paul says that by the Law is the knowledge of sin, he means not that such knowledge comes only by hearing, but that the knowledge comes by a man doing what the Law requires. Christ said: 'This do and thou shalt live' and He left His hearers to find out by experience. Consequently from the pulpit there must be heard a living witness of the full forgiveness of sin to all who do God's will and regret their sins: and there must be an urgent call to every man: 'Come in Jesus' name with your errors and mistakes and pray for forgiveness and you will receive pardon, and together with pardon peace and hope.' What the age needs it is the forgiveness of sin and the assurance of salvation, and preaching must give that assurance. And it can be given if the pulpit will.

let Christ's person and life and death and resurrection explain the holy, merciful, Father-love of God.

A priest need not confine himself wholly to such preaching as has been indicated. If he has more which is his own personal experience, and if he is certain his hearers have the power to receive more, then he can give more. But the preacher must confine himself, if he is to gather round him those who are indifferent, to such simple subjects as have been indicated, for comparatively few have the qualifications for receiving more. And even faithful church attenders are not able to take in much more. Our artificial exegesis and complicated dogmatics fly over their heads. They secretly sigh for what is simpler and more practical.

In fine, preachers must get away from the preaching 'whine and jargon,' and begin to speak of God calmly, naturally, and directly, as ordinary cultured people usually speak to each other. And there must be shown consideration for the modern man of culture, who has his very good sides. If he is to be won for Christ it will be by setting forth a fuller and simpler Christianity than the old. The modern man is here, and the Lord gives the pulpit the task to win him for the kingdom of heaven. To win him, preachers must love him, love him with all his faults and weaknesses and sufferings and fermenting unrest and doubts. The modern man has often been unjustly condemned; he has often been unwarrantably wounded. He must be loved. Preachers need a new baptism of the Spirit. They should pray for the fullness of the Spirit that they may be able to understand the age, and feel for it, and find their way to its heart. 'Oh, for a clergy anointed by the Spirit of the Lord to preach the Gospel to the children of our age.'

When Klaveness delivered his lecture at Lund, and when Jansen reviewed Harnack's *Essence of Christianity* in a way which even his friends disapproved, Bishop Heuch again took up his pen, considering that now he had something more dangerous still than *Law and Grace* to battle with, and his book was issued under the title *Against the Stream*¹. No religious or theological book has caused such a sensation in Norway. It went through

¹ *Mod Strømmen*, Christiania, 1902.

six editions in a single year, and that in a country with only half the population of Scotland; and it has called forth support and opposition in every dale and hamlet of the land. It has been followed by *Svar* ('Rejoinder') from the Bishop's hand, in answer to the attacks made on him and his position; and the controversy is only now beginning to subside. Not merely the theological and religious press but the daily newspapers and weekly journals teemed with articles, reviewing the various phases of the controversy. Laymen held great gatherings and passed votes of thanks to the Bishop for his book; and even from America such a congratulatory address has recently come. Last year Heuch was invited to Stockholm to a clerical congress, where he was fêted in an extraordinary fashion; and King Oscar took the opportunity of decorating him with the Grand Cross of the Order of the North Star.

Bishop Heuch's book is uncompromisingly conservative. It was called forth, as we have seen, by the lecture of Klaveness at Lund, and it deals both with that lecture and with certain related modern tendencies. The Bishop skilfully avoids attacking Gustav Jensen (the only person he seems to be afraid of), not so much because of the views he holds, since Jensen is distinctly progressive and outspoken, and his theology is very liberal in expression and tendency, as because of the universal popularity and authority of the man. But he hales before his tribunal Profs. S. Michelet and Lyder Brun, with Chr. Bruun, Jens Gleditsch, and others. It is even said that, when his former friend and colleague Dean Færden sent Heuch his book on *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Biblical Research*, the Bishop returned it unread. One interesting fact is that in *Against the Stream* Heuch most significantly avoids Brochmann and *Law and Grace*; partly, doubtless, because he had burnt himself severely in the former controversy, partly because he had come to see that Brochmann was after all not so radical and certainly not nearly so extreme as Klaveness and the others, whose opinions were, as he believed, so flagrantly unorthodox, rationalistic, and heretical.

Heuch is a fearless warrior wielding his sword with a skill and vigour that many a younger man might envy. However much we disagree with his treatment of his opponents and his mode of setting forth his views, we must admire his evident honesty

of purpose, his vigour of language and his clearness of expression. But when he blames his adversaries for want of clearness the charge returns upon himself; for the lack of understanding is not due so much to the obscurity of the writers as to the Bishop's inability to look at the questions from their point of view. Perhaps, also, he is incapable of grasping the fact that they are trying to meet new conditions of life and tendencies of the age which he either does not see or does not appreciate, conditions and tendencies with which he certainly does not sympathize.

Against the Stream is controversial from first to last. It is directed against the attempts of certain Norwegian theologians, some named, others unnamed, to throw a bridge over the chasm between the modern consciousness and the Christian faith, between culture and Christianity; attempts which Bishop Heuch thinks will only lead to rationalism and freethought, and are merely an echo from extreme German theology.

In his introduction Heuch tries to show that during the last decade the word *Christian* has gradually gone out and been replaced by *religious*; that the Norwegian clergy are seeking more and more to 'convert their sermons into religious lectures, so stripped of everything definitely Christian that the preacher might just as well be a Jew or a Unitarian.' This method of procedure will make religion more palatable and marketable, they seem to think, and 'it is better to get a little sold, than to be left with the whole stock on hand.' But this stinting of the Christian preaching, until it contains merely universal religious truths, is a treason against Christianity. Christianity is the personal relation to God through faith in Jesus Christ. What God demands is not that we shall attempt to do as much good as possible, but that we shall confess the evil of our utterly depraved hearts. Morality, he holds, in multitudes of cases, leads only to self-righteousness, and thereby becomes a hindrance to the salvation of the soul. 'The full-toned preaching of the Gospel is to these moralists a nauseous drink composed of unsalted silliness, unsettled extravagance and mawkish sentimentality, which they cannot swallow.' It may be 'very difficult to say what relaxes and deadens consciences more, whether a life in vice or the ordinary self-righteousness of respectability which satisfies itself with always fulfilling something of the law.'

The 'new preaching' which is demanded by Norwegian 'theological authorities' consists in the attempt, out of respect to the great majority in our age who have a weakly developed religious sense, to show them a way to heaven '*meanwhile*, without their having anything at all to do with Christ, by merely praying the good-natured Universal Father to forgive them their sin because they are sorry and have good intentions.' These preachers will, according to the Bishop, '*meanwhile*' first make the godless rationalists, and thereafter Christians; although German rationalistic theologians, from whom Norwegian 'scientific theologians' have derived their novelties, only try to make people rationalists. And then they clothe their preaching with some rags of Christian precept which conceal what is underneath. The Bishop says that, of course, none of the new men deny the Divinity of Christ, but all the same they reduce Him to a religious genius, practically saying that God has come into the world without serious purpose. What really faces us is this: 'Rationalism preached by Christian men who know not what they do.'

In the section on 'The Words of the Cross,' the Bishop attacks the scientific theologians who try to explain the connexion and reasonableness of the thoughts which are realized in the work of salvation; but they only manage 'to illuminate Mont Blanc with a night-light.' Their many theories of the Atonement merely serve to make the Christian faith ridiculous. Heuch says that according to Klaveness Christ's death on the Cross was necessary as a 'seal' of His preaching of God's love. Thereby the crucifixion becomes nothing but an ordinary martyr-death. If it was nothing more, there was no necessity for God to send His Son into the world at all.

Another characteristic of modern preaching, in the Bishop's eyes, is the increasing use of the name 'Jesus of Nazareth.' That name was used in the Bible by those who did not believe on Him. 'That the German rationalists who deny Christ's Divinity represent Jesus as a mere man is only natural; to them He is but the prophet from Nazareth. But that our transition theologians, who assert that they believe on Christ as God and Man, and do believe so, can fancy that they may follow the Germans here is to me inconceivable.'

Heuch also discusses the danger which threatens the faith

from Biblical Criticism, if it is not properly met. It is not through erudite studies we come to certainty about the truth of God's word, but through the power of the word itself. It would not be a good thing if it should be said, 'This man is clever enough to be saved, but that man is not sufficiently endowed to attain to a scientific knowledge of the truth.' The Church would then be dependent on the shifting views of science. 'If we are to be the slaves of men, then it would be better to believe the Pope than the theologians. For the Pope is only one, and his teaching is ever the same; but the theologians are as numerous as the flies in summer and so are their scientific results.'

The Bishop attacks all who wish progress in theology and preaching; 'not only the new theology, but, in a certain sense, all theology even the most orthodox, since I deny its right and power to prepare more or less logical theories in defence of God's great works.' Theology has at all times injured the faith, therefore 'Away with all theology' is the burden of the Bishop's book. Theology, of course, has always had a desperate inclination to think. The only theology that Heuch will have is a theology that *must* not think. Immediately there is a conflict between faith and thought, the door is slammed in the face of thought, and the Bishop cries *Credo quia absurdum*. The theology of every age has been based on reason; but it is very significant that Heuch closes his book by telling us that *rational* is synonymous with *rationalistic*.

The Bishop expects opposition to his book, but he does not fear the opposition; nor does he fear defeat. Only, he is afraid that the conflict will challenge the personal relation to God of the various individuals mentioned, and he does not wish that; he has only aimed at what they teach, not at what they are.

Against the Stream is really an assault on theology, and it passes sentence on theologians. The assault is vehement, and the sentence is the extreme penalty of the law. The Church is called to arms to rise and defend its sanctuaries. The Bishop's strong words are the words of a man with intense convictions; and such a man's words are seldom without effect. But unfortunately Heuch has laid himself open to charges of unfairness, lack of charity, and even dishonesty; and as these have been

brought home to him the case he tried to make out has in many respects suffered if not failed.

Klaveness has defended himself by declaring that the Bishop has misinterpreted his teaching, and he has published *The Conflict of To-day*¹, a volume of sermons bearing on the points specially aimed at by the Bishop. In this volume, and in his larger and very popular *The Gospel for To-day*², he has set forth his views plainly and clearly. He wishes all to know exactly what he does preach and teach, and why. In many cases the Bishop has undoubtedly misinterpreted or misunderstood Klaveness, but there are striking blanks showing that Klaveness does not preach 'the whole Gospel.' Yet absence of mention does not warrant the charge of denial of the truths; and the burning eloquence and human sympathy manifested show the preacher's love for souls and his love for the modern man, and quite explain his immense popularity.

Then again, four of the leading writers and theologians challenged by name in *Against the Stream* subscribed a disclaimer, categorically denying that they held certain of the views attributed to them, and they maintained that no fair-minded reader could place on the language they had used the construction Heuch had given it. In various instances, to make his case strong, the Bishop has taken clauses or sentences from their contexts, and at least in one important passage he changed a word so as completely to pervert the sense and meaning of the author. And by his silence, as well as by repeating in subsequent editions of his book instead of withdrawing the assertions or misinterpretations complained of, the Bishop has alienated the sympathy and lost the support of many who sided with him in his main contention. In Norway, as in other lands, there is a tendency to side with the weak and with those unfairly treated whatever the rights of the case may be.

The Bishop himself is excessively sensitive to criticism and opposition. One is unconsciously led to fancy that his vanity has been touched by the opposition he has met. He seems to have been popular at school and college and as a minister in his pre-episcopal days. But he seems to be afraid of his reputation

¹ *I Dagens Strid*, Christiania, 1903.

² *Evangeliet forkynnet for Nutiden*, 3rd ed., Christiania, 1902.

now that so many, whom he expected to support him, have upbraided him for his unchristian mode of fighting and for his lack of charity.

His health broke down under the strain of the controversy, and it was only with difficulty and with the aid of his secretary, to whom he dictated his *Rejoinder*¹, that he got ready the book. It summed up what he had to say in meeting arguments he could not overlook, and it repeated practically without discount all he had said about the 'transition theologians' and the tendency of the 'new preaching' in *Against the Stream*.

Heuch's main charge against his opponents, then, is that they are secret rationalists and are prepared to convert the Gospel into nothing but morality. They most indignantly and unanimously deny the charge. Klaveness goes further than any other and further than most are prepared to go. But he is no rationalist, if his sermons are any criterion of his creed. He distinctly maintains the Divinity of Christ, the miraculous Conception, the genuineness of the miracles, the Resurrection, &c., although it must be acknowledged that he makes less of the Atonement than is desirable, and his doctrine concerning it is not cast in the usual mould. So far as the evidence goes, although there are some indications that the waves of rationalism from Germany are lapping the Norwegian strand, not one priest or theological professor in Norway is to-day a complete rationalist.

The impression as to the main results of the controversy which remains, after perusing carefully newspaper columns, magazine articles, pertinent pamphlets, and the controversial books, is that there was some reason for the Bishop's protest against the neglect of certain fundamental truths, and against the emphasis laid on less essential points of the Christian faith and life. In Norway, the essence of Christianity, the Atonement of Christ, may have been in danger of being forgotten or lost sight of, and possibly in some quarters there may have been a desire to replace Christianity with a universal religion based on the first article of the Apostles' Creed. But the Bishop's book would leave on one the impression that the preaching in Norway is far worse than it really is; at any rate, the

¹ *Sær*, 3rd ed., Christiania, 1903.

volumes of sermons published by those challenged do not warrant the grievous charges made. Extreme supporters of the 'Higher Critical' views of the Old Testament and Harnack's *Essence of Christianity* have also driven some into Heuch's camp. But, on the whole, the Bishop suffers because he does not understand the theology he challenges. His lack of theological insight is very manifest. He owns that it has never been easy for him thoroughly to master an opponent's line of thought and that he has never been in the proper sense a theologian. And this defect so mars and confuses his polemics that he attributes, as we have seen, to his opponents views totally at variance with those they really hold.

The Norwegian Church will probably thank the Bishop for the action he has taken for the sake of the issue and of the main question, and will forget all the rest; although it is not certain that this will satisfy Heuch. The controversy has certainly cleared the air, and has made plain what exalts Christianity above all other religions—Christ the Redeemer; so that, in the first place, the modern idea of a common religion, a mixture of religions, becomes an absurdity, a meaninglessness. Faith in God is common, even faith in a merciful God; faith in a life beyond with rewards and penalties might also be accepted; a claim for love and other virtues too. But that which makes Christianity to be Christianity, is Christ, the Redeemer, and without Him Christianity is annulled. If a mixed religion were originated in which the only elements taken from Christianity were faith in a merciful God, a demand for a moral life, and belief in future rewards and punishments, then Christianity would be really excluded from the mixed religion.

In the second place, the controversy has brought clearness as to how many Christians in fact have not reached any further than to the first article of the Apostles' Creed. In short, the controversy has made clear what is the essence of Christianity. But the weakness of Bishop Heuch's standpoint is that he can be satisfied with an untenable theory of the Atonement which makes Christ's sacrifice a sacrifice in the Old Testament style and spirit, only much greater. It is not seen why Christ might not just as well have been the Redeemer if Herod had slain Him and poured out His blood with that of the Innocents at

Bethlehem. The weakness in Heuch is that his theology, without his knowing it, is scholastic rather than biblical; when it comes to the point, it is even rationalistic in so far as it is a product of human reason, of human thinking, but not faithful to revelation, biblical.

Along with Gustav Jensen and the recently deceased Prof. Fr. Petersen, there is no doubt that Thv. Klaveness and Bishop Heuch have been the best men of the Norwegian Church for many years. Norway may well thank God for them. The two opponents, Heuch and Klaveness, have both in a high degree 'the failings of their virtues'; and the one has no right to say to the other 'I have no need of thee.' *Against the Stream* and the subsequent controversy have led the Norse in every corner of the country to think and speak about religious and theological questions with results that can only be for the good of the Church and the benefit of true religion. Klaveness and those who support him will doubtless see that Heuch and his comrades neither lead Norway back to a cast-iron orthodoxy nor bring about a paralysis of theological thought. And Heuch and his host will be able to give the opposite tendency, the 'transition theologians' and the champions of the 'new preaching,' a forcible lecture on reverence for the old doctrines, a lecture which it will probably do them no harm to hear. Bishop Heuch will thus by his vehement appearance *Against the Stream* have helped to turn the stream into a better channel.

J. BEVERIDGE.

THE GREEK MONASTERIES IN SOUTH ITALY. III.

THE POLICY OF THE NORMANS TOWARDS THE GREEK MONASTERIES.

THE eleventh century was until its closing years a period of decadence in the Greek monasteries of South Italy. They increased in numbers during this period, but their character was lowered. Probably the older monasteries sent out on every side colonies of monks who left the parent house, not from any desire to propagate their faith, or to lead a more religious life, but from the wish to leave companions whom they disliked. There was not much to prevent this. The monasteries were not rich, there was no tradition of splendid buildings; any one who wished could easily start a new monastery.

Even in the older monasteries the standard of life was going down, if we may judge from the scanty evidence which we possess.

This is to be found in the Life of S. Philaretus¹ already mentioned, which presents a very different picture to that given by the earlier Lives. There is no mention of any especial knowledge, or of intellectual pursuits; no mention of the production of manuscripts; manual labour and useless asceticism are the features which are prominent.

Philaretus was first a herdsman, afterwards a gardener in the monastery of Aulinas; he was energetic in these occupations, and he was renowned for those austerities of asceticism which were as fashionable in ancient monasteries as athletics are in a modern college. Hence he became famous. He and all the other monks of the first half of the eleventh century seem to have lost the energy

¹ *A. SS.* Apr. i p. 605 ff.

and spirituality of their predecessors, and retained only the unessential element of extreme asceticism.

Monasticism therefore was in need of new life at the dawn of the Norman period, and it was to a curiously mixed and confused country that the Normans came. There were to be found in the South of Italy three distinct races—Lombards, Greeks, and Arabs. The former predominated in the North, the two latter in the South of the district. Each had its own customs and language, and—the point which is important for our present purpose—there were scattered about over the whole country a great number of monasteries of the Basilian order, which, with the rest of the Greek world, was strongly opposed to Rome, and looked to Constantinople for inspiration.

There was little order to be found in any sphere of life; there was no organization, no real system of responsibility; and to introduce order was the first task of the Normans, when once the conquest was complete.

They allowed the customs and titles which they found in use to remain. Even so late as the thirteenth century we find references to 'exarchs,' 'strategi,' and 'themes.'

But in spite of this superficial preservation of the old order they produced a profound difference, by the introduction of the feudal system. It is only necessary here to notice the effect of this change on the ecclesiastical side. It may be summed up as producing two great alterations: (1) the Latinization of many churches and monasteries; (2) the establishment of certain Basilian monasteries to control in a new manner the Greek monastic life of the districts in which they were planted.

(1) *The Latinization of Greek churches and monasteries.* There can be no doubt that this process was justified in two ways: there came with the Norman conquest a great increase in the number of Latin-speaking inhabitants, who looked on the Pope of Rome rather than the Patriarch of Constantinople as the head of their Church; and also there was, no doubt, even before the Norman conquest, an unnecessary number of Basilian monasteries and Greek churches in a country which, in the Basilicata at least, was by no means purely Greek.

The Latinization of the churches was swiftly accomplished:

by the beginning of the twelfth century, the four metropolitan sees, Reggio, Tarentum, Otranto, and Santa Severina, and many of the suffragan sees, were in Latin hands.

But the process was not pushed beyond the limits of justice. In 1096, in appointing a Latin bishop to Squillace, Roger expressly gives as his reason that the bulk of the population is Latin. 'Ego Rogerius,' he says in his charter¹, 'Siciliae comes et Calabriae coepi condolere casui et ruinae . . . ubi tanta vigeat Normandorum copia, pontificalis et Latina nondum extiterat ecclesia, etc.'; and so we find that in the Aspromonte, where the Christian population must have been almost purely Greek, the Greek bishoprics remain. It is not until long afterwards that Rossano, Bova, Stilo, Oppido, etc., become Latin.

As it was with the sees so it was with the monasteries. Many of these became Latinized, and passed under the Benedictine instead of the Basilian rule. But the policy of the Normans effected in their case a further change. Before their time each monastery, with but few exceptions, was a separate community. It managed its own affairs, subject to the nominal control of the bishop of the diocese, and there was no cohesion between the different houses. This was abhorrent to the Normans, and therefore many of the Basilian monasteries were given to the great Benedictine houses of La Cava and Monte Cassino.

Such was the fate of many small foundations, which seem to have sprung up only in the eleventh century; e.g. Kur-zosimo, which was given to La Cava, and is mentioned more than once in the *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*², though I cannot find the original deed of gift.

(2) *The establishment of new Basilian Greek monasteries.* It would at first seem as though this process were the exact opposite of the former. But it is not really so. The Normans were not so much concerned to banish Greek ecclesiastical life as to take away from it its unfair preponderance in districts where the majority of the population was Latin, and to introduce in districts which were truly Greek a spirit of order which was lacking. Obviously in the latter case Latinization would have been both unfair and useless. But it was possible to adapt the principles

¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IX, p. 591 D.

² e.g. vol. viii, p. 206, a Greek charter.

of the feudal system to Greek life, as well as to bring Greek life under the operations of the feudal system, already established among the Latins.

To establish, then, the feudal system in those Greek monasteries which were really necessary, when the unnecessary ones had been Latinized, was the object of their policy. It required a considerable modification of the existing condition of the Basilian monasteries.

It would be difficult to state exactly what was the rule of the Greek Church about monastic property. It is fortunately not necessary for the present purpose to attempt to do so, for it is at least certain that the Basilian rules never contemplated the existence of an abbot who was a kind of territorial lord, such as the Norman feudal system made him.

To modify the existing monasteries in this way seems to have been generally beyond the power of the Normans, and they therefore established Greek houses in various districts, endowed them richly, and put the smaller and older houses into their control.

The chief monasteries which were founded in the pursuit of this policy are S. Elias at Carbo, which may be an exception to the general rule, and really be an old monastery; S. John the Reaper, at Stilo; S. Mary of Patira, at Rossano; and S. Nicholas of Casola near Otranto.

I propose to bring together some of the more important facts in the history of three of these monasteries¹ separately, but at this point it may be well to show their general importance.

It will be noticed at once that they seem intended to manage the different districts of the country.

The Greek part of the Norman kingdom may be roughly said to have consisted of four districts: (1) the Aspromonte; (2) the Sila; (3) the district to the north and west of the Sila, which runs up into the Basilicata; (4) the heel of Italy.

To each of these districts a great convent is allotted. S. John

¹ I would have added the story of the fourth, S. John the Reaper, but for the fact that, except for a late and untrustworthy life in the *A. SS.* and four deeds referring to lawsuits in Montfaucon's *Palaeog. Graeca*, there seems to be no material for its history. Rodota dismisses it in a few lines, though he says that it was acknowledged as the chief of the Basilian monasteries in Calabria.

the Reaper dominates the Aspromonte, though it must be noted that the little monasteries in the south of the Aspromonte¹ are placed under the great Sicilian monastery of S. Salvator, at Messina, which was so much nearer to them. S. Mary of Patira dominates the Sila and the adjacent valley. S. Elias dominates the Basilicata and, roughly speaking, the land north of the Sila, a huge district stretching away to the East as far as Bari. S. Nicholas of Casola dominates the heel of Italy.

One is therefore justified in regarding these four monasteries as the great Basilian houses of the Norman period, and in seeing in their position the result of the Norman policy.

It is also possible to some extent to see who, among the monks, were the instruments of the Norman policy, though the sources of information often fail us.

The most important was Bartholomew of Simeri. At least it is of him that we have the fullest knowledge, so that we must be content to take him as a specimen of the little group of Greek monks who carried out the Norman policy.

Bartholomew² was a Calabrian, who came from Simeri³, a small town near Catanzaro, and lived on the banks of a torrent called Melitinum, which has not been identified, though, if one may judge from the census list of Rossano⁴ in the fifteenth century, there was a monastery⁵ there down to a comparatively late date. After a time he moved, quite in the spirit of Elias Junior, to a more desolate district, in pursuit of quiet, but attracted other monks to him by the fame of his virtue. He wished to leave them⁶, as Cosmas and Vitalis left Melicuccà, but a vision of S. Mary changed his purpose, and he determined to found a monastery. This was the turning-point of his career. In order to raise an endowment for his foundation he went in 1102-3 to Christodulos⁷, an official of the court of Queen Adelaide and her young sons. It was a critical moment in the history of the Normans, whose power was weakened by the death of Roger I. They probably felt the need of conciliating the large Greek population, and so Christodulos introduced Bartholomew to the

¹ e.g. S. Pancratius of Scilla and S. Philaretus of Aulinae.

² His life is published in the *A. SS.* Sept. viii p. 794 ff.

³ *A. SS.* tom. cit. p. 811 n.

⁴ *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 117 f.

⁵ Sometimes also called Trigona.

⁶ *A. SS.* tom. cit. p. 817 a.

⁷ *A. SS.* tom. cit. p. 817 c.

court. The Royal family received him warmly, endowed him liberally, and insisted that he should be made the abbot of the monastery. He was ordained by the Bishop of Gunaecopolis¹, which is said to be Belcastro, and the King (or rather, I suppose, Queen Adelaide) obtained a bull from the Pope², granting 'immediacy' to the monastery³.

In this way, Bartholomew was the agent of the Norman policy in founding S. Mary's of Patira, but according to his Life this does not exhaust the record of his work.

About the year 1126, Bartholomew was accused by the Benedictine monks of heresy⁴. He was acquitted, and Roger, in order to show his confidence, or perhaps because his attention had again been drawn to the capable character of the monk, at once invited him to found a monastery at Messina⁵, to dominate Sicily, just as S. Mary's at Rossano dominated the Sila. Bartholomew of course assented, and dedicated his new monastery to S. Salvator; but it is remarkable that in order to fill his monastery he did not draw upon Sicily, but brought a dozen monks from Rossano, one of whom, Luke by name, he appointed abbot. He obtained from Roger a charter, which gave him not merely the supremacy over all the Greek houses in Sicily then existing, but also over all which should be founded at any future time.

These two foundations, S. Mary's of Patira and S. Salvator of Messina, are the only two monasteries which Mgr. Batiffol will allow to be Bartholomew's foundations; but his Life tells the story of his reorganization of another on Mount Athos⁶, which was given him by a rich Byzantine named Kalimeris, and was known in consequence of his work as 'the monastery of the Calabrian.' Mgr. Batiffol rejects this story as apocryphal, chiefly on the ground that no such monastery is now to be found on Mount Athos. 'Aucune trace,' he says, 'de Saint-Barthélemy, ni de B. Kalimeris, ni du couvent de Saint-Basile dans l'histoire de l'Athos⁷.' But Mgr. Batiffol has been misled by Langlois, for

¹ A. SS. tom. cit. p. 818 z.

² A. SS. tom. cit. p. 819 c.

³ I shall presently give the outlines of the story of this foundation. Here it is enough to notice that this privilege of immediacy shows that the Normans were working on the Benedictine model, which they knew best.

⁴ A. SS. tom. cit. 823 c.

⁵ A. SS. tom. cit. p. 824 f.

⁶ A. SS. op. cit. p. 821 c.

⁷ *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 7, n.

the ruins of the deserted convent of S. Basil are still visible on Mount Athos, and it was founded (according to *Act. Ponticum*, 184, in a marginal note: to a paraphrase of the life of Euthymius of Thessalonica¹) by Basil of Thessalonica, the biographer and pupil of Euthymius.

This seems to make it very rash to reject entirely the story of Bartholomew's visit to Mount Athos.

Bartholomew stands out as the capable agent of the Normans in reforming and revivifying the Basilian monasteries of South Italy. He has left behind him no record in the form of literature; but indirectly every MS in the library at Messina, and a great number of those in the Vatican, ought to remind us of the really great work which he did in organizing the Greek monasteries in the twelfth century. To his work in collecting manuscripts I shall refer later.

M^r. Batifol is inclined to regard Bartholomew not merely as a representative and prominent member of the band of monks who carried out the policy of the Normans, but as pre-eminent among the others. Perhaps he is right; but surely he does not make sufficient allowance for the paucity of the evidence, and the favoured position which Bartholomew occupies in this respect. He is the only one whose Life is extant, for we can hardly count the miserable document² which concerns John the Reaper. If it were not for this Life what should we know of Bartholomew? Only that he is mentioned in a few charters relating to S. Mary of Patira, and in a few others relating to S. Salvatore of Messina: his constant intercourse and direct dealings with the Court would be quite unknown. But this scanty evidence from charters is all that is known of Nilus of Rossano and Carbo (and possibly of Blasius of Carbo), of Joseph of Casola, or of John the Reaper of Stilo. A few charters (in the case of Joseph and John not even that) are all that we possess.

I do not think it is fair to conclude that these men were not the equals of Bartholomew. Their monasteries became great

¹ This life is not yet published, though Dr. P. Uspenski gave a few extracts from it in 1877 in his book on Mount Athos. Euthymius lived in the ninth century, and founded the convent of 'S. Andrew at the Doves,' in or near Thessalonica. I hope that his life may soon be published from a MS which I was fortunate enough to see this year at the Laura.

² *A. B. G.* Feb. iii p. 479 ff.

just as his did; and this fact alone is enough to suggest that they would prove, if the evidence could be found, to belong to the same class as Bartholomew—the class of wise statesmanlike monks who carried out the policy of the Norman Court.

THE OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THREE TYPICAL MONASTERIES.

(i) *S. Elias of Carbo*¹. The history of this great monastery, which was first called S. Anastasius and afterwards S. Elias of Carbo, is to be found in the *Historia Monasterii Carbonensis* of Paulus Aemilius Sanctorius², a book full of information, but quite uncritical. To produce an adequate history Sanctorius's work must be compared with the *Chronicon Carbonense* in the Vatican archives, and the papers in the *Dossier Basiliani*, in the same place.

The foundation of the monastery is obscure. Sanctorius, following tradition, attributes it to Lucas of Demena. There is no evidence for this in the Life of Lucas, and I think that it is a purely mythical story. Lucas was the great monastic hero of the Basilicata, and Carbo was, in the twelfth century and later, the great monastery of the district, therefore it was natural that tradition should join Lucas and Carbo together. Further investigations tend to confirm this view. Sanctorius gives the following list of abbots, down to Nilus the second founder of the monastery:—

Lucas I.	Lucas III.
Blasius I.	Clemens.
Menas.	Nilus (of Grotta Ferrata).
Stephanus Theodulus.	Bartholomaeus (of Grotta Ferrata).
Lucas II.	Climius.
Blasius II.	Nilus of Rossano.

This list is very suspicious. Nilus and Bartholomaeus are clearly insertions: we can show an *alibi* for both of them. They were either at Tusculum or already dead³, at the time when

¹ I believe that Carbo is the correct form, but on modern maps it is Carbone.

² All the deeds quoted in this section are taken from this book.

³ If the deed referred to below be genuine Blasius II lived in 1077, when Nilus had been dead more than seventy years!

they are supposed to have been at Carbo. Further evidence, which does not support the list, is to be found in a deed, the earliest of those which refer to the monastery, given in 1077 to the venerable Blasius by Ugo de Claromonte. According to this, Blasius was abbot in 1077, which is hardly conceivable if the list is right. Lucas of Demena probably died in 993, and there are only five names between him and Blasius II; Nilus of Rossano was abbot at least before 1100, if the deed of Richard the Seneschal be genuine¹, and the list gives five (including the two inserted) abbots (and Sanctorius hints at two more) for this period. I should not be surprised to find that Blasius II is the true founder of the monastery, and that the names preceding him are apocryphal.

Mgr. Batiffol goes even further, and regards Nilus of Rossano as the first abbot. He thinks that Nilus was a monk of S. Mary's of Patira, who was sent to Carbo by Bartholomew in pursuance of the Norman policy. I have no doubt that Nilus was imbued with the Norman spirit, but I can see no reason for making him a kind of agent of Bartholomew; his life is not extant, but he seems to have been Abbot of Carbo by the year 1100, unless the deed of Richard the Seneschal be a forgery, and this is too early to allow us to regard him as an emissary of Bartholomew. Moreover, was not the Norman policy in action at Carbo at 1077? Unless Mgr. Batiffol rejects the deed of Ugo de Claromonte as a forgery (I admit that the indiction is wrong), I do not understand how he can refuse to recognize Blasius II as a genuine Abbot of Carbo.

Leaving the uncertain subject of the foundation of the convent and coming to the documentary evidence of its history, it would seem that the monastery began to flourish under the patronage of the family of de Claromonte², and other Norman families who lived in the Basilicata. Their donations soon made the monastery the most important in the district, and gave it large estates and many churches.

The first estate which was given to it seems to be the one mentioned in the deed of Ugo in 1077. This makes no reference

¹ See p. 31 *infra*.

² Who gave their name to the little town, close to Carbo, of Claromonte, or, as it is now spelt, Chiaromonte.

to any previous benefactors; it allows the claim of Blasius to the 'tenimentum' of the monastery, and adds to it another 'tenimentum' in order that the house may be adequately endowed.

It is difficult to trace accurately the boundary of this district, but it seems to mean, roughly speaking, the valley of the river Sirmi from Calavra (or Calabria) in the east up to its source in the west, with the high ground on each side to the north and south.

The next great donation to the monastery was made in 1100 by Richard the Seneschal, who gave Nilus the fields of Scanzana. This is the district which lies between the valleys of the Sirmi and the Capone, and includes part of the coast; it is the second great estate of the monastery of Carbo.

It will be noticed that there is thus left an intervening district between these two great estates, and in 1135 this district was also acquired by the monastery, not however as a free gift, but as a purchase which Nilus made for 500 ducats from Richard de Claromonte, and Alexander de Claromonte confirmed.

This purchase completed the great estates of Carbo, which now stretched right across the Basilicata, from the mountains in the west to the sea on the east; but besides them Nilus had been busy in amassing property far and near. The following is the list of his chief acquisitions: I suspect that it is derived from the *Chronicon Carbonense*, which awaits investigation and publication in the Archives of the Vatican.

(1) In 1092, the Church of S. Zacharias, in the Castrum Silicense, given to S. Anastasius of Carbo by Gulielmus Marchesius, the lord of the place, and Cecilia his wife.

(2) In 1105, the Church of S. Lawrence, at Cracum, given by Arnoldus, son of Isebard.

(3) In 1105, the Church of S. Elias, at Bari, by Elias and Regnaldus, archbishop.

(4) In 1105, the Church of S. Barbara, in the town of Mons Albanus, by Robert Fortemannus, the lord of the place.

(5) In 1112, the Church of S. Peter, at Castrum Pollicori, and of S. Nicholas of Pestusa, by Alureda, the lady of the place.

(6) In 1125, the Church of S. Stephen of Azupa, by Luke, Abbot of Rapora.

(7) In 1129, the fields of Scanzana, with the Church of S. Mary.

(8) In 1129, S. Nicholas of Trypa, given by Trotta, the daughter of Alureda (the same as the lady in (5) ?), the lady of the town of Myramanna (?).

(9) In 1134, a church at 'Castro Novo seu Battabarani.'

I have not been able to identify all these places, but it is obvious that some of them are far outside the limits of the great estates of the monastery. Bari, for instance, is a little to the north of Brindisi, and Castro Novo¹ is in Sicily. These acquisitions in distant parts are not to be traced to mere love of property. The custom of the monasteries was then probably much what it is now on Mount Athos, and one object of having these little dependencies is to provide hospitality for those travelling to and from the monastery, and also to use them as collecting-places for letters or presents. It was then, as it is still in Turkey, necessary to have some such helps to communication ; so that any one who wished to send a present to Carbo from, for instance, S. Nicolas of Casola would have taken it to Bari, just as now the only safe way of communicating with Mount Athos is through the representatives of the various convents in Constantinople.

It will be noticed that in the list of possessions set out above mention is made of the gift of the fields of Scanzana in 1129. I think the date is probably wrong², and that this is a reference to the deed given by Boemund II in the third indiction (i.e. 1110 or 1125), confirming this estate and adding to it. The fields of Scanzana themselves were the gift of Richard the Seneschal, which was confirmed by the Claromonti, also in 1125.

In this way the monastery became rich. It is unnecessary to reproduce all the facts given by Sanctorius ; they are of the same character as those given above ; but there are certain points which are worth noticing. The monastery was not merely helped by the local Lords of Claromonte and their like, it also was patronized by the Royal house itself. Boemund II, as mentioned above, enriched and protected it ; Roger II gave Nilus a charter in 1132, confirming the privileges given by Robert Guiscard and Boemund I (what were these ?), by Richard the Seneschal, and by Boemund II.

¹ Unless it be Castro Novo di S. Andreas, which is close to Carbo.

² Unless the indiction is wrong. This seems a very common error in the Italian Charters.

This deed was confirmed by William II, and it is important to notice that this monarch appointed the Abbot of Carbo the chief of all the Basilian monasteries in the district. It was also confirmed by Tancred in 1191, and was apparently the great charter of the monastery.

All through the twelfth century the house flourished, and in the thirteenth century it does not visibly lose ground, but there is an absence of any further great bequests, and a period of litigation and expensive compromise begins.

Sanctorius gives many stories of this period; but the fact which seems to dominate everything is the enmity of the family of San Severina of Besignano, who coveted especially the fields of Scanzana.

Ultimately in 1477 they were successful. The monastery lost its suit, its abbot was imprisoned as 'litigious and possessed of a devil,' and one of the San Severina family became the first commendatory. Sanctorius continues its history further; but as Mgr. Batiffol says, from this point it is the history of a farm, rather than a monastery. Some of the commendatories neglected their property, others took care of it and developed it, but it is quite unimportant for our purpose which they did. The sole point of interest is now the history of the library, to which I shall return later.

(ii) *S. Nicholas of Casola*. Although this monastery in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the most important home of Greek monks in the land of Otranto, very much less is known about its history than about S. Elias of Carbo. It was, of course, always subject to Rome; but its affections were nevertheless fixed on the Church of the East, and (if Rodota may be trusted) at least down to the end of the twelfth century it received fresh immigrations of monks from the East.

The scanty evidence which we have of its foundation and history comes from a MS at Turin (217 b, iii 27), of which an account was published by M. Ch. Diehl in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* of the French school at Rome, in April, 1886.

The contents of this manuscript are as follows:—

(1) ff. 1–5, a summary of the chief events which concern the history of the monastery from 1125 to 1267. There are also various fragments of accounts.

(2) ff. 6-15, some fragments of the rule of the monastery.

(3) ff. 15-174, a *Typicon* of the ordinary kind, written in 1174 by Nicholas, Abbot of the monastery. This must have had a separate existence at one time, as it is earlier than the previous leaves. It is valuable for marginal notes dealing with the history of the monastery.

(4) ff. 175-281, another work of Nicholas, dealing with the food of the monks.

(5) Some liturgical prayers.

From the scanty information contained in these pages we find that the monastery was founded in 1029 by a Greek monk named Joseph, of whom all that is known is that he died in 1025, and that his monastery was placed under the protection of Boemund I of Tarentum and Antioch, of his wife Constantia, and of Boemund II, who succeeded them.

This is shown by the fact that in the thirteenth century the names of these three princes appear in the list of benefactors for whose souls prayers were made in the monastery.

In 1070, with the death of Boemund II, the principality of Tarentum passed into the hands of the Kings of Sicily. M. Diehl says that there was a charter of the year 1070 given by Roger to the monastery of S. Nicholas (he refers to M. Aur's¹ work in the *Archivum Historicum Sicilianum*, but I cannot find that the charter is given there); and Roger, his son William with his wife Margaret, whom the MS calls Elvira, and King William II are all commemorated as benefactors. Their deeds, which no doubt were similar to those given to S. Elias of Carta, are not extant, but we can form some idea of their probable contents by observing that we are told in one of the notes to the *Typicon*, that its rules were observed not only at S. Nicholas, but also in its dependencies at Vasta, Pollicastro, Trilussa, Melendugno, Alessano, Castro, and Minervino—all small towns or villages in the Otrantine district. If we could find the deeds of the Boemunds and of the Kings of Sicily, no doubt we should find the donations of all these dependencies, but at present these deeds are not available.

Joseph, the founder of the monastery, died in 1025, and was succeeded by Victor, of whom nothing is known, except that he died in 1073. Nicholas, the third abbot, is a most prominent

¹ A penitence; really M. Simon.

person. According to the Turin MS he was an abbot from 1153-90, but Rodota says that he flourished in 1201¹. He wrote works on the questions at issue between the Greek and Roman Churches, such as the use of azymes in the Eucharist, and the double procession, the Sabbath fast, and the celibacy of the clergy, always taking the side of the Greeks; and to these must be added the unpublished *Typicon* and *Hypotyposis* in the Turin MS.

According to De Ferrariis² (Galateus) he founded the great library of Casola, sparing no expense, and collecting MSS from every part of Greece. I shall return to the history of this library later.

In 1179 Pope Alexander III convened the Lateran Council, and Nectarios (the future abbot?) attended it from S. Nicholas of Casola. He made himself the champion of the Greek Church, and vigorously supported their customs and doctrines. The Greeks were delighted, and George of Corfu wrote him a congratulatory letter³.

Nicholas was succeeded in 1190 by Callinicos, who only ruled for five years; he was followed by Hilarion, of whom nothing is known, except that he was canonised. Hilarion died in 1201, and then for nineteen years Nicodemos ruled the convent. His successor Nectarios seems to have been a learned man and a poet, but except for some verses which he wrote about Nicholas nothing is known of him. The remaining abbots are unknown to fame. Their names are given by M. Diehl in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, sixth year (1886), p. 180.

The monastery, like all the Greek foundations, began to decline in the thirteenth century. In the days of Nectarios (1220-35) it became dependent on the Archbishop of Otranto, Tancred (v. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* IX, col. 77 B), and paid to Rome a fixed tribute. In 1267 Charles of Anjou increased the rigour of this dependent state; he evicted Basil (1259-67) and sent him to the monastery of San Vito del Pizzo near Tarentum, appointing the monk James to S. Nicholas of Casola in the name of the Pope, and increasing the tribute to five ounces of gold and five *tars* yearly. It is noticeable that it seems to have been only in the

¹ Probably Rodota has confused him with another monk whose name really is Nicetas.

² *De situ Iapygiæ*, p. 45.

³ Labbe, *Concilii*, x 1527 (Paris, 1671).

case of the tribute money that the monks used the Italian currency; in the ordinary transactions of business they used the money of Michael Palaeologos; this is shown by the accounts which are found in the first part of the Turin MS.

Later still there can be no doubt that the monastery passed into 'commenda,' but I can find no evidence of the fact. It was destroyed by the Turks in 1481, and although it was rebuilt it never regained any importance.

(iii) *S. Mary Hodegētria, or Patira, at Rossano.* The only trustworthy account which we have of the foundation of this monastery is contained in the Life of Bartholomew of Simeri.

This Life is published in the *Acta Sanctorum* for September, vol. viii, p. 792 ff., from Cod. Gr. 29 at Messina, which was written in 1308. How much earlier the Life itself was composed is difficult to say. Mgr. Batiffol suggests the end of the twelfth century.

An alternative account is given by Ughelli¹, which attributes the foundation to a certain Nilus, who is otherwise unknown, about the year 1080. Both the Bollandists and Mgr. Batiffol reject this as worthless. The former think that it is a kind of epitome of the Life of Bartholomew, with the substitution of the name Nilus. If this be so, I should be disposed to compare it with the insertion of the name of Nilus of Grotta Ferrata into the list of the Abbots of Elias of Carbo, and regard both as evidence of a tendency to try and claim some kind of connexion with the saints of the earlier period.

I have given a sketch of the history of Bartholomew in the preceding chapter; and it is only necessary here to repeat that he was introduced by Christodulus, a Norman official, to the king and queen, and founded S. Mary's under their patronage and in the furtherance of their policy.

His foundation passed through the three usual stages: (1) Endowment, (2) Litigation, (3) Decay.

(1) *The Period of Endowment* begins in 1104 with a deed of Roger. This is given by Ughelli from the *Cartularium* of the monastery, which was then in existence but is now lost, or at least unknown. I should have thought that this deed would have

¹ *Italia Sacra*, IX, p. 382 n. f.

been in Greek, but Ughelli only gives Latin¹. It is such remarkably bad Latin that it is worth transcribing a few sentences:—

‘Bonum et optimum ante Deum est omnes beneficientes et quoniam ipse mediabimini, quae midiam habuerunt nos autem victantem vir religiosi et sancto pronominato Bartholomaeus venerabili abbati desideravimus partem habere in beneficiis Ecclesiae Sanctae Dei Genitrix Mariae novam odigitriam, etc.’!

It is quite impossible to construe this deed, but the general meaning is plain. A certain Framundus had given Roger an estate in the neighbourhood of Rossano, and Roger gives this to Bartholomew. This estate includes the land of S. Peter’s at Corigliano and S. Maur of Rossano.

I doubt the authenticity of this deed. The Roger referred to must be Roger II, as Roger I died in 1101. He was in 1103 quite a child, and one would have expected in the deed some reference either to Queen Adelaide or to his brother, who was associated with him. I suppose, however, that the gift of Framundus, or rather of Gulielmus de Losdum, was to Roger personally.

Deeds adding to this estate were given to Bartholomew in 1111² by Berthia of Loritello through Christodulus; and in 1122³ by Mabilia, the daughter of Robert Guiscard, and her husband William de Grantmeuil, who granted a rich estate between the rivers Crati and Coscili; and there are several other deeds, a list of which is printed by Batiffol⁴: the general result of them was to give the monastery control over the valleys of the Crati and Coscili, and much property on the other side of the Sila, especially in the valley of the Neto, and even as far south as Isola.

(2) *The Period of Litigation* began seriously in 1222, when there was a lawsuit⁵ between the monastery of Patira, as S. Mary’s had been called since 1130, by a corruption, it is said, of *πατρός*, and the monastery of S. Julian at Isola, who quarrelled about the possession of an estate at Isola. It was tried before the Archbishop of Cosenza, who could not decide, and referred the litigants to Rome or Messina.

It is significant that Isola is one of the outlying parts of the

¹ *Italia Sacra*, IX, p. 385 D.

² Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca*, p. 396.

³ *Italia Sacra*, IX, p. 387 D.

⁴ *L’Abbaye de Rossano*, pp. 15–25.

⁵ *Italia Sacra*, IX, p. 507.

district dominated by the monastery of Rossano, and it is natural that its weakness should begin at that point.

I do not know the result of the lawsuit.

In 1223 a long struggle¹ began between the Basilians of Rossano and monks of the order of Florus, whose head quarters were at S. Giovanni di Fiore, in the heart of the Sila, and was only settled by compromise twenty years later. The same kind of story is repeated, in deed after deed; either some piece of property is ceded, or a compromise of an expensive nature is made.

(3) In this way the period of litigation passed gradually into the period of decay. The resources of the monastery grew smaller, its estates were sold or leased, and the number of the monks decreased.

At what date it passed into 'commenda' I do not know, but Rodota² complains that it does not yield the commendatory in his time more than 2,500 crowns.

THE DECADENCE OF THE BASILIAN MONASTERIES.

The Greek monasteries began to decline in the thirteenth century. It would be a needless and uninteresting task to trace the history of their decadence in any detail, but certain chief points in the process may be pointed out.

The primary cause of their decay was the fact that the general course of history necessitated the Latinizing or Italianizing of the south of Italy and of Sicily. As I have tried to point out, the Hellenizing of South Italy was due to special circumstances which interrupted the Latin life of the locality. When the Normans had finally driven out the army of the Byzantines, the natural tendency was again in the direction of Latinization, in speech, in customs, and in religion. As has been already shown, the Normans were quite conscious of this fact, although they did not attempt to hasten the process unnaturally. Indeed the history of their dealings with the Greek population, and especially with the Greek ecclesiastics and monks, is an excellent object-lesson in the quiet conversion of a conquered nation to loyalty. Consciously or unconsciously they proceeded on the theory, paradoxical yet

¹ *Italia Sacra*, IX, p. 290.

² *Il Rito Greco*, II, p. 195.

often profoundly true, that it is easier to change essentials than appearances. They made no attempt to alter the things which appealed to the senses—language, ritual, and names of officials; but they introduced their own system of organization under the names of familiar Greek officials.

For a time this added new vigour to the Greeks, but gradually it had the inevitable effect of making them less and less like other Greeks. They still used the Greek service and language, and a Greek coming from Greece would at first feel that he was among fellow countrymen, but before long he would find that he was really living under conditions which were new. The appearance was Greek, but the reality had become Latin. An almost exact parallel would, I believe, be the experience of a Frenchman of to-day going to live in the French part of Canada.

Inevitably, then, the Greek monasteries declined. The process of their decay was somewhat hastened by the constant and expensive litigation which went on in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We have seen how this process gradually sapped the vitality of S. Mary's of Patira and S. Elias of Carbo, and their cases are no doubt only typical. The only instance of any friction between the Greeks and Romans in which the Romans began the quarrel is the accusation of heresy brought against Bartholomew in the twelfth century, and this was at once quashed by Roger. Of the opposite case, in which the Greeks definitely set themselves against the Romans, and did not suffer for it, two instances are especially striking.

(1) Nectarios of Casola, at the Lateran Council of 1179, supported the Greeks on every point, and was regarded as their champion. That he was allowed to take this course without harm to himself or to his convent is a remarkable testimony to the latitude given to the Greeks of South Italy by the Roman Church of the twelfth century.

(2) An interesting little tract on the order and limits of the Patriarchates, which is bound up with three¹ MSS of the 'Ferrar group' (all of which belong to the twelfth century, and come from South Italy), places the Patriarchates as follows: (1) Jerusalem,

¹ *Codd. Essex.* 346, 543, 788; also in *Cod.* 211 and at least one other, both of them South Italian MSS. The tract is published in facsimile from *Cod.* 346 in Dr. Harris's *Further Researches into the Origin of the Ferrar Group*.

founded by James the Lord's brother. (2) Rome, 'the Apostolic throne.' (3) Constantinople, founded by Andrew, the 'first-called.' (4) Alexandria, founded by Mark the Evangelist, the son of Peter the Apostle, who became a *Νοτάριος*. (5) Antioch, founded by the *κορυφαῖος* Peter. It is obvious that there is no desire in this list to exalt the see of Rome. Moreover, in the list of countries which are placed under the control of Rome, only parts of Sicily and Calabria are included. The meaning of this limitation, which is clearly not geographical, becomes plain when one notices that this tract was written by Nilus Doxapatrius¹ about 1143 for the use of Roger II. Clearly what Nilus meant was to admit the control of the Pope over the Latin churches and monasteries, but not over the Greek. One can imagine what an inquisitor would have thought of this in the fourteenth century, and of the treatment which Nilus would have received; but in the twelfth century it passed unnoticed, or at least unresented by the Papal and Latin authorities.

But at the end of the thirteenth century, under the Angevin rule, all this was changed. The Royal house was devoted to the Papacy, and exerted all their power to force the Greeks into closer conformity.

In 1270 Charles of Anjou² gave authority to a Dominican monk named Matteo di Castellamare, 'inquisitori haeretice pravitatis in justitiam Calabriae . . . a S. R. E. constituto'; and the Greeks had (as Mgr. Batiffol puts it) the choice of becoming a sect or passing over to Romanism.

This process of vigorous treatment went on throughout the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth century a change of policy was made by the Papacy. It was the time when there was much intercourse with the Eastern Church, and the reunion of the East and West was greatly hoped for. For this purpose it was clearly advantageous to have a living testimony to the catholic and extra-occidental character of the Church of Rome. What was more fitted for the purpose than the Basilian monasteries?

Policy, therefore, suggested a reorganization of the Greek monks of South Italy, and the preservation of all their distinctive features,

¹ v. Harris, *op. cit.* It has been attributed by others to Leo the Wise, but Dr. Harris has shown that this is probably wrong.

² *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. xxxvi.

while the dictates of policy were supported by the genuine love of Hellenism which animated Cardinal Bessarion.

The result was that in 1446 a General Council of the Order of S. Basil was convoked, Bessarion was appointed General of the Order, and a school of Greek learning was established in Messina.

By this means the Greek monasteries, and Greek life generally in South Italy, were resuscitated for a short time.

It was only just in time: 'The Greek monks,' said Bessarion¹, 'are as ignorant of Greek as Italians are. Most of them do not know the Greek letters; a few can read, but without understanding; a mere handful can make out the sense with difficulty.'

For a time the revival was vigorous. Lascaris, whom Bessarion brought to Messina, controlled for thirty years a popular and successful school. But there was no real life in the movement. South Italy was Italian and not Greek, and the revival of its Hellenism was artificial. The monasteries rapidly degenerated, and when in 1551 Julius III ordered Marcellus Terracina² to report on the Basilian monasteries of Calabria, the latter had a miserable tale to relate. Only S. John the Reaper was in any state approaching to prosperity, and even there the library had been neglected; most of the convents were nearly empty; some of them were the head quarters of bandits.

For all serious purposes this is the end of the history of the Basilian monasteries of South Italy, except so far as their libraries are concerned. With this part of the subject I hope to deal in the concluding portion of these articles.

K. LAKE.

¹ In a letter to Eugenius IV, quoted by Mgr. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. xxxviii.

² *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 109 ff.

(To be continued.)

THE SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

It appears right that I should take an early opportunity to make public a change of mind on a point discussed at some length in my recently published book—*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*. I had hesitated a good deal between the two competing sites for Capernaum, *Khân Minyeh* and *Tell Hâm*. *Tell Hâm* has on the whole found the greater amount of favour with topographers; but it seemed as though of late opinion had rather been veering round to *Khân Minyeh*. I was particularly impressed by the fact that Father Biever, who is in charge of the German Hospice on the spot and has been settled there for some years, not only himself inclines to the *Khân Minyeh* site but had made a distinguished convert in Prof. von Soden. I went to Palestine with the hope of verifying this opinion; but a brief visit to the site left me still wavering, and during the months in which my book was written and printed I remained much of the same mind, slightly leaning to *Khân Minyeh*, but by no means confident that I was right in doing so.

It was not until the proofs had finally left my hand that a point occurred to me which I should no doubt have thought of before, but which, when once it was apprehended, altered the whole balance of the argument.

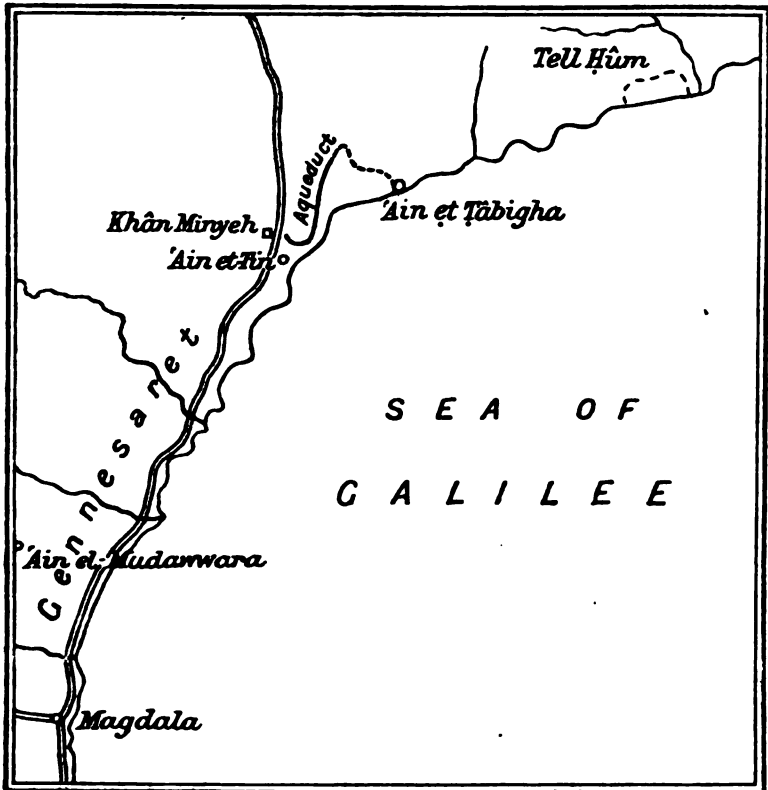
I had from the first attached the greatest weight to the evidence of Josephus. It was contemporary, and it related to a district that Josephus himself knew and had fought over. I read the evidence of Josephus in the light of the topographical features in such a way as to make it point with some clearness towards *Khân Minyeh*.

I shall explain myself best by inserting a rough sketch of the locality.

Josephus¹ says expressly that there was a fountain at Capernaum which watered the plain of Gennesaret; and it is agreed on almost all hands that this fountain is to be identified with the copious springs of *'Ain et-Tâbigha*. Now these springs are a full mile and a half from *Tell Hâm* and without any apparent con-

¹ B. J. iii. 10, 8.

nexion with it, whereas they are barely three-quarters of a mile from *Khân Minyeh*, with what appears to be an aqueduct carrying the water to the back of *Khân Minyeh* in a position from which it could be easily distributed over the plain.



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It seemed to me that this argument was primary, and other arguments secondary; though I came to think more and more that the balance of those other arguments was rather the other way.

Now the point that I had overlooked was that these cities or large villages round the Sea of Galilee were not bounded by a ring fence, but had each its territory, extending for some miles round the place itself. There are data enough to generalize in this sense. For instance, Josephus has *ἐπαρχία* for the district of

Hippos (*B. J.* iii 3. 1); and there is the familiar case of the Gerasene (or Gadarene) demoniac in the Gospels. In the face of this I saw at once that there need not be the slightest scruple in making the *territory* [of Capernaum] include 'Ain et-*Tâbigha* (in ancient times *Heptapegon*); and not only so, but the fountain would naturally be described as the 'fountain of Capernaum.'

If I had needed confirmation on this head I had it abundantly a few weeks later in a letter from my friend Prof. W. M. Ramsay, on my sending him a copy of my book. This letter is so exactly pertinent and contains such an excellent lesson in scientific topography that I have asked and obtained permission to print it. Dr. Ramsay writes as follows:—

'From the words in your preface about Capernaum I am wondering whether you are going through the same process as I did: viz. a first impression in favour of *Khân Minyeh* gradually giving way to the arguments for *Tell Hâm*. One argument seems to me at present, with available knowledge, supremely strong. Theodosius came to *Heptapegon* and, moving on to the north, reached Capernaum¹. That class of argument is in my experience the most unshakable and safe to rest on. The arguments for *Khân Minyeh* are all of the class that assume a different aspect with a slight change in the point of view or an increase of knowledge. I have known some startling examples of such change in the aspect of those general vague arguments.

'The argument from Josephus seems to me in favour of *Tell Hâm*. You say "at *Tell Hâm* there is no fount of any sort." But surely *Heptapegon* is in the land of *Tell Hâm*; and there are numberless examples of the use of the town name for the entire territory subject to it. I have frequently pointed out in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* examples of error caused by our assuming that a name means the actual town, when the ancient writer means the whole territory of the town. As to the connexion of *Heptapegon* with Gennesaret, you point out that its water was carried by an aqueduct to *Khân Minyeh*—and so, as Josephus says, the Capernaum fountain fertilized the plain of Gennesaret.'

That, I may say, seems to me quite decisive; and as I had

¹ [Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae*, 2 (*CSEL*. vol. xxxix, p. 138; or *Palestine Pilgrim Texts*, vol. ii, p. 8).—EDD.]

hitherto rested my support of the *Khân Minyeh* site mainly upon this argument which I now see to be fallacious, I definitely transfer my vote to the other side, which has throughout claimed such high authorities as Sir Charles Wilson and Professors Socin, Schürer, Buhl, and Guthe.

As I am upon the subject of *Khân Minyeh* and its surroundings, I may take the opportunity to touch upon another point that has had some further light thrown upon it.

I had the good fortune to meet in the early summer the Rev. John Kelman, who like myself has recently written about Palestine. I communicated to him my change of opinion in regard to Capernaum, and we compared notes upon that and other matters connected with it—among them the curious rock-cutting represented in Pl. xxxiv of my book.

Some days after our meeting Mr. Kelman wrote to me from Edinburgh: 'Dr. Torrance of Tiberias was with me the other day, and I spoke to him about the rock-cuttings at the Sea of Galilee. He is not an expert in these matters, and I am in no sense qualified for giving an opinion, but two facts he mentioned appeared to me to be likely to interest you.

(1) He says there is an aqueduct which is certainly of the Roman-Greek period cut through the rock at Ἀbilene in Hauran.

(2) That a Roman road runs through *Waddy Fejjas* to Tiberias, and that whenever rock comes in the way, it is cut through. This cutting is now definable only on one side of the road.'

A little later Mr. Kelman wrote again:—

'I lunched on Tuesday with Colonel Conder of Palestine Exploration fame, and propounded to him the question of the aqueduct. He at once replied that there was a Roman rock-cut aqueduct at Abila (the one I mentioned to you), and that it bore the inscription of Julius Verus. He further stated that the supposed Roman aqueduct at *Minyeh* is in his opinion certainly Roman, but not an aqueduct. There is no trace of cement in it, and it is larger than any demand there could ever have been for water. He believes it to have been a road, and he favours the *Minyeh* site of Capernaum. On the other hand he declares the present *Wasserthurm* [i.e. the masses of masonry visible in my Pl. xxxiii] there a quite modern structure.'

This opinion had been already expressed by Colonel Conder in *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1895), p. 294:—

'Revisiting the spot in 1882, it seemed to me that the usual view as to an aqueduct from ¹*et-Tdhigha* to *Mispeh* is improbable and that the rock-cutting in the *Mispeh* cliff represents an ancient road. It would have been easier, 'had it been necessary,' to irrigate the plain of Gennesaret from the springs in it, than to have brought water from *et-Tdhigha*.'

My own first impulse, when we struck into the rock-cutting, was to regard it as a road: but I quickly gave up this idea for that of an aqueduct. I can only speak from memory, helped by the photograph, but I should say that the cutting was not wide enough for wheeled traffic and it does not appear what other purpose it could have served: a pathway could have been easily made without cutting so deep. If there was to be any considerable irrigation I should not have thought the scale excessive. The current number (July, 1903) of the *Quarterly Statement* opportunely describes and illustrates an analogous case in the *Wādī Kasserik*, near the northern end of the Dead Sea. The aqueduct there is about half a mile long, and is on a smaller scale: there is a tunnel in it three feet high and two feet wide, but it seems to have been only used to fill a cistern, or cisterns with the winter rains. It should however be said that there is an express mention of 'plaster' in connexion with it.

No doubt it would be well to have the point as to the Capernaum aqueduct once more verified carefully on the spot; but in the meantime I should be much inclined to accept the precise and detailed statement of Sir Charles Wilson, which for the benefit of the reader I will venture to transcribe.

'Westward along the shore of the lake, a mile and a half from *Tel Hadya*, is the charming little bay of *et-Tdhigha*, and the great spring which is without a doubt the fountain of Capernaum, mentioned by Josephus as watering the plain of Gennesaret. The bay is about half a mile across and on its western side is shut in by the cliff of *Kāfā Naryā*, the only place at which the shore of the lake cannot be followed. There is a small tract of fertile land, but we could find no ruins except those connected

¹ I have ventured to assimilate the spelling of place-names in quotations to that adopted in my book, which is based on Burckhardt.

with the mills or waterworks. There are five fountains, all more or less brackish, and varying in temperature from $73\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $86\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; four are small, but the one mentioned above is by far the largest spring in Galilee, and was estimated to be more than half the size of the celebrated source of the Jordan at *Bāniyās*. It rises to the surface with great force, at a temperature of $86\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which can hardly be considered warm in such a climate as that of the lake district. Most of the water now runs to waste, producing a quantity of rank luxuriant vegetation; but some of it is collected in a small reservoir, and is thence carried off by an aqueduct to a mill owned by a man of *Şafed*, the only one in working order of five that were built by the great chieftain Dhahr el-'Amr [early in the last century]. . . . Connected with this fountain are the remains of some remarkable works which at one time raised its waters to a higher level, and conveyed them bodily into the plain of Gennesaret for the purposes of irrigation. The source is inclosed in an octagonal reservoir of great strength, by means of which the water was raised about twenty feet to the level of an aqueduct that ran along the side of the hill. Strong as the reservoir was, the water has at last broken through it, and there is now little more than two feet left at the bottom, in which a number of small fish may be seen playing about. After leaving the reservoir the aqueduct can be traced at intervals following the contour of the ground to the point where it crossed the beds of two water-courses on arches, of which the piers may still be seen; it then turns down towards the lake, and runs along the hillside on the top of a massive retaining wall, of which fifty or sixty yards remain, and lastly passes round the *Khân Minyeh* cliff by a remarkable excavation in the solid rock, which has been noticed by all travellers. The elevation of the aqueduct at this point is sufficient to have enabled the water brought by it to irrigate the whole plain of Gennesaret; and though we could only trace it for a few hundred yards inland, it was not improbably carried right round the head of the plain: the same causes which have almost obliterated it in the small plain of *et-Tābigħa* would fully account for its disappearance in Gennesaret' (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871, pp. 348-350).

Among the many excellent descriptions of the Sea of Galilee,

I turn with especial pleasure to Sir Charles Wilson's in this volume. It is written with the experience of a trained observer, is trustworthy in its statements and although sympathetic for that which gives to the region its peculiar interest, is free from exaggeration.

There is just one other detail on which a word may be said.

Josephus notes expressly that the fountain of Capernaum contained the Caracin fish which is also found in the Nile. This led Dr. Tristram to identify the fountain with '*Lake el-Madawara*, another copious fountain about two and a half miles south of *Kade Maryut* which irrigates the lower portion of the plain of Gennesaret. The fish is actually found in this fountain, but not in '*Lake el-Tibgha* the waters of which are said not to be suited for it. I do not think that this discrepancy is sufficient to shake our belief in the identity of '*Lake el-Tibgha* with *Thynnesynus*, which is now generally accepted. I should prefer to suppose that Josephus who had more to do with Tiberias and Tarsus than with the north of the lake and probably spoke from hearsay, had made a slight mistake.

W. SANDAY.

DOCUMENTS

SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF
IRISH SACRAMENTARIES.

EARLY Irish *liturgica* are so few and so valuable that the discovery of any fragment, however small, of an Irish sacramentary or other prayer book deserves careful attention and publication. The article by Dr. W. Meyer in *Nachrichten der Kg. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Göttingen)¹, shows how much can be got out of the few pages of one of the Bobbio MSS now at Turin, and it may be hoped that the notice of this and similar recent discoveries may induce librarians to examine the fly-leaves or any stray pages of their MSS with the possibility of coming across early Irish *liturgica*. We owe the preservation of the fragments here published to such careful collection by two librarians: the first two were discovered by Dr. A. Holder in the binding of one of the Reichenau MSS at Karlsruhe; the Irish words which occur on one of their pages have been published, from a photograph, by Mr. Whitley Stokes², but it had not been hitherto noticed that the Latin text is that of an Irish sacramentary; the third fragment I came across in April last when looking through two packets of stray sheets collected by Monsignore Tononi in the Archivio of S. Antonino at Piacenza.

The Reichenau fragments (now Karlsruhe, App. Aug. clxvii) are two sheets of parchment, here distinguished as A and B, which probably belonged to different MSS, as they do not agree either in size or script. Sheet A, at present from 235 to 240 mm. long and from 277 to 282 mm. broad, formed two pages of a MS, but, as about four lines of text have been cut off the top, and more than half the width of one page is missing, the pages of the original MS must have been about 30 by 20 cm. The right-hand side of A^{ro} (i. e. fol. 1^{ro}), the left-hand side of A^{vo} (i. e. fol. 1^{vo}), and the first seventeen lines of the right-hand side of A^{vo} (i. e. fol. 2^{ro}) are occupied by parts of a sacramentary written by an Irish scribe, who apparently began the first

¹ Cf. Mr. Warren's notice of this in the previous number of this Journal (July, 1903, p. 610).

² *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Band xxxi, Neue Folge, Band xi, erstes Heft (Gütersloh, 1889), p. 246, and in the second volume of the *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus*, p. 256, now being published by the Cambridge Press.

collect of each office on the top of a fresh page, for both pages 1^r and 1^v end with the '*qui prae*' of the Canon, whilst 1^r has under this 60 mm. of parchment without any text. Fol. 1^r contains what is probably a mass for penitents, fol. 1^v a mass for the dead; fol. 2^r did not follow immediately after fol. 1^v as its first words are the middle of a preface. The lower half of fol. 2^r and the whole of fol. 2^v, left vacant by the first scribe, were subsequently filled up by an Irish-continental writer, who inserted the epistle, gradual, and gospel and the *ordo missae pro captivis*, five collects and a preface which extended over another page which has not been discovered.

Sheet B, which formed two pages of another MS¹ is at present 232 mm. long and 275 mm. broad, but was considerably reduced when cut up for insertion into the binding: we have, however, fortunately a small slip of parchment B* (220 mm. long and partly 50 mm., partly 22 mm. broad) which formed part of one of the outside edges of B, but the greater part of the connecting portion is lost, so that after the first three lines of the extreme left and extreme right-hand columns of this sheet we have now only four or five letters on B and three or four letters on B*, separated by a missing interval of about 35 mm. broad. It has therefore not been possible to reconstruct with certainty the whole of this fragment, and a further difficulty has been caused by a large portion (25 x 20 cm. of one side of it being for some reason blank: possibly it may have been occupied by some painting now erased or left free for one which was never inserted.

The right-hand side of B^r (i.e. fol. 3^r) and the whole of B^v (i.e. ff. 3^v, 4^r) contain parts of a mass, probably is *commemoratio sanctuarum*, as far as the *Post sanctas* (as in the previous fragment), but with the addition of a bidding prayer which forms part of the Canon in the *Seve Missal*: the state of the MS renders it impossible to say whether this prayer was finished on this page, but the left-hand side of B^r (i.e. fol. 4^v) is taken up with (i) the words '*santa trinitas et sancti spiritus fili agnoscim*' which occupy the whole breadth of the page, and with (ii) an Irish prayer or prayers in two columns printed below.

The fragment B is ascribed by Mr. Whitley Stokes to the ninth century: A has some palaeographical signs which seem to make it somewhat earlier, but the dating of Irish MSS is still a task of such difficulty that one hesitates even to hazard an opinion, though some competent judges, who have seen a photograph of the fragment, assign it to the eighth or ninth century, Dr. L. Toulke preferring the later

¹ A is written in long lines with a few red initials: B is in two columns and has no red initials. The scribe of B places a single initial letter at the end of a line, whilst in A no words are thus divided.

date. The connexion, however, between these fragments and the MS (Karlsruhe, Aug. MS clxvii), into the binding of which they were inserted, should be taken into account for evidence as to date and place of writing. When two sheets of different sacramentaries are thus found cut up for binding purposes, one of them with the scribblings of an Irishman trying to write a continental hand, and the other with rough specimens of neums, the *prima facie* conclusion is that when the book was bound, the fragments then used in lieu of boards between the vellum sheets which formed its binding¹, were so out of date as to be of no practical value. It only remains to be seen when and where the MS was written and whether there are any traces of its having remained unbound for some time. The MS is a well-known one, usually cited as 'The Karlsruhe Bede'; a photographic reproduction of one of its pages will appear in a future number of the new Palaeographical Society's publications. All writers who have referred to it ascribe it to the first half of the ninth century, but the occurrence of the feast of All Saints in the Kalendar on Nov. 1 suggests some date after c. 835, whilst from a mark ., against one of the Kalendarial tables on fol. 13 r^o I venture to assign it to some date within the nineteen years' cycle, A.D. 836-855, and more definitely from a peculiar *b* for *bissextilis* in another table on fol. 15 r^o, as well as from the entry on fol. 18 r^o noting that the year 848 was 6048 after the creation of the world, I think there is little doubt that that was the actual year of its transcription². The MS was the work of two apparently contemporary scribes; the one who wrote the Kalendarial tables, referred to above, also inserted a lunar table on the inner side of the front binding, and as on three visits to Karlsruhe I have failed to discover any evidence that the outer sheet of binding is a later addition³, I see no reason for

¹ The parchment binding of this MS, with flap, buttons and string, is a well-known Irish fashion.

² Cooper's (proposed) *Report on the Foedera*, App. A, p. 59; Silvestre-Madden, *Universal Palaeography* (Lond. 1850), p. 610; Zimmer, *Glossae Hibernicae* (8vo, Berlin, 1881), pp. xxiv-xxix; Whitley Stokes, *The Old Irish glosses* (8vo, Hertford, 1887), p. 210; Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus* (8vo, Cambridge, 1903), vol. ii, p. 256.

³ It is a strange coincidence that the same year should be assigned as the date of another copy of Bede's *De temporum ratione*, also written in France, now B. M. Vespasian, B. vi.

⁴ It is true that MSS were not always bound immediately after they were written; one of the ninth-century Irish MSS from Reichenau, now at Karlsruhe, is still unbound; but in the case before us, the writing on the inside sheet of the cover has every appearance of being subsequent to the sewing up of the two sheets of parchment which form the cover, and it is also noticeable that, like the Stowe Missal, nearly all the pages of the MS were made square by slips of parchment being attached and fastened with thin thongs of the same material, in exactly the same way as our fragments were stitched into the binding.

doubting that as soon as the Bede was copied in 848, on an erased liturgical MS, other pages of sacramentaries were cut up for its binding.

The MS of Bede was for centuries kept at Reichenau, but the Kalendar¹ shows that it was written before it reached that Abbey (the four Swiss or German saints being added by a later hand), and points to some French house, probably in north-east France, whilst the entry in the Kalendar on Oct. 31, as to St. Quentin and his translation, seems to show some connexion with the great foundation of that name². A striking corroboration of this view is afforded by expressions in both the sheets, which point to the sacramentaries having been in use in some religious house which had been attacked by and was in danger from 'heathen foreigners'; if I am right in filling up the lacuna on fol. 21^o '*sic dem. annorum manibus*,' and in my reading of a word now almost illegible on the last line of that page, the Norsemen are mentioned by name as the oppressors. (As these did not attack Ireland until 795, and as, with the exception of inroads into Frisia from 799-810, their invasion of France was delayed until after the death of Charlemagne in 814, the *additions* to both fragments cannot be placed before the ninth century.) It is of course possible that both expressions are due, not to the actual pillage of the houses where the MSS were written, but to sympathy with kindred foundations in other lands which had lost some of their brethren by the Viking raids (e.g. Iona, sacked five times between 795 and 832), but the pathetic appeal in the vernacular in fragment B, against 'abundance of foreigners and foes and gentiles' seems to spring more naturally from men liable at any moment to be attacked. Unfortunately these expressions do not occur in the original parts of the MSS, but have been added by later hands, and therefore only point to where the sacramentaries were kept and not to their original scriptoria. The investigation of the twelve Irish saints in the Kalendar leads to no definite result, and the name of 'Engusso,' whose obit is added on fol. 41^o, is too common to be of any help. There are only two places mentioned by name in the

¹ Astronomical Kalendars are not always safe guides as to the provenance of the MSS in which they are found; but, as regards the non-Irish saints, I have noted points of similarity between the one in question and the following eighth- or ninth-century Irish or Gallican Kalendars: Par. B. N. lat. 10837; Rome, Ottob. 67; Vatic. 644; Zurich, Rheinau 30.

² The same entry: '*2 Kal. Nov. Sancti Quintini, cuius corpus post LV annos ab anglo (angelis) revelatum est VIII Kal. Iulii*' is found in an early ninth-century Bobbio MS (now Ambros. D. 30 inf.); the reference here is to the first invention of this saint in 342, but the entry seems to have been called for by his third translation in 835. At present one cannot venture to assign the Karlsruhe *Beda* to any one Irish house in Picardy, but this special entry about St. Quentin suggests the possibility that Peronne s/Somme, Perons Scotorum, near St. Quentin, may have been its scriptorium.

MS which can afford any clue; an added Irish notice on fol. 17^v as to the death of Muirchuth, son of Muirledun, at Clonmacnois might seem to indicate that great literary centre as a possible mother-house of our MS¹ (between the years 826 and 846 it was plundered twice by the Danes and thrice by the King of Cashel), but, as Zimmer points out, the notice may be simply due to some friendship between the deceased and the writer of the gloss in the Bede. The words '*Sancte Trinitatis et sancti cronani filii lugaedon*,' which run across the top of one of the fragments, look very much like an indication of the church or monastery which owned the sacramentary, and seem to point to Clondalkin near Dublin. This Cronan, son of Lugaed, better known as St. Mochua, was specially venerated at that church, which seems to have belonged to his family, and it was there apparently that his relics were translated in 790, but I have not found any trace of a previous or simultaneous dedication to the Holy Trinity, and must be content to point to Clondalkin as the possible home of fragment B.

All that seems fairly proved is that both the sacramentaries were in use on the continent at the beginning of the ninth century, that when the Carolingian-Roman superseded the Irish use, they were discarded, used for scribblings, and in 848 either erased and rewritten, or cut up for binding purposes²; the arrival of the MS at the Irish foundation of Reichenau is due to the flight of Irish monks up the Rhine in the middle of the century: the earliest (eighth-century) copy of Adamnan's life of St. Columba (now at Schaffhausen), was similarly written in France and reached Reichenau at the same time as our MS.

Fragment C, from the Archives of S. Antonino, Piacenza, is a sheet of parchment c. 245 mm. long and c. 355 mm. broad, with from 27 to 30 long lines on a page, which once formed two non-consecutive pages of a MS; the fragment is in a very bad state of preservation, being almost in two halves, and as it has evidently been used for a long time as a fly-sheet, the verso is so completely worn away that it is practically illegible; a few disjointed words here and there show that it was a continuation of the recto. As our knowledge and experience of chemical reagents becomes more advanced, it is to be hoped that the whole of this fragment may be successfully restored.

Piacenza is situated where the mountain road to Bobbio leaves the *Via Emilia*, and the church of St. Antonino, one of its oldest ecclesiastical foundations, was in close connexion with the Abbey of

¹ It is interesting to note that the Stowe Missal received its eleventh-century metal-work cover at Clonmacnois.

² Apart from the Stowe Missal, the only other known fragments of Irish sacramentaries (St. Gall, 1394, 1395) owe their preservation to having been enclosed in book covers.

St. Columbanus¹; hence it would seem not unreasonable to assign to Bobbio an Irish MS found in a city so intimately connected with it, (there was unfortunately no opportunity at Piacenza of seeing whether the library of St. Antonino still possessed the book from which our fragment had been taken, a hurried glance at the few MSS now remaining there did not disclose any Irish ones), and the Bobbio provenance of the fragment seems favoured by the contents of the two pages here published, which contain two prefaces which are only found elsewhere in the seventh-century so-called Gallican sacramentary (now Paris, B. N. lat. 13246) which was discovered by Mabillon at Bobbio, and is now so generally supposed to have been written there that it is cited as *Codex Bobiensis*². If our fragment does not hail from Bobbio, it is a very strange coincidence that parts of another Irish missal with Bobbian prefaces should have got so near to it³.

Bearing in mind the unchangeableness of the insular hand and the remarkably few dated early Irish ecclesiastical documents, it is almost impossible to fix the date of a fragment on purely palaeographical grounds (as one of our leading palaeographers writes to me, 'the dating of these Irish MSS is desperate work'). The script is Irish minuscule with several continental traits. Majuscule letters *R* and *S* occur frequently, and some of the large dotted initials are quite in the style of early Irish MSS, though these two marks may be due to the scribe having before him an eighth- or ninth-century MS; several good judges who have seen *C* ascribe it roughly to the ninth or tenth century; on the other hand Dr. Traube calls it 'twelfth century at earliest,' and Bodley's Librarian 'late thirteenth or early fourteenth'; I do not venture to give a verdict when the authorities thus differ to the extent of three or four centuries⁴,

¹ That the connexion between Bobbio and Piacenza was more than local is clear from the way in which the latter cathedral copied and adapted the tropes and sequences of the abbey; a large proportion of the bishops and abbots of Bobbio, from the eleventh century onwards, were natives of Piacenza.

² Cf. Mr. Edmund Bishop's notes on 'The prayer book of Aedelwald' (Cambridge, 1902), p. 239, and Monsignor L. Duchesne *Origine de la liturgie gallicane* (Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, 1900, p. 38 sqq.)

³ There is another slight difficulty in assuming that our fragment was written at Bobbio; palaeographical reprints furnish us with examples of many MSS written (or perhaps only kept) there in uncial, semi-uncial and Lombardic script, but, as far as I have ascertained, they do not give us any MS written in a purely Irish hand.

⁴ I hope in some future number to be able to publish the opinions of palaeographical experts on this point. It would have been desirable to have collotype plates of the fragments in the present volume, that palaeographical students might judge for themselves of their date, but as the Journal was not in a position to do this, photographs have been sent to the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the British Museum, Cambridge University, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Bodleian (the press-mark in the last library is 25778 A. 16).

though it seems to me scarcely possible that such a liturgy as this could have been written for actual use anywhere as late as the twelfth century, and highly improbable that it would have been then copied as a memorial of an extinct rite. We are, at present, strangely ignorant of the early history of Bobbio, and cannot say how long the composite rite shown in the *Bobiens.* was retained there or when Irish ceased to be its vernacular¹ (both questions intimately concern the present fragment, with its most marked Gallican type of service and its Irish rubrics); but if the sacramentary was written there, it would seem that it or its exemplar could not well be dated later than the ninth century. As a matter of fact, for our purpose, the exact date of the actual copy before us is not of primary importance, just as the liturgical value of the Stowe Missal does not depend upon the vexed question of the date of the copy now at Dublin. Our fragment, if not part of an early Bobbio work, may be a late copy of an older Bobbio sacramentary. It is, of course, after all possible that the MS may have been brought there from Ireland or some continental foundation, in which case we can only judge its date on palaeographical grounds. This is an unsatisfactory conclusion, but so it must remain for the present.

¹ Professor Cipolla, who is now engaged on the history of Bobbio, assures me that by the twelfth century there were no Irish monks there, and that he has found no traces of the Irish tongue or script there as late as that date: the fragment, in his opinion, is 'much older than the twelfth century.'

REICHENAU FRAGMENT A.

FOL. I, RO.

.

 [? cinam] tribue uulneribus^{a-b} serui tui .N. ^b ut percepta rem[isio]ne] 5
 omnium peccatorum in sacramentis tuis sincera deuotion[e]^o
 perueniat^d et nullum redemptionis aeternae susteneat^o de[tri]
 mentum et reliqua

Lines 5-8. This prayer which begins *Deus qui confitentium tibi corda* is found as a Post-communion collect in the Stowe Missal (St.) [ed. Warren, p. 247], twice in the *ordo ad reconciliandum penitentem* of the Gelasian sacramentary (Gel.) [ed. Wilson, pp. 65, 67], and in an office for the Visitation of the Sick reprinted in Martene, *De ant. eccl. rit.* vol. i, Ordo xxii, p. 335 (Mart.):—^a *uulneratis*, St. Gel. Mart. ^{b-b} omitted in St. Gel. Mart. ^c *deinceps deuotione*, Gel. Mart., *deinceps deditione*, St. ^d *permaneat*, Gel.² Mart., *permanent*, St. ^e *sustineant*, St. Gel.¹ Mart. The writer of the Introduction to the *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. v, supposes (p. 141, n. 1) that when the compiler of the Stowe Missal or its prototype had to provide a Post-communion collect for the *Missa pro penitentibus uiuis*, as he

[co]llectio¹ DEUS qui iustificas impium². et non uis mortem peccatoris³ maies[t]a⁴

- 10 tem tuam suppliciter⁵ deprecemur⁶ ut famulum tuum⁷ N. de tu[a] misericordia confidentem⁸. caelesti . protegás benignus . a[uxi]lio et tua⁹ protectione . conserua¹. ut [t]ibi iugiter⁵ famuletur et nullis temptationibus a te separetur per dominum nostrum . . .

- super oblata¹ Suscipe clementissime pater hostias² placationis [et] 15 laudis quas ego¹ peccator . r.⁵ indignus^{1m} tuus famulus^m tibi . offerre presumo ad honorem & adⁿ gloriam nominis tui pro^o incol[umi]

tate famuli tui . N . ut omnium delectorum suorum ueniam consequatur^p per dominum nostrum . innom psalam deo

super populum^{1,7} DEUS qui es iustorum gloria & misericordia peccatorum pieta[tem]

- 20 tuam humili prece deposcimus ut^a famulum tuum^a . N . benign[us] respicias et pietatis tuae^r custodiam⁸ impendas^r ut ex toto co[r] de et ex tota mente tibi deseruiat et sub tua semper protectio[ne] consistat^a ut quando ei extrema⁶ uenerit diesⁿ societatem sanctorum per[cí]

¹ The three titles of the prayers are by a later hand.

² First hand 'pium'.

³ e over i.

⁴ p over p.

⁵ First hand 'iugiter'.

⁶ Probably

to correct the previous R.

⁷ o over p.

⁸ First hand co. Second hand

altered o into n and added *studium* &c., as far as the end of the line.

could not get one from the Bobbio sacramentary before him, he copied this prayer from the *Gelasianum*. If this is so, the collect here may be the P. C. to some Mass of which we have not got the beginning: but its position here as apparently the first of four prayers before the preface looks more like that of a *prefatio missae*, and it may hereafter be found that it is by origin Gallican and not Gelasian.

Lines 9-13. *Deus qui iustificas*: the first collect of a *missa votiva* in *Suppl. Sac. Gregor.* (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. vet.* (ed. 1748) col. 193) (Gr.), in *Sacr. Bergomen.* (ed. 1900, p. 151) (Berg.), and in *Sacr. Remens.* (ed. Chevalier, *Bibl. Liturg.* vol. vii, p. 356) (Rem.). Cf. *Sacr. Gallican.* (ed. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. vet.* col. 906) :—¹ peccatorum, Gr. Berg. ² deprecamur, Gr. Berg. ³ tua assidua, Rem., assidua, Berg. ⁴ conserues, Gr. Berg.

Lines 14-18. *Suscipe clementissime*: This appears (as here) as the *Super oblata* in the votive mass for a living friend in *Sacr. Remens.* (ed. Chevalier, p. 357) (Rem.), and as the *Secreta* in the Zurich MS Rheinau 30 (ed. Gerbert, *mon. vet. lit. aleman.* i p. 282) (Rh.). ¹ hostiam, Rem. ²⁻³ peccator indignus, Rem., indignus et peccator, Rh. ⁴⁻⁵ famulus tuus, Rh. ⁶ omit. Rem. Rh. ⁷ et pro, Rem., *sive pro*, Rh. ⁸ consequi mereatur, Rem. Rh.

Line 18. *Innom psalam dō* possibly represents *Hymnum psallam deo*; or, less probably, *In nomine p. d.* The expression does not appear to be Irish.

Lines 19-24. *Deus qui es iustorum*. In the *Sacr. Remens.* as the *Contestanda*¹ after the two preceding prayers, and in the *Sacr. Bergomen.* as the *Præfatio* in a *missa votiva*. ²⁻³ famulo tuo, Rem. ⁴⁻⁵ custodiam pendas, Rem., *super eum custodiam intendas*, Berg. ⁶⁻⁷ omit. Berg. ⁸⁻⁹ dies uenerit, Rem.

piat [et] ^x *inenarrabilem gloriam sine fine possideat* ⁹ . *per dominum*
Vere dignum deus gratias agre in cuius conspectu sanctus raphael 25
glorio[sus]
adstitit presta quessumus ut tibi pro famulo tuo . N . exorar[e]
dignetur ut gratiam tuam . semper mereatur habere presentem [?ex]
*emplum*¹⁰ *et in conspectu tuo semper decantare*¹¹ . *sanctus et reliqua . . .*
DEUS qui culpa . off[en]deris penitentia placaris dá nobis domin[e]
flere ma[la] que fecimus ut tuae consulationis gratiam conseq[ua] 30
*mur Qui pridie . . .*¹²

⁹ First hand *possideat*. ¹⁰ There remain traces of the first letter. †R †S. †P.—
‘*exemplum*’ is the only suggestion I can offer, but it is not satisfactory. Mr. Ed.
Bishop notes that ‘*templum*’ is a word frequently found in *Bob.*, but the scribe of the
fragment never divides a word in this way; Mr. H. A. Wilson suggests ‘*redemptus*’
as giving a possible sense, but the contraction over the final vowel cannot, I feel
sure, represent s. ¹¹ *re* over *a*. ¹² The rest of the fol. is blank: a later
hand has inserted ‘*Deus universita[]*’ ‘*deus in adiutorium meum*’ ‘*deus in*
adiutorium’ ‘*Riuos mellis Riuus lactis*’ with peculiar initial *R* († a reference to
Bede’s description of Ireland as ‘*Dives lactis ac mellis insula*,’ *Hist. eccl.* lib. i. c. 1)
and the letters *M*, *A* or *A* and *Δ* († = Μαθητῆς Διδάσκαλος).

^x *cum quibus*, Rem. Berg.

Lines 29 sqq. *Deus qui culpa*, as far as the word ‘*placaris*’ is one of the *orationes*
pro peccatis in *Grg.* (ed. Murat. col. 249), whence it was borrowed by the compiler
of the new Mass for the first Thursday in Lent (col. 28), where it figures as the first
collect; the rest of the prayer runs ‘*preces populi tui supplicantis propitius respice et*
flagella tuae iracundiae quae pro peccatis nostris meremur averte.’ Cod. Bobiens (ed.
Murat. col. 776) and Stowe (ed. McCarthy p. 197. n. b) give it in another form
‘*afflictorum gemitus respice et mala quae iuste irrogas misericorditer averte*’ as the
second collect of the *Missa Romensis cotidiana*, whilst Miss. Gothic. (ed. Murat.
col. 658) gives it in this Irish form as the first (and probably only) collect of that
mass. Our collect, which by its position here is clearly intended as a Post-
sanctus, is on different lines, and looks as if it were made up of two prayers, the
second commencing ‘*Da nobis domine*’; yet it is curious that it has the words *mala*
quae of *Bob.* *St.* and *Gothic.*

FOL. I, VO.

.
.
.
.

iesum christum filium suum : —

Suscipe domine preces¹ nostras quas pro dispositione² famulorum³ 5
tuorum tuorum et famularum tuarum . N . deferimus
orantes ut sacrificii presentis oblatione⁴ ad refrigerium animæ suæ
rum suarum tē misreante pervenient⁴; per dominum filium tuum . . .

¹ *as* over *c*. ² First hand ‘*depositione*.’ ³ Above this word is written
the alternative text *h. N.* ⁴ The second *n* is *þ*; † read *oblatio . . . proveniat*.

*sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus*¹⁹ sabaoth &c. ;
 Adstat huic²⁰ *sanctificationi* illa *benedictio* quā *dominus noster iesus*
christus sacrificium tale instituit atque *benedixit*
 [O]ssanna²¹ in altissimis tē *pro refrigerio spiritus defunctorum omni-*
potens eterne deus
 [hum]iliter exoramus . *precipue pro animabus famulorum tuorum*²² . et
famularum tuarum . N . inlessa
 []memoratione . ut ab infernali²³ manu liberatas²⁴ in sinu patris requi- 25
 escant
 [patri]archæ *per dominum nostrum iesum christum* qui tecum uiuit
dominatur ac regnat simul cum
spiritu sancto in secula saeculorum qui pridie quam²⁵

¹⁹ after *deus l.*²⁰ *huic* above the line, originally after *sanctificationi* but erased.²¹ *n over n.*²² alternative *ma famuli tui.*²³ First hand *infernalis.*²⁴ Firsthand *liberatus.*²⁵ at foot of page ! *a cme*—original manuscript.

FOL. 2, RO.

.

* in cuius uel in quorum ho[norem] hec oblatio hodie offertur¹ 5
 ut cunctis proficiat ad sa[lutem]^b
 conta[c]tis terrene feces sic[]
 tis nostris preteritis present[ibus]
 et quia misisti illis regni ae[terni] parti]
 cipes sancti spiritus coeredes re[] 10
 tē enim omnipotens deus lau[]
 egregius apostolorum et[]
 immo perpetuo et indefessis [laudibus cum quatuor animalibus venti-
 quatuor]
 senioribus concinnant [dicentes]
 * Vere benedictus uer[e] mirabilis in sanctis suis deus noster iesus 15
 christus]
 ipse dabit uirtute[m] et fortitudinem plebis suae, benedic[]

¹ Lacunae supplied, where possible, from the Stowe Missal.^a . . . in cuius uel in quorum. In Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 245) beginning *Omnibus diebus uitae nostrae*, but omitting *a* in cuius uel. ^b The Stowe Missal differs entirely after *salutem*.^c *Vere benedictus* occurs in the Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 246) as *Vere sanctus vere benedictus*, &c.

tus deus quem benedicimus in a[postulis et in omnibus sanctis suis
 qui pla]
 cuerunt^d ab initio saeculi
 Vere elogius bassilius []
 20 tor apostulorum om[nium]]
 sanctis suis saluificat²

lectiones ad missam e[aptivorum ?]³

Paulus apostolus iesu christi . . . pro vobis scie[ntes]

² The rest of this page and the whole of the next page are by a later hand.

³ The Stowe Missal inserts *et* after *placuerunt*.

⁴ The text of the lectiones is not printed in full, but any variations from the Vulgate are noticed.

⁵ 2 Cor. 11-11: the lacuna on the ninth line of the MS is too small for *consolamur pro vestra consolatione, sive exhortamur pro vestra exhortatione et salute quam operatur*, the clause *et exhortamur pro vestra exhortatione* was probably omitted. The MS has *intollerantia* verse 6; ¹ = *et tolerantes*, and in verse 7, omits *et*.

FOL. 2, VO.

et nos et erunt inquam speramus quoniam
 adiuvantibus et vobis in oratione pro nobis .

It . . . Dominus de celo in terram aspexit ut audi
 ret gemitus compeditorum⁶ ut adnuntiaret⁷ in sion nomen domini &
 laudem eius in ierusalem :—

Interrogavit discipulos suos dicens
 12 . . . et in celis . . . ordo missae pro captivis incipit.
 . . . ians corde contrito flebil: voce lacrimabile⁸
 congregat: bat⁹ sic de no[m]in[is] manibus

¹ read *congregabat*. ² A crease in the parchment may have led to the rubbing away of some of the letters: all that is visible now is *etiam amorem*, with room for about two letters in the gap. Possibly the name was intentionally not written here in full.

³ : Cor. 12. The MS places *etiam* before *nos*. ⁴ The Grail is Ps. ci 20-22. The MS probably did not contain here the words '*et adhuc filios sustinuerunt*,' which occur in a collect a few lines down. ⁵ Vulgate = *adnuntiavit*. ⁶ The Gospel is St. Matth. xv. 13-16 but the MS, in conformity with the oldest versions, has no Jesus in v. 13: nor *et* before *et* in v. 16. ⁷ Dan. vi. 20.

-] ducat specialiter autem fratrem nostrum. H. festina
] ciat per dominum nostrum [filium] suum qui³ secum regnantem³
- ..] e redempta ad celos conscendisti de celis 20
 ..] filios interemptorum cunctosque in captiuitate
 ..] generibus dignare perducere qui cum patre
 post nomi]na recitata
 ..] domi]ni deprecemur uti uniuersos baptizatos
] .. participes efficiat .⁴ at ui⁸ omnes 25
] domino eripiat per suum unigenitum
] qui tecum
] per istam tui corporis
] alligatos et fratrem nostrum
 reduce]re digneris qui regnas :— 30
 omni]potentis mise[ri]cordiam
 captiui]tatibus . elongatis carceribus detentis
 con]sulator ads[i]stat neque deesse sibi
 domi]num nostrum suum
 V.D. gra]tias agere domine sancte omnipotens eterne deus. 35
 qui po]pulum tuis preceptis contradicentem duro seruitio
 ?subiectum a]d pristinam libertatem reducebas . respice
 ?ne dicant] gentes ubi est deus eorum qui quamvis tibi non bene seruiant
 ?rup]tis uinculis carcere reserato terre motu
] . um⁶ reddidisti sic domine cunctos christianos 40
] normanicis⁷ ferreis funibus atque

³ sic! ⁴ read at ut. ⁶ read Paulum or apostolum. ⁷ The first three letters are almost illegible in the MS, but the photographic negative reveals not or nor before manicis.

REICHENAU FRAGMENTS B & B*.

The dotted line represents fragment B*

FOL. I RO., COL. I.

..... magnus facis mirabilia
 deus ueri¹ latittia sanctorum . quam tu
 promissisti omnipotenti in fide cre

¹ vera.

FOL. 1 RO., COL. 2.

^a Deus qui sanctam [huius diei sollem]²pnitatem in oi³ [· N · ⁴ conse[crasti adesto famili

	e tuę	precibus et dona	
5	ʔu]tʔ ho	die festa celeb	[ranti]
	ʔbus comme	[au] xilio	[eorum]
] mun	[iamur per]	[iesum]
	filiom		[christum]
	S]anctorum	[intercessi]	onibus
10] nme		deuo
	ʔti reci		i num
	sensi		i sancti
	contin		tu la
	: pill ⁵		ie in
15	: tion ⁶		i ut
	ʔati ⁷ h		e fa
	ʔatu :		suppli ⁸
	qui in		pos
	t me		diem
20	diosa		tis
	colim		sacer
	talis		neu :
	obʔ sʔ o		ʔupi

² Lacunae supplied from the *Missale Gothicum*.³ There is no sign of any contraction, hence the word is probably not *omni*, the second letter is possibly the first half of *n*.⁴ ʔ a ʔ y, reading very uncertain.⁵ ʔ s ill.⁶ The letter before *tion* is either *a* or *u*.⁷ ʔ iti.⁸ ʔ populi.

^a This collect might be reconstructed : *D. q. s. h. d. s. in [h]onore beatorum .N. consecrasti a. f. t. p. et dona nobis hodie festa celebrantibus ut auxilio eorum muniamur, &c.* Cf. the first collect for the Mass of many martyrs in the *Gothicum* 'Deus qui sanctam huius diei sollempnitatem pro commemorationem beatissimorum martyrum tuorum ill. et ill. passionem fecisti, Adesto familie tue precibus et da ut quorum hodie festa celebramus eorum meritis et intercessionibus adiuvemur, &c. [Text as collated from the MS of the *Gothicum*.] The *Sacramentarium triplex* at Zurich, fol. 228^{vo} gives it for the Mass of one martyr, evidently taken from some Ambrosian Sacramentary. Ff. 227^{vo}-232^{vo} in that MS contain the Ambrosian *Commune sanctorum*, and agree exactly with the Bergamo sacramentary (ed. 1900, pp. 135-142). Gerbert printed this in his smallest type on pp. 213-220 col. 1 and 222-225, but he did not realize that what he printed on his p. 216 (including the present collect) was one Ambrosian Mass.

FOL. I VO., COL. I.

		ritatem obte sunt se/ mota
	est u : : : : nostr	um iesum christum fi
	lium suum :—	
5	Deus ad cuius c	rescit glori
	am quicquid sanctorum sal	utis contu
	lis : [ti . . .]	exemplum tuae
	tu ¹	uoluisti e
	nim	ulſ per dominum
10	nostrum	
	D [ignum et iust]	um equum et iu
	[stum est n]	os hic et ubi
	que s [emper gratias a]	gere tri
	nit [ati . . .]	ut tē auc
15	tor em omni]	s creatu
	ra	in laudem
	sanctor [um . . .]	? in tuam loc
	atur	atum diei
	hui [us . . .]	? tis in hon
20	orem	N consecr
	ast [i . . .]	gratias
	it ? c	te tr :
	ist	ma est :

FOL. I VO., COL. 2.

hostia innocens uita suscepisti
 enim domine hodierna die animam
 sacerdotis tui · N · carnis intig
 re conuersationis inlesse crucis
 5 uixillum calcato seculo preferenti
 s. quem ad eternam uitam² et ad glo
 riam regni celestis quam pretioso
 exitu tam felici petere iubēs
 ingressu qui et celestium secre
 10 torum interprēs et diuinorum consi
 liorum capax iam in hoc mundo esse
 promeruit angelorum comes conso
 rs apostolice dignitatis qui

¹ † h, † tis.² Before 'uitam' sa but deleted. † = salutem.

dum per inextingibilem tui amoris ar
 15 dorem carnis âculeos contriuit
 uitiorum incendiua prosternit dia
 buli uirus extinguit³ ante moritu
 rus in secula quam natura ista est
 mors pretiosa sanctorum qui gloriatur in re
 20 quie sua diem beate resurrec
 tionis expectans in quo erit et ius
 titiae merces et corona uirtutis
 et palma uictoriae per dominum nostrum

 25

FOL. 2 RO., COL. I.

Angeli ymnum debitum sine
 cessatione proclamant dicen
 tes sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabao
 th pleni sunt
 5 Domine deus noster nōs quoque hodi
 ernam diem in honorem tui sancti no
 minis et in⁴ commemoratione b
 eatissimorum martirum con⁵ cete
 ris sanctis annua festiuitate
 10 percolimus alteribus tuę pieta
 tes adsistimus tibi enim domine
 laudes et gratias referamus
 in homine⁶ et honore sanctissimi
 filii tui dei ac domini nostri iesu christi ip
 15 se enim qui pridie quam pro nostra o
 mnium salute patiretur cepit panem⁷

+ Oremus domini missercordiam

^a pro animabus omnium episcoporum nos
 trorum et presbiterorum^b nostrorum et di
 20 aconorum nostrorum et carorum nostrorum
 et cararum nostrarum^c et puerorum nostrorum
 et puellarum^d nostrarum et penitentium nostr

³ = over i. ⁴ = above the line. ⁵ c. ⁶ for mensura. ⁷ ;
 c ps only. ⁸ r over a. ⁹ = over a.

^{a-c} Cf. Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 233), the variants of which are given
^d sacerdotum St.

orum^a et^o in^o comuni^d stratu¹⁰ seniorum^f & s^o minis
trorum omnium^s . . Pro integritate uirginum .
25 et continentia . uiduarum . Pro^h aeris . temp
[erie et fructum^l fecunditate terrarum^k pro
pacis redetu et^l fine discriminum¹¹]

¹⁰ First hand *statu*.¹¹ Lacuna supplied from the Stowe Missal.

^c From here as far as *dignatur*, col. 2. lin. 17, is found in the Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 234) = *St*, and in Witzel's extract from an Irish MS at Fulda (Vicelius, *Enchiridion sinceræ pietatis*, Mogunt. 1555, P. ii) = *W*; both sources give the first sentence as 'Pro st(r)atu' (vide infra, p. 72) and insert the whole clause in the Canon between 'pro redemptione animarum suarum' and 'pro spe salutis,' &c.
^d omitted *St W*. ^e *statu W*. ^f *seniorum suorum, St*. ^g *ministrorum omnium puritate, St*. *puritate ministrorum, W*. ^h *W*. adds *bona*. ⁱ *segetum W*.
^j omitted in *W*. ^k *ac W*.

FOL. 2 RO., COL. 2.

Pro incolmitate¹ [regum et pace^a popu
lorum ac red[itu^b captiuorum pro uo]
tis adstan[tium^c pro memoria mar]
tirum^d . . Pro^e re[misione peccatorum]
5 nostrorum . e[^t actuum emendatione [r]eorum]^o
f et pro^f requie d[efunctorum et s^o prosperitate]
iteneris nostri^h & [pro domino papa episcopo et^h omnibus²]
episcopis^l e[^t prespeteris^l et omni ecclesi]
astico ordi[ne pro imperio romano^k]
10 et omnibus regib[us^l christianis^m pro fratribus in uia]
directis . & pro [fratribus quos de cali]
ginosisⁿ huius [mundiⁿ tenebris dominus ar]
cessire dig[natus est ut eos in^o eterna lu]
ce et quiete^o di[uiua pietas^p suscipiat]
15 Pro fratribus qui ua[r]is dolorum]
gemitibus^q ut[i eos^r diuina pietas^s cur]
are dignet[ur^t petri]

¹ Lacunae supplied from Stowe Missal.² The MS may have room for all these words.

^a *tranquillitate W*. ^b *liberatione W*. ^c *W*. adds *exaudiendis*. ^d *W*. adds *clabranda*.
^e *remittendis atque emendandis peccatis nostris W*. ^f *ac St*.
^g *pro W*. ^h *pro Ro. pontifici ac W*. ⁱ *presbyterisque W*.
^j *W*. omits *romano*. ^k *principibus W*. ^l Here *St*. inserts *pro fratribus et sororibus nostris*, *W*. has *p. f. sororibusque n.* but places 'pro fratribus . . . suscipiat' before 'pro fratribus in uia dirigendis.' ^m *mundi huius St*. ⁿ *eterna summæ lucis quiete St*. *eternam summamque lucem et quietem W*. ^o *pietas diuina St*.
^p *generibus adfiguntur St. W*. ^q *W*. adds *in aeternum*. ^r *bonitas W*.
^s Here *St*. proceeds with *pro spe salutis, &c.*, i. e. part of the Canon.

	et pañi in] hannis	
	Item adel [
20	tiurw: ite] m	
	patriar[charum	? Eli]
	sei ² : : et ceter[orum	
	dian] salomon ³ [Mact]
	aberrum [
25	omnibus [episcu]
	p[is et o]rthodoxis	eccl[esi]
	asticis et [
	libus et pe ² [
]sque in [
30]m ² [

² [se]f[ach].³ [over a].⁴ [pa].⁵ [im].

The Irish texts are in two columns on fol. 1 vi., the left containing small portions of twenty-nine lines, the second three complete lines: they have been published by Whitley Stokes (*loc. cit.*) from a photograph, but a careful collation of the MS has afforded a more accurate text in one or two words. The fragments of twenty-nine lines are as follows:—

: audpaire so | tho ðthurchuill | essi cotuissi : | ðid de | ðir et |
: neod : | : hoir (ð) | : chael : | : dub(ð) | hussa | ach et | et ðith |
sacar | et uil | althir | mail | b . . . Dne | form | thu . et | o neach |
in do ama (ð) | : traig | : diuili | thur : | si(ðus) out : : | cuinne | ðia .
dr | dub . d |

The three lines in column two are as follows:—

Dithólu achtrann et nínat et gair-
te . et fochide . ðphilligub tined et nín-
ne . et gairte et gairte nile nésimle :

that is, according to Whitley Stokes '(save us) from abundance of foreigners and foes and gentiles and tribulations; from plagues of fire and nakedness (ð) and hunger and many diverse diseases.'

FRAGMENT C PLACENZA. (P BOSSIO.)

FOL. 1 vñ.

Compe domine vota supplicum esaudi genitus peccatorum . ²os
culetur n[ost]r[um] a[ut] osculo oris sui ³pacis magister et conditor.
ut in nobis hoc recipientibus holocaustum faciant . quare spera

² See is preceded by an ensura of one letter and followed by an ensura of probably three letters.

³ Cantab. i. n.

mus habeamus adom̃inum .i. lāndiunach *. immola deo
^b **Y**mmola deo sacrificium laudis et redde altissimo uota tua ^b
^c **In** conspectu omnis populi eius^d in medio tui hierusalem^d immola deo.
Immolamus tibi domine hostiam gratulationis nostrę . exaudi nōs
et presta unicuique nostrum proprium petitionem . affectumque tribue²
³ miserere nobis domine qui regnas⁴
Terrenis cogitationibus seperatis⁵ sola cęlestia ac spiritalia cogitemus 10
 amen

Deus et deus & dominus dominus noster⁶
Frater carissimi sicut simul orauimus ita⁷ simul et offeramus
 sacrificium deo nostro sussum corda habeamus adom̃inum . . .
Offeramus domino deo nostro⁷ sacrosancta munera spiritalia. Dignum⁷
 . . . Benedictio
 dei patris & fili & spiritus . reliqua . . **R** : sund canatair nadignumma 15
 for tormach rendignum na trindote . . **

Deus & deus et dominus noster dominus noster⁶

⁸ Dignum et iustum equum et iustum est nōs. tibi⁷ hic et ubique semper
 gratias agere: domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus . ¹ qui fecisti⁸
 cęlum et terram mare et omnia que in eis sunt . iñitium tuum domine
 nemo⁹

nobis¹⁰ . et magnitudinis tuę non est finis¹ . una diuinitas⁸ et una⁸ mai²⁰
 estas . natura inseperabilis . persona diuidua^h deus unus et nonⁱ sol[us]

* = A full washing.

** = Here are sung the *Dignums* on an *augmentum* before the *Dignum* of the Trinity.

¹ In the margin here l. conu.

² *Deus et deus*, &c., as below, but erased.

³ *gr*, with one mark of contraction over the two letters. ⁴ A second hand inserts or over *er*; this scribe's final long *s* is always very like *f* (cf. *gratulationis*, *fratres*), here it is a distinct *f*.

⁵ The first two and the last two words of this sentence are in red. ⁶ Above the line. ⁷ A later hand has inserted in red a short

⁸ over the long *s*. ⁹ In the margin. ¹⁰ i.e. *novit*.

^{b-b} Ps. xlix 14. Cf. the Leabar Breac; M^cCarthy on Stowe Missal, p. 262.

^{c-c} Part of Ps. cxv 18. ^{d-d} Part of Ps. cxv 19. ^e This preface is

found in *Cod. Bobien.* (Par. B.N. lat. 13246) here quoted as *Bob.*, and in the Mozarabic Missal (ed. 1755, p. 84), here quoted as *Moz.* It occurs in one of the Sunday Masses in *Bob.* and for the eighth Sunday after the Epiphany in *Moz.*

^{f-f} omitted in *Moz.*, in *Bob.* '*Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, cuius uerbum uniuersa creata sunt cuius spiritu omnia nunciantur.*' Mr. Edmund Bishop points out (*Book of Cerne*, ed. 1902, p. 248) that this adaptation of Acts iv 24 in liturgical prayers is almost entirely confined to books that can be connected with Ireland.

^{g-g} *et trina*, *Bob.*, *trina*, *Moz.* ^h *indiuidua*, *Bob.* *Moz.* ⁱ Cf. the 7th-

century Irish prayer in MS Turin. F. iv 1 (ed. Meyer, *loc. cit.* p. 203) '*Deus omnipotens, qui es unus nec solus, terque unus et in tribus unus.*' Cf. also *Book of Cerne* (ed. 1902, p. 124, ll. 9 and 10) '*Deus unus et non solus, unitas triplex.*' *Bob.* omits non either because liable to misconception or from a recollection of Ps. lxxxv 10 '*Tu es deus solus.*'

FOL. 2, RO.

^{1a} Cuius^b propitiationem [sacerdotum prepar]atio declarauitCuius [lon]gan[imitatem]^c iudicum eq]uitas protulit. Cuius^b sapien-
tiam^dregnum^{2e} uita desseruit Cuius spiritum p[rophet]arum ueritas adpro-
bavitCuius^b aduentum zacharias castigatus ostendit. Cuius introitum
Iohannis precursor³ admonuit. Cuius^b natiuitatem uirgo protulit 5stella precessit angelorum^f sacra uox^f cicinit pastorum peruigil sol
licitudo preuidit^g magorum tripertiti^h oblatio muneris honorauitCuius possessionem⁴ mundus non sustenuit³ tremuit terra⁵ⁱ. sol fug[it]^k
Cuius resurrectionem adistentes ostentauerunt^l angeli^m Cuius⁶. . .gentes^m glorificauerunt sanctiⁿ explorantes apostoli predicauerunt⁷ 10Cuius ascensum discipuli porrectis in celum oculis prosecuti sunt⁷ⁿCuius regnum^o cum uniuerso^o celestium et terrestrium^p et infernorum
preconio^p animalium et^q seniorum signatorum concentus^r incessabili
uoce proclamant dicentes sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus
sabaoth^s

Haec tibi laudes in excelsis omnes consona uoce resonant ac . . . 15

nos uero ex humili^s sede supplices maiestati tue fundimus preces

obsecrantes ut ad hec pura libamina respicere digneris . . .

primogeniti filii tui ac domini nostri iesu christi Qui pridie quam . . .

amen dicitur⁹ordo missae sancte marie¹⁰[†] Concede quessumus omnipotens deus ad beatę sanctę marie

uirginis gaudia eterna pertingere de cuius nos ueneranda as 20

sumptione tribuas annua sollempnitate gaudere per

[†] Intercessio domine marie beatę munera nostra commendat no¹¹ . . .¹ The first three lines are much rubbed and could not have been deciphered without the help of the corresponding passage in *Bob.*, from which the words within brackets for us is the one which usually signifies us at the end of a word.² The sense demands *regum*. ³ The

contraction for us is the one which usually signifies us at the end of a word.

⁴ i.e. *passionem*.⁵ e over the first r.⁶ Reading doubtful. ? *Deus*, ? *Omnes*.⁷ Scarcely legible, doubtful reading.⁸ u over m.⁹ These words are

added by a later scribe who uses a final r not found elsewhere in the fragment.

¹⁰ This title is by the original hand, and enclosed in a single red line.¹¹ Ap-parently *neque* . . .^a This preface occurs in *Cod. Bobiens.* in one of the *Missae dominicales*. It begins^b Cuius uocem Adam audivit' (cf. *Muratori, Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. ii, col. 924), and hasthe following variants: ^b *Ipsius*. ^c *longaminitate* (sic). ^d *sapiencia*. ^e *regum*.^f *uox sacra*.^g *peruidit*.^h *treptita*.^{i-l} omitted.^k *refugit*.^l *sustentauerunt*.^{m-m} *cum resurgentem*.^{n-a} omitted.^{o-o} *uniuersum*.^p *infernorumque concentum*.^q omitted.^r omitted.^s Here thepreface ends in *Bob.*^{t-u} This collect and secret appear in the Assump-tion mass of the *Triplex* as *G*(elasian) and *A*(mbrosian), with *nobis* after *concede* and

ueneratione tue maiestati reddet per dominum nostrum . . .²²
 Recensitis nominibus offerentum in beatę marie sollem[nitate]
 clementiam dei dispicemur ut per istius merita peccatorum
 nostrorum ueniam defunctis refrigerium concedere dignetur²³

Ff. 1 ro. and 2 vo. are illegible.

²² The letters *enl* can be made out at the end of this line perhaps referring to the following prayer. ²³ Scribbles at the top and bottom of this page, 'benedicamus domino d'; 'amored' (= 'O great God'), 'a de is mior ar saithar risinnubsa.'

Mr. Whitley Stokes considers that this is the copyist's incorrect spelling of 'a de is mior ar saithar risin nabus', i. e. 'O God, great is our trouble (labour) with this ink!'

tribus for *tribus* in the former, whilst the latter runs: *Intercessio qualesumvis d. beate M. semper virginis stannem nostra commendat nosque in eius ueneratione tua maiestati reddat acceptis*. Their occurrence in the *Biasca MS* (Solesmes *Sacr. Bergomen.*, p. 126) as respectively the *Super sindonem* and *Super oblata* of that feast will justify the Ambrosian title, but as usual the use of the word *Gelasian* in the *Triplex* refers only to the eighth century *Gelasian* (Wilson, p. 353) as the *Vatican Gelasian* has neither prayer for this day; as a matter of fact, the secret is only that of the *Gelas. II 5* and *II 50* with the substitution of the *B. V.* for *St. Fabian* and *St. Rufus*. A study of the *Triplex* at *Zurich* leads me to endorse Mr. Bishop's warning (*Book of Cerne*, p. 263 n. 2) as to the uselessness of this *MS* as an index to the real pre-Gregorian *Sacramentary*.

The object of the present notice being the publication of the text of the fragments and not a disquisition on the knotty questions which concern the ancient Gallican rite, it will suffice to call attention to the new evidence which these fragments reveal, and to show their points of similarity and contrast with the *Stowe* and *Bobbio* missals: these two really fall under one category; a glance at the *Paléographie musicale*, vol. v, pp. 128 and 129, will show their intimate connexion with each other¹.

The general similarity between our fragments and these two missals is evident at first sight; the vernacular rubrics and prayers which are a special feature of Irish *liturgica* occur not only in fragment B, which is moulded after the type of the *Stowe* missal, but in the (presumably) *Bobbio* sheet, though the *Cod. Bobiens.* is entirely in Latin.

I am indebted to Mr. Whitley Stokes and Professor Rhys for help in translating the rubrics, which at once recall somewhat similar ones in the *Stowe* missal, though it is difficult to see how one *Dignum* could be sung before another, and the liturgical meaning of *lândiunach* ('a full washing,' a 'complete washing out'), apparently at the offertory and

¹ Our fragments will bear out Mr. E. Bishop's belief, expressed in the last number of the *JOURNAL* (July, 1903, p. 560, n), that the Irish were concerned in the manipulation to which the Roman books were subjected in Gaul and in Northern Italy in the seventh century.

certainly before the preface, is at present unknown: it cannot be the same ceremony as the Stowe *lethdirech* and *lándirech* (the half and the full uncovering of the chalice); one hesitates to suggest a hitherto unrecorded ceremonial cleansing of the chalice at this part of the mass; but if O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary* (1864) is correct (*diunach* = 'bathing,' 'washing'), the ceremony will be the customary washing of the celebrant's hands.

Putting on one side the phraseology of the prayers, which, as regards fragments A and B, is distinctly Roman, it will be at once noticed that their whole system is a Gallican one, for whilst *Gregor.* and *Gelas.* for each mass only supply as a rule one or two collects, a secret and a post-communion prayer, *Bob.*, *Gothic.*, *Francor.*, and *Gallican. vetus* agree in providing four separate prayers before the preface, which in its turn is followed by the post-sanctus and the canon '*Qui pridie*'; after which *Bob.* provides nothing else, as the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* at the beginning of that missal, with its fixed post-communion, had apparently to serve for all masses. Now this arrangement is precisely the one witnessed to by fragments A and B, whilst C. fol. 1^{ro} provides somewhat elaborate initials for four only of the items which precede the preface. It is far from being suggested that we have here a pure Gallican rite; the fragments are a product of a time when Roman influence had substituted short pithy collects in the place of the lengthy Gallican ones, and the Roman canon, or part of it, had been introduced, but the distinctive prefaces are left untouched and the old framework remains, the diptychs are still read and the *pax* is given before the consecration; though the actual title '*post nomina recitata*' only occurs once, the word *recita* . . . appears in one of the prayers, whilst another begins with '*Recensitis nominibus*.' It must be borne in mind that the titles on the first sheet of A are a later addition by a Romanizing corrector, who seeing three nameless collects prefixed to them the three titles common in Roman sacramentaries, without stopping to think whether they were applicable to the prayers, and without seeing the impossibility of the Roman '*Super populum*' coming before the preface¹. The very position of the Epistle and Gospel, so rarely found in early sacramentaries, but here placed by themselves as '*lectiones ad missam*' and followed by the '*Ordo missae*,' is exactly the arrangement of the Bobbio Missal.

But it is not only in the arrangement of the office that our fragments agree with the Stowe and Bobbio MSS; it may be only a strange coincidence, but just as the Stowe Missal has three masses only, viz. for the common of saints, for penitents, and for the dead, fragments A and B

¹ This procedure is the reverse of what we find in *Cod. Bobiens.*, where the Roman prayers of the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* appear under utterly unsuitable Gallican titles.

reveal three masses which, though they bear no title, correspond exactly with these three. In the few pages before us we meet with typical Hiberno-Gallican expressions which rarely if ever occur in the *Greg. or Gelas.*; e.g. the elders of the church are termed '*seniores*' whilst the faithful laity departed are the '*cari nostri*'; '*stratus*,' in the sense of body or congregation, which occurs only in the Stowe Missal, is found here with the epithet '*communis*'¹; the solemn *Amen* at the giving of thanks (1 Cor. xiv 16) is ordered by the special rubric '*Amen dicitur*'; but perhaps the most striking similarity with the Stowe Missal is the omission of the *filioque*; though it was added to that MS by Moelcaith, the text of the Piacenza fragment remains unchanged, '*Spiritus sanctus a patre procedens*,' a fact which seems to go some way in justifying the early date assigned to this sheet or its exemplar; the fact that the words occur in a preface here instead of in the creed does not weaken the argument.

It will be observed from the notes that whilst the first mass in the Reichenau sheet is more or less the common property of Roman and Gallican missals, our fragments, with the exception of three Ambrosian collects, give us texts which are only found elsewhere, if at all, in Stowe, Bobbio, Rheims and the Mozarabic, and that the variants are instructive, as providing what in some cases looks like a purer and more primitive reading. If the number of known liturgical forms is not greatly increased by the present publication, it brings out a few new points as to text and arrangement, as well as some apparent difficulties which await solution. The phrases '*refrigerio spiritus defunctorum*' '*Deus . . . da nobis domine*' may be due to errors in copying, but the frequent reiteration of *enim* in the middle of prayers is peculiar, nor do I remember having seen elsewhere *sursum corda habeamus* in a collect, or *cepit panem*² for *accepit panem* at the commencement of the Canon; the sequence *Petri et Pauli Iohannis*, to the exclusion of Andrew, in what appears to be an extract from the Canon, is a distinguishing mark of the Mozarabic Missal, though the three names do occur in this order in one of the Stowe collects; the '*Vere elogius bassilius*' (unfortunately defective) on A. fol. 2 r^o is presumably a half Greek version (*elogius* = *εὐλογητός*!) similar to '*Vere benedictus*' which precedes it, but it seems to break off into the Latin of another prayer; at any rate, it is interesting to note

¹ Witzel's print of the Fulda MS has '*statu*.' Of course it is impossible to rely on his text as rendering the reading of the MS here, but still it now appears his *statu* is countenanced by the first hand of the new fragment. The correction to *stratu* however, as in *St.*, seems highly interesting [Ed. B.].

² I do not know of any other suitable expansion of the *c pa* which follows after *patiratur* in the MS; it might be a scribe's error for *c r (eliquis)*, but the reading of the text is clear.

this survival of the ancient ecclesiastical tongue where it was scarcely expected.

In the almost total absence of headings to the collects it is impossible to arrange with certainty the masses in the Piacenza fragment; some of its sentences were sung by the choir and not said by the priest; e.g. '*Immola Deo sacrificium laudis*'¹ was ordered, according to the Leabar Breac, to be chanted after the full uncovering of the chalice and paten after the gospel, and there is little doubt that the *Deus et deus et dominus dominus noster*, which occurs three times in one mass on fragment C, must have been one of those antiphons which we learn from Stowe were interspersed in the service, though these or similar words have not been met with before. But it is very doubtful whether this explanation can account for the two prayers, which look like benedictions, which are found on A. fol. 1 v^o between the preface and the post-sanctus, '*ad-sistat . . . benedixit*' and on C. fol. 1 v^o immediately before the preface '*Benedictio . . . spiritus et reliqua*'; the former of these is apparently unfinished and perhaps has been copied into a wrong place, but the absence of any similar examples of any liturgical interpolation immediately before the preface makes it necessary to call special attention to these anomalies.

The first question naturally asked as to any newly discovered Gallican sacramentary is as to the existence of a non-Roman canon, for up to the present no such has been found. Our fragments merely give the first words of a formula which either, as in *Bob.*, agree with the so-called Gelasian canon: (i) '*Qui pridie*,' (ii) '*Qui pridie quam*,' or (iii) with the Ambrosian '*Qui pridie quam pro nostra omnium salute pateretur*,' and in all three cases this apparently invariable formula follows immediately on the post-sanctus, whether the latter is addressed to the first or to the second person of the Holy Trinity; there is no trace of any reference to the night of the betrayal instead of the eve of the passion, or to our Lord's standing in the midst of the apostles, such as might have been expected in a purely Gallican liturgy. But there is a certain confusion and irregularity in B. fol. 2, col. 1 which deserve notice; after *cepit panem* (?) there is a short space, and on another line the same scribe proceeds to write + *Oremus domini*, &c., which begins much like a bidding prayer *post nomina (defunctorum) recitata*; but suddenly, in its eighth line (after the punctuation mark ∴ instead of .), it becomes a prayer for the living, '*pro integritate*, &c.' Of this text Stowe has as far as '*penitentium nostrorum*' as the end of an added *Super oblata* (ed. Warren, p. 233), whilst it provides the rest of it in

¹ These are probably the words erased on fol. 19 of the Stowe Missal: see Dr. McCarthy's article, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (Polite Literature and Antiquities)*, vol. xxvii, pt. I, p. 205, n. 6.

a slightly altered form, "*pro stratis amicorum suorum et ministrorum suorum puritate, pro integritate, &c.*," as part of the *canon dominicus papa Gelasi* after the recitation of the diptychs of the living, the *amici* and *ministri* being among the faithful departed in our fragment but with the living in Stowe. The whole of this long prayer "*pro stratis . . . carere dignetur*" is wanting in *Abel* and *Gelas.*, and is clearly an interpolation arbitrarily inserted by the copyist of Stowe in the middle of the commemoration of the living in his "*Gelasian*" canon, between "*pro relaxatione animarum suorum*" and "*pro ipse salutis, &c.*" As it stands in our fragment, it is even more out of place than in Stowe: its position, immediately after the *Qui prae* and preceded by a + seems to indicate that it was intended to be said somewhere in the Canon or at least to be in some way connected with it². But this is not the only difficulty: after the words "*pietas carere dignetur*," without any break, and after a lacuna of two or three words only, we meet with *et pauli* or (evidently *petri et pauli iohannis*), the normal position of which is after *memoriae venerabilis* before the words of Institution, and in the next lines (unfortunately half cut off) the names of the patriarchs from *Abel*, which in the usual Canon form the conclusion of the clause: *Unde et memores* after the consecration. Even this is not the end of the confusion: for the patriarchs in the genitive case are followed by the ablative case (*Patrum* or *pro* in the lacuna) of bishops and others, whether living or dead cannot unfortunately be ascertained³. It is scarcely possible to believe that all this is a mere medley, a meaningless amalgam of three or four separate parts of the liturgy, necessitated by the need to conciliate the opposite Roman and non-Roman practices as to the commemoration of the dead; the length and the phraseology of the prayer seem to preclude the supposition that it was intended as an alternative post-sanctus for the preceding "*Dominus deus noster*." But if we bear in mind that this portion of the Stowe MS. is by the later hand,

² Mr. H. A. Wilson has kindly sent me the following note: "I think the + before *Oramus* may very likely be intended simply as a means of readily finding the form, which would be wanted constantly, when the celebrant turned from another page to that on which it was written. It may have corresponded to an abbreviation + *oramus* or even to a + on other pages. This is, I am inclined to think, more likely than the view that the appearance of the + marks the prayer as something connected with the Canon Actionis. I do not suggest a doubt that it was so connected—its position suggests that it may have been recited after the Institution. The fragment shows, I think, a somewhat earlier stage in the process which has introduced the similar form in the Roman canon found in Stowe." [H. A. W.]

³ The name of *Abel* may, I think, be accounted for if we suppose that it was one of a list parallel to that which appears on fol. 31 a of Stowe. But in this case the list (unless it is here abbreviated) must have been a shorter one than that of Stowe, from which it must also have differed in order, if the words '*Petri et Pauli Iohannis*' are also part of it. [H. A. W.]

and that *Bob.* here is pure Gelasian, the suspicion crops up that possibly we may have here the relics of a part of the Gallican canon ; this is a mere surmise with but little to uphold it, but at least it may be thrown out, if only to be destroyed by the criticism of more experienced judges.

Considering how few are the extant documents of the Irish rite¹, and how little we know at present of its origin and development, the present fragments, though apparently insignificant, may be of real value to future liturgical students, and if their assumed date and provenance, as here tentatively set forth, are accepted, they may prove to be portions of sacramentaries which are older than the Stowe² and which preserve a more perfect text than the Bobbio Missal ; at any rate they will show that neither one nor the other of these can retain its claim to be a *unicum* or a mere personal production, and their publication may lead to the search for and the discovery of other fragments and to the elucidation of an important question³.

HENRY MARRIOTT BANNISTER.

¹ Mr. Warren's *reliquias* of Irish liturgies are taken from about a dozen sources, of which only three are really sacramentaries.

² The consensus of opinion seems to place the transcription of this MS to the ninth century, but see *The Academy*, Oct. 20, 1894, and *Palæogr. Music.* v, p. 142. A photographic reproduction of the whole MS is a great desideratum which the Henry Bradshaw Society would do well to consider.

³ I must acknowledge with much gratitude the very valuable suggestions sent me by Mr. H. A. Wilson and Mr. Edmund Bishop.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR PROPHETS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following texts have been compiled from almost all the Old Latin sources at present available. There are some omissions which will be briefly referred to below. Care has been taken to use the best editions of those writings from which the compilation has been made, though some of the older ones have also been used for the purposes of comparison; these will be enumerated below.

From the nature of the case a text of the kind here presented is of varying authority; as a rule, the value of a passage, for present purposes, can be approximately determined by knowing its source; for example, *Cyprian* may be regarded as offering a text as near as possible to the earliest form of the Old Latin; the authority of *Tyconius*, too, is very high. On the other hand, *Tertullian* is an extremely unreliable authority, and must be used with great care; a very cursory examination of his quotations will make this apparent at once; indeed, in a few cases it has been found advisable to omit quotations from him, on account of their being rather of the nature of paraphrase; but this is not always the case; at any rate, he could not well be neglected, owing to his early date. It happens not infrequently that the value of a particular quotation cannot be settled off-hand; in the case of the *Speculum* as well as *Spec.* (Aug.), for instance, there are early elements as well as late; while *Lucifer Calaritanus* sometimes quotes from *Cyprian's Testimonia*, at other times from a late text. Therefore it has been found necessary to indicate clearly the source of every verse or part of a verse by inserting the name of the authority in the margin.

It is hoped, therefore, that the compilation may be found useful as giving a text founded on varying authorities; it will not for a moment be supposed that the intention is to offer the genuine text of the Old Latin Version.

The following are the authorities cited in the text, together with the editions that have been used:—

- Cod. Weingartensis* E. Ranke *Fragmenta* . . . 1856, 1858, 1868, 1888.
- Cod. Wirzburgensis* E. Ranke *Par palimps. Wirceb.*, 1871.
- Cyprian* (including: *Auct. De Pascha Computus, De Duobus Montibus, Adv. Novatianum* in the Appendix to Cyprian) W. v. Hartel in *CSEL*, vol. iii 1866 (for quotations from the treatises and epistles, Hartel's text; for those from the *Testimonia* the MS called L by Hartel¹).
- Tyconius* F. C. Burkitt *Rules of Tyconius*, 1894, in *Texts and Studies*, vol. iii.
- Speculum* F. Wehrich in *CSEL*, vol. xii 1886.
- Lucifer Calarit.* Mai *Nov. Patr. Bibl.*, 1852.
- Tertullian* W. v. Hartel in *CSEL*, vol. xiv 1886.
- F. Oehler *Tert. Omnia Opera*, 1854.
- P. Sabatier *Bibl. Sacr. Lat. Vers.* . . . 1743.
- Collatio Carthaginiensis* (Habetdeus) Dupin *Optatus (App.)*, 1700.
- [Donatist quotations] C. Ziwsa in *CSEL*, vol. xxvi.
- Contra Fulgentium Donat.* P. Sabatier *op. cit.*
- [Donatist quotations] Migne *PL*, xliii (*App.*).

Quotations from S. Augustine have been omitted², as they are probably not of much help in determining the text of the Old Latin; it is true (as I am informed by Mr. Burkitt, in a private communication) that all readings which he stigmatises as 'African,' or as found 'in some codices,' have a good chance of being genuine Old Latin; but, as a rule, he uses a revised text, and at the end of his life, he sometimes uses the Vulgate itself. Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus, and Commodian (here I am again indebted to Mr. Burkitt) always quote from the *Testimonia*, and thus give no independent evidence; their quotations have therefore also been omitted.

Wherever the *Codd. Weing.* and *Wirceb.* are available they form the text, and whenever a verse is found in any other authority it is noted in

¹ Notes kindly supplied to me by Mr. C. H. Turner have furnished some corrections of Hartel's account of the readings of L.

² A few exceptions to this will be found in some quotations from *Spec.* (Aug.), which appear to contain early elements.

the *Apparatus Criticus*, unless the quotation is word for word the same as the Vulgate, in which case it is omitted. Where the Codices fail, the text is compiled, as far as possible, from the various quotations, in the order: Cyprian, Tyconius, Speculum, Lucifer, Coll. Carth., Fulgentius, Tertullian. The sources from which the text is drawn are indicated, as already pointed out, in the margin; references to the patristic quotations employed for text or *App. Crit.* will be found below the text.

THE APPARATUS CRITICUS. Besides giving the variations among the Latin authors, the *App. Crit.* also gives the readings of the Alexandrian Greek Version (G), together with those of the *Lucianic* and *Hesychian* recensions. These recensions are indicated respectively by **L** and **H**, which stand for two groups of MSS; but it frequently happens that a group is not united, and that therefore the MSS have to be indicated separately. Generally speaking, and when not otherwise signified, **L** or **H** denote the whole, or the decided majority, of the MSS of their group; where one or two of the MSS differ from the rest of the group, the witness of the latter is not regarded as having been impaired.

A word must be said regarding these two groups of MSS¹. The *Lucianic* (**L**) includes the MSS numbered (Holmes and Parsons) 22, 36, [48], 51, 62, 95, 147, 153, 185, 233; of these 22, 36, 51, 153, [233] agree very closely; 48, 233 are to some extent Hesychian, and 153 shows a good number of individual readings in some books, but this applies also, to some extent, to 22, which is universally recognized as genuinely Lucianic. When a reading is supported by this sub-group, or by a distinct majority, it is set down as the witness of the Lucianic recension. This witness is frequently supplemented by that of the second sub-group 62, 147²; the individual character of these two, but especially of 62, is strongly marked, but both very often support the first sub-group. A third Lucianic sub-group consists of the MSS 95, 185; these two also show a certain amount of independence, though this is not nearly so strongly marked as in the sub-group 62, 147.

The *Hesychian* recension (**H**) includes the following MSS:—Q 26, 49, 68, 87, 91, 106. Here there is greater unanimity among the MSS, though sub-groups may be distinguished. Q 26 usually agree; 68, 87, 91 form a distinct sub-group; 106 shows the greatest individuality of the group, while 49 also stands a little apart; this latter is in close agreement with a MS regarded by some as Hesychian (viz. 238 [= 97]), but which, for reasons given elsewhere³, is not included among the genuine Hesychian MSS; it is only with hesitation that 49 has been included

¹ For a fuller discussion of these, see the writer's *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the book of Amos*, pp. 4-25. Cambridge, 1902.

² For the recensional character of these two MSS, see *Studies*, pp. 9-15.

³ Cf. the writer's *Studies*, pp. 9, 22-24.

in the following *App. Crit.*, its support in the group \mathfrak{P} is often wanting.

It will be seen from the above that the signs \mathfrak{L} and \mathfrak{P} , when occurring in *App. Crit.*, do not necessarily include all the MSS of the recension, though this is of course generally the case. To give the individual evidence of each member of the groups would very much increase the bulk of the *App. Crit.*; and for the present purpose it does not seem necessary to do so, because what is here aimed at is to give the *general evidence* of each recension for or against the Old Latin texts.

Finally, readings of some other MSS have been added when they have supported the text; instances of this may be seen in e.g. Mic. iii 7, 10, Zeph. i 11, 13, Hag. ii 21, &c.; other authorities quoted under similar circumstances are the Armenian and Slavonic Versions (H. and P.), and the Complutensian and Aldine texts.

The following is the notation used:—

OL = The Old Latin Version.

Cod. Weing. = Codex Weingartensis.

Cod. Weing. (F) = The Fulda fragment.

Cod. Weing. (St) = The Stuttgart fragment.

Cod. Wirceb. = Codex Wirceburgensis.

C = Cyprian.

T = Tyconius.

S = Speculum (Pseudo-Aug.).

S (Aug.) = The Speculum of S. Augustine.

L = Lucifer Calaritanus.

Tert. = Tertullian.

Cc = Collatio Carthaginiensis.

F = Contra Fulgent. Donat.

\mathfrak{G} = The Alexandrian Greek Version.

\mathfrak{G}^B = Codex Vaticanus (Swete's edition).

\mathfrak{L} = The Lucianic recension.

\mathfrak{P} = The Hesychian recension.

Q = Codex Marchalianus.

(\mathfrak{P} includes Q unless otherwise stated.)

A = Codex Alexandrinus.

\mathfrak{N} = Codex Sinaiticus.

Γ = Codex Cryptoferratensis.

Arm. = The Armenian Version.

Slav. = The Slavonic Version.

Compl. = The Complutensian text of the LXX.

Ald. = The Aldine text of the LXX.

Vulg. = The Vulgate (ed. Vercellone, Romae 1861).

The order of the books follows that of B.

HOSEA.

Cod. Wirtzb.

I. 1 In diebus Oziae et Ioatham et Achas et Ezechiae regum Iuda et
 2 in diebus Hieroboam filii Ioas regis Israhel ¹Initium verbi dñi in
 Osee et dixit dñs ad Osee, Vade accipe tibi uxorem fornicationis
 et fac filios fornicationis propter quod fornicando fornicabitur terra
 3 a dñō. ²Et abiit et accepit Gomel filiam Debelein, et concepit et
 4 peperit ei filium. ³Et dixit dñs ad eum, voca nomen eius Israhel,
 quoniam adhuc pusillum et ulciscar sanguinem Israhel adversus
 domum Iudae et compescam et avertam regnum de domo Israhel.
 5 ⁴Et erit in illa die, dicit dñs, contribulabo sagittam arcus Israhel in
 6 valle Israhel. ⁵Et concepit adhuc et peperit filiam, et dixit dñs,
 voca nomen eius non dilectam, quia non adponam adhuc ut miserear
 7 domui Israhel, sed resistens resistam eis, ⁶filiis autem Iudae miserebor
 et salvabo eos in dñō dō eorum, et non salvabo eos in sagitta neque
 8 in gladio neque in bello neque in aquis neque in aequitibus. ⁷Et
 9 abstulit a lacte non dilectam et concepit et peperit filium. ⁸Et dixit
 dñs, voca nomen eius non populus meus quia vos ipsi non plebs
 10 mea et ego non sum vester. ⁹Et erat numerus filiorum Israhel sicut
 arena maris quae neque metiri neque dinumerari potest, et erit ubi
 11 dictum fuerit non populus meus vos vocabuntur ipsi filii dī vivi, ¹⁰et
 colligentur Iudae et filii Israhel in id ipsum et ponet sibi initium
 unum et ascendet de terra quia magna dies Israhel.

II. 1 Dicite fratri vestro, populus meus, et sorori vestrae, dilecta.
 2 ¹Iudicamini adversus matrem vestram, iudicamini quia haec non
 est uxor mea, et ego non sum vir eius, et auferam fornicationem
 3 eius a facie mea, et adulterum de medio mamillarum eius. ²Sic

I 7. Spec. ii

I 10. Cypr. Testim. i 19

I. 1. In diebus . . .] *pr* Δογος Κυριου ος εγενηθη προς Οση του του Βερρει Γ Ε Λ Θ
 2. et dixit dms ad Osee] *om* 36 87 91 *fac*] *om* Γ Ε Λ Θ 3. Gomel] Γομερ
 Γ Ε Λ Θ 4. Israhel 1°] Ιε[ρα]ελ Γ Ιε[ρα]ελ 22 Ιε[ρα]ηλ (*sic infra*) 49 Ιε[ρα]ηλ
 (*sic infra*) 62 147 Ιε[ρα]ηλ 153 Ιε[ρα]ηλ 26 36 48 51 68 87 91 95 106 185 233
 Israhel 2°] Ιε[ρα]ελ Γ Ε Λ Θ et avertam] *om* Ε Λ Θ (*exc* 49) 5. dicit dms]
om Γ Ε Λ Θ sagittam arcus] το ταρον Γ Ε Λ Θ Israhel 2°] Ιε[ρα]ηλ Γ Ε Λ Θ
 6. dixit] + αυτω Γ Ε Λ Θ dms] *om* Γ 36 48 95 185 233 Θ 7. filiis] filios S
 Iudae] Iuda S *om* Γ Ε Λ Θ (*hab Q*) eorum] ipsorum S bello] + ουδε εν
 αρμασιν 68 87 91 Q* (*ουδε εν πολεμω Q¹ (m)*) ουτε εν αρμασιν 26 36 49 106 8. non
 dilectam] την ουκ ηλεημενην Γ Ε Λ (*exc* 153) Θ concepit] + επι Γ Ε Λ Θ 9. dñs]
om Γ 36 48 95 185 233 Θ ipsi] *om* Γ Ε Λ Θ 10. neque metiri]
bis ser in cod et erit] erit enim C ubi] quo loco C dictum fuerit]
 dicetur C vos] *om* C Γ 22 36 48 233 Θ vocabuntur] *pr* illo loco C *pr*
 εκει 22 26 *pr* αυτοι εκει 51 *pr* και αυτοι 106 ipsi] *om* C Ε 11. Iudae]
pr οι υιοι Γ Ε Λ Θ ponet] θησονται Γ Ε Λ Θ ascendet] αναβησονται Γ Ε Λ Θ
 Israhel 2°] Ιε[ρα]ηλ Γ Ε Λ Θ (Ιε[ρα]ηλ Q 62 87 147)

II. 2. non est uxor mea] η μητηρ μου (*corr. ab al. m. ut in Ed.*) 106 + εστι 147
 sum] *om* Γ Ε Λ (*exc* 51) Θ eius a facie mea, et adulterum] *om* 22 adulterum]

ut dispoliem eam nudam et constituam sicut dies nativitatis eius, *Cod. Wircob.*
 et ponam sicut desertam, et statuam eam sicut terram sine aquam et
 4 occidam eam et sitim mei. 4 Filiis eius non miserebor quia filii
 5 fornicationis sunt, 5 quia fornicata est mater ipsorum, confusa est
 quae peperit eos, quia dixit, ibo post amatores meos qui dant mihi
 pane et aquam meam, vestimenta mea et lintamina mea, vinculum
 6 meum et oleum et omnia quaecumque mihi necessaria sunt. 8 Propter
 hoc ecce ego saepio viam eius in sudibus et ei aedificabo vias
 7 eius et semitam suam non inveniet. 7 Et persequetur amatores
 suos, et non conpraehendet eos, et queret et non inveniet eos, et
 dicet, ibo et revertar ad virum meum priorem, quia bene mihi tunc
 8 erat quam modo. 8 Et ipsa non cognovit quia ego dedi ei triticum
 et vinum et oleum, et pecunias multiplicavi ei, ipsa autem argentea et
 9 aurea fecit huic bahal. 9 Propter hoc convertam et auferam triticum
 meum in tempore suo et vinum meum et oleum meum in tempore
 suo, et auferam vestimenta mea et lintamina mea ut non cooperiat
 10 turpitudinem suam. 10 Et nunc denudabo spurcitiam eius in con-
 11 spectu amatorum eius et nemo eripiet eam de manu mea, 11 et avertam
 omnes iucunditates eius dies festos et numenias et sabbata eius et
 12 omnes mercatus eius, 12 et exterminabo vineam eius et ficeta eius,
 quoniam dixit merces hae meae sunt quas dederunt mihi amatores
 mei, et ponam eam in testimonium et comedent eam bestiae agri et
 13 volatilia caeli et repentina terrae, 13 et ulciscar super eam dies bahalim
 in quib. sacrificavit ei et inponebat sibi inares suas et ornamenta sua

18 18 Et disponam illis in illa die testamentum cum bestiis agri, et cum *Speculum*
 volatilibus caeli, et cum serpentibus terrae.

23 23. Vocabo non populum meum populum meum *Cyprian.*
 et non dilectum dilectum.

II 11. Tert. Adv. Marc. i 20, v 4

II 18. Spec. cxiv

II 23. Cypr. Testim. i 19

+ αυτην G L W 3. constituam] + αυτην G L W dies] εν ημερα 51 62 147
 133 εν ημεραις 95 185 ponam] + αυτην G L W et sitim mei] εν διψει G L W
 4 Filiis] pr και G L W 5. ibo] ακολουθησω 26 49 106 233 (A) pane]
 4 μου G L W aquam meam] + και τον οινον μου και το ελαιον μου 38 49 et
 Lintamina mea] και ο οινος μου 68 + και τον οινον μου 87 106 + και τον οινον Q¹ (ms)
 Vinculum meum] om G L W 6. ei] om G L W 7. queret] + αυτους G L W
 8 et pecunias] + και χρυσιον L (exc 48 233) Q¹ ms huic bahal] τη Βααλ G L W
 (exc B. 22 51) 9. et oleum meum] om G L W (exc 49) 11. dies festos] + eius
 Tert αυτης G L W pr και πασας τας 95 185 numenias] neomenias Tert + αυτης
 G L W eius 20] om Tert mercatus] caeremonias Tert 12. quoniam] οσα
 G L W et ponam eam] και θησομαι αυτα G L W (exc 26) eam 20] αυτα G L W
 (exc 26) 13. ei] αυτοις G L (εν αυτοις 62 147) W 23. Vocabo . . .] και
 αγαπησω (ελεησω L W) την Ουκ αγαπημενην και ερω τω Ου λαω μου Λαος μου ει συ
 G L W

Cyprian IV. 1 Audite sermonem Domini, filii Israhel, quia iudicium Domini
adversus incolas terrae: quod neque misericordia, neque veritas,
2 neque agnitio Dei sit super terram. 3 Exsecratio et mendacium et
caedes et furtum et adulterium diffusum est super terram; sanguinem
3 sanguini supermiscent. 4 Idcirco terra lugebit cum universis incolis
suis, cum bestiis agri, cum serpentibus terrae, cum volucribus caeli;
4 et deficient pisces maris. 5 Vt nemo iudicet nemo revincat

Cod. Weng. (F) 13 14. pulo et sub ar
Cod. Würceb. moecabuntur.

14 14 Et non respiciam super filias vestras cum fornicatae fuerint et super
nurus vestras cum moecat quia ipsi cum fornicariis commiscebantur
et cum prostitutis sacrificabant, et populus qui non intellegebatur
15 commiscebatur cum fornicaria. 16 Tu autem Israhel noli ignorare,
et Iuda noli intrare in Galgala, et nolite ascendere in domum Og et
16 noli iurare per vivum dñm dñi. 17 Quia sicut vacca abortans abortabit
17 Israhel nunc pascet eos dñs tamquam agnos in latioso. 18 Particesps
18 simulacrorum Ephrem posuit sibi scandala, 19 elegit Chananaeos
propter quod fornicati sunt dilexerunt ignomiam ex fremitu suo.
19 19 Haec conversio sps tu es in pinnis eius et confundetur ex altaribus
suis.

V. 1 Audite haec, sacerdotes, et attendat domus Israhel: et domus
regis praebete aures quoniam adversus vos est iudicium quia mu-
scipulum facti estis speluncae in visitatione et sicut retia extensa in
2 statum in se, 3 quam qui venantur confixerunt bestiam, ego autem
3 eruditor vester sum. 4 Ego conovi Ephrem et Israhel recessit a me
propter quod nunc fornicatus est Ephre et contaminatus est Israhel.

IV 1-4. *Cypr. Testim.* iii 47; *Ad Demet.* ix V 1. *Lucif. Cal. De sand.*
Athan. i 35

IV. 2. Exsecratio] om G L R 3. lugebit] + και μωρυθησεται G L R (exc 22
Aab sub 233) αμωρυθησεται Q cum 3^o 4^o] pr και G L R 14. sacrifi-
cabant, et populus] = *Cod. Weng. (F)* qui non intellegebatur] o σινω
G L R (om d 95 185 oi o' ou σινω Q^m 15. Og] R G 22 48 51
62 95 123 185 rpi adicias Q 26 86 68 87 (91 addit. Rv rec. m.) 106 233 Rv rpi
adicias 49 om 147 dñi] om G L R 16. Quia] eti Γαλγυλα αχμα-
λατευθησεται και βιβελ ιστα αι ουχ ιναρχουσα οτι 62 sic, nisi αχμαλατευομεν αχμα-
λατησθ 147 agnos] αμων G L (153 apor) R 18. propter quod] om
G L R xio] αμων Q^a (αμων Q^a G) 22 26 86 49 51 106 153 233 19. Haec]
om G L R 375] + αμων 22 62 147 153 tu es] εγω 22 49 62 (91 supia) 147
153 αμων εγω 26 51 95 185

V. 1. Audite haec sacerdotes et attendite domus Israhel et domus regis, intuemini:
ad vos est iudicium quia ut laqueum facti estis ad insidiam et sicut retia extensa ad
aquarium vocantis L attendat] προσεχε G L R in visitatione] om in L
(exc 26 155) R in statum] εν το (exc 22 147) Ισραηλ G L R in se] om
G L R 2. sum] om G L (exc 26 185) R 3. Ephrem . . . Ephre] om G L

- 4 *Non dederunt cogitationes suas uti covertantur ad dōm, quoniam *Cod. Wirceb.*
 5 sps fornicationis in eis est, dōm autem non cognoverunt. 5 Sed
 humiliabitur iniuria Israhel in faciem eius; Israhel et Ephraem
 infirmabuntur in iniustitiis suis et infirmabuntur et Iudas cum eis.
 6 *Cum ovibus et vitulis ibunt exquirere dōm et non invenient eum,
 7 devertit enim ab eis; 7 quia dōm dereliquerunt quia filii aliidiati sunt
 8 ab eis nunc comedet eos erisybe et iluctus eorum. 8 Canite de tuba
 super colles, dōm resonare in excelsis domo Og et expavit Veniamin,
 9 *Ephrem in exterminium factus est in diebus argutionis in tribubus
 10 Israhel ibi ostendit credibilia: 10 Facti sunt principes Iuda trans-
 ferentes terminos super eos effundam ut aquam impetum meum.
 11 *Invaluit Ephrem in adversarium suum conculcavit iudicium quia
 12 coepit ire post vana. 12 Et ego ero sicut conturbatio Ephrem sicut
 13 stimulus domui Iuda; 13 et vidit Ephrem infirmitatem suam et Iudas
 dolores suos, et abiit Ephrem ad Assyrios et misit legatos ad regem
 Iarim, et ipse non potius liberare eos et non cessavit ex vobis dolor.
 14 *Quia ego ut panthera huic Ephrem, et sicut leo domo Iudae: et
 15 ego rapiam et ibo et accipia(t)m et non erit qui eruat. 15 Ibo
 et convertam in locum meum priorem donec exterminentur et
 querant faciem meam.

VI. 1 In tribulatione sua diluculo vigilabunt ad me dicentes, eamus et
 convertamur ad dōm dñm nostrum, quia ipse laesit et salvavit nos,
 2 post viduum et in tertia die resurgemus et vivimus in conspectu

V 15, VI 1. Tert. Adv. Marc. iv 43
 6. Tert. Adv. Jud. xiii

VI 1. Cypr. Testim. ii 25

VI 1, 2,

recessit] *pr ovk* *Gr L B* et 2^o] *om Gr L B* 4. non dederunt] non dabunt S
 uti covertantur] *om S* ad dōm quo(niam)] = *Cod. Weing. (F)* ad dōm 1^o]
 + deum suum S *προς τον θεον αυτων Gr L B* quoniam] quia S in eis est] in
 medio eorum S (*εστιν εν μεσω αυτων Compl*) 5. Sed] *καυ Gr L B* 6. devertit]
pr om Gr B enim] *om Gr B (hab L)* 7. dereliquerunt] = *Cod. Weing. (F)* sunt]
εγεννησαν Gr a' b' Q^{ms} 22 36 48 49 51 68 87 91 233 εγεννησαν Q 26 62 95 106 147*
 153 185 ab eis] *om ab Gr L B (ap αυτων Georg)* et iluctus eorum] *και τους*
ελθρους αυτων Gr L (αυτους 233) B (και τους καρπους αυτων 26) 8. super colles] *bis*
ser in cod dmo] om Gr L B domo] *pr κηρυξατε Gr L B pr εν Gr L B (επι των οικων*
 26) Og] *Ων Gr L B (om 26)* et] *om Gr L B* Veniamin] *Ben. Gr L B*
 9. ibi] *om Gr L B (εκει 49)* 10. Iuda] + *ως Gr L B* 12. sicut 2^o] *pr και Gr L B*
 (*exc 85 195*) 13. dolores suos] *την οδυνην αυτου Gr L B* Iarim] *Gr L B (Ιαριβ*
Q^o Ιαριβ 153) non potius] *ovk ηδυνασθη Gr 48 49 68 106* liberare eos] *ρυσασθαι*
αυτους 22 36 51 ρυσασθαι υμας οι ο' Q^{ms} 62 87 (ηγ αυτους) 91 95 147 153 185 ρυσασθαι
68 ιασασθαι υμας Gr 26 48 49 106 233 14. ego] + *ειμι Gr L B* 15. priorem]
om Gr L B donec exterminentur] + *και επιστρεφουσι 22 36 51 95 (-ωσι 147) 185* et
 querant] ut q. Tert

VI. 1. diluculo] ante lucem Tert vigilabunt] surgent Tert convertamur]
 revertamur C salvavit] vivificabit C curabit (*al sanabit*) Tert nos] + *παταξει*
και ποτωσι υμας Gr L (exc 62) B 2. post] *pr υγιασει υμας Gr L B*

per me, principatum egerunt et nescierunt me; argentum suum et aurum suum fecerunt sibi simulacra; quemadmodum ad nihil redigantur. ⁸Coniri vitulum tuum Samaria: exacervatus est furor meus in eos: quo usque non poterunt mundari ⁹in Istrahel: et ipsum faber fecit; et non est dñs; prop

¹³ eorum; et ulciscetur peccata eorum; ipsi in Aegyptum redierunt, et inter Assyrios immunda manducabunt. ¹⁴Et oblitus est Istrahel qui fecit eum; et aedificaverunt templa, et Iudas replevit civitates muris circumdatas, et inmittam ignem in civitates ipsius, et comedet fundamenta eorum.

IX. 1 Noli gaudere Istrahel, neque aepulari sicut populi terrae; quoniam fornicatus es a dō tuo, dilexisti munera in omnem messem tritici ²et area, et torcular ignoravit illos, et vinum fefellit eos. ³Non inhabitaverunt in terra dñi, inhabitabit Ephrem in Aegypto et inter Assyrios, immunda manducabunt. ⁴Non libaverunt dñō vinum et non placuerunt ei victimae eorum; sicut panis luctus eius omnes qui manducaverunt ea coinquinabuntur; propter quod panes eorum in animas eorum, non intrabunt in domum dñi. ⁵Quid facietis in die mercatus, et in die sollemne dñi? ⁶Propter hoc ecce ibunt ex infelicitate Aegypti, et suscipiet eos Memphis et sepelivit eos Machmas; argentum eorum interitus possidebit, et spinae in ⁷tabernaculis eorum. ⁸Venerunt dies ultionis tuae, venerunt dies perditionis tuae et male tractabitur Istrahel, sicut profetes qui extitit homo spiritalis, a multitudine iniquitatum tuarum repletus ⁹insaniae. ¹⁰Inspectus Efrem cum deo profetes, laqueus pravus in omnibus viis ipsius. Insaniam in domo dei: confixerunt ¹¹corrupti sunt: secundum dies collis memor erit, dabitur iniustitia eorum et ¹²ulciscetur peccata eorum. ¹³Sicut uvam in deserto inveni Istrahel et sicut speculam in arborem ficus; mane vidi patres ipsorum, ipsi introierunt ad Beelphegor, et alienati sunt in confusionem et facti

IX 4. *Cypr. Epist.* lxvii 3; *Spac.* xlvii; *Coll. Carth. Gesta* cclviii

regem constituerunt C 13. et inter Assyrios immunda manducabunt] om 14. eorum] *avrov* 14

IX. 1. terrae] om *ἐκ τῆς* (hab *Arm.*) a dō tuo] *αὐτοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου* 2. et 1°] om 4. victimae] sacrificia C S Cc eius] *αὐτοῦ* omnes] omnis Cc manducaverunt] manducant C S tetigerit Cc ea] ex eis Cc *αὐτοῦ* (exc 36 48 153 233) coinquinabuntur] contaminabuntur C S inquinabitur Cc *πολυθησονται* 62 147 6. possidebit] + *αὐτοῦ* *ἐκ* (exc 51 153 233) et spinae] om *ἐκ* (hab *Compl.*) eorum 2°] om *ἐκ* (hab *Bab Q*) 7. tuae 1°] om *ἐκ* insaniae] + *σου* *ἐκ* (exc 91) *ἐκ* (exc 36 95 153) 8. dei] *κυρίου* Q 26 49 106 + *αὐτοῦ* 36 51 62 95 147 185 + *αὐτοῦ* 153 *κυρίου* 233 9. dabitur] om *ἐκ* eorum 1°] *αὐτοῦ* et ulciscetur] om 26 om et *ἐκ* (exc 106) eorum 2°] *αὐτοῦ*

ad, Weing. (F) 11 sunt qui erant dilecti sicut abominandi. 11 Efrem sicut avis evolabit gloria eorum: ex usuris et ex iniquitatibus: et ex conceptionibus; 12 12 propter quod si enutrierint filios suos, sine filiis erunt, ab hominibus; 13 propter quod vae illis est caro mea ex ipsis. 13 Efrem quemadmodum vidi in bestiam adstiterunt filios suos, et Efrem ut produceret in con- 14 fixationem filios suos; 14 da illis dñe, quid dabis illis; da illis volvam 15 quae natos non procreet et mamillas aridas; 15 et omnes malitiae illorum in Galgala, quia ibi illos odivi propter magnas adinventiones ipsorum, de domo mea eiciam eos, non adiciam ut diligam eos, 16 omnes principes eorum incredibiles. 16 Doluit Efrem, radices eius arefactae sunt, et fructum non adferet, propter quod etsi generaverint 17 occidam desideria ventrium eorum. 17 Abiciet illos dñs quoniam non obaudierunt eum et erunt errantes inter . . .

Speculum X. 1 Vineam in maceria bona Israel, fructus eius uberrimus secundum multitudinem fructuum suorum. . . . 4

4 et orietur sicut graminis iudicium in incultum.
Tertullian 6^a et vinctum eum ducent xenium regi.

Cyprian XI. 9 Non faciam iuxta iram indignationis meae, non sinam deleri Efrem, quoniam Deus ego sum, et non homo in te sanctus, et 10 non introibo in civitatem, 10 post Deum ibo

Tyconius XII. 2 Iudicium Domini ad Iudam ut vindicet in Iacob secundum 3 vias eius, . . . secundum studia eius retribuet ei. 3. . . In utero 4 supplantavit fratrem suum et in laboribus suis invaluit ad Deum, 4 et

Tertullian invaluit cum angelo et potens factus est in templo meo me invenerunt, et illic disputatum est ad eos.

X 1. *Spec.* cxii X 4. *Spec.* cxiv X 6. *Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv 42 XI 9, 10.
 Cyp. *Testim.* ii 6 XII 2-4. *Tycon. Reg. Sept.* XII 4. *Tert. Adv. Marc.*
 iv 39

10. qui erant dilecti] οι εβλεπόμενοι G 48 51 68 87 95 185 233 sicut
 abominandi] ως οι ηγαπημένοι G 48 51 68 87 233 omi 95 185 11. gloria] αι
 δοξαι G E R 12. propter quod vae illis est] + δοτι αρηται αυτοις E 14. da
 illis 14] omi 48 62 147 233 15. et] omi G E R in Galgala] εν
 Γαλγαλας E

X. 4. et] omi G E R in incultum] επι χερσον αγρου G E R (επι ερημου αγρου
Compf)

XI. 10. Deum] κυριον G E R ibo] παρενεσθε 22 36 49 51 [62] 147 παρενεσονται
 95 185

XII. 2. ut vindicet] και εκδικησει E R (επ 106 και επεστρεψε υπερ ην αβ αι m)
 in Iacob] τον Ιακωβ G E R (επ 68 αυτου Ιακωβ) 3. et in laboribus] καθ Cod.
 Weing. (F) 4. et potens factus est] και εδυναθη E και ηδυνασθη G R in templo
 meo] εν τω οικω κυ G εν τω οικω μου A εν τω οικω κυ μου E (36 κυ αι marg) ad
 eos] προς αυτων 26 36 49 51 106 233

- 7 Chanaan Cod. Waring. (
- 9 tabernaculis
- 12 vit Istrahel in
- XIII. 1 bahalim et mor
- 3 sicut pulvis
- 4 'ego autem Dominus Deus tuus qui firmo caelum et *Speculum*
creo terram cuius manus creaverunt omnem militiam caeli et non
ostendi tibi ut ires post illa saluet non est praeter *Cod. Waring.*
- 5 6 me. 'Ego pavi te in deserto in terra inhabitabilis, 'secundum pascuas
illorum; et repleti sunt in abundantia, et exaltata sunt corda eorum,
7 propter hoc obliti sunt mei. 'Et ero illis sicut panthera et sicut
8 pardus secundum viam Assyriorum; 'occurram eis
clusionem cordis eorum, et edent illos ibi catuli
9 silvae, et bestiae agri disrumpent eos. 'Corruptionis tuae Istrahel
10 quis erit adiutor? 'Vbi est rex tuus hic ipse saluum te faciat, et in
omnibus civitatibus tuis iudicet te, quem dixisti da mihi regem et
11 principem. 'Et dedi tibi regem et ne mea,
12 et habuisti in impetu tuo. 'Collectionem iniustitiae Ephrem abscon-
13 ditum peccatum eius; 'dolores parturientis venient ei, hic filius
tuus sapiens, propter quod nunc non restabit in contribulatione
14 filiorum tuorum. 'De manu inferorum eruam eum et a morte
liberabo ubi est stimulus tuus inferne? Consolatio
15 absconsa est ab oculis meis: 'propter quod hic inter fratres sepa-
ravit. Inducet dñs ventum candentem a deserto super eum, et exsic-
cavit venas eius, desertos faciet fontes eius, ipse perexsiccabit terram
- XIV. 1 eius, et omnia vasa
quia restitit dñō suo; in gladio decident et sugentes mamillas
2 illorum defodientur, et pregnates eorum disrumpentur. 'Revertere
Istrahel ad dñm dñm tuum, propter quod infirmatus es iniqui-

XIII 4. *Spec.* xlivXIV 2, 3. *Spec.* xxiii

XIII. 1. bahalim] τη Βααλ Γκ 22 (exc 49 τω B.) τω B. 22 (exc 153 233 τη B.)
8. et bestiae] om et Γκ 22 9. quis erit adiutor] + σοι 62 91 (supra lin ab al m)
95 147 153 185 10. ipse] και 22 11. et habuisti] και ανεσχοι Q^a 22 (36^{ms} ab al m ut in Ed) 51 62 68 (87 scr ανεσχοι)
95 147 153 185 και εσχοι Γκ 26 48 49 91 106 233 in impetu tuo] εν τω θυμω μου
Γκ 22 23 (ex 49 87) 12. collectionem] συστροφη 22 συστροφη Γκ 22 48 62 68 87
91 147 153 233 13. parturientis] πρωι Γκ 22 23 sapiens] ου φρονιμος Q^a
nunc] om Γκ 22 23 tuorum] om Γκ 22 23 14. eum] αυτου 22 (exc 153 αυτου)
om Γκ 22 23 (exc Q 26 αυτου) et] om 26 49 106 233 15. super eum] εν
αυτου Q^a 91

XIV. 1. decident] + αυτοι Γκ Q (om Q^a) 22 2. propter quod] quia S
iniquitatibus tuis] per iniquitates tuas S εν ταις αδικ. σου Γκ 22 23

- Cod. Weing.* 3 tatibus tuis. ³ Adsumite vobiscum multos, et convertimini ad dōm
 tere peccata, ita ut non accipiatis
 iniquitatem, sed ut accipiatis bona, et retribuemus fructum laborum
 4 nostrorum et aepulabitur in bonis cor vestrum. ⁴ Assur non salvabit
 nos, in equos non ascendemus, iam non dicemus dēi nostri estis
 operibus manuum
Speculum 6 Floriet ut lilium, et mittet radices suas sicut thus.
 7 ⁷ extendentur rami illius, et erit velut oliva fructifera, et odor eius
 sicut thuris.
 9 ⁹ et ego confirmabo eum sicut iuniperum
 maturescens: ex me inventus est fructus tuus.

XIV 6-9. *Spec. cxiv*

3. Sumite vobiscum multos et convertimini ad Dominum Deum vestrum. Dicite illi: potens es dimittere peccata, ut accipiatis bona S multos] λογους E L (62 147 λογους πολλους) B sed ut accipiatis] και λαβητε E B et aepulabitur in bonis cor vestrum] omi E L (εξ και εντραφησει εν αγαθοις η ψυχη ημων 62 eadem nisi η καρδια υμων 147) B (26 = *Cod.* nisi ημων pro υμων) 9. ego] omi E Q² (hab Q² et me) B (εξ 26 49 106) sicut] pr ego E Q² B

A RE-COLLATION OF CODEX *k* OF THE OLD
LATIN GOSPELS (TURIN G VII 15).

THE following notes are the fruit of some days' study which I devoted in the spring of 1902 to the tiny volume which alone preserves to us the primitive form of any considerable portion of the original Latin version of the Gospels. It is this unique importance which must be my justification for going back upon work which has already been thoroughly, if not quite exhaustively, done by Tischendorf and Bishop Wordsworth: the edition with which I worked, and to which these notes refer, is, of course, that in *Old Latin Biblical Texts* ii (Oxford 1886), pp. 3-53. The list which now follows represents, with one considerable exception, the whole of the notes which I made: but I have not thought it necessary to swell this list with details about the abbreviations of the 'nomina sacra' (which would not always be quite easy to represent in type), seeing that they will be sufficiently discussed in Dr. Traube's forthcoming treatise on that subject.

Since these notes were first put into type, I have had the opportunity of seeing the notes which my friend Mr. F. C. Burkitt has made of the same MS: and in order to save the space of the JOURNAL, the agree-

ment of Mr. Burkitt and myself in making the same correction is signified in the following notes by the initial B. In all such cases the result of our independent labour may I hope be taken as definitive.

fol. 1 a: the heading is CATA MATTH [not CATA MARC, as Wordsworth, pp. vii, xi].

- l. 7 the space appears to require farisaei, which is the regular spelling of the scribe elsewhere, Marc. viii 15, xii 13, Matt. v 20, vii 29, ix 11, 14, xii 2, 14, 24, 38, [not, as Tischendorf, farisei]. B.

fol. 2 a l. 7 bestaida m. 1, bedsaida m. 2 [not m. 3]: cf. on fol. 79 a l. 10 bessalda. It is extraordinary to notice how often the first hand miswrites a familiar proper name of the Gospel story: cf. e. g. in these notes foll. 18 a l. 6 scribae (feribat), 37 b l. 8 caluariae (galliariae), 44 a l. 7 mariam (maxiam?), 48 b l. 2 sadduceis, 73 a l. 1 lebbaeus (iebbacus), 74 a l. 6 sodome (sodocie?), 77 b l. 10 iohane: the most natural explanation would almost seem to be that the scribe was a pagan¹. His worst errors are as a rule corrected by the contemporary m. 2, who acts throughout as a diorthota.

fol. 2 b l. 2 iterum: the -um is in ligature, though not at the end of the line. B.

- l. 12 aute . . . erunt illi . . . es, is all that is absolutely clear in this line. Fleck's autem responderunt is too long for the first lacuna; Wordsworth's illi omnes is too short for the second. The indications had already led me to suspect the true reading to be autem dixerunt illi dicentes when I noticed that the Greek too has οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες. B.

- l. 14 quida . . . elian alii vere, is all I could make out in this line: but the space seemed quite sufficient for quidam autem helian, and our scribe writes helias elsewhere, Marc. ix 4, 5, 11, 12, 13; xv 35, 36; Matt. xi 14. [Wordsworth quidam autem eliam alii uere.] It is true that scribes are not always consistent with themselves in such matters: e. g. the fifth-century fragment of Cyprian *de opere et elemosynis*, Turin G v 37, uses both helias and elias.

fol. 3 a l. 5 eis dicere m. 1, eos docere m. 2. The correction may possibly be *prima manu*: it is not always easy to

¹ It is perhaps worth noting in this connexion that in Marc. xv 35 he writes *uocat* for *helian uocat*. See Mr. Burkitt's paper in the *Expositor*, Feb. 1899, 20.

- distinguish m. 1 and m. 2 (but see below on fol. 45 a l. 7) : m. 3, on the other hand, is as a rule very different. B.
- fol. 3 b l. 14 *dabid* (i. e. *dabit*) m. 3 [not *dauid*, as Wordsworth].
- fol. 4 a l. 3 after *natione* m. 3 adds *esta* or *iesta*—the *esta* is quite clear, but the *i* may be only a mark, not a letter. [Wordsworth *ista* or *iesta*.] This third hand is almost as much of a puzzle as the original scribe: his penmanship and orthography are, if not illiterate, at least abnormal, but his date may well be as early as St. Columban.
- l. 8 *quidam* [not *quidem*, as Wordsworth].
- fol. 4 b l. 1 I see no sign of abbreviation over the second letter of *altum* (*alcum* m. 1), and such a sign would be quite unprecedented at this date in the middle of a word and a line.
- fol. 5 b l. 9 The last two letters of the line are in ligature of *un* [not in, as Wordsworth]: B.
- unquirentes* may possibly point to an original *conquirentes*, Gr. *συγγεινῶντες*: so in the next verse but one *ā* has *conquiritis* = *συγγεινῶντες*.
- fol. 6 a l. 14 *terram* is m. 2: m. 1 wrote *turbam*. B.
- fol. 6 b l. 4 *et* is the corrected reading, but there seems more erased than *s*: perhaps the original writing was *si* *et*.
- l. 9 *creder* (after *potes*), rather than *credere*, m. 3.
- credentiū* apparently, not *credenti*: cf. *saluariū*, Marc. x 26. B.
- fol. 7 b l. 8 *timebant* [not *temebant*, as Wordsworth].
- fol. 8 a l. 1 *conseldit* *et* [so Wordsworth] is not the original reading, but a correction (by m. 1 or m. 2) of *consedisset*: B. This is itself possibly a corruption of an ancestral *cum sedisset*, Gr. *καθίστηναι*.
- fol. 9 b l. 1 *fuēr* in *quod* m. 1: *fuērīnt* *quod* m. 2: *fuērīnt* in *quod* m. 3.
- l. 2 *habets* m. 1 [not *habetis*, as Wordsworth], *habete* m. 3.
- l. 3 in *illa uicem*: probably a corruption of *in inuicem*: cf. fol. 14 a l. 6 where m. 1 has *ille dignare* for *indignare*, and fol. 19 b l. 8 where *in factums est* doubtless represents *ille factus est*.
- l. 9 *docuit* m. 1, misreading *im* into *ocu*: to correct his mistake he then dotted the letters *ocu* and *t*, leaving only *d* and *i*, and went on to write *mittere* making *dimittere*: m. 3 wrote *de sup līn*, making *demittere*.
- l. 11 *respondi* *et* m. 1: *respondēs* m. 2 [not m. 3]. B.
- fol. 10 a l. 7 *et improbitas malierem*: I have no doubt that this is

a corruption of *et introibit ad mulierem* rather than *et haerebit ad*, as given by Dr. Sanday on pp. cxxix, cxliii : the true text (*B syr-sin) omits the words altogether, and the addition in *k* appears to be independent of the addition in the majority of our witnesses.

- fol. 106 l. 1 doxerit (i.e. duxerit) is m. 3 : B. The spelling would be enough to show this.
- l. 4 m. 1 certainly *super illos*. B.
- l. 9 poeros m. 1, pueros m. 3, I think.
- fol. 111 a l. 5 optume *ut uid.* m. 1 ; opteme [not optome] m. 3. B.
- l. 9 dom^m m. 1 : des [not deus] m. 3.
- l. 14 iele (*sc* ille) m. 3.
- ani m. 1, corrected to *eni in scribendo*.
- fol. 131 a l. 8 the line is very difficult to decipher, but instead of *quae uen|tura* I read *quae illi fu|tura* : there are sufficient indications of *illi* (cf. Gr. *αὐτῶ*), and what may be the tail of *f* is visible, while *uen|tura* would (after *illi*) take up too much room, and there are no traces of any super-scribed line for *ue|tura*.
- fol. 136 l. 7 apparently *et annus a sinistra* [not *et unus a sinistra*] : B. Cf. fol. 22 a l. 12 *quiannus est dom*, for *quia unus est*.
- ll. 13, 14 *ilis* is supplied by m. 3 at the end of l. 13 solely, I believe, because the *illis* of l. 14 was already too much rubbed to be legible.
- fol. 141 a l. 6 *illi dignare* (for *indignare*) m. 1 : B. See above on fol. 96 l. 3.
- fol. 151 a l. 2 *animo**sta* : there is room for either one or two letters.
- l. 6 *ante me dixit* m. 1 : m. 2 wrote *u* over *n*, but omitted to erase the second *e*.
- fol. 156 l. 2 apparently *pullon* [not *pullum*].
- l. 14 *auī autem ut uid.* [not *alii autem*] m. 1 : B. Perhaps he meant *a uia*. *Alii* m. 3.
- fol. 161 a l. 14 m. 1 had written neither *f* (in *fici*) nor *b* (in *arborem*), but apparently *sicarhorem*. Burkitt reads it *scaphorem* or *scafphorem* ; this suggests *συκοφόρον*, but the resemblance is I suppose a mere accident.
- fol. 166 l. 11 m. 1 *cum menses* (*sc* *cum mensis*). B.
- fol. 181 a l. 6 *scribae* is not the original writing, but apparently *feribat*. [Burkitt's *ferebat* is I expect right.]
- fol. 196 l. 8 in *factums* : probably a corruption of *ille factus*, see above on fol. 96 l. 3.
- fol. 201 a l. 9 in *ueritatem* is not m. 1 but m. 2 : m. 1 wrote *honestatem* (without in). B.

- l. 14 the superposed mark is not over a, but over s, and is ¹²⁰ doubt meant as a mark of erasure. B.
- fol. 21^v l. 2 resurrexerint is not the original writing, which was apparently recsrexerint: Burkitt makes it re[.]spexerint a mortem.
- l. 13 eum [not cum] m. 1: cum m. 3. B.
- fol. 22^a ll. 9, 10 maius his alius [not a|alius, as Wordsworth].
- l. 14 omnib m. 2, not m. 1: m. 1 does not (I think) use the abbreviation b=bus, except at the end of a line, and apparently wrote either omni^h or omni^l [Burkitt reads it omnis, which is probably right].
- fol. 22^b l. 10 ad dextera mea¹ [not a dextera mea]. B.
- l. 14 et unde est [not et unde et].
- fol. 23^a l. 5 et sessionem [not ei sessionem].
- l. 11 quomodo [not quomoda].
- fol. 23^b l. 13 non may be erased (so Wordsworth) or may be only rubbed: in this MS it is often very difficult to distinguish accidental rubbing from intentional erasure.
- fol. 24^a l. 3 et post triduum alium ut (s: aliut) excitabitur sine manibus: this reading solves a difficulty in Cyprian *Test.* i 15 (Hartel 49. 17)—the quotation there should run on with the preceding line, and the whole of lines 15-17 should be referred to Marc. xiii 2, and not, as by Hartel, to Matt. xxiv 2 and Marc. xiv 58 respectively.
- l. 5 im montem [not in montem], cf. Marc. ix 31 im manos, ix 36 im medio. xiv 9 im memoriam Matt. xiii 47 im mare (Sanday, p. cxlii).
- fol. 24^b l. 2 bella m. 2: signa ut aud. m. 1: Burkitt however thought m. 1 wrote hora.
- ll. 9, 10 uos ipsos m. 2: ua (or uas) . . . sos: the erasure consists of about eight letters, of which the third or fourth is apparently s and the last a: Burkitt detected that ipsos tra was originally written twice over.
- fol. 25^a l. 8 frater is in rasura of a rather longer word, which apparently ended in -or: traditor would suit all the indications (and no word would be more likely to be familiar to African scribes) except that I could see no trace of the top of the d: Burkitt now solves the problem with p(rae)tor.
- fol. 25^b l. 11 uiuente (s: uiuentem) m. 1 [not uiuente].
- lectant [not lectant]. B.
- l. 12 aduente is rather m. 3 than m. 2. B.
- fol. 26^a l. 14 which is outside the line, and perhaps added by m. 2.

¹ This should be added to the list of instances I collected in *J. T. S.* July 1901, p. 100.

- fol. 266 l. 9 m. 3 adds in margin *sues* (*sc electos suos*): *αυτων* is read within brackets in Westcott-Hort. B.
- l. 14 soli adgnosci (*ut uid.*) m. 1. B.
- fol. 276 ll. 2, 3 cuiusque opus suum [not olopus]. B.
- l. 6 uerum: doubtless a corruption of an ancestral utrum.
- fol. 282 l. 1 cum is unquestionably the reading of m. 1. B.
- l. 4 bethaniam [not belhaniam]: Burkitt adds that m. 2 deletes the final m.
- fol. 286 l. 2 taedium m. 3 [not m. 2].
- fol. 296 ll. 5, 6 m. 1 wrote firstly subpedaneum (*sc a stool*), then corrected this to subterraneum: the marks round 'pedaneum' are meant to bracket the word (compare below on fol. 86 b l. 4), and the s of Wordsworth's sterraneum is not a fully-formed letter, but a similar mark dividing the cancelled pedaneum from its substitute terraneum. The true word I imagine to have been superaneum (perhaps miswritten subperaneum in the exemplar), which accounts for both subpedaneum and subterraneum. I have not been able to find that this word occurs elsewhere: but the word *ἀνάγαιον* here and in Luc. xxii 12 proved a great stumbling-block to the old Latin translators, and it is not I think over rash to conjecture that the ancestor of *κ* represented it by some such bold expedient as superaneum.
- fol. 302 l. 7 ili est (*sc ille est*) m. 3 I think [not ipsest].
- fol. 306 l. 6 ilis is the reading of m. 3 I imagine [not illis]; there are only four letters.
- l. 10 cū [not cu].
- l. 11 the last two letters under the erasure were apparently -ae: possibly the word was regulae.
- l. 12 hominum m. 1 [not heminum].
- fol. 312 l. 3 posttea [not postea].
- l. 7 standaliziati m. 1.
- l. 10 tertio was perhaps the reading of m. 1 under ter me.
- l. 14 dixēr. [not dixēr.]: correct therefore Dr. Sanday's reference to this passage on p. clviii.
- fol. 316 l. 1 cui [not qui].
- fol. 322 l. 4 autem m. 1, possibly corrected *manu prima* into quidem.
- fol. 336 l. 14 I cannot see in the MS the dots which Wordsworth prints over the u of surgentes. B.
- fol. 346 l. 10 ex familiis [not ex famulis]. B.
- fol. 352 l. 5 et gallus is a correction: the original reading was set gallus. B.

- l. 13 the i of iurare is *in rasura*: the original reading was apparently furare. B.
- fol. 37^b l. 6 of the letters printed by Wordsworth in small type as due to the corrector, ce and ul seem to be only a retracing of the same letters: ul was apparently preceded by b: the lost word was something like ceauiulare: Burkitt's cruce ambulare is doubtless right.
- l. 8 galliariae [not galuariae]: Burkitt gives galliarie.
- l. 9 bibere uinum [as Fleck: not unum bibere, as Wordsworth]. B.
- fol. 38^a l. 3 unum [not unun]: the -um is in ligature at the end of the line. B.
- fol. 38^b ll. 2, 3 tene|bre [not tenebrae].
- l. 3 tota . . . usque: the m of totam is part of the correction: the letters erased were either three or four: Burkitt suggests ora.
- l. 9 locus appears to be the lost word: the -us at least is certain. B.
- l. 10 the t of et is not *in rasura*, but m. 1. B.
- fol. 39^a l. 7 de [not ds].
- fol. 40^b l. 1 the reading of the MS is perhaps a corruption of surgente in claritate filio dei.
- ll. 12, 13 ih̄n illum crucifixum illum nazoraem was the reading of m. 1, corresponding to the Greek Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζαρητὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον. B. The representation of the Greek article by ille in the primitive Latin version was often a stumbling-block to later scribes: I hope in a future number of the JOURNAL to collect some instances from St. Cyprian's *Testimonia* in illustration of this point: meanwhile I may refer to Isa. i 4 = *Test.* i 3 (Hartel 41. 2); Mic. v 1 = *Test.* ii 12 (77. 4); Gen. xxii 1 = *Test.* iii 15 (127. 20); 2 Tim. iv 8 = *Test.* iii 16 (131. 20).
- l. 14 after surrexit follows, as marked by Wordsworth, an erasure of five or six letters: the first was e, the second l or t, the third e, the fourth c: e lecto occurred to me, but I could not easily make the last erased letter into an o: Tischendorf and Burkitt agree on et ecce, and this is very likely right.
- fol. 40^b l. 14 iec+oniam: there is more room than for h alone—perhaps ih or hi: Burkitt reads iecmoniam.
- ε somnis m. 2: formis m. 1. B.
- maxiam: I am not sure that the third letter is more than a second 'a' begun and then started for omission.

- l. 9 autē [not aute]. B.
- l. 13 inple|retur [not imple|retur]. B.
- fol. 44b l. 12 magis, I think, rather than magii. B.
- fol. 45a l. 1 m. 1 wrote, I think, stellam cum audis|set autem. B.
- l. 7 iudaeae is all by m. 1, I think: e is the letter in which the writing of m. 1 and m. 2 is most easily distinguishable—the latter tends more to make the top part of the e in a separate stroke, and also slopes the letter more—and here it seems to be the e of m. 1.
- fol. 46a l. 12 ei iure et gadium m. 1: ei surge et ad+ume m. 2: ei surge et adsume m. 3. B.
- l. 13 in is not m. 2 but m. 1.
- l. 14 esto illic m. 2: ethillio *ut uid* m. 1: Burkitt reads it ephillis.
- fol. 46b l. 8 a domino profetam: the last five letters of domino are in rasura, though the correction is apparently made by m. 1 himself: probably he first wrote adimpler for a dom per of his exemplar, and when he corrected it forgot to write in the per.
- fol. 47b l. 7 secesit [not secessit]: B. The whole word is perhaps *in rasura*.
- fol. 48a l. 9 fuit lucus is all by m. 2, but -us projects beyond the space occupied by the erased letters.
- l. 10 siluestre m. 2: perhaps silue fere m. 1: Burkitt suggests dilu+ter**, but somewhat doubtfully.
- l. 14 ab eo [not et eo].
- fol. 48b l. 3 sad|duceis: the last six letters are *in rasura* of something rather longer: it is another instance of a proper name misread by the original scribe.
- fol. 50a ll. 7, 10 nepthalim in each case [not nephthalim].
- fol. 51a l. 11 inbecillita|tem [not imbecillita|tem]. B.
- fol. 51b l. 11 m. 1 bae+ati (the lost letter apparently e or c), corrected to beati. B.
- l. 14 bae+ti.
- fol. 52b l. 1 m. 1 apparently wrote plangē|tis.
- l. 13 b+eati *ut uid*.
- fol. 53a l. 12 etterra is no doubt only by error printed as one word in Wordsworth: the MS of course does not separate words at all in the ordinary way.
- ll. 13, 14 trans|sibit: the s at the end of l. 13 is, I think, intended to be deleted, no doubt in order that the division of the word may comply with the rule that the new line should if possible begin with a consonant.

reading in St. Cyprian (*Test.* iii 6, Hartel 119. 18), so that the reading might almost be transferred from the column for disagreements between *z* and Cyprian to that for agreements in Dr. Sanday's list, p. lix.

fol. 62*b* l. 11 *faciet*: m. 2 may have meant and probably did mean to correct *facit* to *facit* rather than, as Wordsworth, *faciet*.

l. 13 m. 1 wrote *potest arbor malos fructus face|re*.

fol. 63*a* l. 8 *quo* m. 1, *qui* m. 2: Wordsworth's note might mislead.

fol. 63*b* l. 2 m. 1 *speramini|quitatem*: m. 2 *peramini inin|quitatem*.

l. 4 *uerba mea*: the original reading was apparently *uerbum ea*.

fol. 63*b* ll. 4, 5 *fa|cit* [not *fe|cit*, as Wordsworth].

fol. 64*a* l. 6 *con|summasset* [not *con|sumasset*].

fol. 65*b* l. 2 in *regno caelorum* [not in *regnum caelorum*].

l. 5 m. 1 was perhaps writing *stridentium* for *stridor dentium*: if so, he made the correction himself.

fol. 66*a* l. 1 *optulerunt* [not *opluterunt*].

daemoniacos [not *demoniacos*].

ll. 8, 9 *turbæ multæ* is a correction, apparently from *turbas multas*.

ll. 13, 14 *hab|bent*: the first *b* is dotted for erasure by m. 1, since *hab|ent* would divide the word wrongly.

fol. 66*b* l. 13 the letters under erasure were something like *cacis*.

fol. 67*a* l. 3 *estis* [not *haestis*].

fidai apparently m. 1.

ll. 12, 13 *exeū|tes* [not *exeu|tes*].

fol. 67*b* l. 2 *fili dī* ends the line: the *ii* which Wordsworth prints is only a take-off from *ti-* of fol. 68*a* l. 2. B.

l. 3 the final writing—perhaps m. 2, perhaps a correction by m. 1—is *hoc* [not *huc*]: m. 1 may have written first *i . . ic* (?? *istic* or *illic*).

l. 13 *aquis* is m. 2: m. 1 wrote *agues* or *aquos*.

fol. 68*a* l. 7 *cum* [not *eum*].

ll. 9, 10 *op|tuleriunt* m. 1.

l. 13 *bono animo* [not *bone animo*].

fol. 69*b* l. 1 *audisset* [not *audissit*].

l. 14 *uenient* in this line is not erased as Wordsworth's note seems to imply: but on fol. 70*a* l. 1 m. 1 wrote *autem uenient* dies, and it is this second *uenient* which is erased.

fol. 70*b* l. 1 m. 1 wrote *uenit*, but himself corrected to *ueniens*.

l. 12 m. 1 wrote apparently *saluabitur*.

l. 14 *fidest* m. 2: m. 1 apparently wrote *ex hoc*.

fol. 72*a* l. 7 *inbecillitatē* [not *imbecillitatē*].

- ll. 10, 11 m. 1 wrote apparently abie|ei: m. 2 abiecti (all in l. 10) and erased ei.
- fol. 73a l. 1 iebbacus apparently m. 1.
- l. 5 ieritis item aut factio|nes [not ieritis ite magis actio|nes, ^{as} Wordsworth's notes] m. 1: the words item . . . are ^{of} course a corruption of ite magis ad oues, the s of magi becoming the f of factiones, according to the ^{is} most common of all the confusions to which our scribe is liable.
- fol. 74a l. 6 sodocie? m. 1.
- fol. 76a l. 4 in ipso m. 1: the in is deleted. In line 2, in me, the in is so rubbed that it is impossible to say whether it is deleted or no.
- coram fratre meo m. 1.
- fol. 76b l. 6 sequitur: loquitur m. 1.
- fol. 77a l. 1 profete [not profetae].
- l. 11 autē is in the margin, and must have been added *secundis curis*.
- fol. 77b l. 5 surdei [not surdi].
- l. 10 iohane: the letters o and h are *in rasura*. Again a curious instance of bungling over the Gospel proper names.
- qui dixistis [not quid existis].
- fol. 79a l. 10 choroazan, as Fleck [not chorazan].
- bessalda is certain and should be in the text.
- l. 13 not syryan, but perhaps syryam, m. 1.
- fol. 79b l. 3 the q in quomodo is m. 1: perhaps he wrote q- = quae (or neq- = neque).
- fol. 80a l. 5 under the erasure is nisi filius et: it was just an omission by *homocorrection* after agnoscit.
- fol. 80b l. 11 m. 1 wrote first panem, dotted the m and added s to make it into panes, just as on fol. 83a l. 4 he changed aduersum into aduersus.
- l. 14 facere is again obviously the original scribe's first reading of sacer, which he himself made good.
- fol. 83a l. 3 diuisum m. 2 in Wordsworth's note is a misprint for diuisum.
- l. 5 the writing under ciuitas was perhaps causas.
- fol. 84a ll. 10, 11 potes|tis [not potes|tes].
- fol. 85a l. 2 non signum of m. 1 is possibly a corruption grown entirely out of nisi (ni = non, si = signum), since Cyprian reads nisi Iona, and omits signum altogether (*Test.* ii 25, Hartel 92. 12; omit signum A*LB).
- fol. 86a l. 4 at eos of Wordsworth's text should have been in small

type: it (or rather at eus = ad eos) is a correction by m. 3. I make the reading of m. 1 to be at tr(ip)la—whatever it was it was presumably a corruption of at turba(s), Gr. τοῖς ὄχλοις.

l. 8 est: the s is by m. 2 *in rasura*: m. 1 apparently eit.

l. 12 Wordsworth's note might mislead: m. 1 wrote fratris for patris of verse 50 (l. 12), not for the fratres of verse 49 (l. 11).

fol. 86b l. 4 what Wordsworth represents here by square brackets are the same signs that on fol. 29b l. 5 (Marc. xiv 15) he had represented by quotation marks: they are not unlike our round brackets, and are obviously intended to cancel the words enclosed. Erasure in the strict sense is hardly, if at all, employed by m. 1.

fol. 87a l. 5 The mark in the text calling attention to the supplement at the foot of the page is here hd [not ha].

ad calc. pag. spineae: the last letter but one hardly resembles a at all. I should not like to say what letter it is meant for: yet all the other letters in the supplement are formed quite regularly and normally.

fol. 88b l. 13 seminatur hoc est: m. 1 wrote femina turba est: add this instance of b = h to Dr. Sanday's list of confusions on p. cxxxvii, and cf. fol. 86a l. 2, Sanday, p. cccxxxviii.

fol. 89a l. 2 there is no line over lx.

fol. 90a l. 2 i of dicens is *in rasura*, presumably of docens.

fol. 90b ll. 7, 8 melum m. 2: meluam perhaps [melusm, as Wordsworth, is not long enough] m. 1.

fol. 91a l. 13 eius m. 2: illis *ut uid.* m. 1.

l. 14 faciunt in m. 2: factae sunt m. 1.

fol. 91b l. 7 absconsum ⁱⁿsacro [not absconsum ^{ha}sacro, as Wordsworth]: i. e. m. 2 wrote in over s, to make it read absconsum in acro.

l. 8 quod: d is by m. 2 *in rasura*.

l. 9 m. 3 prefixes pero [not pro] to gaudio.

fol. 92a l. 14 ignis is by m. 2 *in rasura* [not, I think, simply retraced, as Wordsworth].

fol. 92b l. 4 caelo^r [not caelo^r].

ll. 6, 7 de thesauros suos: m. 2 apparently marks the final s in each case for cancel.

l. 9 m. 3 superscribes -ess- over the latter part of transtulit, perhaps meaning transessit = transisset.

fol. 93b l. 8 eum is m. 3: m. 1 wrote cum.

fol. 94a l. 1 sub . . . ta: four letters apparently have disappeared.

- l. 9 *dedit* m. 3: m. 1 had written a longer word beginning
with p (?portauit or porrexit or pertulit).
fol. 94b ll. 10, 11 *demitte* [not *demitte*, as Wordsworth].
fol. 95a l. 5 *finenis*, I think [not *finenis*], m. 3.
l. 8 *dauit* [not *dauid*]. B.
fol. 96a l. 11 *clodis* [not *clodos*]. B.
fol. 96b l. 9 *illi* m. 4: *illis* m. 3.

C. H. TURNER.

FURTHER NOTES ON CODEX *k*.

WHEN passing through Turin in April of this year I was able to spend a couple of days in examining Codex Bobiensis (*k*) with the aid of the Oxford edition, and though the total result was not very large, yet the great importance of *k* for textual criticism seemed to justify the publication of my notes. After I had written what I had to say, I found that my friend Mr. C. H. Turner had also re-collated *k* about a year before my passing visit. Our results, I am glad to say, very greatly coincide. It would be absurd to print the same collation twice over. Mr. Turner has therefore marked the readings of his collation which were also in mine with the letter B, and so I only give here the readings which it was not in his plan to notice, together with the very few places where we are at variance.

1. *Punctuation*. There are two systems of punctuation in *k*, neither of which is consistently represented in the printed edition. The scribe divided sentences by blank spaces and also by a point opposite the middle of the letters. Sometimes we have the space without the point, sometimes the point without the space, sometimes both together. The photographed page (fol. 41a), which contains Mark xvi 6—end will illustrate each of these methods. After *dixi* and *exposuerunt* there are spaces left blank without a dot; after *fugerunt* is a small space with a dot; after *discipulis*, *uidebitis*, *cum* (10), *tremor*, *pauor*, *adparuit*, *usque* (10), *illos*, *sanctam*, *incorruptam*, and before *h^{is}*, there are dots without spaces. I leave it to the reader whether there be a space left between *orientem* and *misit*. Of these two systems, the space and the point, the space is by far the more important, because it represents the intention of the scribe. Points may have been added later; in the case of the MS before us they may have been added inadvertently. It appeared to me that the scribe of *k* after writing a word often allowed his pen to rest on the vellum while his eye was reading (or trying to read) the next word in his exemplar. The result is a number of fine dots at the ends of words which never

belonged to any system of rational punctuation, but are mere word-dividers, placed semi-consciously. The difference between these dots and the conscious work of the scribe is well seen in Matt. v. 47, 48, where *k* has

PUBLICANISICFACIUNT· ERITIS

ITAQ·UOS·PERFECTI·

Here the space after *faciunt* marks the end of the sentence and the rather thick dot after *q* marks the regular contraction for *-que*. But the dot after *uos* is higher up and much fainter: the pen simply rested on the vellum in making it and did not move, and I doubt if the scribe was aware that he was marking the surface at all. Most of the dots enumerated above from fol. 41a are of this character, as the reader may see for himself from the facsimile.

This result is of some importance when we are considering textual theories which deal with systems of colometry. In such matters I doubt if any secure argument can be founded on the points of *k*, though the spaces left by the scribe and his paragraphs may be significant. In the Oxford edition the paragraphs are carefully marked by indentation, but the blank spaces in the lines themselves are most capriciously represented, e. g. the MS has a space between *superfuerunt* and *dicunt* in Mc. viii 19, and also before Mc. viii 24, 28, but no space after *colludit* in Mc. ix 18. In Mc. viii 27 the small point comes immediately after *uia*, leaving a blank before *et*; but in Mc. x 9 f. *coniuncxit homo* and *separet et* barely enough space is left for the dot itself. It would take up too much room, and be wearisome besides, to give a list of all the spacings which I observed and to correct the dots in the printed edition: in this respect the Oxford text, otherwise so excellent a representation of the MS, cannot always be trusted. Of course, where there is a dot in the printed book there is almost always a dot in the MS, but there are dots in the MS which are not inserted in the edition, and there is no distinction made between dots evidently intended by the scribe, dots which are very likely accidental, and dots placed by a later hand where no stop was intended by the original writer.

2. *The Text.* As explained above, the following collation only contains a few points of difference with Mr. Turner, together with some readings which he did not bring forward. As it now has no claim to completeness I have divided it into two parts, the first containing miscellaneous readings and the second some notes on the spelling of the compendia for 'Jesus.' I use *k** for the original work of the scribe, *k*^c for corrections either by the original scribe or by the corrector called *m. 2* by the Oxford editors. These corrections are all contemporary with *k**, and it seems to me not unlikely that they are all the work of the same person, who was possibly the original scribe himself. The characters we use in

correcting our own handwriting are not always identical with the 'hand' we write in continuous script. Moreover—and I venture to think it an important point which is frequently overlooked—much of the work of the corrector of a MS is written over vellum that has been recently washed with a sponge or scratched with a knife. A scribe writing over such a surface has to face much the same difficulties as we have when we try to write on blotting-paper. All this affects the appearance of the handwriting of the corrections, and its general tendency is to make us suspect the existence of 'second hands,' where perhaps no fingers have been employed save those of the original scribe going over his own work and correcting it as he read. In any case the readings attested by k^c do not imply the use or knowledge of any other exemplar than that from which Cod. Bobiensis was copied.

For the third hand I retain the notation $m. 3$. As Dr. Wordsworth said (p. x): 'The third scribe is much later, perhaps several centuries. . . . It is like the work of an amateur or owner of the book.' It would be misleading to use the symbol k for his work.

(A). *Miscellaneous remarks.*

Mc. viii 11 (fol. 1 a, l. 7) et coeperunt farisaei conquire *is all legible, if you hold the leaf up to the light and look through*

viii 16 (fol. 1 b, l. 8) . . . cum isset dixit ill . .

This probably stands for [et] cum [cognou]isset dixit ill[is], but the letter before -isset looked rather like c. Yet rescisset would not fill the space

viii 22 (fol. 2 a, l. 7) bestaída k^* , as I thought. C. H. T. has bestaida. *It seemed to me also that the correction bedsaida was by m. 3, as the Oxford editors say*

viii 24 (fol. 2 a, l. 14) suspiciens k^*

viii 28 (fol. 2 b, l. 14) elian k : *I did not think there was an aspirate*

ix 2 (fol. 4 b, l. 1) mentem at cum k^*

ix 43 (fol. 8 b, l. 13) so-manni k^* (void)

x 2 (fol. 9 b, ll. 9, 10) temptantes k (sic): 'mp' is written in a ligature mp, while 'np' would be np

x 10 (fol. 10 a, l. 12) cum (mistrin?) eum k

x 14 (fol. 10 b, ll. 8, 9) dixit illis [inice k^* (i. e. 'inique?)]

x 23 (fol. 12 a, l. 2) begins a paragraph in k

x 24 (fol. 12 a, l. 6) solomonem k^* , sermoneem k^*

x 25 (fol. 12 a, l. 10) acut k^* , acus k^*

x 47 (fol. 14 b, l. 10) misere k^* , mperere k^*

xi 2 (fol. 15 b, l. 1) introeuntesibus k^* , introeuntibus uobis k^*

xi 27 (fol. 17 b, l. 14) quisq; k^* , quis quit k^*

xii 7 (fol. 19 b, ll. 7, 8) reprobauerunt k^* , reprobauerunt k^*

- xii 19 (fol. 21 a, l. 2) tuo *k** (vid), suo *k^o*
 xii 36 (fol. 22 b, l. 9) dicit · dōm^a dōm^o *k* (sic)
 xiii 2 (fol. 23 b, l. 13) illi non *k**, illis non *k^o*
 xiii 18 (fol. 25 b, l. 13) hic me *k**, hieme *k^o*
 xiii 33 (fol. 27 a, ll. 11, 13) *a space is left between vv. 32 and 33, but none between 33 and 34*
 xiv 1 (fol. 27 b, l. 14) infidus *k*
 xiv 6-47 *was not collated by me, except that I verified amphoram quae (v. 13), and came to the conclusion that the addition of suis after discentibus and the correction of quae into aquae were by m. 3*
 xiv 49 (fol. 33 a, l. 6) quotidie *k* (sic)
 xv 21 (fol. 37 b, ll. 5, 6) *I think k* wrote factione eum cru|ce ambulare, but 'factione' is perhaps not quite certain*
 xvi 4 (fol. 40 b, l. 1) uiui di *k* (sic); *the extra stroke that makes the last word look like dii is taken off from the opposite side*¹.
 [att. i 17 (fol. 43 b, l. 9) generationis (misprint)] generationes *k*
 i 21 (fol. 44 a, l. 11) sic *k** (vid), hic *k^o*
 i 22, 23, fol. 44 b *begins at per prophetam (misprint)*
 ii 2, 3 (fol. 45 a, l. 1) stellam cum audis|set *k** (so also C. H. T.): *then (1) eius was added above the line, (2) k^o erased everything between stellam and -set, and added the missing words at the foot of the page*
 ii 13 (fol. 46 b, l. 2) cum *k**, eum *m. 3*
 ii 15 (fol. 46 b, l. 7) hd *k*, not *ha*
 iv 21 (fol. 51 a, l. 2) *no capital to zebdei in k*
 v 30 (fol. 55 a, ll. 4, 5) abi|ice (misprint)] abi|ce *k*
 vi 25-xiv 17 *was not collated, except that in Matt. viii 29 (fol. 67 b, l. 2) I agree with C. H. T. that ii is merely a set-off.*
 xv 30 (fol. 96 a, ll. 7, 8) ie|cerunt *k* (Gr. ἐρψαν), pro|cerunt *m. 3*

(B). *Compendia for 'Jesus.'*

Mc. viii 27	for	is	read	hi ^a
ix 2	„	hi	„	hi ^a
4	„	hi	„	hs (= iesu)
8	„	hi	„	hs (= iesum)
25	„	hi	„	hi ^a
27	„	hs	„	hi ^a

¹ This refers of course to the actual reading of the MS: Mr. Turner's conjecture as to what underlies it is very attractive. At the same time I am not quite convinced that 'the glory of the Living God' is wrong: comp. e.g. Lk. ii 9, Rev. xxi 23. As I pointed out in *Texts and Studies* iv 3, p. 94, 'surgente . . . simul ascenderunt cum eo' might be a rendering of ἐπεθίρτες αὐτοῦ . . . συναβήσαν αὐτῷ, on the analogy of Matt. viii 1 *k*.

Mc.	x 23	for	hī	read	hī ^a
	27, 29	„	hīs (bis)	„	hī ^a (bis)
xiv	53	„	hī ⁱ	„	hī ^a (= iesum)
	60	„	hīs	„	hīs ^a
	67	„	hī ^a	„	hī ^a (= iesu)
xv	43	„	ih ^a	„	Ih ^a
xvi	6	„	ih ^a	„	Ih ^a

Only a small proportion of the corrections made by Mr. Turner and myself affect the critical value of the text of *k*, except so far as they serve still further to illustrate the idiosyncrasies of the scribe. In a few cases monstrosities put down to him do not exist (e. g. Mark x 10, xii 39, 41, xiii 34, xiv 1, 3, 32, xv 27, 40; Matt. i 17, iii 6, v 30, 32, viii 29). It is especially pleasant to be able to read *temptantes* in Mark x 2 instead of *tenptantes*¹, and to know that in Matt. viii 29 *quid huc uenisti* is not preceded by *ii*. In Mark xv 23 F. F. Fleck (the first editor of *k*, whose inaccuracy is bewailed by all who have written on the MS) was right in reading *bibere uinum* and not *uinum bibere*; and in Mark viii 28, where *k* really has *dixerunt illi dicentes* in agreement with *NBC*ΛΔ* and the Bohairic, Fleck's 'responderunt illi dicentes' is no further off the true reading than the 'dixerunt illi omnes' of Tischendorf and the Oxford editors.

The point of most general interest brought out by the re-examinations of *k* has been perhaps the reading *maledixisti* in Mark xv 34, where the late cursive hand here called *m. 3* has substituted *dereliquisti*, as in the Vulgate. A full note on this reading will be found in *J. T. S.* i 278. I only wish to add here that the use of *dereliquisti* does not prove that *m. 3* was correcting *k* by means of another MS. The scrawl used by *m. 3* can hardly be dated earlier than the seventh century, if so early, and doubtless the Vulgate occupied by that time a dominant position in most parts of Western Europe. Nearly all the emendations made by *m. 3* look like the work of a reader who was trying to make out an incorrectly written text as best he could. In Mark ix 26 *m. 3* turns *ueluemortuus* into *uelut mortuus*, though the Vulgate has *sicut mortuus*; and in Mark ix 9, where *k* has *descendentibus*, *m. 3* adds *eis* to eke out the sense, though the Vulgate has *illis*. Similarly in Matt. v 43 *ubi* is rightly changed by *m. 3* into *tibi* where the Vulgate has *tuum*, and in Mark xiv 55 *facta* is changed by *m. 3* into *falsa* where the Vulgate omits. At the beginning of Mark ix 5 *m. 3* supplies *et ait Petrus*, in agreement with the Llandaff Gospels (Wordsworth's L), where the Vulgate has *et respondens Petrus ait Iesu*, but this may be only a

¹ The error was caused by misreading the ligature *np*. This may be a convenient place to mention that the following ligatures occur in *k*, mostly at the ends of lines: *ci, li, ul, um, un, mp, or ur, is ns us, et ut unt ul, eu.*

coincidence. The nationality of *m.* 3 is a point of some historical interest, for if it be a true tradition that makes S. Columban a former owner of *k*, then *m.* 3 is the only hand that can be identified as the Saint's (Wordsworth, p. x). But does not *pesces* (for *pisces* Matt. xv 36) point to an Italian?

In Mark xii 36 it is satisfactory to find that *k* has *ad dextera*, i.e. it supports Mr. Turner's theory that the earlier Latin texts represented *ἐκ δεξιῶν* by the neuter plural of 'dexter' (*J. T. S.* ii 610). In Mark xiv 62, xv 27, *k* has *a dextra* and in x 37 *a dextram*, no doubt under the influence of the classical training of the scribe in the art of writing. In Mark xvi 5 therefore, when we find *in dextra* (for *ἐν τοῖς δεξιαῖς*), it is probable that the final *a* is long and that the word is in the ablative singular.

In the matter of spelling it is interesting to note that editors have correctly reported *k* to read *quotidie* in Mark xiv 49, a spelling otherwise most unknown in Christian MSS earlier than the eighth century¹. In Matt. vi 11 *k* has *cottidianum*.

With regard to the compendia for *Iesus* (or rather *Hiesus*), it is worth noting that the common Greek abbreviation *ic* does not occur, as the MS has *in* in Mark viii 27. In the two places where *k* was reported to give the common Latin compendium (*ih̄* Mark xv 43, *ih̄* Mark xvi 6), the first letter is in each case majuscule and I incline to think the exemplar may have had a sign beginning with H, for there is very little difference between *Ih̄* and *Hi*. Certainly the authority of *k* cannot be safely invoked for the spelling *ihesus*.

3. *The personality of the scribe of k.* This is a really important question, for *k* contains by far the most valuable text for critical purposes of all our Old Latin authorities, and it would be well if we could find out when and where it was written, and what qualifications the scribe had for his work. The tradition connecting *k* with S. Columban does not give us much help. If true, it might mean that *k* belonged to the earliest stratum of the Library at Bobbio, a thing not very probable in itself. Bobbio was only founded about 613 A.D. By that time *k* must have been at least 200 years in existence and its text was out of date. It was not in the least the kind of book that would be used in the seventh century, and it probably did not come to Bobbio until S. Columban's foundation had become a famous centre of books. The analogy of Codex *n* is here instructive. Most of the surviving fragments of *n* are now at S. Gallen, but two leaves (those formerly called *a*₂) are still at Chur, and it is highly probable that the whole MS once formed part of the Chapter Library there. We know of at least two MSS (the

¹ In Cyp. 308¹³, cod. S is said to have *quottidie*.

Sacramentary and the *Capitula* of Remedius) that have been taken from Chur to S. Gallen¹, but we know of none that have made the return journey. In any case it is more likely that ancient MSS should migrate to centres of learning and books, such as the great Benedictine House at S. Gallen became, than that they should go from S. Gallen to Chur, a place that once had been the centre of Roman culture and government, but was so no longer. I may add that the ancient connexion of Chur and Milan explains the presence in Switzerland of a North Italian text like *n*. It seems probable that *n* came to S. Gallen in a fragmentary state and only got there because S. Gallen had already become a famous repository for old books. For similar reasons and in a similar state *k* may have been brought to Bobbio. There is no trace in *k* of Irish influence; the hand is not an Irish hand, the spelling is not Irish spelling, and the text is not the Irish text of the time of S. Patrick².

The extraordinary blunders in the text of *k* have often been used to demonstrate the ignorance of the scribe. It is true that he seems to have been quite unfamiliar with Christian phraseology: a scribe who writes *ueni ad regnum tuum* in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi 10) could not have known his Paternoster very well. But he was not ignorant of Latin, for his mistakes generally make well-spelt Latin words. Too much, I venture to think, has been made of his confusions of one letter with another; he seems rather to guess the wrong words than to misread the several letters. No doubt his exemplar had a form of long *f*, whereby 's' is confused with 'i' and with 'f,' but this long *f* can be illustrated from written Pompeian tablets (*Pal. Soc.* I, vol. iii, plate 159), so that it affords no evidence for date or place³. But the spellings found in *k* are quite inconsistent with any theory that makes the scribe an uneducated man. His spelling, in fact, is what we might expect from his beautiful handwriting. I have elsewhere compiled⁴ a list of spellings which agree with those in the best MSS of Plautus, but are hardly to be found in any Christian document except *k*. They include *beniuolus*, *deuorsoria*, *intutis manibus*, *noum*, *optuma*, *optume*, *paruolis*, *pos nos*, *simulare*, *uolimus*⁵, also *ciuitast*, *similest*, *im mare*, etc.

¹ See Wilson's *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. xlii; Planta, *Das alte Rätien*, p. 309.

² See Bernard and Atkinson (*Liber Hymnorum*, ii 100) on the Hymn of S. Sechnall *Audite omnes*, and *J. T. S.* iii 95.

³ Another good instance is to be found in the tombstone of Gaudentia (A. D. 338) in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, of which a good facsimile is given in F. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie* i 12. I am glad to have an opportunity of calling attention to this useful publication.

⁴ *Cambridge University Reporter* for March 5, 1901.

⁵ *Volimus* is also found in cod. W of Cyprian's *De Mortalitate* (Hartel 308¹⁸, 310^{5, 16}).

But it may be said that these ancient spellings are due to the stupid faithfulness of the scribe who only copied what he saw. From this point of view the misreadings of *k** are of some interest, for they shew us the kind of words that naturally flowed from the scribe's pen. Thus in Mark xii 14 the puzzling official word *capitularium* is given without mistake, but in the lines preceding instead of *in ueritatem uiam Domini doces* we find that *k** wrote *honestatem uiam Domini dices*, i.e. 'you say that the Lord's way means wealth.' This is a fine perversion of the text, but nevertheless *honestas* is a good Latin word. In Mark xiii 12 the prophecy of persecutions makes the scribe think of the law-courts, and so *frater* is miswritten *praetor*. In Matt. v 28 the strange-looking *ean sam* is really *causam*. In Mark xiii 28 the scribe did not try to begin a Latin word with 'dg' as the edition makes him, but instead of *folia adgnoskitis* he wrote *solī adgnoskitis* 'ye alone know.' Of course these misreadings do not make true sense, e.g. *latramus* in the preceding line is ridiculous, but yet the misreadings generally make up something which looks like Latin. To crown all, the scribe, who stumbles over the names of Peter (Mark xvi 8*f*) and of Mary (Matt. i 20), turns 'how much doth a man differ from a sheep' (Matt. xii 12) into *Quanto ergo differt homo Ioue!* I cannot help suspecting that Paganism was still alive when *k* was being written, and that the scribe was a professional copier of books, perhaps a heathen still or only a recent convert. Such a man would have what might be called a compositor's knowledge of literature, admirable so far as it went, but stopping short of syntax. It should however be noticed that in Mark x 24 *k** seems to have written *solomonem* instead of *sermonem*, thereby indicating some knowledge of Jewish history¹.

The difference in general appearance between *k* and other Christian MSS, the beautiful handwriting, the traces of Classical culture in the scribe's work, coupled with his surprising unfamiliarity with the Gospel phraseology—all these considerations point to a very early date. The text of *k* is practically identical with that used by S. Cyprian, and such a text was not used, so far as we know, in any part of the Christian world after, say, the death of S. Augustine. Thus textual criticism and palaeography unite in suggesting that *k* is one of our oldest MSS. I venture to think that we may consider it to have been written in the fourth century.

No direct indication of the place of writing survives. There is no reason why we should doubt that it was written in Africa, the only place where a text like *k* seems likely to have been in actual use, but how the MS eventually reached Bobbio must remain for the present an unsolved problem.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ In Matt. the name is spelt *salomon* and *salamon*.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE MSS OF THE WRITINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

IN the course of a visit to Mount Athos and a few hours spent in passing at Basel and Paris, Mr. W. E. Moss¹ and I had in the summer of 1902 the good fortune to see several manuscripts of Athanasius; two, B and R, which have been recently discussed in the *J. T. S.* by Dr. Wallis and Mr. C. H. Turner², and five others which have not previously been noticed. These I shall call A K X Y Z.

I propose first to make a few remarks on B and R.

Cod. B (Basel A iii 4). Described by Dr. Wallis in the *J. T. S.* vol. i pp. 245 ff. On p. 246 n. he says: 'There is a phenomenon in connexion with the numbering of the quaternions which I cannot interpret. . . I have traced a tampering with the signatures of the quaternions to the end of f. 412^v [from f. 117^v]; the corrector has desired to move the quaternions five places back,' &c. The explanation of this phenomenon is that the gatherings are not quaternions, as can be seen by looking at the 'strings' instead of the signatures. As I was only stopping at Basel between two trains I had not time to take full notes of the gatherings, but I satisfied myself that the history of the tampering was this:—

(a) The signator of the MS began his work on the assumption, which Dr. Wallis has followed him, that the gatherings are quaternions.

(β) After inserting fifteen signatures on this mistaken plan he saw his error and henceforth followed the gatherings, but without correcting his numeration.

(γ) Later, the signatures were altered to correct this mistake, each being moved back.

Cod. R (Paris Nat. Grec. 474). Described by Dr. Wallis in the *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 97 ff. On p. 98 he gives an account of the various notes which are written on the first and last leaves. To his transcriptions I am now able to make a few additions³:—

(a) The note on f. A^v should be

τοῦτο φελλ(λα) ἡν̄ς. [i. e. τοῦτο φελλ(λα) ἡν̄ς].

(β) The note (i) on f. 1 is in red. I judged it to be of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

(γ) The note (ii) seemed to be of the same age or a little later.

¹ I am much indebted to Mr. Moss for many valuable suggestions, especially in connexion with the identification of *συζων*. ² *J. T. S.* iii 245 sqq.

³ I have enclosed in brackets letters which are represented by contracted forms.

- (b) The note (iii) seemed still later, possibly of the fifteenth century.
 (c) The note (iv) is βι(βλίον) δογματ(ικόν) ἀγ(ίου) (?) ἀθανα(σίου) θησαυρό(ς) in the same hand, I think, as note (ii).
 (ς) The note on f. 458 runs thus :—

+ ουτους οὗτο της κυρίζου δια τῷ χῦ ἐγένετο + ὡς
 κτημίτοις ὅτ(αν) επαρθοι' υπολης μοναχο(ς) απο †
 αγί(αν) σωφί(αν) την ἐτίμησ(εν) διχου τὸν ἐξόδο

I cannot quite rewrite this : it is obviously somewhat corrupt both in spelling and grammar. The best I can offer is :—

ὡς τοῦτο της κυρίζου δια Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἐγένετο πόλεως¹ κτημίτης² ὅταν ἀέρῃ ἡ πόλις μοναχὸς ἀπὸ τῆς³ ἁγίας Σοφίας τὴν ἐτίμησεν διχὸς τῶν ἐξόδων.

I cannot construe this, but I take the meaning to be that the MS was taken at the fall of Constantinople from St. Sophia to the Monastery of Kyrizos and used to defray the expenses of the monk who brought it.

The impression formed on my mind by the character of the writing is that it probably referred to the fall of the city in 1204 rather than in 1450, though the spelling may perhaps be regarded as favouring the later date.

I must now turn to the more speculative question of the history of the MS.

Dr. Wallis has suggested two identifications. He takes the monastery τοῦ κυροῦ Διονυσίου to be the monastery of τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου on Mount Athos. This seems certainly right : I would only add that the title αἱρου rather than ἁγίου seems to point to a time probably before and certainly not long after the death of Dionysius (i. e. about 1400).

He also takes κυρίζου to be Caryes on Mount Athos. This, I think, is impossible. Caryes is probably Καρυαῖς, a dative plural which has acquired the force of a nominative from the fact that it was most often used in the phrase ἐν Καρυαῖς. By no possibility could it be corrupted into Κυρίζου. Moreover, there never has been a μονή Καρυῶν, though what is now called Πρωτάτου was once known as ἡ λαύρα ἐν Καρυαῖς.

But if we abandon this identification, what suggestion can be made?

As the MS seems to have probably been at Dionysiou in the founder's lifetime, his history may be expected to give us the clue.

I therefore give an extract from a report made in 1706 by P. Bracconier⁴.

'Ce nom (Dionysiou) luy vient d'un solitaire nommé Denys, né dans les montagnes de Castoria au lieu nommé Kyrisos. . . '

¹ I do not think that this is right, I do not understand it.

² I do not know what this can be.

³ ἀπό takes an accusative in modern Greek.

⁴ H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, p. 1001.

Surely it is quite probable that Kyrissos (now Goritza in the vilayet of Monastir) is the place referred to in the note, and the history of R is that it belonged (1) to St. Sophia at Constantinople, (2) to a monastery at Goritza, which bought it from a fugitive monk from Constantinople after the capture of the Crusaders in 1204, (3) to the monastery of Dionysiou, which acquired it through the founder, who came from Goritza, (4) to Colbert, who obtained it through one of his many agents in the East; it would probably not be very difficult by a few days' research in Paris to trace the exact channel by which it reached him.

Cod. A. (Vatopedi 7). Vellum (34.9 x 21.8 cm.),¹ twelfth century.

In the corner of f. 101 there is a sponged out note which may be a date, if so it is perhaps *ϡφξ^{ov}*, but I have no confidence either that this is right or that, if it is, it has any bearing on the date of the MS. I thought that it probably belongs to the second half of the twelfth century, but it is a difficult MS to date. It is written by probably ten hands, some good, some quite bad.

The original MS was identical in contents with L (see *J. T. S.* vol. ii, p. 105), and is therefore probably connected with BL and, as will be shown, with K; it is the earliest of this group.

Bound up with it is another collection of Athanasian tracts, written at the same time and probably never separate. These are:—

1. f. 1. τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιστολὴ προοιμίου δύναμιν ἔχουσα καὶ τραγωδίαν τῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταραχῆς. Arranged in twelve chapters.

2. f. 24. ἀπολογία περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἡνίκα ἐδιώχθη ὑπὸ σευηριανοῦ τοῦ δουκός.

3. f. 32^v. κατὰ ἀρειαιῶν καὶ κατὰ σαβελλιανῶν καὶ ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ διονυσίου ἐπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας.

4. f. 42. πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ ἐπισκόπους.

5. f. 47^v. περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου κατὰ σαβελλιανῶν. This is a long dialogue between Macedonius and Orthodoxus.

6. f. 62^v. διάλεκτος ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀνομοίου, ἀρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ἀετίου.

7. f. 69. εὐνομίου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου ἐτέρα διάλεκτος.

8. f. 73. διάλεξις ἀπολλιναρίου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου.

9. f. 80. τοῦ αὐτοῦ [in mg. m. p. τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου] εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου περὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἐμπαιγμοῦ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον κρανίον τόπον κ. τ. λ.

Cod. K. (Vatopedi, 5, 6). Vellum (27.9 x 24.1 cm.), fourteenth century.

This manuscript contains a note at the beginning, partially erased, which states that it was

¹ These measurements, as those of K, are calculated from photographs, they are therefore probably not quite exact.

βιβλίον βασιλικόν τοῦ καλ. Ἰωανν . . . εἰκονισμῶς

θίντος διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ἰωασάφ . . .

Comparing this with the note in MS Paris Nat. Grec. 1275, Τοῦ εὐσεβιστάτου βασιλέως κυρίου Ἰωάννου Καντακουζηνού, τοῦ . . . μετονομασθέντος Ἰωασάφ μοναχοῦ . . . there can be little doubt that the emperor who is implied in the word βασιλικόν is John Cantacuzene who was associated in the imperial office with John V from 1345 to 1355, and then retired, under compulsion, to end his discreditable career as a monk. He lived for many years and founded a school of calligraphy which lasted for several generations. Its work is easily recognizable by the charming whiteness of the vellum, the beauty of the writing, a peculiar sepia ink of a yellowish tint, and a tendency to flourish marginal letters, especially those in the last line of a page, while in biblical MSS the rule seems to have been to give liturgical notes and mark the ἀναγνώσματα, but not the Ammonian sections or Eusebian canons.

I hope that some day the Palaeographical Society may see its way to publishing a little fasciculus of MSS which belong to the Joasaph school,—cod. Evan. 568 (Burney 18) is a good specimen, but there are several more.

The contents of K can best be given by reference to the table of contents in B given in the *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 246–8.

1. B 1–25 = K 1–24, except that the *Disputatio contra Arium* (B 3) is omitted in K in its proper place and is K 27.

2. B 45–88 = K 37–76 with the following exceptions:—

(α) The *De sententia Dionysii*, B 48, is K 47.

(β) The *Encyclica epistola Alexandri*, B 50, is omitted in K.

(γ) The *Epistola Constantini*, B 66, is omitted in K.

(δ) The *Explicatio*, B 69, is omitted in K.

(ε) The *Epistola ad Serapionem*, B 76, the *Historia Arianorum*, B 77, and the *De synodis*, B 78, are K 66, K 65, K 64 respectively.

3. B 26–44 and K 25–36 are arranged so differently, although roughly corresponding, that I must give the table of correspondences in full:—

B 26 = K 32

B 27 = —

B 28 = K 36

B 29 = —

B 30 = K 34

B 31 = K 35

B 32 = K 30

B 33 = K 31

B 34 = K 33

B 35 = —

B 36 = —

B 37 = K 28

B 38 = K 26

B 39 = K 29

B 40 = K 25

B 41 = —

B 42 = —

B 43 = —

B 44 = —

4. K 77-81 are not in B. They are
 77. *Epistola praefationis loco scripta.*
 78. *Dialogus cum Macedoniano.*
 79. *Contra Anomoeum.*
 80. *Dialogus alter cum Macedoniano.*
 81. *Vita S. Antonii*¹.

5. K has the *Judicium Photii* after the *σινε*, B has it before the *σινε* as have also A L.

From these facts taken in connexion with what is already known the MSS of Athanasius it is possible to draw several conclusions, with varying degrees of probability.

1. In speaking of the MS A I have shown that it probably belongs to the group hitherto represented by L and B 1-21. It is possible that K 1-20, 27 must be added to this group,—it would be almost certain were it not that the coincidence between L B A and K is broken by the displacement of the *Disputatio contra Arium*, and as between B and

It is probable that the displacement of the *Disputatio* is an accident but the other fact seems to point to the possibility that although L A B 1-21, and K 1-20, 27 represent a common archetype, A B 1-25 and K 1-24, 27 represent it not directly but through an intermediate MS, which had added four tracts at the end of the twenty-one which we found in A. The relations therefore of the MSS may be put thus:—



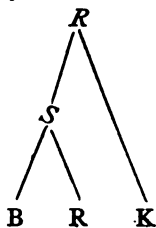
1. **Identify the main idea of the passage.** The main idea is that the author is discussing the importance of maintaining accurate records of all financial transactions, including both income and expenses, for tax purposes. This is essential for ensuring compliance with tax laws and for maximizing deductions and credits.

[illegible]

一、關於「新民主主義」的解釋，應根據馬列主義的原則，結合中國革命的具體情況，進行科學的、辯證的、歷史的、具體的解釋。

(1) This is shown from two notes in *R*, quoted by Dr. Wallis *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 99 and 249. The first note shows that the *De synodis* preceded the *Historia Arianorum* in *R* and that *R* inverted the order. *K* has the order of *R*, and, as was mentioned above, also places the *Epistola ad Serapionem* after instead of before both these tracts, showing that besides the alteration in order made by the scribe of *R* and noted by him, there was a further change which he did not record. The second note shows that the scribe of *R* wished the *De sententia Dionysii* to be placed next to the *Eusebii symbolum*; *B* has observed this change, therefore, says Dr. Wallis, it is a copy of *R* rather than *R*; but *K*¹ has got the old order, which supports the suggestion made above that it is a copy of *R* rather than *R*.

(2) That *B* is indirectly a copy of *R* and not of *R* is shown by the notes attached to the Sardican epistles in *R B K* (see *J. T. S.* vol. ii, p. 250). *R* has a full and accurate note, *B* has a shorter and less accurate one, therefore Dr. Wallis concluded that *B* had abbreviated *R*'s note. But *K* has *B*'s note and *K* has been shown to be a copy of *R* rather than *R*, therefore either *B* and *K* have independently made the same inaccurate abbreviation of the longer note, or *R*'s note is really an expansion of *B*'s note made because the latter was perceived to be inaccurate. The latter hypothesis is far preferable. The only theory I can see which will account for all the facts is that there was an intermediate archetype between *R* and *B R* which I will call *S*; this contained most of the notes found in *R*, which was acted upon by the scribe of *B* and copied by the scribe of *R*, but it did not contain the longer note on the Sardican epistles, which is due to the scribe of *R*, and probably did not contain the note on the *Depositio*. The relations between *B K R* may therefore be represented thus:—



It will be noticed that this theory reinstates *B* as potentially equal in value to *R*, so that the study of *K* has not merely given us a new authority for the text of *R* but has restored us one which Dr. Wallis's researches seemed to have taken away.

¹ *K* throws no further light on the position of the *Depositio*: it agrees with *R B* and has no note. I therefore incline to the belief that the note in *R* is really intended for the guidance of future copyists, and is not an indication of any difference of order in *R*.

Cod. X. (Laura B 28). Vellum (18.5 x 14.6 cm.), eleventh century.
This contained originally :—

- (1) Contra Gentes.
- (2) De incarnatione.
- (3) Disputatio contra Arium.
- (4) ἀποφθέγματα τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει γηρασάντων.

but it is now mutilated at the beginning. *ἰης. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄστρο
ἐστασίασαν κ.τ.λ.*

Cod. Y. (Laura B 58). Vellum (23.7 x 19.2 cm.), tenth century.
This contains :—

1. Contra Gentes (the beginning is missing).
2. De incarnatione.
3. Disputatio contra Arium (incomplete).

Cod. Z. (Laura Γ 106). Vellum (24.7 x 19.6 cm.), tenth century.
This contains :—

1. Contra Gentes.
2. De incarnatione.
3. Disputatio contra Arium, at the end of which is written *ἐπληρώθη
σὺν θεῷ ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀθανασίου κατὰ ἀρείου ἀριστεία.*

The beginning of this MS has been preserved by the fortunate accident of some leaves of a Chrysostom being bound up with it.

It will be seen that these three MSS are practically identical in contents. Mr. Moss and I compared them for several hours to see if the texts were also identical, and found that there are a few accidental variants in X, though none of the smallest importance, but that Y and Z are either copies one of the other or sister copies of the same original; they agree consistently in the smallest details. It is impossible to say which is the earlier; Z is slightly better written, but both are admirable specimens of late tenth or possibly very early eleventh-century writing.

It only remains for me to add that the monks at Vatopedi and the Laura were so kind as to allow us to photograph the whole of the *De incarnatione* in K A Z. It seemed unnecessary to photograph X Y in view of their textual identity with Z. I have since developed these photographs; there are a few negatives which will be incomplete owing to defects in the film, but even if I am unable to go back to Mount Athos again, I hope that when I have time to collate the prints I shall be able to give a fair representation of the text of A based on the readings of L B A K S, as well as of Z, which is of course far the oldest MS accessible for the text of the *De incarnatione*, though it does not follow that it is best; so far as I can see at present it seems to be independent both of B and S.

K. LAKE.

NOTES ON THE SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS FROM A.D. 1093 TO A.D. 1571¹.

II.

GAMELINE, chancellor of the king and papal chaplain (Feb. 13, 1254—T. no. 161), was postulated on the first Sunday in Lent, 1254 (Sc. vi 43), which works out as Feb. 14, 1254–5. M. (s. a. 1254) says he was elected by the prior and convent of St. Andrews, presumably referring to the Keledei being refused a voice in the election.

Gameline is confirmed by Pope Alexander IV on July 1, 1255; and the letter of confirmation (T. no. 176) explains why the word 'postulated' was used by Sc. He suffered from defect of birth, being *ex soluto genitus et soluta*. The letter recites that on the death of Abel, the prior and chapter convened, and proceeded *per viam compromissi*, appointing nine of their number to make choice of a bishop either by election or postulation. The choice fell on Gameline, papal chaplain and chancellor of Alexander, king of Scotland. Four persons, Robert de Prebenda, dean of Dunblane, Simon of Kynros, clerk, and brothers Helyas and Alan, canons of St. Andrews, were sent by the prior and chapter to the Pope with the postulation. The Pope dispenses for defect of birth, and confirms. A letter of the same date (T. no. 176 *ad finem*) was addressed by the Pope to the bishop of Glasgow commanding him, in the usual terms, to associate with him two other bishops, chosen by the bishop elect, and to confer on Gameline the gift of consecration. He is still 'elect' on Sept. 20, 1255 (Bain's *Calendar*, i no. 2013), at which date he had been removed from the council of the king for offences against the king of England.

The consecration by William, bishop of Glasgow, was on *secundo die natalis Domini, quo dominica habebatur*, 1255 (Sc. vi 43). Dec. 26, did fall on Sunday in 1255. The delay between the papal confirmation and the consecration may be accounted for by opposition on the part of the king and the members of his council. Gameline's banishment in the following year is attributed by M. (s. a. 1256) partly to his opposing the designs of the king's councillors, and partly because he refused to give them money, *quasi pro emptione sui episcopatus*².

Gameline died on the morrow of St. Vitalis, Martyr (which feast is celebrated on April 28), 1271, at Inchmurdauch, and was buried in the

¹ The writer will be grateful for corrections or additions to these notes.

² On July 31, 1255, Pope Alexander IV gives leave to Master Gameline, bishop elect of St. Andrews, to retain for two years from his consecration the benefices which he had before his postulation. This is granted because of the debts on his church and the repairs which it and other buildings needed (T. no. 178).

WILLIAM FRASER, chancellor of the kingdom, dean of Glasgow.

On the day of St. Nicholas (Dec. 6) 1279, William Fraser, dean of Glasgow (he does not style himself elect of St. Andrews), obliges himself for a debt of 200lb. sterling incurred by the chapter of Glasgow 'pro arduis nostris negociis in Curia Romana promovendis.' His brothers, Sir Symon Fraser, knight, and Andrew Fraser, are his 'fidejussores' (R.G. i. 193-5). We cannot but conjecture that this money was for expediting his bulls.

Elected August 4, 1279 (Sc. vi 44). The letter of confirmation from Pope Nicholas III, dated May 21, 1280, relates that the election was *per viam compromissi*. The 'compromissarii' were the prior, the sub-prior (the text reads probably in error 'superiori'), six canons, and the archdeacon of St. Andrews, all named. They unanimously chose William, then dean of Glasgow. Proctors were sent to Rome, and, according to custom, the decree of the election was examined by three cardinals. The election was confirmed by the Pope (T. no. 276).

According to Sc. (vi 4) Fraser was consecrated at the Roman court by Pope Nicholas on May 19, 1280.

The letter of confirmation already referred to, dated May 21, contains the expression 'tibique munus consecrationis *nostris manibus* duximus impendendum.' This is worth noticing; for sometimes the expression that a consecration was by the Pope means no more than that it was by his command or commission¹.

Fraser died Aug. 20, 1297, at Artuyl (in France), and was buried at Paris in the church of the Preaching Friars (Sc. vi 44). His heart was brought to Scotland, and by his successor, Lamberton, was deposited in the wall of the church of St. Andrews near the tomb of bishop Gameline (*ibid.*)².

WILLIAM DE LAMBERTON (Lambirton, Lambyrton), then chancellor of Glasgow.

Elected Nov. 5, 1297, 'exclusis penitus Keldeis tunc, sicut et in duabus electionibus præcedentibus' (Sc. vi 44). The election was *per viam compromissi*, the 'compromissarii' being the prior, the sub-prior, the archdeacon, and four others, being canons, all named. The

¹ He had served as envoy to England July 10, 1277; and again Feb. 20, 1278; and again April 10, 1279 (B.C. ii pp. 23, 24, 48). Oct. 3, 1289, he and others were accredited to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Norway (*ibid.* ii 96). At the end of 1290 the seven earls of Scotland and the community of the realm complain of W. bishop of St. Andrews and John Comyn as guardians (*ibid.* ii 109). He had a brother Simon (*ibid.* ii 103).

² On March 23, 1277, Master William Fraser, dean of Glasgow, chancellor of Alexander, king of Scotland, receives from Nicholas III a dispensation to hold one benefice with cure of souls in addition to the deanery and the church of Ar. (Ayr). C.P.R. i 454.

votes were given unanimously for Lamberton, chancellor of the church of Glasgow, who consented within the lawful time, and went to the Apostolic See, with three canons as proctors of the chapter. The election was confirmed by the Pope (Boniface VIII), who caused Lamberton to be consecrated by M[atthew], cardinal bishop of Porto¹. The consecration would probably be shortly before the letter of the Pope dated Rome, at St. Peter's, June 17, 1298 (T. no. 362). There is no reason for questioning the accuracy of Sc. (vi 44), who gives June 1, 1298, as the date of the consecration². He is found returning from Flanders July 8, 1299 (B.C. ii 271), and was chosen to be one of the guardians of the realm, Aug. 12, 1299 (*ibid.* ii 525).

Lamberton died (date not given) in the prior's chamber of the monastery of St. Andrews, and was buried in the great church, on the north of the great altar, June 7, 1308 (Sc. vi 44). The place of his grave is more particularly described by W. (viii 23).

Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, Curator of the Historical Department of H.M. General Register House, Scotland, has called my attention to *Exchequer Rolls*, i 109, from which one would be led to believe that Lamberton died two days before Whit-Sunday, 1308. Whit-Sunday in that year fell on May 22. The interval between May 20 and June 7 (the day of his burial) seems long³.

¹ See Ciacconius (ii 265). This was Matthew de Aquasparta. He died 1301. According to a representation made by Edward I to the Pope, Lamberton's election was made 'par force et par destresse,' to which the chapter was subjected by William Wallace and his adherents. The king also states that 'Mestre William Comyn frere au Conte de Buchan [Buchan]' was elected (Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, 332, 339). Comyn, it is true, objected to the validity of Lamberton's election, but, so far as appears, only on the ground that he, as provost of the church of St. Mary (in St. Andrews), ought to have been admitted to the celebration of the election, and was in fact excluded. (See the letter of Boniface VIII, May 7, 1298, to Comyn, printed in Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii 289.)

² Like Robert Wyschart, bishop of Glasgow, he on several occasions swore fealty to Edward I, and as frequently broke his oath. He was a prisoner (in chains, by order of Edward I, Aug. 7, 1306) at the castle of Winchester (Rymer). He again took the oath of fealty to Edward, August 11, 1308 (*ibid.*). In Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, i pp. 322-47, the English view of his conduct is set forth at length. He was freed from Winchester castle to go to Rome June 1, 1308 (B.C. iii 25).

³ An attempt was made by Edward I (repeated by Edward II) to get the Pope to appoint Thomas de Riveria, a Franciscan, to the see of St. Andrews, which, it was alleged by Edward I, was vacant through the deposition of Lamberton, condemned to perpetual imprisonment as a traitor. Edward II protested to Pope John XXII that Clement V had actually conferred the see on this Thomas. Pope John replied, on Sept. 18, 1317, that the Registers had been carefully searched, and that no record of the appointment of Thomas could be found. He asks King Edward to send him the apostolic letters to which he had referred (T. no. 417). We hear

JAMES BEN (Bene, Bane).—In one of the MSS of *Scotichronicon* (vi 45) the heading of the chapter gives the name as 'Jacobus Benedicti.' Keith (*Catalogue*, Russel's edition, p. 23) suggests, with probability, that 'Jacobus Bene dictus' in a contracted form ('Jacobus Bene dict') may have given rise to the reading¹, archdeacon of St. Andrews (Sc.; W. ii 375), canon of Aberdeen and prebendary of Cruden (C.P.R. ii 286).

Twelve days after the burial of Lamberton the chapter proceeded (June 19, 1328) to an election. By calculation we find that the day was a Sunday. Some of the votes were given for James Ben, archdeacon of St. Andrews [and papal chaplain, T. no. 472]; and some were given for Alexander Kininmonth, archdeacon of Lothian. As usual, the number of votes for each is not recorded. Ben was at the time at the papal court, and before the news of the election reached him, he had been advanced to the see by John XXII. Alexander Kyninmonth went to Avignon to prosecute his claim; he found St. Andrews already filled up, but the Pope provided him to the see of Aberdeen (Sc. vi 45).

In a letter of John XXII to 'James bishop of St. Andrews' (T. no. 472) dated Avignon, Aug. 1, 1328, the Pope states that during the life of William de Lamberton he had resolved to reserve the see of St. Andrews to his own provision. There is no reference to an election by the chapter. James is appointed, and the Pope had caused him to be consecrated by Bertrand, bishop of Tusculum². A letter of the Pope to King Robert I, dated Oct. 15, 1328, commending Ben, is printed by T. (no. 473).

After the battle of Dupplin (Aug. 12, 1332) in fear of the English he bade farewell to the prior and canons of St. Andrews, and sailed for Flanders. He arrived shortly afterwards at Bruges, and died Sept. 22, 1332 (Sc. *l.c.*). The date of his death is confirmed by the inscription on his monument in the church of the canons regular of Eckshot (Akwod. Sc.). He is styled in the epitaph 'Iacobus, dominus de Biirt (*sic*), episcopus S. Andreae in Scotia, nostrae religionis.' Keith (from a *memoir* belonging to the Scots College in Paris).

His death was known to the Pope before Nov. 3, 1332 (C.P.R. ii 384)³.

no more of this. Particulars as to the excommunication of the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen by the Pope will be found in C.P.R. ii 191, 192, 199.

¹ Some late writers, thus misled, call him 'James Bennet.'

² This cardinal was a French Franciscan, of great repute for learning, and known as *Doctor famosus*. He died in 1330, or, according to Luke Wadding, in 1334. Ciacconius, ii 415.

³ A few other particulars as to Ben from sources unknown to Keith may here be added. On Nov. 26, 1329, the Pope appropriated to James and his successors in

After the death of Ben the see was long vacant; according to *Sc.* (vi 45) for nine years, five months and eight days¹. It would seem that the farewell taken by Ben of the prior and canons must have been a resignation, or, at least, understood as such; for on August 1, 1332, *WILLIAM BELL*, dean of Dunkeld², was elected by the canons of St. Andrews, the Keledei being excluded, and now making no claim to a voice. He resorted to the papal court at Avignon; but 'through the opposition of many' he failed to obtain confirmation. At length, depressed by age and afflicted by blindness, he surrendered any right he had obtained by reason of his election. He eventually returned from the papal court in the train of Landells, after the consecration of the latter to the bishopric, entered the Priory of St. Andrews and died Feb. 7, 1342 (*Sc. ibid.*).

During the wars several efforts were made by the English crown to secure an English partisan for the see. Edward III first suggested to the Pope Master Robert de Ayleston (or Ingleston), archdeacon of Berkshire, but the Pope declined him. Again on July 24, 1333, Master Robert de Tanton was recommended to the Pope (*B.C.* iii 195).

WILLIAM DE LANDALLIS (Landel, Landells, Laundelys), rector of Kinkel in the diocese of Aberdeen.

Feb. 18, 1342, Benedict XII appoints William, rector of the church of Kinkel, in the diocese of Aberdeen. The Pope's letter of this date recounts that on the vacancy of the see by the death of James, the prior and chapter elected William Bell, dean of Dunkeld, *concorditer, per formam conventionis*; that the elect had gone to the papal court to seek confirmation; but had eventually for various causes, *non tamen per suam sui relictam*, spontaneously resigned all right arising out of the election into the hands of the Pope. Before the resignation the Pope declares that he had judged that in all such cases of resignation of an election the appointment should be reserved to himself. He accordingly appoints William, but he adds that he took into account the strong

the see of St. Andrews the parish church of Monimole, value sixty marks. His predecessor, William, had built at Monimole a manse C.P.R. ii 303. A composition between Adam de Pontefract, prior of Coldingham, and James, bishop of St. Andrews, Jan. 10, 1330-1 is preserved (*Compositions of the Priory of Coldingham, Surtees Society*, pp. 15-16). On June 10, 1332, John XXII wrote to James, bishop of St. Andrews, thanking him for 4,000 marks offered as a subsidy against the heretics, and sent by John de Leyz, canon of Glasgow, and Adam de Dornach (C.P.R. ii 304).

¹ I have not been able to make this exactly square with facts: but it comes pretty close to reality.

² There is a mention of John XXII (Nov. 11, 1334) addressed to 'William Bell, Dunkeld' and two others. C.P.R. i 300.

recommendations of William that had been sent to him by the prior and chapter (T. no. 550)¹.

Bower (Sc. vi 45) gives the date of William's appointment as Feb. 18, thus exactly corresponding with the date of the papal letter. The letter is addressed to William as 'elect' (i. e. as chosen by the Pope) which shows that he was not then consecrated. Sc. (*ibid.*) gives the date of his consecration as March 17. And this falls in well with the Pope's mandate to William, dated March 18, to betake himself to his diocese, having been consecrated by Peter, bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. ii 557)².

He died in the monastery of St. Andrew's, 1385, Sept. 23 (in festo Sancte Teclæ, virginis), Sc. vi 46³; and was buried in the floor of the great church before the door of the vestibule (that is, the vestry or sacristy), *ibid.*⁴

STEPHEN DE PA (Pai, Pay, W. iii 26), prior of St. Andrews, was elected by the chapter after the death of Landells, presumably in October, 1385. Carrying the decree of his election and letters commendatory from the king of Scots, he was taken prisoner at sea 'by pirates,' and carried captive to England. Shrinking from burdening the monastery with the cost of his ransom, more particularly because of the expenses involved through the burning of the church of St. Andrews seven years previously, he preferred to remain in England. He was soon after taken ill at Alnwick, and there died (Sc. vi 46) on March 2, 1385 (i. e. 1385-6). Sc. vi 53.

WALTER TRAIL (Trayl, Treyle). In 1378 he was official of Glasgow, M.A., and a licentiate in canon and civil law (C.P.R. *Pet.* vol. i 540). In 1380 he was a doctor of canon and civil law, papal chaplain and auditor (*ibid.* 555). In 1382 he was treasurer of Glasgow (*ibid.* 564). His petition for the deanery of Dunkeld was granted by Clement VII (anti-Pope) in November, 1380 (*ibid.* 555).

¹ Bower (Sc. vi 45) mentions that he had been strongly recommended to the Pope by the kings of Scotland and France, as well as by the chapter of St. Andrews.

² Peter de Prato, a Frenchman, created cardinal bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina) by John XXII. He died in 1361. Ciaconius, ii 416.

³ Keith, in error, makes S. Thecla's day to be Oct. 15. But there can be no doubt what day is intended, for the Cupar MS. of Sc. reads 'in festo S. Teclæ sive Adamnoli.' In Scotland the feast of S. Adamnan rather overshadowed the commemoration of S. Thecla on Sept. 23. See the *Kalendar of Missale de Arbuthnot* (cx), and *Breviarium Aberdonense* (pars estiv. Propr. Sanct. fol. cxliii verso).

⁴ Keith gives many references to evidence from charters. There are many notes of papal writs to this bishop in C.P.R. vols. iii, iv. They chiefly relate to administration and discipline. In 1381 (June 3) he is described as feeble and broken with age, and is granted an indult by Clement VII (anti-Pope) to use *ovis et quibuslibet lactantiis* twice or thrice daily in Lent and other fasts. His confessor is also allowed to commute his life-long vow to fast on Wednesdays into other works of piety. C.P.R. iv 243.

There is a *lacuna* here in the papal registers. Bower says his appointment was of the spontaneous provision of Clement VII (anti-Pope), adding that Trail was *gratioso bullis expeditus* (Sc. vi 46). But we do not possess any decisive statement as to the date of his appointment. Dr. Maitland Thomson has pointed out to the editor that 'From the account of the customers of St. Andrews for the period, March 16, 1384-5, to March 31, 1386 (*Exch. Rolls*, iii 137-8), it appears that the see had become vacant during that period.' This falls in well with the date assigned above to the death of Pay. We find Trail bishop of St. Andrews Feb. 15, 1386, when he was granted a faculty to hear and decide first appeals to Rome (C.P.R. iv 252). This shows that Pay must have resigned his claim, or that his claim was disregarded by the Pope. But Bower (Sc. vi 46) assigning Trail's death to the year 1401, tells us he sat as bishop sixteen years. The election by the chapter after Trail's death was, according to Wyntoun (iii 79), July 1, 1401. Supposing that Trail died early in June, this would give us Trail's appointment as in June, 1385. This is obviously too early by some months, at least.

We find Walter as conservator of the privileges and rights of the Scottish Church on July 18, 1388 (R.M. p. 350).

An inquisition about the 'scolarlandis' of Ellon made before Walter in 1387 (neither month nor day is recorded) leaves no doubt that Walter had been bishop for a year before the inquisition was made (R.A. i 177-8).

Trail died in the castle of St. Andrews, which he had built from the foundation, 1401 (Sc. vi 46; Pluscarden x 17; Wyntoun iii 79), and some time before July 1, when the election (by the chapter) of his successor was held (Wyntoun *l.c.*). He was buried in the cathedral close to the great altar to the north *intra* (? *infra*) *pulpitum* (Sc. vi 46)¹.

On the death of Trail, THOMAS STEWART, archdeacon of St. Andrews, an illegitimate son of Robert II, was elected on July 1, 1401 'be concord electione' (W. iii 80); but though the election was 'admitted' (i.e. probably by the king), when the decree of the election was about to be transmitted to the Pope, he renounced his rights (Sc. vi 47)². The *Papal Petitions* (in vol. i) have some notices of Thomas Stewart. In 1380 the Pope, Clement VII, provides Thomas Stewart, natural son of the king of Scotland, to the archdeaconry of

¹ During the Schism, as we are told by the anonymous continuator of the lives of the archbishops of York (Raine ii 424), Urban VI appointed to St. Andrews Alexander Neville archbishop of York, who had been condemned for treason and banished (1388). The appointment was, of course, ineffective. Neville, for three years before his death (May 16, 1392), served as a parish priest in Louvain.

² W. (iii 80) represents the subprior, William Nory, as having actually carried the decree of the election to Avignon.

St. Andrews and to the canonry and prebend of Stobo in Glasgow cathedral (p. 551). In 1389 the king petitions for the deanery of Dunkeld for his son Thomas, and for a dispensation to hold it together with the archdeaconry. This petition was granted (p. 574). In 1393 Thomas petitions that he may hold a canonry of Brechin with his other preferments. Granted (p. 577). In 1395 Thomas Stewart, natural son of the late Robert, king of Scotland, bachelor of canon law at Paris, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, petitions that while he is at the university he may visit his archdeaconry by deputy, and receive money procurations for five years (p. 592). Wyntoun (iii 80) also speaks of him as a bachelor of canon law.

JOHN DOWDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150-215) was no doubt one of the greatest writers and theologians of the early Church; the place which he holds among the divines of the first centuries is at once eminent and peculiar. The aim of his studies was not only to explain the Christian doctrine, but also to reconcile it with the tenets of philosophy. He endeavoured therefore to link together faith and science, revelation and reason, theology and philosophy. Faith, in his judgement, ought to be scientific, and science, in its turn, ought to be faithful. It is of course well known that he maintains, with both acuteness and earnestness, the view that philosophy leads the human mind to the Christian religion, and that the believer alone is the true scholar, or *γινωσκτικός*. In the present note I do not of course aim at a complete exposition of Clement's Christology, but merely at such an outline as may exhibit its fundamental principles and its main positions. From this point of view his Christology may be considered in certain divisions which form, so to say, the heads of the subject.

1. *Matter is good.* Clement starts upon his course by showing that matter, and bodies as well as souls, were created by God: they are God's work and therefore good. In this way he sets aside at once an antecedent objection to the possibility of the Incarnation. The objection may be stated thus: 'Matter is evil: but God cannot unite Himself to any evil thing, since evil and good are incompatible; therefore the Incarnation of the Word is impossible.' This argument Clement overthrows by maintaining that matter, as a work of God, is good; for God cannot do evil. The human body, in particular, is the crown and highest perfection of the corporeal world: it is in truth a masterpiece of

the power and wisdom of God, because it was the work of his own hands¹: soul is, indeed, the most excellent element of man, but body is itself quite perfect in its kind. God has granted to it a wonderful organization, and an upright form, fitting it to look towards heaven². Its nature, then, places no impossibility in the way of the Incarnation of the eternal Word.

2. *The Word took human flesh.* Human flesh not being evil, the Word could assume it. This is a leading principle. But the Word took human flesh in order to purify and sanctify it. Thus human flesh became the abode of the Divine Word. To speak precisely, our Lord, the incarnate Word, was God in the form of man³. The Word bore a visible body⁴. He took our passible flesh⁵ and our actual nature, to the end that we may imitate His examples and keep His precepts⁶. He took a humble and lowly form, lest His disciples might be led by their contemplation of fairness and beauty set before their sight to forget His teaching and the things that are not seen. Thus Clement stoutly defends the reality of our Lord's body against the Docetists. Some scholars have indeed maintained that Clement was in a measure allied with the Docetists, since he says at times that our Lord took human shape in order to fulfil the drama of Redemption⁷. But such an objection has no solidity, for on the one hand Docetism is ranked in Clement's teaching as a mere heresy⁸; and on the other

[illegible]

² (Νέον ἐκλῆρες ἐκ αὐτῶν ἄλλες τρεῖς κλῆρες ἐκ αὐτῶν, ἄλλες τὸ εἶπε· οὐ διαφέροντες τὴν ἀντανακτὴν τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἡμῶν τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθ-
σεων ἡμετέρων ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων. καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ, οὐ ἀπὸ
ἑαυτῶν αὐτῶν. Νέον ἐκ 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, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 8

¹ *Quais os melhores exemplos? Para isso, veja nos dois casos.*

¹ Dictionnaire universel d'histoire naturelle: l'art. arctique, par le comte de Buffon, 1773, t. 1, p. 107.

... the reason for the ... PG.

[illegible][illegible]

* For instance... the... of...
 ... of...
 (The... of...)

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

hand the phrase τὸ ἀνθρώπου προσωπεῖον is opposed, in the passage cited in the note, not to reality of body but to the eternal existence of the Word in heaven. Clement, however, though holding, as against the Docetists, the reality and materiality of Christ's body, does not fully preserve the orthodox belief on the subject of that body. He errs as to its nature and needs. He teaches that it did not by reason of its nature need sleep or nourishment. Christ did, it is true, sleep, eat and drink: but this was not the result of need, but because He desired to preserve those of His own time from the Docetist error¹. Probably, though the point is not clear, Clement also teaches that the possible flesh assumed by the Word afterwards became impassible by its union with Divinity².

3. *The Word of God took complete human nature.* This is closely connected with the actual purpose of the Incarnation, which was the redemption of the whole of mankind. The Word of God became man to redeem and to deliver the posterity of Adam. Clement affirms, as against false theories, that the Word took not only human body but human soul. He was therefore perfect man, compound at once of body and soul. Clement several times distinctly speaks of the Saviour, as *God* and *Man*³; he refers to His human soul⁴; and the existence of this human soul he supposes in speaking of our Lord's descent into hell⁵. He draws, moreover, the consequence that the body is not evil from the position that otherwise our Saviour, in healing as He did both body and soul, would have increased the opposition between the two⁶.

4. *The Atonement.* Jesus Christ was the Redeemer of mankind.

¹ 'Αλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα ἀπαιτεῖν ὡς σῶμα τὰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας εἰς διαμονήν, γέλωτος ἂν εἴη. ἐφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, θυνάμει συνεχόμενον ἀγία· ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ τοὺς συνόντας ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπεισέλθοι· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὕστερον δοκῆσει τινὲς αὐτὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον. *Strom.* vi 9 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 292).

² Οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπὸ τινος ἡδονῆς περισπώμενος, καταλείπει ποτ' ἂν τὴν ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονίαν· οὐ γὰρ καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐμπαθὴ φύσει γενομένην ἀναλαβὼν εἰς ζῆν ἀπαθείας ἐπαίδευσεν. *Strom.* vii 2 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 412). [I again follow the correction accepted by Hort and Mayor.]

³ For instance: ὁ μόνος ἀμφω Θεὸς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, πάντων ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἀγαθῶν. *Coh. ad gent.* i (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 61): see also *Paed.* iii i cited below.

⁴ 'Εοικεν δὲ ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, ὃ παῖδες ὑμεῖς, τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶν τίς ἀναμάτητος, ἀνεπίληπτος, καὶ ἀπαθὴς τὴν ψυχὴν· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι δυχραντος, πατρικῷ θελήματι διάκονος, Λόγος Θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεοῦ. Οὗτος ἡμῶν εἰκὼν ἢ ἀκηλίδωτος· τοῦτο γὰρ παντὶ σθένει πειρατέον ἐξομοῖον τὴν ψυχὴν. *Paed.* i 2 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 252).

⁵ Cf. *Strom.* vi 6 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 265-76).

⁶ Τί δέ; οὐχὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα λατὼ τῶν παθῶν; οὐκ ἂν δέ, εἰ ἐχθρὰ ἢ σὰρξ ἦν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπετείχειεν αὐτῇ τὴν ἐχθραν δι' ὑγείας ἐπισκευάζων. *Strom.* iii 17 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 1208). [I follow Dindorf's correction.]

He offered to His Father a true sacrifice for our sins and our fault. He paid to God an adequate satisfaction for our debts. Among many passages of Clement which maintain this point and declare the satisfactory character of our Lord's Redemption, it may perhaps suffice to indicate by examples the chief features of his treatment of the subject. Clement calls our Lord the Mediator (μεσίτης) between God and man¹. Our Lord was the founder of a new covenant, the Reconciler, and Saviour² (σπονδοφόρος, διαλλακτής, σωτήρ). He was also the great High Priest (μέγας ἀρχιερεύς) of God³; the sacrifice (δολοκάρπωμα θύμα) offered to God for us⁴; He it was Who offered Himself for our ransom⁵; He laid down His life for each one of us⁶. His satisfactory work consists in His death on the Cross, which was an atonement for the sins of mankind⁷. He is Saviour and Lord, because He is Lord and Saviour of all men: in a word, He died for all⁸.

V. ERMONI.

¹ Λόγος γὰρ αὐτός, μυστήριον ἐμφανές· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ· καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος Θεός· καὶ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ μεσίτης ἐκτελεῖ· μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ Λόγος, ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφότερῶν Θεοῦ καὶ Τύτου, Σατὴρ δὲ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν, δάκρυος, ἡμῶν δὲ, παιδαγωγός. *Paed.* iii 1 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 557).

² Ὅθεν τε ἦν αὐτός, καὶ ὅς ἦν, δι' ὧν ἐδίδασκε καὶ ἐνεδείξατο, παραστησάμενος, ὁ σπονδοφόρος καὶ διαλλακτής καὶ σωτήρ ἡμῶν Λόγος, πηγὴ ζωοποιός, εἰρηνική, ἐπὶ πάντων πρόσσωπον τῆς γῆς χεύμενος· δι' ὧν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ πάντα ἤδη πύλαγος γέγονεν ἀγαθῶν. *Col.* ad *gent.* 10 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 228).

³ Ἄλλως αὖτος, Ἰησοῦς εἰς, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς Θεοῦ τε ἐνδὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων εὐχεται καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγκελεύεται. *Col.* ad *gent.* 12 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 241).

⁴ Ὁλοκάρπωμα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄπορον θύμα ὁ Χριστός. *Strom.* v 11 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 108).

⁵ Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς κατήλθε· διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνένδρ· διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐκὼν ἔπαθεν, ὥστε πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲ ἡγάπησε μετρηθεῖς, ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἀντιμετρήσας. Καὶ μέλλων σπένδασθαι καὶ λύτρων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦς, κωνίην ἢ διαθήκην καταλυμέναι. *Quis dñs, salm.* 37 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 641).

⁶ Τὸν ἡμῶν ἐκείνου κατέθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὅλων (αἰδ.). [I follow Segaar's emendation of κατέθηκε for κατέθηκε.]

⁷ Ὡς θαύματος μυστικοῦ. κέκλιται μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ἀνίστη δὲ ἀνθρώπος· καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς παραδείσου περὶ μείζον ὑπακοῆς ἄθλον, οὐρανοῦς ἀπολαμβάνει. *Col.* ad *gent.* 11 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 228-29).

⁸ Πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη Σατὴρ καὶ Κύριος, εἰ μὴ πάντων Σατὴρ καὶ Κύριος; *Strom.* vii 1 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 412). [I follow Dindorf's correction.]

THE EARLIEST INDEX OF THE INQUISITION AT VENICE.

THE action of the Inquisition at Venice in issuing a catalogue of heretical books in 1554 was important not only in its effects on the history of printing in the Republic¹, but also as a step towards the compilation of the famous series of Roman Indices beginning in 1557². The catalogue itself was little more than an amended copy of one put out at Milan in the same year. Both are generally supposed to have shared the fate of two earlier Italian lists, those issued at Venice in 1549 and at Florence in 1552, and to have totally disappeared; for no trace of any one of them has been found by the bibliographers³. But all excepting the Florentine catalogue were soon reprinted by Piero Paolo Vergerio, and from his texts have been published anew by Reusch⁴. The Venetian list of 1554 had been previously reprinted by Joseph Mendham⁵ from what he believed to be the original, but what was in fact Vergerio's text.

The following note is concerned only with the Venetian book of 1554, the first that claims the authority of the Inquisition. Vergerio's edition was produced some time between 1554 and 1556, apparently from a German press; but it bears the imprint of the original, *Venetii apud Gabrielem Iulitum de Ferraris et fratres*, 1554⁶. He issued a second edition, likewise in Germany but with a Venetian imprint, in 1556, in which he distinguished such additions as he made by the use of italic type: Reusch places these within parentheses. Reusch also detected certain words in Vergerio's first edition which he believed to be his own insertions, and printed them within square brackets. Now there exists in the Bodleian Library a volume which appears to be a copy of the hitherto undiscovered original edition of 1554. It was purchased by the curators in 1858 for £2 1s. Without venturing to express an opinion on the typography, I may notice that on one leaf there is discernible a portion of the well-known Venetian water-mark of an anchor within an oval. That it is not Vergerio's first edition is evident from a comparison with Mendham's reproduction '*paginatim, lineatim*,

¹ Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, ch. xiv, London, 1891.

² F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, i 258, 268, Bonn, 1883.

³ Reusch, i 204; S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, i 445 f., Rome, 1890.

⁴ *Die Indices Librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, pp. 148-175, Tübingen, 1886.

⁵ *An Index of prohibited Books*, pp. 68 ff., London, 1840.

⁶ Reusch, *Der Index*, i 209 n. 1; *Die Indices*, p. 143.

and letter for letter, in facsimile,' of the latter. The arrangement title-page differs entirely; the pages are numbered; *Franciscus Gri Justinopolitanus* is omitted at the bottom of p. 11, and *Theodorus* at the end of p. 25; and, most important, the words *ex exc Venetiis excuso* are absent after the finis. In other respects the books agree in substance, though the spelling and the misprints of many differences. But there is one interesting divergence. R notices that the Milan catalogue of 1554, but not the Venice of the same date (meaning of course in each case Vergerio's re contains repeated citations of the Louvain Index¹. Now all these two others in addition, appear in the Bodleian volume, where reference *Loua.* or *Louan.* is placed after the names *Ianus Cor. medicus*, *Ioannes Sartorius*, *Iustus Menius*, *Otho Brunfessius A. tinus*, *Paulus Fagius*, *Paulus Constantinus Phrygius*, *Petrus Ar. Sebastianus Meyer*, *Stephani Doleti Cato Christianus et carmi.*, *I Venatorius*, *Vincentius Obsofoeius*; and also after *Philotetus I* and *Theobaldus Billicanus*, where no such reference occurs in Milan list. It should seem therefore that the original Venice catalogue stood nearer to that of Milan than Vergerio's edition lead one to suppose. That Vergerio should have omitted references which were non-essential to the purpose of the list need cause surprise: Reusch, however, took it for probable², or even certain they were insertions in the Milan list due to Vergerio.

It may be worth while to add, in order to save unprofitable error that the extracts *Ex Cathalogo librorum hereticorum inquis Venetiarum* contained in John Bale's note-book in the Bodleian Library, but not printed in the recent edition of that manuscript are not taken from the Venice book of 1554, but merely selected abridged from Vergerio's second edition of 1556.

REGINALD L. POE

¹ *Der Index*, i 220.

² *Ibid.*, i 221.

³ *Die Indices*, p. 1

⁴ *Index Britannicus Scriptorum*, Oxford, 1902. See the preface, p. xv n. 2.

REVIEWS

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN
MONASTICISM.

Schnute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums, von Joh. Leipoldt (= *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, N. F., x, 1. Heft). Leipzig, 1903.

'TO-DAY is a great pillar fallen in the land of Egypt.' Thus did the dying Cyrus (Κύρος), the reputed brother of Theodosius I and for sixty-eight years a hermit in the Scetic desert, refer to 'our father, the prophet, Apa Shenoute,' of whose decease, immediately preceding his own, he had had miraculous intimation¹. The introduction of this irrelevant incident into a legend not without interesting features of its own, may be due simply to the proximity of the two festivals in the calendar²; it adds however one more to the many evidences of the popular veneration paid to Shenoute by the Coptic church. The churches of the west know nothing of him; indeed the fact that the Syrian monophysites are the sole body, outside Egypt (and Ethiopia) where even his name is recorded, if not a sufficient argument for the part he had played in the theological strifes of his day, is at any rate significant of the part with which he was subsequently identified.

Since Quatremère made us first acquainted with this great figure in Egyptian monasticism, the number of documents for his history has much increased. This has been due primarily to the rescue of the remains of Shenoute's own monastic library—the library, that is, of the great institution of which he seems to have been the second founder: the White Monastery, near Achmîm. From the time when, on behalf of Cardinal S. Borgia, Italian missionaries acquired the leaves which served eventually for the epoch-making *Catalogus* of Zoëga, till the present day, the market has seldom been without some fragments of what must once have been a vast collection. It would seem that the greater part of the volumes whence these *disiecta membra* had been torn, was written in the tenth to twelfth centuries; a smaller number in the seventh to ninth;

¹ Turiaef, *Kopto-ethiop. shas. o prepod. Kir* (Zap. Imp. Russ. Archeol. Obahtch. xv p. 08). Fragments of the Coptic original in Paris, 129¹³, 26; 131¹³, 36, 37.

² 7th and 8th of Epiphi.

still fewer in perhaps the sixth. In quite recent years stray leaves of a still earlier date have appeared, likewise, it was said, from Achmīm. But here a connexion with Shenoute's monastery is at least undemonstrated. Among the remnants, biblical, liturgical and patristic, of this rich Coptic library, now scattered through the museums of Europe, a large number show titles attributing the contents to Shenoute himself, while others are fragments of the biographies¹ whence the better preserved Bohairic, Arabic and Syriac Lives were subsequently adapted².

It is upon these materials, and primarily upon the former group, that Dr. Leipoldt has based his study: hence its importance. Hitherto writers had relied, he holds, too much upon the popular biography, attributed (in the main probably rightly) to Shenoute's disciple, Bêsa³. The facts are rather to be sought in the extant writings of Shenoute himself, since, with him alone among Coptic authors, chance, in preserving to us his library, has rendered such direct communication still possible. Moreover, although the number of works actually bearing Shenoute's name is considerable, very many fragments besides, where no title is preserved, can be with practical certainty attributed to him; for rarely has a writer's style been more marked or vocabulary more unmistakable. And yet it may be doubted whether in this the *criteria* by which Leipoldt has been guided will always prove sufficient tests. How delicate are the indices to be looked for and how deceptive the assumed characteristics we may judge from the Epistle translated by Leipoldt on pp. 90, 91. He has himself recognized the difficulties of its attribution to his author, and, in fact, the letter is one by Severus of Antioch, addressed to Anastasius, in reference to the affair of Macedonius⁴.

Shenoute died in 451 or 452, after attaining, it is said, the age of 118. His long life was apparently uneventful; the journey to Ephesus, as Cyril's henchman, in 431, is the only outward occurrence of importance recorded by his biographers. All his energies were occupied in the government of the great flock of monks and nuns who gathered to

¹ Perhaps among them the Eulogy by Constantine (v. *Roc. de Tran.* xi 134), who may be the seventh-century bishop of Siut (v. Amélineau, *Géogr.* 401, *Contes* II. 1, 48, also Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* 146).

² Leipoldt naturally objects to Nau's suggestion of a Greek original for these. Yet this view has been accepted elsewhere (Preuschen, in *Theol. Jahrbuch.* 1902, 331).

³ The published Arabic of this is susceptible of considerable improvement. Two MSS of it, differing mutually and from the print, are in the Brit. Museum alone (Add. 22671, Or. 3598). Their texts of the *Dialache*, for instance, vary considerably.

⁴ The letter is inserted in the Ethiopic Life of Severus (Brit. Mus., Or. 773); the Coptic fragment = f. 179 a. Whether this is the letter to the Emperor in an Arabic version of the *Fides Patrum* (Mai, *Nov. Coll.* iv 208) I do not know.

the monastery which his uncle Pgôl seems to have founded, but which owed its fame to his own reputation and, in Dr. Leipoldt's view, to its being a genuinely Coptic rival of the somewhat hellenizing monasteries of Pachôm's foundation. The monastery, after an excellent sketch of its political, economic and religious environment, forms the subject of a detailed description (§§ 19-33), wherein the author shows how much can be extracted from sources the most valuable of which are either fragmentary or obscure. Among the interesting features of the monastic life described is the novitiate—an innovation, it would seem, of Shenoute's—with the preliminary undertaking or covenant (*διαθήκη*), of which Leipoldt has recognized a fragment (p. 109). In this connexion an incident in Bêsa's Life might have been cited, where, on the occasion of a monk's expulsion, this covenant is prominent¹. Community of goods was enjoined upon all. To the illustrative passages here cited (p. 107) we may add one from a letter addressed by Bêsa, to 'those that have renounced (*ἀρνέσθαι*) their constancy (*ὑπομονή*) and departed from us.' *Our fathers, he writes, since the foundation of these τόποι, have constrained none to be a monk by force. But they did ordain that such as would be monks should give up (*ἀποτάσσειν*) all their goods and inscribe them for the community (*κοινωνία*) of God and the service (*διακονία*) of the poor; neither should any be able to return and take aught, according as each hath made agreement (*ὁμολογεῖν*) with his word*². For those who definitely joined his order Shenoute prescribed a life of constant labour. Work for work's sake, as a salutary occupation for head and hands, Leipoldt shows to have been his ideal. Of asceticism, as Greeks or Syrians understood it, he showed little appreciation. Yet he governed with an iron hand, taking delight in the prescription of the minutest rules, whereby the smallest details of daily life were regulated. The epistles³ wherein these regulations are embodied are the most curious of Shenoute's works and philologically the most valuable, full as they are of strange words and unusual phrases. A 'rule,' in the precise monastic sense, does not appear to have been formulated: at any rate not by Shenoute, nor, I believe, by his predecessor. Dr. Leipoldt's identification of the often cited 'books' or 'letters that have been laid down for us' with canonical works of Pgôl seems to me to require further demonstration. Indeed, Shenoute's relationship to the earlier monks of Egypt

¹ *Mission franç.* iv 54, 406. The Sa'idic version is in Naples (Zoega ccxciii, last fol.). It may here be suggested that 'the kingdom of heaven' (pp. 109, 110) is not the monastery; for a very similar phrase is familiar in legal documents, where a different sense is required (v. Revillout, *Actes* 87, Brit. Mus. pap. lxxix V., pap. lxxxiv).

² MS Curzon, 108, p. *vrθ*.

³ Or, as the MSS call them, the 'canons.' The word is used of other disciplinary letters, e.g. those of Moses of Abydos (Paris 129¹², 14).

is still obscure, and likely, unless new documents appear, to remain so. Among these the figure of his elder contemporary, Pshoi or Peter¹, for instance, traditional founder of the neighbouring Red Monastery, is interesting. The *Synaxarium*, which appears to have forgotten Pgôl, commemorates Pshoi as follows. A native of Achmîm, his life in youth was evil, till, falling ill, he had a vision of hell, where he beheld thieves (or extortioners?) cut in four by angels. In terror he vows to repent, and, if God heal him, never again to behold a woman. Recovering, he goes to the monastery of *Banwait*², is received by the monks, and there for many years fights the spiritual fight, till his fame is spread abroad and he is made head 'over many saints.' He composed many admonitions and instructions for monks and laity, and, after thirty-five years of rigorous asceticism, died. If this story embodies a genuine tradition, one might speculate upon the fate of Pshoi's writings and see at least a reference to them in some of Shenoute's allusions to older works. Leipoldt has some suggestive remarks (p. 39) upon the causes which led to the apparently speedy lapse into obscurity of Pshoi's monastery. He shows reasons for thinking that the Red Monastery may have been a last stronghold of the archaic Achmîm dialect, which the Sa'idic, cultivated at the White Monastery, was destined to supersede.

For the subsequent history of Shenoute's monastery we have practically no materials. His immediate follower appears to have been his biographer, Bêsa, many of whose writings likewise exist. To him probably succeeded Shenoute's secretary (*vorâpius*), Zenobios; for he has the title of archimandrite and his name follows Shenoute's³. Colophons of books presented to the library bear dates of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, among the latest being A.D. 1248⁴. The saint's coffin was still *in situ* in the twelfth century⁵; but in the fifteenth, the place was in ruins⁶. To-day merely the shell of the vast building remains; the skeleton is filled in with the squalid huts of a modern village. But the name of Shenoute had early spread beyond his native district. He obtained a place of honour among the saints of the Egyptian church⁷, and even to-day his homilies—alone among Coptic works—are prescribed as

¹ So in Paris 129¹⁴, 136, and in the *Synaxarium*, as below.

² At any rate the available Arabic and Ethiopic copies. The *proprium* of the White Monastery naturally commemorated him (29th Mechir, Leyd. MSS 226). The following is from the Eth. (Or. 667, f. 175 a, Or. 660, f. 148); in Ar. Pshoi is merely named (5th Mechir) as head of 'the monastery of Achmîm.'

³ So also in Arabic (Br. Mus., Or. 4723, f. 23), = Copt. *Pneusi* (Paris 129¹⁴, 76), cf. Amé., *Géogr.* 359. Was Pshoi received in a Pachômian community? Banwait lies twelve miles north of the Red Monastery.

⁴ Paris 129¹⁴, 136; 129¹⁵, 9, Leyd. MSS 197.

⁵ Abû Salîh, f. 82 b.

⁶ Paris 132¹, 67.

⁷ Makrizi, *Monasteries*, no. 57.

⁸ Paris 68, that curious liturgy, first described by Quatremère (*Recherches*, 298), —s, I think, from Nitria, and points, if so, to a special festival there in Shenoute's

lessons in Holy Week, beside those of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Severian and Severus¹. From Egypt his fame was naturally transmitted to Ethiopia; but whether his monastic institutions were ever introduced there seems uncertain². One line of Ethiopian monks appears to have included him among its worthies³, and Ethiopian pilgrims visited his monastery⁴.

Space forbids more than an allusion here to perhaps the most important result of Shenoute's energies: the influence of his personality and institutions upon Coptic literature. To him we owe, as Leipoldt points out, the development of the vernacular of the Thebaid into the rich and flexible idiom of which his own writings remain the most characteristic monument⁵. Dr. Leipoldt's book is however but the preliminary to that chief *desideratum* of Coptic studies: an edition of all that now remains of Shenoute's works. The undertaking is a heavy one, entailing the copying or collation of manuscripts scattered from Cairo to St. Petersburg. In the great Paris collection alone, many a leaf of the Sinuthian writings has strayed into other volumes beyond the five officially labelled *Shenoudi*, whence Dr. Leipoldt has already extracted so much that is new and valuable. But the present work is a sufficient guarantee that he is excellently equipped for the task, and it is only to be hoped that he will obtain access to all the extant material and so make his edition really exhaustive. Nor will historians and philologists be alone to benefit by the promised edition. Students of the New Testament will find in Shenoute's endless quotations a highly valuable witness, as yet wholly unexplored, to the text of the most important of the Egyptian versions.

W. E. CRUM.

honour: 'the feast of the desert of Apa S.', held on Monday of the second week in Lent—which, by the way, explains the passage cited by Leipoldt, p. 105, n. 4.

¹ V. Yūsuf Habashi, *Dalil as-Sinaksār* (Cairo, 1894), p. 50; also Codd. Vatic. Copt. xxxi, xxxiv, and the Boh. text of these, *Recueil* vii 88.

² My statement in *PRE*², xii 813, was based on Turaief, *Izshied. agiolog. istotchi. istor. Ethiop.* (1902), 63. I see however that his authority (John of Aksum on Isaac-Garima, ed. C. Rossini, 11th *Orient. Congr.* iv 170, l. 637) has merely: 'they remembered what he (Garima) had bidden them concerning the rule (*seraf*) of Abba Sinoda, "no secular (cleric) shall make the offering nor shall any but he that is chosen from among the monks celebrate."' This may well be an addition by the Egyptian author, John. It is not in the other MS (Brit. Mus., Or. 702) of the text.

³ V. the monastic genealogy in Basset, *Apocryphes éthiop.* viii 16. The name there preceding Shenoute might be Pgöl (بجول for بجر), and that following Bēsa (though perhaps Wisa would be here required). This list seems unique; none of the genealogies in Brit. Mus. MSS has it.

⁴ W. de Bock, *Matériaux*, p. 54.

⁵ It will be remembered that the old Sa'id. papyri from Abydos and Thebes (Turin, London, &c.) are almost all translations.

CHRONICLE

PATRISTICA.

THREE years have elapsed since the JOURNAL printed its last instalment of a chronicle of Patristic works: necessarily therefore the number of books which ought to receive notice under this head is now so considerable that it is not possible on this occasion to cover the whole ground. The present notice will consequently be limited to the literature ending with Tertullian: with this proviso, that it has seemed convenient to include all writings attributed to the Fathers of this period, whether genuine or spurious, early or late. But before proceeding to deal with these in chronological order, two general works on 'Patristics'—differing widely in almost every respect, but both first-class of their kind—demand a word of separate notice.

(1) Dr. Swete's *Patristic Study*¹ is a model introduction to the subject: of its 200 pages two-thirds are devoted to a brief but stimulating résumé of the writings of the fathers of the first five centuries, while the other third deal with the value of the study, and with courses, methods and bibliography for the help of those who are willing to enter on it. The practical object of encouragement to beginners is never lost sight of: and this practical purpose is no doubt a valid reason for the omission of those writers whose works have for the most part perished. Otherwise one would have expected some notice of Aquilinus of Laodicea, unorthodox though he was, and a little more about Victorinus of Pettau, who might, if his works had survived, have disputed with Hilary the claim to 'the first complete commentary on a Gospel' in the Latin West (p. 117). A few minor misprints are only of interest so far as they turn our thoughts in the direction of a fresh edition of this admirable little book. If it gives as much pleasure to beginners as it does to older students, it will have answered its purpose well.

(2) At the opposite extreme to Dr. Swete's manual stands the elaborate sketch of the present position of all questions of criticism of the early Christian literature, and abstract of all books and articles relating thereto

¹ *Patristic Study*, by H. B. Swete, D.D. (in *Handbooks for the Clergy*, edited by A. W. Robinson, B.D.), Longmans, 1901; second edition, 1902.

the Dr. A. Ehrhard¹, Professor originally at Würzburg, then at Vienna, and now the first tenant of the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the newly erected Faculty of Theology at Strassburg. It is a work of course not meant for beginners: but for more advanced students it will be found to be quite indispensable as a book of reference, while yet it differs from other bibliographies in that it can be read straight through from end to end with enjoyment as well as with profit. Dr. Ehrhard is perhaps best known in England as the author of a brilliant and (so far as circulation goes) successful plea for liberal catholicism, *Der Katholicismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert*: the book now under notice shews that he is as thorough and erudite as he is brilliant. And it fills a real gap: nowhere else can workers in the patristic field find so clear an outline of the problems which this generation has had to face, or so exhaustive an account of the attempts which it has made to solve them. With characteristic German patience Dr. Ehrhard has calculated that the notes in the present volume, which treats of ante-Nicene literature only, amount to 2710: and to nearly every note corresponds 'some writing, treatise, or other contribution to the subject of greater or less dimension.' We expect anxiously the appearance of the companion volume on the post-Nicene literature: for here the field becomes so vast that only with the help of some such guide can the individual scholar hope to become acquainted with the labours of his contemporaries. The faculty of Catholic Theology at Strassburg is fortunate indeed in being able to draw directly on the stores of Dr. Ehrhard's learning. It is a venial fault if we find him somewhat too much inclined to register as conclusive the numerous pronouncements on critical questions of some of the more eminent of his countrymen: and it is only right to point out that English writers, and even specifically Anglican books like Abp. Benson's *Cyprian*, find unexceptionable treatment at the hands of the German Roman Catholic.

(3) If Dr. Ehrhard is the most prominent patristic scholar of the younger Roman Catholic school in Germany, Dr. F. X. Funk of Tübingen is certainly the best known of the veterans. The two volumes of the new edition of his *Patres Apostolici*, published in 1901², are divided by twenty and twenty-three years respectively from the volumes of the original edition of 1878 and 1881, just as that edition was separated by a similar interval from the last edition of Hefele's work, on

¹ *Die altchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung von 1884-1900: Erste Abteilung, Die vornicänische Litteratur.* Von Albert Ehrhard. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900.

² *Patres Apostolici: textum recensuit, adnotationibus criticis exegeticis historicis illustravit, versionem latinam prolegomena indicis addidit,* Franciscus Xaverius Funk. *Editio II adaucta et emendata.* Two volumes, Tübingen, 1901.

which, as regards the first volume, it was based. In the way of new material the quarter of a century just elapsed can perhaps hardly claim equal importance with the period which saw the discovery of the original text of Barnabas and part of Hermas and the completion of that of Clement, besides the second Latin and Ethiopic version of Hermas and the Syriac version of Clement. Yet even in this sphere the Didache and the Latin Clement are no inconsiderable additions to our knowledge: while on the score of new editions the five volumes of Bp. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* (1885, 1890) mark the last period as epoch-making in the history of patristic criticism. But if Dr. Funk's first edition was thereby antiquated, it was not wholly superseded. There is still room for a text of the Apostolic Fathers less ambitious than Lightfoot's but more extensive in scope: one which will summarize critical results rather than produce them, but one which on the other hand will include all the Apostolic Fathers, and not the genuine writings only but (so far as space permits) the spurious as well. One hardly knows, for instance, where else to turn than to Dr. Funk for the pseudo-Clementine epistles on Virginité. Dr. Funk's plan too of printing throughout a (modern) Latin version opposite the Greek text is not without its conveniences: and we have always specially prized the useful 'index vocabulorum memorabilium' which he provides for each of the genuine documents. It is a pleasure, therefore, to see it in a new edition, and a new edition that seems carefully brought up to date: in the first volume indeed the prefaces have apparently been, so far as necessary, re-cast and re-written, and we could wish that Dr. Funk had adopted the same plan in the second volume, instead of reprinting the sixty-one pages of the old introductions and merely appending to them twelve pages of new matter. Thus Dr. Funk's thesis of the Apollinarian origin of the pseudo-Ignatian forgery (with which personally we are inclined to agree) has to be sought for on pages x-xiii and lxviii-lxix.

(4) While a quarter of a century has intervened between the two editions of Dr. Funk's work, it is not less than half a century since Dr. Hilgenfeld, then one of the younger recruits of the Tübingen school, published his book *Die apostolischen Väter*. It is truly astonishing to find this Nestor of patristic scholars at the age of fourscore not only still acting as editor and contributor in chief to the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* but supplementing his researches of fifty years ago with an elaborate critical edition of the Ignatian and Polycarpan documents². And it is possible to read between the lines a certain pathetic consciousness, on the part of the aged writer, that the times are changed, and

² *Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrneni Epistolae et Martyria: adiectis et annotationibus instructis* Adolphus Hilgenfeld. Berlin, 1902.

~~that~~ the changes have left him rather lonely. In 1853 learned opinion ~~was~~ more or less divided between the view that Cureton's new Syriac ~~discovery~~ represented the genuine Ignatius and the view, supported by Hilgenfeld and his great leader F. C. Baur, that there were no genuine Ignatian documents at all. Nowadays, however, the Seven Epistles unquestionably hold the field. That Catholics and Anglicans, like Funk and Lightfoot, should have rallied to the champion of episcopacy, or orthodox Lutherans, like Zahn, to the champion of the doctrine of the Godhead of Christ, is intelligible enough to Dr. Hilgenfeld: that the disciples of Ritschl, himself an opponent of the genuineness, should become converts, is a misfortune only to be accounted for by the fact that they read Ritschlianism into Ignatius. Dr. Hilgenfeld does his best to stem the flowing tide. To him the seven epistles are still a Gnostic forgery: the epistle of Polycarp only genuine when all references to Ignatius and his letters have been erased: the Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom and the chronicle of Malalas, which make Trajan present at Antioch, the most trustworthy witnesses to the history of the martyr. Even if critical opinion were to incline in this direction in England, it would not, we are sure, adopt the system elaborated by Dr. Hilgenfeld. The original second-century forger is followed by another (in Hilgenfeld's notation, Ignatius I^a) who in the third century composed the five letters, Mary to Ignatius, Ignatius to Mary, to the Tarsians, to Hero, to the Antiochenes. Between the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople a third forger, Ignatius I^b, added the letter to the Philippians: while yet a fourth, Ignatius II, contemporary with the last, is responsible for the enlarged and corrected edition of the original seven. In correspondence with this theory Dr. Hilgenfeld prints the seven letters in Greek (with the Roman letter imbedded in the martyrdom), the epistle of Polycarp, the same in its 'genuine' form, the martyrdom of Polycarp, the same as given by Eusebius, the Latin versions of the letters of both saints; from the Syriac (but in Latin translations) the fragments of the seven letters, and the three 'Curetonian' letters; the five additional Ignatian letters; the sixth additional letter (that to the Philippians) in Greek and Latin; and lastly the fourth-century form of the seven letters. A hundred pages of notes conclude the book, and are perhaps not the least permanently valuable part of it. Another feature in this edition which will specially commend itself is the very convenient list of patristic quotations from the seven epistles, pp. 134-162, arranged in the order of the epistles themselves. Dr. Hilgenfeld (like Dr. Funk) writes in Latin: we are sometimes tempted to think he would be easier to follow in his native tongue.

(5) Dr. E. Preuschen is another of the Germans whose literary industry and activity are, judged by our more sluggish standards, incredibly

astonishing. He edits one of the best of the newer theological reviews in Germany; he is, we believe, engaged in the practical work of school teaching; and yet he finds time to write books, two of which lie before us at this moment. Perhaps this fertility would be inconsistent with work of the most permanent and enduring kind: but his collection of *Antilegomena*¹ is both handy and useful—more useful indeed than the title would quite suggest, for it includes not only the scanty remains of the apocryphal Gospels and extra-canonical sayings of our Lord (these occupy no more than twenty-five pages) but all the Gospel-citations in 2 Clement, in Justin Martyr, in the Clementine Homilies and in Origen's report of Celsus. The fragments of Papias and of the elders in Irenaeus are perhaps properly added as germane to the subject, though they can be found in any of the editions of the Apostolic Fathers: it is a little more difficult to see on what grounds the inclusion of the fragments of Hegesippus could be logically defended, though as these are less easy to find collected elsewhere one would not wish to press the claims of logic against those of convenience. The texts appear to have been carefully edited, and the Eusebian extracts are enriched with an apparatus criticus—nowhere more necessary than in these extracts—by the help of Dr. Schwartz's collations. The only drawback that we have noticed to the use of the book is a certain lack of clearness in arrangement: the different quotations under the heading of each author are distinguished by numbers, but there are cases in which the interval of a line could have been left with great advantage to the eye of the reader. The German translations will be useful to those to whom the language of the originals is less familiar, and the price is moderate enough to make a useful book widely accessible.

(6) Passing to the second main division of patristic literature, the group of great writers of A.D. 180–250, we find Clement of Alexandria represented by no less than three of the books on our list. Two indeed of these are brief, but as they proceed from the pen of Dr. Otto Stählin, unquestionably the leading German authority on the writings of St. Clement, it goes without saying that they are important. In a few pages contributed to a miscellaneous volume of *Texte und Untersuchungen*², Stählin discusses (1) the manuscript tradition of the Protrepticus and Paedagogus; (2) the contents and value of three minor Paris MSS of Clement included in Harnack's list in *Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur*, i 316. With regard to the latter, he shows that the

¹ *Antilegomena: die Reste der apokryphen Evangelien und apostolischen Überlieferungen, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Erwin Preuschen*. Giessen, 1901.

² *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Clemens Alexandrinus*, Otto Stählin (No. 3 in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, Fünfter Band, Heft 4. Leipzig, 1902).

'Clementina' of two of the MSS, suppl. gr. 270 and 421, are collations by Montfaucon and notes by Le Nourry respectively, while the third MS, suppl. gr. 1000, is only connected with Clement at all by an error in the catalogue. For the *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus* he agrees with Barnard that the codex of Rodolphus Pius, bishop of Carpi, employed as a secondary authority in the *editio princeps*, is the present Mutinensis (M). But what was the other and primary MS, on whose authority the text in that edition was mainly based? Stählin proves that the MS used for the *Paedagogus* was Laurentianus v 24, our F, and for the *Protrepticus* a MS hitherto overlooked, Munich gr. 97. This Munich MS is shewn to be a copy of M, and as M is itself a copy of Arethas's great MS of the Greek apologists, Paris gr. 451, the latter is left as the ultimate source of all knowledge of the *Protrepticus* in the sixteenth century as well as in the twentieth.

(7) Dr. Stählin's other contribution is a pamphlet on Clement's quotations from the LXX¹. The Biblical quotations of an early Christian writer may be used for the textual criticism either of his own writings or of the Biblical books themselves: but in the case of Clement so little of his extant writings rests on the authority of more than a single MS that there is practically no field for the first of these purposes, and the interest of the quotations will therefore lie in their bearing on LXX problems. And from this point of view Clement's antiquity and the very considerable bulk of his writings make him an important witness, though we must not forget to put aside all such quotations as are drawn not directly from the LXX but mediately for instance through Philo. In identifying Clement's quotations earlier scholars—Hervetus, Sylburg, Le Nourry, Potter—all did yeoman's service: later editors have done little else than multiply misprints. But if Dr. Stählin's work owes nothing to Klotz or Dindorf, he acknowledges in the fullest way his obligations to Dr. Swete's *Introduction* and to his manual edition of the LXX: indeed it appears to be implied with regard at least to the *Psalms* (p. 25) that for purposes of comparison with Clement little would be gained from any more elaborate apparatus such as we look for in the larger Cambridge edition. It must be remembered, however, that for the *Psalter* Dr. Swete used more manuscripts than elsewhere: and in particular the agreement of Clement with the fragments of the London papyrus *Psalter* (Swete's U) against all other MSS, when taken into account with the similar agreement—first pointed out by Mr. Brightman in *J. T. S.* ii 275, as Dr. Nestle duly notes in the *addenda* to Stählin's pamphlet—of U with Mr. Budge's Sahidic *Psalter*, seems to point to an early Egyptian text distinct from any of the great uncials. In the

¹ *Clement Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta*. Von Dr. Otto Stählin. Nürnberg, 1901.

same general direction point the *data* obtained for the book of Ecclesiasticus, where Clement goes with the Old Latin against the rest, and also the agreement with Q against the greater uncials in Isaiah and Jeremiah (pp. 57, 66). The one result which emerges all through the Old Testament is the continuous antipathy of Clement for the text represented by B. Besides the special relationships just mentioned, Clement sides often with A and often with N^{ss} (less often with N), but he is hardly ever found in marked agreement with B. And in view of the similar results obtained for the New Testament by Mr. Burkitt and Mr. Barnard, it seems difficult to believe that we shall go on asserting that the unique pre-eminence of the text of B is due to the jealous preservation of the integrity of the Bible text by the scholars of Alexandria. Finally, Dr. Stählin shews (p. 69) that Clement used on occasion more than one O. T. version, for he quotes Ecch. xviii 4-9 once from the LXX and once apparently from Theodotion.

(8) The important edition of the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis*¹, which bears the names of both Dr. Hort and Dr. J. B. Mayor on the title-page, had its starting-point in notes on the first sixty-nine sections of the book, prepared by Dr. Hort for a set of lectures as long ago as 1875, but is to all intents and purposes a new work by Dr. Joseph Mayor, the learned author of the commentary on St. James. Dr. Mayor is responsible for the Introductions—On the title *Stromateis*, Influence of Greek Philosophy on the Theology and Ethics of Clement, Clement and the Mysteries, Estimates of Clement, The Text of the *Stromateis*, Analysis of *Strom.* vii: for the three Appendices (they are called Dissertations on the title-page)—On unrecorded uses of *aitia*, On Clement's use of *ai*, On the relation of the Agape to the Eucharist in Clement's writings: and for the Indices, of which that of Greek words alone runs to sixty pages. The translation is also his, save in so far as he has incorporated in it such of Dr. Hort's material as consisted of English renderings of the Greek. With regard to the notes themselves, Dr. Mayor is again responsible for much more than half the bulk of the whole, and Dr. Henry Jackson is also no inconsiderable contributor. The symbol M(mayor) occurs in the critical apparatus even of the earlier chapters of the text as often as the symbol H(hort); even the collation of the MS is Dr. Stählin's verified by Dr. Mayor. Under these circumstances, while Dr. Mayor's desire to subordinate his own share of the work is worthy of all respect, the title-page cannot but be misleading. It does not appear that the two editors had ever discussed in common the problems raised by Clement's writings: so that there seems no sufficient

¹ *Clement of Alexandria, Miscellaneous, Book VII: the Greek Text, with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Dissertations and Indices*, by the late Senator John Anthony Hort, and Joseph B. Mayor. Macmillan, 1904.

reason at all why the name of the one should share either the credit or the responsibility for the work of the other. This is not the occasion to enter into a detailed review (though we could wish that such a one might still appear in the pages of the JOURNAL) of a book which certainly marks a distinct step forward in the criticism of a difficult and confused author: but we signal with gratitude the attempt, too rare in these days, to assist in the elucidation of the author's meaning as well as in the restoration of his words. Dr. Mayor is sometimes scrappy, but always vigorous: stronger perhaps in matters of grammar than of text, in the knowledge of Clement's heathen predecessors than of his Christian contemporaries: never so happy as when breaking a lance against Hatch and Harnack in favour of Clement's right to create a philosophy for the Church. The commentary is replete with good matter. But why have we to turn to a footnote on p. lxxviii of the Introduction, in order to find the meaning of the symbols employed in the apparatus to the text? And is it not rather pedantic to divide up, as is done on pp. 385-386, Clement's quotations from the books of his Greek Bible into the two classes 'Bible' and 'Apocryphal writings'?

(9) The remainder of the books catalogued in the present instalment of Patristic chronicle are all concerned with the pseudonymous literature of the early Church, with works, that is, which either the original writers or later scribes placed under the protection of illustrious names such as Clement, Justin or Tertullian. In all this vast field no group of writings has in modern times attracted so much attention as the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. To the school of Tübingen they seemed, with the Apocalypse and the four great Pauline epistles, to take us back, as no other writings did, into the heart of the controversies of the apostolic age; and a very great antiquity was consequently attributed to them. Neither their authority nor their antiquity is now rated so highly: and among the books which will do most for the spread of saner views about them must indubitably be ranked the newly published lectures of Dr. Hort¹. As we have just had occasion to say, there are drawbacks to posthumous publication: but in this case the lectures were intended to be printed, a preface had even been written, and Mr. Murray has restrained his editorial hand within the narrowest limits. It would have been a real loss to criticism if these lectures had never seen the light. The style is, what the style of Dr. Hort's writings too often was not, straightforward and intelligible: the learning and the independence of thought which we associate with all Dr. Hort's work are more than ever illustrated here. He makes good a special title to be listened to on the questions of date and origin

¹ *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions: a Course of Lectures*, by F. J. A. Hort, D.D. Macmillans, 1901.

of this literature, because he shews a singularly respectful attitude towards its thought and theology. Its 'nameless authors' set themselves to face 'some of the most indestructible problems,' which were dealt with in much early Christian theology 'in a perfunctory and manifestly inadequate way': and they have therefore 'with all their faults, a right to be remembered with something of the same sympathy and care' with which we study the Gnostics or Irenaeus or Clement and Origen (p. 142). Still the literature is not necessarily primitive because it is interesting. Dr. Hort fully admits that the mutual relationship of its extant representatives, the Homilies and the Recognitions, can only be satisfactorily explained by postulating an earlier document which was the source of both. But he pursues the traces of acquaintance with it down the early centuries, and demonstrates with relentless clearness that there is no evidence at all for its existence in the second century; that Origen is the only witness to it in the third, and Eusebius in the first half of the fourth; and that so far the witnesses do not point to the existence of either the Homilies or the Recognitions as we have them. The original form, and perhaps the only one existing before 350 A. D., apparently bore the title *Επίτομα ὁρίων*, and was composed by the Helkesaites in Palestine early in the third century: the Recognitions and Homilies were both abbreviated forms, the former probably Roman, the latter Palestinian; the former perhaps the less close to the doctrinal standpoint of the original, the latter certainly the less close to its general arrangement and outline. Whether Dr. Hort would have brought the date still further down, now that Dr. Armitage Robinson has disposed of the earlier of the two quotations by Origen, can only be matter of conjecture: Mr. Murray has done wisely in allowing the text throughout to remain unaltered, while placing within square brackets all such arguments and conclusions as depend solely on the disproved reference. The book had already appeared before Dom Chapman in the JOURNAL (iii 436) had thrown doubt over the second quotation by Origen, thus making Eusebius—who himself speaks of it as invented *ὅτις οὐκ ἔστιν*—the earliest indisputable witness to any part or form of the Clementine literature.

(10) Tertullian was an author of too dubious a reputation, theologically, to attract to his name much alien literature: but he was the one well-known Latin writer against Marcion, and so an anonymous hexameter *Carmen adversus Marcionem* came to pass as his, with just so much of justification that the five books of the poem appear to be a conscious echo of Tertullian's five books under the same title. The poem was first published in 1564 by G. Fabricius from a MS now lost, but probably to be identified with a MS at Lorsch, since the catalogue of that great monastic library contained an entry 'Metrum Tertulliani

de resurrectione, eiusdem libri V adversus Marcionem.' Critics have hitherto been content to cite the poem as pseudo-Tertullian: for since the dates assigned to it have varied from the third century to the sixth, it was superfluous to fix its authorship. But the present generation of German scholars are possessed with a passion for abolishing the anonymous: and it is quite true that writings which remain anonymous or pseudonymous are apt to be neglected, and true also that the concentration of the evidence into a definite ascription of name may, even though the ascription turn out to be erroneous, prepare the material from which truth may ultimately be extracted. The merit of an excellent and painstaking collection of facts, the value of which extends far beyond the thesis they are called in to prove, will be put to the credit of Herr Hans Waitz by many whom he will certainly not succeed in persuading that the true author of the pseudo-Tertullianic *carmen* is the African Christian poet of the third century, Commodian¹. For the *carmen*, though it does not keep to all the classical rules of prosody, has a good metrical swing of its own: while Commodian is of all early Latin Christians the furthest from classical models, and his hexameters have to be read over two or three times before it can be seen how they scan. No amount of *Quellenkritik* will prove that tolerable and intolerable Latin verses were products of the same pen. And Waitz's *Quellenkritik* is successful rather in shewing that the author lived in the third century than that he was the particular third-century writer, Commodian. The most solid point established is the contact between the *carmen* and Victorinus of Pettau: dependence on Hippolytus is possible for the order of popes, Linus, Cletus, Anacletus, Clement: the use of Theophilus of Antioch κατὰ Μαρκίανον is neither likely in itself nor made more likely by Waitz's far-fetched arguments. But if the *carmen* is ante-Nicene at all, it merits a good deal more attention than scholars have hitherto bestowed on it: and should Waitz's proof on this head stand firm, the worthlessness of his Commodian theory will be a small matter in comparison.

(11) Justin Martyr was *par excellence* the Apologist of the early Church, and more than one anonymous Apology sought the protection and shelter of his name. The reader who follows the enumeration given by Herr Gaul² of the literature which has been devoted to the criticism of a single one of these writings, the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, will probably be inclined to complain that of the writing of books,

¹ *Das pseudotertullianische Gedicht 'Adversus Marcionem': ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur sowie zur Quellenkritik des Marcionismus.* Von Hans Waitz. Darmstadt, 1901.

² *Die Abfassungsverhältnisse der pseudojustinischen 'Cohortatio ad Graecos.'* Von Willy Gaul. Berlin, 1902.

especially of German books, there is no end. He will learn that the most recent opinions are divided on the question whether or no the *Cohortatio* is prior to Cyril of Alexandria, whether or no it is really a work of Apollinaris of Laodicea, whether it is earlier or later than Porphyry, earlier or later than Julius Africanus, earlier or later than Clement of Alexandria, whether it is a work of Apollinaris of Hierapolis, or whether finally it was not after all written by Justin himself. If he has still the courage to pursue further enquiry under Herr Gaul's guidance, he will find that the difficulty in dating the book arises out of the fact that it is a polemic against Greek paganism shewing few or no points of contact with external history or with the development of Christian doctrine; and that the argument must proceed therefore almost entirely on comparison with similar apologetic writings, and especially with any of them with which it is found to stand in the relation either of exemplar or of copy. Of the two works which shew the closest identity of language with it, critics are nearly unanimous that Cyril of Alexandria in his *Adversus Iulianum* was indebted to the *Cohortatio* and not *vice versa*, but on the question of priority as between the *Cohortatio* and the *Chronographies* of Julius Africanus they are more evenly divided. Herr Gaul has convinced himself that the *Cohortatio* is later than Clement, earlier than Africanus; and no doubt the neoplatonic and syncretistic movements of the opening years of the third century—in which period he places also the *De monarchia* of pseudo-Justin and the *Apology* of pseudo-Melito—would have created a suitable atmosphere for the production of such apologetic literature. But to succeed in shewing that the *Cohortatio* may very well have been written at that particular time is not the same thing as proving that it could not have been written at any other time: the whole evidence that is available for the criticism of this and similar writings is of a character that moves within the limits of the more or less probable rather than the more or less certain.

(12) With even less claim than the *Cohortatio* to be ranked as Justin's, the group of four pseudo-justinian documents of which Dr. Harnack treats¹—the *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, *Quaestiones Gentilium ad Christianos*, *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, *Confutatio dogmatum Aristotelis*—is of vastly greater interest in itself and will acquire additional interest and importance if Dr. Harnack's attribution to Diodore as the true author makes its way to general acceptance. For of all the gaps in the series of patristic literature which time and bigotry have brought about between them, none is

¹ *Diodor von Tarsus: vier pseudJustinische Schriften als Eigenthum Diodors nachgewiesen* von Adolf Harnack. Texte und Untersuchungen: Neue Folge, vi 4. Leipzig, 1901.

Greater than the almost total disappearance of the numerous writings of Diodore of Antioch, the 'second founder' of the Antiochene school, the teacher of Chrysostom and Theodore, bishop of Tarsus from 378 till his death in 392. And whether or no we are in the result convinced by Dr. Harnack's arguments, his great gifts have never been displayed to more advantage than in the present treatise. An admirable clearness of style, an erudition which never fails to astonish, persuasive skill in marshalling arguments, the prospect at once of solving one more of the problems of early Christian literature and of rediscovering one of its lost writers—this is a combination which it is difficult indeed to resist. If on the second reading one misses some of the glamour of the first, and feels more conscious of flaws in the argument or of alternative possibilities; if one cannot help remembering that Dr. Harnack, certain of his results as he is on this occasion, has been equally certain on too many occasions and with too slight proof before; if one would like to suspend judgement for awhile rather than give an immediate assent; even if some features seem to suit better a later date than Diodore's—it still remains true that this is a book which should be not only read but mastered by all who are interested in patristic study: and at the risk of overstepping the limits of a chronicle, some attempt must here be made to give an insight into its contents. The four tracts, then, are all found, under the name of Justin, in a Paris MS, graec. 450, of the fourteenth century, on which all the older editions depend: but a better and fuller text of the most important of the four, the *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, is found under the name of Theodoret in a tenth-century MS of the 'Jerusalem' library at Constantinople, from which a Greek scholar, Papadopoulos Kerameus, published a new edition of it in 1895. Of the two suggested names, Justin is on all grounds impossible, and has never been defended: Theodoret is at least so far possible that the writings certainly emanate from the school of Antioch. The author's favourite title for the Incarnate Christ is *ὁ θεσπότης Χριστός*: he distinguishes the *υἱὸς θεός* and the *υἱὸς ἄθετος*, he uses 'indwelling' as a synonym for the Incarnation, he contrasts the two Natures as *τὸ ἐν τάξει* and *τὸ τάξαν*. On the other hand he holds language of absolute clearness on the unity of the Person: Scripture *κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀντιδείξεως*—the phrase gives some trouble to Harnack (p. 30), but is obviously equivalent to the more usual *ἀντίθεσις*, *communicatio idiomatum*—'records inseparably of one and the same Person the things that fit separately to each nature,' *περὶ ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσώπου ποιῆ ἀδιαίρετως τὴν διήγησιν τῶν ἐκάστη φύσει διηρημένων ἁρμοττότων*. It is characteristic of Harnack's centrifugal tendency that he reserves all his emphasis (e.g. on p. 67) for the Nestorianizing side of our author's phraseology: but if Nestorius had been willing to use

language such as that just quoted, there need have been no Nestorian controversy. In any case the Christological standpoint of the author is Antiochene: while the doctrine of the Trinity—so Dr. Harnack proceeds to develop his argument—gives not only similar evidence of place, but still more cogent evidence of time. Although a convinced opponent of Arianism, he prefers the term *ὁμότιμος* to the term *ὁμοούσιος*: although he believes that as with the Son so with the Holy Spirit there is 'no sort of distinction or differentiation in essence' from the Father, it is yet clear that while he can assume the co-essentiality of the Son he has to state and argue the co-essentiality of the Spirit. If the doctrinal argument thus throws us back on the days of the Apostolic Constitutions and of St. Basil, the chronology of the political situation is exactly the same: pagans are still hopeful of a restoration, 'error,' that is to say heresy, is actually in power. Everything therefore points to Diodore, the only writer of the Antiochene school whom we knew to have been active in the period immediately preceding the fall of Arianism in 378. This theory of the authorship was first propounded by an almost forgotten scholar of the beginning of the eighteenth century, Lacroze: and it would no doubt offer a sufficient reason for the attributions to Justin and Theodoret, since Diodore in the course of the Nestorian controversy fell into some disrepute in orthodox circles—Cyril wrote against him in 438, after the Reunion, and even the Nestorians when they circulated his books suppressed their authorship. Lacroze's statement of his case was brief, and had quite fallen into oblivion till it was brought to light by Dr. Harnack, who has developed the theory with amazing fertility of resource and illustration. Where such wealth of argument is displayed, not every statement will be of equal cogency: it is difficult to understand the ground for the assertion—made on p. 31 n. 2, and repeated on p. 44—that, as the author read the Syriac bible, he must also have been able to read the Hebrew. If Dr. Harnack fulfils the hope he expresses on p. 68, and gives us a *corpus operum Diodori* with the Greek text—for the present he has confined himself to a German translation—he must justify his preference of the Paris MS in the biblical quotations on pp. 61–63, where the earlier MS is distinguished by marked agreements with NB. On pp. 6 n., 19 n., *προσενείκας* must be corrected into *προσενέγκας*. On pp. 14, 40, the passage quoted from St. Basil's letter to Diodore (ep. 135) is quite ungrammatical as it stands, and must be completed from the Latin version of Facundus of Hermiane given on p. 15: τῷ μὲν δευτέρῳ ὑπερήσθη οὐ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα μόνον . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι πυκνὸν τε ἅμα ἐστὶ ταῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ εὐκρινέως ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχουσιν αἱ τε ἀντιθέσεις τῶν ὑπεραντίων [καὶ αἱ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀποκρίσεις] καὶ τὸ τῆς λέξεως ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀκατάσκευον πρέπον εἶδοξέ μοι προβέσει χριστιανοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

Books dealing with Hippolytus, Novatian, Cyprian, Peter of Alexandria, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, and other writers, are awaiting discussion, but must be reserved for a later number of the JOURNAL. The present notice has already almost exceeded the reasonable limits of a chronicle.

C. H. TURNER.

HAGIOGRAPHICA.

(1) IN the department of hagiography the chief event must always be the appearance of a volume of the Bollandist *Acta SS.*; and during the two years that have elapsed since the previous Chronicle in these pages, a volume has been published, not indeed a part of the great series of *Acta*, but one of those welcome supplementary volumes that from time to time appear in the same stately dimensions and print as the regular series. It is a critical edition of the *Synaxarium* of the Greek Church¹. The *Synaxarium* is one of the liturgical books which gives in quite a short form day by day the lives of the saints celebrated throughout the year—much as the later Latin Martyrologies of Bede-Florus or Ado. The edition is the work of Père Delehaye. The Prologue discusses the character of the *Synaxaria* and their relations to other similar Office Books, as the *Menaea*, &c.; it investigates the sources from which the lives were compiled, and describes the MSS and their groupings. The text is a reprint of the Sirmond MS of the twelfth or thirteenth century, once among the Phillipps Collection, and now at Berlin; but fully half of each page is taken up with additions and selected readings from some sixty MSS. As in the case of the Martyrologies, the historical value of such a collection is very difficult to estimate; no doubt a number of authentic traditions are to be found therein, mixed up with a vast amount of rubbish. But a good edition of the *Synaxarium* is a great acquisition for the hagiographer, the liturgist, and the Church historian.

The sixth and last volume of the Greek *Menaion*, or longer Lives, edited by the Basilian monks of Grotta Ferrata, has recently issued from the Vatican Press; it can, however, hardly claim to be a critical edition.

(2) Of hardly less importance is the appearance of one of the volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* devoted to saints' lives. The fourth volume of Merovingian writers consists, like the third, wholly of hagiographical materials edited by Dr. Bruno Krusch². The first

¹ *Proplaeum ad Acta SS. Novembris: Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Brussels: pp. lxxv, 1179).

² *Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Aevi Merovingici* (Hannover: Hahn, pp. 817).

half is taken up with the Irish monks, SS. Columbanus, Gall, and their fellows; the most important document, the *Vita Columbani discipulorumque eius* by Jonas, is accepted as authentic and historical, the author having known well some of St. Columbanus's personal friends; less authentic is even the earliest Life of St. Gall, written a century and a half after the saint's death. The second half of the volume contains the lives of a number of purely Merovingian bishops and saints, of whom the most important probably is St. Eligius or Eloi, the friend of Dagobert I, though the *Vita* in its present form is, in the editor's judgement, of much later date. The volume of 800 pages contains eighteen documents edited with infinite labour and scrupulous care. Of course they had already been printed, many by the Bollandists, many by Mabillon; but for serious historical work all previous editions are now definitely superseded. The historical and critical Introductions, notably that on St. Columbanus, are of extraordinary value, as also are the elaborate Index and *Lexica et Grammatica*, or list of notable words and forms.

An instructive episode in connexion with this volume is worth recording, as showing how necessary it is that an editor should see every known MS of his text. The Life of St. Richarius, or Riquier, printed by Krusch, is Alcuin's literary revision of an earlier life. All the MSS which he examined contained this form; but he mentions one MS which he could not see. Père Poncelet the Bollandist has since had an opportunity of examining this MS, and he finds that it preserves the missing earlier form, and that there is every reason for believing that it was really written by a contemporary of the saint. The text is printed in *Analecta Bollandiana* XXII. Thus in spite of all Krusch's care, his collection is already defective.

(3) While speaking of the Merovingian saints it will be proper to mention Abbé Vacandard's Life of St. Ouen, bishop of Rouen (641-684)¹; those who know the author's other works will not be surprised at the statement of the Bollandist reviewer that it is a solid contribution to historical hagiography, and deserves 'des éloges sans réserve.' Krusch, too, in the Addenda to the volume just noticed, praises it as one of the best studies on Merovingian history that has appeared for many years.

(4) The present year witnessed the completion of the edition of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles begun by Lipsius and carried out by Max Bonnet². The concluding part contains the Acts of Philip, of Thomas, and of Barnabas. We congratulate the surviving editor on the completion of the undertaking, which has been throughout a model of good editing. Readers of the JOURNAL will remember that

¹ *Vie de Saint Ouen* (Paris: Lecoffre, pp. xxi, 394).

² *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II, ii (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, pp. xlii, 395).

on two occasions Mr. Burkitt has maintained that the Acts of Thomas are an original Syriac work, the Greek being a translation; and Mr. Rendel Harris in his *Dioscouri* (to be noticed just now) says that he had independently arrived at the same result; so did Dr. Raabe¹. Dr. Max Bonnet tells us that he too had begun (reluctantly) to suspect the same, when Mr. Burkitt's articles came and quite convinced him:—and, indeed, seeing that the 'Hymn of the Soul' has now been found, and in prose, in the Greek *Acta*, whereas it is in metre in the Syriac, it is difficult to see how any other conclusion can be possible. Bonnet, however, still holds tentatively that the original may have been a Greek text, now lost except in one passage, so that the present Greek *Acta* would be a retranslation back into Greek. The independent Greek Acts of Thomas, first printed by Dr. James in his second series of *Anecdota Apocrypha*, are not included in this edition.

(5) Although already reviewed in these pages by Dr. James, the second volume of Dr. Wallis Budge's *Ethiopic Contendings of the Apostles*, containing the English translation, should be mentioned here.

(6) Two recent substantial numbers of *Texte und Untersuchungen* have dealt with Apocryphal Acts. In one Prof. von Gebhardt edits the Latin versions of the Acts of Paul and Thecla². He shows that there are three quite independent Latin translations, one of which exists in three variant forms, another in four, so distinct that the attempt to form resultant texts would be impracticable. Thus there are in effect eight Latin texts, all here printed in full, each with its apparatus; besides these there are fragments of a fourth independent Latin version, and seven epitomes. The Introduction will be of interest to textual critics as a model of method in investigating a difficult problem. The relationships of the Latin versions to each other and to the Greek are highly complex and confusing. Gebhardt's conclusion is that the extant Greek MSS do not faithfully preserve the original work but a revised redaction. Here again we encounter the phenomenon, so familiar in N. T. criticism, of frequent agreements between the Latin and Syriac against the Greek: in such cases von Gebhardt holds that the united witness of the two versions must prevail. We pity the next editor of the Greek *Acta* who will have to face the problems raised by this mass of new material. Gebhardt's admirable study only emphasizes the pessimistic conclusion that in textual criticism the more thorough the work the less certain the text.

Dr. Corssen has maintained the thesis that in the fragments of the

¹ Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1903, 400.

² *Die lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae*: T. und U. vii 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, pp. cxviii, 188).

fourth Latin version mentioned above, we have a translation of portions of the primitive form of the *Acta*, not known to exist in Greek¹.

(7) Prof. Carl Schmidt takes occasion from some Coptic fragments of the *Acta Petri* to investigate anew the character of these Acts². He arrives at the conclusion that not only the Acts of Peter but also the others, even the highly docetic Acts of John, as well as the Acts of Thomas, including even the 'Hymn of the Soul,' are not Gnostic in origin and character, but Catholic, and represent phases of thought to be found in 'the Great Church' during the second century. If such a view finds acceptance—and coming from a specialist in Gnostic matters it must carry great weight—it will work little short of a revolution in some departments of early Christian history.

(8) The fifty pages devoted to the Apocryphal Acts in Dr. Bardenhewer's great History of Early Church Literature³, supply copious information fortified by an exhaustive bibliography in regard to this whole cycle of literature. The work is planned so as to occupy six large volumes, whereof the first (reaching to the end of the second century, but not including the New Testament), has been published. This history is an enlargement of the author's excellent *Patrologie*.

(9, 10) Two small volumes of selected Greek and Latin *Acta Martyrum* have been prepared by Knopf and von Gebhardt⁴. The *Acta* of the following ten Martyrdoms are included in both collections: Polycarp; Karpus, Papyrus, and Agathonike; Justin; Scillitan martyrs; Lyons martyrs; Apollonius the Apologist; Perpetua and Felicitas; Pionius; Cyprian; Testament of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Each editor includes a dozen other documents whereof the genuineness will not be contested, except in regard to the Greek Acts of Paul and Thecla, printed by von Gebhardt. Needless to say, the cycle of Roman 'Gesta' is wholly unrepresented. The documents in these two volumes will afford a very adequate literary criterion for distinguishing between genuine Acts and romances; and they are in themselves of extraordinary interest as relics of the earliest Christian times. As both editions are intended to be practical manual ones, the best printed texts have been reproduced; von Gebhardt, however, has had some slight recourse to manuscripts.

(11) Of single texts of Acts of Martyrs the following deserve mention: Ignor Franchi de' Cavalieri has edited the *Passio SS. Mariani et*

¹ *Die Urgestalt der Paulusakten* (Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 23. Heft 1).

² *Die alten Petrusakten: T. und U. ix 1* (Leipzig: Hinrichsen, pp. 176).

³ *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, I* (Freiburg: Herder, pp. 594).

⁴ *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, von Rudolf Knopf (Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 160).

Märtyrerakten und andere Urkunden, von Oscar von Gebhardt (Bonn: Bachmann, pp. 160).

Jacobi, and the Martyrium of St. Theodotus of Ancyra¹, and that of St. Ariadne, all in the Vatican *Studi e Testi*. In the *Analecta Bollandiana* have appeared the Acts of SS. Dasius, Gaius, and Zoticus; of SS. Fidelis, Alexander, and Carpophorus; and of St. Barlaam of Antioch. Dr. Compennass has edited the *Acta S. Carterii Cappadocis* (Bonn). Dr. Kirsch has produced various preliminary studies for the comprehensive edition of the *Legenda* of St. Agnes which he has in hand. Finally, owing to the number of martyrdoms for which it is our ultimate authority, it is perhaps right to mention Schwartz's edition of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (I-V) in the Berlin series.

(12) In the previous Chronicle mention was made of M. Bidez's edition of two previously inedited Greek forms of the Life of Paul the Hermit, and his conclusion, viz. that St. Jerome's Latin is the original, was acquiesced in; but a subsequent study by Abbé Nau necessitates a reconsideration of the whole question². The main facts are as follows: of the two Greek forms of the *Vita*, one (called *a* by Bidez and Nau) is manifestly a literal translation of the Latin; the controversy turns on the second (*b*), a somewhat shorter and simpler form of the story; from *b* come three versions, a Syriac (in MSS of the sixth century), a Coptic, and an Arabic. Although *a* and *b* differ greatly, so that probably in five-sixths of the subject-matter they might well be independent translations of the Latin, still here and there there are resemblances and identities of vocabulary and phraseology such as demonstrate a literary connexion, and preclude the hypothesis of complete independence. Bidez holds that *b* is a very free rewriting of *a*; Nau that *b* is the original of St. Jerome's Latin, while *a* is a revision of *b* made with the object of assimilating it to the Latin. One would gladly see Nau's view prevail, for the historical basis of the story of Paul the hermit would thus be placed on a somewhat better footing³. But after a careful study of the question I find myself unable to arrive at a decision. Nau shows that *b* presents a number of coincidences of vocabulary with the *Vita Antonii*, which are not in *a*, and claims this as a palmary proof of the priority of *b*; but the force of this argument is neutralized by Abbé van den Ven, who (at p. 132 of the monograph next to be noticed) shows that the Greek of the *Vita Hilarionis* contains citations, even more striking, from the *Vita Antonii*: in this case there can I think be no doubt of the priority of the Latin. Nor does Nau's

¹ The Acts of St. Theodotus were omitted by an oversight in the list of genuine Acts in Harnack's *Altchristliche Literatur* (see Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1902, 358).

² *Le texte grec original de la Vie de S. Paul de Thèbes* (Analecta Bollandiana XX).

³ The attitude adopted by Prof. Grützmacher in his *Hieronymus* in regard to the *Vita Pauli* is much the same as the present chronicler's in the *Lausiac History of Palladius* (p. 230). It is to be hoped that the concluding part of Dr. Grützmacher's monograph will be published in time for the next chronicle.

explanation of the difficulty to his theory that arises from the presence in *b* (as in *a* and the Latin) of the postscript wherein 'Jerome the Sinner' begs for prayers as the author, appear quite satisfactory: for although, as he says, the postscript is in a different form in the different copies, still in every known representative of *b* (even the Arabic) the postscript is there in some shape, and it is difficult to believe that it should have been introduced independently in all five copies of *b* (two Greek MSS and three versions).

One consideration that might decide the question has not been noticed on either side. St. Jerome's Latin contains three verses from Virgil; if *b* reflects any of these Virgilian pieces it may be recognized as a translation of the Latin. In the Latin we find:

Taliam perstabat memorans fixusque manebat.

b gives for this: ἐμμέναντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις. The question is, Did the Greek suggest the line of Virgil to St. Jerome, or does it translate it? *a*, which is confessedly a translation of the Latin, has simply ταῦτα διαβεβαιούμενον. This makes me inclined to see in *b* a translation of the Virgil, for it is more like the Latin than is *a*.

(13) A controversy like the last has been raised also in regard to St. Jerome's Life of Malchus, which Dr. Kunze in his *Marcus Eremita* maintained to be translated from the Greek-Syriac form of the life. Abbé van den Ven defends St. Jerome's authorship, and in my judgement convincingly¹. He prints for the first time the Greek and part of the Syriac. His treatment bespeaks care, acumen, knowledge of the literature, and understanding of critical methods; and as in addition he is able to work in Syriac and Coptic, valuable contributions in the domain of early monastic literature may be looked for from him. We owe to him also *La Vie grecque de S. Jean le Psichaité* (c. 820), printed for the first time in the Louvain *Muséon* of 1902.

(14) Another elaborate contribution to the records of early monachism is Abbé Nau's study of the legend of Thais the Harlot². He investigates the sources of the story and shows that the hero is Sarapion Sindonita, and not Paphnutius as in the Latin. He then prints side by side three Greek varieties of the text, and as many varieties of the Latin version, along with a translation of the Syriac. The Introduction is of considerable interest; but it is disappointing to find in so scientific a piece of work the non-authentic portions of the current Lausiaca History still cited as being by Palladius.

(15) The latest number of *Texte und Untersuchungen*³ is a study by

¹ *S. Jérôme et la Vie du Moine Malchus le Captif* (Louvain: Istas, pp. 161: from the *Muséon*).

² *Histoire de Thaïs: Annales du Musée Guimet XXX* (Paris: Leroux, pp. 64).

³ *von Atripe und die Entstehung des national-ägyptischen Christentums*:

Dr. Leipoldt on Schenute or Schenoudi (Senuti in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*). He was archimandrite of the great White Monastery at Atripe or Athribis, and was next to Pachomius the chief organizer of the cenobitical life in Upper Egypt. He lived during the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century. Leipoldt begins with a list of the numerous Coptic fragments that may with reasonable probability be ascribed to Schenoudi; they are for the most part letters and sermons, and he relies on them rather than on the Life by Besa, Schenoudi's disciple. He rejects Nau's surmise that the Life was originally written, not in Coptic, but in Greek; and he sides with Abbé Ladeuze in maintaining against M. Amélineau the superiority of the Coptic over the Arabic form of the Life. The Schenoudi documents possess a special philological importance as forming a considerable portion of the body of original Coptic literature that has come down to us. Dr. Leipoldt next sketches the political and religious state of the Copts of Upper Egypt about the year 400; there follow an account of Schenoudi's life and an appreciation of his character and ways of thought, and then an elaborate description of the monastic system that prevailed in his monastery. In short the book is excellent and of extraordinary value not only for the life of the hero, a truly notable personage, but also for the history of Egyptian monachism and of native Coptic Christianity. Not the least remarkable circumstance concerning Schenoudi is the fact that he was discovered only in our own day. His memory was indeed preserved among the Copts; but though he was a prominent Churchman in the early fifth century, and apparently took part in the Council of Ephesus as an adherent of St. Cyril (there is no evidence that he supported Dioscorus after Chalcedon, indeed he died in 451), his name nowhere occurs in the Greek or Latin writers of the time; so that he was unknown outside of Egypt until the publication of the Coptic Catalogues of Mingarelli and Zoega, and the writings of Quatremère and Revillout. Yet Rufinus, Jerome, Palladius and Cassian all were in Egypt at the heyday of Schenoudi's influence; and Palladius actually visited and describes a Tebennesiot monastery at Panopolis (Akhmim) only a few miles from Athribis, and relates a story concerning a convent of nuns in Athribis itself. It is indeed a striking reminder of the limitations and dangers of arguments from silence.

(16) Mr. T. R. Glover's *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* has already been noticed in these pages; but I may be allowed to revert to a current and important hagiographical problem once again raised here. He brings forward in the very last pages of his book the *Vita Antonii* as an example of an early Christian novel, rejecting of course the

T. und U. x 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, pp. 213). [A further notice of this work will be found on p. 129 of this volume of *J.T.S.*]

Athanasian authorship. Now in the Introduction to the forthcoming edition of the *Lausiac History* I refer to passages in the recent writings of the following scholars which show that Weingarten's positions are no longer held by the generality of critics, and that the *Vita Antonii* is now commonly accepted as substantially historical, and as a genuine work of St. Athanasius: Preuschen, Stülcken, Bardenheuer, Holl, Völter, Leipoldt, Grützner; to these might be added Nau and the Bollandists; Hilgenfeld and Zöckler have always held this view. Here only the most recent pronouncement will be cited, that of Grützner in the art. 'Mönchtum' in Herzog-Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*; he says: 'The *Vita* without any doubt goes back to Athanasius'; and adds: 'As to the historical value of the source there can be no doubt, as Athanasius stood in close relationship with Anthony.'

(17) Dr. Preuschen has recently reprinted his Darmstadt 'Programme', wherein he cut the ground from under the theory, threatening to become the vogue, that before his conversion to Christianity St. Pachomius had been a Serapis monk, and derived thence the ideas on which he organized his monasteries. Preuschen shows that the *κείροχοι* in the temples of Serapis did not form quasi-monastic communities, and were not monks in any sense whatever. By exposing this 'unfounded myth' he claims to have given its *quietus* to the last surviving of Weingarten's theories on monastic origins.

(18) The first three parts of M. Léon Clugnet's *Bibliothèque Hagiographique Orientale*¹ contain the *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel le Scétiote*, the Greek edited by Clugnet, Syriac by Nau, and Coptic by Guidi; the Syriac *Histoire de Jean Bar Aphthonia* by Nau; a Syriac text by Kugener, and the Greek story of St. Nicholas the Soldier by Clugnet.

(19) Père Delahaye has edited in the *Analecta Bollandiana* XXII (1903) a Greek *Vita Melanios Junioris* from a Barberini MS presenting a much purer form of the life than that of the Metaphrast. It is, indeed, akin to the Latin *Vita* printed in *Anal. Boll.* VIII; but the editor waits for the new Latin text announced three years ago by Cardinal Rampolla, before discussing the relationship between the Greek and Latin. A passage in chapter 1 cited from the *Historia Lausiac* (c. 116) reveals the relationship. The Latin of this piece is a close translation of the *Hist. Laus.*; the Greek is a paraphrase, but contains enough of the actual vocabulary of Palladius to preclude the notion that it was retranslated from the Latin. This shows that the *Vita* was originally written in Greek, but that the extant Greek *Vita* has been subjected to extensive literary revision and paraphrasing, so that the Latin is the purer form. The passages will be printed in the Introduction to my text of the *Lausiac History*.

¹ *Bibliothèque Hagiographique Orientale* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1903).

² *Paris: Bolland.*

(20) So far we have dealt with texts and textual problems; two English books remain dealing with wider questions of hagiography. Mr. Rendel Harris has printed two lectures on certain twin saints in the ecclesiastical calendar¹. The argument is developed by a series of extraordinarily ingenious inductions, so that even while resisting them one by one as they appeared, the present writer felt as though a sort of web were being gradually wound around him. The thesis is that a number of the twin saints really represent the Dioscuri. The author shows how widespread was the cult of the Twins not only among Greeks and Romans, under the names of Castor and Pollux or of Amphion and Zethus, but generally among the Indo-Germanic races. The cult appears to have been religious and moral in character; and it would be in full harmony with well-known facts to suppose that features of this popular and harmless cult should have been transferred from the mythological Twins to Christian twin martyrs. In regard to the first case examined, that of the eastern martyrs Florus and Laurus, I think Mr. Rendel Harris has shown good ground for supposing that features of their cult were derived from that of the Twins; when he goes further and suggests that the Martyrs are the Twins, he is on less secure ground. Similarly I think he has shown that the writer of the apocryphal acts of Thomas 'the Twin' moulded his story on current notions connected with the cult of the Twins. The other cases appear less valid; one of them is the case of SS. Protasius and Gervasius, and here an issue of far deeper and wider import is raised. The author hardly disguises his belief that the question involved is the veracity of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, and that the whole affair was a fraud and a hoax wilfully perpetrated by St. Ambrose, who 'knew that he was parading the Dioscuri in a Christian dress.' Less brutal methods of facing the ever-recurring problem of miracles recorded by eye-witnesses have for some time prevailed. Concerning the eye-witnesses who relate St. Bernard's miracles the late Cotter Morison, while rejecting their evidence, was still prepared to say that they 'had probably as great a horror of mendacity as any who have lived before or after them'. That Ambrose and Augustine should have conspired to lie; that Ambrose should have lied hypocritically and unctuously in a private letter to his sister; that Augustine, that 'religious genius of extraordinary depth and power' (Harnack), who was at Milan at the time of the occurrences, should in later years have four or five times with wilful and wanton mendacity reverted to the story, will to some minds appear of all hypotheses the most difficult.

(21) Mr. W. H. Hutton, the Bampton Lecturer for the current year,

¹ *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (Cambridge: University Press, pp. 64).

² *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, p. 374.

has chosen for his subject the English Saints¹. The opening lecture explains the motive: the subject is regarded as a branch of Christian apologetics, the embodiments of Christianity found in the saints being taken as a voucher of the character of the religion—'by their fruits shall ye know them.' Succeeding lectures deal with the great English saints under various groupings: first come the Saints of the Conversion both Roman and Irish (and here it is to be noted that there is no disposition to exaggerate the importance of the Irish missions as contrasted with the Roman); then follow Royal Saints, Monks, Statesmen, and finally Women and Children. The book is in effect a series of pictures in which the chief saints of England are presented one by one, and their character, life's work, and influence are delineated with much skill and charm. Naturally every reader will demur to some or other of the lecturer's positions; for instance, those who have read the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* and the *Obscure Night of the Soul* and the other works of St. John of the Cross, will be bewildered on being told that 'his spiritual struggles read like the ravings of one possessed' (p. 74). But the book is written with sympathy and appreciation and even a sober enthusiasm, so that it is pleasing reading. There are two appendices, one printing for the first time a Life of St. Edward the Martyr from MS 96 of St. John's College, Oxford; the other containing notes on the question of mediaeval miracles. The numerous bibliographical references in the footnotes will be of great service.

(22) Any treatment of recent 'Franciscana' would demand more space than is here available, but the subject has been well dealt with by Professor Little in the *English Historical Review*, Oct. 1902. With most of his judgements I can agree, especially that on the *Speculum Perfectionis*; but concerning the document put forward by Friars da Civezza and Domenichelli as the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* my judgement would be more unfavourable than his, for I doubt that any homogeneous Latin text, properly so called, stands behind the Italian.

E. C. BUTLER.

¹ *The influence of Christianity upon National Character illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the English Saints* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., pp. 385).

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, July 1903 (Vol. lvi, No. 112: Spottiswoode & Co.). Religion in London—GAIRDNER's English Church History—The Age of the Fathers—The History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus—Dr. A. B. DAVIDSON's Sermons—The Letters of two Mystics—Jane Austen and her Biographers—Prayers for the Dead—Truro Cathedral—Church Autonomy and a National Council—Leo XIII—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1903 (Vol. i, No. 4: Williams and Norgate). F. G. PEABODY The Character of Jesus Christ—W. MILLER Are Indian Missions a Failure?—W. WARD The Philosophy of Authority in Religion—W. F. COBB Do we believe in the Reformation?—P. SIDNEY The Liberal Catholic Movement in England—P. S. BURRELL The growing Reluctance of able Men to take Orders—J. H. POYNTING Physical Law and Life—T. K. CHEYNE Pressing Needs of the Old Testament Study—J. MOFFATT Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity—W. R. CASSELS The Purpose of Eusebius—Discussions—Reviews.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July 1903 (Vol. xv, No. 60: Macmillan & Co.). A. H. KEANE Ea; Yahveh: Dyaus; ZEYΣ; Jupiter—S. LEVY Is there a Jewish Literature?—C. TAYLOR The Wisdom of Ben Sira—J. H. A. HART Primitive Exegesis as a Factor in the Corruption of Texts of Scripture illustrated from the Versions of Ben Sira—G. MARGOLIOUTH An early Copy of the Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch.—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge—A. S. YAHUDA Hapax Legomena im Alten Testament—E. N. ADLER Professor Blau on the Bible as a Book.

The Expositor, July 1903 (Sixth Series, No. 43: Hodder & Stoughton). T. H. STOKOE The Edition of the Revised Version with marginal References, 1898—S. R. DRIVER Translations from the Prophets: Jeremiah xxii, xxiii—G. S. STREATFIELD The Fatherhood of God: a Study in Spiritual Evolution—T. BARNES The Catholic Epistles of Themison—H. BLACK The Gospel of Work—TH. ZAHN Missionary Methods in the Times of the Apostles.

August 1903 (Sixth Series, No. 44). J. DENNEY The Atonement and the Modern Mind—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St. Mark—H. B. SWETE The Teaching of Christ in the Gospel of St. Luke—E. J. GOODSPEED Did Alexandria influence the nautical Language of St. Luke? A Study of Acts xxviii 12 in the light of Greek Papyri—A. E. GARVIE The Value-Judgements of Religion—J. MOFFATT Some recent Foreign Literature on the New Testament.

September 1903 (Sixth Series, No. 45). J. DENNEY The Atonement and the Modern Mind—A. E. GARVIE Otto Ritschl, Reischle, and Scheibe, on Value-Judgements in Religion—J. H. BERNARD God as Spirit—J. HOATSON James Martineau and Frederic Robertson: a Study of Influence—A. CARR A Note on St. John vii 52: A Prophet or The Prophet—TH. ZAHN Missionary Methods in the Times of the Apostles.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1903 (Vol. vii, No. 3: Chicago University Press). C. A. BRIGGS Catholic—the Name and the Thing—A. H. WILDE Decadence of Learning in Gaul in the seventh and eighth Centuries, as viewed especially in the Lives of the Saints—W. B. SMITH The Pauline Manuscripts *F* and *G*: a Text-Critical Study—Recent Theological Literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1903 (Vol. i, No. 3: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). A. T. ORMOND James McCosh as Thinker and Educator—W. M. McPHEETERS The Question of the Authorship of the Books of Scripture: a Criticism of Current Views—J. F. RIGGS Missionary Policy in the Levant—W. H. JOHNSON Evolution and Theology to-day—A. C. ZENOS Revelation or Discovery—G. G. CAMERON The Laws peculiar to Deuteronomy—B. B. WARFIELD Sanctifying the Pelagians—H. C. MINTON 'The Varieties of Religious Experience'—Recent Literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Biblique, July 1903 (Vol. xii, No. 3: Paris, V. Lecoffre). V. ROSE Études sur la théologie de saint Paul—M.-J. LAGRANGE El et Jahve—Mélanges: N. SCHLOEGL Le chapitre v du Livre des Juges—E. DUVAL Le texte grec de Jérémie, d'après une étude récente—S. RONZEVALLÉ Quelques monuments de Gebeil-Byblos et de ses environs—M.-J. LAGRANGE Nouvelle note sur les inscriptions du temple d'Echmoun—A. CONDAMIN Transpositions accidentelles—M. VAN BERCHEM Épigraphie palestinienne: Inscription arabe de Bâniâs—M. ABEL Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée—Chronique: M.-R. SAVIGNAC Un tombeau romain à Beit-Nettif; Une église byzantine à Yadoudeh; Fouilles anglaises—Recensions—Bulletin.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1904

THE REACTION OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT ON THEOLOGICAL STUDY¹.

1. *The reaction of intellectual progress on sacred studies.* There have been many periods of the past when the tone and character of theological discussion have been directly influenced by the intellectual conditions of the day. The impulse which was given to philosophic thought in the West by Averroes had its effect at Christian seats of learning, and called forth the theology of St Thomas Aquinas. The new enthusiasm for literature at the Renaissance was closely connected with that critical study of the Greek Testament which was associated with the Reformation. It is almost inevitable that the remarkable progress in physical science, which occurred during the nineteenth century, and which has taken such hold upon the popular mind, should react in some fashion upon the study of Theology. The history of intellectual development seems to shew that some force and freshness may be secured in presenting Christian truth, if theologians can in any way adopt the current habit of mind. The new movement may at least indicate a mode of approaching sacred studies which is likely to be invigorating and fruitful.

It is, of course, obvious that the new developments of science may suggest modifications in the form in which Christian truth is expressed. Science has afforded phraseology and illustrations which some writers, like the late Professor Drummond, have used with effect, though not always wisely. But the scientific move-

¹ A paper read (in part) before the Ely Diocesan Branch of the Society for Sacred Studies, April 30, 1903.

ment touches more than modes of expression, and its influence must go deeper. Christianity is a literary religion, which treasures sacred books, and the application of critical methods to sacred literature gave rise to a new learning among sixteenth-century theologians. But Christianity is not only a literary religion; it is also a historical religion, introduced into the world at a definite time and place, and embodied in certain events. The habits of minds which are formed in connexion with the study of other occurrences in time, are necessarily employed in the modern effort to appreciate aright the phenomena of the life of our Lord and of the growth and diffusion of the religion He revealed.

There is, in many minds, a good deal of suspicion of this tendency—a suspicion that is by no means unnatural. Those who believe that it opens up a real step in progress, may yet be ready to admit that in this, as in all progress, there is loss as well as gain. The coming of the Kingdom of God was marked by the fall, as well as by the rise, of many in Israel. At every other step in advance there are double results. Both the good and the evil of progress were manifested at the Reformation. The changes which then occurred in habits of thought tended to the disintegrating of religious institutions, and the loss of the old ideal of the religious life, but they also made for the consecration of secular life and the stimulating of religious activity. Both the good and the evil of progress have been exhibited in the past, and both are doubtless involved in the movement of the present day. It is not possible for us to assess the loss and gain of any contemporary change; but we may at least attempt to consider where the gain is to be sought for, so that we may avail ourselves of it to the fullest extent.

2. *The modern scientific spirit.* The great scientific movement of the last two hundred years, and especially of last century, has shewn itself in the direction of accumulating and co-ordinating experience. Empirical science takes facts as ultimate—the particular observations of particular minds—and sets itself to check and confirm their accuracy by reference to the particular observations of other particular minds. The multiplying of laboratories has been due to the desire to train the rising generation of students in habits of careful observation and experiment, and to

the feeling that, even for purposes of learning, we need actual demonstration and manipulation—personal experience—where it may be had ; not mere book knowledge of opinions and theories, but actual contact with observed fact—so that the student may be in a position to interpret other phenomena in the light of his own experience.

This is the positive aspect of the scientific movement, but it has also a negative side. In order to attain its object, as completely as possible, each empirical science is compelled to concentrate, and to discard lines of enquiry that have no direct bearing on the matter in hand. For the purpose of progress in physical investigation, it is unnecessary to raise any of the deeper philosophical questions as to the nature of the universe or the validity of human knowledge. Science takes for granted that apprehension, by the individual mind through the senses, is a sufficiently reliable instrument for attaining knowledge as to the relations between different physical phenomena. We can assume, too, that the conditions necessary for such investigation remain similar throughout the whole period of human life upon the globe. We may take for granted that the data observable within that time enable us to penetrate, with a high degree of probability, to eras when no direct human observation or experience was possible. The range of enquiry thus opened up is large enough to absorb the energies and kindle the enthusiasm of the most eager and active minds. They do not feel that it is their business to go into philosophical speculations about the matters that lie to hand, or that such speculations can advance their enquiries. It may be admitted that one solution of the ultimate problems is better than another, but to attain a solution at all seems to be one of the luxuries of thought, and does not assist in the prosecution of particular research. Hence it comes about, that science as science—what we may call the scientific spirit—is, in its negative side, indifferent to philosophy and to religion, as lying outside its sphere ; it is, properly speaking, agnostic. That many scientific students are, as men, intensely interested in philosophical and religious questions is another matter. I am speaking of the characteristics and limitations of the habit of thought which has been increasingly dominant among educated people during the last half century.

3. *Biblical science as closely analogous to other sciences.* It is natural that men of our generation, who have formed this habit of thought, should retain it when they turn attention to such fields of interest as the phenomena of religious history in general and of the beginnings of Christianity in particular. There is a tendency to treat theological study as a department of science which deals with the phenomena of sacred literature and religious institutions, so that it may be pursued on the same lines as any other branch of science. When we press the analogy, we may feel that we can, and perhaps that we ought, to lay aside all the opinions and feelings which might bias our investigations, and view the records of the life of our Lord and the beginnings of the Church as so many literary and historical phenomena to be interpreted in accordance with literary and historical experience. The pursuit of Biblical Science on these lines yields many interesting results as to the composition of the sacred books. The date when any author, sacred or profane, wrote is a literary problem, to be settled by critical methods which do not necessarily involve a special sympathy with the matter of the books, or much interest in the subject of which they treat. Similarly, we may feel that skilled analysis is needed to detect the precise form of any teaching that made a stir in bygone days, to distinguish it from other doctrines that were then current, and to trace the influences which favoured its genesis and diffusion. It seems as if skill in handling literary and historical evidence were the only equipment which is needed in order to pursue sacred studies on the lines which are proving fruitful in other branches of empirical research, and that in order to reap the results of the modern intellectual impulse, we have only to set ourselves to apply ordinary methods of investigation in a new field. This appears to me to be the position taken by Canon Henson, and others of my friends; but it does not satisfy me. There is a danger of merely imbibing the scientific spirit in its negative aspect and accepting its self-imposed limitations, and of missing the stimulus of its positive example.

4. *The importance of laboratory work.* We shall miss in sacred studies the full benefit of the impulse which has come from scientific progress, unless we are encouraged to take a further step. Empirical science is not content with discussing the

experience of other people ; its power and vigour lie in the stress it lays on actual personal experience—on the constant checking of accepted results, and the testing of principles in different conditions. It is not mere book knowledge that is valued, but knowledge that has moulded the personal faculties of the student, and taught him what to look for and how to observe ; he has to do with knowledge that is verified and tested as a practical thing under his own eyes.

Personal experience gives a sense of the actuality of the objects of study that can never be obtained from books. For the sake of convenience of study it is necessary to isolate particular aspects of phenomena, and to study them apart ; empirical science, that is merely a thing of books, necessarily retains this division into subjects ; but the fields of the various sciences cannot be really marked out by hard and fast lines. Chemical phenomena do not exist by themselves, nor do physical phenomena ; all natural phenomena are to be investigated in their chemical and in their physical aspects. In books these topics remain apart and isolated ; it is in the laboratory that the interdependence of various factors, which we find it convenient to study separately, is seen, and that the actual character of the object of study, in all its complexity, and divested of false simplicity, comes out.

Actual investigation in a laboratory has also an educative effect on the student himself ; it quickens his insight and intelligence. It enables him to use the records of the observations made by others more intelligently, to see perhaps the importance of a point to which the observer has given little attention. The great vigour of the empirical sciences lies in the fact that students are consciously and constantly engaged in co-ordinating personal and recorded experience. This is the characteristic mark of the 'live' studies of our time. The increased interest in History is largely due to the fact that it is so easy to co-ordinate current observation of human conduct with the recorded experience of human life. History, as Seeley used to say, is past politics, and politics is present-day history. The depreciation of the study of dead languages, of which we hear so much in current talk, is due to a common failure to see that the classics serve for the formation of literary excellence in

modern authorship; Latin and Greek, to many minds, have no relation with ordinary life, as we live it. Theological study is also liable to be treated as stagnant, and it will not gain the full benefit of the intellectual impulse of the present day, unless it is consciously pursued with the aim and object of co-ordinating recorded religious experience in the past with actual and personal religious experience as it exists to day.

5. *Religious experience, as recorded.* Actual experience gives us knowledge of the relations between different physical phenomena, and actual experience has also brought into light a knowledge of other relations which concern us. Experience affords the subject-matter of religion as well as of science. There are two great realities in the Universe, as each of us knows it—the thought and will of which we are each conscious within, and the Thought and Will which expresses itself in all that is. There are relations between each human personality and the Eternal Thought and Will, from which all come, to which all go, 'in whom we live and move and have our being'. It is the part of the Christian religion to bring these complex relations into consciousness, and thus to render personal religious experience full and deep. There is a sense of sin—the knowledge of human frailty, as it stands out against a background of infinite righteousness. There may be, too, a sense of pardon, of changed relations with the Eternal Will, a participation in the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord does not impute his sin. And the individual apprehension of these relations, and of changes of relationship between the individual and the Eternal Will, constitutes a body of personal religious experience.

It is well to remember that the Bible, and especially the Gospels, do not claim to be a mere chronicle of events by dispassionate observers; they are rather records of personal religious experience—of the occasions and events through which certain men attained to new conceptions of the relations between God and man. This fact comes out in regard both to the writers' qualification for their task and to the object they set before themselves in undertaking it. Men who had personal experience of divine things—of the power of Christ's words, and the import of the signs He shewed, put it on record that after generations might try to cultivate religious experience, substantially similar to that

which the Apostles enjoyed. *These are written*, as we read in the Fourth Gospel, *that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life through His name.* This is the purpose these writers had in view, not merely to put certain interesting discourses and marvellous events on record to satisfy the curiosity and rouse the admiration of future ages, but to diffuse a knowledge of the relations between God and man, so that all men, who read their writings, may enter into the same conscious and close relations with the eternal God, as they had themselves attained by means of their companionship with Jesus Christ. They had come to believe in God, not merely as the patron of their race, and the God of their battles, but as the Father of each and every one of His children. They had taken Jesus Christ, as not only their Master, but their Lord and their God, and they relied on the help of the Holy Spirit for guidance and comfort. We of this generation cannot see what they saw with their eyes, or hear the gracious words that proceeded from the mouth of the Lord. The tones of His voice and the expression of His countenance—that which gives most meaning to our intercourse with friends—are lost to us for ever. But for all that, it was the conviction of the sacred writers that after generations might share in the same spiritual experience which they themselves enjoyed. The same consciousness of an intimate, complex relationship with God Himself, the same hope for this life and the next, which they cherished, is possible for all mankind.

6. *The validity of religious experience.* It is true that religious experience, like other experience, has an intuitive force, which carries conviction with it at the moment, and makes doubt of the truth conveyed impossible. But this prevailing conviction may not always be maintained in the minds of those who reflect on the feelings and impressions of past years, and it cannot be transferred directly to the recorded experience of others. We have all need to reassure ourselves as to the validity of religious experience. The question must arise—May it not, after all, be a subjective feeling of remorse, or a subjective feeling of peace? What reason is there to believe that such states of consciousness testify to real relationships between God and man, and are not mere feelings and fancies of ecstatic individuals?

It is obvious that the difficulty which arises, as to the validity of *any* experience, must be felt in regard to religious experience. But it is noticeable that Christian experience has always claimed to be tried by the very tests which we apply to all experience. We ask, in regard to other conscious states, whether the results reached are true for all intelligences alike? Now this is precisely the test to which Christian experience makes its appeal. *O taste and see that God is good*, is the confident invitation it echoes. It holds that for all human minds and wills there is a possibility of the consciousness of sin, in its guilt and shame, and that for all, too, there is a possibility of pardon and conscious union with God. The very claim of Christianity to be a universal religion, appealing to all men—of all races and all temperaments alike—is another way of stating the case for the validity of the Christian experience of each.

Another indication of the character of Christian experience—as no mere subjective impression—is to be found in its practical working in the world. The convictions which are rooted in religious experience—and I am not speaking of Christianity only—have an active influence. The moulding of human character, the creation of human institutions, which has gone on under the stimulus and guidance of religious conviction, is at least a testimony to potency from generation to generation, which is not easily compatible with the opinion that religious experience is merely a subjective illusion. Religious experience is valid, because it is creative in the realm of morality, and finds expression in human institutions of many kinds.

7. *The differences between religious and other experience.* Even if religious experience be approved as valid, when tried by the tests to which all personal impressions are subjected, there can be no doubt that it is fundamentally different in many ways from other experience. The data on which the theologian builds are different in kind from those which are co-ordinated in science—and this difference renders the methods of investigation, which we apply in one case, unsuitable in others.

Natural science in all its branches has to do with phenomena that are observable by the senses—sight, touch, hearing, and so forth. Theology has to do with experiences which belong to the inner life of thought and will. In the physical sciences, human

intelligence is, from the common-sense standpoint, a mere observer and reporter, looking on at movements which occur beyond it. But so far as religious experience goes, human consciousness is the field as well as the instrument of observation. And not only so; the individual mind serves to co-ordinate sense impressions and the relations of external phenomena to each other, to the satisfaction of the observer. But no human mind is able to attain to more than a very partial and imperfect apprehension of the relations of the individual human will and the Eternal Will. Face to face with Perfect Goodness, and Perfect Knowledge, and Eternal Being, the human mind is conscious of its own limitations, its inability to grasp or express the truth about such Being, and the mystery of His dealings with the changing, imperfect natures that we know. The field of religious experience is different from that of ordinary experience, and the limitation and weakness of human intelligence must be borne in mind all the time.

From this it obviously follows that the methods of investigation which are appropriate in regard to scientific enquiry will not serve in the new sphere. Religious experience takes us to the very heart of things, and places us in direct relation with the power that moves in all that is. It gives us a standpoint from which we no longer look on the world merely from outside. It brings a man into closest intercourse with the very meaning of things: he may find there within himself the working of spiritual powers accomplishing the impossible, breaking the bands of those sins which he had by his frailty committed, controlling the sequence of cause and effect as we find it in the world of mere phenomena. And in the light of that experience he will see the world of phenomena in a new light. He will recognize the creative power of the Spirit of Life in quickening human aspiration and raising men to newness of life; he will recognize the power of the Divine Ideal, that has appealed to him from the cross of Calvary; he will trace a Fatherly hand presiding over all, disciplining individual lives, shaping the destinies of principalities and powers, and giving a worthy meaning and object to all the ages that went to the preparation of an earth that furnishes a stage for the drama of human existence.

From this point of view, the personal religious experience of the Christian man—in all its complexity—is the type in the light of which the worth of all the simpler and tentative forms can be

seen. As Christians we have the norm, the idea, of religious truth; the recorded phenomena of religious growth are illustrations and confirmations of that which we know, not, as in natural sciences, the basis on which our knowledge is built. The methods of inductive research, by which the hypotheses of the physicist are proved or disproved, are inapplicable in the sphere of religious experience. The hypothesis of a supernatural life is not one that can be proved or disproved by empirical methods; it may be illustrated and confirmed, but not established.

Though the methods of investigation are necessarily so different, the process by which progress may be secured is the same. Advance is to be hoped for by the careful effort to co-ordinate actual and personal religious experience with religious experience as recorded in the past. We must go on from the mental attitude of the student in a museum to that of the investigator in a laboratory. Theological students will do well to cultivate personal religious experience as preliminary to, and correlative with, the study of the experience that is recorded in literature and history. It is in the conjunction of the two sides that the student may attain to greater insight in the interpretation of recorded experience, and greater power of apprehension in the present. Empirical science with its rapid advance, and its constant recourse to actual observation and experiment, is a standing warning against any divorce between these two sides. If we are content to analyse religious experience in the past, by itself, and apart from actual religious experience now, we may be ingenious, but there is at least a danger that our conclusions will be superficial.

8. *The growth of experience and the aims of sacred study.* The more we look upon sacred study as the investigation of a living body of religious experience, and the co-ordination of present-day with recorded experience, the more easily shall we grasp the truth that theological study is not only alive, but growing. This conviction will safeguard us against the danger of supposing that our studies are exhaustive, or that we have reached a statement of knowledge that is at all final. The manifestation of the Eternal in time, is not and cannot be, complete and exhaustive. The data furnished to us are not complete, God's Spirit is working in the world, and leading with a deeper knowledge of God.

We dare not, therefore, limit the field of religious experience to any particular era in the past. Unless we keep this clearly before us, we are in danger of turning to the Bible, as if we could find in it exhaustive knowledge of God's dealings with men. There are several distinct aims we may keep before us in the study of the Bible, and though all the ways of reading it may be good, they are not all equally good.

There may be the careful study of the letter, so as to get the precise shade of meaning which any sentence conveys; the first impression as to what the words mean may be quite true so far as it goes, but there is a depth of thought and a delicacy of expression in every part of the Bible, that makes it well worth pondering so that we may appreciate the precise significance and full force of every phrase.

Or, we may read the volume for the sake of getting at the personality of the author, and noting what were the special features in our Lord's ministry which interested one or another of the evangelists. It may be our aim to get at the man through his writing, and this sort of enquiry is especially interesting in the case of the divine library.

All such study of the Bible is good; but we do not get the best out of it, unless we are eager not only to enter into the thoughts and feelings of the writers, but to make them our own, and live them over again ourselves. We must not merely admire the beauty of Christian teaching, but take it as a principle which reproduces itself in our own words and deeds. It is best to study Christian truth with the hope and aim of trying to verify it for ourselves.

Since religious experience is still growing and the data are still incomplete, we cannot suppose that any interpretation of them, or expression of the truth about God and His relations to man, is complete and final. We must recognize the possibility of continued progress in Theology, the possibility of attaining to a fuller apprehension and clearer statement of truth. The terms we employ change their significance as human thought advances. There is a danger in treating any expression of the relations between God and man as at all complete. St Thomas Aquinas worked out the *Summa* under the influence of revived legal study, and settled each point as he raised it, by references

to authoritative opinions; and thus he built up a self-consistent system enunciating the Voice of the Church. But St Thomas did not say the last word; religious experience has been growing; some of his phraseology is out of date, some of his conceptions have been outlived, for the life of the Church has not stood still. There is room to discriminate between the aspects of his doctrine which were characteristic of his time, and the truths which hold good for all time. He has not given us an utterance which is final.

If there is no completeness in the systematic collection of the authoritative utterances and the interpretation thus given of the data of experience, there is certainly none in the judgement of any individual consciousness. This cannot be all-embracing, complete, final. There are those who hold themselves free to reject any Christian teaching that has not awakened a conscious echo in their own souls. There are diversities of operations, but the same Spirit; the experience of the Body—the Church—is larger and more complete than any individual consciousness can hope to acquire. None of us dare say that we have attained to full knowledge, or to a perfect understanding, of the mysteries of Grace, we can only make it our constant aim to enter personally into a fuller apprehension of the faith of the Church, and to be personally partakers in the life of the Church in a larger manner.

The fact that theological knowledge is growing must be borne in mind, if we are inclined to press the analogies with physical science and lay down lines as to the scope of the subject and to define a group of phenomena which we will sever from the rest. Empirical Science finds it convenient to classify phenomena into groups, according to the senses through which we detect them, or the ideas under which we can classify them. But religious experience cannot be thus isolated and severed. Religion takes into account the "total reaction upon life"¹; it deals with the man as a whole, his inner life no less than his outer life, his conscious relations to God, no less than his relations to things in space. Analogies with empirical science there may be, suggestions and illustrations may be drawn from it, but theology cannot be really ranged among the empirical sciences as if it were merely one of them, since it deals with a totality—be it the totality of con-

¹ W. James *Varieties of Religious Experience* p. 22.

sciousness, or of the universe ;—and hence, theology, as the schoolmen would have it, is the *scientia scientiarum*.

Nor are we even justified in limiting the field and working of spiritual activity by reference to the principles which may be safely assumed in regard to other human experience. Habitual reference to personal religious experience affords a new criterion of the possible and the probable. There is no forgiveness in Nature, there is no intelligible place for a doctrine of forgiveness in mere Theism. But those who have experience of it as a fact that has made a difference in their own lives, will feel that the creative power of the living God must manifest itself—if it be manifested at all—in a fashion which is at variance with mechanical routine. The record of the miraculous birth and rising from the dead of the man Christ Jesus, becomes intelligible to them, just because it fits in with their own conscious life. *Credo*, such a man may say, *credo quia impossibile*.

The late bishop of London used to insist that the distinctive feature of the English Church, as apart from the other branches of the Church in the West and the East, was that she cherished sound learning ; that the love of learning and the determination to test her teaching in the light of learning was a feature which had been marked since at least the Reformation era. But I think it is equally noticeable that she has preserved the tradition, which has been lost in so many protestant bodies, of insisting that her clergy shall habitually cultivate personal religious experience. The daily offices which are incumbent upon her clergy, the weekly celebrations which were insisted on in colleges, testify to the mind of the Church in this matter. Divine learning is to be fostered, but not in a merely secular spirit ; it is to be sought for, partly by study, and partly through the clear light of personal consciousness of God's truth.

W. CUNNINGHAM.

A PLEA FOR SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.

It is with considerable diffidence that I venture to plead the cause of Scholastic Theology. To the popular mind in this country it suggests a tissue of subtle sophisms or a farrago of futile enquiries such as the question how many angels can dance on the point of a needle. For the more educated and better informed it is but an unwieldy mass of antiquated matter unfit for modern use, perverting or obscuring the truth, and employing a terminology unsatisfying and meaningless. Were Scholastic Theology what it is by many thought to be, it would certainly deserve all the antipathy felt towards it; but it is precisely because I believe it to be so widely and so thoroughly misunderstood that I am anxious to present it in what I conceive to be its true character. The simplest and most direct method will be to describe its function and scope. It is called Scholastic because it was the kind of theology that prevailed for a considerable period and occupied so important a position in the schools of Europe. This bare fact will not assist us to understand what Scholastic Theology is, unless we investigate the nature of the theology of the schools.

The function of theology in general is to treat of God and of what relates to Him. Supernatural theology, to which I now restrict my remarks, has for its subject-matter God's revealed word. For my present purpose I shall consider a twofold function which theology can exercise. It may examine God's revealed word or, as it is called, the deposit of faith, and may extract from it various revealed truths or articles of faith. It may shew how these articles are contained in the deposit. Thus it may shew that according to Holy Scripture God is one nature in three Persons; God the Son became man; without Baptism it is impossible to enter heaven; faith is necessary unto salvation. It places these truths before us and proves them to be Scriptural. Theology whilst exercising such a function is called Positive, and

admirable specimens of it are to be found in the works of the Fathers of the Church, who excelled as Positive theologians.

Positive theology is undoubtedly most important since it is fundamental. It holds a foremost and necessary position in the theological domain. Yet it performs only one function of theology, and that an initial one. It occupies the first and preliminary stage in the presentment of revealed truth. Consequently of itself it is incomplete, since there remains a further work to be accomplished. It brings forth from the deposit of faith and proposes to us revealed truths, and here its function ceases. There is consequently another function of theology we may consider. It is possible to collect, co-ordinate, and systematize revealed truths. It is possible to investigate them, to analyse them, to try to penetrate them, to increase our understanding of them. We may shew the relation of one to the other, their mutual dependence, their harmony. By arguments of analogy and congruity we may confirm them, and we may shew how conformable they are to reason and to natural truths. From the truths supplied us by Positive theology we may deduce others, and we may resolve them into their various consequences. This is the function of the theology we call Scholastic. It begins where the Positive leaves off, and its first principles are the truths which the Positive supplies to it.

The human mind is so constituted by God that it is ever eager to attain to its proper object, and it seeks to grasp it as fully and as completely as its capacity will allow. It endeavours to view truth in all its aspects, to illustrate it, to make it more acceptable by removing difficulties and by solving objections brought against it. As the instrument of Scholastic Theology it enables us to have a more intelligent appreciation of revealed truth, and its exercise imparts an especial pleasure in making acts of faith. Since God has entrusted to man a body of revelation, He does not mean that he should merely passively accept it and lay it up in a napkin. 'Therefore the apostle Peter¹ warns us that we ought to be ready to answer every one who asks us the reason of our faith and hope, because if an unbeliever ask the reason of my faith and hope and I see that before he believes he cannot

¹ 1 Pet. iii 15.

comprehend, I give him as a reason this fact itself, that therein he may see, if possible, how preposterously he asks, before he believes, the reason of those things which he cannot comprehend. But if one who is already a believer asks the reason, in order that he may understand what he believes, his capacity must be considered so that according to it, when the reason has been given, he may obtain as great an understanding of his faith as possible, a greater if he comprehends more, a less understanding if he comprehends less; provided, however, that until he arrive at the fullness and perfection of knowledge he depart not from the path of faith.¹ The truths of revelation are not to be preserved as mere fossil remains. It is difficult to see how we can have a lively and fervent faith, a yearning after a greater knowledge of God and after a more intimate union with Him, and not embrace readily His sacred word and reverently exercise our intelligence upon it. 'But perhaps some one may say: Shall there then be no growth of religious doctrine in the Church of Christ? By all means let there be growth and that to the utmost. For who is there so hostile to men, and hateful to God as to endeavour to prevent it? But, notwithstanding, let it so be that it be truly a growth of faith and not a change. Since to growth it belongs that each thing be expanded to the full measure of itself, but to change that something be altered from one thing to another. Let there then be an increase and growth, a strong and exuberant growth, of understanding, knowledge, and wisdom, as well in individuals as in the community, as well in one man as in the whole Church by gradual lapse of ages and centuries, but only in their own kind, namely in the same doctrine, the same sense and same meaning.'² A religious body of men should not be an inert, lifeless mass, but a living, active, energetic organism. But Scholastic Theology imports activity of mind upon the truths entrusted to it. It displays revelation in all its beauty and splendour, and with a marvellous fecundity unfolds to us, so far as the limitation of the finite human intellect permits, the infinite depth and breadth of the Divine word.

There are some revealed truths the human mind can understand, whilst there are others which surpass the natural comprehension of every created intellect. Nevertheless of them all,

St Aug. *Ep.* 120 § 4.

² St Vinc. *Lir. Commonit.* c. xxiii § 55.

each according to its measure, the mind strives to have a deeper knowledge. Hence the precursor of Scholastic theologians exclaims: 'I do not try, O Lord, to fathom thy depth; because in no wise do I compare my intellect with thine, but I long to understand to some extent thy truth which my heart believes and loves. Nor indeed do I seek to understand in order to believe; but I believe in order to understand. For this too I believe, that unless I believe I shall not understand.'¹ It is the love of God's truth that prompts the desire to apprehend it more fully and completely. Scholastic Theology does not seek to rationalize faith by undermining or supplanting its formal object and by explaining its material object away, but to strengthen faith by indirectly confirming it, by shewing how compatible it is with our rational nature, and by enhancing and multiplying the inducements to believe. Of it may be said: 'With all diligence this one thing [the Church of Christ] strives after, that by treating faithfully and wisely the things that are old it may make them exact and smooth, if in any way they are previously unformed and inchoate; may confirm and strengthen them if they are already clearly expressed and developed.'² It depends upon Positive theology for the raw material which it humbly, lovingly, and reverently accepts, and which by activity, industry, subtlety, power, and skill it weaves into a vesture of marvellous beauty, shape, and symmetry for Christ's Mystical Body on earth.

So far I have spoken of the function of Scholastic Theology. Its scope is noble indeed and worthy of the highest faculty of man. But there is also the form to be considered. If we turn to the works of those who are generally acknowledged to rank as princes of Scholastic theologians, as St Thomas, St Bonaventure and Suarez, we shall be struck by certain characteristics. There is an entire absence of verbiage. No appeal is made to the feelings by the use of rhetoric. The language is perfectly simple and unadorned. There is nothing to move the mind except the sheer force of evidence of the bare truth. Men who are in search of truth are anxious to remove any hindrance whatever, whether it be beauty of language or exuberance of expression. Error or sophistry more easily conceals itself beneath

¹ St Anselm *Proslog.* c. i.

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² St Vinc. Lir. *Commonit.* c. xxiii § 60.

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multiplicity or complexity of words. Besides, the more that words abound, the more the argument is imbedded in them and the more difficult it is to extract it. Whereas if the argument is put before us in a jejune manner, the mind seizes it more quickly and more accurately, and is better able to appreciate its intrinsic worth. Hence occurs the frequent use of the syllogism, which employs no superfluous or redundant word.

Moreover there is a fixed terminology. Scholastic theologians were not wont to excogitate each for himself a new vocabulary or nomenclature and arbitrarily determine in what sense they would employ it. But they accepted the terminology handed down to them, which had been consecrated by continuous use and by time, and which had been polished and rendered more definite and accurate by the skilful handling and treatment of successive generations of the ablest and subtlest intellects. The Aristotelian philosophy no doubt enters largely into Scholastic Theology; but it does not constitute its essence and scope. It is used as a vehicle of thought and expression, and is adopted where theologians judge it to be true; for Scholastic Theology does not banish reason but exercises it upon the articles of faith.

I may be asked why am I so anxious to defend Scholastic Theology. It seems to me that if Anglican theologians would employ it, it would be a great gain for them as well as for others. The earlier Anglican divines spent much of their time and labour in protesting against, and in trying to refute, the errors of Papists. Of late years they have devoted themselves chiefly to Holy Scriptures and the Fathers. No one can deny that they have done excellent work in promoting and advancing Scriptural and Patristic studies. They deserve all praise in these special lines. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that they have not progressed further where progress is possible. They will not venture into the domain of Scholastic Theology; but they approach its confines and there they stop. Why should they not do for it what they have done for other branches? Why should they not endeavour to treat the articles of faith in a scientific manner, and to attain to a greater understanding of their full significance? It is quite true that at the present day Christian theologians are greatly absorbed in defending the fact itself of

revelation against unbelievers. But notwithstanding the necessity of Christian apologetics at this crisis of doubt and infidelity, some time may be spared for other duties, nor need all engage in fighting against the infidel.

One reason which may prevent the cultivation of Scholastic Theology is the want of unanimity in the articles which are to serve as first principles of Scholastic Theological science. There must first be agreement in these. This may be an objection, but only a partial one, nor is it insuperable. Combined labour in the same line usually supposes a common starting-point. Nevertheless there are certain revealed doctrines which Anglicans generally hold, and from these they may commence. If they would only combine and carry on a united work in the development, evolution, and illustration of Christian dogma, the result would be an immense gain.

In many minds there is a dislike of the Scholastic system, which they identify with the syllogism. They tell us that faith does not depend upon the syllogism and no one is convinced by it. But such an assertion is irrelevant here; for I am not speaking of the motives of credibility nor of faith and its ultimate analysis. I am supposing faith, and faith in truths which have been arrayed before us by the special function of Positive theology. I am speaking of the exercise of reason upon what the deposit of faith has yielded up to us. Just as we can reason from the first principles of a purely natural science, so can we employ ratiocination upon those first principles which in Scholastic Theology are the articles of faith. If a person take exception to observing the laws of logic in Scholastic Theology, he should take the same exception, if he is consistent, in his advancement of every natural science. With such a one it would be idle to pursue the discussion further, unless he divest himself of such a misconception.

Then there are many who do not wish to be restricted to modest proportions in arguing or reasoning. They fill page upon page with excellent English. They introduce happy and pleasing illustrations. They display a vast amount of erudition and general reading and culture. But if all that really constituted the argument were stripped of superfluities and were stated in its strictly essential form, pages would be reduced by such

condensation to a few lines and then the true strength or weakness of the reasoning would be made manifest in its bare reality. Unfortunately we have grown so accustomed in this country to the diffuse and literary style that it would inflict quite a shock upon our taste and feelings to be suddenly confronted with such a revolutionary proceeding. Under the present circumstances I doubt if theology will ever make much progress in the line of developement. We are so accustomed to a loose style of argument and to literary effect, that we often fail to discover fallacies and ambiguities and also waste time in wading through a vast amount which in reality is not to the point or is unnecessary. A trained Scholastic theologian would first propose the question, and then he would marshal in its defence various arguments or proofs in a clear, concise, unadorned, logical, and unimpassioned form. He would solve the principal arguments brought forward in support of the contradictory doctrine. He would use the terminology which other theologians would accept and employ in exactly the same sense. He would not distract the mind by idle words or useless matter. When arguments are examined by theologian after theologian, a consensus will finally arise as to their cogency and validity, and then the doctrine which rests upon them, if they are recognized as valid, will become a common theological opinion. Thus by degrees opinion after opinion is firmly established, and such a process indicates advance.

In this country we are too apt to confound the history of theology with theology itself. No one should underrate the importance of the history of dogma or of theological opinions. It is of the greatest use and value both for the proper equipment of every theologian and for the purposes of teaching. Nevertheless it has its own special sphere and should never be made to do duty for theology. A serious defect in philosophy at the present day is that we have men giving us the views of others and holding nothing themselves. They will propound the different opinions, and so far they act as historians; but they not unfrequently fail to do the real and critical work of philosophy by examining, analysing, and weighing the arguments upon which these opinions are based. They seem afraid to commit themselves. Moreover, if they are to train the minds of

others, they should propose something definite which they themselves are prepared to maintain, and they should not allow their pupils to drift over a sea of opinions without chart, without compass, and towards no settled port. If they hold no definite body of doctrine which they are able to communicate, they should not attempt to teach. Let us then duly appreciate Positive theology and the history of theology, but let us also whilst using them both strive to advance in the peculiar sphere of Scholastic Theology.

Sometimes it happens that an Anglican theologian may hold certain articles of faith which Catholic theologians hold, and yet he may make statements which Catholic theologians declare to be inconsistent with those articles. I venture to assert that if he had cultivated Scholastic Theology, he would have refrained from making those statements, since he would have perceived their inconsistency. The fact is, he has not worked out the articles of faith to their legitimate conclusions. Consequently he has not that definite, consistent, and guiding system which such a development or evolution produces. If he had caused the articles of faith to germinate, to produce the various deductions which naturally follow from them, and to put forth explicitly by evolution what is latent or implicitly contained in them, a system would be evolved with its ramifications and would disclose what a theologian could consistently affirm or deny. Thus he would not be betrayed through lack of this system into asserting what, from his own standpoint or position, would be illogical or inconsistent. For instance, if a theologian accepts as an article of faith that God the Son has become incarnate and is substantially man, or in other words that our Blessed Lord is God the Son made man, he cannot logically allow that our Blessed Lord could sin. At one time there were those who theoretically admitted such a possibility; but by degrees truth became more manifest, so that now the common opinion of theologians excludes this possibility. This is an instance of progress in the attainment of truth. At present therefore no Catholic theologian would maintain as probable that Christ whilst on earth could have committed sin. Also some Anglican theologians speak of the knowledge of Christ's human intellect in a way they would avoid, had they, after the method of the schools, analysed the

nature and exigency of the hypostatic union and followed this analysis to its logical and legitimate consequences.

Likewise in discussions on free will in man, some divines, I am told, enuntiate opinions which are at variance with their belief in the redemption of man and his co-operating in it by satisfying and meriting. This is to be regretted; for it is to build up and destroy the same edifice. A logical system carefully worked out would be an inestimable gain to such men. They may have all the qualities to fit them to be able theologians; but they lack that very instrument which would enable them to use those qualities efficiently and successfully.

There is another point I submit for consideration. The cultivation of Scholastic Theology, besides leading Anglican divines to a greater unanimity amongst themselves and to a deeper and fuller appreciation of revealed truth, would aid them to understand better the developement of doctrine in the Catholic Church. If Peter and Paul both believed as a revealed truth that God the Son is perfect man, Paul might well be astonished if, when he asserted God the Son to have a human intellect and a human will, Peter denied it. Had Peter analysed the predicate *perfect man*, he would have seen that this involved the two essential faculties of man. In a similar way when Catholic theologians deduce conclusions with all the rigidity of logic, they are accused of having altered revealed truths or of having imported new ones. The principle of developement is admirably expressed by Vincent of Lerins: 'Let the religion of souls imitate the manner of bodies which, although in process of years they unfold and fill out their parts, yet remain the same as before. There is a great difference between the flower of youth and the maturity of old age, but nevertheless the very same become old men who had been youths; so that although the state and condition of one and the same man be changed, still there abides one and the same nature, one and the same person. . . . Thus also it is fitting that the doctrine of the Christian religion follow these laws of growth, namely, that it be strengthened by years, amplified by time, attain to its full stature by age, yet remain incorrupt and unimpaired, and be complete and perfect in the entire proportions of its parts and, so to say, in all its own members and senses; and that, moreover, it admit of no change, undergo no loss of its

own special character, no alteration of its essential nature.'¹ The recognition of this principle ought to make those hesitate who are inclined to reproach Catholic theologians with having introduced novelties. It seems strange that men should deny to the deposit of faith what they are obliged to admit in a deposit which is merely natural. For instance, in that truly admirable, monumental, and sympathetic work, *The American Commonwealth*, Mr. Bryce informs us² that the American Constitution has developed in three ways, by amendment, by interpretation, and by usage. The first means a change in the constitution; the second, an unfolding of the meaning implicitly contained in it; and the third, an addition consistent with its spirit. With the first and last we are not here concerned. The second way is parallel to the theological developement of which I am speaking. We might even adapt to some eminent theologian, to De Lugo for example, Mr. Bryce's description of Chief-Justice Marshall: 'He grasped with extraordinary force and clearness the cardinal idea that the creation of a national government implies the grant of all such subsidiary powers as are requisite to the effectuation of its main powers and purposes, but he developed and applied this idea with so much prudence and sobriety, never treading on purely political ground, never indulging the temptation to theorize, but content to follow out as a lawyer the consequences of legal principles, that the Constitution seemed not so much to rise under his hands to its full stature, as to be gradually unveiled by him till it stood revealed in the harmonious perfection of the form which its framers had designed.'³

It may be objected that the Anglican Church is not congenial soil for Scholastic Theology or its method, otherwise they would have been introduced and cultivated long before now. In fact the Anglican temperament is utterly antagonistic to them. Many Anglicans dislike dogma, or at any rate such an excessive form of it as is presented in Scholastic Theology. They prefer to be unhampered and untrammelled by the hard and fast cramping Scholastic system. That the soil of the Anglican Church was formerly not congenial is beside the purpose. That it is not con-

¹ *Commonit.* c. xxiii §§ 56 and 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 385.

³ Vol. i p. 362, 3rd ed.

genial now is the point in question. That many Anglicans would find no sympathy with it I am quite willing to admit. That there are at least some who would excel in it and by its adoption would promote the cause of revealed truth is what I am now specially maintaining. I have tried to explain how Scholastic Theology would be a fit instrument for the purpose, and from my acquaintance with Anglican divines I am persuaded that there are those amongst them who, if they applied their talents and ability, sincerity, earnestness, and energy to its cultivation, would do for it what others have done so well for Holy Scriptures and the Fathers.

To accept revelation and to reject dogma is a contradiction in terms. To accept or believe in revelation is to assent to a truth or body of truths on account of the authority of God revealing. This means to embrace dogma. How can a man embrace and reject dogma *in sensu composito*? When men talk about being intellectually unhampered and untrammelled, if they logically mean anything, they mean they do not wish to know the truth; for so long as they remain in ignorance they are at liberty to affirm or to deny as they please, and are not constrained by the evidence or manifestation of truth. What happens in natural sciences, happens likewise in the sphere of revelation. In natural sciences a man's intellect is determined by a natural truth made clear to it or by the evidence of truth. He is no longer free with regard to it. In this sense he may be said to be hampered or tied down. But he would be unreasonable to folly who would object to such a curtailment of liberty. If God besides speaking through nature should speak to us by revelation and present to us a truth to be accepted upon His authority, would not that man be equally unreasonable who, although he saw it was evidently his duty to yield assent to it, would yet refuse on the plea that he wished his intellect to remain untrammelled? Such a liberty is like that which can be seen inscribed upon the public monuments of France. It is licence, not liberty. In reality natural physical sciences do not of themselves give any scope for the exercise of liberty; since a scientific man is forced to accept that which is intrinsically evident or demonstrated. He deals not with supernatural faith but with natural knowledge. But the theologian exercises both reason and liberty when he assents to those first

theological principles from which Scholastic Theology begins to proceed by reasoning. He exercises his reason in so far as he demonstrates to himself as evident not the truth to be believed, but his duty to believe it. 'Let no one suppose, I say, that we believe so that we may not receive or seek a reason, since we could not even believe unless we had reasonable souls.'¹ Since, however, the intellect cannot determine itself, and since it is not determined by the evidence of the revealed truth, the will comes to the rescue, and compels the intellect to assent to the truth to which it sees it is its evident duty to assent. Thus he who believes in revelation is eminently rational and eminently a man of duty, and he offers to God that whereby he is specifically distinguished as a rational animal enjoying free will; he offers the submission and homage of his intellect and of his will.

Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that men who inveigh against dogma must not be understood as using dogma in the strictly theological sense. What they object to is not the obligation to accept what they believe God wishes to impose upon them. They know quite well that even in daily life they are required to exercise human faith just as a child accepts its food from its mother, believing it on her authority to be good and wholesome. Also they know quite well that God, being truth itself and omniscient, possesses the requisite authority to be believed. Were they convinced that He was speaking to them, they would admit on His authority to be true what He spoke. Hence St Thomas takes for granted in the third difficulty (*quaestiuncula* 2) that '*nullus est ita infidelis quin credat quod Deus non loquitur nisi verum*' (3. dist. 23. q. 2. a. 2.). But they repudiate the obligation to accept as revealed truth what they regard as merely human opinion proposed to their assent by a merely fallible institution. If a Church does not profess to be divine and infallible any man may reasonably object to being called upon to assent to whatever she may propose merely on her own authority. Such an imposition would be intellectual tyranny. In this sense they are averse to what they call dogma. Yet before reprehending Catholics they should strive to understand the Catholic position. The Catholic does not assent to a truth upon the authority of the Catholic Church as if that authority were the formal object of divine faith;

¹ St Aug. *Ep.* 120 § 3.

but he assents to the truth on the authority of God, and he accepts it when proposed to him by the Church because he believes the Church to be the infallible custodian and interpreter of the deposit of faith. At least the Catholic acts consistently with his position, whether that position be right or wrong.

Also I maintain that the cultivation of Scholastic Theology by Anglican divines would cause them to tend to greater union with those from whom they are now separated. It is obvious that Scholastic theologians differ among themselves; but it is only in matters in which the revealed doctrine has not been explicitly proposed by the authentic teaching body or *magisterium* of the Church or in which they are allowed to differ. Yet even in such matters by degrees they may arrive at unanimity. How frequently it has happened that opinions of theologians were divided on some question about which in course of time a *consensus* has at last arisen! For instance, some theologians used to hold that the priest was the minister of the Sacrament of Christian Marriage. Gradually theologians, by discussing the various arguments for and against this view, arrived at a common consent that the contracting parties themselves and not the priest administered the sacrament. Another example is the case of original sin. It is now generally held that its essence consists in a twofold element, the first being the privation of sanctifying grace caused by Adam's actual sin, the second being the imputation of that sin until it be forgiven. De Lugo¹, in treating the more general question of habitual sin, maintained the essence of habitual sin to be the actual sin morally persevering and being imputed until forgiven. But in spite of De Lugo's subtle arguments the common opinion has triumphed and prevails. Such cases may be multiplied indefinitely. Yet there are many new questions arising and many old ones remaining unsettled. There are some that will most probably never be conclusively answered in this life; because we lack sufficient data to enable us to form conclusive arguments. For instance it is doubtful whether the habit of the theological virtue of charity is the same as sanctifying grace. Some theologians deny that it is. Others affirm that one and the same infused habit of charity is both a *habitus operativus* and a *habitus entitativus*. As the former it is the virtue, as the latter it is the quality or accident which is

¹ *De Poenit.* disp. vii, sect. v, n. 48.

called habitual or sanctifying grace. How shall we ever be able to determine with certainty that even if Adam had not prevaricated, God the Son, on account of the excellence of the Incarnation itself, would have assumed human nature although not in its present passible state? So far as we can judge there is no likelihood that a genius will arise who will be able to excogitate some conclusive argument which has hitherto escaped the ingenuity or wisdom of all preceding theologians respecting either of these two questions.

The differences which divide Christendom are far greater and more radical than these. Nevertheless, I think that if we all pursued the same system and method, there would be a greater approximation to union and certainly we should understand each other better. Surely it is good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity. In His last address on earth to His apostles our Blessed Lord¹ exhorted them to union, and He prayed that they might be one as He and His heavenly Father were one. There may be union of hearts where there is divergence of minds; but the bond of perfection is strengthened, drawn together more closely and made more secure where there is not only one heart but also one mind. No theologian worthy of the name in its truest and fullest sense can go his own way through life little recking whether he agrees with others or not in matters of serious moment. Our Lord's prayer must have been efficacious not inasmuch as His heavenly Father would do violence to the wills and intellects of men and force them to be one, but in so far as He would obtain those graces which would enable men to be one if they chose to co-operate with them. Consequently each theologian should have at heart an earnest desire to lessen the gulf which separates men, to try to have some common ground, to enter into the views of others, and to see as they see and thus to understand them. I do not entertain so idle a dream as to fancy all this will be done by Scholastic Theology. Yet I do think that Scholastic Theology will contribute its share to that end, and therefore I am urging this plea. Perhaps few indeed may have the least sympathy with my idea, or perhaps still fewer may care to put it into execution. Nevertheless, when we imagine we see

¹ John xvii 22.

a remedy, however inadequate, to bring men's minds together, we should not refrain from pleading its cause and urging its acceptance. Unfortunately the disunion of Christendom may continue for long weary years. Scandals must needs come¹; ravening wolves will enter in among us, not sparing the flock²; and of our own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them; there must be schisms amongst us and there must be heresies³. But each man who has the welfare of Christ's Mystical Body at heart should labour strenuously, unceasingly, and courageously to heal the wounds of Christendom so far as it is given him to do. He must sanctify himself and he must pray; but also he must act so as to affect directly his fellow men. Action may be manifold, and I humbly suggest that one phase of it may be the cultivation and promotion of Scholastic Theology by men of intellectual aptitude and apostolic zeal.

J. O'FALLON POPE, S.J.

¹ Matt. xviii 7.

² Acts xx 29.

³ 1 Cor. xi 19.

THE GREEK MONASTERIES IN SOUTH ITALY. IV.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE BASILIAN MONASTERIES.

It has been shewn that Nilus of Rossano and his followers were skilful scribes and energetic students, though it is doubtful if as much can be said of the other Greek monks of South Italy at that period.

In the Norman period this literary spirit was kept up, and considerable libraries were founded in several monasteries. The chief ones were of course in those monasteries which were the largest and richest. We cannot trace the fortunes of them all, but we can piece together the outlines of the history of the libraries of S. Nicholas of Casola, and of S. Mary's of Patira from their beginning up to their dispersal, and we meet with other libraries at later points in their history, though we have no definite information as to the way in which they were collected.

The points, then, which call for consideration are:—

- (1) *The History of the Foundation of the Libraries.*
- (2) *The Character of the Handwriting employed in the various Scriptoria.*
- (3) *The History of the Dispersal of the Libraries.*

These three points must be dealt with in order.

(1) *The History of the Foundation of the Libraries.* As was said above, we have no knowledge on this point except so far as the libraries of S. Nicholas of Casola and S. Mary of Patira are concerned.

The history of the foundation and prosperous period of the library of S. Nicholas of Casola is as follows.

It was founded by Nicholas of Otranto, the third abbot, who ruled the convent from 1153–1190. De Ferrariis tells us that Nicholas collected MSS from every part of Greece, and spared

no expense to obtain a fine library. He also encouraged the monks in the monastery to add to the collection which he formed. This is shewn from his *Typicon* in the Turin MS (217 b, iii 27), which seems to have been especially designed to encourage the literary spirit and the careful preservation of the library¹. Penance is enacted for any one who borrowed a book and left it open. Severe penalties were to be inflicted on a careless scribe who did not copy accurately, who dirtied his exemplar, or broke his pen. Gossiping in the library was especially forbidden, and when at the close of the day the monks retired to their cells, they were bidden to read, or else weep for their sins.

The Turin MS also gives us some idea of the contents of the library, though not a complete catalogue. Gospels, Psalters, and liturgical books are the chief works mentioned, but there were also copies of Aristotle and Aristophanes², while it is probable that it was from this source that Bessarion obtained his copy of *Quintus Calaber*, and of the *Rape of Helen*.

The library so richly endowed naturally became a centre of Greek learning. 'Whoever³', says De Ferrariis, 'wished to work at Greek literature, was given teachers, lodgings, and the greater part of his board without any payment.' More than this, it was a lending library for students in the district. The Turin MS is full of notes which mention that MSS have been lent to various strangers. These notes have been collated by P. Cozza Luzzi, who gave his translation to Mgr. Batiffol. It is to be found in the latter's *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 125. Such is the history of the foundation of the library of S. Nicholas of Casola, and of the days of its prosperity.

The history of the library of S. Mary of Patira is similar, but except for its foundation less well preserved. It was founded by Bartholomew⁴ together with the monastery, for, finding that the monks had not a sufficiency of MSS of the Scriptures, he went to Constantinople and made a collection of MSS and pictures. It is perhaps not too hazardous to guess that he then obtained the purple and silver manuscript of the Gospels known

¹ *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1886 p. 187.

² Probably the one now in St. Mark's, Venice; cf. Mr. T. W. Allen's Introduction to the facsimile edition of this MS.

³ *De Situ Iapygiorum* p. 43.

⁴ *A. SS.*, Sept. viii p. 822 c.

as Σ, one of a group of MSS of the sixth century which includes also N, N₂, Φ, and is generally held to come from Constantinople¹. This is all that is known of the foundation of this monastery, and we have no knowledge of its further history until the time of its dispersal in the sixteenth century. It may have been—probably it was—a centre of learning for the region of Sila, as S. Nicholas of Casola was for the district of Otranto and the heel of Italy generally, but there is no evidence of the fact, nor have we until a late period any knowledge of its contents.

This information about the foundation of the Greek libraries of South Italy is not very great (and it only concerns two monasteries); but it is sufficient to enable us to lay down the general proposition that their foundation was due partly to the multiplication of manuscripts by native scribes, and partly to the importation of MSS from other parts of the Levant, especially perhaps from Constantinople.

It is a possible conjecture that the latter cause operated especially in the case of the monasteries dealt with above, and perhaps this is supported by the fact, which is shewn in the next section, that the scribes of Rossano and Casola used to copy the style of the Constantinopolitan writers rather than the school of calligraphy already existing in South Italy.

(2) *The Handwriting employed in the various Scriptoria.* I have already mentioned that Nilus and his friends adopted a style of handwriting which was influenced by the Lombardic or Beneventine type of Latin manuscripts. It would be natural to expect that this type of handwriting should be found in the manuscripts written in the Basilian monasteries of South Italy in the following centuries. This expectation is partly fulfilled, partly falsified.

It is fulfilled in the case of MSS which come from monasteries which were not under the direct influence of Bartholomew and his friends; it is largely falsified in the case of MSS which come from the libraries which he founded.

Mgr. Batiffol² is the chief source of information on this point,

¹ See Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus by A. E. Cronin in *Texts and Studies*, a paper on Codex Rossanensis (Σ) in *Studia Biblica*, and a note on N₂ (Par. Gr. Suppl. 1286) in *Notices et Extraits* Tom. xxxvi by M. Omont.

² *L'Abbaye de Rossano* p. 92 ff.

though he does not point out the importance of the facts which he gives.

He quotes twenty-three MSS of the Norman period. Of these he finds the Greco-Lombard or, if I may so call it, the hand of the school of Nilus, in Cod. Vat. Gr. 2008, and in Cod. Neapol. II c. 7, which were written at S. John the Reaper, of Stilo, in 1102 and 1159 respectively; also in Cod. Vat. Gr. 2029, which was written at S. Elias of Carbo in 1083 (and there are traces, though less obvious, of the same type in Cod. Crypt. A. B. 10, written by Euthymius at Carbo in 1131); also in Cod. Vat. Gr. 1221, which was written in 1154 for the Abbot of S. Mary de Carra (Κεράρων) near Stilo. That is to say, at Carbo, at Stilo, and at S. Mary's de Carra near Stilo we have the calligraphy of the school of Nilus; but in the other monasteries, S. Mary's of Patira, its sister foundation S. Salvator of Messina, at S. Nicolas of Casola, and at S. Peter's of Arena, this type of handwriting does not make its appearance. Instead of it we have an imitation of the ordinary Constantinopolitan hand and style of ornamentation. This is surely to be attributed to the influence of the importations by Bartholomew and probably Nicholas, which set the fashion to the scribes.

Such a theory is, of course, at present only a speculation; but it seems to be that which is naturally suggested by the facts. If it be supported by future investigation it is not without importance, for there are many MSS of the twelfth century written in the hand of the school of Nilus which are without any notes fixing their provenance. If we could say with certainty that these manuscripts come from Carbo, or Stilo, or some smaller house dependent on them, the gain to our knowledge would be considerable. It would, for instance, be a most valuable factor in determining the *provenance* of the Ferrar group, all of which are written in this style of hand, except Cod. 69, which is later than the others¹.

Whether it will ever be possible to distinguish from Byzantine copies the MSS written in imitation of the Constantinopolitan hand, is a more doubtful question. In some cases probably it will be; for the scribe is clearly copying a type of MS which

¹ Codd. Evan. 13, 124, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828. v. L'Abbé Martin *Quatre mss. importants*, and Rendel Harris *Researches into the Origin of the Ferrar Group*.

is not his own, and writes much worse than the true Byzantine. For instance, no one could possibly mistake Cod. Laur. Athous 104 for a Byzantine MS, even if the pictures in it did not betray it¹; yet it would be hard to mention any *single* detail in which it differs from a MS from Constantinople. On the other hand, I have seen many MSS at Messina and in the Basilian collection in the Vatican which it would be impossible to surpass for elegance and beauty. Are these all importations? At present it is impossible to say, but there seems to be no reason why the question should remain permanently unanswerable.

(3) *The History of the Dispersal of the Libraries.* There is little doubt that for many years before the dispersal of the libraries there was a continual small waste of manuscripts, which were sold to collectors for inadequate sums, much as manuscripts on Mount Athos or Mount Sinai were sold (if they were even sold!) to Curzon and Tischendorf; but this is a process which it is almost impossible to trace, except by some lucky accident. The dispersals of MSS which are important, and which one ought to be able to trace, are those which are made *en bloc*, or in considerable numbers at a time.

The first person who seems to have recognized that it would be well to acquire and remove the libraries in South Italy was Cardinal Bessarion.

According to Valentinelli, the historian of the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice, he acquired almost the whole of the library of S. Nicholas of Casola about the year 1460, and made it the nucleus of the magnificent collection of Greek MSS which he left to S. Mark's. The remainder of the library of S. Nicholas was destroyed by the Turks in 1481, when they sacked the monastery. The whole therefore of the library of S. Nicholas, so far as it exists at all, is still to be found at S. Mark's, for the Marciana has never been dispersed. At the same time it must be remembered that in the sixteenth century the library of S. Mark's was very carelessly managed, and many of Bessarion's MSS disappeared. A threat of excommunication obtained the restitution of many of them, but some, no doubt, of the volumes were never returned, and must be sought for in other libraries. An account of the matter and its connexion with Mendoza is

¹ Cod. Evan. 1071, v. J. T. S. vol. i no. 3. *The Italian origin of Codex Bezae.*

to be found in Ch. Graux's *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escurial*¹, p. 182.

The reconstruction of the catalogue of the library of S. Nicholas has never been seriously attempted; but I see no reason why it should not be made with, at least, the same degree of partial success that has attended Mgr. Batiffol's efforts in the case of the library of S. Mary of Patira at Rossano.

It would be necessary first to make a list² of all the books mentioned in the Turin MS, and then to examine Bessarion's MSS at Venice. I cannot believe that there are no notes in any of the Casola MSS which would betray their origin. A library which was used for working in must have had some system of numeration, and this has surely left some traces behind. Even if the name of the monastery were not found, the task would not be necessarily hopeless. For instance, there is only one vellum³ MS of Aristophanes in the Bessarion collection. It is an obvious conjecture to suggest that this is the Aristophanes which was at S. Nicholas of Casola. Once a start was made in this way, it would be possible to do more; identity of handwriting, peculiarities of numbering and arrangement of quaternions, and many apparently insignificant details, would soon begin to assume importance and intelligibility.

Such work has been done with some success for the Laudian collection of Latin MSS in the Bodleian Library; why could it not be done for the Bessarion MSS from S. Nicholas of Casola in the Biblioteca Marciana?

In the fifteenth century, then, the library of S. Nicholas of Casola was taken to Venice, and must be looked for in the Biblioteca Marciana.

The other libraries of South Italy waited until the seventeenth century before they were bodily removed to more cultivated surroundings; but during the intervening period, they were gradually being dissipated and absorbed into other collections. It was the time when various great libraries were being founded. Lorenzo the Magnificent, the King of France, Cardinal Sirleto,

¹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* fasc. 46.

² I am not sure whether the list given in *L'Abbaye de Rossano* p. 125 f is exhaustive; I believe that it is not.

³ Recently published by the Hellenic Society, with an introduction by Mr. T. W. Allen.

Diego de Mendoza, Paez de Castro, and others, were collecting MSS. The last-named has left an interesting account, written about 1560, of the way in which the collections were made¹ :—

‘Tres plaças principales ay en Italia, de donde han salido muchas librerias, assi la del Rey de Francia como de otros, que son Roma, Venezia y Florencia. De Levante se traian mui buenos libros mui escogidos en poco tiempo. En los reynos de Sicilia y Calabria ay muchas abadias y monasterios que traian copia grande de libros griegos y no se aprovechan d’ellos, antes se pierden por mal tratamiento y se roban de personas particulares. Yo vi, estando en Roma, que los mesmos Abades y Archimandritas traian muchos libros a presentar a Cardenales y otros a vender.’

It is impossible to do more than collect a few scattered traces of this process of collection from the South Italian libraries ; but these few are enough to shew to what an extent the libraries of Europe, especially of Italy and Spain, have been indebted to Calabria and the adjoining districts.

Perhaps the earliest account which we have is the story of Janos Lascaris, who was employed by Lorenzo the Magnificent to collect manuscripts for the Medicean library at Florence.

Lascaris was a follower of Bessarion who entered the service of Lorenzo at the Cardinal’s death in 1472. He was brought to Rome by Leo X in 1513, and in 1518 went to Paris, where he assisted in the organization of the library at Fontainebleau, being appointed *Maitre de la Librairie*. In 1534 he returned to Rome, to the service of Paul III, and died in 1535. He used to make journeys to Calabria, Sicily, and Greece in search of MSS ; and by great good fortune a partial account of one of these journeys is preserved in Cod. Vat. Gr. 1412. This has been published in 1884 by K. K. Müller in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* p. 333 ff. It gives us an account of a journey made on behalf of Lorenzo, during which he went to Corfu, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Mount Athos, and South Italy² ; and he mentions that in Apulia he obtained MSS of Scholia on the division of the Staseis (long lections of the Psalms and Gospels), ancient Scholia on certain tragedies of Euripides, on Hermes Trismegistos, and fourteen others.

¹ *Le fonds grec de l’Escorial* p. 28.

² *Op. cit.* p. 402.

In Corigliano¹ he obtained from the priest George copies of the *Magnum Etymologicum*, of the writings of Nicholas of Otranto, of Coluthus's *Rape of Helen*, of Truphidorus's *Sack of Troy*, and three others; while at Monte Sardo, a dependency of S. Nicholas of Casola, which was no doubt impoverished by the loss of the great abbey, recently destroyed by the Turks, he obtained eight MSS, including copies of Aratus and Aristotle.

This collecting work of Lascaris for Lorenzo is no doubt typical of many other journeys by himself and by others; and Paez de Castro², in the memorial quoted above, urges Philip II of Spain to send agents to Italy to exchange Latin printed books for Greek MSS, a transaction, he says, which would be good for all parties, and a great saving of money. He does not say anything about exchanging Latin MSS; but one cannot help thinking that it was in this way that Cod. C of the Vulgate, which was written in Spain, came to La Cava, though it is so beautiful a copy that one is afraid to press the suggestion that any collector would give it in exchange.

Probably Paez de Castro was not speaking without the knowledge that a Spanish collector had already done what he advised.

The earliest source of the Escorial library is the collection of Gonzalo Perez, which was acquired by the king. Antonio Perez³, in a letter to a friend, says that this collection was partly inherited from the Duke of Calabria who died at Valencia: . . . 'Otra parte era de libros de mano griegos muy antiguos que mi padre fué recogiendo en su vida y en el curso de su fortuna de abadias de Sicilia y de otras partes de Grecia.'

M. Ch. Graux has been unable to reconstruct the library of Gonzalo Perez, but he points out six MSS in the Escorial which probably belonged to it⁴, of which one (Ω III 4) comes from Messina, and was written by a native of Καστέλλου, which is more probably a Sicilian or Calabrian village than Castile (as M. Graux suggests), and another (Φ I 1) at least came to Spain from a Calabrian library. It is a MS of the eleventh or twelfth century, and has a note in Latin of the thirteenth or fourteenth century which mentions an abbot 'de Calabra'. M. Graux thinks that this is a mistake for de Calabria. I suggest that it is a village

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 403.

² *ibid.* p. 34, note 2.

³ *Le fonds grec de l'Escorial* p. 28.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 38.

named Calabria in the Basilicata, which is often mentioned in the charters of S. Elias of Carbo.

These are the only MSS which M. Graux notices as certainly drawn from the libraries of South Italy. There can be little doubt that an examination of the Escorial with attention to palaeography, and especially to the peculiarities of the School of Nilus, would add to the number.

The work of collecting MSS from South Italy also went on in Venice. The great collectors here were the Dandolo. The Dandolo were the hereditary 'proxeni'¹ of the French ambassador, and were famous for their wealth, influence, and culture. Marco appears to have begun the foundation of a library of Greek MSS, and Matteo greatly enriched it. One would have expected this library to contain MSS from South Italy; and although M. Graux does not mention any, it is almost certain that this expectation is not falsified by facts, for both the MSS of the Gospels, which were numbered 79 and 89 (or 80) in his catalogue, now numbered Ψ 111, 5 and T 11, 8² in the Escorial, contained the curious stichometrical reckoning known as *ρήματα*, which so far as is known is not found except in South Italian MSS. It is found in twenty-three MSS, of which thirteen are in the hand of the School of Nilus, while the rest, so far as they have been examined, are of doubtful type, but cannot be said to be not South Italian. This gives, in the absence of more definite information, considerable support to the probability that the Dandolo drew on the libraries of South Italy for their collection of Greek MSS.

One would have expected the Dandolo library to be in S. Mark's. But it is not. At some unknown date it was purchased for the Escorial, where it still is. M. Graux has reconstructed it, on p. 109 of his book.

In this way MSS from South Italy were taken to the Escorial, to Florence, and to Venice. As one would naturally expect, they were also brought to Rome³. Cardinal Sirleto in 1561

¹ *Le fonds grec de l'Escorial* p. 105.

² There is some mystery about this MS. M. Graux says it is Dandolo's 89 and that 80 is lost; but Moldenhauer, who collated parts of it, says it is 80. Again, M. Graux says that it is thirteenth century and contains the writings of Basil. Is it possible that there are two MSS numbered V. 11 8?

³ Batiffol *La Vaticane de Paul III et Paul V*, and *L'Abbaye de Rossano* p. 40.

obtained a catalogue of the MSS at S. Mary's of Patira (now unfortunately lost), and as he was then the Protector of the Basilian monks he had no difficulty in bringing or taking any volume which he wanted. For instance, in 1582 he mentions that there is at S. Mary's of Patira a copy of Hippolytus's tract against Noetus the heretic¹. Three years later this MS was in Sirleto's possession, and is now in the Vatican (Cod. 1431).

Gradually the cardinal obtained a fine collection². He employed agents all over the Levant, and even supplied them with lists of MSS which he desired to possess. He was not the only collector in Rome whose collection can still be roughly traced; but before going on to consider another eminent bibliophile it will be well to trace the outlines of the history of Sirleto's collection³.

At his death Philip II wished to buy his library *en bloc* for the Escorial, just as he bought the collection of Gonzalo Perez, and his offer (289 crowns for ninety-one MSS) is preserved in Cod. Barber. xxxiv, 107; but the transaction was prevented by the Vatican librarian Cardinal Carafa, who bought thirty-five selected MSS. These are all marked 'Emptum ex libris Cardinalis Sirleti', and two at least come from S. Mary's of Patira⁴: (1) Cod. Vat. Gr. 1431, a collection of canons, made according to Mai by a Monophysite, and containing the tract of Hippolytus against Noetus. This is a MS of the twelfth century. (2) Cod. Vat. Gr. 1456, a palimpsest of the tenth century, containing the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius.

The rest of the library was bought in 1588 by Cardinal Colonna for 14,000 crowns. At his death a lawsuit led to the sale of his library, which was bought by Duke Altemps in 1611 for 13,000 crowns, but 100 MSS were given by him to Pope Paul V.

Fifty years later the Altemps family began to sell the library, and many MSS were bought by Mabillon for the library of Louis XIV. I do not know whether these MSS have been traced; they may perhaps be identified, among other things, by the binding, boards of cypress wood stamped with the arms of the Altemps, a golden stag on a red field, surmounted by a crowned helmet.

In 1689 Pope Alexander VIII purchased the remainder of the

¹ *La Vaticane* p. 54.

² *ibid.* p. 52 ff.

³ *ibid.* p. 38 f.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 53 f.

collection and placed it in the palace of the Ottoboni, where it remained until 1740, when Benedict XIV bought the whole of the Ottobonian library.

Thus, after so many changes of ownership, the Sirleto MSS came into the Vatican library and joined the thirty-five selected MSS which had been already brought there by Cardinal Carafa. We may therefore expect to find a considerable number of South Italian MSS among the Ottobonian MSS¹ in the Vatican.

To return to the sixteenth century: when Cardinal Sirleto² was the General of the Basilian Order, his friend, Cardinal Alexander Farnese, was the commendatory abbot of Grotta Ferrata. Like Sirleto he was an ardent Hellenist, and he set to work to replenish the library of his monastery.

It is probable that the original library of Grotta Ferrata had almost disappeared by the fifteenth century. In 1432 a certain Ambrose³ says that he visited it and found the books in it 'dis-sipata, disrupta, conscissa, putrida, ut miserabilem omnem faciem praeferrent'.

Bessarion, who was commendatory abbot in 1462, seems to have improved matters, and given it many MSS; and according to the catalogue of that year, published by Mgr. Batiffol⁴, the library now numbered 133 MSS, of which twenty probably belonged to the original collection and about fifty were service-books. Alexander Farnese still further added to the library, and had a new catalogue made. It was practically the second collection of Grotta Ferrata. But we must not look for it now in its old home. Probably in the days of Pius V, or at least before 1626, the whole collection of literary MSS, together with the catalogue made in 1575, was moved to the Vatican, where it forms a little group of MSS known as *Codices Cryptenses*—not to be confounded with the *Codices Cryptenses* of Dom Rocchi's catalogue of the present library of Grotta Ferrata. Here, then, is another source from which we may pick out South Italian MSS. It is the last of what may be called the private collections which drew upon the South Italian libraries.

Bessarion, Gonzalo de Perez, Lascaris, Dandolo, Sirleto,

¹ Mgr. Batiffol has found at least two, Ottob. 178 and Ottob. 210.

² *L'Abbaye de Rossano* p. 40.

³ *La Vaticane* p. 105.

⁴ *L'Abbaye de Rossano* p. 118.

Mabillon, Alexander Farnese, these are the chief collectors whose work may perhaps be retraced; but there were doubtless many others, and by their means it has come to pass that South Italian MSS are to be found all over Europe.

But at the end of the seventeenth century a new and final stage in the dispersal of the libraries was reached, and the whole of the remaining MSS were overhauled and made into four great collections.

This was the work of Pietro Menniti¹. He was elected General of the Basilians in 1796, and at once began his work.

He first desired to form a *Codex Diplomaticus* of the Basilian Order, and though he did not succeed in doing this he has left a mass of material in the *Dossier Basiliani* in the archives of the Vatican, which is unedited, but has been extensively used by Mgr. Batiffol.

In pursuit of his plan he collected all the bulls and charters of South Italy and Sicily into the libraries of S. Basil in Urbe (a foundation of the seventeenth century) in Rome, and S. Salvator's at Messina. He then turned to MSS, as distinguished from charters. These he dealt with under two heads: (1) Liturgical books, (2) Literary books. Those, of both classes, which he found in Sicily, were collected into the libraries of S. Salvator and S. Pietro d'Italia. Those which he found in Italy were placed either at Grotta Ferrata or in S. Basil in Urbe. The former library received the liturgical works, the latter the literary ones.

There are two questions which are important with regard to these collections of South Italian MSS:—

(1) From what monasteries are they drawn?

(2) Where are they to be found now?

The first question is answered by Mgr. Batiffol in his *L'Abbaye de Rossano*. He finds that the bulk of the MSS come from S. Mary of Patira and S. Elias of Carbo; that there are a few taken from S. John the Reaper of Stilo, S. Adrian, S. Pietro d'Arena, and S. Bartholomew of Trigona; the remaining monasteries probably had none to supply, and cannot be shewn to have supplied any.

The second question may be answered shortly. The MSS which were sent to Grotta Ferrata are still there—the third

¹ *L'Abbaye de Rossano* p. 41 ff.

Library which the monastery has possessed ; for the first almost disappeared and the second was taken to Rome before 1623, and is now the *Codices Cryptenses* in the Vatican library. The MSS taken to S. Basil in Urbe were obtained in 1780 (Mgr. Batiffol thinks by purchase) by Pope Pius VI, and placed in the Vatican, where they are catalogued as *Codices Basiliani*.

Such are the outlines of the history of the libraries of the Basilian monasteries in South Italy.

The question which is of most interest to scholars is, whether it is possible to do anything towards reconstructing the old libraries ?

I cannot believe that this is at all outside the bounds of possibilities. The truth is that our knowledge of Greek minuscule hands is not great, and the attention which has been given to the history of old libraries has been often confined to Latin MSS.

Roughly speaking, there are two criteria in attempting to reconstruct old libraries, which may be employed in the absence of definite information :—

- (1) The character of the calligraphy.
- (2) Indications of *provenance* in MSS.

Much is to be hoped from the study of characteristic South Italian hands. It is extremely easy to recognize the hand of the School of Nilus, and this is in itself enough for a beginning.

Mgr. Batiffol has established its characteristic nature, though I think he was wrong in connecting it with Capua ; but he only noted it in MSS of which he could trace the *provenance* by some other means. Considering his purpose, that was both right and natural ; but the process can now be reversed, and instead of using the *provenance* to define the calligraphy of a district, we can use the calligraphy to determine the *provenance*. In this way, a more or less complete list might be made of all the South Italian MSS in European libraries. It would perhaps be especially easy in the Escorial, where we have the researches of M. Graux to help us.

I am sanguine enough to believe that the mere possession of this list would not exhaust the gain to our knowledge of Greek palaeography. It is sometimes said that two Greek minuscules of the same age are far more like each other than two Latin MSS.

There is some truth in this, but to a great extent it is based on ignorance. It is as easy to tell a Greek MS of the School of Nilus as it is to tell a Latin MS by an Irish scribe ; yet twenty

years ago nobody could do the former, while there must have been hundreds of scholars who could tell Irish MSS when they saw them.

Greek palaeography has fallen behind Latin, and in some respects we have even lost knowledge once possessed.

For instance, there was, it is said, a Greek school for scribes at Nardo, in the heel of Italy, whose work, known as *literae Neritinae*, was described as superior to print¹: 'Sunt enim hae literae perpulcræ et castigatæ et iis quibus nunc utuntur impressores Orientalibus ad legendum aptiores,' says de Ferrariis. I have tried in vain to find any one who knows what this hand is. A well-known German scholar recently described a MS as written in *literae Neritinae*; but when he was asked to give his reasons, it appeared that he had conceived *literae Neritinae* out of his inner consciousness of what de Ferrariis had meant!

I cannot resist the belief that there is still much to be done in the identification of local Greek hands, even though we may never be able to attain the degree of certainty which is possessed by Latin scholars; and certainly one of the ways by which this knowledge may be attained is by studying the MSS which come from the old Basilian foundations of South Italy.

The criterion furnished by signs of *provenance* has been already used by Mgr. Batiffol² to reconstruct the library of S. Mary's of Patira, and the same scholar has given us some invaluable material for continuing the task which he has begun, in the catalogues which he has found of the libraries of S. Elias of Carbo and S. Peter's of Arena.

It ought to be possible, by using these documents and the facts which are given above as to the history of the collections which drew on the libraries of South Italy, both to reconstruct several small collections which are now merged in the great European libraries, and to find in them the remains of the once famous libraries of the Basilian houses. As I said before, this would be a task which would grow easier as it advanced; press marks and other details would become intelligible, and would help to write what would surely be an interesting chapter in the history of Greek libraries.

K. LAKE.

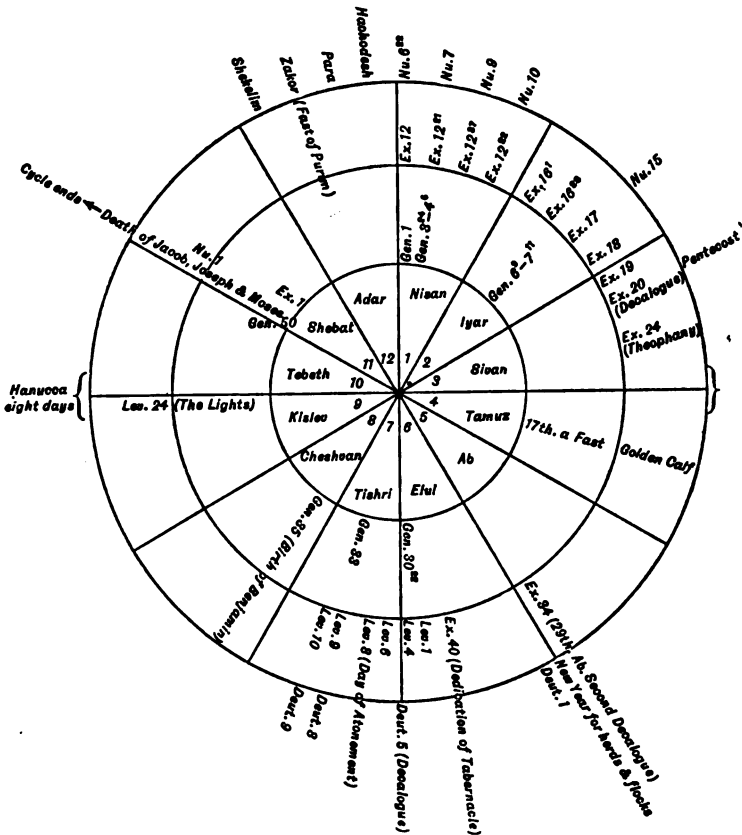
¹ *De Situ Iapygiæ* p. 35.

² *L'Abbaye de Rossano*.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TRIENNIAL CYCLE UPON THE PSALTER.

IN Palestine, in early times, the Pentateuch was read through consecutively in a cycle of three years, a portion (*seder*) being appointed for each Sabbath (*T. B. Meg. 29^b*. See article by Dr. A. Büchler in *Jewish Quarterly Review* Ap. 1893). This triennial cycle may possibly have arisen from the fact that the

TABLE I.



lunar months would require an intercalated month once every three years to reconcile them with the solar year.

We will assume, with Dr. Büchler, that the cycle commenced in the first month (*Nisan*); it may then be indicated by three concentric circles, as in the accompanying diagram, in which

a sufficient number of the Sabbath-readings are given to shew the arrangement of the whole.

Thus—the first year read Gen. i—Ex. xi.

the second year read Ex. xii—Num. vi 21.

the third year read Num. vi 22—Deut. xxxiv.

The way in which the triennial cycle coincides with tradition is most suggestive. A few instances may suffice. Thus:—

The first month, Nisan. Here the first year opened with Gen. i, the Creation of the World; accordingly we find (*Rosh Hash.* 10^b) that the world was created on the 1st of Nisan. The Sabbath nearest to the Passover read the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel (Gen. iv), which in Jewish tradition (*Pirke R. Eliezer*) is associated with the Passover.

The reading for Nisan in the second year of the cycle was Ex. xii—xv, i.e. *the Institution of the Passover* and the *Song of Moses*; accordingly we find, in the *Mechilta* on Ex. xiii, that the passage through the Red Sea took place on 7th of Nisan.

The third year of the triennial cycle, for Nisan read Num. vi 22 ff, i.e. *the Priestly Blessing*, also the *Offerings of the Princes at the Dedication of the Tabernacle* (Num. vii), and a *second Institution of the Passover in the Wilderness* (Num. ix 1–14). This last reading is most interesting, especially as it would seem to be a later addition to the Priest-code.

If we study the context we shall see that the writer, P^a, goes back to the *first* month. Thus:—

‘And YHVH spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, *in the first month of the second year* after they were come out from the land of Egypt, saying, Moreover, let the children of Israel keep the passover in its appointed season,’ &c. Thus he interrupts his story, which had begun with the *second* month (Num. i with vii 1, see critical commentaries), in order to insert a passage about the Passover in Nisan. We begin to suspect that the arrangement of the documents in the Pentateuch was not altogether uninfluenced by the Calendar.

We now pass to the *second* month.

The second month, Iyar. P. tells us (Gen. vii 11) that, ‘*in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on this same day all the fountains of the great deep were broken up.*’ Whence did P. derive this precise date?

Is it a mere coincidence that Gen. vii 11 is read in the triennial cycle about the seventeenth day of the second month? As on the second 'day' the waters were divided from the waters for man's good, so in the second month the waters are mingled with the waters for man's destruction.

The third month, Sivan. The Feast of Pentecost usually occurs on the sixth of this month. In the first year of the cycle the readings from Genesis would have reached chap. xi, i. e. the Story of Babel and the *Confusion of Tongues*, at the season of Pentecost. Now it is certain that the writer of Acts ii associated the Confusion of Tongues with the Day of Pentecost, the Gift of the Spirit being a reversal of the curse of Babel. Again, we know that a very early Jewish tradition connected the *Giving of the Law* with the Feast of Pentecost. The origin of this tradition is not to be found in the Old Testament, but, if we turn to the triennial cycle, we see that in the second year of that cycle the Decalogue (Ex. xx) was the Sabbath-reading for Pentecost. According to the present arrangement of the Pentateuch the Decalogue was written twice, each occasion being marked by a Theophany. On the first occasion Moses is forty days in the mount; then comes the sin of the Golden Calf, the breaking of the Tables followed by a second period of forty days, after which Tables are rewritten (Ex. xxxiv). Thus, assuming that the Law was given on Pentecost (6th of Sivan), we should expect to find a second Giving of the Law eighty days later, i. e. on 29th of Ab. This expectation is fully borne out. Dr. Büchler says: 'We are able to assign Ex. xxxiv as the reading on the last Sabbath of the month Ab, with which opinion tradition is in accord' (*Seder Olam* vi), inasmuch as it informs us that Moses went up Mount Sinai with the tablets of stone on the 29th of Ab, which occurrence is related in Ex. xxxiv.' If this chapter be studied it will be found to contain the elements of a second Decalogue by J., originally independent of the Decalogue by E. in Ex. xx. Thus the 29th of Ab practically marks a second 'Giving of the Law', and we may note the fact that, in the third year of the cycle, Deuteronomy began on this day. If we divide the interval between Pentecost and 29th Ab into two equal periods of forty days each we arrive at 17th *Tammuz* as the date for the sin of the Golden Calf (Ex. xxxii). Now this exactly agrees

with Jewish tradition. 'The fast of the fourth month took place on the 17th of Tammuz. . . . To this tradition adds, that it was also the anniversary of making the golden calf, and of Moses breaking the Tables of the Law' (Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 297).

Every Old Testament scholar knows that the duplicate stories of the Giving of the Law by E. and J. involve a great critical difficulty. I suggest that the Jehovist records originated with a race that began its year at the Summer Solstice, while the Elohist records dated their year from the Vernal Equinox. Thus the 29th Ab would, in the Jehovist year, have been two months after the Solstice, exactly as Pentecost was, in the Elohist year, two months after the Vernal Equinox. In other words each system would have had a similar Festival at the end of its second month. When P. came to arrange these records in the form in which they have come down to us, he found these two traditions located in their respective months, and was therefore obliged to make two events out of what was originally one.

I merely give this as an example of the way in which a study of the Calendar would throw light upon the criticism of the Pentateuch. Perhaps on this subject I may be allowed to refer to my *Letter to Old Testament Critics* (Deighton, Bell & Co.).

We now turn to

The Sixth Month, Elul. The 1st of Elul was, for some purposes, reckoned as a New Year's Day (Mishna, *Rosh Hash.* I i). Thus we are led to compare it with the 1st of Tishri (Rosh Hashana) when, as we shall see, the Decalogue was again read.

In *Elul* in the second year of the cycle, the closing chapters of Exodus were read, in which P. describes the Dedication of the Tabernacle. To this we shall have occasion to return.

The Seventh Month, Tishri. This month opened with Rosh Hashana, or 'New Year's Day'. The *Seder* for this day, in the first year of the cycle (see Büchler), was Gen. xxx 22 ff, which records the birth of *Joseph*, and derives the name from the root *Asaph* (אספ). To this I shall again have occasion to return when I speak of the position of the *Asaph* Psalms in the triennial cycle of the Psalter.

Dr. Büchler calls attention to the fact that, in the Midrash, the 1st of Tishri is given as the birthday of Joseph. The tradition arose from the reading of this passage in the triennial cycle.

The second year of the cycle read, for this day, Lev. iv with the

thought of Atonement for Priests and People (cf. Ezek. xlv 18, 20 Heb.), while the third year read Deut. v, containing the Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue. Büchler tells us that there was a practice (assigned to Ezra, *T. B. Meg.* 31^b) of reading the curses at Pentecost and Rosh Hashana with the Decalogue. So too we find that the section Deut. v-xi, which is complete in itself, begins with the Decalogue and ends with the Blessings and the Curses. The Samaritans had also the custom of reading the Decalogue on Pentecost and Rosh Hashana (Petermann, *Reise im Orient*, p. 290, quoted by Büchler). Thus the custom dates from very early times. I shall have occasion to return to this point when I speak of the triennial cycle of the Psalter and the Psalms of Imprecation. We now return to the study of Table I. It is important to observe that the Book of Genesis ended (with the death of Jacob and Joseph) on the first Sabbath in *Shebat* (the eleventh month), and that the Book of Leviticus also ended on this same Sabbath. As to the end of Deuteronomy there are two traditions, preserved in the *Mechilta* to Exod. xvi 35; R. Joshua asserts that Moses died on the 7th of *Adar*, while R. Eliezer places the death of Moses on the 7th of *Shebat* (Büchler). In other words, the chapter of Deuteronomy which records the death of Moses was read either on the first Sabbath of *Adar*, or on the first Sabbath of *Shebat*. I have no doubt but that the date given by R. Eliezer, i. e. 7th of *Shebat*, is the more correct, since it agrees with the death of Jacob and Joseph. If this be so we note that the first, third, and fifth books of the Pentateuch ended on the same day, that day being the first Sabbath of the eleventh month (*Shebat*). It is interesting to note that P., or the editor of Deuteronomy, agrees with this tradition, for he assigns the Book of Deuteronomy to the *first of the eleventh month*, 'And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel' (Deut. i 3). The Song of Moses and Death of Moses are evidently placed on the same day (cf. Deut. xxxi 22, xxxii 48 ff. (P.)): indeed the Book of Deuteronomy is but the episode of a day between Num. xxvii 12-15 and Deut. xxxii 48 ff. The Appendix containing the Song of Moses and the Blessing of Moses would supply Sabbath-readings for the remaining Sabbaths in *Shebat* and *Adar*.

There were four additional Sabbath-readings for the twelfth month, consisting of special lessons which were not in the order of the *Sedarim*. These were (i) *Shekalim* (see Exod. xxx 11); (ii) *Zakor*, i.e. 'Remember Amalek' (Deut. xxv. 17), chosen doubtless because of the season of *Purim*; (iii) *Para* (see Num. xiv) and (iv) *Hachodesh* (Exod. xii). These may possibly have served the purpose of an intercalary month. We have seen that precise dates, e.g. for the Birth of Joseph, the Death of Moses, the Giving of the Law, the Sin of the Golden Calf, &c., were evolved by the Scribes from the cycle of Sabbath-readings; may we go back still further and suggest that the precise dates which are so characteristic of the Priest-code were evolved in a manner not wholly unlike, in so far as they were influenced by the Calendar? We cannot now discuss this question, since our object is to determine the influence of the Calendar not upon the Pentateuch but upon the Psalter. Before we leave Table I we must call attention to a fact noted by Büchler, viz. 'that the first Book of the Pentateuch commenced on the 1st of Nisan, the fifth on the 1st of Elul, the third on the 1st of Tishri, the second and fourth on the 15th of Shebat, thus corresponding to the four dates given in the Mishna (*Rosh Hash. i 1*), as first days of the year for various subordinate purposes, e.g. the tithing of animals and fruit.'

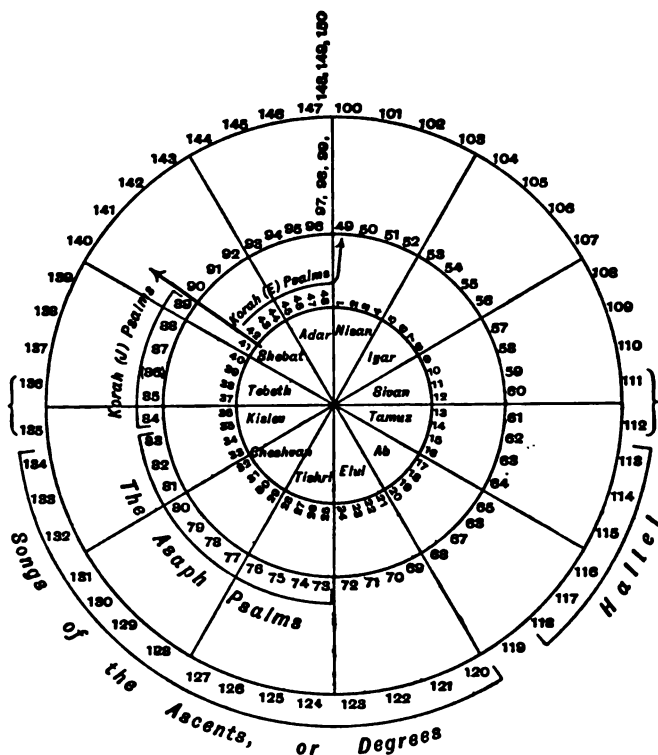
We now proceed to arrange the Psalter for a triennial cycle of 147-50 Sabbaths (Table II).

In examining this plan we are at once struck by the fact that *the first and third Books of the Psalter end in Shebat, exactly as the first and third Books of the Pentateuch end in Shebat*. We also note that *the second Book of the Psalter ends (Ps. lxxii) at the close of Elul, exactly as the second Book of the Pentateuch ends at the close of Elul*. The benediction at the end of this second book attains a new meaning if we read it in connexion with the closing words of Exodus and the closing year. The prayer 'May the whole earth be filled with His Glory' (Ps. lxxii 19), should be compared with the words of Exod. xl 34, 'And the Glory of YHWH filled the tabernacle'; we may also compare the words 'The Prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended', with 'So Moses ended the work' (Exod. xl 33).

The 'Asaph' Psalms (lxxiii-lxxxiii) would begin in the seventh

month, i. e. at the Feast of *Asiph*, at the season when, in the first year of the cycle, Gen. xxx 22 f was read, which tells of the birth of *Joseph*, and derives the name from the root *Asaph*. I have shewn¹ on independent grounds that the Asaph Psalms were connected with this season of the *Asiph* and with the house of *Joseph*. In the second year of the cycle *Leviticus* began at this season, and the Asaph Psalms are essentially 'Levitical' Psalms.

TABLE II.



Again, if we observe the position of Ps. xc in the triennial cycle we find that it comes at the very time which tradition associated with the *Death of Moses*. I venture to think that this is the origin of the title which assigns this Psalm to Moses. This title is as follows:

'A Prayer of Moses the man of God', which is almost identical

¹ 'The Psalms in Three Collections' Part 2 pp. v-x.

with the heading of the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii 1) which was read at this time in the order of the *Sedarim*. If this be correct, Pss. xc-c, which form one group, ought to have points in common with the *Song of Moses* and the *Blessing of Moses*, i. e. with Deut. xxxii, xxxiii, which were read at the same season. This is abundantly borne out by the facts of the case. Thus:—

Ps. xc	Title	Deut. xxxiii 1
"	v 1 'dwelling-place', used of God also in Ps. xci 9	" 27
xc	13	xxxii 36
"	15	" 7
xc i	4	" 11
"	6	" 24
"	7	" 30
"	13	" 33
xc ii	10	xxxiii 17
"	15 (a triple allusion)	xxxii 4
xc iv	1	" 35; xxxiii 2
xc v	8	xxxiii 8 (cf. xxxii 51)
xc vii	7	xxxii 43 (Sept. text).

If the references be studied they will abundantly prove that this group of Psalms has been influenced by Deut. xxxii, xxxiii. We may also add that the mention of '*A New Song*' (Pss. xcvi 1, xc viii 1) contains an allusion to the *Song of Moses* as the Old Song, an allusion which would be very evident when they were used together at the same season in the Temple worship.

Another characteristic of the group of Psalms xc-c is the Kingship of God on earth, '*YHVH is become King*' (Pss. xciii 1; xcvi 10; xcix 1), the only other passage which is exactly parallel being found in the Korah Psalm xlvii 8. This Psalm has many other parallels with the group.

Compare Ps. xlvii 2	with xcvi 4
" " 8	" xcvi 10
" " 1	" xc viii 4
" " 6-8	" xc viii 4-6
" " 10	" xc vii 9.

Indeed the Kingship of God is characteristic of the Korah

Psalms exactly as it is of group xc-c. But if we turn to Table II we shall see that the Elohistie Korah Psalms xlii-xlix occupy exactly the same place in the *first* year of the cycle that the Psalms xc-c do in the *second* year, while Pss. cxliv-cl, which were sung in the third year of the cycle, also speak of the 'New Song' (cxliv 1, cxlix 1) and of the Kingship of God (cxlv i, cxlvi 10); and this too at a time when, in the order of the *Sedarim*, the Song of Moses, which is the *locus classicus* for the Kingship of God, was recited. Can this all be accident?

Another group of Psalms (cxx-cxxxiv) known as the *Songs of Degrees*, or the *Songs of the Ascents*, is, rightly or wrongly, associated in tradition with the Pilgrimage of the Station-men who brought up the firstfruits (*biccurim*) to the Temple. These firstfruits could not be brought *before* Pentecost, while the *last* day for offering them in the Temple was 25th Kislev, i.e. *Hanucca*.

But, if we turn to Table II, we shall see that these Songs of Degrees occupy the fifteen Sabbaths *from 1st Elul to Hanucca*. Thus, in the third year of the triennial cycle, these Psalms would be the Sabbath Psalms in the Temple during those very months in which the constant processions of pilgrims were bringing the firstfruits.

Again, we have already seen that the 'Curses' were, according to Jewish tradition, read as a sort of Commination Service at the seasons of the Decalogue, i.e. at Pentecost and Rosh Hashana. We have also seen that the 29th Ab was, practically, a second Pentecost; consequently, if the Psalms of Imprecation have any connexion with the 'Curses', we should expect to find them at these seasons. If we turn to Table II what do we find? The two Psalms of Imprecation quoted by St Peter (Acts i 20) are the 69th and the 109th; of these Ps. lxix comes *immediately after the 29th Ab*, while Ps. cix comes *immediately after Pentecost*. We also note that Ps. lix, which is another Psalm of Imprecation, comes at the season of Pentecost, in the second year of the cycle; and that Pss. lxviii and cxix, which are Psalms of the Law, both come on the Sabbath nearest to the 29th Ab. Many other illustrations might be given; but we will conclude by calling attention to a fact which all commentators have observed but which none have explained, viz. the striking similarity between the closing Psalms of Book I and the closing

Psalms of Book II, this similarity extending at times to practical identity of several verses, e.g. Ps. xl 13-17 with Ps. lxx 1-5; Ps. xli 7 f with Ps. lxxi 10 f.

If we study Pss. xxxv, xxxviii-xli, and also Pss. lxix-lxxii, we notice that they are not only closely related to one another but also that they are penitential in character, and, like Ps. xxii, full of references to Jeremiah. Now if we turn to Table II we see that Ps. xxii and also Pss. lxix-lxxii came in the sixth month, *Elul*, which, coming as it did before New Year, was the penitential month of preparation (see Dr. Schiller-Szinessy in *The Prayer Book Interleaved*, p. 257). We also see that Pss. xxxviii-xli, which close Book I, came in the tenth month, i.e. at the close of the cycle. It will be remembered that, even in the days of Zechariah, there was a 'fast of the tenth month' even as there was a 'fast of the seventh month' (Zech. viii 19). Indeed, as I have already suggested, if the Jehovist traditions were derived through a race which began its year at the Summer Solstice, then the month which we call the tenth would have been the seventh. This will account for the practical identity of the Feasts of Tabernacles (seventh month) and *Hanucca* (tenth month). It will also explain the similarity between the '*Asaph*' Psalms (seventh month) and the '*Korah*' Psalms (tenth month).

If we study Table II we see that, though the *Jehovistic* Korah Psalms are in their proper place at *Hanucca*, the *Elohistic* Korah Psalms are removed from that feast by six (or seven) Sabbaths. Yet these *Elohistic* Korah Psalms are most closely related to the *Jehovistic*¹, and undoubtedly belonged to the same Feast. This suggests a cycle beginning, not as the triennial cycle did in *Nisan*, but on the second Sabbath in *Shebat*. In other words, we are led to suspect that, just as in the triennial cycle, the Second and Third Collections of the Psalms began in *Shebat*, so at a still earlier time the First Collection began in *Shebat*.

If the reader will make this correction in pencil on Table II he will see that the forty-one Psalms of the First Collection exactly occupy the Sabbaths from the second Sabbath in *Shebat* up to the Sabbath before *Hanucca*, so that the *Elohistic* Korah Psalms (xlii-xlix) would come in their right place at *Hanucca*.

According to this arrangement Ps. xiv comes in the second

¹ *The Psalms in Three Collections* Part 2 pp. xiii, 173, 181 f, 190.

month, in which we find Ps. liii, with which it is identical¹. Pss. xx, xxi, which are Psalms of the 'King', come in the month *Tammuz*, in which we have already found Pss. lxi, lxiii, which are Psalms of the 'King'.

Ps. xxx, which has the singular title *For the Dedication of the House*, would come on the 3rd Sabbath in *Elul*, on which day, in the order of the *Sedarim* (see Table I), Exod. xl was read, *recording the Dedication of the Tabernacle*. We may also mention the fact that Ps. xxvii, which was recited morning and evening throughout the month of *Elul*, would come immediately before the opening of that month.

Let me only remark, in conclusion, that I have no thought of suggesting that the Psalms were originally written for consecutive Sabbaths, but I do maintain that certain groups of Psalms belonged to certain definite points of the Calendar, that the triennial cycle was a natural developement of this earlier thought, and that this triennial cycle was known to the editor who arranged the Psalter in Five Books.

EDW. G. KING.

¹ In my Commentary on Ps. xiv, before I had any suspicion of the triennial cycle, I had occasion (p. 74) to point out the striking allusions to Gen. vi 1-4; it is certainly a remarkable coincidence that Gen. vi 1-4 should have been read in the order of the *Sedarim* at this season (see Table I).

THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANS- FIGURATION.

THIS event in our Lord's incarnate life has so little place in the consciousness and liturgical system of the Church that all who have realized its importance cannot but welcome any discussion of it as tending to win for it due prominence in our dogmatics.

The two papers which have appeared in the *J.T.S.* (Jan. and July, 1903) presented but one aspect of the event, for whilst differing from each other on certain points, they both were concerned with the effect of the Transfiguration upon the minds of the three selected witnesses and ignored the probability of purpose in relation to our Lord Himself, and to the Old Testament saints who were present. Mr. Holmes professed only to treat of 'one of its purposes', and we may assume that Dr. Kennedy would agree that neither view, if established, would be exclusive of some other and, possibly, higher purpose.

In order that the theory here presented may be put briefly I do not propose to traverse the arguments so far adduced, or to repeat at length what the former writers have so well said of the 'setting' of the event. It will be seen that if the theory here given is acceptable, it not only does not evacuate the purposes already described, but carries their force and effect still deeper.

Comparison of the Transfiguration with other events in the same life brings out its unique position as a meeting-place of old and new, the old finding its fulfilment in the new departure. We can hardly estimate the force of this until we think ourselves into the position of one to whom the Mosaic system was the only formulated truth with undeniably divine authority on earth. That the older, the husk, should pass away without some other sign than the ruin of Israel is incredible. Certain devout souls, as Simeon and Anna and the Baptist, had had their faith rewarded; was there no such reward for those who in older days had

laboured for the preparation of His coming? In the two who were manifested all the past in respect of organized spiritual life was represented. The law of continuity was thus observed as in no other event. Living priests and prophets might deny and crucify, other living authorities should testify and rejoice.

But let us turn to the Mount itself. The persons present visibly were our Blessed Lord, Moses, Elias, and the three principal disciples. There was also vocal, sensible evidence of the presence of the Eternal Father as the principal and immediate operator in what we may reasonably consider the main purpose of the Transfiguration.

Of our Lord, we know that, as has been shewn, two lines of thought had just been presented to the disciples, His Sonship, and His Passion and Death; the one His eternal prerogative, the other His own willing act as Son of Man giving Himself in sacrifice for the sons of men. At the Transfiguration we know also (from St Luke) that the subject of the conversation between Him and Moses and Elias was His coming death. The subsequent incidents include an act of healing (one requiring special grace), preluded by reference to the work of Elias; and then further discourse on the Passion, and on priority in the Kingdom of God. Sonship, sacrifice, and power are the three dominant ideas in the narrative as a whole.

'His exodus' being what it is, namely, the means of our delivery from the bondage of sin, the presence of Moses is easily understood; but there was another reason. Moses was the founder of the Aaronic priesthood, the consecrator of the first high priest of that order, and one to whom it had been said that to the same Aaron he should be 'as God'. (Aaron was the mouth-power, the word of Moses.)

Elias was pre-eminently the Old Testament prophet, the one destroyer of false prophets, the restorer whose name symbolized the work of the Baptist, whose word made straight the way by which the true Prophet of humanity should come.

So far, therefore, the functions of priesthood and prophecy seem to be the most prominent on this occasion.

In the next place, passing over the suggestion of three tabernacles, made, to what intent is not clear, by St Peter, we have some evidence to shew the impression which the incident pro-

duced on the minds of the three disciples. As to St Peter, it would be acknowledged by all that, if 2 Pet. was his composition, he is the one of whose impressions we know the most. The 'tabernacle', the 'exodus', the voice of the Father, and the power of the prophet are all in evidence. But there is proof of this also from 1 Pet. The connexion of ideas in ch. i of that epistle is, if more veiled, still to be traced as it is in 2 Pet., and not accidental are the verbal reminiscences in e.g. ch. v 9, 10 of 1 Pet. Is it then a mere fancy that whereas the root subject in 1 Pet. is priesthood, ministerial and general, and in 2 Pet. the prophetic work, we should conclude that St Peter saw in the Transfiguration nothing less than the assumption before selected witnesses of both offices, priest and prophet, by the Son of Man? Assumed, we may rightly say; but at the voice of the source of all authority and power, the Father Himself (cf. Heb. v 4-6). There was no other recorded occasion in our Lord's life when His consecration to the priesthood can be without question asserted to have taken place. And if it took place then, may we not see why silence was imposed upon the three witnesses? The Priesthood must be established by the Sacrifice: the Prophetic office manifested on the Cross in declaring and fulfilling the mind of the Father towards all human error: when these were accomplished the investiture might be announced, not until then. Priestly power without self-sacrifice is a snare to man: prophetic power without personal submission entire and complete to the message-giver's will is a source of hypocrisy. Our Lord would have the disciples learn by His Sacrifice and submission the perfectness of His Priestly and Prophetic character. Suffering first—then glory. The disciples were to see before many days how both functions might be degraded and the institutions of divine appointment made to subserve the lowest temporal ends. By contrast they were to learn wherein true priesthood and prophetic power differed from the false. How but for the Transfiguration could they have known Him at all for Priest and Prophet? Moses and Elias were there for the teaching of the three as well. Moses saw the Priest there whose office he had been instrumental in prefiguring. Then he knew for the first time the meaning of the glorious vesture with which his hands had arrayed his mouthpiece, then he understood all that the bloodshedding of countless lambs

had symbolized. At such a consecration who of all the great men of God in old time could assist with more befitting presence? On this Mount met old and new, symbol and reality, the temporal and the eternal. Granted that some help was intended to disciples whose hearts were to be tried by desolation, or grant any other theory of the kind, the heart of the subject has not been reached until the Person of Christ Himself in that event has been studied and His office therein defined.

Elias, too, saw the Prophet of whom his own wonderful career had been but a faint shadow, saw Him whose School of prophets of a new Israel should outnumber his largest dream, saw Him whose still, small voice should strengthen and comfort the hearts of the wearied with conflict of evil, saw Him whose word should be recognized as The Word of God unerring, impassionate, swift as lightning, sure as death, but life-giving.

Does St John give sign of the impressions received on the Mount? We see it in his later vision of the Son of Man girded as Priest eternal: we have also to help us his thought of the two witnesses whose dead bodies (he had seen their living spirits) were lying in the streets of the city where their Lord was crucified, a significant description of an effete priesthood and a degraded prophetic ministry (see Rev. xi 1-13). To the mind of St John the germ of all is the Incarnation; granted that, all else follows. Herein he differed in apprehension from the more active, more governing mind of the chief of the apostolic body. The difference in mental characteristic explains the difference in attitude towards the Transfiguration. The Petrine tabernacles of differentiated powers become one to the vision of the seer, '*the* Tabernacle of God' which is 'with men'.

If there is anything in the theory here briefly set forth, does it not provide reason for desiring a fuller recognition of the scene on the Mount in our worship and teaching? We own Christ as Priest and Prophet, let us own with due solemnities the day of His consecration.

A. T. FRYER.

DOCUMENTS

AN EXEGETICAL FRAGMENT OF THE
THIRD CENTURY.

THE document here printed was discovered and copied independently by myself in 1902 and by my friend Dr. G. Mercati, then of the Ambrosian but now of the Vatican library, some years earlier. The right to first publication belonged indubitably to him, and his edition has in fact lately appeared (with other material) as No. 11 of the Vatican *Studi e Testi*¹. But inasmuch as my own text was in type before I knew that I had been anticipated in the discovery, and seeing also that the document is one which from its age and character deserves all the attention which students can bestow upon it, I have ventured, with Dr. Mercati's full consent, to publish the treatise, although no longer an *anecdote*, in the pages of the JOURNAL.

Not only in the discovery of the document, but in the edition of its text, Dr. Mercati and myself have been wholly independent of one another: and the very close agreement which on important points exists between our respective results is I hope an indication of their substantial correctness. In order to emphasize the extent of our independent agreement, I have not thought it proper to modify in any way the form of my own presentation of the text; and it will therefore be convenient, even at the risk of anticipating the logical arrangement, to call attention at once to the principal variations between our two editions.

In the arrangement and division of the chapters, which are of course not marked as such in the MS, Dr. Mercati and I agree, I think, in every case except that he begins his second chapter a line and a half later than I do, with the words 'quia humana fragilitas'. Of the few passages which I have been able neither to understand nor to emend, and have therefore marked as corrupt, (1) ch. iii, l. 17 is beautifully restored by Mercati through a simple transposition of two words 'hoc enim illi poenale est, si quod non uult perdidisse et ipse se perdidisse fateatur': (2) ch. vi, l. 9 'patiatur', he notes *id est, sustineat, toleret . . . uel fort. nonnulla exciderunt*: (3) ch. viii, ll. 17, 18 he prints 'quo

¹ *Varia Sacra*, Fascicolo 11: 1. *Anonymi Chiliastae in Matthaeum fragmenta*, 2. *Piccoli supplementi agli scritti dei dottori Cappadoci e di S. Cirillo Alessandrino*. Roma, Tipografia Vaticana, 1903.

raptu ipso terrore mortem sicut soporem patientur, *et* comportati, dum ad Dominum perueniunt, reuiuiscetes resurgent'; (4) ch. ix, l. 17 he prints the MS text, and notes '*id est monstrabit se regem esse et suos unius Dei honore gloriosos*'; (5) in ch. x, ll. 42, 43 he emends 'et Domino, qui uita est, in maiestate sua praesente *magis dignum, quod* concupiscentia edulium esse non potest': (6) ch. xix, l. 4 he follows the MS, but doubts whether the passage may not contain a corruption: (7) ch. xix, l. 23 for 'ut meritum conlocetur' he writes 'ut merito conloquitor'.

Other noteworthy readings introduced by Dr. Mercati into his text are—ch. iii, l. 21 'dominari' for MS 'damnari'; ch. iv, l. 12 'boni fruuntur uita, mali uero' for 'uitam alii', a simple and satisfactory emendation that ought not to have escaped me; ch. vi, l. 14 'infirmatae' for 'infirmate'; ch. x, l. 44 'ali ut prius cogatur' for 'aliut conatur'; ch. xi, l. 25 'audius' for 'abitus'; ch. xiii, l. 7 'de vii diebus vii anae' (*i. e.* septimanae) for 'de vii dies vii anni,' which is at least very ingenious; ch. xiv, l. 4 'sic' for 'sed'; ib. l. 40 'prouiuere' for 'prouenire' (I conjecture 'non inuenire'); ch. xvi, l. 3 'fatus' for 'faus' (I have proposed 'fraus'); ch. xix, l. 16 'adseruimus' for 'adseruemus'; ib. l. 27 'insperatum' for 'speratum', and 'tutos' for 'totos.'

In two or three places his edition has enabled me to correct slips or omissions in my own: ch. ii, l. 5 reference to Wisdom iv 11 should be given in the margin, and ch. xv, ll. 4, 5 reference to 2 Cor. v 7; ch. xiv, l. 20 after 'passi' the word 'statim' should be inserted; ch. xviii, l. 1 'ergo' should of course have been 'erga'. But on the whole our results harmonize in a rather remarkable degree.

I ought to add that, following on the exposition of the eschatological passage, Matt. xxiv 20-44, the MS gives two short pieces, *de tribus mensuris* and *de Petro apostolo*, which may perhaps be drawn from the same source. Dr. Mercati has printed them both.

Many interesting problems offer themselves for solution in reading through this newly recovered document. What is its age? is the Latin form in which we have it original, or a version from the Greek? is it an independent whole, or an extract from a complete commentary on St Matthew's Gospel? And lastly, when these questions have been considered and as far as possible answered, who was its author?

The document emanates from the age of persecutions. 'The sign of the beast on the forehead or on the hand' is interpreted of the wearing of the laurel crown upon the head and of the casting of incense on the 'altar of abomination' (ch. xix, l. 8): the former is familiar to us as the theme of Tertullian's fierce declamation in the *de corona militis*, the latter was the official test of apostasy in all the persecutions

at least from Decius onwards. Again humanity is divided into the three classes of 'iusti', 'peccatores', and 'impii' (ch. xiv 16-28, xix 6), that is to say, good Christians, bad Christians, and heathen, a distinction being drawn between the 'impii', who perish, and the 'peccatores', who are punished in proportion to their sins: and this prominence of the heathen as a separate class in the eschatological conception of the writer points us back to the time when heathenism was still dominant. Chiliasm, too, is still an absorbing topic of interest: not only is our writer himself a Chiliast, albeit a moderate and reasonable one, but he has to take serious account of a rampant and offensive Chiliasm which maintained that the saints during the thousand years' reign would eat the good things of the earth and drink at the Lord's table in His kingdom in the crudest and most material sense. We need feel no hesitation in attributing our fragment to the third century or at latest to the very earliest years of the fourth.

If the writer was a Greek churchman, it would be natural to place him somewhat before the later boundary of the limits just laid down, since Chiliasm was extinct in the Greek much earlier than in the Latin church: but the question of the original language of the treatise is a much more difficult one than its date. We have not here to deal with an artistic and literary whole, the finish and setting of which would inevitably be tarnished in the process of transference from one language to another; in such cases it may be possible to say with confidence whether a writing bears the impress of a single hand or no: but it is clear that this sort of criterion does not admit of easy application to exegetical matter. Another and perhaps more serious ground for hesitation attaches specially to the Latin Christian writings of the time when ecclesiastical Latin was still in process of making: for its mode of thought and its technical language often betray such obvious marks of their ultimate Greek origin that the decision whether any particular document is a translation into Latin, or an original Latin production of a writer imbued with Greek ideas and Greek training, becomes peculiarly difficult. Tertullian was no doubt neither the only nor the last Latin Christian who composed in both languages: and in writers of less individuality than Tertullian this bilingual facility would result in a graecised Latin that might be hard to distinguish from the Latin rendering of a Greek original. Therefore if I suggest that our document may be only a translation, it must be understood that the suggestion is propounded tentatively and with full appreciation of the reasons that make for caution. But the cumulative effect of the following instances collected from my *apparatus criticus* seems to me sufficient to warrant the claim of the hypothesis as at least a possible alternative:—ch. viii, l. 11 'rapiemur in nubibus, id est a ministris nubibus', ἀρταγνόμεθα ἐν

νεφελαῖς, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ λειτουργῶν [τῶν] νεφελῶν—the dative with *ἐν* can be instrumental in Greek, but hardly so the ablative with 'in' in Latin: ch. xiii, l. 7 'de vii dies', *περὶ τοῦ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι*—Mercati avoids this by writing 'de vii diebus': ch. xiv, l. 5 'quia Christo resurgente', *ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀνισταμένου*: ch. xiv, l. 34 'meruerunt resurgere' of the resurrection of sinners, *ἡξιώθησαν*: ch. xvii, l. 11 'de eius accipit,' *ἐκ τοῦ [ἐμοῦ] λαμβάνει*, Jo. xvi 15: ch. xix, l. 10 'sed qui etiam hi qui christiani erant . . . cesserunt,' *οἱ δὲ καὶ χριστιανοὶ ὄντες . . .*, where Mercati simplifies the Latin construction by writing 'sed quia etiam hi qui christiani erant *ac* . . . cesserunt'.

It is worthy of mention in this connexion, though one would not wish to lay undue stress on the fact, that the Muratorian Canon, which is found in the same MS as our document and at no great distance from it, is also according to all probability a translation from the Greek.

If then we have to face the possibility that the Latin as we have it is not original, the limits of date as given above will of course apply only to the Greek original, not to the Latin translation. Yet the translation itself must belong at latest to a time not appreciably removed from the inferior limit, that is to say, from the early years of the fourth century. The decisive factor in this case is the character of the Latin biblical text, which has striking affinities with some of our oldest authorities. In particular we are fortunate in possessing in the *ad Fortunatum* of St Cyprian (§ 11, Hartel i 335) a continuous quotation of Matt. xxiv 4–31, —a passage which for its last twelve or thirteen verses runs parallel with the opening chapters of our document: and a summary comparison of these verses with Cyprian and the chief Old Latin MSS of the Gospels will sufficiently guarantee the early character of the text.

[Verse 19].

1. nutrientibus with Cyprian codd. TW
nutricantibus *ε* Tert. 1/3 Cypr. codd. RS
lactantibus *a d* Tert. 2/3
ubera dantibus *b*

[Verse 20].

2. orate autem with *a b d ε*
adorate (*om.* autem) Cypr.
3. uel with *a b* Cypr. cod. T
aut *ε* Cypr. cod. R
nec *d* Cypr.

[Verse 21].

4. pressuræ (pressura) with *ε* Cypr. Iren. 1/2
tribulatio *a b d* Iren. 1/2
5. fuerunt (fuit) with *a b d*
est facta *ε* Cypr. Iren.
6. ab initio with Iren. 2/3
ab initio mundi *ε* Cypr.
ab initio saeculi *a b d* Iren. 1/3

[Verse 22].

7. electorum causa with Hil. 1/2
propter electos *a b d e* Cypr. Hil. 1/2

[Verse 23].

8. hic est with *e* (Tert. 1)
hic *a b d* Cypr. Auct. rebapt.
9. aut illic with *d*
aut ecce illic *a* Cypr.
ecce illic *b e*
aut hic Auct. rebapt. Cypr. cod. V
10. ne credatis
nolite credere *a b d e* Cypr. Auct. rebapt.

[Verse 24].

11. portenta with Cypr. Auct. rebapt.
prodigia *a b d e*
12. ita ut in errorem inducant . . . electos (with *a* ?)
ita ut in errorem inducantur . . . electi *b* (*a* ?)
ita ut errent . . . electi *e* Auct. rebapt.
ut seducantur . . . electos *d*
ad errorem faciendum . . . electis Cypr.
ad euertendos . . . electos Tert.
13. etiam with *a b* Auct. rebapt. Cypr. codd. VW
et *d* Cypr. cod. S
om. e Cypr. cod. R

[Verse 25].

14. (ecce) praedixi with *a b d e*
praem uos autem caute Cypr.

[Verse 26].

15. deserto with *a b d e*
solitudine Cypr.
16. cubiculo *d*
cubiculi^s (cf. our document, ch. iv, l. 7) Cypr.
promptuariis *e*
penetralibus *a b*

[Verse 27].

17. coruscatio with *d e* Cypr.
fulgur *a b*
18. quae exit with *e* Cypr.
exit (*om. quae*) *a b d*
19. paret with *a b*
apparet *e* Cypr.
lucet *d*
20. usque in with *a d*
usque ad *e* Cypr.
usque *b*
21. aduentus with *a d*
et aduentus *b e* Cypr.

[Verse 28].

22. ubi with *e* Cypr.
ubicumque *a b d* Iren.
23. fuerit with *a d* Cypr.
erit *b e*
est Iren.

24. corpus with *a b e*
cadauer *d* Cypr. Iren.
25. illuc with Cypr. Iren.
illic *a b e* Cypr. cod. W
ibi *d*
26. congregabuntur with *a b d e* Iren. Cypr. cod. S
colligentur Cypr.

[Verse 29].

27. statim with *a b*
continuo *d e* Cypr.
28. tribulationem with *a b d e*
pressuram Cypr.
29. contenebrabitur
tenebricabit Cypr.
in tenebris conuertetur *e*
obscurabitur *a b d*

[Verse 30].

30. parebit with *a b d*
apparebit *e* Cypr.
31. plangant (-ent) se with *a* Tichonius
plangebunt *d*
lamentabuntur *e* Cypr.
concidet se *b*
32. magna with *d e* Cypr.
multa *a b*
33. claritate with *e* Cypr.
maiestate *a b*
gloria *d*

[Verse 31].

34. colligent with *e* Cypr.
concolligent *d*
congregabunt *a b*
35. a summis with *a b* Cypr.
ab extremo *d e*
36. ultimum with *a*
extremum *e*
summum *d*
summitates Cypr.
terminum *b*

If we tabulate the results, we find that our document has with *a* eighteen agreements, and with each of the other four continuous texts thirteen or fourteen agreements, out of the thirty-six cases. It is, perhaps, more really instructive to note the cases in which it goes with the better of two readings where these five ancient authorities are divided against each other. Thus in 1 it goes with Cyprian; in 4 with *e* Cypr. Iren. 1/2; in 11 with Cypr. Auct. rebapt.; in 16 with *d* Cypr.; in 17 with *d e* Cypr.; in 18 with *e* Cypr.; in 25 with Cypr. Iren.; in 29 it is closest to Cypr.; in 32 it goes with *d e* Cypr.; in 33, 34, with *e* Cypr.; in 35 with *a b* Cypr. It is clear that, on the whole, though it is

not an 'African' text, it approaches more nearly to the 'African' text of *c* Cyprian than do the typical fourth-century texts *a* and *b*.

We conclude then, so far, that the original document belongs to the third century or at latest to the early years of the fourth, and that the form in which it comes to us, even if not itself original, cannot be much later than this. We now proceed to enquire whether the probabilities point to its being complete in itself, or whether, alternatively, it is to be regarded as a selection from a larger whole, such as a commentary on the entire Gospel of St Matthew. It is perhaps the most convenient method of approaching this problem, although it will involve some digression, to commence by asking what commentaries on this Gospel are known to have been written in the ante-Nicene period, and which of them come into serious consideration as the possible source of our fragment.

St Jerome, in the preface to his own commentary on St Matthew (A.D. 387: ed. Vallarsi vii 6), gives the following enumeration of those who had preceded him in the task of exposition: 'legisse me fateor ante annos plurimos in Mattheum Origenis viginti quinque volumina et totidem eius Homilias, commaticumque interpretationis genus; et Theophili Antiochenae urbis episcopi commentarios, Hippolyti quoque martyris, et Theodori Heracleotae, Apollinarisque Laodicensi, ac Didymi Alexandrini; et Latinorum Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuscula.' Of these nine commentators, Theodore of Heraclea, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Didymus of Alexandria among the Greeks, Hilary of Poitiers and Fortunatian of Aquileia among the Latins, are post-Nicene, and do not therefore concern us on this occasion. There remain of the Greeks Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus, and Origen, of the Latins Victorinus of Pettau: and to one of these, as the only known ante-Nicene expositors of St Matthew, our fragment must be presumed to belong, if its source is to be found in a systematic commentary. But the alternatives open can be reduced within narrower limits still. The commentary of Origen is extant for the whole of the latter part of the Gospel in an old Latin translation (ed. de la Rue, iii 521-931), and cannot possibly represent the same original as our fragment: while it is equally certain that the fragment, if it is part of a larger whole at all, must come from a commentary and not from either 'homilies' or 'scholia'. And in any case the Millenarianism of our document, however moderate it may be, would put out of court at once any claim on the part of Origen to be regarded as its author. The case for Theophilus of Antioch, again, is too slight to be taken into serious account. Even if we defer to Jerome's authority in admitting the existence and genuineness of a work about which Eusebius in his catalogue of Theophilus's writings (*H. E.* iv 24) is wholly silent,

we could not bring it into relation with our fragment, which bears all the marks of the more developed literature of the third century, while the episcopate of Theophilus came to an end before the last decade of the second. If we have to choose among the commentators, the choice reduces itself to the two names of Hippolytus and Victorinus.

That Hippolytus really wrote a commentary on St Matthew's Gospel may be accepted on the authority of Jerome's preface to his own commentary as indubitable, in spite of the fact that neither of the two earliest lists of his works—that inscribed on the chair of his statue at Rome, and that contained in Eusebius *H. E.* vi 22—contain any mention of it. The Chair is silent as to exegetical works altogether¹, though we know that Hippolytus wrote for instance on the book of Daniel and on the Song of Songs: and Eusebius concludes his list with the caution that 'very many other works' of this author would be found on research to be extant. That Hippolytus wrote in Greek was unfavourable to the circulation of his writings in the West; that he wrote in or near Rome was equally unfavourable to their circulation in the East. It would therefore in any case be hardly surprising that the commentary should have soon dropped out of sight: and the disappearance would be still easier to explain if the lost writing were not a commentary in the fullest sense of the word, if it were not, that is, a continuous exposition of the text of the Gospel from beginning to end. More than one consideration may be thought to point in this direction. The parallel enumeration in Jerome of expositions of 1 Corinthians—'latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt,' ep. 49 § 3 (A.D. 393)—includes several writers such as Dionysius, Pierius, and Eusebius, who certainly, so far as we know, never composed complete commentaries on the epistle. Moreover, in the days of Hippolytus the biblical commentary as a department of Christian literature was still in its infancy: and even a writing entitled *Εἰς τὸν Ματθαῖον* or *Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον* need not have meant more than a discussion of particular sections or aspects of the Gospel. The titles of other works of Hippolytus sufficiently shew that eschatology was a specially congenial theme: and it is significant in this respect that all the fragments of any considerable compass which can be referred with probability to the lost commentary on St Matthew belong without exception to the twenty-fourth chapter. (a) In *Hermathena* vii 137-150 (A.D. 1890) Dr. J. Gwynn published with English translation an extract from the Syriac commentary of Dionysius Bar-Salibi on the Apocalypse (MS Brit. Mus. Rich 7185), which cites Hippolytus's explanation of Matt. xxiv 15-22, and gives in the margin the additional reference to 'the interpretation

¹ Unless the enigmatic phrase usually printed *οὐδὲν εἰς πάσας τὰς γράφας* conceals in some way or another a reference to them.

of the Gospel', *i.e.* to a definite commentary: Harnack *Altchr. Literatur* i 641, appears to accept this attribution, but Gwynn, while not doubting the Hippolytean authorship, speaks with reserve as to the actual source of the quotation, and Achelis in the Berlin edition of Hippolytus (I ii 243-246: A.D. 1897) prints it among the fragments of the 'Capitula against Gaius'. (b) From Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic catenae, which all represent a single (doubtless Greek) source, Achelis *op. cit.* 197-207 prints German translations of interpretations ascribed to Hippolytus covering Matt. xxiv 15-34. The Syriac comment overlaps slightly, the Egyptian overlaps largely, the passage expounded in our Latin document: and the general character of the relationship is that of similarity of thought without any such marked contact as we should expect in independent versions of a common original. If therefore the Oriental fragments belong to the commentary on the Gospel, then, unless they have suffered unusually in the process of transmission, the Latin can hardly belong to it as well: if on the other hand they are drawn from Hippolytus indeed, but from sources other than the commentary, then the attribution of the Latin to the commentary would explain at once its similarity to them in general thought and its divergence in expression and in detail. Here the matter may be left, while something is said about the other commentator whose claims must be compared with those of Hippolytus.

Victorinus of Petavio or Pettau, on the borders of the Greek and Latin speaking worlds, was according to Jerome, *de viris illustribus* 74, better acquainted with Greek than with Latin: if he wrote chiefly or exclusively in the latter tongue, this was the necessary consequence of a definite aim which he had set before himself. Victorinus in fact—and the aim was a noble one, however inadequate its execution—wished to familiarize the Latin Christian world, which down to that time (he was martyred in the persecution of Diocletian) appears to have possessed no exegetical literature of its own, with the thoughts and methods of Hippolytus and Origen. So much we learn from repeated statements of Jerome: ep. 36 § 16 ad Damasum (A.D. 384) 'Hippolyti martyris uerba . . . a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat': ep. 61 § 2 ad Vigilantium (A.D. 396) 'taceo de Victorino Petabionensi et ceteris qui Origenem in explanatione dumtaxat scripturarum secuti sunt et expresserunt': ep. 84 § 7 ad Pammachium (A.D. 400) 'nec disertiores sumus Hilario nec fideliores Victorino, qui eius [*sc.* Origenis] tractatus non ut interpretes sed ut auctores proprii operis transtulerunt'. These passages do not apply only or primarily to the commentary on St Matthew, but there is no reason to exclude it from their purview. And if either Hippolytus or Origen was here the model of Victorinus, the probabilities are distinctly in favour of Hippolytus.

We know that the commentary of Origen was of enormous length and prolixity: we have seen reason to believe on the other hand that the work of Hippolytus may have been no more than a partial and incomplete exposition: and the language of Cassiodorus, *de institutione divinarum litterarum* § 7, 'Mattheum . . . de quo et Victorinus ex oratore episcopus nonnulla disseruit,' suggests that the same was the case with Victorinus.

That Victorinus is connected in some way or other with our document, either as actually its author or, if it is drawn from a Greek source, as its translator, appears more than probable. If the arguments for regarding the Latin as a translation are sound, then no name can be put forward for the authorship of the original so likely as Hippolytus. Perhaps the indications given by Jerome suggest that the truth lies with neither of these alternatives exclusively but midway between them, and we may suppose Victorinus to have worked partly as 'author' and partly as 'interpreter' in the composition of perhaps the earliest piece of Latin exegesis that has come down to us.

C. H. TURNER.

Codex Ambrosianus I 101 sup. fol. 19 a (saec. vii-viii)

INCIPIT DE MATHEO EVANGĒ

1. **Orate autem ne fiat fuca uestra hieme uel sabbato**, id est ne Matt. xxiv
cum fuca fit inpedimentum patiamini. **orare** autem est semper sollicitum 20
esse et auxilium Dei implurare, ne impedimentis constrictus tempore quo
fugiendum est terrenis nexibus obligetur. semper autem inpedimenta
5 **fugienda sunt**: idcirco sic nos constituere debemus ut cum fuge dies
6 **uenerit liberi et ad fucam apti inueniamur**. **hieme** autem | et **sabbato**
cum dicit, quid aliud significat quam tempus quo fugire non potest, id
est ne cum fuga fit inpedimenta et hiemis et sabbati in nobis inueniantur,
quibus inpediti fugire non possumus? hiems autem ad fugiendum uel
10 latendum intuta et minus utilis est: sabbatum uero ultra iter facere
quam lex iubet secundum Iudeos non sinīt. non ergo sabbati lege uti
nos praecipit, quod iam solutum est, sed ne actus nostri cum fuca fit
hiemi et sabbato conparentur, sicut **prignantium et nutrientium**. Matt. xxiv
19

1. 2. horare *cod* 3. implurare: *ita corr (m p) ex* implurale 5. fuge:
fu**e (fugae?) *cod** 6. uenerit *cod* ad fucam *scripsi*: a fuca *cod*
abti *cod* hime *cod** 7. fugire: *ita corr m p ex* fuge 8. ne *m* 2:
om *cod** hiemes *cod* 9. quibu inpedeti fugere *cod** 10. sabbatum
scripsi: sabbato *cod* faceret *cod** 11. sinet *cod* 13. prinnan-
tium *cod*

potest et sic intellegi, quia 'nouissima persecutio est' in hieme uel sabbato significata sit: sabbatum enim nouissimus dies est et hiens 1: nouissimum tempus est.

Matt. xxiv 21, 22 ii. Et quia graues pressuro et quales non fuerunt ab initio erunt, orandum ne a fide discodamus: quia humana fragilitas diuinam persecutionem ferre non potest, et tempus ad eam praefinitum annorum numero impleri oportet, electorum suorum causa breuiabuntur ait, ne continua pressura grauati inuiti cederent uicti tormentis, ne malitia 5 perseverans diu mutaret intellectum eorum, quia deuotus nisi adiutus fuerit poterit desperare; iugis enim pressura si respirare non sicerit poterit infirmare etiam electos. sicut enim sub Iesu Naue inimicorum causa dies retento sole maior factus adsolito est, | ita et electorum causa 10 uelociore sole breuiatur accepta persecutione usque ad finem, id est 12 annis tribus et mensibus sex. completis his ueniet Saluator in maiestate a Thess. ii 8 sua cum nubibus caeli et angelis suis et INTERFICIET antechristum et pseudoprophetas eius SPIRITU ORIS SVI.

Matt. xxiv 33-35 iii. Tempore quo persecutiones et pressurae futurae sunt, uidete, inquit Saluator, ut cum audieritis Ecce hic est christus aut illuc ne credatis. surgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetas: dantur signa magna et portenta, ita ut in errorem inducant si finis potest 5 oram electos: prodixi uobis. diabolus enim cum propter uirtutem 10 quam malignitatis suae apostasiam reuertens de caelis in terram fuerit, eo quod sciat resurges sibi uictis superesse, omnem astutiam suam et dolum diuersis praestigis ad fallendum et discipulandum componit per filium suum et administrum antechristum: ne solus pereat multos 15 uel socios perditioni adquirere. presumptione enim delictis quae deceptus 20

1. 14. Et m. 2: om. col. intellegi scripti: intellegitur col. 15. sabbatum scripti: sabbato col. 16. nouissimo col.

ii. 1. Quis col. 2. orandum? col. (difficillimum est inter ceteros in codice nostro discernere) discodamus col. diuinitatem col. 3. col. eam scripti: ad eum col. mali: foras a deo 4. breuiabuntur: foras supplementum dies illi 5. cederint col. 6. deuotus col. (corr. m. p.) adiutus scripti: adiutus col. 7. desperare col. siceret col. 8. electus col. 9. sole col. adsolito scripti: adsolito col. 10. breuiatur col. accepta: foras supplementum ab incepta persecutione col. 11. nubibus col.

iii. 1. tempore col. 2. saluator col. audieritis col. 3. prodaturis col. pseudoprophetae col. pseudoprophetae col. 4. portenta col. 5. electus? col. prodixi? col. (corr. m. p.) uobis col. (corr. m. p.) cum scripti: om. col. 7. sibi col. 8. praestigis col. fallendum col. componit col. componit col. 9. multos col. 10. perditioni col. presumptionis col. delictis col. quae scripti: quae col. deceptus col.

est uel ad momentum in terra uult uti, VT IN TEMPLO DEI id est in ²Thess. ii 4
ecclesia SEDEAT OSTENDENS SE QVASI SIT DEVS. iam enim periturus
re propter quam perit uel ad tempus uult uti; mauult enim perire quam
rem quam adgressus est non inplere. hic furor habet et iracondia ut
²⁰ b rem quam contrariam scit non praetermittat, nec uictus uideatur | quamuis
¹⁶ sciat se uinci, sed uincere sibi uidetur dum a proposito non discedit:
licet et compressus enim in eadem tamen uoluntate perdurat. † hoc enim
illi perdidisse et poenale est si quod non uult ipse se perdidisse fateatur†.
non solum enim praessuras Dei seruís excitat ut metu et dolore cedant
²⁰ ADORANTES illum quasi Deum, sicut ausus est ad Salbatorem dicere, Matt. iv 9
adorari autem se uult Deum et damnari, ut impleat uoluntatis suae
malignae propositum; sed et per diuersa iactari praecipit christum esse
aliquando in cobiculo, aliquando in deserto (facile enim quis seducitur Matt. xxiv
si illi fingitur quod amare scitur), ut hi qui tormentis praessurarum uinci ²⁶
²⁵ non possunt dolo capiantur, credentes christum esse qui non est, aut
hi qui in latibulis degunt exeant putantes christum suum ad auxilium
serborum suorum uenisse, et sic antichristum fatendo FILIUM PER- ²Thess. ii 3
DITIONIS *perditioni* adquirentur, aut incidant in poenas per quas forte
uincantur, aut crucientur. accedunt his signa et prodigia magna, quae
³⁰ faciliora sint ad persuadendum etiam sanctis. hinc ergo pugnat dolus,
illinc persecutio et tormenta, ex alia parte signa et prodigia; ut quo-
modo est diabolus non esse putetur, et licet ab inuitis qui uincuntur
tormentis adoretur.

IV. Sed Saluator ad munimenta seruorum suorum omnia haec futura
⁴ ²¹ a ad seducendum praedixit et monuit | spe praemii toleranda; et non sic
se appariturum ut alicubi esse et alicubi non esse dicatur, sed manifestari
aduentum suum omnimodo et oculata fide una hora omnibus apparere

III. 11. mumentum *cod* 14. inplere: inpre *cod** (*corr m p*) hic
scripsi: hoc *cod* furor *cod** 15. contrariam *cod*: addendum forte sibi |
nec uictus uideatur *scripsi*: om *cod**, add nec uictus uideatur *m p*?
16. sciat se uinci *scripsi*: sciaseuinci *cod* disedit *cod** 18. fatetur *cod**
19. praessuris *cod** seruís *scripsi*: seruus *cod* et: om *cod** 21. ad-
urari *cod* 22. christum *scripsi*: xps *cod* 23. quis *scripsi*: qui *cod*
24. illi: illid *cod** amare scitur *scripsi* (*sed forsitan malis adamare*):
admarescitur *cod* 27. sic: sicut *cod** filium perditionis perditioni
scripsi, cf l 10 supra: filius perditionis (*tantum*) *cod**: filius perditioni *cod**
28. incidant *scripsi*: incidunt *cod*

IV. 3. non *m* 2: om *cod** 4. occulta fide *cod*: oculata fide *conieci*
e Cypriano ad Fortunatum xiii (*Hartel* 346. 7) Paulus . . . qui oculata
(oculata *codd*, occulta *edd priores*) fide Iesum Christum uidisse se gloria-
tur: uerbum oculare *apud Tertullianum* aliquoties inuenitur: cf. adv.
Marc. ii 25, poen. 12, apol. 2, pudic. 8 (*Forcellini-de Vit*)

Matt. xxiv 27 ostendit dicens Sicut enim coruscatio quae exit ab oriente et paret
usque in occidentem, ita erit aduentus filii hominis: ut per hoc
omnis dolus et gauillatio diabuli qui christum fingit in coiculis aut in
desertis apparuisse manifeste uetetur. non enim quasi corporatus homo,
qui in loco uno uideatur et in alio non sit, apparebit Saluator, sed filius
Dei, ut impleat mundum splendore magistratus suae: quia sicut primo
aduentu in homine Deus uisus est, ita et in Deo Dei filio homo uidebitur
spiritali uigore praeclarus. quo uiso boni fruuntur uitam, alii uero
formidinem passi cum cruciatu uiuantur.

v. Et quia sancti qui pressuras et angustias antichristi perseuerantis
fidei uigore uicerunt cum sanctis qui cum Domino aduenient rapiuntur,
Matt. xxiv 28 Ubi fuerit corpus illuc congregabuntur aquilae; ut cum Domino et
fratribus suis post tempestates et angustias requiescant. corpus tamen
Eph. v 30 Domini significauit et sanctos, quia MEMBRA ait SVMVS CORPVRIS EIVS: 5
aquilas autem ideo dixit quia regalis generis sunt cristiani ac per hoc
1 Pet. ii 9 aquilis comparati sunt, dicente Petro apostolo GENVS REGALE.

vi. Sed quia apparente Domino sol et luna statim ab officio desistunt |
Matt. xxiv 29, 30 amissa luminis claritate, adiecit Dominus Statim autem post tribu-
lationem dierum illorum sol contenebrabitur et luna non dabit
lumen suum et stellae cadent de caelo, et uirtutes caelorum
moueuntur: et tunc parebit filius hominis in caelo. apertum est 5
et nulli dubium quia de caelestibus et spiritalibus caelis in his carna-
libus (ex quibus nouissimae DIABVLVS PROIECTVS EST) caelis apparente
Domino, et potentia claritatis suae mundum inluminante, nulla creatura
patiatur nisi cui ipse concesserit. qui enim fieri potest ut uero lumine
apparente creatum non decidat, et Domino praesente serui formidinem
patiantur, quippe cum sciant officia sua iam cessare nec posse Domino
praesente seruos iudicare, praesertim qui forte administrationis suae
non ita ut a Deo decretum est egerint tempus? aliquae ergo potentiae
conscientia reatus sui infirmitate decidunt, aliquae reuerentia agnitionis
dominicae prostrate humiliantes se creatori. interea signum domini Iesu
in caelo uidebitur, id est crux eius apparebit quasi tropeum uictoriae

iv. 7. gauillatio *cod* coiculis *cod* 8. uetetur *cod* 10. magistrati
suae *cod** (*corr m p*) 11. uidebatur *cod* 13. passi *scripsi*: pas-
sim *cod* cruciatu *cod*

v. 2. sanctis: *sēs cod* 3. congregabuntur *cod* 4. fratribus: *fr̄bus*
cod 5. sanctos: *sēs cod* 6. aquila *cod** (*corr m p*) recale *cod*

vi. 3. lunam *cod* 5. pareuit *cod* 9. qui *scripsi*: quin *cod*
11 patiantur: *praemittendum fortasse non* 12. seruus *cod* fortae *cod*
administrationes *cod* 13. aliquae . . . aliquae *scripsi*: alii quae . . .
alii quae *cod* 14. reuerentia *scripsi*: reuentiae *cod**: reuentia? *cod**

16. uideuitur *cod* appareuit *cod*

quo uicta mors est, quae nunc perfidīs STULTITIA et dedecus uidetur. 1 Cor. i 18
 22 a dum enim aduentus eius totum mundum inluminat, | **signum** tamen eius
 in caelo uidebitur ut qui sit sciatur. hinc fiet ut OMNES plangent se
 20 QVI NON CREDIDERVNT VERITATI CONSENSERVNT AVTEM INIQUITATI, 2 Thess. ii
 sed iam in poenitentiam locum non habent *propterea* quod inuiti 12
 confiteri coguntur: si quominus, inanitur fides, si hi admittendi sunt.

VII. Videbunt ergo uenientem Dominum, sicut ipse dicit, in nubibus Matt. xxiv
 caeli cum uirtute magna et claritate: ut cum in nubibus uenire 30 b
 uidetur Dominus esse credatur, cui famulantur caelorum nubes obsequium
 debitum reddere uidentur; cum uirtute autem magna, id est cum
 5 LEGIONIBVS innumeris ANGELORVM; et claritate autem cum dicit, hoc Matt. xxvi
 significat quia omnis exercitus eius potentia caelestis naturae fulgebit 53
 sicut exercitus potentissimi regis. ex his ergo omnibus supra memuratis
 dinuscutur esse Deus, qui prius ut infirmis homo fuerat derisus et con-
 temptus; nec ab aliqua creatura usurpator et subreptor regni iudicabitur
 10 qui in nubibus caeli uenire cum uirtute magna et claritate uidebitur.
 non enim haec omnia illi famularentur, nisi eum cognoscerent creatorem.

VIII. Tunc, id est in ipso aduentu, mittit inquit angelos suos (ex Matt. xxiv
 22 b eorum utique numero qui secum uenerant in exercitum), | et colligent 31
 electos eius a summis caelorum usque ad ultimum eorum, id est
 de summis caelis ubi ANIMAE OCCISORVM VISAE SVNT usque ad ultimum Apoc. vi 9
 5 quod in mundo est, quod superius dixit ubi fuerit corpus illuc § 5 supra
 congregabuntur aquilae. hoc apostolus totum non diu fieri docet,
 sed cito factum diu manere: quamuis humana conscientia sic debeat
 uidere aduentum Domini ut intellegat et torqueatur proprio tortore et
 sic morti gehennae adiudicetur, tamen non dio fiet nam MORTVI ait QVI 1 Thess.
 10 IN CHRISTO SVNT RESVRGENT PRIMI, DEINDE NOS QVI VIVIMVS SIMVL CVM iv 16, 17
 ILLIS RAPIEMVR IN NUBIBVS, id est a ministris nubibus, OBVIAM CHRISTO

VI. 17. perfides *cod* 18. inluminat *cod* 19. fit *cod** (*corr m p*)
 20. consenserunt *cod* autem *m 2*: om *cod** 21. iam: om *cod**
 habent: habit *cod**: habet *cod** propterea *scripsi*: praeterea *cod*
 22. inanetur *cod**

VII. 1. nubibus *cod* 2. nubibus *cod* 3. gredatur *cod** 6. signi-
 figat *cod* omnes *cod* potentia *scripsi*: potentiae *cod* 8. infirmis:
uide Rönsch Italia und Vulgata p. 274 9. usurpatur *cod** 10. nubibus
cod uidebitur *cod* 11 cognoscerint *cod**

VIII. 1. ipsu *cod** aduentus *cod** 3. electus *cod* 6. apostulus
*cod** totum *scripsi*: tutum *cod* docit *cod** 9. adiudicetur: *fortasse*
scribendum abiudicetur 11. illis: ip[s]illis *cod*, unde *fortasse legendum*
ipsis in nubibus, id est a ministris nubibus: haec uerba *graecam prae*
se ferre uidentur originem, iv . . . τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄνό . . ., apud latinos enim in nu-
 bibus non idem significat atque a nubibus nubibus *bis*: nubibus *bis* *cod*

- Apostles' IN AERE. hoc **angeli missi** curabunt: et hoc est IUDICARE VIVOS AC
 Creed MORTVOS; sed adhuc pars malorum superest ad aeternam uindictam
- Apoc. xx 7 quae fiet post MILLE ANNOS, ideoque iam bonos VIVOS ET MORTVOS;
 quia QVI IN CHRISTO SVNT MORTVI in aduentu eius RESVRGENT, DEINDE 15
 HI QVI VIVI inueniuntur permansesse in Christo RAPIENTVR OBVIAM
 DOMINO. qui rapti ipso terrore mortem sicut soporem patientur, † cum
 portati dum† ad Dominum perueniunt reuſciscens resurgentes.
 pseudoprophetae autem cum principe suo antichristo et qui sponte adora-
 2 Thess. ii 8 uerunt eum olim perfidi iussu Domini capti, hoc est SPIRITV ORIS EIVS, | f
 Act. vii 51 cui se putauerunt posse RESISTERE, VIVI MISSI SVNT IN STAGNVN IGNIS 21
 Apoc. xix ARDENTIS. ceteri uero, qui seducti ab eis fuerant, GLADIO Domini QVI
 20, 21 EX ORE EIVS PROCEDIT confodientur, id est uerbo Domini siue uoluntate
 morientur per ignem, animabus eorum receptis in tartarum. iustus
 enim Dominus eos qui non sunt seducti sed olim eiusdem uoluntatis 25
 fuerunt, uehementius poenas perpeti facit.
- Matt. xxix 19. Illud tamen inter cetera contuendum est quia **statim**, inquit, **post**
 29 **tribulationem dierum illorum sol et luna** soluentur ab officio suo,
 amissa luminis claritate, quia iam tempus cessat, sicut et in Apocalipsi
- Apoc. x 6, 7 legitur quia TEMPVS IAM NON ERIT CVM SEPTIMVS ANGELVS CEPERIT
 TVBA CANERE: non enim, praesente Domino in maiestate sua, sancti 5
 eius sole et luna egebunt. quomodo ergo **post tribulationem**, cum
 ipsa tribulatione sanctis positus Dominus apparebit? sed quia omnia
 breui agentur, cum apparuerit in luce maiestatis suae caelestibus ac
 mundanis tribulatio cessat, quia omnium uincula soluentur. et eodem
 momento uidebitur **signum filii hominis in caelo**: si enim in passione 10
 Matt. xxvii eius MONVMENTA APERTA SVNT PETRAE FISSAE SVNT, quanto magis cum
 51, 52 uenit in maiestate et gloria sua sanctos eruere de metu praessurae ac
 doloris? soluta ergo | tribulatione **statim** sol et luna deficient uel
 cessabunt, sublata sibi actionis potestate, quia dies uerus iam lucet,
 quem nox non sequetur quia **manet** totum inluminans mundum. igitur 15
 tempus cessauit iam, quia hic Dominus cum suis diu futurus propter
 errores mundanorum regem se illis † et unius Dei honore esse † monstrabit

VIII. 12. uiuus *cod* 14. bonus *cod** uiuus *cod* 16. rapiuntur
*cod** 17. qui *scripsi*: quo *cod* cum: com *cod** 18. peruiniunt
*cod** reueuiscens *cod* 20. spiritu *scripsi*: sps *cod* 21. cui
scripsi: qui *cod* 22. ardentes *cod**

IX. 4. ceperit *m* 2: om *cod** 5. caneri *cod** 6. sole *ripsi*: sol
*cod**: solem *cod** 7. apparebet *cod** 8. brebi *cod* suae: sae *cod**
 9. mondanis *cod** 10. mumento *cod** 12. et gloria sua *scripsi*:
 et gloriae suae *cod*: nisi malis gloriae suae (om et) 14. sublata
scripsi: sublata *cod* lucit *cod** 15. sequetur *cod**: sequitur *cod**
 manet totum *scripsi*: mane totum *cod* 17. monstrauit *cod*

illos qui crediderunt gloriosos, ut gloria eorum infidelium poena sit. ideo
 MILLE ANNOS hic regnabit Christus cum suis, ut ipsa regni continuatio Apoc. xx
 ostendat nullam subreptionem sed uerum esse quod geritur. praeterea
 cum tam clarum et copiosum MILITIAE CAELESTIS EXERCITVM uideant,
 continuatio regni et magna uirtus et claritas exercitus et regis ipsius
 intollerabilis splendor aut emendat (quamuis locum praemii non habeat
 inuita confessio, sed poenae) aliquos ex his qui contra unius Dei fidem
 conspirauerant cum diabulo, aut inexcusabiles perdet. iustus enim Deus
 quae facit ratione facit non potestate.

Canon of
the Mass

x. Quid ergo est ut quibusdam uideatur sanctos qui cum Domino
 hic regnabunt edituros, qui rexurrexerint, qui NEQVE ESVRIENT NEQVE Apoc. vii
 SITIENT AMPLIUS, cum constet Moysen adhuc mortalem praesente
 fol. 24 a Domino XL DIEBUS | ET NOCTIBUS non esurisse? quid ergo ut sancti Ex. xxxiv
 iam non morituri, quos scriptura NEC ESVRIRE iam de escis manducare 28
 NEC SETIRE adserit, edituri dicantur, cum edere famis ac sitis necessitas Deut. ix
 faciat? absurda ergo et inanis adsertio est. sed Dominum post resurrec-
 tionem iam utiquae immortale corpus habentem legisse se adserunt edisse.
 cuius rei causam absolutae, si uelint, adsequentur, Dominum non
 necessitate edisse corporis sed ut rexurrectionis suae ueritatem mani-
 festaret: nam si adhuc in corpore morti obnoxio ac terreno ESVRISSSE
 legitur non tamen edisse, et SITISSE nec tamen bibisse—si ergo hoc
 mortali corpore exhibuit, quanto magis immortali? sed BONA TERRAE
 EDITVROS sanctos promissum est, inquit, et Saluator inter cetera ET
 25 EGO inquit DISPONAM VOBIS SICVT DISPOSUIT MIHI PATER MEVS REGNV
 VT EDATIS ET BIBATIS IN MENSA MEA IN REGNO MEO: si ergo, inquit,
 mille annos hic regnabit Saluator, dubium non est in hoc regnum hoc esse
 promissum, quoniam post haec redditurum filium REGNUM DEO ET PATRI
 declarat apostolus. tanta cura ac studio hoc defendunt, ut cupiditate
 20 edendi corruptioni corporeae semper uelint subiecti uideri. porro
 fol. 24 b autem si ratio ipsa in examen deducatur, | et quid Deo magis dignum

Matt. xxi
18, 19

Marc. xi 1

13

Jo. xix 28

Matt. xxv

34: Marc

xv 23

Is. i 19

Luc. xxii

29

1 Cor. xv

24

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| ix. 18. gloriosus <i>cod*</i> | 19. regnauit <i>cod</i> | 20. ostendam <i>cod*</i> |
| sobreptionem <i>cod</i> | 21. exercituum <i>cod</i> | 22. exercitur <i>cod*</i> |
| 23. intullerabilis <i>cod*</i> | 25. inexcusabile <i>cod*</i> | prodet <i>cod*</i> |
| x. 1. uidetur <i>cod*</i> | 3. moysen <i>scripsi</i> : moyses <i>cod</i> | 4. esorisse |
| <i>cod</i> | 5. non morituri <i>scripsi</i> : morituri <i>cod</i> | iam 2 ^o : + nec sitire <i>m</i> 2 |
| escis <i>scripsi</i> : sc̄is=sanctis <i>cod</i> | 6. dicantur <i>scripsi</i> : dacantur <i>cod</i> | |
| 8. hauentem <i>cod</i> | legisse se <i>scripsi</i> : legisse <i>cod</i> | 11. ahuc |
| <i>cod*</i> | obnoxium <i>cod*</i> | 14. editurus <i>cod*</i> |
| <i>cod*</i> : inquant <i>m</i> 2 | saluator <i>cod*</i> | 16. ut <i>scripsi</i> : et <i>cod</i> |
| biuatis <i>cod</i> | 17. hic: hoc <i>cod*</i> | salbatur <i>cod</i> |
| <i>cod*</i> : regno hoc <i>cod</i> ² | 20. corporae <i>cod</i> | semper <i>cod</i> ² : sem <i>cod*</i> |
| 21. deducantur <i>cod</i> | | |

et hominibus consultum sit uideatur, tunc quid horum defendi debeat absolutae monstrabitur. sed auidi sunt ad BONA TERRAE edenda, unde magis hoc quasi cupidi deliciarum defendunt; cum apostolus uiduam
 1 Tim. v 6 dicat *quae in deliciis est mortuam esse dum uiuat*, isti contra ad hoc 25
 resurgere uolunt ut deliciis perfruantur, cum deliciae luxuriam germinent,
 Gal. v 20, quae ut REGNUM CAELORVM CONQUIRI possit damnatur. cum Domino
 21? certe futuri sunt eius praesentia inlustrati: contumelia eius non erit, si
 sancti, quos secum regnare in inmortale regno promisit, cibo terrestri
 egeant, passi cupiditatem edendi sicut prius cum corruptibiles essent? 30
 miserum est ut post resurrectionem iam incurruptibiles passioni et
 infirmitati subiacere dicantur, cum adhuc mortalibus praesente Domino
 infirmitas haec dominari non potuisset. hoc ergo magis dignum Deo
 est et rationi ipsi congruum et hominibus melius, si, quomodo inmortales
 de mortalibus fecit, sic et edendi ab eis infirmitatem abiecissem dicatur: 35
 si quominus, mortales uidebuntur qui uiuere sine cibo non possunt; si
 autem possunt, exclusa est edendi ratio, quia non est qua ex causa
 consumatur. quomodo autem incorrupti et inmortales resurgunt si
 famem patientur, cum famem pati non nisi mortalibus debeatur, fames
 autem defectus est quidam generans mortem? nam et hoc melius est 40
 hominibus, ut iam ab hoc officio infirmitatis humanae, quod subsequitur
 squalor, alieni sint; et Domino qui uita est in maiestate sua praesente
 † quo † concupiscentia edulium esse non potest: minus de eo sentitur,
 si illo praesente aliud conatur.

XI. Saluatoris regnum aeternum esse scribiturae testantur: dicit enim
 Dan. ii 44 Danihel profeta inter cetera EXCITABIT DOMINVS CAELI REGNUM ALIVT
 Luc. i 33 QVOD NVMQVAM CORRVMPETVR, et angelus ad Mariam ET REGNUM EIVS
 Apoc. xi 15 NON ERIT FINIS, et in Apocalypsi FACTVM EST REGNUM ORBIS TERRARVM
 DOMINI NOSTRI ET CHRISTI EIVS ET REGNABIT IN SAECVLA SAECVLORVM. 5
 quomodo ergo mille annos cupiditatem edendi habebunt quibus regnabit
 Saluator, cum constet Salvatore semper regnaturum? aut semper ergo

x. 22. tunc quid horum *cod*²: tun qui orum *cod*^{*} 23. monstraui-
 tur *cod* abidi *cod* bone *cod* 24. dilitiarum *cod* 25. quae
 in deliciis est mortuam esse dum uiuat *scripsi*: tale enim aliquid
 excidisse uidetur, cf 1 Tim. v 6 29. regnum *cod*^{*} 30. passim
cod^{*} curruptibile *cod* 31. incurruptibiles ex incurruptum *cod*
 (corr m p) 32. infirmitati ex infirmitas *cod* (corr m p) 34. inmor-
 talis *cod*^{*} 35. infirmitate *cod* 37. quia *scripsi*: quae *cod* qua:
 quae *cod* 38. autem: + q *cod*^{*} 39. pati *cod*²: patientur *cod*^{*}
 43. aeuolium *cod*^{*}: aedolium *cod*² potest *cod*

XI. 1. saluatori *cod*^{*} scribitur (sine testantur) *cod*^{*}, quod forsitan
 in textum recipere debui: scribiturae testantur m 2 2. excitauit *cod*
 5. regnauit *cod* 6. regnauit *cod* 7. saluatur *cod*^{*}

edituri sint, aut iam, quomodo mors et corruptio cessabit, cessabit et
 esca, quia esca corruptibilis est. nam Saluator IN REGNO SUO edituros IN Luc. xxii 30
 25 6 MENSA sua letos et sine aliqua sollicitudine futuros ostendit: | et hoc illis
 11 erit 'regnare' nullius egere, et 'bona terrae edere' spiritales illius terrae
 fructus capere quam sancti hereditate possidebunt; fructus autem illius
 terrae qui sunt nisi gaudium et immortalitas? quia enim haec uita
 terrenis fructibus sustentatur, propterea per horum nobis imaginem illic
 15 uita promittitur: quia si aliter diceret, non intellegeremus, sed per haec
 quae scimus illa nobis significantur quae nescimus, tantum ut intelle-
 gamus illic nobis laetam uitam aeternam futuram. sed obponitur forte
 angelos, incorruptibiles utique, edisse. quod constat ideo factum ut Gen. xviii 8
 quod uidebatur uerum esse probaretur: quia possunt aduersi angeli
 20 apparere, sed edere non possunt, quia non in quo apparent ueritas est
 sed praestigium; hii autem qui a Deo missi erant, ut uerum esset in
 quo apparebant, ederunt, quod enim Deus fecit uerum est. aliut forte
 dicatur, Adam inmortalem edisse. Adam inmortalis factus non est, sed
 incurruptibilitatem illi et immortalitatem arbor uitae praestabat: de qua
 25 per praeuocationem indignus habitus edere, factus est morti obnoxius;
 26 a sublato enim praesidio hoc coepit esse quod erat factus. | nam resurre-
 ctionis donum naturam ipsam facit inmortalem, ac per hoc cibus
 inmortali opus iam non erit.

XII. Saluator ergo inpleto sexto millesimo anno uenturus est, ut septi-
 mum millesimum annum hic regnet. cuius sabbatum habet figuram, id
 est requiei imaginem, ut quantum distat umbra a ueritate tantum distet et
 requies a requie et uita a uita, quia illa aeterna erit haec temporalis est.
 5 ideo requies illa totius mundani operis cessatio est. nam cumsiderandum
 quia unus dies mille annorum figura est: tantum ergo intererit inter
 requiem et requiem. haec utique requies in saeculo data est ad

XI. 8. cessabit cessabit: cessauit cessauit *cod* 9. esca 1^o:
 sca *cod* salbatur *cod* editurus *cod** 10. letus *cod*
 futurus *cod* 11. nullius egere et *scripsi*: nullus egerit *cod**: nullus
 egere et *cod** 13. caudium *cod* 14. imagineo *cod** 15. diceret
cod: fortasse scribendum diceretur 16. quae 2^o: que *cod* 17. aeterna
 futura *cod* 18. angelus *cod** contat *cod** 22. apparebant: + pro-
 bant *cod**, unde fortasse legendum ut uerum esse in quo apparebant
 probarent ederunt *scripsi*: et erunt *cod* 24. incurrutibilitatem *cod*
 25 abitus *cod* 26. praesitio *cod** 28. inmortali opus *scripsi*:
 inmor/opus *cod*

XII. 1. salbatur *cod* 2. sabbatom ut uid *cod* figuram *cod*
 3. ueritate tantum *scripsi*: ueritate et tantum *cod* distet: distat *cod*
 4. a 2^o: ad *cod* 5. mundana *cod** (*corr m p*) cumsiderandum
 (sc considerandum) *scripsi*: cum desiderandum *cod* 6. ficura *cod*
 7. et requiem supplui: om (ut puto per homoeoteleuton) *cod*

momentum uel diem, illa requies in regno Christi aeterno aeterna. in
 immortalis ergo regno nihil erit corruptionis, et ibi uera requies ubi
 corruptio nulla est. si autem nascantur quae necesse est occidere, non
 erit regnum immortale ubi corruptio operabitur. nulli dubium puto
 liberationem CREATVRA EXPECTAT ut a SERVITUTE CORRUPTIONIS
 LIBERETVR IN LIBERTATE FILIORVM DEI: id est, omnium sanctorum
 in carne et anima restauratio requiem dabit OMNI CREATVRAE ne seruiat
 corruptibilitati. hinc manifestum est regnante hic Christo cum suis
 etiam creaturam ab officio et ministerio eorum, quae usibus humanis
 proficiunt in corruptelam, pausam accepere.

Rom. viii
21Rom. viii
19, 21, 22Apoc. xx 2,
3, 7-9Ps. cxvii
(cxviii) 24

XIII. Post septimum millesimum annum | REMISSO diabulo DE CARCERE fol. 26.
 in quo MILLE ANNOS fuerat CLVSVS, et cum suis satelletibus GOG ET MAGOT,
 id est demonibus, aduersus CASTRA SANCTORVM se conuolante, IGNI
 CAELESTI CONSUMPTO cum eis, in octoadem omnia meliorabuntur reuersa
 ad Deum, ut unius sententiae sint, partim uicta, quae non praemio sed
 poena digna sunt, partim uoluntaria, quae gloriam adepti sunt. nec
 enim aliter ratio intellegi permittit de 'VII dies VII anni.' sex enim dies
 sex milia annorum habent figuram quibus agitur mundus. septimus
 uero, id est sabbatum, septimi millesimi umbra est, qui cessationem
 mundanis operibus futuram septimo millesimo anno incipiente significat.
 octauus autem dies, qui primus post sabbatum, et ante sabbatum est;
 ipse enim creatus est ut forma esset ceteris. hic ergo typum habet
 octoadis, quo omnia redeunt reformati ad Deum. unde circumcisio
 octaua die data est, et Christus octaua die resurrexit, qui (sicut dixi)
 primus est, ut omnia ad pristinum statum ipso die quo et facta ab initio
 sunt redderentur: ideoque in exultatione resurrectionis canitur HAEC
 DIES QVAM FECIT DOMINVS, unum enim diem fecit Deus ex quo ceteri
 curricula sortirentur.

XII. 8. christi: xps cod aeterno cod^a: aeterna cod^a 11. immor-
 tale: inmortalem cod corruptio cod^a operauitur cod 12. gloriosus
 cod^a 13. potentur scripsi: patientur cod 14. a: ad cod
 15. sanctorum cod 16. dauit cod 19. accepere: acceperae
 cod^a: accepturae cod^a, unde forsitan scribendum accepturam esse

XIII. 1. posseptimom cod diabolo cod^a 2. annus cod et scripsi:
 ut cod 4. caelestis cod octoadem scripsi cum l 13 infra: octoa-
 dem cod 5. sententiae cod uicta cod 7. de VII dies: fortasse e gr
 περὶ τοῦ ἑπτά ἡμερῶν VII (sc septem milia) anni scripsi: VII anni cod
 8. figuram cod 9. septimum millesimi cod cessationis cod^a (corr m p)
 10. futurum cod^a 11. et ante: bis cod 12. esse cod 13. oc-
 toades cod quo scripsi: qui cod reformati cod 15. ipsu cod

- xiv. In auentu Domini sanctos solos resurgere documenta legis testantur, dicit enim apostolus Paulus de resurrectione INITIVM CHRISTVS, ¹ Cor. xv
 DEINDE HII QVI IN AVENTV EIVS CREDIDERVNT; et alibi ET MORTVI QVI IN ²³
 CHRISTO SVNT PRIMI. sed tam in primo aduentu eius quam in secundo, ¹ Thess. iv 16
- 5 quia Christo resurgente, MVLTa CORPVRA SANCTORVM DORMIENTIVM ^{Matt. xxv}
 27 SVRREXERVNT, non omnium sed eorum | arbitror qui possent agnisci ⁵²
 et per eos alii resurrexesse crederentur, ut resurrectionis ueritas non
 fantasia uideretur. simili modo et Apocalypsis docet quia non resurgent
 neque uiuent, nisi QVI NON ACCEPERVNT SIGNVM BISTEAE IN MANV AVT ^{Apoc. xx}
 10 IN FRONTE SVA: et adiecit CETERI MORTVORVM NON VIXERVNT DONEC ^{4 5}
 CONSVMMENTVR MILLE ANNI. si autem 'non uiuere' non esse in gloria est,
 ergo post millae annos in gloria erunt, quia dixit CETERI MORTVORVM
 NON VIXERVNT DONEC CONSVMMENTVR MILLE ANNI? sed non ita est:
 15 est quod non crediderunt aut uerbis nudis credentes opus fidei neglexe-
 runt, non tamen uno in loco PECCATORES et IMPII erunt DONEC ^{Ps. i 1, 5}
 CONSVMMENTVR MILLE ANNI. nam sicut in primo aduentu sancti
 resurrexerunt, ita et in secundo, forma enim secundi aduentus in primo
 uisa est: sed tunc multi, postea omnes, tunc soli mortui, postea et uiui
 20 et mortui, uiui enim quasi soporem mortem passi reuiuiscunt, et hoc
 erit resurrexisse. non enim potest ut PECCATORES RESVRGANT IN ^{Ps. i 5}
 CONSILIO IVSTORVM, quia iusti resurgent ut millae annis regnent cum
 Salvatore: ideo IN hoc CONSILIO PECCATORES esse non possunt. aut si
 IMPII simul resurgent cum sanctis, quanto magis peccatores? sed non
 25 resurgent, quia CETERI MORTVORVM NON RESVRGENT DONEC CONSVM-
 MENTVR MILLE ANNI. ideo nec PECCATORES RESVRGENT cum iustis,
 quia post millae annos iudicium erit omnium mortuorum, ut impii
 pereant, peccatores autem pro modo delictorum poenas expendant.
 fol. 27b post mille annos finis erit, sicut dicit | DEINDE FINIS CVM TRADEDERIT ¹ Cor. xv
 30 REGNV M DEO ET PATRI, CVM OMNIA illi subiecerit quae nunc filium ^{24, 25}
 illum Dei non credunt, id est CETERA, tamdiu enim REGNABIT DONEC
 OMNIA illi subiciantur. in hoc ergo fine mali resurgent qui IN PRIMA ^{Apoc. xx}

xiv. 1. scs *cod* solus *cod** 2. apostulus *cod** 4. tam *scripsi*:
 tum *cod* 5. quia xpo resurgente *cod*, fortasse e graeco *ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος*
 6. possent *scripsi*: possint *cod* 8. quia *cod**: qui
*cod** 9. qui: quia *cod* 10. aiecit *cod* 11. consumentur *cod*
 13. consumentur *cod* 14. annus *cod* 16. unu *cod* 17. consu-
 mentur *cod* 20. mortem *m* 2: om *cod** 21. resurcant *cod*
 23. aut *cod*: legendum fortasse at 24. peccares *cod* 25. consu-
 mentur *cod* 27. omnibus *cod** 28. modo: modum fortasse *cod*
 delictoru *cod* 30. suiecerit *cod** 31. cetera: idem scilicet ac
 ceteri mortuorum *l* 25 *supra* regnauit *cod*

RESURRECTIONE non fuerunt digni resurgere et REGNARE CVM Christo, meruerunt autem resurgere in fine, quo omnes omnino mali resurgent ad damnationem ut finiatur malum illorum in gehenna quae EST MORS 35
 Apoc. xx 14 Act. ix 15 SECVNDA. ideo VAS ELECTIONIS non dixit DEINDE 'resurrectio,' sed FINIS; resurrectionem illorum finem esse potius uel mortem quam resurrectionem. quomodo CREDENTES IN CHRISTVM ACSI MORTVI SVNT ET VIVENT, ita et illi resurgentes uiuere uidebuntur cum sint mortui:
 Jo. xi 25 Apoc. ix 6 hoc enim peius est, uiuere cum poena et CVPERE MORI et NON INVENIRE. 40
 xv. Quamquam aliquibus PRIMA RESURRECTIO in baptismo facta uideatur, quia dicit apostolus SI CONSVREXISTIS CVM CHRISTO et cetera: Col. iii 1
 1 Cor. xv 47 in baptismo enim TERRENVS HOMO deponitur et caelestis adsumitur. mori enim uidetur in baptismo et resurgere cum renascitur: sed per Phil. iii 12 fidem non per speciem, quia hoc in spe habet, NON QVOD IAM ACCIPERIT. 5
 illa enim resurrectio iam uera, non in uerbo sed in re, non quae speretur sed quae iam sit, PRIMA et in dignitate et in numero, quia congruum est primum sanctos resurgere et regnare cum Christo. TRADERE autem est REGNVM DEO ET PATRI post finem sub nomine DEI ET PATRIS regnare filium, ut regnum | sub Dei nomine sit non sub Cristi, quia iam fol. 28
 cognitum erit de Deo Deum esse Christum, ut sub uno nomine regnet 11
 pater et filius in saecula saeculorum.

E[x]PL[ICIT] DE AVENTVM DOMINI CHRISTI

xvi. Quoniam ergo aduentum suum Dominus ad ultionem iustorum et interitum iniquorum promiserat, ne ad tempus uenire crederetur, multa
 Matt. xxiv 32, 33 fraus est quae signaculum aduentus eius protestaretur; ideo ait **A fici autem arbore discite parabolam: cum iam ramus eius tenuis fuerit et nata fuerint folia, scitis quoniam prope est estas; ita et uos cum uideritis omnia haec, cognoscite quoniam prope est in ianuis.** et ut non differri aut excusari generationi hominum diem iudici doceret, neque sicut quibusdam uidetur timoris causa dictum, adiecit **Amen dico uobis quia non transsibit generatio haec, id est non deficiet generatio hominum, donec haec omnia fiant.** et addedit 10

xiv. 34. meruerunt: fortasse e graeco ἡξιώθησαν resurgerer cod*
 ommnes cod 35. ad damnatione cod 40. non inuenire scripsi
 ex Apoc. ix 6: prouenire (sine non) cod

xv. 2. apostulus cod* 5. in cod²: om cod* accipereit cod
 7. quae: quē cod 9. uinem cod numine cod 11. numine cod
 xvi. 1. altionem cod* 3. fraus scripsi: faus cod 4. ar* bore
 cod (arb ut uidetur primis curis scripserat, sed b forma quam uocant
 minuscula) descite cod 6. uideretis cod cognoscete cod
 7. diffirri cod 8. iudici cod, sc iudicii nequae cod 10. dificiet
 cod generatium cod* uel =

Caelum et terra transibunt, quod quibusdam impossibile uidetur, uerba autem mea non transibunt, quae supra memoratis falsa uidentur: ut illud transeat quod transire negatur, et hoc quod transire creditur maneat.

xvii. Et quoniam dies iudicii scientiae humanae praefiniri non debuit, continuo ait De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli in caelo, neque filius, nisi pater solus. quod et patri humiliando se honorem debitum reddit, et quod dicendum non erat excusauit. recte enim dicitur nesciri | quod dici non debet. res enim quae fidenter 6 quidem scitur, praefinita autem non est, sollicitos semper et uigilantes facit expectantes examen futurum: si quando fiat ignoretur, formidine ipsa continuae suspicionis homines se a malis inhibere compellit. pro utilitate uero hominum factum est, ut sciens Saluator diceret se nescire. 10 nam si sanctus Spiritus, qui aliquando patris aliquando filii dicitur, et de quo ait Saluator quia de eius accipit, negari non potest scire diem Jo. xvi 15 et horam iudicii, propterea quod nemo scit quae sunt in deo nisi 1 Cor. ii 11 spiritus dei; qui et Christi est, quia omnia inquit quae patris sunt Jo. xvi 15 mea sunt: quanto magis ergo filius negari scire diem et horam iudicii 15 non potest, quippe cum ipse sit iudex? numquid non mali operis hominibus dicturum se dixit amen dico uobis quod nescio uos? ex Matt. xxv causa ergo, non ex ignorantia, dicit nescire se. quia omnia signa per 12 quae dies iudicii imminet scire ostendit.

xviii. Nam quoniam negligentes homines inueniet dies Domini, et ergo curam animae pigros et segnes, diligentes autem et studiosos circa corporis curam, luxuriae deditos, desideria carnalia sectantes, quae obsunt 1 Pet. ii 11 et obstupentem circa res salutes prestant animam, ut obliuionem sui

xvi. 13. uidentur: + non praeteribunt *cod* (scilicet *Vulgatam lectionem pro non transibunt*), *sed tamquam glossam de textu eieci*

xvii. 1. humane *cod* praefiniri *cod* debuit *cod** 3. patri humiliando se *scripsi*: parihumiliandoset *cod* 5. nesciri *scripsi*: nescire *cod* debuit *cod* fidenter *scripsi*: uidentur *cod* 6. praefinita *cod* sollicitos semper et uigilantes *scripsi*: sollicitussemper euigilantes *cod**: sollicitus semper euigilantes *cod*?: malis fortasse sollicitos et semper euigilantes 7. expectantes *cod** 8. inhibere *cod* 10. patris *scripsi*: pars *cod* 11. de eius: fortasse e graeco ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ necari *cod* 12. in deo nisi (in dō nisi) *scripsi*: in donis *cod* 13. patris m 2: paris *cod** 15. numquid *cod*?: nonquid *cod** 17. inorantia *cod** 18. imminet scire *scripsi*: imminetur scire *cod**, *correxit m p in imminetur sciatur*: malis fortasse legere imminere sciatur

xviii. 2. curae *cod** pigrus *cod** signes *cod** stodiosus *cod* corporis *scripsi*: operis *cod* 3. luxurie *cod* deditus *cod* 4. obstupentem *scripsi*: ob stuporem *cod* anima *cod* ut *scripsi*: et *cod*

Matt. xxiv 37-39 passa cognoscendi se studium minime consequatur, dicit Dominus Sicut 5
fuit in diebus Noe, ita erit et aduentus filii hominis. quomodo
enim fuerunt in diebus illis ante diluuium, edentes et bibentes, | fol.
uxores ducentes et nuptu tradentes, usque ad diem quo introiuit
Noe in arcam, et non cognouerunt quoad uenit dilubium et tulit
omnes, ita erit aduentus filii hominis. huius rei causa cottidie con- 10
monendi et futurarum pressurarum terrore ad prouidendum sibi excitandi
sunt, ut sulciti semper de die in diem iudicii tempus expectent, nec se
impedimentis et mollitiis saecularibus obligent, sic mundo fruentes ut
animo in caelo sint.

xix. Sed tunc omnes tulit dilubium, excepta domo Noe; at nunc non
Matt. xxiv 40 ita, quia in iudicio Tunc duo, ait, erunt in agro, unus adsumetur
et alter relinquetur. Noe tamen in bonorum forma liberatus est.
propterea in iuditio similiter peribunt †sed† mali. tunc enim aut ex
antichristi parte quis erit, aut ex Christi. nunc enim tria genera 5
hominum sunt, impiorum, peccatorum, sanctorum: tunc non ita, sed
Apoc. xiv 9 ADORAVIT QVIS BESTIAM ET SIGNVM EIVS ACCEPTIT IN FRONTE AVT IN
MANV SVA—hoc est, coronam accepit in caput suum lauream et tus
in aram abuminationis misit—aut in caritate Christi permansit. idcirco
boni adsumuntur, mali relinquentur. sed qui, etiam hi qui cristiani 10
Matt. xxiv 13 erant, terroribus et pressuris cesserunt, non erunt adsumendi, quia QVI
PERSEVERAVERIT VSQVE AD FINEM HIC SALVVS ERIT. ideo hoc dixit
Saluator; de duobus enim qui unius fuerant professionis unus ad-
sumetur et alius relinquetur; hoc est duos esse in uno, quia et ille
qui uictus est non apud se negat quod etiam publice non debuerat 15
denegare. quoniam ergo hoc | ita ut adseruamus dixit Saluator, statim fol.
Matt. xxiv 42 subiecit dicens Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis qua hora uel die
Dominus uester uenturus est; ne quis forte putaret nihil sibi obesse
si cederet, propterea quod inuito eliciatur ut neget, de animo tamen non
auferri. ut nemo ergo sibi de hoc blandiretur, ostendit Dominus nihil 20
esse si apud se, sed magis obesse nisi et apud eos qui negare conpellunt,

xviii. 5. cognoscendi *cod** 9. tolit *cod* 10. cottitie *cod** |
comonendi *cod** 12. de die: de diem *cod** 13. saecularibus
*cod** mundo *cod**

xix. 1. at scripsi: et *cod* 2. in 1^o m 2: om *cod** 4. sed *cod*:
forsitan scribendum soli 5. tria genera: cf. cap xiv ll. 16-28
6. scotorum *cod* (sed sco in ras) tunc scripsi: nunc *cod* 7. ad-
horauit *cod* 8. accipit *cod* 10. sed qui etiam hi qui cristiani
erant *cod*: fortasse e graeco ὅσοι δὲ καὶ χριστιανοὶ ὄντες 11. qui: quui *cod*
13. qui: quio *cod** 15. uictu *cod* puplice *cod* 16. denecare *cod*
20. nihil: + d *cod** 21. si: om *cod** eus *cod** conpellunt:
+ dñ *cod**

Christum Deum confiteatur. qui enim publice confessus non fuerit, in *Matt. x 32*
 parte antichristi inuenietur. ideo **uigilandum** est †ut meritum conloce-
 tur †, et semper uigilandum quia temptationis tempus nescitur, ut ipsa deuo-
 25 tionis sollicitudine, cum aduenerit, adiuuari ad tollerandum mereatur et
 adueniente Domino **adsumatur**. et ut munimentis firmioribus propter
 speratum diem totos nos praestaremus, adiecit **Illud autem scitote** *Matt. xxiv*
quia si sciret pater familias qua hora fur uenit, uigilaret utique *43, 44*
 ea hora qua uenturum sciebat et non **sineret perfodiri domum**
 30 **suam**. idem sensus est quo nos semper sollicitos aduentus sui causa
 uult esse. qui enim scit fures uenturos, qua hora autem ueniant nescit,
 peruigilat et non poterit expilari. sic et nos nescimus quando uenit
 Dominus, uenturum autem scimus: semper solleciti et **parati** esse
 debemus.

AMEN

E[X]PL[ICIT] DE DIAE ET HORA

xix. 22. publice <i>cod</i>	23. conlocetor <i>cod</i>	24. temptationes
<i>cod</i>	25. tollerandum <i>cod</i>	27. totus <i>cod</i>
28. scirit <i>cod</i>	29. sinerit <i>cod</i>	domu <i>cod</i>
uigilaret <i>scripsi</i> : uigilare <i>cod</i>	30. idem sensus est: <i>bis cod</i>	sollicitus <i>cod</i> *
31. uenturus <i>cod</i> *	32. peruigilateet <i>cod</i>	expilari <i>cod</i>
33. autemescimus <i>cod</i> *	ueni+t <i>cod</i> (uenis ut uid <i>cod</i> *: <i>corr m p</i>)	nos: <i>forsitan supplendum</i> qui
essem <i>cod</i> *		

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR
PROPHETS. II.

AMOS.*

- Tyconius* I. 1 ¹ Sermones Amos quos vidit super Hierusalem
 3. ³ In tribus impietatibus Damasci et in quattuor non
 aversabor eam, eo quod secabant serris ferreis in utero habentes
 11. ¹¹ In tribus impietatibus Idumaeae
 et in quattuor non aversabor eam, propter quod persecutus est in
 gladio fratrem suum.
Speculum II. 9 ⁹ Et abstuli Amorraeum a facie eorum, cuius erat altitudo ut
 altitudo cedri, et fortitudo eius sicut ilex: et abstuli fructus eius
 a summo, et radices eius ab imo.
Tertullian 12 ¹² Et potum dabatis sanctificatis meis vinum.
Cyprian IV. 7 ⁷ et pluam super unam civitatem et super
 unam non pluam: pars una compluetur et pars super quam non
 8 pluerit arefiet. ⁸ Et congregabuntur duae et tres civitates in unam
 civitatem potandae aquae causa nec sic satiabuntur; et non con-
 vertimini ad me, dicit Dominus.

I 1, 3, 11. *Tycon. Reg. Quart.* II 9. *Spec. cxxi* II 12. *Tert. De Ieiun. ix*
 IV 7, 8. *Cypr. Ad Demet. vi*

I. 1. Amos] + οι εγενοντο εν Ακκαρειμ εκ Θεκουε *Ex* *L* (nisi καριαθαρειμ) *W*
 3. In tribus etc] *pr* και ειπεν Κυριος *Ex* eam] αυτον *Ex* *W* (exc 68 87 αυτους) (*L*=
 text) 11. In tribus etc] *pr* ταδε λεγει Κυριος *Ex* Idumaeae] Ιουδαιας *A** Ιδουμαϊας
*A*¹ eam] αυτους *Ex* *W* (*L*=text) persecutus est] + αυτους *Ex* *W* (*L*=text)
 fratrem] *pr* καστος *A*

II. 9. abstuli 1^o] *pr* εγω *Ex* εξεγειρα *A* a facie] *om* a *W* (προ *Q** εκ *Q*^o)
 12. sanctificatis] *al* sanctis *Tert* meis] *om* *Ex*
 IV. 7. pluerit] + επ αυτην *A* *Q* 8. duae] + πολεις *A* et non convertimini]
 ουδ ως επεστρεψατε *A* *Q** (ουκ επεστραφητε *Q*^{ms})

* It has been thought well, for the sake of abbreviation, to use the sign *Ex* for the LXX version including the Lucianic and Hesychian recensions, excepting where these two latter, under the symbols *L* *W*, are specially mentioned.

13 ¹³ Qui solidat tonitruum, et condit spiritum, et adnuntiat in homines *Tertullian*
Christum suum.

V. 6 ⁶ Quaerite Deum et vivet anima vestra. *Cyprian*

7, 8 ⁷ Qui fecit in excelso iudicium, et iustitiam in terra posuit. ⁸ . . . *Luc. Cal.*
Qui advocat aquam maris et effundit eam super faciem terrae, *Speculum*
dominus Deus omnipotens nomen est illi.

10 ¹⁰ Odio habuerunt argumentem in portis, et verbum aequissimum
abominati sunt.

18 ¹⁸ Vae qui concupiscunt diem Domini; et ut quid vobis hunc diem
19 Domini? Et hic est dies tenebrae et non lux. ¹⁹ Quemadmodum
si fugiat homo a facie leonis, et incidat ei ursus; et insiliat in domum
suam et infulciat manum suam in parietem, et mordeat eum scorpio.

20 ²⁰ Nonne tenebrae sunt dies illa Domini, et non lux, et nebula sine
lumine?

21 ²¹ Odi, reieci cerimonias vestras: et non odorabor in frequentis *Tertullian*
vestris.

24 ²⁴ vivus sine via: *Cod. Weing.*

25 ²⁵ numquid victimas et hostias optulisti mihi XL: annis domus
26 Istrahel: ²⁶ et suscepistis tabernaculum Moloch et sidus dēi: vestri
27 rempham: figuras eorum quas fecistis vobis: ²⁷ et transferam vos
in illa Damascum dicit dms: dē: omnipotens nomen est ei.

VI. 1 ¹ Vae illis qui spernunt Sion: et confident in montem Samariae
pervindemiaverunt initia gentium et superintraverunt in eis domus
2 Istrahel: ² transite omnes et videte et egredimini inde in Samar-

IV 13. *Tert. Adv. Prax.* xxviii V 6. *Cypr. Ad Demet.* xxiii; *Spec. (Aug.)* xiii
V. 7. *Lucif. Cal. De sanct. Athan.* i V 8. *Spec.* cxxxiv V 10. *Spec.* xxxii
V 18-20. *Spec.* xxvi V 21. *Tert. Adv. Marc.* v 4 VI 1. *Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv 35

IV. 13. Qui] *διوتي B διوتي ιδου εγω Bab mσ A Q* tonitruum] *al* tonitrum *Tert*
condit] *al* condidit *Tert* Christum] *θ' λογον Q mσ*

V. 6. Deum] *Dominum S τον κυριον E* et vivet anima vestra] et vivite *S*
και ζητε *E H* ζησατε *Bab Q** ζησετε *A Q** ζησεσθε *L* 7. Qui fecit] *pr* *κυριος L*
(*exc* 48 95 185) *H* (*exc* 68) *pr* *ως ο θς A* 8. advocat] *al* evocat *S* dominus Deus
omnipotens] *κυριος E* 48 (*L H* = text) 18. et 1^o] *om E H* (*L* = text) dies
tenebrae] *σκοτος E L H* 19. si] *οταν A* manum suam] *al* manus suas *S τας*
χειρας αυτου E L H in 2^o] *pros A eis Q (επι E)* 21. odorabor] + *θυσias E* 22
26 48 106 (*om Q*) 25. Istrahel] + *λεγει κυριος Q* 26 49 106 mihi] + *εν τη ερημω*
E 26. rempham] *Ραφαν E (Ρεφαν Q) L* (*exc* 95 185 *Ρεμφαν H* eorum] *om A Q*
(*hab Q mσ*) 68 87 91 *L*

VI. 1. et confident in montem S.] Vae qui confident in monte S. *Tert* in eis]
αυτοι E Q (εαυτοις Q)* 26 49 106 *L* (*εν αυταις* 22 *εαυτοις* 62 95 147 185 *εν αυτοις* 233)
2. videte] + *εις Χαλαννην L* (*exc* 36 48 51 153 233) 68 91 et egredimini inde in
Samarhabam] *και διελθατε εκειθεν εις Εμαθ Ραββα E H* (*exc Q εις μαθραββα και*
διελθατε -θετε Q) εκειθεν*) Samarhabam] *Αιμαθ την μεγαλην* 22 36 σημαθ την

habam : et descendite in Geth alienigenarum : quae sunt optimae ex omnibus regnis eorum : si plures sunt fines eorum quam vestri sunt
 3 fines : ³ qui optastis in diem malum qui acceditis et tangitis sabbatis
 4 falsis : ⁴ qui dormitis in lectis eburneis et luxuriamini in stragulis eorum : qui manducatis haedos de gregibus : et vitulos de medio
 5 armento lactantes ⁵ qui plauditis ad vocem organorum : sicut per-
 6 manentia aestimaverunt et non sicut fugientia ⁶ qui bibitis liquatum vinum et primis unguentis unguemini : et passi sunt nihil contribu-
 7 latione Ioseph. ⁷ Propter hoc nunc captivi erunt ab initio potentium :
 8 et auferetur hinnitus equorum ex Efrem : ⁸ quoniam iuravit dñs : per semetipsum quoniam ego abominor omnem iniuriam Iacob et regiones eius odi, et auferam

Cod. Weing.

Luc. Cal.

VII. 10 Et misit Amasias sacerdos in Bethel ad Hieroboam regem Israel dicens : conventum facit adversum te Amos in media domo
 11 Israel ; non poterit terra sufferre verba eius, ¹¹ propter quod haec dicit Amos : in gladio morietur Hieroboam, Israel autem captivus
 12 ducetur a terra sua. ¹² Et dixit Amasias ad Amos : vade, discede in
 13 terram Iuda et ibi commorare et ibi prophetabis ; ¹³ in Bethel autem iam non adicies prophetare, quia sanctificatio regis est, [Cod. Weing.
 14 (St.)] et domus regni erit : ¹⁴ Et respondit *Amos* et dixit ad Amessiam :

Cod. Weing.
(St.)

VI 4-6. Spec. cx VI 4-6. Tert. Adv. Marc. iv 15 VI 8. Spec. xxxiii
 VII 10-17. Cypr. De non parc. viii VII 10. Coll. Carth. Gesta celviii

μεγαλην 62 147 descendite] + εκειθεν *Ex* *L* (exc 153 233) om *Q* *H* (exc 26 49 106)
 eorum] τουτων *Ex* 3. qui optastis] οι ερχομενοι *Ex* *B* *H* *Q*^a (oi ευχομενοι
Q *A*) 4. in lectis] επι θυρων *H* (exc *Q* 26) luxuriamini] deliciamini *S* in
 stragulis] super thoros *S* qui manducatis] και εσθοντες *Ex* *Q*^a *H* (αι εσθοντες *Q*)
 οι εσθιοντες *L* medio] om *A* *S* armento] armentis *S* Vae qui dormiunt in
 lectis eburneis, et deliciis fluunt in thoris suis : qui edunt haedos de gregibus
 caprarum et vitulos de gregibus boum lactantes *Tert* 5. qui plauditis] qui
 plaudetis *S* complaudentes *Tert* οι επικρατουντες *H* (exc *Q* 26 - κροτουντες) vocem]
 sonum *S* *Tert* sicut permanentia] sicut sempiterna *S* tanquam perseverantia
Tert ως εστηκοτα *Ex* ως εστατα *A* *L* *H* (exc 48 ως εστηκοτα) aestimaverunt]
 deputaverunt *Tert* aestim. ea *S* sicut 2^o] quasi *S* tanquam *Tert* 6. bibitis]
 bibunt *S* *Tert* liquatum] saccatum *S* primis unguentis] optima unguenta *S*
 primariis unguentis *Tert* unguemini] unguuntur *S* *Tert* passi sunt] non
 dolebant *S* om *A* contributione] in interitum *S* 7. ex] επ *Q*^m (εξ *Q*^a om
Q) 233 8. quoniam 1^o 2^o] quia *S* *A* per semetipsum] + λεγει Κυριος ο Θεος
 των δυναμεων *L* (exc 48 153 233) 68 87 91 iniuriam] superbiam *S* (= *Vulg*) eius]
 illius *S* αυτων *A* 49 106 153 odi] odivi *S*

VII. 10. in Bethel] om in *Ex* *L* (exc 62 147 eis) *H* conventum] conglabationes
Ce συστροφας *Ex* in media domo] in medio domus *Ce* εν μεσω οικου *Ex* non poterit]
 non potest *Ce* ου μη γενηται *A* sufferre] supportare *Ce* verba] sermones *Ce* pr
 παντας eius] + et ob hoc insuper expellitur *Ce* 12. Amos] + ο οραν
Ex discede] + ου *Ex* (om *A* *Q*) 13. iam] om *Ex* et domus regni erit] = *L*
 erit] εστι *Ex* 14. Amessiam] Amasiam *L* Αμασιαν *Ex* *L* (exc 62 147 Αμεσιαν) *H*

non eram profeta neque filius profetae sum ego: sed pastor eram
 15 caprarum: bellicans mora: 15 et adsumpsit me dñs: de ovibus et
 16 dixit dñs: ad me: vade et prophetare in plebem meam Istrahel. 16 Et
 nunc audi verbum dñi: tu dicis non profetabis in Istrahel: et non
 17 congregabis turbas in domum Iacob. 17 Propter hoc haec dicit dñs:
 dñs: uxor tua in civitate prostabit: et filii tui et filiae tuae gladio
 decident: et terra tua funiculo metibitur: et tu in terram immundam
 morieris: Istrahel autem captivus ducetur a terra sua.

VIII. 1. 1 Sic ostendit mihi dñs: dñs: et ecce vas aucupis: et dixit dñs
 2 ad me: quid tu vides *Amos*: et dixi vas aucupis: 3 et dixit dñs: ad
 me: venit consummatio vere super populum meum Istrahel: iam non
 3 adiciam ut praeteream eum: 3 et ululabunt fundamenta templi in
 illa die dicit dñs: prostratorum numerus inimensus in omni loco
 4 proiciam silentium. 4 Audite itaque haec qui contribulatis in mane
 5 pauperes: et dissolvitis mediocres a terra: 6 dicentes quando transeat
 messis ut adquiramus: et sabbata et aperiemus thensauros ut faciamus
 6 mensuram minorem: et ut ampliemus pondus et faciamus stateram
 7 iniquam: 6 ut possideamus pecunia pauperes et humilem pro calcia-
 7 mentis: et ab omni negotio mercabimur. 7 Iurat dñs: per superbiam
 8 Iacob: si obliviscetur in vincendo omnia opera vestra: 8 et in his
 conturbabitur terra: et lucebit omnis qui commoratur in ea: et

VIII 4-8. Spec. xxii

profeta] + εγω *Ex* (exc 26) sum ego] *om* *Ex* *L* (exc 22 51 147) *B* bellicans
 mora] vellicans mora *L* *καὶ κινζων συκαμινὰ* *Ex* *B* (exc *Q* *om* *καὶ* *καὶ συκαμινὰ κινζων*
L (exc 48 153 233 = *Ex*) 15. ovibus] *προφητῶν* *B* (*προβατῶν* *A* *Q*) dñs 2º]
om *L* et prophetare] *om* et *Ex* (exc 22) plebem] + meam *L* + μου *Ex* (exc
 26 σου) Istrahel] Israel *L* sic *infra* 16. non congregabis turbas] non congre-
 gabitur *L* in domum] in domo *L* 17. dñs] *om* *Ex* civitate . . . terra tua]
om *Q* (*hab* *Q*^m) tu] *om* *Q* (*hab* *Q*^m) in terram immundam] in terra
 immunda *L* a terra sua] in terram suam *L*

VIII. 1. dñs dñs] *κύριος* *Κυριος* *Ex* 48 68 87 91 233 dñs ad me] *om* *Ex* *B* *hab*
L (exc 48 153 233) 2. vere] *om* *Ex* populum meum] *τον οἶκον* 62 147
 153 233 3. fundamenta] *φαινωματα* *Ex* dñs] *κύριος* *Κυριος* *Ex* *B* (*Q* *κύριος*
Q^a = *Ex*) prostratorum numerus inimensus] *πολὺς ὁ πεπτωκὼς* *Ex* 4. ita-
 que] igitur *S* qui contribulatis] opprimitis (*al* oppremitis) *S* *οἱ ἐκτριβόντες*
Ex *B* *οἱ ἐκθλιβόντες* *L* (exc 48 51 153 233) pauperes] *al* pauperem *S* *πενητὰ* *Ex*
 et] *om* *A* dissolvitis] violatis (*al* vigiolatis) *S* mediocres] inopes *S* *πτωχὸν*
L (exc 48 153 233) 5. transeat] transiet *S* adquiramus] *pr* vendentes *S* *καὶ*
ἐμπολήσομεν *Ex* (*Q* *καὶ ἐμπλήσομεν* *Q*^a = *Ex*) et 2º] ut *S* thensauros] *θησαυρον*
Ex *B* *θη* *Q*^m (*Q*^a -ονς) *θησαυρους* *L* *A* ut 2º] et *S* pondus] *σταθμια* *A* *Q*^a *vid*
 (-θμιον) *Q*^a 6. pecunia] pecuniam (*al* pecunia) *S* *ἐν ἀργυρίῳ* *Ex* pauperes]
pr *καὶ* *Ex* 48 87 (*L* *B* *A* = text) humilem] inopes *S* ab omni negotio]
ἀπο παντος γεννηματος *Ex* *Q* 26 49 106 *πασης πρασεως* (*vel* *πραξεως*) *L* (exc 48 233
 = *Ex*) 7. iurat] iuravit (*al* iurabit) *S* per] adversus (*al* + semet ipsum quia
 abominor omnem) *S* in vincendo] *om* *S* *εἰς νικος* (*vel* *νεικος*) *Ex* vestra]
 eius *S* 8. in his] pro his *S* conturbabitur] *οὐ ταραχθήσεται* *Ex* lucebit]

ascendet sicut flumen consummatio: et descendet sicut flumen
 9 Aegypti: ⁹ Et erit in illo die, dicit dñs: occidet sol meridie: et con-
 10 tenebrescet super terram dies lucis: ¹⁰ et convertam dies solemnes
 vestros in luctum: et omnia cantica vestra in planctum: et iniciam in
 omnem lumbum cilicium: et in omne caput decalvationem: et ponam
 eum sicut luctum dilecti: et eos qui cum eo [*Cod. Weing. (F)*] sunt sicut
 11 diem doloris. ¹¹ Ecce dies venient dicit dñs: et inmittam famem super
 terram non famem panis neque sitim aquae sed famem ad audiendum
 12 verbum dñi: ¹² et movebuntur aquae usque ad mare et ab aquilone
 usque ad orientem percurrent quaerentes verbum dñi: et non in-
 13 venient. ¹³ In illo die deficient virgines bonae et iuvenes electi in
 14 sitim: ¹⁴ iurantes per propitiationem Samariae et dicentes vivit dñs tuus
 Dan et vivit dñs tuus Bersabee: et cadent et non resurgent umquam.
Weing. (F) IX. 1 ¹ Vidi dñm: stantem super altare et dixit mihi feri super
 propitiatorium: et movebuntur luminaria et concide in capita
 omnium: et
 5 ⁵ et lugebunt omnes commorantes in ea et ascendet sicut flumen
 6 consummatio eius et descendet sicut flumen Aegypti: ⁶ Qui aedificat
 in coelum ascensionem suam: et repromissionem suam super terram
 fundat qui advocat aquam maris et effundet eam super faciem terrae

VIII. 9, 10. Tert. Adv. Marc. iv 42 VIII 9. Tycon. Reg. Sept. VIII 9, 10.
 Cypr. Testim. ii 23 VIII 11, 12. Spec. cxxx IX 6. Tert. Adv. Marc. iii 24,
 iv 34, v 10

lugebunt S πενθησει E omnis] omnes S qui commoratur] habi-
 tant S consummatio] + αυτης I (exc 48 95 153 185 233) 68 9. dñs] κυριος
 Kyrios E 48 68 87 91 κυριος o θς Q A 36 153 233 Kyrios I (exc 36 48 153 233)
 occidet] pr και E H meridie] media die Tert contenebrescet] tenebricat T
 obtenebrabitur C tenebrescet (al tenebricavit) Tert dies lucis] die lucis C dies
 luminis T Tert εν ημερα το φως E I (exc 22 62 147 εν ημερα φωτος) H 10. dies
 solemnes] vel ut al. leg. diesollemnes dies festos C omnia cantica vestra]
 cantica eorum (al = Cod) C in planctum] in lamentationem C et
 iniciam ad fin com] et imponam super lumbos vestros saccum et super omne caput
 calvitium et ponam eum quasi luctum delicti et eos qui cum eo quasi diem moeroris
 Tert eum] αυτην Q^a 26 62 147 11. venient] veniunt S dñs] κυριος κυριος Q^a
 68 87 91 153 panis] αρτων E I (exc 36 51^a 62 147 153) Q^a 91 αρτων A neque]
 nec S sitim] οι ο διψος α' θ' ευψαν Q^m dñi] dei (al = Cod) S 12. move-
 buntur] συναχθησονται Q (Q^m σαλευθησονται) 36 51 σαλευθησεται A I (exc 36 48 51 153
 233) H (exc 26 49 106) usque ad mare] της θαλασσης E^B εως θαλ. A Q (Q^m απο
 θαλ.) απο θαλ. εως θαλ. 22 62 147 ad orientem] ad austrum S percurrent] omi
 S 13. electi] omi E 14. dñs] + κυριος A 26 49 106

IX. 1. mihi] omi E super propitiatorium] επι το θυσιαστηριον A Q (Q^m επι
 το ιλαστηριον) 49 106 147 233 luminaria] τα προφυλα E I (exc 22 62 153 τα
 προφυλαα) H (exc 91) 6. ascensionem suam] ascensum suum Tert repro-
 missionem] promissionem Tert super terram] in terra Tert dñs] + παντοκρατωρ
 E 48 95 185 H (exc Q 26 106) + o θς o παντ. A I (exc 48 95 185) Q 26 106

7 dñs: nomen est ei. 7 Nonne sicut fili Aethiopum vos estis mihi fili Istrahel dicit dñs: nonne Istrahel reduxi ex Aegypto: et alienigenas
8 ex Cappadocia: et Syros de fovea: 8 ecce oculi dñi: dñi: super regnum peccatorum: et auferam illud a facie terrae: adtamen in
9 consummationem non auferam Iacob dicit dñs: 9 propter quod ecce ego praecipio et tritu

MICAH.

I. 1

Cod. Weing.

5 quod est peccatum domus
6 Iuda nonne Hierusalem; 6 et ponam Samaritaniam in speculam agri et in plantationem vineae, et deducam in Chaos lapides eius: et fundamenta
7 eius denudabo: 7 et omnia sculptilia eius concident: et omnes locationes in igni cremabuntur: et omnia idola eius ponam in exterminium: quoniam ex conductionibus fornicationis congregavit: et ex conductionibus fornicationis evertit: 8 propter hoc planget et lugebit: ibit nudo pede et nuda facie: faciens planctum sicut draconum: et luctum
9 sicut filiae sirenum: 9 Obtinuit autem plaga eius quia venit usque ad Iudam: et tetigit usque ad portam populi mei usque ad Hierusalem:
10 10 qui estis in Ged nolite magnificari: qui estis in Acim nolite reaedificare: de domo derisoria: terram vos spargite super derisum vestrum:
11 11 quae inhabitas bene civitates tuas: non est profecta quae habitat in aelam: plangite domum iuxta eam: accipiet ex vobis plagam
12 doloris: 12 quis inchoavit in bona quae commorantur in gemitu:
13 quia descenderunt mala a dño: super portas Hierusalem: 13 sonus quadrigarum et equitantium quae habitat Lachis: dux peccati eius haec est huic domus Istrahel: quia in te inventae sunt impietates
14 huius Istrahel. 14 Propter hoc dabit qui mittantur usque ad hereditatem Geth: in domos vanas in nihil facti sunt regibus Istrahel:
15 15 usque dum heredes adducant inhabitantes hereditates Lachis:
16 usque Odollam: veniet honor filiae Sion 16 radere et tondere super filios tuos teneros: dislata viduitatem tuam sicut aquila: quia captivi ducti sunt a te:

7. fili] vel ut al. leg. fiti Aegypto] pr γης Εξ Ι (exc 22) Η 8. Iacob] pr τον οικον Εξ (Ισραηλ Α 26 49 106) 9. ecce] om Εξ^B 48 91

I. 6. in 1^o] ως Α 7. locationes] + αυτής Εξ 8. facie] om Εξ filiae] θυγατερον Εξ Ι (exc 153) Η 10. in Acim] εν Ακειμ Εξ Η εν Ακειμ Ι Q^m Βαχειμ terram vos] om vos Εξ (hab Α) super] om Εξ Η eis Q^a 51 62 95 147 185 11. civitates tuas] pr καθελω Ι (exc 22 48 153 233) in aelam] Ξεννααρ Εξ (Ξεννααρ . . . οικον supra ras B^{ob}) Αιναν Ι (62 147 Ξεννααρ 48 153 233 = Εξ) Η = Εξ (exc Q^a Ξεννααρ 68 87 91 Ξανναν) 13. peccati eius haec est] αμαρτίας αυτή εστιν Εξ αμ. αυτής εστιν Α 26 106 (Q^m θ' αυτή) huic domus Istrahel] τη θυγατρι Σειων Εξ 14. dabit] δώσει Ι Η (exc 87 91) Α in domos vanas] om in Εξ 15. heredes] + σου 22 36 51 238 adducant] αγαγω σοι Ι (αγ. σου 95 185) hereditates Lachis] Λαχεις κληρονομια Εξ Ι Λαχεις κληρονομια Η Sion] et Ι 68 87 91 Ισραηλ Εξ Η (exc [Ισραηλ Σιων 49] = Cod) 16. viduitatem tuam] την ξηρησιν σου Ι 68 87 91 την ξυρησιν σου Q^m (την χηρειαν σου Q^a)

II. 1¹ facti sunt cogitantes in laboribus: et operantes *mala* in cubilibus suis: et *simul* in die consummabunt *ea* quoniam non levaverunt
 2 ad dōm: manus suas: 2 et concupiscebant agros et diripiebant orphanos et domus per potentiam invadebant et diripiebant virum et domum
 3 eius virum et hereditatem eius. 3 Propter hoc haec dicit dñs ecce ego cogito super plebem hanc [Cod. Weing. (F)] mala ex quibus non levabitis cervices vestras et non ibitis recti subito: quoniam tempus
 4 malignum est: 4 in illa die sumetur super vos parabola et flebitur fletus in parte dicentium. Miseria laboravit pars populi mei: mensurata est in funiculo: et non fuit qui prohiberet eum ut reverterentur: agri
 5 vestri dispersi sunt 5 propter hoc non erit tibi qui mittat funiculum in sorte: in ecclesia dñi: 6 nolite lacrimari lacrimis: neque lacrimantur in his: non enim repellat opprobrium: 7 omnis qui dicit dñs: Iacob intra exasperaverunt spiritum dñi: quia haec sunt adinventiones
 8 eius nonne verba eius bona sunt cum eo: et recta abierunt 8 et palam plebs mea inimicitiam restitit contra pacem suam pellem eius
 9 decoriaverunt: ut ne auferrent spem tribulationis belli. 9 Propter hoc duces populi mei: proicientur de domibus aepulationum suarum propter malas adinventiones suas: repulsi sunt. Accedite in montibus
 10 aeternis 10 surgite et ite quia non est vobis haec requies: propter immunditiam corrupti estis corruptionem: 11 persecutionem passi estis nullo persequente: sps: stetit in te mendax: stillabit tibi in vinum et
 12 in ebrietatem: et erit ex stillicidio plebis huius 12 congregatione congregabitur Istrahel: cum omnibus sustinens sustinebo residuos Istrahel: super eundem ponam aversionem eorum sicut oves in tribulatione:
 13 velut greges de medio cubili suo: exilient ab hominibus: 13 propter incisionem a facie eorum interciderunt: et transierunt portam: et exierunt per eam: et exivit rex eorum ante faciem eorum: dñs: autem rector erit eorum

III. 1¹ in tempore. Audite igitur: haec principes Iacob: et residui

II 1-3 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 35

II 7 Spec. iii

II 9 Spec. cxx

II. 1. dōm] Deum *L Compl Cyr. Alex.* τον θεον (C^x = Cod) 2. concupiscebant] concupiebant *L* et domus per potentiam invadebant et diripiebant virum] om *L* virum 2^o] *pr* και C^x Q^{ms} 3. cogito] cognosco *L* hanc] om *L*
 4. laboravit] *εταλαιπωρησαμεν* C^x vestri] *ημων* C^B A 22 36 51 6. Nolite lacrimari] *μη κλαιετε* C^x *μη δακρυετε* L in his] *επι τουτω* B Q (Q^a *επι τουτοις*) A 153 233 + *οι οφθαλμοι υμων* 22 36 51 7. omnis] om C dñs] domus S *οικος* C intra exasperaverunt] *inritavit* S quia] *ει* C L B Q^{ms} (Q^a *ου*)
 9. Propter hoc] om C^B A accedite] *adpropinquate* S 10. vobis] *σοι* C 11. in te] om C 12. Istrahel 1^o] *Ιακωβ* C Istrahel 2^o] *τον λαον τουτου* A eorum] *αυτου* C^B (αυτων A Q) greges] *ποιμνιον* C B (L = Cod) 13. propter incisionem] *αναβηθι δια της κοπης* L B (ex 26 49 106)

III. 1. in tempore] *και ερει* C haec] om L Iacob] *pr οικου* C B (L = Cod (ex 22))

- 2 domus Istrahel: nonne vobis est ut cognoscatis iudicium: 2 odientibus bona et quaerentibus mala: rapientibus pelles eorum ab eis: 3 et carnes eorum ab ossibus eorum 2 quemadmodum comederunt carnes plebis meae et pelles eorum ab eis detraxerunt: et ossa eorum comminuerunt: et conciderunt
- 6 6 Propterea nox erit vobis de visione, *Tyconius* et tenebrae vobis erunt ex divinatione, et occidet sol super prophetas, 7 et obscurabit super eos dies luminis. 7 quia *Speculum*
- 8 non erit qui obaudiat: 8 si non ego implevero virtutem spiritu meo sancto et iudicio et potestate, ut renuntiem huic iacob iniquitates, 9 et huic israhel peccata sua. 9 Audite itaque haec, duces domus iacob et reliqui domus Istrahel, qui abominatis aequitatem et omnia 10 recta evertentes, 10 qui aedificatis sion in sanguinibus et hierusalem 11 in iniquitatibus. 11 duces eorum cum muneribus iudicabant, et sacerdotes eorum cum mercedibus respondebant, et prophetae eorum cum pecuniis divinabant, et in dominum requiescebant, dicentes: nonne dominus est in nobis? Non venient super nos mala.
- IV.
- 2 2 venite ascendamus ad montem Dei
- Quoniam lex de Sion proficiscetur et sermo Domini *Cyprian*
- 3 ab Hierusalem, 3 et iudicabit inter plurimos populos, et revincet et deteget validas nationes quam *Cod. Weing.*
- 4 studebunt belligerare: 4 et requiescet unusquisque sub vinea sua: et sub ficu sua: et non erit qui metu premit eos: quia os dñi omnipotentis 5 locutum est haec: 5 quia omnes populi ibunt unus quisque viam suam, 6 nos autem ibimus in nomine dñi: nostri in aeternum et deinceps. 6 In illa die dicit dñs: omnipotens: congregabo adflictam et expulsam 7 suscipiam: et quos reppuli: 7 et ponam contribulatam in reliquias: et proiectam in gentem validam: et regnavit dñs: super eos in 8 montem Sion: a modo et in saecula saeculorum. 8 Et tu turris

III 6 Tycon. Reg. Sept.
sanct. Athan. i 35

III 7, 8 Spec. iii
IV 2 Spec. cxx

III 9-11 Spec. x; Lucif. Cal. De
IV 2 3 Cypr. Testim. i 10

3. ab eis] απο των οστων αυτων A Q 106 153 233 6. luminis] om E
7. erit] εστιν Q^{mg} obaudiat] + αυτων E 8. spiritu meo sancto] εν
πνευματι Κυριου E L (exc 62 147 εν πνευματι αγιω) B iniquitates] + αυτου E
9. duces] praepositi L iacob] Ιηλ A reliqui] residui L Istrahel]
Israel L Ιακωβ A abominatis aequitatem] abominamini iudicium L ever-
tentes] pervertitis L 10. aedificatis] aedificastis L sion] om A in
sanguinibus] in sanguinem L 11. duces] iudices L eorum 1° 2°] eius L αυτης
E mercedibus] mercede L μισθον E eorum 3°] om L Dominum]
Domino L nonne Dominus ad fin com] Dominus in nobis est et non venient
in nos mala L nobis] υμιν Q* (ημιν Q^a)
IV. 2. Dei] Κυριου E 3. et deteget] om E studebunt] + ετι A Q 4. sua 1°]
om Q* ^{vid} (hab Q^a ^{mg}) 5. dñi] pr Κυριου E (om A) 6. In illa die] εν ταυς
ημεραις εκειναις L omnipotens] om E 7. reliquias] + διαμενον Q^{mg}

graegis arida filia Sion super te veniet: et intrabit initium regnum
 9 primum: ex Babylonia filiae Hierusalem. ⁹ Et tu nunc ut quid
 cognovisti mala: numquid rex non erat tibi: aut cogitatio tua perit:
 10 quia optinuerunt te dolores: sicut parturientem? ¹⁰ Dole et viriliter
 age filia Sion sicut parturiens: propter quod nunc prodies ex civitate
 et conmoraberis in campo: et venies usque in Babylonia: inde
 11 liberabit te dñs: dñs tuus de manu inimicorum tuorum: ¹¹ et nunc
 congregatae sunt super te gentes multae dicentes gaudebimus: et
 12 videbimus super Sion oculis nostris ¹² ipsi autem non scierunt
 cogitationem dñi: et non intellexerunt consilium ipsius: quia collegit
 13 eos sicut manipulos per messe: ¹³ surge et tritura eos filia Sion: quia
 cornua tua ponam ferrea: et ungulas tuas aereas: et tabescere faciam
 in eis gentes: et minutatim facies plebes multas et referes dñm: multi-
 V. 1 tudinem eorum: et virtutem eorum dñm: universae terrae. ¹ Nunc
 concludetur filia in conclusionem: obsidione constituit super vos in
 2 virga percutient super maxillas tribus Istrahel. ² Et tu Bethleem
 domus habitati[?]onis Efrata: numquid minima es ut sis in millibus
 Iuda: ex te mihi prodiet qui sit princeps in Istrahel et egressus ipsius
 3 ab initio ex diebus saeculi. ³ Propterea dabit eos usque ad tempus
 pariturae pariet et residui fratrum eius revertentur super filios Istrahel:
 4 et stabunt et videbunt et pascent gregem suum in virtutem dñi: et
 in gloria nominis dñi: dñi eorum erunt. Propter quod nunc magni-
 5 ficabuntur usque ad extrema terrae: ⁵ et erit ei haec pax cum Assyrius
 venerit super terram vestram: et cum intraverit in regionem vestram:
 et insur . . . pastores: et octo morsus hominum:
 6 ⁶ et pascent Assur in gladio: et terram Nebroth in fossa sua: et

V 1 2 Cypr. Testim. ii 12; Tert. Adv. Iud. xiii

8. ex Babylonia] *pr* Βαβυλωνα *Ex* (310 = Cod) 9. Et tu] *om* tu *Ex* te] σου *Ex*
 (σε *A*) 10. age] sin. edd. 97 228 310 και *εγγιζε* *Ex* *B* (exc 87 91 + *A*) liberabit
 te] + και *εκειθεν* λυτρωσεται σε *Bab* (*mss*) *A Q* 13. et tabescere faciam in eis gentes]
om A Q B (hab 49 87) et minutatim . . . multas] *om B*

V. 1. filia] + Εφραιμ *L B* *A* vos] ημας *Q* tribus] τας φυλας *Ex* 68 2. domus
 habitationis Efrata] domus illius ephratha *C om Tert* οικος Εφραθα *Ex* (του Εφραθα
L A Q) habitationis] refectionis, *F. C. Burkitt* (O. L. and Itala, p. 93)
 numquid *ad fin com*] num exigua est ut constituaris in millibus Iuda? ex te mihi
 procedet ut sit princeps apud Israel, et processiones eius a principio diebus
 saeculi *C* numquid] non *Tert* μη *L om Ex B* ut sis] *om Tert* in millibus] in
 ducibus *Tert* εν χιλιασιν *Ex L* (exc 36 233 εν τοις ηγεμοσιν) *B* (exc 49 εν τοις ηγεμοσιν)
 ex te] *ex* σου *Ex* 26 (εκ σου *B* ^b? ^a *A Q*) mihi] enim *Tert* prodiet] + ηγουμενος *A*
 prodiet . . . Istrahel] exiet dux qui pascet populum meum Israel *Tert* in Istrahel]
 του Ισραηλ *Ex* 3. fratrum eius] των αδελφων αυτων *Ex L* (exc 51 95 [147 των αδ.
 σου] 185) *B* 4. stabunt, videbunt, pascent] στησεται, οφεται, ποιμανει *Ex* (adnot τα
 ωβελισμε[va] εις τους δυο τοπους ου κεινται ε τω εξασελ[ιδω] *Q* ^m) magnificabuntur]
 μεγαλυνθησεται *Ex* μεγαλυνθησονται *B* ^a? ^b *A Q* 5. ei] *om Ex* 6. Nebroth]
 Νεβρωθ *Ex* (Νεβρωθ 23 97 310 *Ald*) et eripiam te] και ρυσεται *Ex B* και ρυσεται σε

eripiam te ab Assur cum supervenerit in terram vestram: et cum
 7 intraverit super fines vestras: ⁷ et erit residuum Iacob in gentibus:
 in medio populorum multorum: sicut ros a dñō decedens: et sicut
 men ita ut non congregetur quisquam neque
 8 restet in filiis hominum. ⁸ Et erit residuum Iacob in gentibus in
 medio populorum multorum: sicut leo inter pecora in saltu et sicut
 catulus in gregibus ovium: quemadmodum cum introit et segregans
 9 rapit: et non est qui liberet: ⁹ et exaltabitur manus tua super .
 10 et omnes inimici tui interibunt. ¹⁰ Et erit in illa die
 dicit dñs: exterminabo equos tuos de medio tui: et perdam currus
 11 tuos: ¹¹ et auferam civitates terrae tuae: et auferam omnia firmamenta
 12 tua: ¹² et disperdam maleficia tua de manibus tuis: et qui respondeant
 13 non erunt tibi: ¹³ et exterminabo sculptilia tua et fanos tuos . . .
 14 ¹⁴ et disperdam civitates tuas
 15 ¹⁵ et faciam in ira et furore ultionem in gentibus propter quod non
 oboedierint mei.

VI. 1 ¹ Audite itaque quae dñs: dixit: surge adversus montes experire
 2 iudicium et audiant colles vocem tuam. ² Audite colles iudicium
 dñi: et valles fundamenta terrae quia iudicium dñi: ad . . .
 3 et cum Istrahel disputabit: ³ populus meus. Quid
 feci tibi aut quid contristavi te: aut quid molestus tibi fui responde
 4 mihi: ⁴ quia eduxi te ex Aegypto et ex domo servitutis liberavi te:
 5 et misi ante faciem tuam Moysen et Aaron et Mariam. ⁵ Populus
 meus recordare: quae cogitaverit adversum te Balazm
 6 ⁶ In quo adsequar Dominum et adprehendam Deum meum *yphian*
 Sublimem? Si adprehendam illum in sacrificiis, in holocaustomatis,
 7 in vitulis anniculis? ⁷ Si accepto favet Dominus in milibus arietum
 aut in decem milibus caprarum pinguum? Aut dabo primitiva mea
 8 impietatis, fructum ventris mei peccatum animae meae? ⁸ Renuntia-

VI 6-9 Cypr. *Testim.* iii 20; Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 35 VI 8 *Spec.* v

ℒ (και ρυσσαι σε 36) 9. et 1^o] om ℄ 10. illa] om ℄^B equos tuos]
 om tuos ℄ ℘ (exc 49 106) ℒ A Q 11. et auferam] και εξολεθρυνσω ℄ 12. et
 disperdam] και εξολεθρυνσω ℄ ℒ (exc 153) και εξαρω ℘ et A maleficia] *pr* παντα A
 13. fanos tuos] τας στηλας σου ℄ 15. mei] om ℄ ℒ ℘ (exc 26 106) (*hab* A)
 VI. 1. Audite . . . dixit] Ακουσατε δη λογον. κυριος κυριος ειπεν ℄ quae dñs]
 λογον κν α ο κς A α ο κς Q surge . . . iudicium] Αναστηθι κριθητι προς τα ορη ℄ ℒ
 sic nisi και κρ. ℘ 2. colles] λαοι ℄^B (AQ* βουνοι Q^m ορη) 4. ex Aegypto]
 εκ γης Αιγυπτου ℄ Moysen] τον Μωυσην ℄ (Q τον Μωυσην) 6. adsequar]
 comprehendam L καταλαβω ℄ et adprehendam] adsumam L om et ℄ (exc 91)
 Deum meum Sublimem? Si adprehendam] om Q* *hab* Q^m Sublimem] excelsus L
 adprehendam 2^o] comprehendam L illum] eum L in sacrificiis] om L ℄
 holocaustomatis] holocaustis L in 4^o] *pr* aut L *pr* η 49 7. Si accepto favet]
 aut si suscipiet L ει προσδεχεται ℄ milibus 1^o 2^o] milia L caprarum] hae-
 dorum L χειμαρρων ℄ (*αρων* A) primitiva] primogenito L impietatis] + μιν ℒ
 peccatum] pro peccatis L *pr* υπερ ℄ 8. Renuntiatum est] renuntiandum L

tum est tibi homo quod bonum aut quid Dominus exquirat aliud nisi ut facias iudicium et iustitiam, et diligas misericordiam, et paratus sis ut eas cum Domino Deo tuo? ⁹ Vox Domini in civitate invocabitur, et timentes nomen eius salvabit

VII. 4 ⁴Vae, ultiones enim tuae venerunt, nunc erunt probationes eorum. ⁵ nolite fidere in amicis, neque speretis in ducibus ⁸ Noli gratulari inimica mea mihi, quoniam si cecidi et exsurgam, et si in tenebris ambulavero Dominus lumen est mihi. ⁹ Iram Domini tolerabo, quoniam peccavi illi, usque dum iustificet causam meam, et faciat iustitiam et iudicium, et pro-
10 ducat me ad lucem, videbo iustitiam illius. ¹⁰ Et videbit me inimica mea et cooperiet se confusione

14 ¹⁴ Pasce populum tuum in virga tua, oves haereditatis tuae, habitantes convalle in medio Carmelo; parabunt Basanitin et Galaditin secundum dies saeculi, ¹⁵ et secundum dies profectionis eorum a terra
16 Aegypti ostendam illis mirabilia. ¹⁶ Videbunt gentes et confundentur ex omni fortitudine sua, et superponent manus in os suum, aures
17 eorum exsurdabuntur. ¹⁷ Et lingent pulverem quomodo serpentes trahentes terram; conturbabuntur in conclusione sua, ad Dominum
18 Deum suum expavescent, et timebunt abs te. ¹⁸ Quis Deus quomodo
ing. tu elevans iniustitiam et transgrediens impietates?
tis suae: non continuit in testimonium iram
19 suam: quia volens misericordiam est. ¹⁹ Ipse revertetur et misere-

VII 4, 5 *Spec. cvii* VII 8-10 *Cypr. Ad. Nov. xii* VII 14-18 *Cypr. Testim.*
iii 20 VII 18, 19 *Tert. Adv. Marc. iv 10*

adnuntiatum est S *ει* ἀγγαγελη *ἔ* *ἔ* (om *ει*) *ἔ* tibi] + est L quod] quid sit S L aut quid] *και τι* *ἔ* Dominus] om S exquirat] quaerat a te S exquisivit a te L + *para σοι* *ἔ* aliud] + Dominus S om *ἔ* iudicium] aequitatem S et iustitiam] om S *ἔ* *ἔ* (exc 36) *ἔ* (exc 49) misericordiam] miserationem S ut eas] ire L του πορευεσθαι *ἔ* *ἔ* του πορευεσθαι σε *ἔ* cum Domino Deo tuo] *οπισω Κυριου θεου σου* *ἔ* (exc 48 153 233) (*ἔ* *ἔ* μετα . . .)

VII. 4. Vae] *bis scr* *ἔ*^B enim] om *ἔ* 8. si 1°] om *ἔ* ambulavero] καθισω *ἔ* *ἔ* πορευθω *ἔ* *Q^{mg}* lumen est mihi] *φωτει μοι* *ἔ* *φως μου* 87 91 *οι ο φως* *Q^{mg}* 9. faciat] *αποισει* A iustitiam et] om *ἔ* iudicium] + *μου* *ἔ* 10. me] om *ἔ* 14. tua] *pr φυλης* *ἔ* *φυλην* A *ἔ* habitantes] + *καθ εαυτους* *ἔ* *ἔ* + *κατα μονας* *ἔ* *Q^{mg}* convalle] *δρυμη* *Q²* *vid* (*δρυμον* *Q²*) 15. eorum] *σου* *ἔ* a terra Aegypti] *εξ Αιγυπτου* *ἔ* *ἔ* *εκ γης Αιγυπτου* *ἔ* *Q^{mg}* ostendam illis] *δειξω αυτοις* *ἔ* *Q^{mg}* *οψεσθε* *ἔ* *ἔ* 16. sua] *αυτων* *ἔ* manus] *χειρα* A 17. Et 1°] om *ἔ* sua] *αυτων* *ἔ* suum] *ημων* *ἔ* 18. elevans] *eximens* *Tert* iniustitiam] iniquitates *Tert* *ανομιας* *ἔ*^B *αδικιας* *ἔ* *ἔ* A transgrediens] praeteriens *Tert* impietates] iniustitias *Tert* *ασεβειας* *ἔ* *ἔ* *αδικιας* *ἔ* (*pr επι* *Q^{mg}*) + residuis haereditatis *Tert* non tenuit] *Tert* *ου συνεσχεν* *ἔ* *ἔ* *ουκ εκρατησεν* *Q^{mg}* 68 87 91 volens] voluit *Tert* est] om *Tert* 19. Ipse] om *Tert* *ἔ*^B revertetur] avertet *Tert*

bitur nostri : et absolvēt omnes iniquitates nostras : et proicientur in
 20 altitudinem maris omnia peccata nostra : 30 dabis veritatem huic
 Iacob : misericordiam huic Habrahae : sicut iuravit pa . . .
 dies pristinos.

19 et absolvēt] demerget *Tert om et* 𐌲𐌹 𐌺 (exc 95 185) 𐌺 (exc 106) omnes
 iniquitates nostras] delicta nostra *Tert om omnes* 𐌲 proicientur] demerget *Tert*
 ἀπορρηψει *A Q* in altitudinem] in profunda *Tert omnia] om Tert* 20. dabis]
 δώσει 𐌲 veritatem] *pr eis* 𐌲𐌹 𐌺 [𐌺 + σου] Habrahae] Ἀβρααμ 𐌲

NOTES ON THE SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS FROM A.D. 1093 TO A.D. 1571.¹

III.

AFTER Stewart's renunciation of his election, *WALTER DE DANIELSTON* (Danyelston) was, according to Sc. (vi 47), postulated (in 1402 according to W. iii 83) to this see, and received the fruits of it until his death. According to Wyntoun (*ibid.*), the election of Walter, which was 'in way off compromysioune', was at the instance of the duke of Albany; the election was 'agane conscience of mony men'; and

'Sone efftyre at the Yule deit he.
 Swa litill mare than a half yere
 Lestyt he in his powere.'

Any information about this obscure figure is of interest.

On Feb. 1, 1392, a petition was granted of Walter de Danyelston, canon of Aberdeen, licentiate in arts and student of civil law at Avignon, for a canonry at Glasgow with expectation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he has also papal provision of the church of Suite (*sic*) in the diocese of Glasgow, of which he had not yet got possession. Granted (C.P.R.; *Pet.* i 575).

In 1394 Danielston held the hospice for the poor at Poknade (? Polmadie), to which he had been presented by the earl of Lennox. The earl's right of presentation was disputed by Matthew, bishop of Glasgow (*ibid.* 614). At a later date he was appointed a papal chaplain (*ibid.* 608).

It would seem from Bower and Wyntoun that the appointment of Danielston to St. Andrews was by arrangement between him and the king and duke of Albany, the condition being that Danielston, who was, or claimed to be, (hereditary) castellan of the castle of Dumbarton, should

¹ The writer will be grateful for corrections or additions to these notes.

surrender it to the king on receiving the bishopric. I am not aware of any evidence to shew that Danielston was ever confirmed by the Pope.

GILBERT GREENLAW, bishop of Aberdeen¹ and chancellor of Scotland, was postulated (? 1402 or 1403) to St. Andrews, and Nory was again sent to the papal court for confirmation of the postulation. But Benedict XIII refused to confirm the postulation (Sc. vi 47), and provided to the see—

HENRY WARDLAW, precentor of Glasgow, doctor of law, and nephew of the Cardinal of Glasgow (Sc. vi 47). A *lacuna* in the archives at Rome prevents us from affixing a precise date to his provision. But Sc. (*l.c.*) says that three years and a half intervened between the death of Trail and the appointment of Wardlaw. Wyntoun (iii 85) seems to place the provision of Wardlaw in the same year as the battle of Homildon (Sept. 14), 1402. This falls in with a petition of John de Hawik, priest of the diocese of Glasgow, for confirmation in the precentorship of Glasgow, void by the promotion of Henry Wardlaw to the see of St. Andrews. He states that he has held the precentorship for *eight years*. This petition is dealt with by the Pope on March 1, 1410 (C.P.R.; *Pet.* i 596). To this has to be added a charter in the Register House (cited by Dr. J. Maitland Thomson)—the charter of Wester Fudy, dated Sept. 14, 1437, in the thirty-fifth year of Wardlaw's consecration, which shews that Wardlaw was consecrated some time in the year ending Sept. 13, 1403. But again, April 5, 1425, is in the twenty-second year of his consecration (R.P.S.A. 409), which shews that his consecration was after April 5, 1403. But another charter (Cambuskenneth 31) is dated May 20, 1409, and is said to be in the sixth year of his consecration. This would make his consecration after May 20, 1403. So we conclude that his consecration was between May 20, 1403, and Sept. 13, 1403.

Henry Wardlaw died 'after Easter on April 6, 1440, in the castle of St. Andrews' (Sc. vi 47). Easter in that year fell on March 27².

JAMES KENNEDY, bishop of Dunkeld, which see he had held for two years³.

He was postulated to St. Andrews, April 22, 1440, *per viam Spiritus Sancti*, during his absence at the court of Pope Eugenius IV, then at Florence. Before the decree of the election, with the royal letters commendatory, reached the Pope, Kennedy had been by him already provided to St. Andrews (Sc. vi 48).

¹ Greenlaw was appointed to Aberdeen between Sept. 18, 1389, and April 5, 1390.

² Many interesting notices of Wardlaw hitherto unknown will be found in C.P.R.; *Pet.* i pp. 549, 570, 573, 577, 584, 592, 600.

³ He was the son of Mary, second daughter of King Robert III, who had married, first, George Douglas, earl of Angus, and, secondly, Sir James Kennedy.

On June 8, 1440, James, formerly bishop of Dunkeld, translated to the church of St. Andrews in Scotland, offered *pro suo communi servitio*, by reason of the said translation, 3,300 florins of gold *de Camera*, at which the said church of St. Andrews was found to be taxed, together with five *minuta servitia*. *Obligazioni* (B. 123)¹.

Kennedy is generally said to have died in 1466. And for that year we have the authority of Lesley (*De origine*, &c., p. 302, edit. Romae, 1578); who is followed by Spottiswoode (i 114). In the vernacular (and probably original) form of Lesley's work (Bannatyne Club edit. p. 37) the date is 'xth daye of Maye, 1466'². But Dr. Grub (*Eccl. Hist.* i 375) pointed out that in the Chartulary of Arbroath (*Registrum Nigrum*, p. 145) we find David, prior of St. Andrews, acting as vicar general of St. Andrews, *sede vacante* on July 18, 1465. Again in the Chronicle of John Smyth, monk of Kinloss (Harl. MSS 2363), we find 'Anno M. lxx [which must be merely a slip for Mccclxxv] obiit Iacobus Kennedy, episcopus Sancti Andree'³. And his successor was appointed Nov. 10, 1465. See next entry. We find Edward IV of England paying his annuity to the bishop of St. Andrews for the year ending April 14, 1465 (B.C. iv 1360), and a very small payment for the year begun at Easter.

Kennedy witnessed a great seal charter at St. Andrews on April 30, 1465 (R.M.S. ii 831). I am disposed to place his death between that date and July 18, 1465, and perhaps on May 10, as stated by Lesley. Principal Donaldson informs me that the records of the University of St. Andrews have no notice of the death or funeral of Kennedy. He was buried in the beautiful tomb which he had erected for himself in the church of S. Salvator, which he had built.

PATRICK GRAHAM, bishop of Brechin⁴.

Appointed by a Bull of Paul III, dated Rome, Nov. 4, 1465 (B. i 123). On Nov. 29, 1465, the proctor of Patrick, lately translated from the

¹ Bower (Sc. vi 48), who gives the day of his postulation as April 22, adds 'in Quadragesima'. This is an error, for Easter fell in 1440 on March 27. Kennedy was consecrated after May 16, 1438, for May 16, 1448, is in the tenth year of his consecration (R.B. 118), and before July 7, 1438 (see *Clackmannan Writs*, cited by Keith 30). It should be noted that a charter in *Lib. de Scon.* (187) makes April 10, 1456, in the nineteenth year of his consecration, which does not tally with the dates above given. The *anno consecrationis* was often a pitfall to the scribes.

² This date, I suspect, Lesley took from the continuation of Boece by Ferrerius (Boethius: Parisiis 1574 fol. 387 verso).

³ Smyth's Chronicle is printed in Dr. J. Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss* (Appendix to the Preface).

⁴ Like his predecessor, he was a grandson of King Robert III, whose daughter, Lady Mary Stewart, married William Lord Graham after the death of Sir James Kennedy. Graham was thus half-brother of his predecessor in the see. He was appointed to Brechin before March 29, 1463 (T. no. 828).

church of Brechin to the church of St. Andrews, offered 3,300 gold florins. His proctor was Gaspar de Ricasolis, merchant of Florence, 'institor Banchi de Medicis' *Obligaz.* (*ibid.* 124). On Dec. 5, 1476, Sixtus IV commissioned John Huseman, dean of the church of St. Patroclus in Soest (Suzaciensis) in the diocese of Cologne, to inquire into charges made against Graham (T. no. 862). Graham was deposed and condemned to perpetual confinement in a monastery 'or other place'. The date of the deposition is Jan. 9, 1478 (T. no. 863). After confinement first at Inchcolm, then at Dunfermline, and lastly at the castle of Lochleven, he died in 1478 (month and day not known), and was buried in St. Serf's Inche in Lochleven. Lesley (*De origine, &c.*, 306).

It was during the episcopate of Graham that St. Andrews was erected into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see by a Bull of Sixtus IV dated Rome, Aug. 17, 1472 (T. no. 852).

WILLIAM SCHEVES (Schevez, Shevez, Sheves, Schewess), archdeacon of St. Andrews.

'Records of provision defective' (B. i 124); appointed probably in 1478. Under the year 1478 Lesley (*De origin.* p. 306) says that Scheves received the pall in the church of Holyrood Abbey, in presence of the king and of many of the nobility. On Jan. 31, 1477-8, he was archdeacon, coadjutor and vicar-general (Rymer's *Fœdera*, xii 40). He had been coadjutor June 30, 1477 (R.B. i 200). He had formerly been 'clericus regis' and master of the hospital at Brechin (R.M.S. ii no. 1358). In the vernacular *History of Scotland from 1436 to 1561*, by John Lesley, bishop of Ross (Bannatyne Club), the day on which the pall is said to have been given is Passion Sunday 'in lentrene' (p. 43). Ferrerius (Appendix to Boece, *fol.* 393 *verso*) gives the same day, but makes the year 1479. June 2, 1479, was in 'anno consecrationis nostrae primo'. (Deed printed by University Commiss., St. Andrews, 1837.) Passion Sunday in 1477-8 was March 8. Scheves was certainly archbishop on Feb. 2, 1478-9 (R.M.S. ii 1417 *test.*).

Scheves is said to have died Jan. 28, 1496-7¹. The see was vacant March 22, 1496-7 (*Lib. Nig. de Aberbroth.* 303)².

JAMES STEWART, second son of King James III; born in March, 1475-6; marquis of Ormonde, 1476; duke of Ross, 1488³.

On Sept. 20, 1497, the Pope made 'the most illustrious James Stewart, clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews, brother of the most illustrious king

¹ So Keith; but I have been unable to find a verification from an original authority. The year at least may be accepted.

² The archbishop had a brother, Henry Shevez of Gilquhus (*sic*), to whose son and heir, John, the archbishop granted the fee-farm of certain lands in the regality of St. Andrews. R.M.S. ii 2210.

³ See Sir A. H. Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, p. 210.

of Scotland, being in his eighteenth year¹, administrator of the diocese up to the lawful age, and after that provided him to the church of St. Andrews by advancing him to be bishop and pastor' (*Vatican. B. i 124*). The *Obbligazioni* record that on Oct. 14, 1497, James Brown, dean of Aberdeen, offered in the name of the Reverend Father, Lord James, elect of St. Andrews, on account of the provision by the Bull of Alexander VI under date of Sept. 20, 1497, 3,300 gold florins (*B. ibid.*). The legitimate age according to the canon law for the consecration of a bishop was the age of thirty years complete (*Decretalia Gregorii IX*, lib. I, tit. vi, cap. 7). In the passage cited by B. (above) there is no indication of the Pope's intending to dispense with the law on this subject. I am not aware that there is any evidence to shew that James Stewart was ever consecrated. He was administrator, and a charter dated St. Andrews, Feb. 7, 1502, the deed is said to be in the fifth year of his 'administration' (Keith).

As to the date of Stewart's death we can fix it tolerably closely from an entry in the *Treasurer's Accounts* (ii 415). On Jan. 13, 1503-4, a payment of £26 13s. was made 'for the expens maid on the tursing of the Beschop of Sanctandrois to Sanctandrois to be beryit, in wax, in fraucht, and all other expens'. He was present in the sederunt of the Lords of Council on Dec. 22, 1503. So that he had not been long seriously ill². Indeed he witnessed a great seal charter on Jan. 4, 1503-4 (R.M.S. ii 2765).

It may be proper here to notice what seems a discrepancy between the date of his appointment by the Pope (as given above) and an entry in R.M.S. (ii 2358), where James, archbishop of St. Andrews, duke of Ross, and brother of the king, is a consenting party to, and witnesses, a charter on May 22, 1497. This can only be explained by supposing that the Pope's concurrence was regarded as absolutely assured.

Beside the archbishopric he was granted *in commendam* the abbey of Dunfermline (June 3, 1500), void by the translation of George, abbot; and on Aug. 21, 1500, the sum of 250 gold florins was offered in his name (*B. 178*). Again he was provided to Arbroath July 7, 1503 (*B. 164*).

The see was vacant for some years, perhaps kept intentionally vacant for the appointment of

ALEXANDER STEWART, illegitimate son of James IV by

¹ There is probably an error of transcription here, for, assuming the date of his birth as given above to be correct, the archbishop would be in his twenty-second year at the date of his appointment. As Brady transcribes the passage it runs 'constitutum in xviii annos'. Those who are familiar with questions of this kind will know how easy it is to read 'V' for 'X'; but even this emendation would give a year too much to the age of James Stewart.

² I owe these references to Dr. J. Maitland Thomson.

Marion (by some called Margaret, by others, Mary) Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw.

His birth was probably about 1493.

John [Hepburn] is prior of St. Andrews and vicar-general *sede vacante* July 20, 1504, but the month is in error for the deed is confirmed May 31, 1504. R.M.S. ii 2789.

His appointment to the archbishopric is assigned by Sir A. H. Dunbar (*Scottish Kings*, 220) to the year 1505 in or before July. See his authorities.

Dr. J. Maitland Thomson cites a precept Feb. 24, 1506-7, in the third year of Alexander's administration (original in the Register House), which would push back his entrance on his administration to 1504 or early in 1505.

As yet there has not appeared (so far as the editor is aware) any record of Alexander Stewart's provision from the archives at Rome; but one may hope that future research may reveal some information. James IV wrote to Julius II (the date is not given) thanking him for acceding to his request in appointing Alexander to the archbishopric, and requesting that the Pope would appoint a certain Dominican (named obviously in the letter sent, but blank in the draft) to serve as bishop, who would have his title from one of the ancient vacant sees (meaning, no doubt, some see in Africa or the East, *in partibus infidelium*) who would superintend the tender archbishop. The king would provide him with a suitable income (*Epistolae Regum Scotiae*, i no. 2). This draft letter is given, in the volume cited, a place after a letter dated Oct. 1, 1505.

Alexander Stewart was slain at the battle of Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513.

JOHN HEPBURN, prior of St. Andrews, was nominated by the Regents and *elected* by the chapter¹. Another aspirant to the see was Gavin Douglas, provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles', Edinburgh, who shortly afterwards was provided by the Pope to Dunkeld. After Forman's provision Hepburn in May, 1515, carried his appeal to Rome. Lesley (Bannatyne Club edit.), p. 101. He probably desisted in his appeal; at any rate he was given by the Governor of Scotland 'ane thousand merkis pensione . . . for his contentacoune' (*ibid.* 106).

ANDREW FORMAN (Foreman), bishop of Moray, to which he had been provided by Alexander VI, Nov. 26, 1501 (*Vatican. B.* 135).

¹ The Regent had intended Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, for the Primacy. On Aug. 5, 1514, a letter was addressed in the name of the king to Leo X, begging that the bishop of Aberdeen, 'nutricius noster', should be translated to St. Andrews (*Epis. Reg. Scot.* i 199). But Elphinstone died Oct. 25, 1514 (R. A. ii 249; R. G. ii 616).

He was also commendator of Dryburgh, Pittenweem, and Cottingham in England (R.M. 401), and archbishop of Bourges in France.

He is said to have been translated to St. Andrews on Dec. 25, 1514. This date is given in Major-General Stewart Allan's list of the bishops of Moray, printed in the *Charters of the Priory of Beaulieu* (pp. 296-8). General Allan unfortunately does not give specific references; but researches appear to have been made by him, or for him, in the Vatican records, and, while awaiting more information, it seems worth recording. On Jan. 8, 1515, John, prior of St. Andrews, is vicar-general, *sede vacante* (R.G. ii 525). The date given by Lesley (*Bannatyne Club*, p. 101) for the publishing of 'the bills (? bulls) of provisione' at Edinburgh is Jan. 15, 1514-5. Whether the news of the publication of the bulls had reached Henry VIII of England or not, we find that on Jan. 28, 1514-5, he wrote to the Pope begging him to appoint Gavin Douglas, who had been commended to the Pope by his sister Margaret, queen of Scotland. He says that he understands that the bishop of Moray will never go to St. Andrews (T. no. 901). But Forman's position was now secure¹.

Forman died, probably, on March 12, 1521. John Smyth, monk of Kinloss, in his *Chronicle* (printed in the Appendix to the Preface of Dr. Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*), states that Forman died in Lent, 1522. But in a manuscript of John Law, canon of St. Andrews, which is preserved in the library of the University of Edinburgh, we find a note (which has been communicated to me by Rev. John Anderson) that Forman died at Dunfermline on March 12, 1521: and that this means March 12, 1520-1, is apparent from what follows, unless we suppose that Forman resigned the see before his death, of which we have no hint. Mr. Anderson in a note to his *Laing Charters* (no. 327) points out that the see was certainly vacant on April 10, 1521. It was vacant also on May 18, 1521 (*ibid.* no. 329).

The continued vacancy of the see is borne witness to by *Laing Charters* (no. 333), which show that it was vacant on March 28, 1522. There is a letter of James V dated at Edinburgh Feb. 21, 1521 (i.e. 1521-2), which refers to the vicar-general of St. Andrews, 'dictâ Metropoli Pastore destitutâ' (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i 329).

JAMES BEATON (Betoun), archbishop of Glasgow. (Postulated to Glasgow by the chapter, Nov. 9, 1508. *Liber Protocolorum*, ii 232.)

Adrian VI translated James Beaton to St. Andrews on Oct. 10, 1522. The revenue of the see is given as 10,000 florins; and the *taxa* as 3,300 florins. The pall was granted on Dec. 10, 1522. (*Barberini B.* 125.)

¹ Mas Latrie (*Trésor de Chron.* col. 1399) gives 1572 as the date of Forman's appointment to Bourges, and 1513 for his translation to St. Andrews. But each of these dates seem to be a year too early. General Stewart Allan (l.c.) gives Sept. 12, 1513, for the provision to Bourges.

Henry VIII had exerted himself to have Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, appointed to the primacy. But the regent of Scotland with the three estates of the realm wrote (Feb. 6, 1521-22) to the Pope informing him that Gavin had fled to their enemy the king of England, and beseeching him not to advance Gavin (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i 327)¹.

We find David Beaton (successor of James) 'coadjutor of St. Andrews', Feb. 5, 1538-9 (R.M.S. iii 2741), just before the death of his uncle.

James Beaton died 'die Veneris, Feb. 14, 1539' (*Liber G. Makeson*, in the Laing collection of MSS in the University of Edinburgh). The day of the week works out right for the year 1538-9.

DAVID BEATON (Betoun), nephew of the preceding.

At the instance of Francis I, king of France, he was provided by the Pope to the see of Mirepoix on Dec. 5, 1537. (*Firenze B.* 125.)

The date of his appointment in succession to his uncle is not given by B. We find him, however, styled archbishop of St. Andrews on Feb. 25, 1538-9 (R.M.S. iii 1916). The creation of Beaton as cardinal is given by B. (125) as Dec. 20, 1530, which is certainly an error for 1538². His title was presbyter cardinal of St. Stephen on the Caelian. A letter of thanks from James V to Pope Paul III is dated March 8, 1539 (T. no. 1050).

Possibly French records may have preserved the date of Beaton's consecration to Mirepoix. From Scottish records we can infer it only approximately from a comparison of writs dated with his 'anno consecrationis'. Out of seventeen of these supplied to me by Dr. Maitland Thomson I select two which perhaps bring us as near the date as we are likely to come. July 25, 1545, was in the seventh year of his consecration (R.M.S. v 1104), and Aug. 12, 1544, was in the seventh year of his consecration (*Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, iii 251). If these writs may be trusted, the date of Beaton's consecration would be in 1538, between July 26 and August 13.

It may be suspected that the bulls appointing David Beaton as coadjutor (see last entry) granted *ius successionis*. This supposition falls in with what Lesley says when writing of James Beaton's death: 'befoir his deid [he] had providit successouris to all his benefices, quhilkis were Mr. David Betoun, then being cardinall, to the archbishoprik of St. Androis and the Abbaye of Arbroith' &c. (Bannatyne edit. p. 158).

He was assassinated in his castle of St. Andrews on Saturday, May 29, 1546³.

¹ This ought to suffice to show that Gavin Douglas did not die in 1521 (though possibly in 1521-2). The *Black Book of Taymouth* (p. 117) is probably correct in writing of Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, 'ob. ult. Iulii, 1522'.

² See Raynald (*Annal. Eccles.* vol. xiii 495) who gives Dec. 20, 1538.

³ On July 16, 1540, William Gibson was provided by the Pope 'ecclesiae

JOHN HAMILTON, a natural son of James, first earl of Arran, bishop of Dunkeld (provided Dec. 17, 1544).

The date of his translation to St. Andrews is (as given by B.) Nov. 28 1547. He is at the same time granted a dispensation to retain the monastery of Paisley, and also a dispensation for the defect of birth 'quem de soluto nobili et illustri genere procreato genitus et soluta, aut alias, patitur'. Fructus, 3,000 marks; taxa, 600 florins. (*Barberini* B. 127.)

But this provision does not seem to have been effective immediately. For as late as 1549, we find the see vacant on April 15 and June 2 (R.S.S. xxiii 4 and 16). The see of Dunkeld is described as void June 23, 1549 (*ibid.* 33), and 'John, archbishop of St. Andrews', sits in council on July 13, 1549 (*Privy Council Register*, xiv 9)¹. And the letter convoking the Provincial Council of 1559 is dated Jan. 31, 1558-9, in the tenth year of his translation (*Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, ii 143).

John Hamilton had been consecrated while holding Dunkeld, to which he had been provided, with a dispensation for defect of birth, Dec. 17, 1544 (B. 130-2). He must have been consecrated after Jan. 31, 1546, for Jan. 31, 1559, is in the thirteenth year of his consecration (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* l.c.); and after July 31, 1546, when he was still only 'postulatus Dunkeldensis' (R. S. S. cited in R. A. i lix).

He was hanged at Stirling, April 7, 1571.

It is strange that an event of such importance as the death of archbishop Hamilton should be assigned to no less than three different dates by early historians. Spottiswoode (ii p. 155) says that he was hanged on April 1; and the marginal year-date at the top of the page, for which probably Spottiswoode was not responsible, has misled Keith, and even the ordinarily most accurate Joseph Robertson (*Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, i p. clxxxii, marginal note) to adopt April 1, 1570. The year was certainly 1571. But about the day of the month there is more reason to hesitate. April 1 may be dismissed as untenable.

Libarien. in partibus infidelium', with a faculty for exercising the episcopal office in the city and diocese of St. Andrews, with the consent of the cardinal, and with a pension of £100 Scots, to be furnished by the cardinal. (*Barberini* B. 126.) Beaton was appointed chancellor Jan. 10, 1542-3 (R.S.S. xvii 1).

¹ On Sept. 4, 1551, Gavin Hamilton, clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, of noble family, procreated and born in lawful matrimony, now in his thirtieth year or thereby, is appointed by the Pope as coadjutor to John. The archbishop was to provide him with a pension of £400 Scots. It was also declared that on the death or resignation of John Hamilton, Gavin was to succeed him with a dispensation to retain the monastery of Kilwinning. The grounds for the supply of a coadjutor are 'ob malam phthisis valetudinem' (*Barberini* B. 127-8). See also the bull of Pope Julius [III] addressed (4 Sept. 1551) to the clergy of the city and diocese of St. Andrews commanding obedience to Gavin Hamilton, clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, appointed coadjutor and 'future elect' (*Laing Charters*, no. 584).

Dumbarton castle was taken on April 2, and Hamilton was removed thence to Stirling. But we find Calderwood (iii pp. 58, 59) giving April 6. The *Diurnal of Occurents* gives very precisely 6 p.m. on Saturday, April 7, 1571; and it may be remarked that April 7 did fall on Saturday in 1571. The Chronicle of Aberdeen gives also April 7 as the date. Sir A. H. Dunbar, who refers to these authorities, and for accuracy in chronology stands unrivalled, gives his judgment in favour of April 7 (*Scottish Kings*, p. 265).

J. Hill Burton (*Hist. of Scotland*, v 36) gives April 7, 1571 'at two o'clock in the afternoon'. Where does the 'two o'clock' come from? Hume Brown (*Hist. of Scot.* ii 147) says April 7 (at 6 p.m.), 1571; Grub (*Ecol. Hist.* ii 168) April 6, 1571.

GAVIN HAMILTON, appointed coadjutor of the last (see above). In the list of the names of those who attended the Parliament in Edinburgh, June 13, 1571, appears 'Gawan Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who now is slain [he fell in a skirmish a few days later], before abbot of Kilwinning, allowed by the Pope seventeen (*sic*) years by past to succeed the bishop that last was' (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iii 604).

Dr. Maitland Thomson has been so good as to search the *Register of the Privy Seal* (in manuscript, and as yet unprinted) for any notices of the admission of the Archbishops of St. Andrews to the temporality of the see; and he has found none. It seems curious that, while records of the admission to the temporality of other bishoprics appear in that *Register* from time to time, there is none of admission to the primatial see of St. Andrews.

Gavin Hamilton is not noticed in Keith.

Through the kindness of Dr. Kennedy, Librarian of New College, Edinburgh, the writer has been allowed to make use of a copy of Keith elaborately annotated in manuscript by Mr. William Rowand, a former Librarian of that College, and to Mr. Rowand's labours two or three of the references are due. But Mr. Rowand's studies in this subject closed in 1854, and he was thus confined to Scottish sources for his information.

JOHN DOWDEN.

ON A RHYTHMICAL PRAYER IN THE BOOK OF CERNE.

AMONG the pieces contained in the Book of Cerne which are employed by Dom Kuypers, in the introduction to his edition of the MS, to illustrate the difference in structure and style between the prayers which belong to what may be called the Celtic and the Roman strata, is an *Oratio matutinalis*, which appears also, with some variations, in the Royal MS 2 A xx, cited by Dom Kuypers as A¹. This prayer, of which the first words are 'Ambulemus in prosperis', is very justly attributed by Dom Kuypers, on grounds of style, to a Celtic source. But it may perhaps be worth while to point out another feature of the piece which bears testimony to its origin. It is apparently composed on a system of rhythm resembling that of the hymn 'Altus prosator', described in the preface to that hymn in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* as 'vulgaris' in opposition to the system of strict metrical composition described as 'artificialis'; a system depending not on the *quantity* but on the *number* of syllables, and with 'correspondence of syllables, and of quarter verses and half verses'. The 'Altus prosator' is in verses of sixteen syllables each, and the eighth and sixteenth syllables—the last of each half verse—are intended to rhyme: sometimes the last two or three syllables of one half rhyme with the last two or three of the other. The quantity of the syllables is apparently a matter of indifference except in the case of the penultimate syllable of the half verse, which is either short or else made to seem short by the stress laid upon that which precedes or that which follows it. The verses are grouped in 'capitula' of six (or seven) verses each: but this is apparently not an essential feature of the system; the reason for its presence in the 'Altus prosator' lies in the acrostic character of the poem, while the number of verses in the 'capitula' depends upon the subject of the composition².

In the case of 'Ambulemus in prosperis' there are some instances, in both the MSS printed by Dom Kuypers, of apparently faulty rhythm: and an attempt to arrange either text in lines of sixteen syllables leaves some odd half verses. But each text contains some half verses which do not appear in the other: and if the two are combined the product

¹ *Book of Cerne*, pp. 91, 211.

² The poems sent by 'Aedilwaldus' (whom Jaffé identifies with Ethelbald of Mercia) to St. Aldhelm while abbot of Malmesbury are in the same rhythm. See Jaffé *Monumenta Moguntina* pp. 38-48. The writer seems to have thought some explanation of their structure necessary.

gives sixteen verses of the same type as those of 'Altus prosator'. In the following arrangement the half verses which occur only in A are printed in italic type, those which occur only in the Book of Cerne being enclosed in brackets.

- Ambulemus in prosperis huius dei luminis,
 In uirtute altissimi dei deorum maximi,
 In beneplacito christi, in luce spiritus sancti,
 In fide patriarcharum, [in meritis prophetarum,]
 5 [In pace apostolorum,] in gaudio angelorum,
In uia archangelorum, in splendoribus¹ sanctorum,
 In operibus monachorum, [in uirtute iustorum,]
 In martyrio martyrum, in castitate uirginum,
 In dei sapientia, in multa patientia,
 10 *In doctorum prudentia,* in carnis abstinencia,
 In linguae continentia, [in pacis habundantia,]
 In trinitatis laudibus, in acutis sensibus,
 In semper bonis actibus, in formis spiritalibus,
 In diuinis sermonibus, in benedictionibus.
 15 In his est iter omnium pro christo laborantium,
 Qui deducit post obitum sempiternum in gaudium.

In verse 7 the first half verse has nine syllables, the second half verse apparently only seven. But in the latter case it may be that either 'uirtute' or 'iustorum' is meant to be treated as a word of four syllables. In 'Altus prosator' an initial i is apparently always treated as a consonant if followed by a vowel: but in another rhythmical prayer contained in the Book of Cerne 'Iesu', 'uerus' and 'ueni' are apparently treated as trisyllables². If 'monachorum' and 'iustorum' were transposed, the rhythm would be rendered sufficiently correct with no great violence to the sense. In verse 12, where the second half verse is of seven syllables only, Dom Kuypers notes in A an erasure, apparently of two letters, before 'sensibus'. Possibly the original reading was 'assensibus' or 'consensibus': it seems not unlikely that either word, though capable of interpretation, would by reason of its obscurity be corrected to 'sensibus', thus obtaining a more intelligible reading at the expense of the rhythm. In verse 13 the text of the Book of Cerne preserves the rhythm, while the reading of A ('in bonis actibus semper constituti') forsakes it entirely: and in the last verse the rhythm is clearly in favour of 'Qui deducit' (the reading of the Book of Cerne) or of 'Quod deducit', as against the 'Quod ducit' of A.

The fact that a fairly regular system of rhythm results from the combination of the two texts is perhaps a ground for thinking that such

¹ *al.* sanctitate.

² *Book of Cerne* pp. 172, 173.

a combination represents the original form of the verses more accurately than either text singly. But it seems probable that the original order of the half verses, even if the combination preserves the whole number, was not quite the same as in the arrangement shewn above. It might be expected, e. g. that the references to the archangels and to the angels would be found in the two parts of one verse; and that this would stand rather earlier in the series than either of the verses between which they are here divided.

H. A. WILSON.

THE LECTION-SYSTEM OF THE CODEX MACEDONIANUS.

CODEX MACEDONIANUS, 1 in Gregory's notation, ε 073 in von Soden's, is a ninth-century uncial of the Gospels, procured from Macedonia by Mr. J. Bevan Braithwaite of London in 1900¹. Its lection-system may be collected from the full rubrical notes throughout the MS which are in small uncials of quite similar character to those in the body of the text and are, I think, of nearly the same date. They have been inserted after the corrections made by the *διορθωτής*, as is evident from Matt. xxii 14 where *τε* comes after such a marginal correction, and from Luke x. 38 where *ἀρχ.* precedes one.

The lection-system agrees in the main with the common one throughout the earlier *strata*² of the Byzantine lectionary, namely the Sunday lessons throughout the year, and the Saturday lessons throughout the year (including all six week-days during the weeks from Easter Sunday to Pentecost when St John was read), but in the latest settled portion of the lectionary, namely the lessons for the first five week-days in the weeks from Pentecost to the beginning of Lent, it gives us a series of lessons differing from, though closely related to, that in common use. We find the same Five-day system in Evangelium 292 at Carpentras, formerly in Cyprus, a tenth-century uncial whose lessons, as also those in the common system, I cite from C. R. Gregory's *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* vol. i pp. 344-364, and it may exist in other

¹ For description see *A new uncial of the Gospels* in the *Expository Times* Dec. 1901, and Dr. von Soden's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* vol. i p. 132. As Gregory and von Soden point out, it is evidently the MS referred to in Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed. vol. i p. 377 as at Kosinitza, *Ἀγία Μοῦνη*, 375. The MS is defective for Matt. i 1-ix 11, x 35-xi 4; Luke i 26-36, xv 25-xvi 5, xxiii 22-34; John xx 27-xxi 17.

² See Rev. F. E. Brightman *J.T.S.* vol. i p. 447.

Evangelia¹. I hope to shew that the 1-292 Five-day system (for conciseness I refer to this as the α - β system and to 1 and Evl. 292 as α and β) is more primitive than the common Byzantine Five-day system (which I refer to as the κ -system).

The Five-day lessons, or *καθημεριναί*, begin on the Monday after Pentecost and are taken in the κ -system out of St Matthew for eleven weeks and out of St Mark for five weeks, a seventeenth week being unprovided for, these being the seventeen weeks whose Saturday and Sunday lessons, or *σαββατοκυριακαί*, were taken from St Matthew. Then with the New Year in September the series is taken from St Luke for twelve weeks, from St Mark for six weeks and finally from St Luke for three days of a nineteenth week, the Saturday and Sunday lessons during this period being taken from St Luke. In the κ -system there were thus in all 173 Five-day lessons, arranged 55 from Matthew, 25 Mark, 60 Luke, 30 Mark, 3 Luke. In β the series runs more simply—St Matthew nine weeks, no Five-day lessons for the remaining seven Matthew-weeks, St Luke eleven weeks, St Mark eight weeks, making 140 Five-day lessons in all. In α the lessons agree closely with those in β , but the order is still more simple—namely St Matthew nine weeks, St Mark eight weeks, St Luke eleven weeks, leaving the last Luke-weeks unprovided for, which we may remember are those adjoining the six weeks of Lent when the Five-day lessons in the κ -system were taken from the Old Testament. There is no table of lessons in α , but the following points shew that the α -system was thus arranged: (1) α 's notation of Mark-lessons begins with *ἐβδομὰς α' Μάρκου τῇ β' τῆς ε' ἐβδομάδος*², which is in sequence after the nine weeks of Matthew, but would be *τῆς ιβ' ἐβδ.* if it was to follow on after the eleven weeks of Luke. (2) The κ -system (derived as I shall shew from the α - β system by a spreading out of the lessons) takes five weeks of Marcan lessons after Matthew and the other six weeks after Luke, which implies a Matthew-Mark-Luke arrangement of the α - β system. (3) At the close of the last Five-day lesson from Luke, namely Luke xxi 37-xxii 8 which was read *τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ια' ἐβδομάδος*, α 's rubric runs *τέλος τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τέλος τῶν καθημερινῶν*, the natural meaning of which is that at this point the last of the daily lessons in the list was read.

The difference in arrangement between α and β might be accounted for by supposing that the Mark-lessons were read twice in the year, once after Matthew and again after Luke, but the careful avoidance of overlapping in other parts of the list makes this most unlikely and the MSS themselves seem to contain nothing to suggest it.

¹ Evl. 358 (uncial tenth-century fragment) seems from Gregory's description to belong to the same group.

² The words *ἐβδ. α' Μάρκου* are not actually in α 's first Marcan rubric, but the full formula is found again and again in other lessons of the series.

The close relation of the Five-day lessons in the κ -system and the α - β system can be best discussed with the help of the following tables, in which the lessons in the two systems are arranged in parallel columns. In each column the numbers shew the order of the lessons, so that the actual day of the ecclesiastical year upon which any lesson is read can be obtained by dividing the reference number by five to find the week of Matthew, Mark or Luke, remembering that the series in each week runs $\beta \gamma \delta \epsilon \piαρασκευη$. Where the contents of a lesson are the same in both systems, they are only stated in the first column. — α or — β means that α or β is defective for the passage in question : * refers to the notes at the end of the tables.

TABLES OF FIVE-DAY LESSONS.

MATTHEW-LESSONS read in the κ -system (first column) during eleven weeks from Pentecost and in the α - β system (second column) during nine weeks from Pentecost.

1 xviii 10-20	1 So $\alpha\beta$	30 xiii 44-54 }	22 xiii 44-58 $\alpha\beta$
2 iv 25-v 13	2 — α iv 25- v 12 β	31 xiii 54-58 }	23 So $\alpha\beta$
3 v 20-30	3 — α So β	32 xiv 1-13	
4 v 31-41	4 — α So β	33 xiv 35-xv 11 }	24 xiv 35-xv 21 $\alpha\beta$
5 vii 9-18	5 — α So β	34 xv 12-21 }	
6 vi 31-34, vii 9-14		35 xv 29-31	25 So $\alpha\beta$
7 vii 15-21		36 xvi 1-6	26 xvi 1-5 $\alpha\beta$
8 vii 21-23	6 — α vii 19-23 β	37 xvi 6-12	27 So $\alpha\beta$
9 viii 23-27	7 — α So β	38 xvi 20-24	28 So $\alpha\beta$
10 ix 14-17	8 So α ix 14-18 β	39 xvi 24-28	29 So $\alpha\beta$
11 ix 36-x 8	9 So $\alpha\beta$	40 xvii 10-18	30 xvii 10-13 $\alpha\beta$
12 x 9-15	10 So $\alpha\beta$	41 xviii 1-11	31 xviii 4-11 $\alpha\beta$
13 x 16-22	11 So $\alpha\beta$	42 xviii 18-22, xix 1, 2, 13-15	
14 x 23-31	12 x 26-31 $\alpha\beta$	43 xx 1-16	32 So $\alpha\beta$
15 x 32-36, xi 1		44 xx 17-28	33 So $\alpha\beta$
16 xi 2-15	13 So $\alpha\beta$	45 xxi 12-14, 17-20	34 xxi 12-14 $\alpha\beta$
17 xi 16-20 }		46 xxi 18-22 }	
18 xi 20-26 }	14 xi 16-26 $\alpha\beta$	47 xxi 23-27 }	35 xxi 18-27 $\alpha\beta^*$
19 xi 27-30	15 So $\alpha\beta$	48 xxi 28-32	36 So $\alpha\beta$
20 xii 1-8 }	xii 9-13 α	49 xxi 43-46	37 So $\alpha\beta$
21 xii 9-13 }	16 xii 1-13 β	50 xxii 23-33	38 xxii 23-34 $\alpha\beta$
22 xii 14-16, 22-30	17 xii 22-29 $\alpha\beta$	51 xxiii 13-22	39 So $\alpha\beta$
23 xii 38-45	18 xii 38-50 $\alpha\beta$	52 xxiii 23-28	40 So $\alpha\beta$
24 xii 46-xiii 3		53 xxiii 29-39	41 So $\alpha\beta$
25 xiii 3-12 }	19 xiii 3-23, xi 15 $\alpha\beta$	54 xxiv 13-28	42 So $\alpha\beta$
26 xiii 10-23 }		55 xxiv 27-33, }	43 xxiv 28-33 $\alpha\beta$
27 xiii 24-30	20 xiii 24-32 $\alpha\beta$	42-51 }	44 xxiv 45-51 $\alpha\beta$
28 xiii 31-36 }			45 xxv 1-13 $\alpha\beta$
29 xiii 36-43 }	21 xiii 33-43 $\alpha\beta$		

MARK-LESSONS read in the κ -system (first column) for five weeks after the series of Matthew Five-day lessons and for the other six weeks after the series of Luke-lessons, read in the α - β system (second column) by α after the Matthew-lessons and by β after the Luke-lessons.

1 i 9-15	1 So $\alpha\beta$	28 viii 30-34	
2 i 16-22	2 So $\alpha\beta$	29 ix 10-16	25 So $\alpha\beta$
3 i 23-28	3 So $\alpha\beta$	30 ix 33-41	26 So $\alpha\beta$
4 i 29-35	4 i 29-34 α ; i 29-33 β	31 ix 42-x 1	27 So $\alpha\beta$
5 ii 18-22	5 So $\alpha\beta$	32 x 2-11 }	28 x 2-16 $\alpha\beta$
6 iii 6-12	6 So $\alpha\beta$	33 x 11-16 }	
7 iii 13-21 }	7 iii 13-27 $\alpha\beta$	34 x 17-27	29 So $\alpha\beta$
8 iii 20-27 }		35 x 24-32	30 x 28-31 $\alpha\beta$
9 iii 28-35	8 So $\alpha\beta$	36 x 46-52	31 So $\alpha\beta$
10 iv 1-9	9 So $\alpha\beta$	37 xi 11-23	32 xi 11-21 $\alpha\beta$
11 iv 10-23	10 So $\alpha\beta$	38 xi 22-26	33 So $\alpha^{\alpha}\beta$ with Matt. vii 7, 8
12 iv 24-34	11 So $\alpha\beta$ [a ends $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$]	39 xi 27-33	34 So $\alpha\beta$
13 iv 35-41	12 So $\alpha\beta$	40 xii 1-12	35 xii 1-11 $\alpha\beta$
14 v 1-20	13 So $\alpha\beta$ [a ends δ $\tau\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$]	41 xii 13-17	36 So $\alpha\beta$
15 v 22-24, 35-vi 1	15 v 35-vi 1 $\alpha\beta$	42 xii 18-27	37 So $\alpha\beta$
16 v 22-34	14 So $\alpha\beta$	43 xii 28-37	38 So $\alpha\beta$
17 vi 1-7 }	16 vi 2-13 $\alpha\beta$	44 xii 38-44	39 So $\alpha\beta$
18 vi 7-13 }		45 xiii 1-9	40 xiii 1-8 α ; xiii 1-9 β
19 vi 30-45	17 vi 34-45 $\alpha\beta$	46 xiii 9-13	
20 vi 45-53	18 So $\alpha\beta$ [a ends $\Gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\theta$]	47 xiii 14-23	
21 vi 54-vii 8 }	19 vi 54-vii 16 $\alpha\beta$	48 xiii 24-31	
22 vii 5-16 }		49 xiii 31-xiv 2	
23 vii 14-24	20 vii 17-24 $\alpha\beta$ [a ends $\Sigma\iota\delta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$]	50 xiv 3-9	
24 vii 24-30	21 So $\alpha\beta$	51 xi 1-11	
25 viii 1-10	22 So $\alpha\beta$	52 xiv 10-42	
26 viii 11-21	23 So $\alpha\beta$	53 xiv 43-xv 1	
27 viii 22-26	24 So $\alpha\beta$	54 xv 1-15	
		55 xv 20, 22, 25, 33-41	

LUKE-LESSONS read in the κ -system (first column) during the first twelve weeks of the New Year, and, as to the last three lessons, on the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th days of the week $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\upsilon\pi\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ immediately before Lent: and read in the α - β system (second column) during the first eleven weeks of the New Year.

1 iii 19-22	1 So $\alpha\beta$	5 iv 22-30	5 iv 23-30 $\alpha\beta$
2 iii 23-iv 1	2 So β iii 23-iv 2 $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha$	6 iv 38-44	6 So $\alpha\beta$
3 iv 1-15	3 So $\alpha\beta$	7 v 12-16	7 So α . β reads 8 here
4 iv 16-22	4 So $\alpha\beta$ [a ends $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$]	8 v 33-39	8 So α . β reads 7 here

9 vi 12-19	9 So β ^a vi 12-16a	37 xii 42-48 }	36 xii 42-59 αβ
10 vi 17-23	10 So αβ [α ends οὐρανῷ]	38 xii 48-59 }	
		39 xiii 1-9	37 xiii 2-9 αβ
11 vi 24-30	11 So αβ	40 xiii 31-35	38 So αβ
12 vi 37-45	12 So αβ	41 xiv 1, 12-15	39 xiv 12-15 αβ
13 vi 46-vii 1	13 vi 46-49 αβ	42 xiv 25-35	40 xiv 26-35 αβ
14 vii 17-30	14 vii 17-29 αβ	43 xv 1-10	41 xv 3-10 αβ
15 vii 31-35	15 So αβ	44 xvi 1-9	42 So α ^a β
16 vii 36-50	16 So αβ	45 xvi 15-18; xvii 1-4	
17 viii 1-3	17 So αβ	46 xvii 20-25	43 xvii 20-30 αβ
18 viii 22-25	18 So αβ	47 xvii 26-37; xviii 8 ^a	44 xvii 31-37 αβ
19 ix 7-11	19 So αβ		
20 ix 12-19	20 So β. ix 12-18 μαθηταί αὐ- τοῦ. α ^a	48 xviii 15-17, 26-30	
21 ix 18-22	21 So αβ	49 xviii 31-34	45 xviii 29-34 αβ
22 ix 23-27	22 So αβ	50 xix 12-28	46 xix 12-26 αβ
	23 ix 28-36 αβ	51 xix 37-44 }	47 xix 39-48 αβ
23 ix 43-50 }	24 ix 43-56 α ^a β	52 xix 45-48 }	
24 ix 49-56 }		53 xx 1-8	48 So αβ
25 x 1-15	25 So αβ	54 xx 9-18	49 So αβ
26 x 22-24	26 So αβ	55 xx 19-26	50 xx 19-25 αβ
27 xi 1-13	27 So β ^a . xi 1-10a	56 xx 27-44	51 xx 27-40 αβ
28 xi 9-13	28 So αβ	57 xxi 12-19	52 So αβ ^a
29 xi 14-23	29 So αβ	58 xxi 5-8, 10, 11, 20-24	53 xxi 20-24 α
30 xi 23-26	30 So αβ		-β
31 xi 29-33	31 So αβ	59 xxi 28-33	54 xxi 28-32 αβ ^a
32 xi 34-41	32 xi 34-42 αβ	60 xxi 37-xxii 8	55 So αβ
33 xi 42-46 }	33 xi 43-xii 1 αβ	61 xix 29-40; xxii 7, 8, 39	
34 xi 47-xii 1 }		62 xxii 39-xxiii 1	
35 xii 2-12	34 xii 2-7 αβ	63 xxiii 1-43, 44- 56	
36 xii 13-15, 22- 31	35 xii 22-31 αβ		

Rubrical notes are (accidentally) omitted in α at end of lessons 1, 28 Matthew and at beginning of lesson 24 Luke. α is defective at beginning of 13 Matthew and 42 Luke, and β at end of 52 Luke and at beginning of 54 Luke. For lessons 9, 27 Luke α agrees with a variant form of the κ-system which is noted in Gregory: Gregory does not refer to β's reading, which must be taken to follow the κ-system. In lesson 35 Matthew Gregory cites β as ending at ver. 24, but has probably made a mistake owing to the *homoioteleuton* of verses 24 and 27; and in 47 Luke I have corrected his citation of the κ-lesson. In α the following closing words of lessons are part of the rubrics and not of the text:—in lesson 19 Matthew the added verse Matt. xi 15; in 45 Matthew (also read σαβ. 15^a Matt.) the T. R. conclusion of Matt. xxv 13 ἐν ᾧ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται, which suggests that this various reading is a rubrical addition to round off a lesson; in lesson 33 Mark the addition λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν and Matt. vii 7, 8; in lesson 20 Luke the word αὐτοῦ added after μαθηταί Luke ix 18.

The tables establish the general identity of the α- and β-systems¹. They also shew the close relation between the α-β and κ-systems which

¹ Besides cases where α ends a lesson in the middle of a verse, which Gregory

are evidently not independent of each other. For both forms of the Five-day list begin in each Gospel at the same place and follow the same general principles of taking the portions of Matthew, Mark and Luke unappropriated to lessons of earlier formation (chiefly the two series of Sunday and Saturday lessons) and of taking these portions in regular sequence, one after the other. Moreover the lessons are for the most part equivalent in the two systems. Close relationship being thus shewn, the question which system is the more primitive remains for examination and must, I think, be answered in favour of the α - β system for the following reasons.

1. The κ -system has the appearance of being a derived system in its division of the Mark-lessons between the Matthew-weeks and the Luke-weeks, an arrangement that would naturally result from spreading out the α - β lessons so as to cover more days, but could hardly have originated the simpler α - β arrangement. This spreading out of the α - β lessons is also shewn by the existence in fifteen cases of α - β lessons divided into two κ -lessons (there is only one case 43, 44 Matthew where two α - β lessons are formed into one *discontinuous* κ -lesson, the last Matthew-lesson required according to the κ -system). It is also shewn by the piecing together of bits of Gospel to eke out the κ -lessons, see 42 Matt., 55 Mark, 45, 48, 58 Luke. There are sixteen cases of these discontinuous lessons in the κ -system but none in the α - β system, except the refrains added to 19 Matt. and 33 Mark.

2. With the exception of the first Matthew-lesson¹, the α - β system adheres strictly to the principle of sequence in order on which the list was based, but, besides this lesson, the κ -system has out of sequence lessons 5 Matthew, 16, 51 Mark, and parts of 58, 61 Luke.

3. The original principle of avoiding the overlapping of lessons is also more closely maintained in the α - β system. Including overlappings with week-end lessons, I have noted forty-three cases found only in the κ -system², fourteen found in both, one found only in the α - β system, where lesson 45 Matthew not only overlaps but is identical with the lesson $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\ \iota\zeta'$ Matt.

does not note for β , and β 's (accidental) transposition of lessons 7, 8 Luke, there are only eight differences in the 140 lessons, namely, 8, 16 Matt. 4, 40 Mark and 2, 9, 20, 27 Luke. In 8 Matt., 40 Mark, 20 Luke α avoids overlapping other lessons and is the better form, as also in 9, 27 Luke. In 16 Matt. β may be better, as α takes out Matt. xii 1-8 for a menological lesson for Clement of Ancyra, January 23. In 4 Mark α includes an interesting verse not otherwise read in the α - β system. In 2 Luke β may be better as overlapping less with the next lesson.

¹ This lesson $\tau\eta\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \nu'$ [$\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$] may have been settled earlier than the formation of the Five-day list, in connexion with the Feast of Pentecost.

² Ten of these occur in dividing α - β lessons into two κ -lessons, another indication that these divided lessons belong to the derived system.

We may, I think, conclude that the α - β system gives us the Five-day list nearly, if not quite, in its primitive form.

When we turn to the other parts of the year's lessons we find the variations small between α and the κ -system as given in Gregory¹.

JOHN-WEEKS. The week-days of the first week are called τῆς διακυσίμου throughout; κυρ. β' is called κυρ. γ' ἀπὸ τῆς διακ.; κυρ. γ' is called κυρ. δ' and the fourth day of the following week τῇ δ' τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς; κυρ. δ' is κυρ. τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς; κυρ. ε' and ζ' become ζ' and ζ' and Pentecost is τῇ ἁγίᾳ πεντηκοστῇ. In these fifty lessons α is defective for lesson 49 and (accidentally) has no rubrics for lesson 46 nor has it a lesson for Pentecost τοῦ ὁρθρου. The other differences are 4 Jno. i 35-43 not 35-52; 34 Jno. x 17-38 not 17-30, although 27-38 was again read on the next day; 38 Jno. xii 19-36 γένησθε; 45 Jno. xvi 2-13 ἀλήθειαν; 50. The rubrics for the Pentecost lesson Jno. vii 37-52, viii 12 include rubrics at end of v. 52 and at beginning of v. 12, although the text of α omits the intervening verses (*Pericope adulterae*) and the rubrics accordingly come together on the same line. The rubricator must have known of the verses and indeed puts λιβ in the margin, that is, perhaps, περὶ τοῦ λιθίζειν or some similar phrase. Dr. C. R. Gregory, however, suggests to me that the marginal note stands for λήθη 'an omission', the rubricator noting in this way the discrepancy between the text which he was rubricating and the copy of the Gospels out of which the rubrics were taken, which must have contained the *Pericope*.

MATTHEW σαβ.-κυρ. Up to κυρ. ζ' α is defective except for κυρ. α' τῶν ἀγίων πάντων and σαβ. ε' and σαβ. ζ'. Gregory notes no differences in-β. The other differences are κυρ. η' Matt. xiv 14-21 not 14-22, σαβ. ι' Matt. xvii 24-xviii 4 cf. Evl. 32, κυρ. ι' Matt. xvii 14-23 ἐγερθήσεται, σαβ. ις' Matt. xxiv 34-44 including 36-41 not read in κ -system, κυρ. ις' Matt. xxv 14-30 with addition ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει κτέ.

LUKE σαβ.-κυρ. σαβ. δ' Luke vi 1-10 omitting v. 6 as far as διδάσκειν; κυρ. δ' Luke viii 5-15 with addition ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει κτέ (see note in Gregory); κυρ. ε' Luke xvi 19-31 not 9-31²; κυρ. ζ' Luke viii 26-35, 38, 39; σαβ. η' Luke ix 37-48 θεοῦ; σαβ. ι' unrubricated; κυρ. ια' Luke xiv 16-24 with in the text the addition πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί; κυρ. ιδ' Luke xviii 35-43 cf. Evl. 32 not xviii 10-14: here α 's reading is the early one, for the Five-day lessons leave a gap at this place and xviii 10-14 was read again in both systems κυρ. ις'; σαβ. ις', called in α σαβ. πρὸ τῆς ἀπόκρεω, Luke xx 45-xxi 4 with addition ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει κτέ; κυρ. ις' called in α κυρ. τοῦ ἀσώτου Luke xv 11-32 cf. Evl. 32; σαβ. ιη', κυρ. ιη' no lessons given, σαβ. τῆς τυροφάγου and κυρ. τ. τυρ. α defective.

¹ A collation with Gregory's list seems sufficient. I neglect a few cases where α is defective at the beginning or end of a lesson or a rubric is (accidentally) omitted. β is defective for the first 47 John-lessons.

² 9-31 is a mistake of Gregory's.

REMAINDER OF LESSONS. *a* has no Παννυχίδες nor lessons εἰς τὸν ἄρθρον for the κυρ. τῶν νηστειῶν except for κυρ. ζ' called τῶν βαΐων. κυρ. α' τῶν νηστειῶν has the alternative title in the margin κυρ. τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας. σαβ. ζ' called τοῦ Λαζάρου has Jno. xi 1-46 not 1-45 (see note in Gregory). For the first four week-days in Holy Week the lessons ἐσπέρας are alone given; the Thursday lesson comprises Matt. xxvi 1-20 with word μαθητῶν added as part of rubric, Jno. xiii 3-17, marked εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ νηπτῆρος, with a fresh rubric against v. 12 εὐαγγέλιον β' μετὰ τὸ νίψασθαι, Matt. xxvi 21-39, Luke xxii 43, 44, Matt. xxvi 40-xxvii 2. The εὐαγγέλια τῶν παθῶν are marked, but ζ' is Mark xv 16-41 not 16-32 and ι' is Mark xv 43-47 (Gregory has Matt. by mistake). The five lessons τῶν ὥρῶν agree except that none is given for ὥρα θ'. The Holy Saturday πρωὶ and ἐσπέρας lessons agree with the κ-lessons and the ἑωθινὰ agree except that *a* is defective for ἑωθ. ι'.

Several of these differences probably go back to the primitive form of the list, especially those which agree with Evl. 32.

It is to be observed that the entire lists of σαβ.-κυρ. and α-β Five-day lessons are comprised in the following parts of the Gospels:—Matt. iv 18-xxv 46, Mark i 9-xiii 8, Luke iii 19-xxii 8; those parts broadly speaking which relate to the public ministry up to the Passion week. Within these limits, besides thirty-six small gaps of three verses or less unappropriated to any Five-day or σαβ.-κυρ. lesson¹, there are twelve larger gaps in the α-β system:—(1) Matt. v 13-19, *a* defective; (2) xii 1-8, *a* only; (3) xii 14-21; (4) xvi 13-19; (5) xvii 1-9; (6) Mark vi 14-33; (7) ix 2-9; (8) xi 1-10; (9) Luke x 38-42, xi 27, 28; (10) xii 8-15; (11) xix 27-38; (12) xx 41-44. Gaps corresponding with (1), (4), (5), (6), (7), (9), also occur in the κ-system, the others are filled, or nearly so, by κ-lessons, which in cases (8), (11) come out of sequence as though newly-formed lessons. In the following cases menological lessons fill the gaps in *a*: (2) Clement, bishop of Ancyra (Jan. 23rd); (3) xii 15-21 σαβ. μετὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν (Dec.); (4) Peter and Paul (June 29th); (5) ἡ μεταμόρφωσις (Aug. 6th); (6) Mark vi 14-30 ἡ ἀποτομή τοῦ Προδρόμου (Aug. 29th); (9) τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου (Sept. 8th); (10) Luke xii 8-12 Paul the Confessor (Nov. 6th). As it is evident that the Five-day lessons were accommodated to the previously formed σαβ.-κυρ. list, accommodation to previously settled menological lessons is also probable, and while this would not explain all the gaps, we may perhaps infer that the lessons filling gaps (3), (4), (5), (6), (9) were already fixed. This would hardly be the case much before the end of the fifth century²,

¹ Fourteen between two σαβ.-κυρ. lessons, eight between two Five-day lessons, fourteen between a σαβ.-κυρ. and a Five-day lesson. In twenty cases the κ-system tacks on the verses to other lessons or uses them for making up new lessons.

² See e. g. J. C. Robertson's *History of the Christian Church* (1876 ed.) vol. ii,

which may accordingly be tentatively suggested as the period when the Five-day list was formed.

For the sake of completeness I add a list of the menological lections in *a*.

MENOLOGY¹. Sept. 1st Simeon (Stylites) †Luke iv 16-22: 2nd Mamas *Jno. xv 1 . . . : 4th Babylas, &c., †Luke x 1-3, 8-12: 5th Zacharias *Matt. xxiii 29-39: 8th τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου ‖ Luke x 38-42, xi 27-28:—σαβ. πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσεως †Jno. xii 25-36 γένησθε:—κυρ. πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσεως *Jno. iii 13 . . . —εἰς ὄρθρον τῆς ὑψώσεως *Jno. xii 28 . . . : 14th ἡ ὑψώσεως² Jno. xix 6 . . . : 16th Euphemia †Luke vii 36-50: 17th Pantaleon †Luke ix 23-27: 20th Eustathius †Luke xxi 12-19: 30th Gregory of Armenia *Matt. xxiv 42. . . .

Oct. 1st Cosmas and Damian, *Matt. x 1, 5-8 (Nov. 1st usually): 3rd Dionysius the Areopagite *Matt. xiii 45 . . . : 11th Zenais ‖ Mark xiii 33-37, xiv 3 . . . : 18th Luke, *Luke x 16-21: 21st Hilarion, †Luke vi 17-23: 25th the Notaries †Luke xii 2-7.

Nov. 6th Paul the Confessor ‖ Luke xii 8-12: 13th John Chrysostom, *Jno. x 9-16: 21st τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων ‖ Luke i 39-49, 56 also read εἰς ἐκάστην μνήμην τῆς θεοτόκου.

Dec. 4th Barbara *Mark v 24-34: 14th Thyrsus †Luke viii 22-25: (20th) Ignatius †Mark ix 33-41: 24th ἡ παραμονὴ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως ‖ Luke ii 1-20—σαβ. μετὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν, ‖ Matt. xii 15-21.

January 1st Basil, ‖ Luke ii 20-21, 40 . . . ,—κυρ. πρὸ τῶν φώτων ‖ Mark i 1-8—εἰς ὄρθρον τῶν φώτων †Mark i 9-15: 7th τῇ ἐπαύριον τῶν φώτων ‖ Jno. i 29-34: (20th) Euthymius †Matt. xi 27-30: 23rd Clement (of Ancyra) ‖ Matt. xii 1-8.

February 2nd ἡ ὑπαπαντὴ τοῦ κυρίου ‖ Luke ii 22-40: 3rd Simeon and Anna ‖ Luke ii 25-40: 23rd Tarasius (Patriarch A.D. 808) *Jno. xii 24-36 γένησθε.

March 9th Martyrs (of Sebastia) †Matt. xx 1-16: 25th ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς θεοτόκου ‖ Luke i 24-38.

April (none); May 8th (John) the divine Jno. xix 25-27, xxi 24, 25 overlaps Passion-week lessons: 21st Constantine and Helena †Matt. x 16-22 *Jno. x 1-9.

pp. 56, 57, and authorities there cited. Some of the menological lections in the early parts of the Gospels may also be of earlier formation than the Five-day list, e. g. I think accommodation to the Epiphany lessons Mark i. 1-8 κυρ. πρὸ τῶν φώτων and Luke iii 1-18 τῇ παραμονῇ τῶν φώτων is probable. If it had not been for these lessons the daily list would accordingly have begun with Mark i 1, Luke iii 1.

¹ Lections overlapping σαβ.-κυρ., John or Five-day lessons in *a*-system are marked *, those identical with or part of such lessons †, those independent of such lessons ‖: these last, as already pointed out, may be of early origin in most cases.

² Overlaps Passion-week lessons:—has the introductory words given by Gregory, substituting πῶς for ὅπως and another σταύρωσον for ἄρον, ἄρον.

June (14th) Elisha *Luke iv 22-30: 24th εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι τοῦ Προδρόμου || Luke i 1-25, 57 . . . , 76, 80: 29th Peter and Paul || Matt. xvi 13-19.

July 20th Elijah Luke iv 22-30: 30th εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ τιμίου ξύλου Matt. xxvii 27-32 overlaps Passion-week lessons (July 31st usually).

August 6th ἡ μεταμόρφωσις †Luke ix 28-36 and || Matt. xvii 1-9: 29th ἡ ἀποστομὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου || Mark vi 14-30.

Miscellaneous lessons, εἰς ἐγκαίνια *Jno. x 22-38—εἰς ἀνομβρίαν †Luke iv 23-30—εἰς ἐπινίκια βασιλέων †Mark xi 22-26 Matt. vii 7, 8. ἐπεὶ τῶν ζ' πρεσβυτέρων †Mark vi 7-13, εἰς μάρτυρας || Mark xiii 9-13 and †Jno. xv 17-xvi 2.

In conclusion I may note a few cases where the *a*-lessons throw light on the origin of various readings. For Matt. xxv 13 see note at end of tables:—the omission in some authorities of καὶ ἐνπλήθησαν σφόδρα in Matt. xvii 23 and of καὶ προσωμίσησαν in Mark vi 53 is explained by *a*'s omission of the words in the lesson κυρ. ι' Matt. and the 13th Five-day lesson in Mark. In Luke x 22 the added words καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπε found in the mass of authorities are not due to lectionary usage, for Luke x 22-24 was only read in the Five-day series, and *a*, which preserves a primitive form of this, contains the added words in the text but rubricates the lection εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς. In Luke vi 31, on the other hand, *a* omits from the text the TR addition εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος, but the Five-day rubric begins εἶπεν ὁ κ, which no doubt originated the addition. In *a* the added refrain ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει κτέ is rubricated with slight variations at end of Five-day lesson Matt. xiii 23, κυρ. ις' Matt. xxv 30 (in β at end of v. 29), κυρ. δ' Luke viii 15 (in *a*'s text), κυρ. θ' Luke xii 21, σαβ. ις' Luke xxi 4 (only the two last in κ-system) and in all five cases some authorities under lectionary influence put the words in the text. The same may be said of the rubricated addition to the Five-day lesson ending Mark xi 26 and of the addition in *a*'s text at end of κυρ. ια' Luke xiv 24 (neither of which is in the κ-system).

W. C. BRAITHWAITE.

THE PRESENT GREEK TESTAMENTS OF THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

THE Clarendon Press announces in its lists under the heading *The Holy Scriptures in Greek, &c.* only the following two editions of the Greek Testament:—

Lloyd's Greek Testament.—Novum Testamentum Graece. Accedunt parallela S. Scripturae loca, necnon vetus capitulorum notatio et canones Eusebii. Edidit CAROLUS LLOYD, S.T.P.R. 18mo. 3s. With Appendices by W. SANDAY, D.D., cloth, 6s.

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First of all, both titles are not correctly given. The title of 'Lloyd's Testament' as it is published at present runs

H KAINH
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ
NOVUM
TESTAMENTUM
accedunt
*Parallela S. Scripturae loca
vetus capitulorum notatio
Canones Eusebii*
Oxonii
e typographeo Clarendoniano
M DCCC XCIV

xx. 653 pages.

The 'necnon' and 'et' in the Press-list is retained from earlier impressions, as 1828, 1836. The title of 'Mill's Testament' is at present

H KAINH
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ
NOVUM
TESTAMENTUM
Oxonii
e typographeo Clarendoniano
M DCCCC

562 pages.

On the back of this title is stated :

SECUNDUM EXEMPLAR OXONIENSE
ANNO M. DCC. XLII. EDITUM.

Beside this remark this edition contains no clue whatever about its text. Now both these editions have a strange history.

Lloyd has a *Monitum* signed

CAR. OXON.

Dabamus ex Æde Christi,
20^{mo} Dec^{ris} 1827.

This Monitum begins in the present impressions :

Damus tibi in manus, L.B., Novum Testamentum idem fere, quod ad textum attinet cum editione Milliana, cum divisione Pericoparum et Interpunctura J. A. Bengelii.

To the word Milliana in square brackets a footnote is added :

[Millius, quod ipse testatur, textum Stephanicum anni 1550 in editione sua repraesentandum curavit.]

And at the end of the Monitum a similar footnote is given :

[Textus noster, ut supra diximus, Stephanicus est. Accentus spiritus iota subscriptum interpuncturam Millius Car. Oxon. alii immutaverunt.]

Now if we compare this Monitum with that of the original edition of Lloyd's, which has the year MDCCCXXVIII on its title, and '*necnon*' and '*et*' as above mentioned, we find in the very first sentence one important difference. Instead of '*idem fere*' Lloyd had written '*idem profecto*'. No doubt *fere* is more correct, but the original reading ought to have been retained or mentioned in the margin : when Lloyd published his edition, he believed that he was repeating the text of Mill, but it was not his. For there can be no doubt, that Lloyd gave to the printer the Oxford edition of 1742 mentioned above from the back of the title of what is now called 'Mill's Testament'.

Its title is

H KAINH
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ,
NOVUM
TESTAMENTUM
GRÆCUM.

Textu per omnia Milliano, cum Divisione Pericoparum & Interpunctura
J. A. Bengelii.

[Signet of the Theatrum Sheldonianum]
Oxonii

E Theatro Sheldoniano

Impensis E. Broughton Bibliop. MDCCXLII.

557 pages.

Already Eduard Reuss has shown in his *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci* 1872 that the Editor, who is said to have been bishop Gambold of the Moravians, did not follow Mill, but an edition published at Edinburgh in 1740, whose text differed in not a few particulars from that of Mill. These variations came over into Lloyd. This must have been recognized rather early. For I possess an edition of 1836, which is, strange to say, unknown to Reuss and his followers Schaff-Hall¹ and not mentioned in the Bible Catalogue of the British Museum.

¹ Reuss describes, p. 155, no. 73 : Oxonii e typographeo academico, 1836. 12. Editio Milliana puro duci suo fidissima. Textus binis columnis expressus, versiculis

It has 'Academico' on its title instead of 'Clarendoniano' and M DCCC XXXVI, and 712 pages instead of 696, and is a much improved reprint of Lloyd's. This is already shewn by the references of the first page. For Lloyd had quoted in Matt. i 2, 1828: Gen. xxv 24, 1836 has xxv 26, v. 7. 1828 1 Reg. xv 3, 1836 has 8, &c.

The last revision of Lloyd's seems to have taken place in 1888-9, for the '*Appendices ad Novum Testamentum Stephanicum, iam inde a Millii temporibus Oxoniensium manibus tritum, Curante GULMO SANDAY, A.M., S.T.P., LL.D.*' MDCCCLXXXIX say in a '*Monitum Textui Graeco Novi Testamenti Praemissum*' (rather: *Praemittendum* ?): '*Visum est igitur preli academici delegatis textum illum Millianum sive Stephanicum, qui iamdiu Oxoniensium manibus teritur, ad exemplar editionis Stephanicae anni MDL denuo castigatum, typis iterum mandare.*'

Now it seems worth while to exhibit these several stages of the history of this Greek Text by parallel columns. In the first is placed Stephanus of 1550, in the second Mill of 1707, in the third (Gambold) 1742, in the fourth Lloyd 1828, in the fifth Lloyd 1836, in the sixth Lloyd 1889 (from a copy, which has M DCCC XCIV on its title), in the last 'Mill' 1900 (= 1742).

	Stephanus	Mill	Gambold	'Lloyd'			'Mill'
	1550	1707	1742	1828	1836	1889	1900
	a	m	b				
1. Matt. xxvi 9	πρωχοῖς	a	τοῖς πτ.	b	b	a	b
2. Mark i 21	εἰς τὴν σ.	a	εἰς συν.	b	a	a	a
3. " iv 18	σπειρόμενοι οὗτοί εἰσιν	a	om. οὗτοί εἰσιν	b	a	a	a
4. " vi 29	τῷ μνημ.	a	μνημείῳ	b	a	a	a
5. " viii 3	ἤκασι	a	ἤκουσι	b	a	a	a
6. " xi 22	Ἰησοῦς	δ' Ἰησοῦς	m	m	m	a	m
7. " xvi 20	ἀμήν	Ἀμήν	omitt.	b	m	m	m
8. John xviii 24	ἀπέστειλαν	a	ἀ. οὖν	b	a	a	a
9. 1 Cor. xv 33	χρησθ'	a	χρηστὰ	b	a	χρησθ'	a
10. 1 Thess. i 9	ἔχομεν	a	ἔσχομεν	b	a	a	a
11. 2 Tim. i 5	Εὐνείκη	a	Εὐνίκη	b	a	a	b
12. Apoc. xi 2	ἔσωθεν	a	ἔξωθεν	b	a	a	b

That is to say: in all passages (eleven out of twelve) in which Gambold 1742 deviated from Mill, he was followed by Lloyd 1828; in all, except the first, the true reading of Mill has been restored already in 1836; in the twelfth passage (6=Mark xi 22) where Mill himself distinctis. Praefatio adest nulla. My edition has no columns nor verses, and has Lloyd's preface.

deviated from Stephanus, Mill was followed up to the last revision of 1889; while that edition, which is now called 'Mill's' 'secundum 1742', sticks to 1742 still three times (1 and 11 and 12).

Add

13. Acts xxvii 3	πρὸς φίλους	a	πρ. τοὺς φ.	b	a	b	a
14. 2 Cor. v 12	διδ. ὑμῖν	a	a	a	a	δ. ἡμῖν ¹	a
15. Eph. i 3	Χριστῷ	a	ἐν Χρ.	b	b	a	b

But this is the least point which is to be urged against these editions, that the impressions were no accurate repetitions of Mill. When the last reprint was made in 1889, it was felt that it was not quite up to date to repeat a text of 1707 or rather 1550. Therefore the Monitum goes on: 'Nolebant tamen (Delegati preli academici) Textum abhinc annos trecentos constitutum ita lectoribus proponere ut recentiorum omnium iudicia dissimularent. Itaque libro bene noto placuit appendices subiicere.' The first of these contains therefore

Collatio Textus Westcottii-Hortiani cum Textu Stephanico anni MDL.

It is a very solid piece of work, of ninety-two pages, done for the greatest part by H. J. White e Societate S. Andreae Sarisburiensi and Fredericus A. Overton e Coll. Exon. It shews already by its extent to what degree a modern text differs from the old; but I wonder whether it is much used². And then the so-called 'Mill' has no such

¹ A mere misprint of 1889 (apparently).

² The present writer has had occasion to check the collation from the end of Luke onward, and may be permitted to offer here some corrections and additions (minor matters, as wrong numbering of verses, are omitted).

Matt. v 4, 5 The transposition of these verses, proposed by WH. on the margin, is not mentioned.

Luke xix 31 WH. ὅτι 'Ο pro "Οτι δ (Mill).

Acts i 15 „ ἀδελφῶν pro μαθητῶν.

xx 4 „ Σέκουνδος (different accent).

xxiii 10 „ γινομένης pro γεν-.

xxv 10 „ ἡδίκηκα pro ἡδίκησα.

1 Cor. xii 15, 16 different punctuation. Stephen, Mill and 1836 had; at the end of both verses: 1828 v. 15; v. 16.: WH. both verses.: Lloyd 1889 both verses a full stop.

xiv 26 WH. γινέσθω pro γεν-.

Col. iv 15 „ Νύμφαν (= fem.) pro Νυμφᾶν (= masc.).

1 Thess. ii 12 „ μαρτυρόμενοι pro -ρούμενοι.

Hebr. viii 6 „ τέτυχεν pro τέτευχε.

xii 17 „ ἀπεδοκιμάσθη, : different punctuation; αὐτήν in this case referring to εὐλογία, not to μετανοίας.

James ii 22 „ , at the end of verse, not; .

1 John ii 24 „ om. οὖν.

Apoc. ii 24 „ βαθία pro βάθη.

iii 5 „ ἱματίους (no difference between WH. and Mill).

xviii 23 „ φάνη pro φανῆ.

appendix. And now think that the text of Mill or Stephen is principally that of Erasmus's first edition of 1516, containing in the Apocalypse such grammatical and lexical monsters as xvii 5 ἀκαθάρτητος, 8 καίπερ ἐστίν, and at the end of the book, because his codex was defective, his retranslation from the Latin, where in six verses he missed the original thirty times, closing the Apocalypse and the whole Greek Testament with a word, which has no attestation at all in any Greek document, nor even in the better documents of the Latin, μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

It must be asked, Whether it is worthy of a University Press like that of Oxford to go on printing such a text merely because the name of Mill is attached to it. Mill's edition was indeed a splendid piece of work, but *not its text*, merely its apparatus. The fame which is justly due to the apparatus has been attached to the text without any reason, as every one agrees.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has resolved no longer to circulate the *textus receptus*. Surely it is high time that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press should follow their example. Things like ἀκαθάρτητος, καίπερ ἐστίν were a blot in the time of Erasmus, but are a disgrace in the twentieth century.

EB. NESTLE.

[We are indebted to Dr. Nestle for the characteristically minute care which he has bestowed upon the examination of some of our Oxford books. I believe the facts are in the main as he has stated them. It is perhaps just worth while to note that in the collation of MSS where Dr. Nestle thinks that the transposition of the verses St Matt. v 4, 5 has been overlooked by us, the omission was really deliberate. The marks attached to the marginal reading indicate that it is not a true variant; on this ground we passed it over.

While recognizing the general correctness of Dr. Nestle's facts, I cannot help a little wondering why, under the heading 'Present Greek Testaments of the Clarendon Press', he begins by ruling out the one book which has some real connexion with the Oxford of the present day, and devotes all his accounts to two texts, which as texts were never of any real importance, the one published in 1828, and the other in 1707 (or, more strictly, 1742).

The book known as *Palmer's Greek Testament with the Revisers' Readings*, is prescribed for use in the Examinations of the University, and either it or Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament is usually recommended by tutors to their pupils. The 'Mill' texts (for Bishop Lloyd,

as Dr. Nestle truly says, intended to reproduce Mill) are just the survival of an old book which is only still issued because there is still some demand for it. This means that in the whole of the area covered by English scholarship the use of the Textus Receptus, and of the texts closely allied to it, has not as yet entirely died out. In like manner the Cambridge Press, I believe, still issues the text of Stephanus, though the text most in favour at Cambridge is naturally that of Westcott and Hort.

The Clarendon Press has the special right of printing 'The Greek Testament with the readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version'. This was edited by the late Archdeacon Palmer, who gave the readings implied in the Authorized Version as variants at the foot of the page. Cambridge prints the Stephanus text of 1550 with the Revisers' readings as variants. It is of course true that the real credit for the text belongs neither to Oxford nor to Cambridge, but to the Revisers. The University Presses send out their books in accordance with the law of supply and demand, as trading corporations. They do not propose to dictate to their public; if they did, it would be useless, as the public would go elsewhere. But in the end there is sure to be 'a survival of the fittest'; scholarship tells by degrees in the easiest and most natural way.

For these reasons I rather demur to the title Dr. Nestle has given to his study, which might seem to give to the editions criticized an importance they do not possess. But all facts have their value, and the standard of accuracy is constantly rising. This is not the only field in which Dr. Nestle's minute investigations have done real service. He treads worthily in the steps of the American scholar, the late Dr. Isaac H. Hall; and when a new edition is brought out of Reuss's *Bibliotheca* he will be one of those who have contributed most to it.

W. S.]

REVIEWS

NORTH-SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish. By the Rev. G. A. COOKE, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1903.)

THE need which this work is intended to satisfy has long been acutely felt not only by students of the Semitic languages but also by theologians and historians generally. The importance of the North-Semitic inscriptions, from a linguistic and historical point of view, is now universally recognized, yet no attempt has hitherto been made, either in England or on the Continent, to bring the subject as a whole within the reach of ordinary readers. The monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and even Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, can be used only by a few specialists. Thus the scheme which Mr. Cooke has set before himself must meet with unanimous approval. In a volume of moderate compass he gives us a most judiciously chosen collection of about 150 inscriptions, besides facsimiles of coins, seals, and gems; every department of North-Semitic epigraphy is adequately represented, and the texts are accompanied by copious explanations, both historical and philological.

No reasonable person will be disposed to complain because the author does not offer much that is new. 'My aim throughout', he says in the Preface (p. x), 'has been not to propose novel interpretations or reconstructions of my own, but rather to give, after careful study of the various authorities on the subject, what seemed to be the most probable verdict on the issues raised, and also to bring together the chief matters of importance bearing on the texts. The frequency with which the words "probably" and "possibly" appear may, perhaps, be somewhat of a disappointment to the reader, as indicating an attitude of caution rather than of courage; but it is well to be reminded how seldom we can speak with positiveness on questions of grammar and interpretation where the material is so limited and where there is no contemporary literature to shed light upon the monuments.' Mr. Cooke certainly does not overstate the difficulties which these inscriptions present. It may even be thought that a still more frequent use of 'probably' and

'possibly' would have increased the value of his work. In general, it must be said, the sobriety of his judgement and the accuracy of his scholarship are beyond all praise; but occasionally he seems to me to have fallen, through inadvertence, into serious errors, which, in a text-book intended for students, are especially to be regretted.

Thus the very first page of his Introduction is a terrible chaos. 'The inscriptions', he tells us, 'which make up the present collection are grouped under the common title of North-Semitic to distinguish them from the South-Semitic, or Sabaeen and Ḥimyaritic, on the one hand, and from the Babylonian and Assyrian on the other.' It is unfortunate that Mr. Cooke has adopted from the *Corpus* the misleading phrase 'Sabaeen and Ḥimyaritic' instead of 'Sabaeen or Ḥimyaritic'. This, however, is a mere trifle. We read a few lines further on, and the darkness thickens. 'The languages in which the inscriptions are written belong to what may be called for convenience the Central, as distinguished from the Northern and Southern, division of the Semitic tongues. This Central division is subdivided into two main classes: (1) the Canaanite, which includes the Moabite, Hebrew, and Phoenician inscriptions, ninth century B.C. to third century A.D. and later; (2) the Aramaic. . . .' What meaning does Mr. Cooke here attach to the terms 'Central' and 'Northern'? If the languages in which the North-Semitic inscriptions are written do not belong to the Northern division, of what does the Northern division consist? This mysterious passage is in no wise elucidated by the footnote which Mr. Cooke has appended to it. 'The Semitic languages are grouped in various ways; thus Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 12 ff., divides them into Northern, i. e. Assyrian, Central, i. e. Aramaic, Western, i. e. Canaanite, Southern, i. e. Arabic and Ethiopic.' Now if we turn to Wright's book we find that he divides the Semitic languages into a Northern and a Southern section; the Northern section is subdivided into three groups, the *Eastern* (i. e. Babylonian and Assyrian), the *Central* (i. e. Aramaic), and the *Western* (i. e. Canaanite). This is perfectly intelligible, but Mr. Cooke, by omitting the word 'Eastern', involves the whole classification in hopeless perplexity, since he makes it appear as if Wright's term 'Northern' included Assyrian only, whereas in reality it includes all the Semitic languages except Arabic and Ethiopic.

A few remarks on individual points may here be added.

Page 11—The word רִית in the inscription of Mesha', line 12, is explained by Mr. Cooke as equivalent to רָאָה, from the root רָאָה 'to see.' This view has been maintained by many other scholars, but it should at least have been marked as doubtful, since the omission of the radical א in so ancient a text would be very surprising. The word וַאֲחֻזָּה, in line 11, is not an analogous case, nor yet can we base any argument on the obscure word רִשָּׁה in line 20. Possibly רִית

(pronounced either as רָיַת = רִיַת, or as רִיַת = רִיַת) may come from רוה 'to be moistened', 'to slake one's thirst', hence 'to satisfy a desire'. This metaphorical use of the root occurs in Hebrew (Prov. vii 18) and is especially common in Arabic.

Page 34—The theory that the Syr. מַסַּס is derived from מַסַּס, as Mr. Cooke states without any qualification, is contrary to all analogy.

Page 65—In his note on the proper name מַרְיָחִי Mr. Cooke apparently employs the term 'diminutive' in the sense of 'a familiar abbreviation'. This usage leads to confusion, as a diminutive does not properly mean a shorter form but a form expressing the smallness of the object referred to.

Page 256—The Nabataean name בְּנֵהְבַל is here transliterated 'Ben-hobal', but on the next page we are told that it should be pronounced either בְּנֵהְבַל or בְּנֵהְבַל. Names compounded with בְּנֵה 'to build' undoubtedly occur, but Mr. Cooke scarcely has a right to quote the Biblical בְּנֵהְדָר as an instance in point, since בֵּן must here mean 'son', as is shewn by the Syriac כֹּהֵן בָּרְכָא (e.g. 'the blessed Bar-hadad the Bishop' in the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. Wright, §§ LVIII and C). Whether בְּנֵהְדָר is an exceptional, but genuine, Aramaic form, or a Hebrew modification, we cannot say.

Page 284—The Palmyrene name חֲרִשָּׁא is here explained as = חֲרִשָּׁא 'enchantment', a word which, by the way, seems to occur in the plural only. It is much more probable that חֲרִשָּׁא means 'deaf', as Mr. S. A. Cook has suggested in his *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions*. Compare the Arabic nickname الْأَصْمُ, which was borne by a poet of the Umayyad period and by various other persons.

Page 333—Why does Mr. Cooke repeatedly adopt the vocalization מְתַחֲשָׁבִי (p. 333), מְתַחֲשָׁבִי (p. 335), מְשַׁחֲתָהּ (p. 338), מְתַחֲשָׁבִי (p. 339), with a long vowel in the first syllable? According to all analogy the vowel ought to be either short *e* or short *i*.

Page 334—With regard to the Passives formed by internal vowel-change, Mr. Cooke rejects the view which is now predominant. He holds, for example, that the Biblical Aramaic הִתְקַנַּת and הִתְקַפַּת 'are artificially modelled upon the Hebrew, and probably were never used in actual speech.' But he seems to be wholly unconscious of the difficulties which this hypothesis involves. If הִתְקַנַּת is artificially modelled upon the Hebrew, how are we to account for the Passive הִתְקַמַּת 'was raised' (Dan. vii 4), where the vocalization agrees with the Arabic أُقِيمَت in contradistinction to the Hebrew? Nor is it correct to say, as Mr. Cooke does, that 'in Bibl. Aram. these forms were used only for the *Perf.* 3 pers.', since הִתְקַנַּת in Dan. iv 33 is undoubtedly a first pers. Moreover, we find in Biblical Aramaic, not only a Passive of the Causative Conjugation, but also a Passive of the Simple Conjugation, as in Arabic

(e.g. *הָיָה*, *הָיָה*, *הָיָה*, &c.), and a precisely similar form, viz. *עָבִיד* 'was made', occurs in a Nabataean inscription from Medeba, which Mr. Cooke has included in his collection (p. 247). Thus the theory that in Biblical Aramaic the Passive formed by internal vowel-change is a mere Hebraism breaks down altogether. Unfortunately Mr. Cooke has not only adopted a wrong theory on this subject but has also misstated the facts. On p. 335 he explains the Palmyrene *נְבִי* as = *נְבִי*, a 'Peal ptc. pass.', and refers us to 'Bibl. Aram. *נְבִי* Dan. ii 30, *נְבִי* Ezra iv 18.' If he had verified these quotations, he would have seen that the Biblical forms are *נָבִי* (also *נְבִי* Dan. ii 19) and *נְבִי*, which must be taken as Perfects, not Participles, since in Biblical Aramaic the Passive Participle of such verbs is spelt either with final *א* (as in Syriac) or with final *ה*, e.g. *נְבִיחָה*, *נְבִיחָה*, *נְבִיחָה*. It is only in later Aramaic dialects that these participial forms are spelt with final *י*. Accordingly there can be little doubt that the Palmyrene *נְבִי* is a Perfect Passive, corresponding to the Arabic *جُئِيَ*.

In the note on the *Tariff* i line 9 it should have been mentioned that the emendation *יכתב* for *וכתב* is due to Sachau (*Z. D. M. G.* for 1883, p. 563 footnote).

Page 335—The Palmyrene *עֲלִימָא* 'youths' and its feminine *עֲלִימָתָא* are diminutive forms, so that the vowel of the second syllable was probably *ai* or *ē*, not *ī*, as Mr. Cooke supposes (pp. 335, 340). This appears from the Jewish Aramaic *עֲלִימָא* and the Syriac *ܥܠܝܡܐ*, to which Mr. Cooke himself refers.

A work in which every word, and almost every letter, requires careful verification will naturally contain some mistakes. Those which I have ventured to point out may appear insignificant to most readers, but in dealing with texts of this kind it must be remembered that even slight inaccuracies are liable to become sources of confusion.

A. A. BEVAN.

THE BIBLE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The Bible in the Nineteenth Century. Eight lectures by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. (London, Longmans, Green & Co.) 1903.

IN these able and interesting lectures Mr. Estlin Carpenter gives a concise but careful sketch of the progress of Biblical Criticism during the last two centuries; he also attempts to estimate the importance of its assured results. Considering the standpoint from which he writes, we have no reason for surprise that Mr. Estlin Carpenter regards these results as adverse, not merely to current ideas about inspiration, but also to the catholic conception of Christ's Person and work.

It is, however, only in the concluding lecture that Mr. Carpenter touches upon what may be called the religious consequences of the critical movement. The greater part of the book consists of a full and impartial sketch of the various epochs in the movement, the great names which have at various times been connected with it, and the silent revolution in thought which the use of historical methods has brought about. The first lecture deals with 'The struggle for freedom of enquiry'. Mr. Carpenter looks upon the Privy Council Judgement of 1863 (in the case of *Essays and Reviews*) as 'the charter of free enquiry into the origin and composition of the Scriptures within the Established Church of England'. Unquestionably the settlement of this struggle gave an impetus to the movement for a revision of the Authorized Version, and to the agitation for the abolition of University tests. Mr. Carpenter pleads for their abolition in the case of Divinity professors, and he holds that 'Behind the ideal of free teaching in theology lies another more important still—that of a free Church where pastor and people shall be alike pledged only to a common pursuit of truth and a common recognition of veracity as the first requisite of worship' (43).

In Lecture II Mr. Carpenter expresses a fairly favourable view of the Revised Version. One of his criticisms of the O.T. version seems both just and suggestive. 'It is', he says, 'perhaps unfortunate that the Revisers have so rarely admitted that the existing Hebrew is no longer intelligible, and have insisted on finding a meaning where grammar and sense both fail' (92). He duly cautions the reader, however, that the task of textual emendation is often of extraordinary difficulty, and that another century of toil may be needed before it is found practicable to obtain 'a sufficient consensus' of scholarly opinion to warrant the construction of a revised text. Lectures III and IV describe those 'changed views' of the Law and of Prophecy which have resulted from a more historical conception of the origin and growth of the Old Testament. Some readers will probably feel that Mr. Carpenter too peremptorily rejects the claims of 'typology'. It may fairly be argued on the other side that any system of interpretation recognized in Scripture itself must rest on a basis of reason and fact. It is surely incorrect to assert that 'the system of scriptural typology was founded on the assumption that the first five books of the Bible were composed by Moses' (109). The system of 'typology' not only appeals to the practice of the New Testament writers themselves (especially the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews), but finds its justification in the organic connexion that exists between the Jewish religion and Christianity. It assumes also, surely not without warrant, that where a living Providence is at work in history, the earlier stages of religion will inevitably to some extent foreshadow later developments. The statement of the

writer of Hebrews that in the Jewish ordinances the Holy Spirit signified truths and mysteries yet to be disclosed, remains unaffected, either by the historical question at what precise period those ordinances were in use, or by the fact that the writer adopted 'methods of Christian gnosis' that were natural to his age. Mr. Carpenter also rejects too hastily the belief that in the Levitical ritual a process of selection is apparent—a process which in the light of subsequent history we may reasonably believe to have been divinely controlled. Nothing that Mr. Carpenter says necessarily excludes such a view. Nor can it be supposed that Scriptural typology would have survived the admitted abuses and vagaries of 'private interpretation', were it not based (as Dr. Hatch suggests in a noteworthy passage of his *Hibbert Lectures*) 'upon an element in human nature which is not likely to pass away'.

Apart from Mr. Carpenter's lucid account of the history of Penta-teuchal criticism, nothing could be better than his sketch of the general course of religious developement in Israel. He seizes on the salient points with true historical insight. For instance, in speaking of the main principle of the Deuteronomic Code—the principle that religion is more than ritual, demanding spiritual affections as well as compliance with external rules—Mr. Carpenter remarks that 'this transfer of the seat of religion to the conscience and the affections really prepared the way for the ultimate severance of religion from the national cultus' (149). He also does justice to post-exilic legalism in the statement that 'The Law endeavoured to bring the principles of the universal Deity of Yahweh, his spiritual nature and his righteous rule, into direct application to the circumstances of a community still in danger of frittering away the positive gains of prophetic thought' (153). The lecture on Prophecy deals with a theme which is fairly familiar to most readers, but it is not the less fascinating. Mr. Carpenter seems to overrate the extent to which the influence of prophecy moulded or 'reacted upon' the primitive traditions of Israel. It is perhaps too strong to assert that under this influence 'a scheme of patriarchal relationships was slowly framed into which other and later material could be incorporated' (185). On the other hand, it is doubtless true that in Deuteronomy prophecy 'translated its ideal aims into a definite code of individual and national duty' (193); and the writer gathers up in a striking sentence the wonderful significance of Hebrew prophecy, surveyed in its totality: 'As Vergil, reflecting on the majesty of Rome, told the tale of the pious Aeneas and his flight from Troy, linking the far-off anguish of the burning city in one chain of Providential design to the full splendours of Augustan glory, so Hebrew prophecy, with a more impassioned sense of the "tears of things", a more splendid conviction of the divine righteousness, saw the migration of Abraham's clan, the conflicts of

tribes, the rise and fall of dynasties, the clash of empires, all pointing to one end,—the union of the nations in one vast fellowship of obedience and trust' (209).

Four lectures are devoted to different aspects of the serious problems raised by the criticism of the Gospels. In Mr. Carpenter's account of the literary problem, what strikes us chiefly is the candour of the admission that 'no Christian can approach the Gospels for the first time in the same way in which he may approach the records of other historic religions'. In other words, the idea of 'a presuppositionless criticism' is illusory¹. It seems, therefore, futile to dwell upon divergencies of view which depend on a difference of fundamental presuppositions. We feel inclined, however, to ask, particularly in regard to the analogies suggested by the phenomena of Buddhism and Babism, whether Mr. Carpenter adequately recognizes the immensity of the *moral* revolution which Christianity, as compared with other systems, has introduced? Is it not true of Buddhism and Babism, as of the ancient religious culture of Babylonia and Egypt, that the literature connected with them 'might have remained for ever unread, and our spiritual life to-day would be no poorer' (453)? The more confidently you trace the teaching of Jesus Christ to the circumstances of His education and environment, the more urgent becomes the pressure of the question, What will account for the moral fruits of His teaching and example, and for the spiritual experience which has its roots in them? The nature and limits, indeed, of Christ's self-accommodation to the conditions and habits of thought prevalent in His age, are fair matters of doubt and controversy, and raise problems which will inevitably be solved in different ways. But does Mr. Carpenter recognize the full significance of his admission that 'Jesus is the ultimate creator of the Christian character, the primal source of the Christian life'? It is because Christianity is essentially a life and not merely a creed that the age-long movement of criticism has on the whole produced so little impression upon faith.

Lecture VII, on the Johannine Problem, is singularly temperate and well-balanced in statement, but does not profess to do more than give a summary of the present position of the questions involved. In his concluding lecture, 'The Bible and the Church', the writer finds himself forced to touch upon the doctrine of authority in religion.

It would be out of place, in a short review, to discuss at length the strong and the weak points of Mr. Carpenter's argument. On the one hand, he pleads effectively for a much-needed restatement of the doctrine of human nature 'on the broader ground of anthropology', and he recognizes the candour and sincerity of the attempts which have already

¹ Cp. Prof. Orr's recent *Essays on Ritschlianism* p. 13.

been made in this direction by writers like Archdeacon Wilson and Mr. Tennant. On the other hand, he misunderstands, as we think, the relation of the Church to Scripture. 'A single instance of mis-ascription', he says, 'really shatters the pretension of "inspired prudence" raised on its behalf. If it might wrongly attribute a letter to one apostle, it might equally blunder in assigning a gospel to another' (472).

It might be replied that the different books of the New Testament gained their authority and their place in the canon, not primarily because they were supposed to be the work of particular authors, but because (as Prof. Robertson Smith has said in reference to the Old Testament) 'they commended themselves in practice to the experience of the [O. T.] Church and the spiritual discernment of the godly in Israel'¹. Just as the Apostles' Creed embodies in a real sense the organized experience of the Christian community, so the New Testament Canon comprises those books which were, in matter of fact, best adapted to minister to certain elements in the Christian life. The New Testament is best regarded, in fact, as a record explaining and justifying the spiritual experience of the Christian Church.

Mr. Carpenter reserves for the conclusion of his lecture a discussion of the Virgin-birth of Christ. He has no difficulty in stating forcibly the ordinary arguments against the alleged fact, and he is able to illustrate the narrative by a multitude of tales culled from the folklore of the world 'from China to Peru'. He further maintains that 'the doctrine was not within Paul's view', and that those who regard Joseph as the father of Jesus have the authority of the Gospels on their side equally with those who ascribe His birth to the operation of the Holy Spirit. This position we cannot here discuss. As regards other than literary and historical considerations, we observe that the repudiation of the Virgin-birth is allied (in Mr. Carpenter's case) with doubts as to the sinlessness of Jesus². He frankly declares that this latter doctrine is to some minds 'a hindrance rather than a help'; and he ends, consistently enough, by denying the uniqueness of Christianity. 'Similar results', he says, 'are achieved elsewhere by other means and through different forms' (509). At the same time, his last word is an emphatic testimony to the uniqueness of the *Bible*, and a vindication of the right of private judgement. Happily it is not within the province of a reviewer to enter into dogmatic discussions. Our sense of the great gravity of the topics discussed in Mr. Carpenter's concluding lecture is best marked by abstention from unprofitable disputation. On the whole, he is to be sincerely thanked for a remarkable and deeply interesting book.

R. L. OTTLEY.

¹ *Old Testament in Jewish Church* p. 162.

² Cp. Prof. Orr's Essay on 'The miraculous conception and modern thought' in *Ritschlianism* pp. 221 foll.

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. A. HARNACK. (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1902. 9 m.)

THIS latest of Dr. Harnack's great works is marvellous in its completeness and admirable in the skill with which it is arranged. Parts of it have appeared already in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, but they fall into their due place in the connected whole; Dr. Harnack has not been content, as scholars too often are, to publish an ill-compacted assortment of essays under the name of a history. No such statement has yet appeared of the causes and the stages of the expansion of Christianity up to the Council of Nicaea. The author is equally happy in explaining the methods of the preachers and the motives of the converts; the only serious criticism that can be passed upon him is that something seems wanting rather in the spirit than in the execution of his work. The explanation is almost too complete; the Christian faith seems dwarfed in comparison with the auxiliary forces which helped it to victory. Not that clear and fervid language is wanting, but that the picture as a whole presents a morally smaller and less stable organization and belief than the author in his own more enthusiastic moments describes. Dr. Harnack has a keen vision, and knows how to surround the objects of his inquiry with a singularly clear atmosphere; but we have learnt that such transparency is itself deceptive. It is symptomatic of a spirit which, if not obtrusively displayed, is manifestly present that he indulges from time to time in language which is, to say the least, unsympathetic. For instance, on his last page he mentions among the causes for the success of Christianity its capacity from the third century onwards of 'overtrumping attractive superstitions'. The judgement of even so great a scholar as Dr. Harnack must be unconsciously warped by the use of such a simile.

But this general impression does not lessen the reader's gratitude for each chapter taken singly, or his wonder at the wealth of knowledge displayed and the skill with which facts from remote parts of the field are brought into combination. But most remarkable of all is the way in which Dr. Harnack has seized upon minor, yet not unimportant, points of interest. Most students must have made their collections upon alms, or *tertium genus*, or the use of alternative names by the Christians, or similar matters. They will find that Dr. Harnack has done the same, and with astonishing completeness. They will sometimes be able to supplement him—for the taunt that Christians are a *tertium genus* (Lampridius *Alex. Sev.* 23. 7) should surely have been cited and discussed—and they will not always agree with his interpre-

tations or with his *obiter dicta*; what evidence can he allege for (p. 341) a 'collegiate government by bishops and deacons'? But the doubtful statements are as rare as the omissions, and hardly weigh in the balance against the abundance of instruction which we gain. To choose at random, we may now regard the meaning of *paganus* as equivalent to 'civilian' (i.e. one who is not a soldier of Christ) as finally settled by the joint authority of Zahn and Harnack; and we are told of an unpublished fragment which speaks of *Χριστιανοὶ τε καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντες*.

A large and perhaps disproportionate space is given up to the controversy with Duchesne as to the relative priority of the patriarchal and urban episcopate. Dr. Harnack's ingenuity and zeal have led him to injure his own case; he shews himself at times a German controversialist of a type which is growing obsolete. The suggestion that the famous Sanctus, the deacon ἀπὸ Βιέννης (Euseb. *H. E.* V i. 17), is a deacon of Lyons who came from Vienne is surely unworthy of a serious scholar, though it was also made by Valesius; and there are other arguments which are hardly stronger. It is strange that Cyprian *Ep.* 67 should have been overlooked in this debate, where the words *Aelio diacono et plebi Emeritae consistentibus* and the whole purport of the letter seem to have a bearing upon the question. But Dr. Harnack makes out a case which as a whole is much stronger than that of his adversary.

Nothing in the volume is more interesting or important than the last section, which fixes so far as they are known the dates of establishment of the sees which are older than Nicaea, and so traces the progressive expansion of Christianity. The work is done most completely and judiciously. The fault, if there is one, lies in Dr. Harnack's caution in accepting evidence and drawing inferences. But no one will blame him for his refusal to dogmatize about the numbers of the Christians at different dates, or doubt the reasonableness of his estimates; though here again he errs, if at all, on the side of moderation. He puts the Christians of Numidia and Proconsular Africa at three to five per cent. of the population in the time of St Cyprian, and the number of bishops at 130 to 150, justly observing that the opposition was absent from the Council of A. D. 256, the *Sententiae* of which we possess. But he is hardly right in laying stress only on the military and official element in the African Church. Evidence of various kinds points to a large immigration of the peasant class from Southern Italy, and the personal relation which seems to have existed between Cyprian and Capua points to a special connexion between the two regions. May not the multiplication of bishoprics in Africa be a feature of Church life which the immigrants imported from their old home? Dr. Harnack might well have mentioned the possibility.

He is emphatic in reducing to a minimum the number of Christians in Northern Italy and Gaul. He is certainly right in his main contention, but one of his arguments can hardly be sustained. He lays it down as a general rule that where bishops were few Christians also were few. It is notorious that the dioceses of Northern Italy were of large extent, and Dr. Harnack draws his conclusion that Christians were therefore rare. He should have considered the history of the cities. Roman historians of to-day trace the boundaries of the great military colonies of Cisalpine Gaul by those of the sees of Lombardy. For obvious reasons of strength and of administrative convenience, those colonies had been laid out on the largest scale; and we cannot argue that because the unit of administration was large, therefore the number of Christians was small. Perhaps the diocesan system of Gaul was imitated from that of Northern Italy, as I have suggested that that of Africa was from Southern Italy. The wish to keep down the number of Christians has led Dr. Harnack into a strange argument as regards Bologna. The bodies of the martyrs Vitalis and Agricola were found, it is said, in a Jewish burial-place, and therefore there were so few Christians in the city at the time of Diocletian's persecution that they had no cemetery of their own. The story is a replica of that of Gervasius and Protasius; St. Ambrose is concerned with both cases, and in both there is the guidance of a vision; the doubtfulness of the matter is increased by there being another St. Vitalis of Ravenna, the father of the Milanese brethren. The point for us is that a story in its successive reproductions always becomes more marvellous, as Freeman has shewn in many entertaining notes to his *Norman Conquest*. Discovery in a Jewish burial-ground was more wonderful than discovery in a church. But an unorthodox interment, if such there were, would prove neither the paucity of Christians nor the non-existence of a bishop. We know an instance of Christian burial in a pagan cemetery in St Cyprian's day; the offender, Martialis, was himself a bishop, and the offence had apparently been committed before his lapse. Perhaps, indeed, the whole story is false; it is that of a dispossessed rival in a day when the standard of truthfulness was low, and Stephen of Rome had disbelieved the allegations. But in any case it shews that in a church sufficiently important to have a bishop it was quite possible, in the opinion of a contemporary, for such a burial to be perpetrated.

But it is ungrateful to dwell upon minor and disputable points rather than on the mass of accurate information, illuminated by the insight of a true historian, with which this most interesting volume has enriched us.

E. W. WATSON.

SOME APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF APOSTLES.

Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae: accedunt Acta Barnabae, edidit MAXIMILIANUS BONNET. (Leipzig, Mendelssohn, 1903.)

NOT many words, it is to be hoped, are necessary to commend this, the concluding part of the great Lipsius-Bonnet re-edition of the Greek Apocryphal Acts, to the readers of this JOURNAL. All will be glad to have at last an authoritative text of the Greek (shall I call it version?) of the famous Acts of Thomas. If the question between the claims of Greek and Syriac to be the original language of these Acts are not settled by the appearance of this volume, we at least have an invaluable stock of materials for settling that question. M. Bonnet himself inclines to the belief (p. xxii) that the Acts were originally written in Greek; that the Greek, with the exception of the concluding sections, was lost at an early period; and that a fresh Greek version of the whole book was made from the Syriac. Certain it is that the last part of the book has come to us in two distinct Greek texts.

The Acts of Philip and of Barnabas are of far less interest than those of Thomas. *Philip* is now placed by many critics as late as the end of the fourth century, and is a Catholic production, chiefly worth reading for the sake of its story, which is sometimes highly sensational. It made no way in the Western Church at all: the Latin Acts of Philip are brief and jejune, and are only coloured at most by a distant reflexion of the Greek. The *Acts of Thomas*, by the way, were turned into Anglo-Saxon verse, like those of Andrew and Matthew: this we learn from a note of the Homilist Ælfric, but I do not know that attention has lately been called to his statement.

Barnabas is a work of the fifth century, and should be studied in connexion with other Acts of early Cypriote saints. A clause (p. 301, l. 12) stating that Barnabas was buried in a cave 'where the nation of the Jebusites formerly dwelt' is noteworthy, as suggesting a reminiscence of old Phœnician settlements in Cyprus.

To any one who knows M. Bonnet's work it would seem almost impertinent to say that this volume is edited with the most punctilious accuracy. The texts with which he has dealt have been transmitted in a most puzzling condition: it must often have seemed to him hardly worth while to comb out and set in order the broken strands of such a book as the Acts of Philip. But the task has been done and well done, and the indefatigable editor well deserves all the gratitude which a growing band of readers is ready to pay him.

Die alten Petrusakten im Zusammenhang der apokryphen Apostellitteratur, nebst einem neuentdeckten Fragment, untersucht von CARL SCHMIDT. (Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F., IX. 1. Leipzig, 1903.)

IN this exceedingly interesting little volume, Dr. Schmidt presents us first with a new Coptic fragment of the ancient Acts of St Peter, and then proceeds to upset all our views as to the character of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. The two parts of his book may well be considered separately.

The fragment which he publishes for the first time is found filling up a few spare leaves in the very important Coptic manuscript, acquired by Berlin some few years ago, which contains copies of two or three previously unknown Gnostic books. Dr. Schmidt is engaged in editing the whole volume; and this fragment of the Petrine Acts is the first-fruits of his work. He is also, it may be remembered, working at the unedited Coptic fragments of the Acts of Paul. These cannot see the light too soon.

The fragment before us contains a well-defined episode: that of the paralysed daughter of St Peter. We are familiar with a garbled form of her story, through the medium of the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus, and of the *Legenda Aurea*. In the Coptic fragment the tale is as follows:—

It is a sabbath, and Peter has been healing the sick (as Dr. Schmidt holds, at Jerusalem). One of those present asks the Apostle why, if he possesses the power to heal others, he allows his own daughter to be paralysed in his house. Peter replies that it is not because God is powerless to heal her: and, turning to her, he bids her rise and come to him. When all are rejoicing and marvelling, he bids her return to her bed, and she does so, and becomes helpless as before. The people all beg Peter to heal her permanently, but he refuses and gives the reason for his refusal. At the time of the child's birth, the Lord had warned him that she would be a stumbling-block to many souls if she remained in health; but he, Peter, thought the vision a mocking delusion. However, when the girl was ten years old a rich man named Ptolemaeus fell in love with her. [At this point a leaf is gone, but we can see clearly that Ptolemaeus must have tried to carry the girl off, and that she was struck with palsy.] Ptolemaeus brought her home to her own door, where her parents took her in, and then himself fell into a desperate condition of grief, and wept himself blind. He was contemplating suicide when a vision came to him and told him to go to Peter. Peter opened the eyes alike of his body and his soul. Shortly afterwards he died, leaving a piece of land to Peter's daughter: this Peter sold, and gave the price to the poor.

When Peter had finished his story, and had further addressed the congregation, he distributed the bread to them, and when he had done so, he arose and returned to his house.

In the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus the daughter (nameless in the new fragment) is christened Petronilla—probably after a Roman saint; and under this name she survives in Western Kalendars. The lover is called Flaccus, and the story is so handled that Petronilla is cured and then dies, while Flaccus apparently lives on. Earlier allusions to the episode are found in the Acts of Philip, which assign no name to the daughter.

The fragment is chiefly valuable as giving us the first form of a rather famous legend; it contains no specially interesting doctrinal teaching, and not much is likely to be added to what Dr. Schmidt has said about it.

He devotes only twenty-five pages to the new document. The remaining 140 pages are occupied with a most important and interesting discussion of the whole question of the 'Leucian' Acts. I can pretend to do little more than present his chief conclusions.

The position with regard to the Leucian Acts must first be stated quite briefly.

We possess, in whole or in part, five specially famous books (and circulated in a *corpus*) dealing with the lives of Apostles; namely, the Acts of Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, and Andrew. In the time of Photius the name of Leucius Charinus was associated with all of these books, as that of the author.

It is generally agreed that Leucius was a name which occurred as that of an eyewitness and narrator in the Acts of John; but it has also been contended that the author of the Acts of John was also the author of the Acts of Peter, and very probably of the Acts of Andrew as well.

It is further agreed that the Acts of Paul were not the work of this same writer; and that the Acts of Thomas cannot be regarded as his work. Of the former it is on record that they were written by a presbyter of Asia to do honour to St Paul; of the latter it is held by many that they were originally written in Syriac. The Acts of Peter, of John, and of Andrew, therefore, form a group somewhat distinct from the others. Their author is usually described as a person of Docetic views and a Gnostic of some ill-defined sort.

To several of these positions Dr. Schmidt brings a decided negative. According to him, the only Acts which ought to be called Leucian are those of John. The Acts of Peter are by a different hand. Further, all these Acts are by more or less orthodox Catholics: certainly none

of them are Gnostic. 'Der gnostische Apostelroman' (he says, on p. 129) 'ist für mich ein Phantom.'

In dealing with the Acts of Peter, Dr. Schmidt points out that there are traces of borrowing from the Preaching of Peter (as Zahn had suggested), from the Acts of Paul (here agreeing with Harnack), and to a very large extent from the Acts of John. The intimate resemblance between *Peter* and *John* is demonstrated by me in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, II xxiv sqq., where I support the thesis that the author of the two books was one and the same. Dr. Schmidt's general view of the situation (p. 99) is as follows: the analysis of the sources of the Acts of Peter shews that the author made special and express use of the Acts of John, along with other writings, and that the striking resemblances are not to be referred to the authorship of Leucius or of a like-minded disciple. To Leucius belongs the honour of having composed the first Apostle-romance: beyond his own expectations, he broke ground thereby for a new form of Christian literature: for his example was quickly followed by the author of the Acts of Paul—himself a native of Asia Minor—and the pseudo-Peter wrote his romance, standing on the shoulders of both.

As to the date of *Peter*, Dr. Schmidt would place the book at latest in the first decade of the third century: herein disagreeing with Harnack, who prefers the middle of the same century¹.

Whether Dr. Schmidt is right or wrong in his contention, it is quite certain that what he has to say merits most careful consideration. It should be remembered for one thing that he has made a special study of Gnosticism, and there is a strong probability *a priori* that if a document is pronounced by him not to be Gnostic, Gnostic it is not. Yet I cannot profess myself a complete convert at the moment. I feel difficulties especially with regard to a passage in the Acts of John with which Dr. Schmidt has dealt (p. 127). It is in the Hymn of Christ

ὁγδοὰς μία ἡμῖν συμψάλλει. ἀμήν.
ὁ δωδέκατος ἀριθμὸς ἄνω χορεύει. ἀμήν.
τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἀχόρευτον ὑπάρχει. ἀμήν.

I had conjectured that between the first and second line a sentence was missing which made mention of a Decad, and thus filled up the ordinary Gnostic number of aeons, namely, thirty. Dr. Schmidt thinks

¹ It is important, in estimating the Catholicity of the Petrine Acts, to remember that the integrity of our chief text of them (the Latin version called *Actus Verbalenses*) has been challenged of late with good show of reason by von Dobschütz and Ficker. There is a possibility that this may be an expurgated text. The new Coptic fragment, moreover, as von Dobschütz reminds us, whether Gnostic or not, is found in company with undoubtedly Gnostic writings.

that I am hunting for mysteries where none exist. The Dodecad is merely the Zodiacal circle, the Ogdoad the seven Planets, with the Kosmokrator, i.e. Satan, at their head. But, I would ask, is it admissible to suppose that the Kosmokrator or Satan joined in the exultation of the Redeemer who was just about to overthrow his power? And, again, was it (to say the least) prudent in the more or less Catholic Leucius to employ terms such as Ogdoad and Dodecad, which he must have known to be specially characteristic of Gnostic systems?

In another passage, Leucius speaks of ἡ κατωτικὴ ρίζα, ἀφ' ἧς (πᾶσα) τῶν γινομένων προήλθεν φύσις. Does not this imply an essentially dualistic view? And, yet again, is not there a very close correspondence between the Gnostic teaching reported by Irenaeus (I 3. 5), on the function of the ὄρος and σταυρός, and the speech of Christ to John about the Cross. Points such as these are to me a real difficulty in the way of supposing Leucius not to have been under the influence of what is called 'Gnostic' thought. I am aware that the certainly Gnostic writings we possess, such as the *Books of Jeu* and the *Pistis Sophia*, are far more overt in their exposition of a system; and also that one must be prepared for the appearance of very odd doctrinal views in non-Gnostic early Christian literature: 'archaic' Dr. Schmidt calls them; 'erratic' seems at least as fair a name. But I cannot help seeing on the other hand that the *Pistis Sophia* and its congeners are, regarded as literature, absolutely contemptible, while Leucius is a man of considerable culture and literary skill, and wishes to be readable. There is nothing, so far as I can see, absurd in the supposition that he was a 'Gnostic', and one who did not feel it his function to set forth a system, but rather presupposed it, and let it occasionally peep through his narratives and discourses.

I should like to follow Dr. Schmidt through his acute analysis of the patristic evidence about the Leucian Acts; but this is more than can be done in the compass of a short notice. In what I have written, not nearly all of the points made by our author have been noticed; I only hope that enough has been said to draw attention to the book and to give some idea how well worth reading it is.

M. R. JAMES.

A MONASTIC CHARTULARY.

Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1479, edited from the original manuscript at Caprington Castle, Kilmarnock, with translation and abstracts of the charters, illustrative notes, and appendices, by the Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. (Scottish History Society, 1903. Pp. xcvi, 351.)

MONASTIC chartularies have usually been published by persons interested primarily in the local history which they illustrate. It is the exception when the editor displays more than antiquarian knowledge; most commonly, with his attention fixed on names of places and men, he would be quite unable to describe how the system of the monastery worked and how it fitted into the general organization of the Church. There is therefore cause for thankfulness when so well-equipped an ecclesiastical scholar as the Bishop of Edinburgh takes a task of this sort in hand. The Abbey of Lindores in Fife was not an important one, and its documents have few specially marked features; but the bishop has succeeded in making his materials the text for a singularly illuminating study of the ecclesiastical conditions of Scotland in the later middle ages. The subjects dealt with in his introduction are unfortunately not indicated in the table of contents: we may call attention to the sections on the endowment of the monastery (pp. xxviii-liii), on 'the process of the transfer of parish churches to monasteries *in proprios usus*', on 'second tithes', and on private chapels (pp. lviii-lxxiii). It should be noted, by the way, that on p. xliii the bishop seems to date the establishment of 'perpetual vicarages', as a normal institution, too early.

The Abbey of Lindores was founded, probably before 1191, by David earl of Huntingdon, brother to kings Malcolm and William the Lion, by means of a colony from Kelso. The chartulary was compiled about seventy years later, but considerable additions were made during the two following centuries. It is here printed in full, even when the same document has been entered twice over. The book having been wrongly bound and paged, it has been necessary to rearrange it, but only to the extent of placing ff. 29-88 before ff. 4-28. The text is printed without change, except in the punctuation; even proper names, by an extreme of fidelity, have been left without capitals where they are so written in the original. Mere slips in the manuscript are usually corrected with a marginal note; but not always (e.g. *maiores persone conuentus nostre*, p. 160). Each document is followed by an abstract or, in a few cases, by a translation, in English. These extracts are not only excellently done, but often serve the purpose of a commentary. It

would, however, have been a good thing if the plan of translating proper names (as *ostiarius*, 'Durward' pp. 85-87) had been uniformly carried out. Thomas de Carnoto appears as 'de Carnot' (pp. 173f.), though he is rightly identified with Sir Thomas of Charteris in the note (p. 277). To translate *cancellarii vicem agens* by 'acting for the chancellor' (p. 111), at a time when Innocent III had not yet appointed a chancellor, may be misleading. The English student will be refreshed by seeing the familiar terms of the deeds rendered into the peculiar language of Scottish law (thus 'compearance', 'poids', 'wad', 'stangs and live-pools'); but except for a few phrases like 'cane' and 'conveth', there is little to distinguish them from documents drawn up south of the Tweed. The editor has taken great pains in fixing the dates of the charters; but it would have been more convenient if he had always noted them at the foot of the page rather than at the end of the volume, or indeed (as not infrequently occurs) in both places. He is also apt to be too elaborate in expounding chronological details which the reader might be left to take on trust or to explore for himself (see the notes on the dates of Innocent IV on pp. 118, 120, and on the Sunday known as *Oculi mei*, p. 255). There is a tendency to repetition (see the explanations of the bishop's official, pp. 256, 268), which sometimes leads to discrepancies. On p. 246 Bishop Abraham of Dunblane is said to have been bishop 'before 1217', on p. 249 '1214-1223', on p. 250 'c. 1214-c. 1224', and on p. 258 '1216?-1224?'; but if John, prior of May, who is mentioned in the same charter with Bishop Abraham (pp. 43 ff.), was 'succeeded before 1214 by William' (p. 249), it is clear that the bishop's consecration must have taken place earlier. We have noticed but few oversights (e.g. 'Premonstratensian monks' p. 264; 'Gualo' for 'Guido' p. 303, line 21). For Scottish readers it may have been unnecessary to explain Castellum (or Castrum) Puellarum (pp. 1, 271). Liturgical students will be interested in the appearance in the chapel of Dunmore in 1253 of *unum missale in quo continetur psalterium, ymptarium, legenda, et antiphonarium, et totum plenarium servitium totius anni* (pp. 71f.). The learned skill with which the editor has everywhere treated the questions of Scottish history suggested by his book can only be referred to generally in this JOURNAL.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

INDIVIDUALISM AND AUTHORITY.

God and the Individual, and Authority in the Church. By T. B. STRONG, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

IN order to understand a book, it has been said, one should first observe the object of its polemic. The object against which the Dean of Christ Church directs his polemic in *God and the Individual* is, in name at least, quite clear. The book is an attack upon Individualism in Religion. This term, however, is used in a sense so exceedingly comprehensive as considerably to impair the practical usefulness of these addresses. For the book is not a mere historical study; it is an essay in Pastoral Theology. What we are told about the origin of this volume makes it clear that it is intended to serve a practical end—to give guidance to clergymen in the actual conflict with Individualism which they are waging in their parishes. It is in this view that the book will be read; and it is this consideration which gives it its chief importance.

Regarded, then, as a piece of Pastoral Theology, how is it to be judged? As an example to the clergy of industry and scholarly method in the reading of Scripture it is worthy of all praise. But in relation to the conflict between Individualism and the 'Sacramental System' many of those who have been able to observe this conflict at close quarters will see reason to doubt whether Dr. Strong has succeeded in speaking the word in season. The clergy are too much disposed already to believe that the Individualism to which they are opposing themselves flourishes only upon ignorance of philosophy and history. What is most needed is not to confirm this prejudice; but to lead them to examine critically their own position. Looked at in this light these addresses make a disappointing book.

For the Dean shews no sign that he has understood where the strength of Individualism—and the weakness of the ordinary clergyman in dealing with it—really lies. It has been admirably said by the late Dr. Moberly that 'whether God forgives a man or not depends wholly and only upon whether the man is or is not forgivable. He who *can* be forgiven by Love and Truth, *is* forgiven by Love and Truth, instantly, absolutely, without failure or doubt. . . . In God, forgiveness upon the necessary conditions so acts as if it were self-acting . . . penitence, so far as it is penitence, never by any possibility failing of pardon'¹. Now these words, though not quite the sort of language which they themselves would naturally use, express with great force the central con-

¹ *Atonement and Personality* pp. 57, 60.

viction of those Individualists with whom the clergy have in fact to deal. And the reason why these people suspect and resist much of the sacramental teaching which they hear is just because it appears to them to assail this central conviction. If, they say, the penitent man can never fail of pardon, how can pardon be said in any sense to depend upon Sacraments? And the clergyman in answering them often fears to admit their premiss because he does not see how he can then avoid their conclusion. Thus he speaks with uncertain voice. Using sometimes language like Dr. Moberly's, he prefers at other times to use the language of teachers who speak in a contrary sense; the language, say, of Dr. Mason¹ or Mr. Darwell Stone², who—in curious contrast with Dr. Moberly's 'instantly, absolutely, without failure or doubt'—teach expressly that St Paul was uncleansed, unforgiven, and under God's wrath during the time which intervened between his conversion and his baptism. And in thus assailing Individualism where it is strong, the clergy forfeit the confidence of many who might be disposed to agree with their attacks upon Individualism where it is weak.

Surely, then, what we most need to shew is that a belief in the absolute certainty of pardon for the penitent is in no way inconsistent with a high view of Sacraments—with the belief that 'the material vehicles not merely symbolize but *convey* spiritual effects'³. As an open proclamation of God's love, the Sacraments produce and maintain in us the penitent attitude, and so bring the very grace which they symbolize. In believing in, and in proclaiming, God's pardon, the Church finds God's pardon. And therefore 'the material side of the Sacrament' is not something 'wholly apart'⁴ from the spiritual idea which it presents. The outward act is essentially an element in that common life of Christians in which the penitent mind naturally lives and grows. But the maintenance of this truth does not require us to deny that when, by whatsoever means, a man has actually been brought to true repentance, then, baptized or unbaptized, shriven or unshriven, he is assuredly pardoned. In other words, we need to draw a careful distinction between the assertion that the Sacraments are genuinely means of grace, and the assertion that the individual can never count upon receiving grace without them.

But, far from drawing any distinction of this kind, the Dean, by grouping together a number of separate propositions under the one name Individualism, and then warning us against Individualism in general, seems rather to add to the confusion. When he argues that the Church is more than 'an accidental combination of individuals, who enter into partnership for purposes of mutual encouragement and

¹ *Faith of the Gospel*, edition of 1892, p. 289.

² p. 90.

³ *Holy Baptism* p. 35.

⁴ p. 90.

convenience'¹; when he condemns the view which treats the Sacraments as 'impediments rather than helps'²; when he maintains that the community should recognize that it has an interest in the whole spiritual life of the individual³, his position is a very strong one. But these contentions do not prove that the individual can never be right in refusing Sacraments or claiming a position for himself over against the body⁴. It is one thing to say that 'the normal condition of Christian men is membership of the one Body'⁵. It is quite another thing to say that it is 'only by entering the Body'—if by this word we mean, as the Dean does, the outward organization of the Church—that 'the true relation between God and the individual soul is established'⁶. Yet the Dean passes lightly from the one statement to the other, as if there were no difference between them. That a 'triangular relation' should subsist between God, the Soul, and the Church, is certainly far from realizing the full Christian ideal. But whenever in unhappy times a reformer finds the organized Church opposed to reformation, this triangular relation at once arises: and so far as we believe the reformer to bear a message from God we must admit his right to claim a position 'over against' the community. If the Church then cuts him off from the Sacraments, associating them with doctrines or practices to which he cannot assent, we cannot hold that this act of the Church disturbs his relations with God.

The confused treatment of this subject is in harmony with a certain inconsequence of reasoning which runs through the whole book. It is specially strange, for example, that Dr. Strong should regard his approval of the plan by which, in the matter of Sacramental Confession, the Church of England leaves every one to do as he likes as the natural outcome of his criticisms upon Individualism⁷.

And what exactly is Dr. Strong's attitude towards intellectual freedom? Wherever, he says, the 'negatively individualistic' point of view has reigned, 'we have had a tendency to be suspicious of any policy which seemed to curtail the untrammelled freedom of individual action and thought'⁸. In what circumstances, then, would Dr. Strong approve a 'policy' which aimed at curtailing freedom of thought?

This book is worth reading, and worth keeping, if it were only for the vigorous words in which it describes how the Death and Resurrection of Christ become 'part and parcel' of a man's life, how 'he dates back to them', how 'their efficacy spreads itself over his life, instead of the facts of Adam's fall and sinfulness', so that 'to be in Christ is to live in a new moral atmosphere'⁹. Such words tend to quicken the experience which they pourtray. It is all the more to be regretted that these

¹ *Holy Baptism* p. 5. ² p. vi. ³ p. 48. ⁴ p. 44. ⁵ p. 39. ⁶ p. 41.
⁷ p. ix. ⁸ p. 51. ⁹ p. 40.

addresses must do much towards perpetuating a confusion of thought which has long done grave injury to the work of zealous and holy men.

In *Authority in the Church*—a book in many ways very similar in aim to *God and the Individual*—Dr. Strong seeks to discuss, in the light of general principles, some of the subjects which enter into current ecclesiastical controversies. We ought to be sincerely grateful to any one who insists on stating clearly those deeper and wider interests and principles which, at every phase of these disputes, all good men have really at heart; and the appearance of such a book as this in a series of 'Handbooks for the Clergy' is for various reasons a hopeful sign. Perhaps one of the most conspicuous defects of the ordinary sermon is that it shews so little trace of the influence of modern methods of studying history. This defect Dr. Strong's handbook, as a conscientious attempt to sum up in small compass the results of wide reading, may do something to remedy. We owe special gratitude for the guarded admission on p. 112 that in the earliest days the Threefold Name may not have been included in the doctrine which the Apostles taught. This admission will be of use if it merely suggests caution with regard to matters where dogmatic assertion has been not uncommon.

The Dean's main philosophical contention concerns the relation between authority and conscience. He shews how the authority of the State may rightly be regarded as resting upon conscience: as indeed a 'kind of embodied conscience'¹. As 'men cannot fulfil their true functions in life except by social intercourse and combination'², we ought not to regard organized social life as a sort of necessary evil. The State 'exists in order to the evolution of a moral ideal'; 'it is a moral organism—the form in which man's true nature is clearly expressed'³. Though there is no reason to regard the utterance of the State-conscience at any stage as final⁴, the individual is but rarely justified in opposing it⁵.

The Dean next proceeds to shew how the principle of authority may enter into the intellectual sphere. Just as the foundation of the authority of the State is to be traced to the social element in man's nature, so 'a similar social element underlies the intellectual acceptance of historical data: we believe men's evidence because we recognize our kinship with them'⁶. And then, turning to the specific question of the authority of the Church, he claims for the Church a position similar to that of a witness whose testimony we accept without positive proof. In believing 'on the authority of the Church'⁷ the fact of the Resurrection, 'there must always', he says, 'be an element of pure

¹ *Authority in the Church* p. 11.

² p. 94.

³ p. 11.

⁴ p. 12.

⁵ p. 12.

⁶ p. 35.

⁷ p. 113.

acceptance of a statement only partially demonstrable'¹. And thus he professes to have found for authority a sphere in which it is independent of reason and supplementary to it.

But here, surely, he is less successful than in his analysis of what is implied in the authority of the State. It is quite true that in believing witnesses we are believing something that we cannot 'demonstrate' in the strictest sense of that word. But we utterly misrepresent the truth of the matter if we say that, in the case of testimony, rational demonstration carries us a certain distance, and then, when it fails, our faith in the witness comes to our rescue and carries us further. To the very end our certainty is something quite clearly distinguishable from that which depends on mathematical proof, but so far as we have certainty at all—and we habitually speak of historical statements as 'proved'—this certainty is entirely based on grounds of reason. The trustworthiness of our witnesses is part of what we seek to demonstrate. We believe them just so far as we have good reason to think that they are speaking the truth. Would Dr. Strong say that we ought to trust them even further than this? If not, his attempt to claim for authority a position 'over against' reason breaks down entirely.

Thus we seem to find here a somewhat similar defect to that which marks the Dean's smaller volume. His central principle here seems sound; his opinions on current questions are stated with clearness and common sense—they are in fact (except where in the field of historical research he has felt his way to something more original) the views of a moderately Conservative Anglicanism—but the connexion between the central principle and its applications is by no means easy to see.

For example, he protests against the 'relaxation of formularies for the benefit of Candidates for Holy Orders'², and contends that 'there is a body of doctrine to which the Church ought to require assent as a condition of full membership'³. If, he argues, the authorities of the Church had adopted certain critical theories which flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century, they would have forfeited their right to be heard on any question of theology and would have placed the Church in a very foolish position⁴. And, no doubt, if we had canonized Strauss or beatified Baur; if we had proclaimed as dogmas of the Church some of the least well-founded of their conclusions; if for the forms of worship which embody the traditional doctrines we had substituted newer forms in which these doctrines were not mentioned, our position by this time would have been sadly open to criticism, and it is conceivable that in devotional force and literary charm our public services would have gained but little by these changes. But if, on the other hand, we had merely done what perhaps is all that

¹ *Authority in the Church* p. 114.

² p. 172.

³ p. 169.

⁴ p. 173.

we were ever seriously asked to do—if we had made it unmistakeably plain that an open mind on critical questions was not by itself a disqualification for a place in the Church or Ministry—it is not clear that we should have been so much in fault. In any case the Dean's opinions on this point can hardly be said to follow necessarily from his general doctrine of authority as it stands.

The authorities of the State do not seek to exclude from rights of citizenship every one whose policy they believe to be contrary to the State's best interests. On the Dean's own principles, there seems no reason why an attachment to the traditional doctrines of the Church should lead us to approve any such method of excommunication as his remark about 'full membership' seems to recommend. And, again, what connexion is there between his analysis of the general claim of the Church to authority, and his doctrine that the Church is within its rights in making use of philosophical terms, but exceeds its rights if it attempts to give to those terms any particular meaning¹? When he enlarges upon the 'advantages' of this manner of using language, one might almost suppose him to be ironical.

It would seem, then, that the Dean's method of bringing 'theoretical discussion' to bear upon ecclesiastical controversies exists rather in intention than in execution. And it is impossible not to feel that in both these books—though they possess conspicuous merits—he gives encouragement to that loose throwing about of philosophic phrases which has become so fatally common in recent years. We ought, surely, to regard it as a matter of conscientious obligation to mark carefully into what hive it is that we are permitting the honey of Idealist Criticism to be carried.

CHARLES J. SHEBBEARE.

¹ *Authority in the Church* pp. 118-119.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

VOLUME XIII of Hauck's *Realencyclopädie* contains contributions to Old Testament learning from Baudissin, Buhl, Guthe, A. Jeremias, A. Klostermann, von Orelli, and Volck. MOSE (von Orelli) follows the Biblical account closely; the author thinks that some ancient pieces (e. g. Deut. xxxiii minus vv. 1-5) are the work of the Lawgiver. The articles MOLOCH, MOND BEI DEN HEBRÄERN, and NANAIA (Baudissin) give a full discussion of their subjects. MOAB, an article eleven pages long, comes from the capable hand of Fr. Buhl. Volck writes short accounts of MICAH (four to five pages) and NAHUM (two and a half pages). A. Jeremias (as in former volumes) takes the 'Assyriological' articles, NEBO, NERGAL. Guthe's article, NEGEB, shews little or no sympathy with Dr. Cheyne's views concerning that district; perhaps he comes nearest when he remarks: 'Auch ismaelitische Stämme müssen nach Gen. xxi 21; xxv 18 wenigstens die südlichen Teile des N. durchzogen haben'. Above he writes: 'Die Geschichte dieser durch ihre Stürme bekannten Landschaft (vgl. Jes. xxi 1) liegt zum grössten Teil im Dunkeln'. The article NEHEMIA is by A. Klostermann.

Vol. V of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* contains several articles on Old Testament subjects. ECCLESIASTES is by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, who believes that the inconsistency in the sentiments uttered in different parts of the book is due to the varying moods of the author, rather than to diversity of authorship. Prof. Driver contributes a section to the article EXODUS on the critical view of the book, and is followed by Rabbi Benno Jacob of Göttingen who writes a section against the critics. Rabbi Jacob holds that 'the alleged double tradition of the revelation, and especially Wellhausen's so-called second Decalogue in ch. xxxiv, are mere figments of the brain'. EZEKIEL (the prophet and his book) is briefly treated by Prof. Cornill.

The new edition of the late Dr. Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* embodies corrections made by the author himself and contains notes by Professors I. Goldziher and A. A. Bevan and by Mr. Stanley Cook, the editor. It will be remembered that the original work is a book of great interest for the study of early

customs and of the text of the Old Testament. Incidentally it throws a good deal of light on the change in the position of the Arab wife brought about by Islam, but its main subjects are the reckoning of kinship through women which largely prevailed in early Arabia, and the nature of the various kinds of marriage practised in ancient days among the Arabs. There is an index of Scripture passages; over twenty places of Genesis alone are cited. This new edition is very welcome.

Dr. G. Buchanan Gray has written a full and painstaking Commentary on Numbers for the *International Commentary*. Very careful attention is paid to Philology and to the higher criticism of the book. Dr. Gray's work is of great merit, and the criticisms which follow are not intended to take away any of the force of this verdict. The reader may find the commentary somewhat too wordy. The tone again is sometimes off-hand; e.g. on chap. xi 17 Dr. Gray remarks: 'Moses possesses the spirit in large measure, so that he can spare enough to enable seventy others to prophesy for the nonce'. Again the Commentator seems somewhat too ready to find discrepancies between one passage of the book and another: e.g. in what he writes on chap. xi, beginning. There is surely no serious difficulty in reconciling the demand of the Israelites for flesh (chap. xi 4) with the fact that it is implied in chap. xiv 33 that they possessed flocks. What the people wanted was a supply of fish (*ibid.* ver. 5) or fowl, which would enable them to indulge their taste for flesh without the necessity of drawing upon the flocks and herds which formed their chief wealth. A pastoral people does not eat its *money*, except on the rare occasion of a feast. Moses in ver. 22 speaks like a true nomad. Again, the want of correspondence which Dr. Gray finds between chap. xi 17 b and vv. 11-15 will not be felt by his readers. Moses appeals to JEHOVAH for help, and JEHOVAH gives it. The prayer is answered fully.

Dr. Gray's Introduction contains a few things open to criticism. In discussing the title the interesting heading of the Peshitta might have been mentioned, *Menyānā* ('Number', sing.), a name derived from chap. i 2 *al.* *Menyānā* is written without *seyāmē*, the points which mark the plural, in the Lee and Urmi editions and in the Ambrosian MS and in the oldest dated Pentateuch (Brit. Mus. Add. 14,425). On page xlviii the Commentator betrays a curiously prosaic attitude of mind, for he writes, 'A particularly antique conception appears in 10³⁶, where the ark moves of its own accord, and is addressed as Yahweh'.

There are a few misprints in the book. On pages 76, 77 the symbols for the Samaritan Version and the Peshitta are interchanged. On : 100 'petulantly' is misprinted, and on 109 a *hēth* stands for *hē*.

A Biblical History of the Hebrews (Cambridge and London, 1903) comes from the pen of the Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, B.D. The higher criticism of the Old Testament and the historical value of the documents are dealt with in an Introduction of thirty pages. The History proper begins with chapters on the Ancient World, the Patriarchs, and Israel in Egypt, and ends with a description of the work of Nehemiah. In the text Canon Jackson follows the Biblical accounts closely, but many useful notes are added, which often suggest alternative readings of the History. A few misprints might be corrected in a second edition: page 87, read 'Waheb in Suphah'; page 362, read '*Schöpfung*' and 'Encyclopaedia'; page 364, 'Dillmann's'; page 374, line 43, read 'It was lawful' (omitting the negative; cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia* page 95); page 391, note, read 'Yahweh' (?); page 400, note 7 (some words omitted).

Part IV of Dr. Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*, pages 313-397 (on I, II Kings) has appeared. The notes touch every chapter and usually several different verses in the chapter. The trend of the work may be gathered from the fact that 'Jerahmeel' is mentioned on every page with four exceptions, and even on these four the Jerahmeelite theory is noticed.

La méthode historique par le Père M. J. Lagrange (Paris, 1903) consists of six *conférences* on the Criticism of the Old Testament. The author warns us that these lectures 'ne sont pas des traités, mais des causeries'. He deals in a frank way with such questions as *La notion de l'inspiration*, *Caractère historique de la législation*, and *L'histoire primitive*. With regard to the Legislation Père Lagrange concludes, 'Il est donc certain que s'il y a dans le Pentateuch une rédaction récente, elle n'a fait que mettre en œuvre des éléments très anciens, contemporains de Moïse, antérieurs à Moïse' (page 182). On the primitive history he writes, 'Pourquoi ne pas admettre qu'il y a aussi dans ces débris des noms qui représentent seulement un progrès impersonnel de l'humanité, des souvenirs perdus dont personne ne peut dire exactement l'origine, qui sont dans l'histoire comme cet éther que nous plaçons dans l'espace, sans bien savoir ce qu'il y fait, mais parce qu'il faut mettre quelque chose entre les sphères . . . ?'

Père Lagrange has also published an important work entitled *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (Paris, 1903). The chapters are on the Gods (chap. II), the Goddesses (III), Holiness and Impurity (IV), Sacred Things, such as waters, trees, enclosures, stones (V), Hallowed persons (VI), Sacrifice (VII), the Dead (VIII), Babylonian myths (IX), Phoenician Myths (X). An appendix, containing the text of the Sacrificial Tarif of Marseilles and some other ancient religious documents, is added. Only a brief notice is possible in this place, but the book is one which rather deserves a full and careful review.

Dr. H. V. Hilprecht has published a well-illustrated lecture giving an account of the excavations carried out by the University of Pennsylvania on the temple of Bel of Nippur (Nuffar), Leipzig, 1903.

The Fourth Volume of *Encyclopaedia Biblica* like its predecessors is full of good work, and the smaller articles are no less worthy of praise than the larger. Dr. Cheyne's own contributions are again large and stimulating, but again are marred by the prominence given to the new principles of textual criticism. Three Egyptological articles, RAMESES, SHISHAK, and TIRHAKAH are contributed by W. Max Müller. Mr. C. H. W. Johns writes on SARGON, SENNACHERIB¹, and SHALMANESER. Dr. T. G. Pinches deals with TIGLATH-PILESER. SAMUEL and BOOKS OF SAMUEL are by the veteran German scholar, B. Stade. SACRIFICE (an exhaustive article of fifty columns) is by G. F. Moore. SALT is by the late Dr. Robertson Smith, revised and completed by A. R. S. Kennedy, who also contributes an article on WEAVING. H. Winckler, the author of the Muzri-theory, writes on SINAI AND HOREB. SIRACH (Hebrew text), WISDOM, and WISDOM LITERATURE are by C. H. Toy. SYRIA, which is illustrated with good maps, is divided between D. G. Hogarth, A. E. Shipley, and H. Winckler. TEMPLE is by I. Benzinger and G. H. Box. TRADE AND COMMERCE (fifty-five columns) is from the pen of G. Adam Smith. Mr. Burkitt deals with the TEXTS AND VERSIONS of both the Old and the New Testaments. The article on WRITING is by Prof. Bevan.

W. EMERY BARNES.

DR. H. WINCKLER² has much improved in his style. He has evidently mastered his own method and is less hurried in his wish to get his ideas off his mind and in print. This is the most readable thing he has written yet. He does not deny the personality of Abraham and Joseph, rather he vindicates their historic reality. But he gives a fresh and interesting view of what they do mean in the Old Testament; which is, for the prehistoric times before the kings of Israel, a history of religion as much as of a people. The religion is monotheism. It had its roots in the two great centres of culture, Babylonia and Egypt. Monotheism was expelled from Babylonia under Hammurabi, in the person of Abraham. It is immaterial what was the name the one God bore for him. Monotheism also sprang up in Egypt under Kuenaten, whose regent in Goshen and the Nile delta was Janhamu. If he was not

¹ In col. 4,362 the expulsion of Merodach-baladan from Babylon should surely be given as 711 or 710 B.C., not '721 B.C.'

² *Abraham als Babylonier, Joseph als Aegypter; der weltgeschichtliche Hintergrund der biblischen Vätergeschichten auf Grund der Keilinschriften.* Dr. H. Winckler. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

actually Joseph, he was the type which suggested him. Thus the monotheism of later days is connected with Babylonia and Egypt under whose alternating influence Palestine ever stood. For Palestine lay in no primitive world and in no waste far from the bustle of world history : it stood right in the midst of it. Such is the very interesting view which Winckler takes of the fathers of Israel. They are meant by the tradition to appear much as the new-found history would estimate them, as members of the culture society of their time, not as meteors fallen from heaven. Whatever be thought of the historic grounds for such a view, it is admirably put ; and far less repulsive than solar myths or wandering moon-gods. But how does this suit the North Arabian theory ?

Nowhere can a neater account be found of the history of Babylonia and Egypt in their interplay upon Palestine. The chief part of the tract is devoted to a proof that Palestine must have been deeply influenced by both, and that their culture was in essentials one. It abounds with happy illustrations from the history of the Middle Ages, and of Greece or Rome.

THE German Edition of Dr. S. I. Curtiss's *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*¹ has a preface by Graf Baudissin which explains the method and scope of the work. Not only to narrate in Arabic, but to perceive what is told in the Arabic sense, this is the key to true science. The traces of old religious views still left among the unspoilt natives of Syria and the Holy Land are most valuable if they can be understood. Explorations and excavations may tell us much, even all but how to understand. They furnish a correct standard to certify what is old and how old it is. But, before it is silent for ever, the living voice must be heard. Of course, the ideas of these peoples must have been influenced by Christianity and Islam, by the wars and expeditions, by the conquests from East and West which have passed over the land. But, as amongst ourselves, pre-christian ideas have survived in folk-lore and local customs, so in a far more extensive way the very ancient religious thought and custom underlies the modern profession in the East. It is not a question of what we may expect in this way so much as a question of what there is. Let all who can hasten to seek it out and put it on record while they may. They may leave to the expert the task of discerning the genuine from the mock antique.

Graf Baudissin, an unrivalled expert, has doubts whether Curtiss is right in regarding as genuinely old all the ideas of God and divine things which he has rescued. Here, not only the ancient literature but

¹ *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*. S. I. Curtiss. Vorwort v. Wolf Wilh. Grafen Baudissin. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1903.

also the monuments must be scientifically compared. Thus the idea, to which Curtiss was led from his conversations with the modern people, that the shedding of blood in a sacrifice was not only its most important feature, and symbolized the absolution from blame, but that it was also substitutionary, the blood of the victim taking the place of that of the offerer, is doubted by Baudissin. He further takes exception to the supposed antiquity of the idea of Demi-'gods' or 'deified men'; and to the conclusion that oriented temples necessarily were dedicated to sun-worship. Sundry other critical cautions enhance the value of this edition, which is moreover enlarged by the author's additions from his journeys in the year 1903.

Those who have not obtained the English book would do well to avail themselves of this chance of an improved edition. The book in any case is one that all students of Old Testament religious ideas should read, and, while suspending their judgement on many points, will undoubtedly enjoy reading. It is illustrated with pictures, diagrams, and maps, which really do illustrate the subjects to which they refer, and with excellent indices which render reference easy.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

ASSYRIOLOGY.

DR. WEISSBACH's *Babylonische Miscellen*¹ makes known to us some of the first-fruits, of the recent German excavations at Babylon. It includes several new texts copied on the spot by the author. A new king of Isin, Sin-mâgir, who reigned somewhere in the third millennium B. C., is added to the four already known. An addition is made to the Kassite Dynasty of Babylon, which places a Melišihu, son of Kurigalzu, probably father of a Merodach-baladan already known, somewhere in the gap between B. C. 1504 and 1440. This seems to involve the existence of three Kurigalzus, the first successor of Šagaraktiburiaš, the second successor of Burnaburiaš, the third successor of Nazibugaš, the usurper. It also involves two Melišihus, the first son of Kurigalzu I, the second son of Adad-šum-ušur. Further we make room for three Merodach-baladans; the first, son of Melišihu I; the second, son of Melišihu II; the third, the contemporary of Sargon II, who sent an embassy to Hezekiah. Thus the Kassite Dynasty is completely known, though there is still some uncertainty as to the order of the kings. Next we have a new king of the Sealand, Ulaburariaš, son of Burnaburariaš, but of unknown date, unless the latter be identical with a Burnaburiaš, king of Babylon. Then we have a long and deeply

¹ *Babylonische Miscellen* by Dr. F. H. Weissbach, Leipzig, 1903.

interesting monument of Šamaš-rêš-ušur, governor of the land of Suhi and Maer, possibly of the eighth century B. C., which raises many important geographical questions. Then we get an inscription of the Assyrian king Adadi-nirari II, duplicate of two British Museum texts. Whether this king was a builder of some temple in Babylon, or whether the monument was carried thither by some Babylonian conqueror, cannot be decided. A very important inscription of Marduk-nâdin-šum, *circa* B. C. 853, follows, with a fine representation of the god Marduk. Next we have a little inscription of Esarhaddon's, with a fine portrait of the god Adad. An inscription from the early part of Ašurbânipal's reign follows. Then we have a new text of Nabopolassar, probably not before his sixth year, but yet the earliest known of this king. The most remarkable passage is, 'The Assyrians, who from far off days had ruled all peoples, and had oppressed with heavy yoke the people of the land, did I, the weak, the humble, who feared the lord of lords, by the powerful might of Nabû and Marduk, my lords, repulse from the land of Akkad (Babylonia) their foot, and put off their yoke.' The mention of Nergal and the god of pestilence leads Weissbach to think that this result was assisted by sickness in the camp of the Assyrians. Part of a duplicate to the Behistun inscription of Darius adds some interesting details to the copy published in the third volume of Rawlinson's *Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Two fragments of syllabaries, a portion of a ritual text for the restoration of a temple, an important hymn to Marduk, an amulet with an inscription for protection from the demon Labartu, a deed of sale of a plot of ground dated in the nineteenth year of Nabopolassar and the twenty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, a loan of meal in the time of Darius, an astronomical tablet, all of some special interest, conclude the volume. The texts are beautifully autographed, the transcription and translation are good, and the full comments shew great learning. It will be some time before all the new material can be fitted into its proper place, and we are deeply indebted to Dr. Weissbach and the German Oriental Society for letting us share their booty so soon.

Dr. S. Daiches¹ has taken six-and-twenty of the contracts published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets &c. in the British Museum*, Vols. II, IV, VI, and VIII, and given them in transcription and translation with comments. All these texts date from the period of the first dynasty of Babylon, many from the reign of Hammurabi. They are of great interest as illustrating the Code of Hammurabi. Dr. Daiches gives an excellent account of the nature of the transactions recorded and their contributions to the history of customs and private life. The proper names often give rise to interesting questions. Readers

¹ *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* by Dr. S. Daiches, Leipzig, 1903.

of *Babel and Bible* will be interested in the apparent Jahwe names on pp. 13, 14.

Dr. J. Hunger¹ deals with two texts of the Hammurabi period, published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c.* Vol. III pp. 2-4, Vol. V pp. 4-7. They contain directions and rules for divination by the behaviour of a drop of oil upon water in a cup. The divining cup of Joseph (Gen. xlv) will at once occur to the reader. Dr. Hunger not only gives a transcription and translation of these texts, but also a very interesting account of what is known of lekanomantia in classical authors. This study of a very obscure side of Babylonian magic may be recommended to those who wish to know what augury really meant.

Dr. J. Hehn² collects the Babylonian evidence as to the idea of sin and forgiveness, and compares it with Biblical parallels. It is an important study for those who want to see the theological meaning of the Creation myths, and of the imagery of the Dragon as the opposer of God. The parallels between Marduk and Christ are also worked out. In his *Hymns and Prayers to Marduk*,³ Dr. Hehn deals very thoroughly with the many points in which Marduk was a type of Christ. While Professor Zimmern in the third edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament* rather seeks the Biblical parallels to what is so familiar to him in the Babylonian religion, here we have collected the actual Babylonian phrases and ideas, less familiar to us, that we may compare them with the Bible. The texts from which Dr. Hehn chiefly quotes have already been published, but are scattered in different Journals. He proposes to collect them in one of the next parts of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. They include some new texts of his own copying. These two little works will be very useful to those who use Zimmern's more condensed account of Babylonian influence on the Bible.

Dr. F. Hrozný⁴ has examined the various so-called 'Hymns to Ninib', which he shews to be really speeches put into the mouth of that god, who is represented as pronouncing the fates, or, in other words, determining the essential natures, of plants and stones. These cuneiform texts he has collated, transcribed, and translated. He has added many useful comments and some articles on the mythology. He maintains that the true reading of the god's name, hitherto read Ninib,

¹ *Becherwahrnehmung bei den Babyloniern nach zwei Keilinschriften aus der Hammurabizeit* by Dr. J. Hunger, Leipzig, 1903.

² *Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung* by Dr. J. Hehn, 1903.

³ *Hymnen und Gebete an Marduk* by Dr. J. Hehn, Leipzig, 1903.

⁴ *Sumerisch-babylonische Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag* by Dr. F. Hrozný, Berlin, 1903.

Nindar, or Adar, was really Ninrag, identifying this with the Mandæan Nerig, Arabic Mirriḥ, and Nikraḥ. He further suggests that this was the true form of the word rendered Nisroch in 2 Kings xix 37. The discussion of Oannes, Dagan and Dagon, and that on Labbu are of interest. On the whole, however, the arguments are very weak. The texts, transcription, and vocabulary will be of some use.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

THE CODE OF ḤAMMURABI.

THE recent discovery of the Code of laws promulgated about 2200 B.C. by Ḥammurabi, sixth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, has made a great impression upon students of comparative religion and history. Found at the end of 1901, at Susa, the ancient Persepolis, engraven on a large block of diorite, it was published in October, 1902, by Professor V. Scheil in the fourth volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, by direction of the French Ministry of Instruction. It was translated into French by Scheil, next month into German by Dr. H. Winckler, into English in America by Professor C. F. Kent, and Dr. Hayes Ward, here by the present writer in February, and into Italian by Dr. F. Mari in August. At once comparisons were suggested with ancient law codes, especially the Laws of Moses. R. Dareste in the *Journal des Savants*, Oct.-Nov. 1902, and again in *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, xxvii p. 5 f, Père Lagrange in *Revue Biblique* for Jan. 1903, all on the basis of Scheil's translation, discussed the legislation from the comparative point of view. Dr. John Jeremias in his book *Moses und Ḥammurabi* treated it from the view of the jurist and Old Testament scholar; Professor G. Cohn in his Rectorial address at Zurich, in April, 1903, entitled *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, treated its legal aspects, especially in comparison with ancient German Laws, those of the West Goths at their entrance into Europe. Dr. H. Grimme published in August at Cologne *Das Gesetz Hammurabis und Moses*, in which he specially compared an ancient code of laws preserved among the Bogos near Massowah, retaining primitive features from the times before the incursions of the Amhara into Ethiopia. These followed Dr. Winckler's translation. A large number of reviews in many journals and magazines witness to the supreme interest of the subject¹.

One of the latest and most important contributions is that of

¹ Dr. Carl Stooss, *Das babylonische Strafrecht Hammurabis*, in the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Strafrecht* vol. xvi p. 1 f, and Mr. S. A. Cook in the *Guardian*, April 22, 1903, are well worth reading.

Dr. D. H. Müller, so celebrated for his work upon the South Arabian inscriptions, who gives us in the *X. Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien* 1902-3 a very full discussion under the title *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und die mosaische Gesetzgebung*. It opens with a sufficient notice of the monument itself, references to previous discussions, and a statement in brief of the author's conclusions. Prolonged comparative study induces him to decide that the connexion of the two codes is far closer than has hitherto been thought. This result is due to his method, which consists in comparing not only clauses and separate enactments but also the form in which they are presented and the sequences of thought and arrangement. He does not consider, however, that the Mosaic code was copied from Hammurabi's, but that both embody an earlier fixed law, preserving not only its enactments but to some extent its form. Further, he finds many striking parallels with the Roman XII Tables, which warrant him in thinking that these also have an origin in Semitic Law. His views on this point are further set out in the *Abendblatt* of the *Neue Freie Presse* of 28 August, 1903.

He was led to these conclusions, partly, by the happy idea which struck him to render the Hammurabi Code into Hebrew, using the expressions which seemed to him most exactly to correspond. To give the reader an idea of how this assists comparison, he has printed on the first seventy pages, in three parallel columns, the transcription of the Babylonian laws, his Hebrew version, and a German translation. This is a most valuable feature of the book. Then follow a hundred pages of discussion, in which he groups the Babylonian laws, compares them with Mosaic laws, the XII Tables and other ancient legislation, and exhaustively examines the knotty points of meaning and language. A few pages exhibit most valuable comparative tables of the codes; a discussion of Hammurabi's systematic follows; while an interesting section on the XII Tables, a theoretical reconstruction of the primitive code and its relation to the Mosaic, a discussion of the fundamental principles of ancient Semitic right, and a judicial summing up of the whole position, close this portion of the work. The whole will be issued as a book by A. Hölder of Vienna, with important additions on the grammar and etymology of the Babylonian code, and appendices on the fragments, preserved in Ašurbânipal's Library, on the Sumerian Family Laws and the important Syrian Law Book of the fifth century, edited by Bruns and Sachau. We hope that a good index will be included.

Dr. Müller makes some very ingenious suggestions as to the reasons why a particular penalty should be double, while another is five-fold, or even sixty-fold. But these suggestions are far from convincing. In

other cases his knowledge of Jewish Law enables him to make important contributions to the etymology of difficult words. The great value of his work lies chiefly in the comparisons made with the Mosaic Code, in the beautiful Hebrew version, in the explanation of the substance and appreciation of the form, and in the liberality of thought which pervades the whole treatise. No student of the Code can afford to do without it.

Considering the prominent part which England once took in the Assyriological Studies, it is pleasant to record signs of a revival of that interest. Mr. S. A. Cook in his work *The Laws of Moses, and the Code of Hammurabi* (A. & C. Black, London) has done the English reader a great service. He has made himself acquainted with practically all that had been written on the Code up to the date of publication ; and, as he usually notices not only the views which he himself adopts but those which he rejects, his work is a convenient textbook. He is led to a rather different view from that of Dr. Müller. He regards the Mosaic legislation as practically uninfluenced by Babylonia, and as more primitive in form and ideas. The great value of the work lies in the full and connected view which it gives of the civilization of Babylonia and its contrasts with that of Israel. He takes account of most of the material available to him from the contracts and other sources for Babylonian law. He compares not only the Mosaic legislation but also the Syrian law-book referred to above. Indeed, there is very little material available to the student which is not here put in a convenient form. Of course, ample references are given for future research. Mr. Cook holds a rightly sceptical attitude towards the popular theories as to the origin of the First Dynasty of Babylon and its connexion with Abraham. It is deplorable that Assyriology, which has ample difficulties of its own, should be saddled for the sake of sensation with all sorts of speculations that have no real connexion with it. If any attentive reader will carefully peruse this volume he will have a far better idea of what Assyriology has to say than he can get elsewhere in English. When he is told that such and such a view is held by some Assyriologist he will not, of course, confuse that view with Assyriology.

This book is further of great value to ordinary readers because it embodies critical views as to the sources in the Pentateuch. That alone makes it a useful contrast to Dr. Müller's work.

Professor J. Kohler and Dr. F. E. Peiser have produced the first *Band* of their great work on the Code of Hammurabi, containing a new translation, exhaustive discussions of its enactments, and most valuable estimates of its relation to other ancient codes and its contributions to the history of civilization and comparative law. Professor Kohler's unrivalled position as a comparative jurist, and Dr. Peiser's intimate

acquaintance with the Babylonian contracts should combine to render this the standard work upon the subject. The authors have collaborated before, and their *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben* is a classic. They acknowledge assistance from many helpers in the preparation of this part, and the great name of Delitzsch is quoted as authority for many improvements in the translation. The second part is to contain the Babylonian part of the work, a transcription of the text, and full grammatical, philological, and lexicographical notes. The third part will contain a selection of contemporary documents such as contracts and letters, large numbers of which have been published. The careful consideration of these sources will doubtless lead to a large crop of *Nachträge*. A perusal of Dr. Daiches' work, small as it is, has already led to some. Mr. Cook's work would afford more. It is rather a pity that this illustrative material, a contemporary native commentary on the code, was not thoroughly worked over before the first part was printed. Let us hope that by the time this is done a second edition of the first part will be called for and so enable the authors to embody their results. We hope to see a full glossary to all the texts used attached, and may we not hope for an index too? Professor Kohler inclines to the view of the independence of the Mosaic Codes. On the whole, these three works may be regarded as complementary, and between them a judicious student will get a very full idea of the civilization of Babylonia, its laws and customs. The Biblical scholar will form his own conclusions as to the influence of Babylonia on Israelite law, but will find the views set out very suggestive.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, October 1903 (Vol. lvii, No. 113: Spottiswoode & Co.). Church Worship and Church Order—The Golden Legend—The Holy Eucharist: an historical inquiry, Part viii—Welsh Methodism: its origin and growth—A Puritan Utopia—Joan of Arc—Some notes on the Church in Australia—The Imperialism of Dante—Short notices.

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The Expositor, October 1903 (Sixth Series, No. 46: Hodder & Stoughton). J. DENNEY The Atonement and the Modern Mind—H. B. SWETE The Teaching of Christ in the Fourth Gospel—C. H. W. JOHNS 'The Name Jehovah in the Abrahamic Age'—A. E. GARVIE Value-Judgements of Religion: Critical and Constructive—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St. Mark—J. MOFFATT Post-Exilic Judaism.

November 1903 (Sixth Series, No. 47). G. G. FINDLAY Studies in the First Epistle of John: 1. The Advocate and the Propitiation—D. SMITH The Resurrection of our Lord: 1. The Evangelic Testimony—A. E. GARVIE The Relation of Religious Knowledge to Science and Philosophy—J. H. BERNARD The Apostolic Benediction—V. BARTLET The Epistle to Hebrews as the Work of Barnabas—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St. Mark.

December 1903 (Sixth Series, No. 48). W. M. RAMSAY Travel and Correspondence among Early Christians—J. H. MOULTON Notes from the Papyri—H. B. SWETE The Teaching of Christ—G. G. FINDLAY Studies in the First Epistle of John: 2. The True Knowledge of God—J. MOFFATT Foreign Literature on the New Testament.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1903 (Vol. vii, No. 4: Chicago University Press). H. WEINEL Richard Wagner and Christianity—L. M. CONARD The idea of God held by North American Indians—W. R. BETTERIDGE The interpretation of the prophecy of Habakkuk—W. B. SMITH The Pauline Manuscripts F and G: a text-critical study II—Recent Theological Literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Biblique, October 1903 (Vol. xii, No. 4: Paris, V. Lecoffre). BATIFFOL L'Eucharistie dans le Nouveau Testament, d'après des critiques récents—HYVERNAT Petite introduction à l'étude de la Massore—DURAND La divinité de Jésus-Christ dans S. Paul, Rom. ix 5—Mélanges: VINCENT Les ruines d' 'Amwās: RONZEVALLÉ Un bas-relief babylonien—Chronique: VINCENT Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne: Les ruines de Beit Cha'ar: Fouilles diverses en Palestine—Recensions—Bulletin—Table des matières (année 1903).

Analecta Bollandiana, October 1903 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: Brussels, 14, Rue des Ursulines). A. GALANTE De vitae ss. Xenophontis et sociorum codicibus Florentinis—H. DELEHEVE SS. Ioniae et Barachisii martyrum in Perside acta graeca: Un fragment de ménologe trouvé à Jérusalem—L. CELIER S. Léonce honoré en Périgord—A. PONCELET Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia saec. xi—I. VAN DEN GHEYN Translatio sanctae Reineldis in monasterium Laubiense—A. PONCELET Treverensia?—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—U. CHEVALIER Repertorium hymnologicum, supplementum, fol. 37—Index generalis.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1903 (Vol. xx, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). L. JANNSENS Léon XIII et Pie X—H. QUENTIN Le martyrologe hiéronymien et les fêtes de S. Benoît—G. MORIN Un système inédit de lectures liturgiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—B. ALBERS *Les Consuetudines Sigiberti abbatis*—Analyses et Comptes-rendus.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, Nov.-Dec. 1903 (Vol. viii, No. 6: Paris, 74, Boulevard Saint-Germain). A. LOISY Le second Évangile—P. FOURNIER Études sur les pénitentiels 4: Le livre IV du pénitentiel d'Halitgaire—H. M. BANNISTER Un troaire-prosier de Moissac—J. TIXERONT Des concepts de 'nature' et de 'personne' dans les Pères et les écrivains ecclésiastiques des ^v^e et ^{vi}^e siècles—P. LEJAY Ancienne philologie chrétienne: 17 Liturgie (*suite*)—Index alphabétique.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift, 1904 (Vol. lxxxvi, No. 1: Tübingen, H. Laupp). GRUNDL Die Christenverfolgung unter Nero nach Tacitus—SICKENBERGER Ueber die dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebenen Evangelienkommentare—WURM Cerinth, ein Gnostiker oder Judaist? BIHLMAYER Zu den sogenannten Novatian-Homilien.—FUNK Die Anfänge von *missa* = Messe—A. KOCH Zur kasuistischen Behandlung des Fastengebotes—SCHWEITZER Polycarp v. Smyrna über Erlösung u. Rechtfertigung—Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, October 1903 (Vol. xiii, No. 6). E. SCHÜRER Das messianische Selbstbewusstsein Jesu Christi—J. KAFTAN Zur Dogmatik III. 4. Mögliche Standpunkte, 5. Schrift und Bekenntnis.

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evangelischen Geschichte—G. WETZEL Die geschichtliche Glaubwürdigkeit der im Evangelium Johannis enthaltenen Reden Jesu (*Fortsetzung*).

November 1903 (Vol. xiv, No. 11). G. WETZEL Die geschichtliche Glaubwürdigkeit der im Evangelium Johannis enthaltenen Reden Jesu (*Schluss*)—J. W. SCHIEFER Der Christus in der jüdischen Dichtung—SCHICK Etwas über die Entstehung und Begründung der Sonntagsfeier—G. HÖNNICKE Der Todestag des Apostels Paulus.

December 1903 (Vol. xiv, No. 12). W. SCHMIDT Ethische Fragen—W. CASPARI Die Mission in der Poesie der christlichen Völker des Abendlandes—SCHICK Etwas über die Entstehung und Begründung der Sonntagsfeier—COUARD Altchristliche Sagen über das Leben der Apostel.

The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

APRIL, 1904

THE INJUNCTIONS OF SILENCE IN THE GOSPELS.

IT is now some two years since there appeared one of those elaborate monographs¹, so characteristic of German theology, presenting an entirely new and original argument, which if it had held good would have had far-reaching consequences. To understand the bearing of this argument it is necessary briefly to glance at a point in the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels which seems to have won very general acceptance.

The great majority of those who have studied the subject are agreed that the Gospel of St Mark, or a writing extremely like our present Gospel, if not necessarily the oldest of such writings that have come down to us, is yet the common basis of the three Synoptic Gospels. The other writers, whom we know as St Matthew and St Luke, made use of this Gospel, and derived from it the large element which is common to all three, and which is the more important because it gave that outline of our Lord's public ministry, beginning with the Baptism and ending with the Crucifixion and Resurrection, with which we are most familiar.

It would be too much to say that the sequence of events as they are given in this Gospel is in all respects strictly chronological. In more than one instance it would seem that the smaller sections of narration are grouped together not in order of time, but because of a certain resemblance in their subject-matter. But taken as a whole, the order of the narratives in

¹ *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, by W. Wrede, Göttingen, 1901.

St Mark's Gospel, which in this may be identified with the common foundation of the three Gospels, is excellent, and presents an evolution of the history which is both harmonious in itself and probably represents in the main the real course of the events.

The narrative, as I have said, begins with the Baptism and ends with the Crucifixion and Resurrection. In the intervening period there is a clearly-marked climax at the Transfiguration. Up to that point there is a steady ascent which culminates in the confession of St Peter; down from it there is in like manner a descent which finds characteristic expression in the predictions of the approaching Passion, Death, and Resurrection, which begin from the same point, in close connexion with St Peter's confession and the Transfiguration.

Another special feature of St Mark's Gospel, which has also passed from it to some extent into the other Gospels, is the peculiar air of mystery and secrecy which is thrown over certain aspects of our Lord's career—His marked reserve in putting forward His Messianic claims; the double character of His teaching, and more particularly of His parables, at once so simple in outward form and so baffling to those who sought really to understand them; and a like strangely double character in the miracles, which on the one hand are wrought in rather considerable numbers, and on the other hand, we might say almost frequently are accompanied by an express command that they are not to be made known, or at least not published abroad. And lastly there is a similar injunction of silence in regard to the predictions of suffering, death, and rising again.

It was impossible for a student of the Gospels to avoid noticing these points, which clearly hang together, though the connexion between them might not appear on the surface. Most of those who have made the attempt to write a Life of Christ have been content to take them as they stand, and indeed to accept all this part of the outline which St Mark gives of our Lord's public ministry as strictly historical.

And indeed I will venture to say that all these features in the narrative are not only strictly but beautifully historical. Whether we see their full significance or not, there is just that paradoxical touch about them which is the sure guarantee of truth. What

writer of fiction, especially of the naïve fiction current in those days, would ever have thought of introducing such features, with just that kind of seeming self-contradiction? I repeat: even if we could not at once understand all that is meant by these subtle oppositions, I think we should not fail to see in them something strikingly lifelike and individual, quite beyond the reach of invention.

That, I cannot but think, will be the feeling of most of us. But what no one (to the best of my belief) has ever done before, that Professor Wrede of Breslau, in the monograph to which I began by referring, has now done. He has called in question the truth of all this delicate portraiture. I will not prejudge the manner in which he has done this; but I will begin with a brief sketch of the argument as he states it.

The main point is this. If Jesus of Nazareth claimed to be the Messiah, He would not have gone about preventing His followers from publishing that claim. If He wrought miracles in support of it, He would not have enjoined secrecy on those upon whom they had been wrought. The two things would neutralize each other. It would be futile to tell some few individuals to keep silence if there were many others who received no such command of silence.

The truth, Wrede maintains, is that Jesus of Nazareth did not during His lifetime put Himself forward as the Messiah at all. The whole structure of the narrative which makes Him do so is built not on a basis of fact but on the belief of the Early Church. After the Resurrection the disciples came to believe that Christ was God, and they read back this belief into the history of His life. They found themselves confronted with the fact that He had not claimed to be the Messiah while He was alive, and had consequently not given proofs of His Messiahship. To confess the fact would have been fatal to the dogma which they had come to believe; and therefore they tried to conceal it by inventing these injunctions of silence. When they were asked by those who knew what the course of the life of Jesus had really been, why He had not shewn Himself to be the supernatural being that they claimed, their reply was that He really had shewn it in a number of ways, but that He had prevented these proofs from having their full effect by repeatedly commanding

both His own more immediate disciples and others to abstain from publishing what He was and much that He had done.

I do not know how it will appear to others, but I confess that to me this theory seems unreal and artificial in the extreme. That any ancient should seek to cover the non-existence of certain presumed facts by asserting that they did exist, but that the persons affected were compelled to keep silence about them, is a hypothesis altogether too far-fetched to be credible.

We observe, by the way, that on this theory an enormous weight is thrown upon the Resurrection. It was the Resurrection which gave rise to that belief in the Divinity of Christ which then coloured the conception of the whole of the preceding history. And yet, on the hypothesis, the Resurrection had nothing to lead up to it. It had never been predicted. Before it occurred the Lord had not given Himself out as the Messiah, and still less as the Son of God. Many, at least, of the mighty works attributed to Him were pure invention. It is really one incredible thing heaped upon another. The founding of Christianity was in any case a very great and wonderful event; and yet it is thought that it can be explained by reducing the cause of it almost to nothing.

Wrede's book, although no review that I have seen accepts any great part of it, has yet made more impression upon opinion in Germany than I believe that it deserves. My chief reason for referring to it is that it calls attention to an aspect of our Lord's life which does present something of a problem. What account are we to give of these paradoxical injunctions of silence? That they are true I have not the slightest doubt. That they are an important feature in the picture we are to form for ourselves, I have also no doubt. But what are we to think was their reason and purpose?

I am not sure that I am altogether able to say. But in any case I conceive that this feature of our Lord's ministry must be connected with that side of it which was a fulfilment of the prophet's words, 'My Servant shall not strive, nor cry, nor lift up His voice in the streets'. In any case it must be connected with the recasting of the Messianic idea which our Lord certainly carried out, divesting it of its associations with political action and transforming it from a kingdom of this world to a kingdom of God and of the Spirit.

We must try to realize the circumstances; for we may be very sure that the state of things with which we are treating is no embodiment of an abstract idea as Wrede supposes, but intensely concrete, arising out of the collision of different and conflicting motives in the Teacher and the taught.

On the side of our Lord Himself we must bear in mind His deliberate purpose to work for the redemption of Israel, but not in the way in which Israel expected to be redeemed. There was to be no flash of swords, no raising of armies, no sudden and furious onset with the Messiah Himself in the van. It was beginning to be more and more clear that the end of His ministry was not to be victory in the sense of what was commonly accounted victory. The Messiah saw opening out before Him a valley, but it was the valley of the shadow of death, and death itself stood at the end. He was preparing to descend into this valley, not like a warrior, with garments rolled in blood, but like a lamb led to the slaughter, with a supreme effort of resignation, as one who when he was reviled reviled not again.

This is the picture that we have on the Lord's side; and then on the side of those for whom He fought and for whom He worked His miracles we remember that there was a spirit the very opposite of this; eager young men, full of courage and enthusiasm, ready to take the sword, ready at any moment to rise against the Romans, waiting only for a leader. Ever since the dethronement of Archelaus and the annexation of Judaea by Rome in A.D. 6 there had been this temper of sullen acquiescence biding its time. The memory of the Maccabean rising still lived in men's minds, and of the wonderful feats that had then been wrought against desperate odds. What then might not be done with a prophet at the head—nay, one more than a prophet, who was assured of the alliance and succour of Heaven?

There is a significant story in the Fourth Gospel, a story that bears upon its face the stamp of verisimilitude, much as such marks are overlooked by a criticism that has too much vogue at the present time. After the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, Jesus, 'perceiving that they were about to come and take Him by force, to make Him King, withdrew again into the mountain Himself alone' (John vi 15). He constantly had to avoid this kind of pressure. It was in full keeping with this

that He had on several occasions to check the zeal of those who would have hailed Him as the Messiah, and to impose silence upon those on whom His miracles had been wrought. Enthusiasm always lay ready to His hand. It could have been fanned into flame with the greatest ease. But it was enthusiasm of the wrong sort; it needed to be enlightened, disciplined, purified; and therefore it was that the Lord refused to give it the encouragement it sought. Hence these seeming cross-purposes, this alternate stimulus and restraint.

Unfortunately we have few details. At the distance of time at which our Gospels were composed, it was hardly possible that we should have them. If we had, much that is now obscure might have been made plain. We might have come to understand the special conditions at work in particular scenes, at one time favouring publicity, at another privacy. We may be sure that our Lord diagnosed with perfect insight the temper of those with whom He had to deal, and adjusted His own attitude to it, like a good physician, adapting His treatment to each case as it arose.

We must recognize that our Gospels speak for the most part in very general terms. Especially the accounts of wholesale miracle-working are subject to deductions for historical perspective. It is remarkable that the Gospels have preserved to the extent they have the instances in which the finger of silence is laid upon the lips of those who were eager to speak.

But I am quite prepared to believe that these instances have a yet deeper meaning than I have as yet suggested for them. I always desire to speak with great reserve of the human consciousness of our Lord. I cannot at all agree with those writers who would treat of this as something that can be entirely known and freely handled; and still less when they eke out the limited data supplied by the Gospels from the Messianic expectations of the time. But where the Gospels themselves clearly emphasize a point, we also shall do right to emphasize it. And it is to be noted that where the Gospels speak of these injunctions of silence their language is constantly emphatic: 'Jesus rebuked (ἐπετίμησεν) the unclean spirit, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him' (Mk. i 25); 'And He charged them much (πολλὰ ἐπετίμα αὐτοῖς) they should not make Him known' (Mk. iii 12; cf. viii 39);

'And He charged them much (*διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς πολλά*) that no man should know this' (Mk. v 43; cf. vii 36, ix 9).

I have given only a few typical passages; there are several others similar. In all of these the language is the same; it is the language of emotion—of strong emotion. How is this? I think perhaps we shall understand it best if we take these passages along with yet another, which naturally goes with them, and in which indeed they may be said to reach a climax. In the Gospel it follows immediately upon St Peter's confession. Then we have the first prediction of the Passion and the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. We are told that our Lord 'spake the saying openly. And Peter took Him, and began to rebuke Him. But He, turning about, and seeing His disciples, rebuked Peter, and saith, Get thee behind Me, Satan: for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men' (Mk. viii 32 f.). In St Matthew it is stronger still, though the added clause is probably only editorial: 'Get thee behind Me, Satan: thou art an offence [a stumbling-block or scandal] unto Me: for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men' (Mt. xvi 23).

Words like these come up from the depths. They are not the calm enunciation of a policy, or the didactic imparting of a lesson. Such things are cold, and words like these are not cold. They are spoken—if I may speak as we might speak of one of ourselves—with heat. It is really the reaction against temptation, felt—and keenly felt—as temptation.

Our Lord goes so far as to identify Peter with the very tempter himself. The apostle spake in the innocence of his heart; thoughtlessly, and with the vehemence of short-sighted affection, but with no evil intent. But in his hasty speech a poisoned dart lay concealed, a dart cunningly aimed at the whole purpose of the Lord's mission.

We are reminded indeed of that of which we commonly speak as 'the Temptation'. There the story is told in a symbolical form, which perhaps gathers up the significance of more than one actual incident in our Lord's life. He is conscious of supernatural power—of power that might have been wielded for other ends than those for which it was really given. When the Son of Man saw, as He might have seen from a lofty mountain, a broad

and typical expanse, as it were a sample of the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, He saw what was entirely within His grasp if He had cared to take it. But to take it would have meant abandoning the whole line of ministry that He had marked out for Himself. 'Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth' (Lk. xxii 27). It was no common form of service that our Lord had chosen. 'He became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.' It was the shadow of the Cross that now fell upon Him. And it is very clear that the prospect carried with it a temptation. 'O My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away from Me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt' (Mt. xxvi 39). In that prayer the temptation was finally repelled; but we may be sure that it had been felt before. It was especially felt at the moment when St Peter made his unhappy impulsive speech, doing, without knowing it, the devil's work.

We speak of the remodelling of the Messianic idea; and it is absolutely true that our Lord was the Messiah in a very different sense from that in which the name was understood by His contemporaries. But this again was no change worked out, as it were, on paper; it was no product of philosophy, speculative or practical. It was a conflict—if indeed that is the right name, for again I am speaking after the manner of men—fought out deep down, at the lowest depth at which such conflicts are fought, and extending all the way from the first moments after the Baptism to the last bitter cry upon the Cross. Beneath what seemed at times the quiet unruffled surface of that life the conflict was going on, and such scenes as those which we have been passing in rapid review are times when the fires within break forth and are seen.

These scenes were not merely the expression of what we should call an idiosyncrasy of character; they were not merely incidents in a process of education, either of the inner circle of the disciples or of the outer circle of inquirers and sympathizers. They were in some degree, I conceive, both these things; but their origin lay deeper. They were surface indications of the only inward antithesis of which we have any trace in the life of our Lord. He Himself described it as an antithesis between 'the

things of God' and 'the things of men'. That tender Humanity shrank—as how should it not?—from the terrible end that was so clearly foreseen: an end the terrors of which were enhanced and not diminished by the fact that He who foresaw them was the Son of God. The human mind of Jesus shrank from this; it had doubtless dreams and imaginations of its own, of winning the whole world in other and less dreadful ways. A lifted finger, a breathed wish, and twelve legions of angels would have been at His side. Only one thought hindered—but that a master-thought: How then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled that thus it must be? Behind the Scriptures lay the will of Him who gave them, that will in regard to which Father and Son were at one.

We see the antithesis—the conflict, if so it is to be called. But, the Son being what He was, it could have but one issue. It issued in an agony over which we draw a veil. We draw a veil over it, and we turn away; but, as we turn, we say to ourselves 'So much it cost to redeem the race of man'.

W. SANDAY.

THE EARLY CHURCH AND THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS¹.

THE critical study of the Gospels falls naturally into three stages, which should be kept in theory distinct, however much in practice they overlap. There is (1) the literary question, the question of the literary sources of the several Gospels. The three Synoptic Gospels are certainly not independent: the later Gospels must have used the earlier, or they all three drew from a common source². This is a matter of literary criticism, and it is logically necessary that we should begin with it, for otherwise we may treat the agreement of, say, Matthew and Mark as that of two witnesses, whereas it may prove that one is merely copying the other. But when we have separated the literary sources of our Gospels there is yet another process to be gone through, viz. (2) the criticism of the tradition. What I mean will perhaps best be understood if we go on at once to the third stage, which is (3) the investigation of the actual events of the ministry, the writing of the 'Life of Christ'. We cannot scientifically proceed at once to this third stage, before we have considered through what stages the report of our Lord's words and deeds passed in the interval between the events themselves and the composition of the documents we possess or can reconstruct.

This is an extremely important stage and yet the consideration of it is often slurred over. When we have isolated our 'original' authorities we cannot simply regard them as just so many independent witnesses such as were sought for by eighteenth-century apologists—at least, to continue the metaphor, we must expect to find them agreed upon a tale. The scenes of

¹ The following pages contain the greater part of a Lecture delivered last August to the members of the Vacation Term for Biblical Studies at Newnham College, Cambridge. Together with some rather more general remarks on the study of the Gospels, here omitted, it formed the Introduction to a short course on St Mark, St Matthew, and St Luke.

² In the following Lecture I tried to shew that Matthew and Luke used Mark, and also another document now lost which does not appear in Mark, together with certain other subsidiary sources.

our Lord's life on earth were indeed enacted in public and the multitudes heard His words, but our knowledge of them is derived from the disciples. We cannot hope to know more than the collective memory of the first circle of the disciples at Jerusalem. Without pressing the narrative of the Acts in all its details, we learn from the Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians that about nine years after the Crucifixion St Peter was in Jerusalem, and it is there and not in Galilee that our authorities place the home of the infant Church. Moreover we are told that 'the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul, and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common'. This may be an ideal picture, and in any case the state of things was not permanent, but if it be at all true of individuals in any one particular we cannot doubt that it was most true with regard to their reminiscences of the Lord. The memory of the words and deeds of Jesus Christ must have been thrown into the common stock — 'when He was raised from the dead, His disciples *remembered* that he spake thus; and they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had said.' Out of the bare reminiscences of the disciples those sayings and acts which in the light of later events were seen to be of significance were repeated to the younger generation that gradually took the place of the companions of the ministry. The object of the Evangelists was not biography but edification.

All this tended to make the evangelical tradition homogeneous. It explains to some extent the selection of events and the method of treatment. Above all it helps us to realize what we get when we come to the final results of our purely literary criticism of the Gospels. Our second Gospel may be the work of John Mark, sometime the companion of St Peter, and it may embody some things that he had heard from St Peter's mouth. But even in this case the narrative has lost much of the personal note: it is far too even to be mere personal reminiscence. The tale of St Peter's denial, for example, may be substantially true, though personally I cannot help thinking that in some points the narrative of St Luke is here more accurate; but be that as it may, the narrative of Mark does not read like St Peter's own version of the story. It is not a tale told for the first time: it represents the way in which this little episode of the great Tragedy came to

be told in Jerusalem among the disciples twenty or thirty years after the events took place. I am not suggesting that any written document in Greek, or in the Aramaic of Palestine, underlies St Mark: the narrative is doubtless written down for the first time by the author, but some of the things which he is putting on paper had been repeated many times before by word of mouth.

And what is the historic effect of all this? It is not to be denied that it lets in the opportunity for errors of detail. 'These things understood not His disciples at the first', says the fourth Evangelist: 'but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto Him'. The Gospels took their shape in an atmosphere of growing and unquestioning faith; they were compiled by men writing in the light of subsequent events. Under such circumstances it is hard for memories to be drily accurate, it is easy to feel that the more obviously edifying form of a story or a saying must be the truer version. The eye-witnesses of the Word, of whom St Luke speaks, had known Jesus of Nazareth for a friend, but they had learned to believe that He was the Only Son of God and that He now was waiting until the fullness of the times at the right hand of His Father. He had lived among them as man with man, as a master with his disciples, and at the time they had not thoroughly realized the experience which they were going through. Now they felt that they would be fools and blind if they failed to see the deep significance of events to which they had paid so little attention and words of which they had only half understood the meaning.

The Gospel record had passed through a full generation of pious reflexion and meditation, before it began to be written down and so fixed for all time. The trustworthiness of the record depends therefore on the trustworthiness of the first Christians. How far were they qualified for their great task? I propose now to try and answer some part of this question. My remarks must be, I fear, somewhat vague and provisional, for this part of the subject is not so advanced as the literary criticism of the sources of our Gospels. Many writers have been content with demonstrating the good faith and sincerity of the early Christians on the one side, or on the other laying stress upon their ignorance and lack of the critical spirit. It seems to me that we need a more detailed verdict than this. The qualifi-

cations of the early Christian Church as the channel and mould of tradition cannot be satisfactorily dismissed in an epigram. Perfect witnesses the early Christians certainly were not. The perfect witness is himself a walking miracle. He should have the memory of Lord Macaulay, the justice of Dr S. R. Gardiner, the scrupulous honesty of Tillemont, the enthusiasm of a devotee, the insight of a prophet. The hero of a written biography is at a disadvantage. The written word does not reproduce the tone of the voice, the smile, the explanatory gesture. The Christ that we know is a biography, the Christ that we want to know is a life. And yet with all the disadvantages of temperament, of race, and of historical accident, under which the Christians laboured, it is at least doubtful whether they were not as well qualified for their task as was possible under the circumstances.

I wish to try and make the point that I hope to establish as clear as possible, even at the risk of prolixity. The question at issue is the qualifications and disadvantages of the first three generations of Christians—roughly from 30 A.D. to 120 A.D.—to be the guardians and transmitters of the words and deeds of the Christ. I begin with their disadvantages.

The disadvantages of the early Christians as the transmitters of tradition were disadvantages of temperament, of race, and of historical accident. Under disadvantages of temperament we may reckon that generally uncritical attitude to historical events which they shared with most of their contemporaries. It was not an age of great historians. The most famous writers of history were not great. Suetonius was a gossip, Tacitus a pamphleteer. St Luke is by far the most 'cultured' of the writers of the New Testament, and he is no more accurate than the others and less really scientific. It does not help us to accept the details of the story of Pentecost when the gift of tongues has been described by him in terms which naturally imply a sudden acquaintance with foreign languages. The disadvantages of race are familiar to us. The Romans and Greeks despised the Jews because they did not understand them. The whole of the Jewish and Palestinian associations of the Gospel narrative and phraseology were strange to Gentile Christians, and much of it was distasteful. Inevitably much was misunderstood; some misunderstandings indeed are only now being cleared up by the slow and painful investigations of modern scholars in the departments

of Rabbinic theology and the then popular Jewish Apocalyptic literature. The matter was further complicated by the historical accident, if we may so term it, of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, and the consequent breaking-up of the Jewish-Christian Churches, the only Christian communities at that period which spoke anything but Greek. These are disadvantages indeed. As I have already said, it is a wonder that so much of what is precious to us has been saved out of the whirlpool.

But there is another side to the picture, and we shall carry away a very wrong impression if we do not bear it well in mind. There are no real accidents in history. If we have in the Gospels an incomparable treasure, in which is preserved a not inadequate presentation of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, this must be because those who have recorded that life and teaching were in some way eminently fitted for their work. It is because of the positive qualifications of the Evangelists and their predecessors, not because of their defects, that the Gospels are worthy of their subject.

And what were the qualifications of the Evangelists? Their chief qualification, but it was one of the 'few things needful', is *ethical sensitiveness*. I am very loth to use the vocabulary of modern literary and artistic criticism in speaking of the mental temper of early Christianity. It savours of 'superiority' where we ought to be humble; and the spectacle is not edifying of the twentieth-century critic sitting in judgement from his safe vantage-ground, fortified by archaeological learning and historical experience, upon the instincts that prompted our spiritual forefathers to leave their ancestral traditions for a kind of Jewish Nonconformity. But the expression I have used serves well enough to describe one of the most striking features of our Gospels. There are stories in our Gospels, in which some of the features must be unhistorical. There are plenty of people who find they cannot accept this or that narrative from the Synoptic Gospels, and various explanations are given of how the tale may be supposed to have originated. Some things are said to be an imitation of Old Testament tales or to have been composed to shew how Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled. Other things are said to illustrate the controversies that disturbed the infant Church. But if this be the case to any extent, is it not markable how little fault is found with the general tone and

atmosphere of the Gospel stories, with their general ethical and moral tendency? Does it not shew how well fitted by temper and instinct were those who handed down the Gospel tradition for the work which they performed?

Not for one moment would I suggest that the Gospels are works of ethical art, based ultimately on an idealizing imagination. The fourth Gospel may be so to some extent, but not the others. Where St Luke attempts to idealize, by smoothing down the rugged lines of St Mark, he does not improve the picture. No: Matthew Arnold's maxim, *Jesus over the heads of all his reporters!* is the true working hypothesis to guide the critic, the only one that leads to a reasonable explanation of what we find in the Gospel literature. With few exceptions the early Christians were ignorant and unlearned men, but we take knowledge of them that they have been with Jesus.

At the same time we shall do less than justice to the Church, if we do not recognize the debt we owe to her. If we praise the Gospels because they present a not inadequate picture of our Lord, we should remember that we receive them at the hands of the Church. The Gospels are not the discovery of modern critics or a view of the Founder of Christianity preserved by some obscure heretical sect. On the contrary: the Gospels, by whomsoever drawn up, and however they may be related to one another, are the Memoirs, the *memorabilia*, which the Church chose out to be the official records of the life of Christ. That the Church of the second century should have chosen so well is an irrefragable proof that in essentials it was inspired with the spirit of Jesus. The note of true culture is to recognize real merit, and by choosing our Gospels the Church shewed an ethical instinct that is surprising and a historical instinct that is only less wonderful. When one thinks of the explanations of Christianity that were offered by second-century theologians, both those who were accounted orthodox and those who were accounted heretics, it is, I repeat, wonderful that the Church, by which I mean the main body of Christians, should have chosen with such happy inspiration.

I must now illustrate what I have said from some of these second-century writers. To study the Gospels critically one cannot get too much saturated with the spirit of the second century A.D., so as to work back in a right frame of mind towards the successive

periods when our written Gospels were officially recognized, compiled, conceived.

I take Justin Martyr, chiefly, of course, because the extant remains of his works are so considerable that we can obtain a fair idea of his attitude to the Gospel record. But he also represents very well the close of the period during which our four Gospels gradually won their way to their position of recognized pre-eminence. It is a disputed question whether Justin, who wrote about 150 A.D., used our four Gospels. Personally I have no doubt that he did use them, very likely to the practical exclusion of other evangelical documents. For the purpose we have in hand, however, it does not matter. What we want to get are the points in the sayings and deeds of Jesus which attracted Justin. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, and by considering Justin's references to the Gospels we shall gain some notion of what he considered the more important parts of their contents. The collection has been already made for us, and it has been digested into a sort of running narrative by Dr Sanday in his well-known work called *The Gospels in the Second Century* (pp. 91-98).

The first inference you would probably draw from Dr Sanday's long abstract of Justin Martyr's evangelical references is that he did use our Canonical Gospels, in any case that he used our Gospels according to Matthew and Luke. But leaving that question aside, what I want to examine is something rather different. I want to examine the reason that leads Justin to refer to our Lord's life and teaching. What was there that attracted him in the Gospel? What did he think worth quoting from it? If Justin Martyr be a fair representative of the Catholic Churchman of the second century, and I think he was a fair representative, we shall obtain in answering this question the reasons which led the Catholic Church to choose out our four Gospels. And, seeing that the Gospels also were the work of Churchmen, though of a rather earlier period, we shall also gain some knowledge of tendencies of thought that helped to shape the Gospels themselves.

The impression left on my own mind is twofold. On the one hand, I see an admirable moral feeling, the 'ethical sensitiveness' of which I have already spoken. On the other, an absence of historical and scientific criticism which invites all sorts of objective

errors in the presentation of the incidents of the Gospel narrative. It is significant how many of the incidents are attested by Justin, which modern critics find a difficulty in accepting. The details of both the Nativity stories are there. As in our Matthew we have the dream of Joseph, the prophecy of Micah, the Magi and their gifts, the slaughter of the Innocents by Herod, the flight into Egypt, the return in the days of Archelaus. As in our Luke we have the annunciation by Gabriel, the census of Quirinius, the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and the story of the manger. All this is just that part of the Gospels where 'advanced' modern criticism feels most sure that the historical basis is exceedingly small, and that we are dealing with popular legends, incredible in themselves and inconsistent with one another. But Justin is delighted with the Nativity stories. He sees no contradictions in them, and he appeals to their details as offering the strongest confirmations of prophecy. Again, there is hardly any episode in the Christian traditions about the Resurrection so generally rejected by 'advanced' critics as the story of the guard at the tomb. But Justin refers to Matt. xxvii 63 ff, an integral part of this episode that tells us how and why the guard was appointed¹. No doubt Justin would have regarded our historical criticism with grave distrust. He declares it better that Christians should believe miracles such as were impossible to men and to their own nature, than that they should disbelieve with the outside world, seeing that those who disbelieved what God had promised should come to pass through Christ will be punished in Gehenna together with those who had lived unrighteously (*Apol.* § 19).

Thus we gather from Justin that a story which seemed to confirm a saying of prophecy was likely to be popular among the Christians of his day, and that special interest was being paid to those traditions which related the miraculous birth of their Messiah. We see that Gospels akin to those of Matthew and Luke form the staple of Justin's allusions, even if he be not actually using these very writings. From this point of view, therefore, we are not astonished to find that a very few years

¹ Justin (*Dial.* § 108) declares that the Jews ordained anti-Christian missionaries who said of Jesus the Galilean 'Deceiver' (Matt. xxvii 63) that after the Crucifixion *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψαντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος νυκτὸς* deceive folk λέγοντες ἐγγεῖραι αὐτὸν ἐν νεκρῶν. This is an obvious echo of Matt. xxvii 64.

after Justin the Gospel according to Matthew and the Gospel according to Luke are received in the Church as authoritative.

Now let us turn to the other side of the picture, to the ethical side. Here we are in a different atmosphere. Justin and his fellow Christians aim at a better morality, a better rule of life, than their pagan contemporaries, and at the same time they are conscious of a fresh supply of power to walk in the way marked out for them. We Christians, says Justin, are not to be accounted Atheists, though we offer no sacrifices. The food which others would waste in sacrifices we eat ourselves, or give to those who have need. But for every kind of food and for the other blessings of life we give praise to the Creator of all, which is the only sacrifice worthy of Him, mingled with prayers that we may become again incorruptible through our faith. This, he says, we have been taught to do by Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, Jesus whom we have learnt to honour as truly the Son of God, together with the Prophetic Spirit. This is why Christians are accused of madness, in that after prescribing the worship of the immutable and eternal God they go on to the worship of a crucified human being (*Apol.* § 13). Justin feels that there may be a natural prejudice on this account against Christianity, a prejudice fostered by the evil spirits. He begs his hearers therefore to free themselves from their dominion, even as, he says, we Christians have freed ourselves that we might follow the only unbegotten God through His Son; so that some of us who formerly delighted in lasciviousness now embrace self-control, others who followed magic arts now consecrate themselves to a God who is good and kind, others who devoted their energies to amassing wealth now share their possessions for the common good, others of us who hated one another, and would have neither common intercourse nor worship¹ with aliens now after Christ's manifestation associate together, praying for our enemies, and trying to persuade those who are unjustly hating us, so that they also² may live according to Christ's salutary counsels, and have a good hope to obtain the like mercies with us from Almighty God. And, continues Justin, that we may not seem to be giving

¹ The occurrence of *ἑμοδίαυτοι* two lines below (*Otto*, vol. i p. 36^e) encourages me to suggest *διαίτας τε καὶ ἐστίας* for *διὰ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐστίας*.

² Omit *ol* with Maranus.

you a sophisticated account of our religion, I have thought it worth while to mention some few of Christ's own precepts, and you can see for yourselves whether our doctrines harmonize with His. And note that short and concise was His manner of speech, for He was no sophist, but His speech was the power of God (*Apol.* § 14).

Justin then goes on to quote a number of our Lord's sayings, mostly from the Sermon on the Mount (*Apol.* §§ 15, 16), ending with a protestation of the willingness of Christians to pay all lawful tribute to Caesar, for whose true welfare they gladly pray the one true God, remembering that Christ has said *To whom God hath given the more, the more will be required of him* (*Apol.* § 17).

These extracts give, I think, a fairly adequate view of Justin Martyr's attitude towards the contents of the Gospel. Side by side with his lack of historical criticism, as we understand the term, goes an intelligent and thankful appreciation of what after all is the essence of the Gospel message. 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast words of eternal life.' This is the keynote of Justin's attitude, and it is the attitude not of Justin only, but of the Church of his age. We find it in the *Didache*, and in the Epistle to Diognetus, and the same spirit is present in Clement of Rome. The Church put the Gospels in their position of pre-eminence because the Gospels satisfied the Church's wants. The Christians were conscious from the experience of their corporate life that He who had been crucified in Judaea was the Son of God, sent forth at the fore-ordained time, and the Gospels preserved for them the commands of the Son of God, by which they could order their lives. They gave also the details of His ever-memorable Passion and Death, and the story of His Resurrection, which was the pledge of their own eternal life; and some of them gave also what seemed to the second-century Christian a worthy and honourable account of His birth into this world.

But there is one feature of our Synoptic Gospels which seems to have aroused very little interest in the second century. It is a feature which shews us once for all that our Gospels themselves belong in their main contents not to that century but to an earlier age. This feature is the frankly biographical element, the story of the ministry. Like St Paul, the early Gentile Christians do not seem to have cared to know Christ after the flesh. The cult of the 'holy places' in Palestine belongs to a

later age. And here Justin's silence is significant. He finds occasion to mention the Nativity, the Baptism, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the fact that the Christ had power to heal the sick and raise the dead. But all this is, so to speak, part of the 'scheme of salvation'; all these things are events and circumstances theologically important. How different is the point of view in Matthew and Luke, and above all in Mark! Not that the Evangelists care for archaeology or 'local colour'; they wrote that their hearers might believe that Jesus was the Christ, and that believing they might have life in His name. But the scenes of the life in Galilee are nearer. The stories of our Lord belong in our Gospels to definite localities, to Capernaum, to the Lake of Gennesaret, to Caesarea Philippi—names which second-century writers never care to bring before their readers. As I said at the beginning of this Lecture, we are still in the region of history in the Synoptic Gospels, in the region of living memory.

It would be a curious and not unprofitable task to attempt to put together what we could learn of the life of our Lord from Christian writings outside the Gospels before the age of Irenaeus—about 180 A.D. The writings would include the Epistles of St Paul, the other New Testament Epistles, those of St Clement of Rome, of St Ignatius, and of the various Apostolic Fathers, besides what we have gathered from Justin Martyr and his contemporaries. The results, however, would be singularly disconnected. We should learn that Jesus Christ was crucified in Judaea under Pontius Pilate through the malice of His countrymen and that He rose again from the dead. We should be told many of His moral sayings. But we should be left quite in the dark as to how He spent His days among men. Jesus Christ would be practically to us a mere λόγος, a word, a kind of phonograph uttering counsels of perfection, but without human shape or features. It is the human shape that the Gospels supply for us. Let us never forget that while the Gnostic philosophers and the theologians of the second century were trying to find out the place of God the Son in the cosmogony, the Catholic Church was occupied in canonizing the Gospels. By so doing the Church kept alive for future generations the memory of our Lord's truly human life.

But the most remarkable fact of all remains to be noticed,

We have seen that Justin, whom we have taken as representing the generation that chose out our Gospels, combined the Nativity story of Matthew with that of Luke, and that this is hardly to be explained except on the hypothesis that he used these two Gospels. In other respects also these Gospels contain much that appealed to the second-century Christian, to whom the Sermon on the Mount was the basis of ethics. Let us suppose, therefore, that the Church chose out these two works to be the official account of Jesus Christ's life and teaching, together with the Gospel according to St John, of the use of which there are some traces in Justin, and even among certain heretics before his time. The total amount of information about Jesus which we get from these three sources comprises most of what is known. But if we were to try and analyse the statements made we should be met by many curious puzzles, especially with regard to the literary relation of Matthew and Luke. We should see they had common sources, but it would be very difficult to determine what use each had made of the sources or to make out their respective limits. Suppose then that we were to hear one day that Dr Grenfell and Dr Hunt had dug up in Egypt a fresh 'apocryphal' Gospel, not unlike our Gospels according to Matthew and Luke, but shorter, and unfortunately mutilated at the end in the middle of the story of the Resurrection. Suppose, finally, that when this new Gospel is published we find that most of the points in the narrative which appealed to Justin and his contemporaries are absent, that there is no Nativity Story at all, that the long ethical discourses unconnected with the narrative are either curtailed or omitted altogether, but that on the other hand the single narratives are full of graphic details and of expressions which have fallen out of Matthew and Luke, though they shew real acquaintance with the thought and customs of Palestinian Judaism. How interested we should all be in this discovery! How many monographs would be written on this newly-found Gospel! We should hear that at last we have a picture of primitive Christianity, of the likeness of Jesus of Nazareth as He appeared to His first disciples. The absence of just those points about the Gospel which most attracted the writers of the second century would explain why this document had dropped out of circulation.

This is, of course, all supposition. The actual fact, I repeat, is more surprising. That the Gospel according to Mark should have been admitted into the Canon is a fact that I cannot explain. I cannot understand what attraction it offered to the Christians of the second century which the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke did not offer, either singly or taken together, in a more eminent degree. It is, we find, very little quoted before it became part of the official fourfold Canon, that is, before the time of Irenaeus, and it is certain that it ran a very serious risk of being forgotten altogether. As every one knows, the genuine text ends at Mark xvi 8, in the middle of a sentence describing the terrified departure of the women from the empty tomb. There is no reason to doubt that the Gospel went on to describe some of the appearances of Jesus to the disciples after the Resurrection. The narrative is incomplete as it stands, and it is much more likely that the mutilation was accidental than intentional. Had it been intentional, the break would never have been made where it is, at ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ . . . : even the sentence is left incomplete. But all our MSS ultimately go back to this mutilated text; it is therefore evident that at one time no more than a single mutilated copy was in existence, or at least available. The work had dropped out of circulation, it had lost its public, and we can only guess vaguely at the reasons which led to its resuscitation.

The fact, however, remains. By its inclusion in the Canon we are to-day in possession of a document in warp and woof far more ancient than the Churches which adopted it. The fine instinct—may we not say *inspiration*?—which prompted the inclusion of the Gospel according to St Mark among the books of the New Testament, shewed the Catholic Church to have been wiser than her own writers, wiser than the heretics, wiser finally than most Biblical critics from St Augustine to Ferdinand Christian Baur. It is only in the last half-century that scholars have come to recognize the pre-eminent historical value of that Gospel which once survived only in a single tattered copy.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE AUSTIN CANONS IN ENGLAND IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE settlement of the English Church in the century after the Norman Conquest demands more attention than it has hitherto received. Our historians are engrossed with the story of the archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm and beyond a brief record of the national synods which assembled during this period their narrative tells us little or nothing of the real settlement that was taking place. It was the time when the future lines of diocesan and parochial organization were being laid down. When the extant episcopal registers begin in the thirteenth century, we find that the diocesan arrangement was much as we find it now. But there are many problems on which more information is needed. The territorial spheres of work for the archdeacons have been settled, but what was it that caused the exact divisions which existed in the archdeaconries down to 1535? We find the rural deaneries of varied sizes, and to-day containing very varied numbers of parishes. The earlier episcopal registers shew them as most important areas of diocesan organization. The clergy of each deanery seem to be responsible for the well-doing of their brethren, as the men in the hundred were responsible for the peace of the hundred. Such an organization suggests an English origin, but our historians tell us nothing about it. Our parochial system also bristles with points of which no serious attempt has as yet been made to find an explanation. We do not seem to realize how chaotic diocesan organization must have been in the century from 1066-1166. An idea seems to prevail that a fairly perfect organization existed in early English times, and that all went on smoothly under the Normans, except for those controversies which chiefly concerned the bishops. But there is no evidence to support such an idea. The little we do know seems to suggest the contrary. When Lanfranc in 1070 came to

England there were Norman bishops at Dorchester (Remigius 1067), Winchester (Walkelin 1070), and London (William 1051). Selsey and Elmham received new bishops, Stigand and Herfast, that year. Giso of Wells and Leofric of Crediton were foreigners, and the saintly Wulfstan of Worcester was not acceptable to Lanfranc. York was vacant through the death of Ealdred and Durham through the death of Ethelwin. Then came the great change of the bishops' stools in the last quarter of the century, Sherborne and Ramsey to old Sarum, Selsey to Winchester, Lichfield to Chester and to Coventry, Elmham to Thetford and then to Norwich, Wells to Bath and Crediton to Exeter. All these changes tended to inefficiency and certainly disturbed very seriously whatever diocesan organization had prevailed. The parochial clergy must have been left very much to themselves. No strong centres made their influence felt throughout the diocese; the people in their parishes—huge parishes with outlying hamlets separated by dense woods and dangerous swamps—the subject English and the French strangers, must have been much in need of an organized ministry and the instruction which such a ministry would provide. It is a problem therefore of very great interest to enquire whether it is possible to discern what went on in the country places, and how the church slowly developed into definite order, an order such as we observe to exist when first the episcopal registers come to our assistance. The evidence which exists calls for very cautious usage, but evidence certainly exists from which we can look back and perceive what must have been, and how the Church thrived even in those early years of the reign of Henry the first. Naturally the evidence which the Domesday Survey offers us comes first in the order of our records, and this is really very considerable. It deserves much more serious attention than as yet has been given to it. Only the surface of it has been skimmed. It was no part of the duty of the Commissioners to mention the churches in 1084, unless the Saint to whom the church was dedicated was endowed with land. A resident parish priest, however, would almost certainly have been so endowed, and therefore I am inclined to draw some conclusions from the silence of the Survey. I think it shews that the clergy were not nearly so numerous as the churches. The three terms by which the clergy are mentioned, sacerdos, presbyter, capellanus, the

status in the diocese of royal chaplains who were parish priests and king's legates, the differences of rank of the churches themselves, when carefully explained, will also help on this enquiry. Whatever had been the order and the organization of the early English Church, it must have suffered during the second half of the eleventh century, and it is therefore of the greatest interest to attempt the discovery of the forces which brought about its restoration.

Now the clergy were divided into two rival classes of the regular and the secular, and this division was further complicated by rival nationalities. The regular or monastic clergy were Benedictines. No other form of monasteries as yet existed in England, and the number of Benedictine monasteries in the country at this time is well known and the list is not long. They were about fifty in all. In the diocese of Worcester there were only five, and in that of Bath and Wells only four. Nor did the monastic clergy assist in the spiritual work of the diocese. In all the reforms of Lanfranc not a single hint is to be found that any duty rested on the monks to concern themselves with the spiritual welfare of the lay folk who lived on the monastic estates. Their influences, as far as one can judge, only reached but a short distance beyond the precincts of the monastery. The age when they acquired the advowsons of distant churches and created vicarages and made money out of the endowments left for the parish churches had not yet arrived.

Nor could the influence of the cathedral churches, the mother churches of the dioceses, have been very great. Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Norwich, and Durham were in the hands of the Benedictines, and the recent changes of the bishops' seats had largely diminished the influence which the clergy of these cathedral churches could have formerly exercised. In the diocese of Bath and Wells the cathedral church had lately been changed from Wells to Bath, from a church of secular canons to a church of Benedictine monks. The influence of the latter had not begun, the influence of the former, such as it may have been, was seriously diminished. The secular clergy were, however, in possession of most of the cathedral churches and of nearly all of the parish churches. To a great extent the secular clergy were English, and certainly English in their sentiments, and certainly

therefore not in sympathy with the new reforming Norman bishops who had come to rule over them. Nor must we be led away by the term *Minster*, and imagine that there were numerous small isolated monasteries in the kingdom. In the time of Beda we know that there were settlements of a vague kind of monasticism, but the head of these houses was as often as not married and the churches had been handed down from father to son, and they had by this time fallen into the hands of those who were called secular clergy and were as often as not married men. The term *Minster*, as we have it in *Ilminster*, *Charminster*, *Axminster*, *Banwell Minster*, *Cheddar Minster*, seems to denote a church to which a resident priest was attached. The several *Whitchurches* in the south-west of England are all called *Album Monasterium* and as often as not *Whytminster*.

But the secular clergy had got out of touch with the authorities of the Church, and their benefices had in many cases become hereditary; and this fact made reform all the more difficult. At Wells and at Crediton, bishops Giso (1061-87) and Leofric (1046-72) had endeavoured to cope with the worldliness of the secular clergy by providing the clergy of the cathedral churches with refectories and dormitories and imposing upon them the rule of St Chrodegang. These are the only instances in England of Secular Canons becoming canons of any recognized order. It was the first practical step to enforce celibacy on the parish priest, and, though it was not a success, it led the way for the introduction of those canons whose work in the Church is the subject of this paper.

The Canons Regular of St Augustine had become so assimilated in the ordering of their houses, and in their daily lives, to the Benedictine monks, that it is necessary to keep our minds quite clear as to their exact character and position. They were not monks, and though in process of time they became more and more like to monks, yet there was always an essential difference. In a house of Austin Canons the majority of the members were in Holy Orders, and all were supposed to be preparing for Holy Orders. This we must keep clearly in mind, because it was quite different in a Benedictine or any allied monastery. The question always demanded in reference to the admission of a novice into a house of Austin Canons is—*'si sint habiles ad suscipiendos ordines.'* They were to bear in

mind that the canons must—‘in missis celebrandis, in omnibus serviciis regularibus in choro . . . ociositatem devitare.’ During his year of probation enquiry is to be made—‘si religioni congruus, habilis ad suspiciendos ordines et ad ministrandum in ordinibus bene dispositus’. They were men in Holy Orders gathered together for a community life, and having a certain recognized discipline. But they were not monks. Innocent II made this quite clear in 1131 when at the Council of Rheims he said the regular clergy consisted of Monks of the Order of St Benedict and Canons of the Order of St Augustine. Let us briefly then trace the growth of this Order.

The term ‘canon’ seems to have been given originally to those clergy who were the *familiares* of the bishop, and who at first lived in the same house with him. Such clergy would be under supervision, and therefore they were men who would live a fairly disciplined life. St Augustine of Hippo and St Eusebius of Vercelli were conspicuous for the zeal they shewed in the training of their clergy, and St Augustine in one of his letters to some turbulent and worldly-minded nuns described a rule of life which formed the basis for a future rule for the clergy. But there is no evidence that St Augustine drew up a rule for the disciplined life of the canonical clergy. His *Regula ad servos Dei* in the Benedictine edition of his works is prefaced by a warning that it contained sentiments and phrases which he actually used and cherished, and had on that account only been added to the complete edition for what it was worth. The Council of Aachen 816 was the first of a long series of efforts made by the bishops for the reform of the diocesan clergy. It is said that Unwan, archbishop of Hamburg, 1013–29, was the first to gather congregations of clergy under the rule of St Romuald the hermit, 910–1027, who, Damianus tells us, was the first who taught ‘plures canonicos et clericos qui laicorum more seculariter habitabant praepositis obedire et communiter in congregatione vivere’. The eleventh century was full of this effort, but so far not a word is said of the rule of St Augustine. Among the most active of the bishops of that time to deepen the spiritual life among the clergy was Ivo, bishop of Chartres, 1090–1116, the pupil of Lanfranc at Caen. He is said to have reformed the monastery of St Quintin at Beauvais as a seminary for secular canons, and to have restored

the order of St Augustine, and the historian Sigeberht records that the canonical order founded by the Apostles, and afterwards by the blessed Augustine, began to flourish again under bishop Ivo. In 1085, Philip, bishop of Troyes, founded a new clergy-house, and from bishop Ivo received not the Order of St Augustine, but the rule of the house which he had founded at Beauvais. In 1095 Lutosdus, dean of Toul, founded an Abbey for Canons Regular, and here, for the first time, we hear of the rule of St Augustine. That it had but lately been drawn up is clear because pope Urban II confirmed it in 1096. The historian Anselm of Havelberg, 1129, is careful to say that the Canons Regular were not monks, and pope Benedict XII, in his bull 1339, mentions the rules and constitutions of the Canons Regular, but says nothing of the letter of St Augustine. It seems clear that the Canons Regular were clergy under the direct superintendence of the bishops, and that the idea that St Augustine was the author of their rule arose at the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century, and partly from a desire to place the Canons Regular in a similar position to the Benedictines, whose admiration for the Rule of St Benedict was then at its height.

It would appear therefore that Ivo himself drew up the letter *Regula ad servos Dei*. No one of that age was so versed in the writings of St Augustine, and if his master, Lanfranc, could improve and expand St Benedict's rule for the monks, why should not he expand and put into a practical form the teaching and the precepts of St Augustine for the clergy who worked under his direction?

The Canons Regular or Austin Canons were clergymen gathered together in a clergy-house and living under some rule in order that they might attain to a loftier ideal of Christian life. The example of Hugh, bishop of Auxerre, 1136, is pathetic. He is said to have given his canons many churches and their tithes—*'ea conditione ut per singulos annos tota Quadragesima in refectorio communiter comedant.'* And this connexion between the bishop and the Austin Canons continued to the eve of the dissolution of the Monasteries. The head of each house was a prior, and the abbot of all the houses in the diocese was the bishop. Not till the end of the fifteenth century, when they had become assimilated in almost every way to the Benedictines, did

the priors aspire to and obtain, as at Bruton, the dignity and title of abbots; though indeed, in the case of some houses that followed the example of the Paris house of Canons under Hugh St Victor, the head, in addition to his title as head of the canons of his priory, claimed at the very outset and for other reasons the title of abbot.

Such were the men for whom is claimed in the present article the honour of having done more than any other organization to establish the English Church in the country districts. They were the new clergy, clergy who were celibates, who lived a community life in a clergy-house, and whose ministerial work in England in the first half of the twelfth century is entirely ignored. They were in sympathy with the bishops, they were in sympathy with the new Norman lords, many of whom were the founders of their houses, and they possessed an earnestness and intelligence certainly rare at that time among the parochial clergy.

Now the statements made above call for corroborative evidence, and that evidence we obtain from a careful examination of the charters and documents that record the foundation of these houses. Let us see what was the story of their establishment in England. It is uniform, and in all the houses of Austin Canons established before the death of Henry II the story is almost identical. It centres in a desire to provide for the spiritual wants of the people, and the steps that were taken to carry it out.

The first of these houses, and there were fifty-four of them founded in the period mentioned, was that at Colchester founded in 1096 by Ernulf, an earnest priest who, living just outside the walls of the city, saw how great was the need for missionary effort among the people. To him and to his like-minded brothers in the faith, canons serving God, the church of St Julian and St Botolph at Colchester, and the churches of Greenstead, Fordham, and Heathfield were given. The parishioners shared with the canons the use of these churches; they were the buildings in which the canons ministered for the good of the people. To induce some of these canons, ten years afterwards, to settle in London, the church of the Holy Trinity and St Leonard was given them, and in the bull of pope Pascal II, confirming in 1116 this foundation, it is mentioned as the first house of Austin Canons in England, and we have in the bull an exact description of the work these canons had to do—to them, says Pascal, has been committed

by our father '*dispensatio Verbi Dei, praedicationis officium, baptismum et reconciliatio paenitentium*'—in other words the exact work of all missionary priests placed in charge of districts not as yet fully organized by the Church. Ernulf is said to have been a hermit priest at Colchester, and this term is remarkable, because in several other instances it is used, and it seems to be almost a technical term for a solitary priest attached to a church which was not prebendal and collegiate.

Colchester was, in the reign of Henry I, in the circle of political order and civilization. Let us now go across to the wild districts in the far west, where the dioceses of Hereford and Lichfield, between the dense forests and dangerous swamps, looked down the valleys and across the open wold to the lands of the then unconquered Welsh. Here, in Herefordshire and Shropshire, in districts thinly populated, wild and dangerous, we find contemporary foundations of distinctly missionary character. The revolts of Earl Roger and Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury against the stern rule of William the Conqueror and the hated rule of his son, the Welsh wars of William II, the invasion of Welshmen into Worcestershire in 1088, burning and harrowing and destroying as they rushed through Herefordshire and crossed the Severn, makes it certain that the Church in those districts could not then have been very efficiently organized. It was there, amid this desolation and in face of this danger, that Ralph Mortimer founded, about 1100, by consent of Gerard, bishop of Hereford, a house of Canons Regular at Wigmore. An earlier attempt had been made at Shobdon, and Ralph had endowed a church there with three prebends. But the times were too dangerous, and the district needed men of greater energy and discipline than were found generally among the secular canons; and so the Austin Canons began at Wigmore. Now it must be noticed in the account of all these foundations that the endowments were churches. Estates are sometimes mentioned, and especially in later times, but they are the exception. Enough land was given for their support and what was added was to be the sphere of their labour. This is not the case in the story of monastic foundations. In early cartularies of the Benedictines you hardly ever find such items. The age when the monasteries acquired the advowsons of distant churches

had not yet arrived. The Austin Canons came first, and churches were given them not as means of enrichment but to be scenes of ministerial work. It will be noticed also that these churches are either in the vicinity of the priory or grouped round some mother church where one of the canons of the priory had been settled for the purpose of work. To Wigmore were given the churches of Wigmore, Shobdon, Cleobury, Leintwardine, Nene, Higley, Burley, North Lydbury, Presteigne, Aymestrey, Byton, Bredwardine, Leinthal Earls, Kinsham Ford, More, Rathlinghope, Cardeston, a string of churches almost from the Wye to the Severn, and a group of dependent churches including Hopton Wafers and Marmle round the mother church of Cleobury Mortimer.

When again we cross the Severn into the diocese of Coventry, we find another house of Austin Canons settled at Haghmond. It is an instance of the northern of the two dioceses pushing through the forests that divided Staffordshire from Shropshire and establishing a missionary outpost a little north of Watling Street. Haghmond was founded, it is said, by William Fitzalan of Clun in 1110, though the Cartulary of Haghmond gives the date of the foundation as 1099. The Benedictines and the Secular Canons at Shrewsbury were not likely to do much. Greater confidence was placed in the Austin Canons. The churches attached to Haghmond are mostly north of it, Stanton, Grimshall, Shawbury, and Hadnall. Shropshire also had two other houses of Austin Canons at Wormbridge and Lilleshall. They were both on the eastern side of the Severn and in districts remote, on account of the forests, from the centres of diocesan life. Each had its group of churches given it as essential to its foundation, and Wormbridge was founded by the same William Fitzalan who was the founder of Haghmond.

Lilleshall, though only founded in 1145, calls for special attention, because it was founded by the last of the secular canons of St Alkmund, Shrewsbury. He yearned for better things, and Pope Eugenius allowed him to use his prebend of Lilleshall for that purpose. The priory was founded in the forest of Lilleshall, and the churches of St Michael Lilleshall, St Alkmund Salop, and Atcham, were given to the canons.

If now we travel south-west by the Roman road that ran from

Uriconium to Abergavenny, we come to a narrow strip of Monmouthshire running north-west between Brecknockshire and Herefordshire, bounded on the east by the Black Mountains and on the west by the hills of Brecknockshire. Here, at a place known as Llanthony, a place which possibly recalls some scenes of former activity of the Celtic church, there settled, in 1103, William, an attendant of Hugh de Lacy, and Ernisius, chaplain to Queen Maud. It was on the land which, in 1084, was recorded as belonging to Roger de Lacy. It was debateable land, reckoned in Domesday as part of the land of Hereford; and as yet it was unsettled whether it formed part of the diocese of Hereford or part of the diocese of Llandaff. The two proposed to live the life of hermits, which I take to mean of priests living alone, content to minister to those who came to them. Archbishop Anselm, however, persuaded Ernisius to change his '*contubernium duorum*' into a '*coenobium multorum*'. So Ernisius became the first prior and they gathered '*virī religiosi*' from Merton, London, and Colchester; and the church they built was consecrated in 1108 by Urban of Llandaff and Rheinhelm of Hereford.

All down the valley toward Abergavenny they laboured, and their churches were those at Llanthony, St Martins Comyowte, St Cleddoc's, Ewyas Lacy, St Martin's Trewyn, and as far as Kenderchurch across the river Dove. Robert, the second prior, became bishop of Hereford, and is described as '*vir simplex et rectus, in artibus liberalibus magister emeritus, et in divina pagina ita praedicator catholicus sicut in fidei articulis sufficienter eruditus*'. Fifteen years afterwards the foundation was removed to the second Llanthony, close to the city of Gloucester, because of the violence of the Welshmen of Brecon. But in both places the character of the endowment was the same—sufficient land for the sustenance of the canons, and groups of churches in Gloucestershire, where they might minister to the country folk around.

Let us take another instance in the house of Austin Canons established by Walter Giffard, bishop of Winchester, on his manor of Taunton in Somerset. There had been for 200 years a settlement of resident priests there. In 904 Eadward arranges with Denewulf, bishop of Winchester, for the protection of the

clergy of Taunton—'pro perpetua libertate illius monasterii'. In the time of Edmund Ironside, i.e. 1016, there was said to have been a college of resident priests there. In 1084 the college consisted of two priests who held land under the bishop of Winchester. The foundation, therefore, of bishop Gyffard, in 1121, swallowed up the college of secular priests and became the home of a house of Austin Canons. Its subsequent history tells us a good deal of the relationship of the bishop to these houses in his diocese. To the Austin Canons of Taunton were given all the churches in Taunton and the dependent churches of Lydeard St Lawrence, Kingston, Angersleigh, Bishops Hull, Pitminster, Ash Priors and Trull, Wilton, St George's in the Castle, Stoke St Gregory, St James's Taunton, Staplegrove, and Ruishton. Over these the bishop was to exercise his ordinary jurisdiction, and the archdeacon had the power to visit them.

Another foundation in Somerset is of special interest, because originally it was a royal chapel of king Ine and existed, as early as 704, as the monastic church of St Aldhelm at Bruton. Little work was being done by the Church in the eastern border of Somerset in the first half of the twelfth century, and Bruton was part of the possessions of the Mohun family. William, the first earl, decided to found there a house of Austin Canons. This he did in 1142, and to enable him to accomplish his wish, William, the king's chaplain at Bruton, surrendered the historic church of St Mary and St Aldhelm, and here earl William established his canons. As at Colchester, so here, the church was a double church, the parishioners using especially the north aisle. The equipment of the house was similar to that of other foundations. A group of churches near to Bruton was given to the house, and the spiritual work of the district was carried on by the canons at Pitcombe, Redlynch, Wyke, Witham, Brewham, Shepton Montagu, Milton Clevedon, and St Lawrence's Creech-Hill. There were also, among the earlier gifts to it, three other groups of churches, in Normandy at the ancestral home of the family, at South Petherton, and also at the extreme west of the county of Somerset; and the annals of the house in subsequent times record the going forth of canons from Bruton to serve in these distant churches, and the danger they incurred

from the freer contact with the outer world to which their duties exposed them.

Nor is this missionary and ministerial effort of the Austin Canons confined to two or three localities in England. Far to the north and to the east of the city of Carlisle, and a short time after Henry I had established the Austin Canons in that city, Robert de Vallibus settled, in the wild district of Lanercost just within the Roman wall, a small house of these earnest clergy and gave them—'canonicis regularibus Deo ibidem servientibus'—the churches of Brampton, Farlam, Irthington, Walton, and Kenerman. Carlisle itself is worth a notice. For when it was rebuilt in the days of William II, the king placed in charge of the spiritual needs of the city, in 1093, William 'ecclesiastici ordinis homo locupletis admodum'. Here Henry I founded a bishopric and gave to Athelwald, the prior of the Austin house at Nostell, whom he made the first bishop, the church of St Mary which William had built, and, at Athelwald's request, founded there a house of Austin Canons with the wealth which William had left. To them also were assigned the churches of Newcastle, Warkworth, Robery, Winchingham, and Corbridge.

At Barnwell in Cambridgeshire the original grant of Picot would have settled Austin Canons in 1092 at St Giles's Church under the Castle. Owing, however, to political troubles Picot's full intention was never carried out, and in 1119 Peverel, his heir, settled them at Barnwell and gave them the churches of Caldecot, Comberton, Bourn, Rampton, Madingley, Guilden Morden, Harston, Hinxton, and others.

At Twynham and at Plympton we have instances of churches of secular canons being given over to Austin Canons, William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, turning the seculars out of Plympton because they would not give up their wives; and to the canons regular were assigned groups of churches near Plympton and also in various parts of Cornwall.

At Leedes, in 1119, Robert de Crepito Corde founded a house and gave to the canons 'omnes ecclesiae baroniae de Crevequer'. At Ixworth the parish church had been destroyed, apparently at the Conquest, and had not been repaired. Here, in 1087, William Blunden founded a house of this order, rebuilt the parish church, and assigned it to the canons with other churches and their

dependent chapels in the neighbourhood. Geoffrey of Clinton, Henry's chamberlain, founded the church of Kenilworth and gave it to these canons with three churches in the vicinity, and Simon bishop of Worcester witnesses the charter.

The same facts come out in the story of the foundation of the Austin Houses at Dunmow, Thremhall, St Dionysius at Southampton, Giseburn, Newnham in Hertfordshire, Norton in Cheshire, and Stone in Staffordshire. In some cases it is the desire of the bishops to impose a stricter discipline on the clergy, and so the secular prebendaries give way to Austin Canons. In some it is their desire to repair the waste places and to provide for the spiritual needs of the district, and so ruined churches are repaired and a house is built and the Austin Canons are introduced. But one fact comes out in every foundation deed throughout England in the twelfth century, that where a house of Austin Canons is established there have been assigned to them at the very beginning a number of churches, generally in the immediate neighbourhood of their house or in groups, as '*capellae dependentes*' centred round the mother church, as spheres for ministerial work and as essential to the fulfilment of the purposes of their Order.

The men then were priests, or men training and suitable for priest's orders. They settled down, few in number but sufficient for the district they had to serve. The most prominent items in their early charters are not the mills and the manors, so much in evidence in early monastic charters, but the churches where they had to serve. It may be said, however, that the parochial interests of the parish do not come into prominence in the annals of these houses. This is certainly true. But we could not expect it otherwise. The records were those concerning the house and the men that lived in it, and naturally such records only refer to the fortunes of the house and the lives of the men who inhabited it. In later times, as at Taunton in the fourteenth century, we find particular canons assigned to particular churches, and as scattered houses attached to groups of parishes were built, the prior of the mother house became known as the prelate of these scattered convents or monasteries. Moreover within these houses we find a freedom which was never sanctioned in Benedictine monasteries. A canon might bring in a stranger to

dinner if the prior gave him permission. The sick of the parish had not to wait outside for food. They were taken in and nursed in the priory.

It seems clear, then, that in the early decades of the twelfth century the Austin Canons did a great work for the English Church. They assisted more than any other religious organization to reorganize the dioceses and to provide for the spiritual need of the country parishes. However closely assimilated they became in later years to the monastic orders, they should not be classed with them. Had they kept their first estate and remained in subjection to the bishops, who were originally and intentionally their abbots, they would not have suffered at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. They were not monks. In the twelfth century they were as much the disciplined side of ecclesiasticism as in the thirteenth century the Friars were the active side of monasticism. They were not confined to their house. They had horses on which they could visit their more distant cures. At Bruton the temptation was too great. They got themselves dogs and went off to Selwood. At Carlisle alone did Austin Canons form the Chapter of the bishop, but all through the centuries of their later existence, the bishop not only was recognized as being in a special relation to the houses of Canons Regular in his diocese, but also did visit and reform as no monastic house would have allowed. We have only to consider those parishes, scattered as they are all over England, the churches of which were given to the Austin Canons, to perceive how largely they helped on the settlement of the English Church. Whatever may have been the organization in earlier times, to a very great extent it must have been in abeyance in the time of Henry I. The great monasteries and the larger prebendal and collegiate churches were possibly centres of spiritual effort in their immediate neighbourhood, but the restorers of the remote and smaller churches were undoubtedly those earnest and energetic clergymen, the Austin Canons of England.

T. SCOTT HOLMES.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST JOHN.

I.

THE two short Epistles of St John will gain much in interest, if we can discover to whom they were addressed, and for what purpose. The following notes are not intended to do more than suggest partially new solutions of the problems involved, and the reader should mentally insert 'probably', 'possibly', or 'conceivably' in many places where the writer has omitted it to avoid tiresome iteration. It will be best to commence with the Third Epistle¹.

§ 1. *The circumstances of the Third Epistle.*

St John has heard that Gaius was walking in the truth; in other words, that he had been practising St John's favourite virtue of charity. The Apostle congratulates him thereupon:

'The Presbyter unto the beloved Gaius, whom I love in truth. Beloved, I pray that in all things thou mayest prosper and be in good health, even as thy soul prospereth. For I rejoiced greatly when the brethren came and bare witness to thy truth, even as thou walkest in truth. I have no greater grace than these tidings, that I may hear of mine own children walking in the truth².'

News has been brought, therefore, to St John of what Gaius has

¹ I assume, without offering any proof, that 'the Presbyter' is the Apostle John. I find it easier to suppose Eusebius, and not Irenaeus, to have been mistaken as to the meaning of Papias, and I believe there are cogent reasons against the existence of a second John. Nevertheless, I hold that, if he did exist, Harnack is right (*Chronol.* pp. 675-80) in concluding that he must have been the author of the Johannine Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse, that he was the exile of Patmos, the overseer of Asia, and the teacher of Polycarp and of Papias. Those who hold this view will simply understand all that I say, not of the Apostle, but of the Presbyter.

² I find it convenient to use Dr. Westcott's careful translations.

been doing. He has received certain brethren, who were strangers in the city where he lived, and has given them hospitality and fellowship.

'Beloved, thou makest sure whatsoever thou doest unto the brethren and strangers withal, who bore witness to thy love before the Church; whom thou wilt do well to help forward on their way worthily of God;'

Gaius is praised for having received the strangers once, and he is invited to receive them again. After their first reception by him, they had come to St John, for he says that they bore witness 'before the Church', publicly, in the presence of St John and the Christians of Ephesus, to the brotherly love which Gaius had shewn them. They now return to Gaius, bearing this letter, but they are going further, and he is asked to assist them on their journey.

'for they went out for the Name's sake, taking nothing of the Gentiles.'

'They went out', from some city that is not named, 'for the Name's sake', that is, because they were Christians¹. We are not told that they were expelled, but that they went out, evidently because a persecution was raging, and their lives were in danger. We are not told that they fled or escaped with difficulty. It would not seem, then, to be a case of sudden riot against the Christians, such as we meet with in St Paul's life on so many occasions, but rather of a definite and lawful persecution of the Name, which did not expel but put to death, and which was not universal but local.

The Neronian persecution at Rome exactly fits this description, and I know of no other place or occasion which is so precisely suitable. It was local at first, and it was legal. It did not exile, it slew. It was a hasty decree, not an uprising of the people, and can hardly have been sudden or complete enough to prevent the withdrawal from the city of teachers who were not marked men.

'They went out for the Name's sake.' There is obviously an intentional vagueness here; St John will not name the place or the cause. Why is he so wilfully indefinite? It is possible to

¹ I do not think we can take *ἐξῆλθον* to mean 'they went forth to preach', since the words 'for the Name's sake' imply some hardship, if not persecution, and could not be the equivalent of 'to preach the Name'.

give a satisfactory reply. In discussing the Second Epistle I hope to shew that it was a regular custom from the time of Nero until the rescript of the Emperor Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus not to mention the Roman Church or its head, so great was the danger of the Christians in the capital. Yet no one would mistake the meaning of the words 'They went out for the Name's sake'. We shall see, in discussing the Second Epistle, that the persecution of Domitian had not yet begun, while that of Nero was written in letters of blood and fire in the memories of the Asian Christians. Gaius knew, of course, the history of the strangers, and would understand the vagueness of the allusion. It was an honour to have been in Rome in those awful days, now many years ago.

'Taking nothing of the Gentiles.' This is clearly also mentioned as a title to honour. Westcott must be right in explaining that the words refer to the Gentile converts to whom the strangers had preached. It was the custom of St Paul to refuse all payment or even gratuitous hospitality in return for his preaching, though he declares that he had the right to receive it. He implies that this prudent avoidance of the very appearance of self-interest was a peculiarity of his own. He and his fellow workers supported themselves by a trade, at all events until St Paul reconciled himself with his family (according to Professor Ramsay's conjecture), and had money of his own.

St John, on the other hand, had begun his apostolic preaching without shoes or scrip or purse, and had lived on the hospitality of his hearers. He had wanted for nothing (Luke xxii 36). We may be certain that the eleven commenced their preaching at the 'dispersion of the Apostles' on something of the same principle. They may not have kept literally to our Lord's original injunctions, but they had probably less luggage than Paul, who had not only a cloak, but books and parchments. At all events it is evident that they lived either on the hospitality of their converts, or on the means supplied by rich women who ministered to their wants (*ἀδελφαὶ γυναῖκες*, cp. 1 Cor. ix 5), as the women from Galilee had once ministered to their Master during His missionary journeys in Judaea. But this life had no doubt become less heroic than the original mission of the twelve in Palestine, and St John could appreciate the converse method of St Paul, who

practised the virtue of poverty by hard work, instead of by the refusal to possess. He knew that for the highly educated pupil of Gamaliel it was a bitter humiliation to work as a tent-maker, and that for the invalid it was a cruel penance. He is writing probably to a Pauline Church, and it would seem a recommendation that the strangers had 'taken nothing of the Gentiles' to whom they preached.

I think we must necessarily conclude that these strangers were well known to be disciples of St Paul. This is the natural explanation of the fact that it was to Gentiles that they preached, and that they adhered to the Pauline practice of 'going a warfare at their own cost'. The conclusion forces itself upon us that they had been companions and fellow workers of St Paul at Rome, and that they had been obliged to leave the capital owing to the persecution of Nero.

'I wrote a few words to the Church [reading $\xi\gamma\pi\alpha\psi\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\iota$ for $\xi\gamma\pi\alpha\psi\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$]; but he that loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, Diotrephes, doth not receive us.'

'I wrote a few words to the Church' might be understood, as Zahn understands it, 'I have just written another short letter to the Church, which I shall send with this'. But it is more natural to understand a former letter of recommendation given to the strangers on their first visit. They had gone on that occasion with a formal introduction to the hospitality of the Church from the Apostle, but Diotrephes did not 'receive' the Apostle's authority, and rejected the strangers. He does not appear to have had pre-eminence as a right; he was probably only one of several presbyters. But he can hardly have disregarded St John's recommendation of these Christian teachers unless he had something against them personally. We naturally infer that St John had written to the Church about them, to introduce them, precisely because he knew there was a chance of their not being well received. Why should they be looked upon askance? May we not suppose that the praise given to them by the Apostle is intended as an answer to the objection which Diotrephes had raised against them? 'They went out for the Name's sake', not from mere cowardice; their departure from Rome was an exile, a confessorship, a title to honour, though Diotrephes had chosen

to regard it as a shameful dereliction of duty. It is of no use to recommend them to the Church a second time. Now they are only to pass through, and Gaius who received them on their first visit, will entertain them once more, and assist them on their forward journey.

'For this cause, if I come, I will call to remembrance his works which he doeth, prating of us with evil words; and since he is not content therewith, neither doth he receive the brethren himself, and them that would he hindereth and casteth out of the Church.'

Diotrephes was perhaps an elderly man who had been made a presbyter by St Paul, and was inclined to be jealous of the new overseer of the Asian Churches. He first found fault with St John for being deceived, he next refused to receive the strangers recommended by the Apostle, he then tried at least to prevent Gaius from receiving them. When he failed in this, he cast Gaius out of the Church.

Diotrephes was evidently very angry, and we shall see presently that he took the action of St John to be nothing less than a slight to the memory of St Paul. I have little doubt that it was in reality by the special wish of St Paul that St John had come to live in Asia after the death of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The Asian Churches were in sore want of a Patriarch; *πρεσβύτερος* they said in those days, for the words *πατριάρχης*, *μητροπολίτης*, *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος* had yet to be developed. St Paul was more of the thinker than of the administrator. He had apparently never instituted any diocesan, local, 'monarchical' bishop. In the Church of Diotrephes and Gaius there was no head, any more than at Corinth. The Apostle had governed all his foundations in person, sending prefects apostolic with full faculties from time to time, to act in his place when he was unable to come himself. The unseemly dispute between Diotrephes and Gaius is but a faint reflexion of the disorders of the Corinthian Church on an earlier and more famous occasion, to be repeated again in that still bishopless Church before the end of the century. Naturally Diotrephes did not like acknowledging a new overlord in St John. The Apostle of love was also the son of Thunder, and a vigorous organizer. Before his exile to Patmos seven of the Asian Churches had a complete ecclesiastical hierarchy¹, though he

¹ For a justification of this statement see the *Expositor*, April, 1904.

was not yet satisfied with them all. After his return from exile we are told by Clement of Alexandria¹ that he went about even to the borders of the barbarian world, setting up bishops, putting the Churches to rights and ordaining.

There is now no difficulty in understanding why the strangers had come back to St John. They had found that they had become unwilling causes of dissension, and their generous host had suffered on their account. They therefore returned to Ephesus, where they bore testimony 'before the Church' to the kindness of Gaius, and informed St John of the 'prating words' of the disrespectful Diotrophes. St John now sends them on other work, and as they must pass again through the town of Diotrophes and Gaius, they take with them the present letter, to act both as a renewed passport and as a well-deserved commendation of Gaius.

'Beloved, imitate not that which is evil, but that which is good. He that doeth good is of God; he that doeth evil hath not seen God.'

The moral of these words is to be applied to Gaius and to Diotrophes respectively. St John knew human nature well enough to be sure that Gaius would not fail to let Diotrophes know the contents of the letter.

'Demetrius hath witness borne to him by all, and by the Truth itself; yea, we also bear witness; and thou knowest that our witness is true.'

It does not seem to have been commonly recognized that this emphatic sentence is not set down *à propos de bottes*, but is in the closest connexion with the rest of the Epistle. Demetrius is one of the strangers; he is, in fact, the one whose character has been called in question by Diotrophes. St John had recommended him once before, and his recommendation had been disregarded. He now repeats that very testimony to Demetrius, against which Diotrophes had prated, and with extraordinary emphasis: 'Diotrophes does not accept our testimony to Demetrius', he seems to say, 'he would not receive him, and he turned Gaius out of the

¹ *Quis dives* 42, and ap. Eus. *H. E.* iii 23 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσαν, ὅπου δὲ ὕλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσαν, ὅπου δὲ κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσαν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαυνομένων.

Church, because he did so in obedience to my former letter. But I repeat my approval of him in the most solemn terms that I can employ. The Truth, the Christian religion, bears witness to him, for he went out from Rome for the Name's sake. I also bear witness, for I have seen enough of him at Ephesus for that. And you, Gaius, can bear witness, for you also know him.'¹

One hardly feels that the hospitality accorded to Demetrius for a few days at most would be sufficient to justify this appeal to Gaius for his testimony. It is more likely that he had been acquainted with Demetrius on some previous occasion and in another place, and that he was thus able to bear witness to his character. Demetrius was well known by reputation at least—too well known—to the Church of Gaius and Diotrephes, and the word *ξένος* does not, like 'strangers' in English, imply that the visitors were unknown, but simply that they stood in need of the hospitality given by Gaius. They presumably had little money, for it was their custom to 'take nothing of the Gentiles'. Hence their gratitude to Gaius, and hence St John's anger with Diotrephes.

'I had many things to write to thee, howbeit I will not write to thee with ink and pen; but I hope to see thee shortly, and we will speak face to face. Peace be to thee; the friends salute thee: salute the friends by name.'

Gaius has many friends at Ephesus, and St John has friends in

¹ 'Thou knowest that our witness is true.' This might mean either 'Thou knowest that I am not in the habit of telling lies', or else 'Thou thyself knowest that Demetrius is a good man'. The latter is undoubtedly the right meaning. St John used the same expressions elsewhere on two very solemn occasions, when he saw the blood and water issuing from the side of Christ, and when at the end of his Gospel he made a solemn protestation of its accuracy: 'And he that saw it hath given testimony; and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe' (John xix 35). Here 'he knoweth that he saith true' does not mean 'he knoweth that he is not a liar', but 'he knoweth that the facts were just as he has written them'. 'This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things and hath written these things: and we know that his testimony is true' (xxi 24). Lightfoot is no doubt right (*Essays on Supernat. Relig.* p. 187) in calling this verse 'the endorsement of the elders'. But they did not write the words, which are in St John's own unmistakeable style; he wrote them in their name, to express the assent they gave. 'We know that his testimony is true' means 'we know the facts from our own memory, and he has stated them accurately'. Similarly here St John says that Gaius could himself confirm the testimony by his own knowledge of Demetrius.

the Church where Gaius lives. St John is coming shortly; he will give Diotrephes a piece of his mind, and he has important and secret matters to communicate to Gaius. Thus, though Diotrephes put himself forward, Gaius is yet signalized as a person of some importance.

We may guess what it was that St John would not write. He meant to put an end to the self-sought pre-eminence of Diotrephes and to his high-handed proceedings. He would appoint a bishop, and perhaps he had even thought of Gaius as the person best fitted to receive the charge. But he would probably wait for the opinion of the Church, that he might know for certain whether Gaius was indeed 'designated by the Spirit'. The matter must not be mentioned in the letter, for the letter was intended to be shewn to Diotrephes.

§ 2. *The sin of Demetrius.*

St John has done all he can to make his 'testimony' to Demetrius impressive. He had used the same words on two occasions of extraordinary solemnity. Why does he again employ this imposing formula?

'Demetrius' is the full name of the stranger; a long name which St John would have shortened into 'Demas', had he been speaking in a less stately manner.

We have seen that the stranger was apparently a Christian teacher, a disciple of St Paul, who had been with St Paul at Rome during the Neronian persecution, and who had been accused of cowardice for deserting the city at that moment. The remarkable 'testimony' given by St John seems to imply that a stigma, more difficult of removal than a mere dislike or misrepresentation on the part of Diotrephes, had been laid upon Demetrius, a stigma which the word of an Apostle could barely suffice to erase, when tendered in the most solemn manner.

If it were no less a person than St Paul himself who had complained of the desertion of Demetrius, the whole difficulty is cleared up. We understand the anger of Diotrephes—St John is slighting the great Doctor of the nations. We understand also the necessity on St John's part for speaking in the gravest tones when he is consciously contradicting an opinion put forth by so eminent a personage.

Now in the Second Epistle to Timothy we find St Paul writing in the expectation of approaching martyrdom, and complaining that he is left alone in Rome at such a moment. All his disciples have left him except Luke. One only is blamed for this desertion, and his name is Demas, the same who had been with him in his former Roman imprisonment (Col. iv 14 and Philem. 24)¹.

The letter found Timothy at Ephesus, where he was acting as Apostolic delegate to put the Church in order and to ordain priests and deacons, just as Titus had for a time superintended the Churches of Crete. He is to come to Rome at once before winter, passing through Troas, and bringing with him the luggage which St Paul had left there. We can easily imagine the lamentations at Ephesus on the arrival of this last message from the beloved Master². And what indignation at those who had deserted him in the hour of trial! 'At my first answer no man stood with me', the Apostle complains. And it is Demetrius who is singled out for special blame—he loved this world—he was not anxious for martyrdom, nor to receive the 'beautiful crown from the Lord's hand' which the Scriptures promise to the just, and to which St Paul so confidently looked forward (Wisdom v 17). On the contrary, he conveniently remembered the saying of our Lord on which St Athanasius at a later date rested his defence—'When they persecute you in one city, flee to another'; he did not flee, but he departed (or, as St John puts it, he went forth) to Thessalonica. It was a disappointment to St Paul, and he felt it, though perhaps he did not mean his words to imply any grave guilt on the part of Demas. St Peter himself had fled from Rome (so says a legend which was at least not invented in St Peter's honour), and turned back only in obedience to a vision. The story has become famous through a clever novel. It is difficult to account for its origin, unless it contains an element of truth.

¹ 'I am even now ready to be sacrificed: and the time of my dissolution is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day: and not only to me but to them also that love his appearing. Make haste to come to me quickly, for Demas hath left me, loving this world, and is gone to Thessalonica, Crescens into Galatia, Titus into Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me' (2 Tim. iv 6, 7).

² We know how the Ephesian presbyters wept when they took leave of St Paul at Miletus (Acts xx 37).

But in Asia the Churches of Pauline foundation were inclined to take a harsh view of Demetrius. It appears that they interpreted his 'love of this world' in the worst sense. They represented him as a half-apostate, a *lapsus*, just as St Cyprian's enemies decried him for hiding during the Decian persecution. The recommendation given to him by St John (and a good many years must now have passed since St Paul's martyrdom) merely embittered Diotrophes against his new chief; Demas had deserted their Apostle, and this doting old man, John, didn't care; perhaps he had still a grudge against the teacher of the Gentiles, whom he had been obliged to recognize as an equal!

The identity of the Demas of 2 Timothy with the Demas of 3 John seems thus to be established. The coincidence of circumstances is too remarkable to be put down to chance.

§ 3. *The Hospitality of Gaius.*

When St Paul wrote from Rome to the Colossians and to Philemon, his companions were (*a*) Tychicus and Onesimus, who took his letter to Asia, (*b*) three brethren 'of the circumcision', Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus, (*c*) Epaphras, Demas, and Luke, who are evidently Gentiles, and whose full names were Epaphroditus, Demetrius, and Lucanus. Of these, Aristarchus and Luke had come with St Paul, sharing his shipwreck. Mark he had probably found at Rome. Epaphroditus, who had been a teacher of the Colossians, and seems to have been a Colossian himself, had come bringing messages from Philippi. Possibly Demas had come with him, and he may very likely have been a Macedonian, for when he left Rome, it was to Thessalonica that he directed his steps.

Who then was Gaius? He seems to have been well acquainted with Demas in old days, and we are therefore inclined to identify him with one or other of St Paul's companions of that name, Gaius the Macedonian (Acts xix 29), Gaius the Derbaean (Acts xx 4), or Gaius the Corinthian (Rom. xvi 23; 1 Cor. i 14). This last was St Paul's host at Corinth. Is it possible that he is the same kindly individual who became after many years the host of Demetrius, and whose hospitality is thus commended for ever by the voice of two Apostles?

If so, it is hardly likely that he was still living at Corinth, which would seem too far from Asia. Now Origen¹ tells us that this same Gaius of Corinth became the first bishop of Thessalonica. Corinth must have received a bishop soon after the letter of St Clement, so that Thessalonica may well have had one a few years earlier².

We thus reach a consistent history. Demas was a Thessalonian. He perhaps accompanied Epaphroditus from Macedonia to Rome; on leaving Rome he went to Thessalonica because it was his home. He must have found that city too hot for him as soon as St Paul's second letter to Timothy became known there. This will have been almost immediately, as Timothy no doubt went at once to Rome by Troas, and must consequently have passed through Thessalonica on his way to Italy by the Egnatian road. Many years later Demas, now an elderly man, desires to end his days in his native place. He obtains a letter of recommendation from St John to the Church of Thessalonica (ἐγγραφά τι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ), and if that document had come down to us it would have thrown some light on the life of Demas during the years which had elapsed since the Neronian persecution, and it must have contained the apology for Demas to which the Apostle obscurely refers in the words 'they went out for the Name's sake'. The hospitable Gaius accepted

¹ *Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* I x 41 'Videtur ergo indicare de eo quod uir fuerit hospitalis, qui non solum Paulum ac singulos quosque aduentantes Corinthum hospitio receperit sed ecclesiae uniuersae in domo sua conuenticulum ipse praeberit. Fertur sane traditione maiorum, quod hic Gaius primus episcopus fuerit Thessalonicensis ecclesiae'. The information is early, and there is no apparent reason for its having been invented. The Apostolic Constitutions (vii 47) inform us that Gaius was the first bishop of Pergamum, Demetrius of Philadelphia. It does not seem very probable that any tradition underlies this statement. The Roman martyrology states that Aristarchus was the first bishop of Thessalonica. This is a mediaeval figment, unknown to Ado, Usuard, or the Hieronymian martyrology.

² Thessalonica was later the ecclesiastical as well as civil head of Achaia and Illyricum, and was the seat of a Papal vicar from Siricius onwards. The case of Perigenes and Rufus well illustrates its superiority to Corinth, the metropolis of Greece. At Corinth Hegesippus (ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv 22) seems to imply a 'succession' before Primus, c. 160, the predecessor of Dionysius. In the letter of Dionysius to the Athenians (c. 170, *ibid.* iv 23), Dionysius the Areopagite was said to have been their first bishop. If so, it must have been some time after St. Paul's death. The first bishop of a see at the end of the first century might well sometimes be the oldest surviving disciple of the Apostles.

St John's assurance¹, but Diotrephes prated against him, in the belief that the silver streak secured him from the jurisdiction of the Apostle, whose attention was principally given to Asia². But he was mistaken. St John came to Thessalonica in person, and appointed Gaius bishop over the head of the ambitious Diotrephes.

We have seen that the Epistle is a recommendation to help Demas forward on his journey. Demas would certainly not have gone again to the same city immediately after having been obliged to leave it, unless it were unavoidable to pass through it on his way to a new destination. Now Thessalonica is precisely a place which Demas must pass through if he were going either to Italy or to Greece, except by preferring a long and hazardous voyage by sea. As he did not stop with St John, we may conjecture that he intended to avoid Pauline foundations for the future. Not Greece, therefore, but the West was probably his destination.

It is noticeable that St Paul mentions Demas and Luke each thrice, and always together. We might find in this a confirmation of Ramsay's conjecture that St Luke was a Macedonian, although tradition makes him an Antiochene³.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

(To be continued.)

¹ Gaius may have known Demas at Corinth. For Demas would hardly have joined St Paul at Rome if he had not formerly been his companion. He had been with him at Colossae, for his greeting is sent to that Church and to Philemon.

² St John took no notice, we may suppose, of the contemporary disorders at Corinth.

³ So the 'Monarchian' Prologue. Luke is first mentioned at Antioch (Acts xi 27) in Cod. Bezae.

DOCUMENTS

THE SYRIAN LITURGIES OF THE
PRESANCTIFIED. II.WEST SYRIAN (*continued*)¹.

In the former article reference was made to the Nomocanon, ܡܠܟܬܐ ܕܕܝܪܥܝܐ or 'Book of Directions'² of Gregory Barhebraeus, maphrian of the East (+ A.D. 1286). Of this work, chapter iv § 8, dealing with the liturgy of the Presanctified, is here printed from a manuscript preserved in the Syrian seminary of Sharfeh in the Lebanon, which differs from other forms of the text in that it adds a preface, giving an account of the institution of the rite ([I]). The original part of section 8, according to the plan pursued throughout by the author, consists of comments on selections from ecclesiastical writers, of which the most important as regards the history of the rite is that purporting to be the work of Severus of Antioch (v. note IV).

A Syriac edition of the Nomocanon has been published by M. Bedjan (Paris, 1898), principally from MS 226 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, dated A.D. 1480. The British Museum MS Or. 4081 is modern, and written in 1887. A somewhat imperfect Latin translation is to be found in Mai *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* tom. x.

¹ See *Journal of Theological Studies*, iv (Oct. 1902), 69 sqq.

² This, and not *Huddoyo* (used *ibid.* pp. 70, 71), is the correct title of the work: in the present article, it is referred to throughout as *Nomocanon*. Further corrections of my previous article are: p. 70, for ܡܠܟܬܐ 'we received' read ܡܠܟܬܐ 'they receive'; p. 71, for 'Isho'yabh' read 'Elias bar Shinaya', metropolitan of Nisibis, A.D. 975-c. 1049, to whom the *Liber demonstrationis* is attributed by Wright and Duval; p. 73, line 6, omit '1'; p. 79 ܡܠܟܬܐ should be rendered 'look we', for which ܡܠܟܬܐ ܡܠܟܬܐ ܡܠܟܬܐ is sometimes substituted; p. 82, col. 1 and 2: after 'O adorable and all-wise . . . ' add '[Severus]'; *ib.* col. 3: 'And he proceeds with the prayer' should follow 'Sedro', the prayer being the 'Prayer of the Sedro', or 'after the incense'.

[CHAPTER IV.] *Section the eighth: on the Signing of the Chalice.*

[I] The occasion of the need of the Signing of the Chalice. In the Church it happened on this wise: that since the canons prescribe that the oblation be discontinued in the Great Fast, the faithful asked the blessed mar Severus that they might communicate: and he, as a wise physician, who would not transgress the canons, nor deny the faithful their requests, arranged that they should leave over of the oblation that had been perfected on the Sunday, and therefrom communicate. And since the oblation, without the chalice accompanying it, is void, and if they were to leave over of that of the Sunday, it would be kept with difficulty, or might be corrupted, they arranged thus: that, when they wished, they should sign the chalice with the oblation, that had been perfected, as was arranged above: and that the oblation that remained should be signed from the chalice that had been hallowed on the Sunday¹, but that this chalice² should be signed with the coal therefrom³, and that the Body should not be again signed from this chalice for a second time.

A good memorial be to our ghostly fathers, who are in resplendent and glorious and good light, by whom we are instructed and through whom we live and are.

[II] James of Edessa⁴. If an anchorite priest be alone, and there be other anchorites near him, if he wish to sign for himself or for them, when the faithful people are not present, it is left to his discretion to do so, and he is without blame in both. And if he wish to say one of the prayers, that are set down, or all, or if he wish to sign without prayers secretly as time allows, it is permitted to him.

It is not right that the chalice be allowed to remain over night, lest it be turned and he who allows it be guilty. For the penalty of death was threatened by God with regard to the goat of the sin-offering which was left over, of which the priests did not eat in the evening, and which was allowed to remain until the morning. And the chalice is allowed to remain, either for the sick that are hard pressed and ought to receive the viaticum before they die or for fasters that fast till late evening. But apart from these cases, it is not at all right that the chalice should remain. When the holy Body is present, it is permitted to him to sign the chalice, and if a man wish, thrice in one week, when necessary causes require it.

The deacon is not allowed, when he signs the chalice, to say any prayer or even to say anything great or small.

¹ i. e. at the fraction of the Sunday Mass.

² The chalice used at the Presanctified.

³ From the host hallowed on the Sunday.

⁴ A.D. 640-708.

[III] John of Tella. Let the deacon receive the pearl¹, with which the chalice is signed, as many times as he ministers² the chalice: and on this we find no commandment.

Direction. My opinion is, that the pearl should be cast into the chalice, and that at the time of the communion the priest should receive it: and that the priest should communicate his deacon from the coals that are in the paten: for it is not fitting that, when the priest is present, the deacon should receive and communicate by himself, except the chalice which he drinks and which is not given him to drink by the priest.

[IV] Severus. When the priest has said the sedro³, and set on incense, let the people say 'We believe in one God'. Then he prays, standing upright, and gives the peace, and seals the people with three crosses, saying: 'And may the mercies of the [great] God.' Then he takes the coal and signs therewith the chalice with three crosses, saying: 'That He may unite and hallow and change the mixture that is in this chalice into His saving Blood, even Christ our God, for the pardon of offences' and the rest. Then he prays the Prayer of the *Our Father who art in heaven*, and again a prayer; and he gives the peace. Then the Prayer over the people. Then the peace; and he seals the people with 'May the grace'. Then the deacon: 'Look we in trembling'. The priest: 'The presanctified holies to the holy', and he lifts up the mysteries. The people: 'One is the [holy] Father.' Then he communicates himself, and gives communion: and he returns and prays the Prayer of Thanksgiving. Then the Prayer over the people. Then he seals with 'Bless us all'.

Direction. Know that in the kurobho he makes a cross with the coal over the chalice, when he breaks: and here he touches the Blood by means of the coal, making the crosses.

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 226: variant.

Direction. Know that in the kurobho, he makes crosses over the chalice; and here, when he breaks, he touches the Blood by means of the coal, making the crosses.

¹ i. e. the particle, or 'coal'.

² i. e. purifies at the ablutions.

³ For the absolute use of *ṣedro* 'say the sedro', v. *Nomoc.* cap. v. §§ 4, 5.

I. In the thirteenth century, the prohibition of mass on the ferias of Lent, issued by the Synod of Laodicea (can. 49), still held good, the liturgy being celebrated only on the Annunciation, and the Wednesday of Midlent, on which day, if the Chrism was not to be consecrated on the following Maundy Thursday, the Oil of the Catechumens was blessed (*Nomoc.* cap. v § 1). The principle seems to have been extended to other fasts, and this may perhaps account for the use of the Presanctified on the Vigil of the Epiphany, before the Blessing of the Water. In addition to the occasions mentioned in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. iv, no. 13, p. 70, it seems to have been used at ordinations (*Denzinger Rit. Orient.* ii 91).

The following notes may be added on the practice of the Jacobite Presanctified. The host was either reserved on the altar, as at present, or in a paten (مقفال), enclosed in the paradiscus (محصلة), a cupboard in the sanctuary (*Nomoc.* cap. i § 6). As late as the sixteenth century, Dandini records it as the practice of the Maronites to keep the Blessed Sacrament in a wooden box in a recess, without lights. Philoxenus of Mabbogh (+ c. A.D. 523), in a Carshunic MS preserved at Sharfeh, prescribes the reservation of the host, but not of the chalice, from the Sunday to the following Saturday. The only mention of the prothesis of the host and chalice is that given in the thirteenth-century MS published in the former Article¹; but as the entrance of the mysteries in the ordinary mass had by that time disappeared, it is difficult to determine whether it ever existed in the liturgy of the Presanctified.

II. This extract suggests an origin of the liturgy of the Presanctified in the method of communion practised by the hermits (S. Basil *Ep.* xciii). Elsewhere James states that stylites ought not to offer the oblation on their pillars, and that the Body is not to be left thereon, if there be any one present to give them communion. He forbids the celebration of mass to anchorets, except in cases of necessity (*Nomoc.* cap. vii § 10), but, in the passage under consideration, he makes provision for their communion by means of the Presanctified liturgy.

III. The extract, the tenth of the 'Answers on the canons' of John bar Kursus bishop of Tella (+ A.D. 538), refers to the mass, and has been misunderstood by Barhebraeus. It is the answer of John to the question whether the 'pearl', or particle, with which the chalice has been signed, may be consumed by any one, other than him who has performed the consignation. The ancient practice was that the particles cast into the chalices were left therein throughout the communion of the people, and consumed after their return to the altar by the deacons who 'ministered' the chalices, i.e. took the ablutions. This custom

¹ *J. T. S.* iv 73.

was still retained in the ninth century by the 'Chalcedonians' or Orthodox, according to the testimony of Moses bar Kipha (A.D. 813-903) in his 'Exposition of the liturgy'. The modern usage is for the priest to consume the particle in the chalice at his own communion (v. Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 102. 30: 103. 1).

The twentieth 'Answer' of John of Tella, unless the expression 'to sign the chalice' is merely an equivalent of 'to celebrate the liturgy', may possibly refer to the mass of the Presanctified:

'The disciple—If any one has received the oblation, and has ministered (i.e. purified) the chalice, can he, under stress of necessity, afterwards sign the chalice?

The master—If he has only ministered the chalice, and afterwards it is necessary to sign the chalice, God is faithful that he is without blame: but let not this be made into a custom.'

The fourteenth of the same collection also permits, if it be necessary to hallow the chalice, the 'signing' to take place without an altar. (Lamy *Dissertatio de Syrorum fide et disciplina*).

IV. It is usual to place the institution of the liturgy of the Presanctified towards the end of the sixth century, and this date is confirmed by the style of the Byzantine rite. The Jacobite writers, however, are unanimous in attributing its introduction into the jurisdiction of Antioch to the patriarch Severus (elected A.D. 511; deposed 518; +538); and if this tradition represents the truth, we must refer the institution of the liturgy to the earlier years of the century.

The existence of a similar rite among the Orthodox of Syria has been already referred to (*J. T. S.* iv 69), and a closer investigation shews that its structure is identical with that of the Jacobite liturgy, the anaphoral prayer corresponding to the Prayer of the Veil. It is also noticeable that in Vat. Syr. xli the Byzantine Presanctified bears the old Syriac title, following the transliteration of the Greek: *ܡܠܚܡܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܠܚܡܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܠܚܡܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ*. 'Προηγασμένα: Signing of the chalice of the holy mar Basil.'

In discussing the correctness of the Jacobite tradition as to the authorship of this liturgy, the passage in the Nomocanon, purporting to be the work of Severus himself (v. *supra* [IV]), must be examined.

(a) A difficulty is presented at the outset by the use of *ܫܕܪܐ*, which at the end of the seventh century was used absolutely, 'he said the sedro', but which has no Greek equivalent. In the Jacobite St James, the sedro, or prayer recited aloud before the altar in connexion with the incense, followed the entrance of the mysteries; but such a prayer does not exist at this point in the Maronite mass, and in the MSS of the Greek St James, the position of the secret *εὐχὴ τοῦ θυμιάματος* at the Great Entrance varies. A century after Severus, a considerable number of sedros were composed

by the patriarch John I (+A.D. 648), and by his contemporary, Marutha of Tagrit (+A.D. 649), some of which were certainly intended for the censng after the entrance of the mysteries; e. g. Brit. Mus. Add. 14520, saec. viii-ix, f. 140a. ܫܕܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ 'sedro of incense of the entrance of the altar'; but though Severus composed a sedro for baptism, translated by James of Edessa, there seems to be no evidence for the use of such a prayer at the censng after the entrance in the Greek liturgy of the sixth century, the sedro in this position possibly being the usage of the Jacobite monastic strongholds of northern Syria, in particular of ʿKenneshre and Gubba barraya.

(b) The blessing after the anaphoral prayer 'And may the mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all' does not occur in any of the MSS of the Greek St James, nor in the Jacobite Presanctified as given in Add. 14496, 14667, 17128, 14500: it is, however, mentioned by James of Edessa in his letter on the liturgy to the presbyter Thomas. Elsewhere it occurs only in the Byzantine rite, including the Armenian, whence it was probably borrowed by the Syriac.

(c) The formula of consignation is found in none of the MSS of the Presanctified. It closely resembles the ending of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the ordinary liturgy, save that in the present case the Son is the operator: but as it stands in the text, it has no connexion with the preceding prayer. The wording may be compared with the formula in the Greek St James: Ἡνωται καὶ ἡγίασται καὶ τετελείωται (Brightman *Litt. E. & W.* p. 62. 18), and with that of the Greek St Mark: Ἴδου ἡγίασται καὶ τετελείωται καὶ γέγονεν εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ. (*ib.* p. 139. 15). Cf. Persian (*ib.* p. 292. 6).

(d) The response of the people at the Elevation is given in the Syrian form 'One is the holy Father', &c. St Cyril of Jerusalem, however, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and all the Greek texts of St James give Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

(e) The concluding blessing 'Bless us all' (Brightman *Litt. E. & W.* p. 105. 30) is not mentioned by Moses bar Kipha, nor by the author of the treatise ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ 'The Breaking of the Eucharist', an exposition of the mass contained in a MS at Sharfeh, which judging from the order of the liturgy must be of the viii-x century. The first part of this blessing is paralleled by the ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ of the *Codex Rossanensis* of St James: 'Ο Κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ ἀγιάσει καὶ φυλάξει πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τῶν ἀχράντων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι κ.τ.λ., and possibly by the prayers following the first and second entrances (Brightman *Litt. E. & W.* pp. 33. 37: 42. 15).

A consideration of the points above mentioned leads to the conclusion that the description of the Presanctified [IV] is not a translation of the Greek, but rather presupposes the existence of the fully developed Syriac liturgy. On the other hand, the formula of consignation, in its present state apparently the end of a prayer, and having no connexion with the rest of the description, is perhaps a fragment of the original composition of Severus, worked over by a later Syrian commentator, and may have been an account of the object of the signing of the chalice with the presanctified host.

The prayers of the liturgy, if we exclude the *sedro*, present no difficulty; they are stated by Add. 14495 (saec. x-xi) to have been translated from the Greek, and may be the work of Severus. It is possible, however, in view of the statement in Add. 14496 (saec. x) that the anaphoral prayer and the consignation are the only essential parts of the rite, that these alone are the composition of that patriarch. If the eremitic origin of the Presanctified is true, and the fourteenth and twentieth 'Answers' of John of Tella refer to this rite, the prayers of this liturgy may with great probability be included in the voluminous works of the founder of the Jacobite Church of Syria.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR
PROPHETS. III.

JONAH.

Cod. Weing.

I. 14¹⁴ animam hominis
huius: et ne des super nos sanguinem eius iustum: quia tu dñe. quem-
15 admodum volisti fecisti: 15 Et acceperunt ionan: et miserunt eum
16 in mare: et stetit mare a violentia sua: 16 et timuerunt viri timore
magno dñm.: et immolaverunt hostias dñō. et vota voverunt:

II. 1¹ Et praecepit dñs. ceto magno ut gluttiret ionan: et erat ionas
2 in ventre ceti tribus noctibus: 2 Et oravit ionas de ventre ceti ad
3 dñm. dñm. suum: 3 et dixit Clamavi ad dñm. dñm. meum in tribula-
tione mea: et exaudivit me de ventre inferni clamoris mei exaudisti
4 vocem meam: 4 proiecisti me in altitudinem cordis maris: et flumina
me circumierunt: omnia turbulenta tua: et fluctus tui: super me
5 transierunt: 5 et ego dixi: expulsus sum ab oculis tuis: forsitam
6 apponam ut respiciam in templum sanctum tuum: 6 perfusa est
aqua mihi usque ad animam: abyssus circumivit me: postremo demersit
7 caput meum in fissuras montium: 7 et descendi in terram cuius
vectes sunt continentes aeternae: et ascendat corruptio vitae meae:
8 ad te dñe. dñs. meus: 8 in hoc quod defecerit anima mea a me:
dñm. mei memoratus sum: et veniat ad te oratio mea in templum
9 sanctum tuum: 9 custodientes vana et falsa misericordiam suam
10 dereliquerunt: 10 ego autem cum voce laudis et confessionis supplico

I. 14. animam tu] om N* (hab N^{c. a}) eius] om E 15. eum] τον
Iowan 95 185 16. hostias] θυσιας E (exc 51 62) A Q* (θυσιας Q^a) om 95 185
dñmō.] om. N* (superscr κω N¹).

II. 1. tribus noctibus] πρ τρεις ημερας και E 2. de ventre ceti] om N*
(hab N^{1 c. a} (vid) c. b) 3. et dixit . . . mea] om N* (hab N^{1 c. a} (vid) c. b) in
tribulatione mea] om 95 185 5. ut respiciam] επιστρεψε N* (επιβλεψε N¹-ψαι
N^{c. a, c. b}) templum] τον λαον E^{B* b} (τον ναον B^{ab} N¹ ναον A Q) 6. animam] +
μου E B Q^a (m^o) vid (om E Q*) 7. et 1^o] om E (hab 42) vectes] + αυτης E
sunt] om E corruptio] εκ φθορας E B A vitae meae] η ζωη μου E B A
ad te] om E^B

11 tibi: quaecumque vovi reddam tibi salvatori meo domino ¹¹ Et *Cod. Weing.*
praeceptum est ceto et eiecit ionan in aridam

III. 1, 2 ¹ Et factum est verbum dñi. ad ionan iterum dicens ² Surge et vade in *níneven* civitatem magnam: et praedica in eam: secundum
3 praedicationem priorem: quam ego palam locutus sum ad te ³ Et surrexit ionas et abiit in nineven civitatem: sicut locutus est ad eum dñs. nineven autem erat civitas magna dēo. quasi itinere viae dierum
4 trium: ⁴ et coepit ionas introire in civitatem: quasi itinere unius diei: et praedicavit et dixit: adhuc triduum et ninive civitas evertetur
5 ⁶ Et crediderunt viri ninevitae in dēo.: et praedicaverunt ieiunium: ⁶ et induerunt se cilicium a maiore usque ad minorem eorum: ⁶ et pervenit verbum ad regem nineves: et exsurrexit de throno suo et posuit vestem suam ab se: et operuit se cilicium et sedit cinerem:
7 ⁷ et praedicatum est in nineve: a rege et a maioribus civitatis eius dicens: homines et iumenta: et boves et oves non gustent quicquam:
8 neque pascantur neque aquam bibant ⁸ et cooperuerunt se cilicia

II 11 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* ii
Athan. ii III 3 Tycon. *Reg. Quart.*
sanct. Athan. ii

III 1-6 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct.*
III 6-10 Lucif. Cal. *De*

10. tibi salvatori meo] σοι σωτηριου B eis σωτηριον μου N^a. a non c. b A Q sic
sine μου 22 62 147 eis σωτηριαν μου L (exc 22 62 91 147) 26 49 106 11. prae-
ceptum est] + απο Κυριου N^a. b (postea ras) + Κυριος 22 51 62 147 eiecit]
reiecit L] Ionan] Ionam L in aridam] super terram L επι την ξηραν E L
(exc 62 147 eis την ξηραν) H

III. 1. Ionan] Ionam L 2. et 1^o] om E^B hab N^a. a (postea rasum) A Q
Nineven] Ninevi L Níneven E Níneven N eam] ea L palam] om L E
3. Nineven 1^o 2^o] Nineve T L civitatem] om L E sicut] secundum quae L
καθα E^B L (exc 22 36 51) H (exc 26 49 106) Q^a (καθως Q^a) ad eum] ei L om E L
(hab 36) H (hab 49) dēo.] adeo L quasi itinere viae dierum trium] sicut
iter tridui L 4. quasi itinere] sicut iter L + οδου 26 36 49 233 A Q unius
diei] tr L triduum] triduo L (οι λ' τεσσαρακοντα Q^m) civitas] om L E
evertetur] subvertetur L 5. in] om L E induerunt] vestierunt L cilicium]
cilicia L σακκους E maiore] maximo L + αυτων E^B Q^m (om A Q^a) μικρον 26
36 49 51 106 μικρον αυτων 22 62 147 minorem] minimum L μεγαλον 22 26 36 49
51 62 106 147 (εως μεγαλου αυτων N^a. b (postea μεγ. αυτ. εως μικρ. αυτ. revoc.) A Q
6. verbum] λαος N^a. b (mox λογος revoc.) ad] usque ad L Nineves] Nineve L
Níneven E L H Nínevens N^a (s improb. N^a. a postea ras) exsurrexit] surrexit L
throno suo] sede sua L posuit] abstulit a se L vestem] stolam L ab se]
om L operuit] circumdedit L 7. praedicatum est] + και ερρεθη E (Compl=
Cod. Weing.) in] om L Nineve] pon. post a rege L a maioribus civi-
tatis eius] a magistratibus illius L και παρα των μεγιστανων αυτου E παντων μεγιστανων
αυτου N^a. a, c. b dicens] λεγοντων L Ald. iumenta] pecudes L non
gustent quicquam] nihil gustent L neque 1^o] sed nec L pascantur]
vescantur L neque 2^o] et . . . non L bibant] πιτωσαν 22 51 68 87 91
153 Compl. Ald. πιτωσαν 36 49 62 147 233 8. cooperuerunt] circumdederunt L

Cod. Weing.

homines : et proclamaverunt homines et iumenta ad dñm. vehementer :
et reversi sunt unusquisque de via sua maligna : et iniusta quae erat in
9 manibus eorum : et dixerunt : ⁹ quis scit si paenitebitur dñs. et avertit
10 iram furoris sui : et non peribimus : ¹⁰ et vidit dñs. opera illorum quia
reversi sunt unusquisque a viis suis malignis : et paenituit dñm. super
mala quae locutus est ut faceret eis et non fecit :

IV. 1. ¹ Et contristatus est ionas tristitia magna : et maestus factus est :
2 ² et oravit ad dñm. et dixit : dñe. nonne haec sunt verba mea : cum
adhuc essem : in mea terra : propter hoc proposueram fugere in
tharsis : quoniam sciebam quia tu misericors es : et indulgens : et
3 patiens : et nimium misericors : et paenitens in malignitatibus ³ Et
nunc dominator dñe. accipe animam meam a me : quoniam bonum
4 est mihi mori magis quam vivere ⁴ et dixit dñs. ad ionan : si valde
5 contristatus es tu ⁵ Et exiit ionas extra civitatem : et sedit contra

III 10 Tert. Adv. Marc. ii. 24
Wirceb. IV 1, 2 Lucif. Cal. De sanct. Athan. ii
Marc. ii 24.

III 10 Cod. Wirceb.

IV 1-8 Cod.

IV 2 Tert. Adv.

homines 1^o] + και τα κτηνη E homines et iumenta om E iumenta] pecudes L
ad] apud L vehementer] instant L de] a L sua] αυτων E^B 22 maligna]
mala L et iniusta ad fin. com.] et ab iniquitate manuum suarum dicentes L et
dixerunt] λεγοντες E 9. scit] scibit L si paenitebitur] + και παρακληθησεται E
(exc 91 153) ei επιστρεφει 68 87 91 et avertit] et avertet L pr και παρακλη-
θησεται 68 87 pr κυριος και παρακληθησεται 91 153 iram] ab ira L εε οργης E B
apo οργης E 10. opera] operam L unusquisque] om E^B a viis suis
malignis] a via sua mala L dñm.] dominum Tert super mala] malitiam Cod.
Wirceb. de malignitate L de malitia Tert quae] quam Cod. Wirceb. Tert qua L
locutus est] dixerat Tert ut faceret] facere L facturum se Tert eis] om Cod.
Wirceb. illis Tert et non fecit] nec fecit Tert

IV. 1. contristatus est] + επι τούτοις 95 185 tristitia] tristitia Cod. Wirceb.
maestus factus est] confusus Cod. Wirceb. confundebatur L 2. oravit] orabit
Cod. Wirceb. ad dñm.] apud Deum L dixit] dicens L dñe.] pr O Cod.
Wirceb. L pr ω E B ω δη E pr ω δη N^c.^a b vid Q^a haec sunt] tr Cod. Wirceb. om
sunt E verba mea] + ησαν 51 62 95 147 185 + ους εαλησα A cum] dum
Cod. Wirceb. in mea terra] in terram meam Cod. Wirceb. in terra L propter
hoc] propterea Cod. Wirceb. Tert ideo L proposueram] praeoccupaveram L
praeveni Tert προεφθασα E fugere] profugere Tert in Tharsis] in
Tarosos Tert εις Θαρσεις E quoniam] quia Tert sciebam] scivi L cogno-
veram Tert + εγω N^c.^a (mox improb.) quia] om Tert tu] om Tert + θς Q
es] om Cod. Wirceb. L te esse Tert. om E L B et 3^o] om E misericors
1^o ad fin. com.] Cod. Wirceb. = Cod. Weing. miserator et benevolus patiens et
misericors et paenitens in malignitatibus L misericordem et miserescentem patientem
et plurimum misericordiae poenitentem malitiarum Tert 3. quoniam] quia Cod.
Wirceb. est] om E magis quam vivere] om magis Cod. Wirceb. η ζην με
E^B L B μαλλον η (ει N^c*) ζην με N^c.^a (μαλλον postea ras) η ζην N^c.^b A Q^a b vid η ζην με
Q^m 4. Ionan] Ionam Cod. Wirceb. Ιαναν E ad Ionan si] om 68 87 91
valde] vehementer Cod. Wirceb. + ου N^c* (improb. N^c.^a postea ras) 5. sedit contra
civitatem] om Cod. Wirceb.

civitatem : et fecit ipse sibi tabernaculum : et sedebat sub ipso in *Cod. Weing.*
 6 umbram : donec videret quid accideret civitati : ⁶ Et praecepit dñs.
 dñs. cucurbitae : et ascendit super caput ionae ut esset umbra super
 caput eius : et obumbraret eum a malis eius : et gavisus est ionas super
 7 cucurbitam gaudio magno : ⁷ et praecepit dñs. vermi antelucano in
 8 crastinum et percussit cucurbitam : et arefacta est : ⁸ et factum est
 confestim oriente sole : et praecepit dñs. spiri . . . [*Cod. Wirceb.*] *Cod. Wirceb.*
 . . . ustionis comburenti Et percussit sol super caput ionae
 et interestuabat et deficiebat anima eius et dixit bonum est mihi
 9 mori quam vivere ⁹ Et dixit dñs. ad ionam si valde contristatus es
 tu super cucurbitam et dixit valde contristatus sum ego usque
 10 ad mortem ¹⁰ Et dixit dñs. tu pepercisti super cucurbitam in qua
 non laborasti in eam neque nutristi eam que sub nocte nata est et
 11 sub nocte perit ¹¹ ego autem non parcam nunc parcam ninevem
 civitatem magnam in qua commorantur plus quam cxx milia
 hominum quae non scierunt dextram aut sinistram et pecora multa

NAHUM.

I. 4 ⁴ Comminans mari et arefaciens illud *Tertullian.*
 5 ⁵ Montes commoti sunt ab eo, et colles contremuerunt et denudata *Cyprian.*
 6 est terra ante faciem eius, et omnes qui inhabitant illam. ⁶ A facie

IV 9-11. Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* ii

Nahum I 4 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv 20 I 5 *Spec.* cxxi I 5-7 *Cypr. Testim.* iii 20

ipse] om *Ex* sibi] *αὐτῶ* *Ex*^B 87 233 tabernaculum] -am *Cod. Wirceb.*
 in umbram] om *Cod. Wirceb.* *Ex*^B *ἐκεῖ* 36 49 accideret] *ἔσται* *Ex* civitati]
 pr *en* N 6. super 1^o 2^o] supra *Cod. Wirceb.* ionae] eius *Cod. Wirceb.*
 umbra] pr *eis* N^{c.a} (mox ras) eius 1^o] ionae *Cod. Wirceb.* et obumbraret
 eum a malis eius] ut a malis obumbraret illum *Cod. Wirceb.* et obumbraret]
 του σκιαζειν *Ex* eius 2^o] *αὐτῶν* N* (-του N^{c.a}, c. b) 7. dñs.] ο *θεος*
Ex^B *IL* *Κυριος* ο *θεος* A Q 26 36 49 62 106 147 233 ων N* antelucano]
 matutino *Cod. Wirceb.* 8. dñs.] pr *ks* A Q 26 153 spiri . . .] *spū* *Cod. Wirceb.*
 bonum est] om est *Ex* mihi] om Q* hab Q^{mg} mori] + *με* *Ex*^B *IL* *Ex* (om *me* N)
 vivere] + *με* N^{c.a} Q 9. dñs.] ο *θεος* *Ex*^B deus L *Κυριος* ο *θεος* *IL* (exc 153 233 *Κυριος*)
IL (exc 68 87 91) N^{c.b} A Ionam] *Ιωναν* *Ex* et dixit 2^o] om L ego] om L
 10. super] om L cucurbitam] cucurbitae L in eam] om L 68 87 91 95 153
 185 *en* *αὐτὴν* N^{c.a} (vid) *eis* *αὐτὴν* N^{c.b} Q^a neque] *καὶ οὐκ* *Ex* (οὐδε N^{c.b}) que] quae
 L η *Ex* sub nocte nata est] tr *Ex*^B *IL* *Ex* sub nocte 2^o] per noctem L 11. nunc
 parcam] om L *Ex* Ninevem] in Nineve L *ννερ* *Νινευη* *Ex* magnam] om A
 commorantur] habitant L + *en* *αὐτῇ* Q^{mg} plus quam] *πλειους* *Ex*^B *IL* *Ex* *πλιου* N*
 (πλιους N^{c.a}) + η N^{c.a} Q cxx milia] centum viginti millia L *δωδεκα μυριαδες* *Ex*
 quae] qui L *οἱτινες* *Ex* scierunt] sciverunt L *εἰγῶσαν* *Ex* dextram] + *αὐτῶν* *Ex*
 sinistram] + *αὐτῶν* *Ex*

I. 5. ab eo] ab illo S *νπ* *αὐτοῦ* Q* 153 et colles contremuerunt et] om N* (hab N^{17a}?)
 partim reser partim inst N^{c.o}) contremuerunt] tremuerunt S et denudata
 est ad fin. com.] et formidavit universa terra et petrae confractae sunt ante eum S
 eius] + η *συνπασα* *Ex* omnes] om 22 51 *Compl* 6. a facie] *προ προσώπου* *IL*

irae eius quis sustinebit? Et quis resistit in ira animi ipsius? Animatio ipsius fluere facit principatus, et petrae dissolutae sunt ab illo.
 7 ⁷ Bonus Dominus illis qui eum sustinent in die pressurae, et cognoscens illos qui eum timent

- Speculum.* 12 ¹² Haec dicit Dominus, princeps aquarum multarum
 14 ¹⁴ . . . exterminabo sculptilia
 15 tua, et fusilia tua in sepulturam . . . ¹⁶ Quia ecce veloces
 pedes super montes evangelizantes et adnuntiantes pacem
 II. 2 ² . . . Considera viam, tene lumbos,
 viriliter age in virtute nimis.
Tyconius. III. 3 ³ . . . non erat finis gentilibus illius
 16 ¹⁶ Multiplicasti mercatus tuos super astra caeli
 19 ¹⁹ . . . super quem
 non evenit malitia tua semper?

HABAKKUK.

- Speculum.* I. 3 ³ Ut quid mihi ostendisti labores et dolores, ut viderem miseriam
 et impietatem? Adversus me ortum est iudicium et iudex accepit.
 4 ⁴ Propter hoc disiecta est lex et non perducitur in finem iudicium,
 quia impius per potentiam deprimit iustum ideoque exiet iudicium
 perversum
Luc. Cal. 13 ¹³ . . . cur inspicias super contemptores?
 Tacebis ob hoc quod devoret impius iustum?
Cyprian. II. 1 ¹ Super custodiam meam stabo et gradum figam super petram

I 12-15 *Spec. cxx* I 15 *Tert. Adv. Marc. iii. 16* II 2 *Spec. cxix*
 III 3, 16 *Tycon. Reg. Quart.* III 16 *Spec. cxvi* III 19 *Tycon. Reg. Quart.*
Habakkuk I 3, 4 *Spec. x* I 4, 13 *Luc. Cal. De sanct. Athan. i 35*
 II 1 *Cyp. De duplic. martyr. 39*

irae] *om Q* vid (hab. Q^a (m^o))* et quis resistit] *om 62* 14. tua 1^o] *om E*
 (hab A) sepulturam] + σου *E L (om 153) H* 15. Quia] quoniam *Tert om*
E L (dicit 95 185) H veloces] *om E* pedes] *pr vs 26* super montes] in
 monte *Tert* evangelizantes] -tis *Tert* ευαγγελιζομενου *E* et adnuntiantes] *om*
Tert και απαγγελοντος *E L (και απαγγελοντες 62 147) H*
 II. 2. in virtute] + σου 26 49 106 153 A
 III. 16. Multiplicasti . . . caeli] *om N* (hab N^{c.a})* mercatus] negotiatores S
 super] sicut S *ws N^{c.a} ωσπερ N^{c.b}* astra] stellas S
 I. 3. miseriam] *pr* επι *L A* ortum est] *γεγονεν E* accepit] + κρισην 68
 4. per potentiam] *om E* deprimit] oppressit L 13. Tacebis . . . iustum]
 παρασιωπηση εν τω καταπινειν ασειβη τον δικαιον *E* devoret] καταπιειν *N^{c.b}* (rursus
 -πινειν) Q* (-πινειν Q^m) iustum] + υπερ αυτον 36 49 87 91 + υπερ αυτο 61 147
 II. 1. et gradum figam] *om Q* (hab Q^m)*

- 4⁴ iustus autem ex fide mea vivit. *Cyprian*.
 5⁵ Ille vero qui praesumit et contumax est, vir sui iactans, nihil omnino
 proficiet; qui dilatavit tamquam inferi animam suam
 9⁹ O qui acquirit avaritiam malam domui suae [*Luc. Cal.*] ut conlocet *Speculum*.
 in altum nidum suum *Luc. Cal.*
 10¹⁰ Cogitasti confusionem domui tuae peccavit *Speculum*.
 12¹² anima tua [*Luc. Cal.*] Vae qui aedificant civi- *Luc. Cal.*
 tatem in sanguinibus et praeparant civitatem in iniquitatibus
 16¹⁶ circumdedit te calix dexterae *Speculum*.
 Domini et convenit iniuria super tuum
 III. 2² Domine audiivi auditum tuum et extimui. Consideravi opera *Tertullian*.
 tua et excidi mente. In medio duorum animalium cognosceris
 3³ textit caelos virtus eius et *Cyprian*.
 4⁴ laudis eius plena est terra. 4⁴ Et splendor eius ut lux erit, cornua in
 manibus eius erunt; et illic constabilita est virtus gloriae eius, et
 5⁵ constituet dilectionem validam. 6⁶ Ante faciem suam ibit verbum, et
 praecedet in campos secundum greges suos
 6⁶ defluerunt gentes, quassati sunt montes vehementer, *Speculum*.
 liquefacti sunt colles aeternales
 9⁹ fluminibus dirumpetur terra, *Tertullian*.
 10¹⁰ videbunt te, et parturient populi; disperges aquas gressu; dedit

II 4 *Cypr. Testim.* i 5; iii 42; *Spec.* xxxiv, cxxv II 5 *Cypr. Epist.* lix 3,
 Ixviii 4; *Spec.* xxxiv; *Luc. Cal. De sanct. Athan.* i 36 II 9 *Luc. Cal. De*
sanct. Athan. i 36 II 9, 10 *Spec.* xxii, xcvi II 12 *Luc. Cal. De*
sanct. Athan. i 36 II 16 *Spec.* cxxiii. III 2, 3, 4 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv 22
 III 3-5 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 21 III 6 *Spec.* cxxi III 8-13 *Tert. Adv.*
Marc. iv 39

4. iustus] + μου *Θ* A mea] om *Θ* 36 153 185 sua *S* (al = C) 5. vero] al
 autem C praesumit et] al om C sibi placens autem contemptor et vir
 superbus nihil proficiet *S* placens et contemptor vir superbus nihil proficiet qui
 dilatavit sicut inferus animam *L* Ille vero . . . est] ο δε κατοικομενος καταφροντης *Ε*
 et] om B hab B^a vir sui iactans] om *Ε* B *Θ* ανηρ αλαζων Bab^m *Θ* A Q
 9. acquirit avaritiam] fundat foundationem *L* altum] οικη *N** (υφος *N*^a, a, c, b)
 12. qui aedificant] ο οικοδομων *Ε* praeparant] ετοιμαζων 16. te] *pr* επι *Ε* (om
 επι *Compl*) convenit . . . tuum] om *N** hab *N*^a

III. 2. extimui] εφοβηθην *Ε* *Θ* (exc 62 147 ευλαβηθην) *Θ* consideravi] *pr* κυριε
Θ 49 68 91 *pr* κε *N* 3. textit] operuit *Tert* 4. Et splendor eius ut lux erit]
Tert = C διαυγασμα φωτος εσται αυτω 62 147 erunt] om *Ε* *Θ* (υπαρχει αυτω 36
 62 147) *Θ* A (cum υπαρχει in charact. minore) et illic . . . eius] και εθετο αγαπησιν
 κραταιαν ισχυος αυτου *Ε* *Θ* (exc 62 147) *Θ* εκει επεστηρικται η δυναμις της δοξης αυτου
 62 147 (23 239) 5. praecedet] εφελευσονται *Q*^a (-σεται *Q*) 49 153 233 in
 campos] εις πεδιαν *N*^a εν πεδιλοις *A* Q 26 233 εις παιδειαν *Θ* (exc 48 62 147 234) *Θ*
 (exc 26 49) secundum greges suos] al sec. gregus suos al sec. gressus suos *C*
 κατα ποδας αυτου *Ε* B *Θ* (exc 153 233) *Θ* (exc 26 49) οι ποδες αυτου *A* Q 26 49 153 233
 9. fluminibus] ποταμων *Ε* *Θ* (exc 95 185) *Θ* (exc 26) ποταμων *N*^a (postea -μων) 26
 ποταμοις 95 185 10. disperges] σκορπισαν *Ε* (διασπερει *Compl*) gressu]

- 11 abyssus sonum suum, sublimitas timoris eius elata est. ¹¹ Sol et luna
constitit in suo ordine, in lucem coruscationes tuae ibunt, in fulgorem,
12 fulgor scutum tuum. ¹² In comminatione tua diminues terram, et in
13 indignatione tua depones nationes. ¹³ Existi in salutem populi tui
Auct. c. Fulg. ad salvos faciendos Christos tuos [*Auct. contra Fulg.*
Donat. 15 *Donat.*] ¹⁵ Imposuisti in mari equos tuos, turbantes aquas multas
Cyprian. 17 [*Cypr.*] ¹⁷ Ficus non adferet fructum et non erunt
nascentia in vineis. Mentietur opus olivae et campi non praestabunt
cibum. Deficient a pabulo oves et non erunt in praesepibus boves.
18 ¹⁸ Ego autem in Domino exultabo, gaudebo in Deo salutari meo.

ZEPHANIAH.

- Cyprian.* I. 2, 3 ² Defectione deficiat a facie terrae, dicit Dominus; ³ deficiat
homo et pecudes, deficient volucres caeli et pisces maris: et auferam
iniquos a facie terrae
7 ⁷ Metuite a facie Domini Dei: quoniam prope est dies eius,
quia paravit Dominus sacrificium suum, sanctificavit electos suos
Auct. c. Fulg. 8 [*Auct. contra Fulg. Donat.*] ⁸ Erit in die sacrificii
Donat. Domini et vindicabo in principibus et in omnes vestitos veste aliena
Speculum. 11 ¹¹ [*Speculum.*] disperierunt omnes qui exaltantur
Luc. Cal. 12 in argento et auro. [*Luc. Cal.*] ¹² Et erit in illo die scrutinabo
Hierusalem cum lucerna: defendam super viros, qui contemptores
sunt ne custodiant mandata
Cyprian. 13 ¹³ aedificabunt domos, et non inhabitabunt: et

III 15 *Auct. contra Fulg. Donat.* III 17, 18 *Cypr. Ad Demet. xx*
Zephaniah I 2, 3 *Cypr. Testim. iii 47* I 7 *Cypr. Testim. ii 20* I 8 *Auct.*
contra Fulg. Donat. I 11 *Spec. xxii* I 12 *Luc. Cal. De sanct. Athan. i 36*;
Spec. (Aug.) xvi I 13, 14 *Cypr. Testim. iii 61*

πορείας αὐτοῦ A Q 26 36 49 106 153 233 elata est] ἐπὶ ῥῆσιν Ἐ (ὑψωθὶς Compl)
11. in lucem] εἰς φῶς Ἐ (ἐν φωτὶ Compl) 12. tua 1^o] οἱ Ἐ L (exc 95 185
233) H (exc 26 49) hab. A Q^m tua 2^o] οἱ Ἐ L (exc 233) H (exc 49) hab. A Q^m
depones] καταφεῖς Ἐ καταρφεῖς Q (καταρ. Q^m) 13. ad salvos faciendos] τοῦ σωσαι Ἐ
Christos tuos] τὸν χριστὸν σου Ἐ^B (τοὺς χριστοὺς L H N^{c. o} (vid) A Q) 15. Im-
posuisti] πρ καὶ Ἐ ἐπιβίβας Ἐ^B ἐπεβίβασας L (exc 62 147) H N^{c. a} A Q aquas
multas] ὕδωρ πολὺ Ἐ (ὕδατα πολλὰ L H N^{c. b}) 17. Ficus] πρ διότι Ἐ erunt]
ὑπαρχοῦσιν Ἐ ὑπαρξοῦσι L (exc 48 51 62 147 233) H (exc 49 68) in praesepibus
boves] + ἐξ ἰασεως αὐτῶν Q^a (ἐξ ἰλασεως αὐτῶν Q^a) + ἐξ ἰλασεως αὐτῶν A 26 153
ἐξ ἰλασεως αὐτῆς 233 18. in 1^o] ἐπὶ A Q in 2^o] ἐπὶ Ἐ

I. 2. deficiat] ἐκλιπῶν N^a (ἐκλιπῶν πάντα N^{c. a}) ἐκλιπῶσαν N^{c. b} 3. deficiat]
ἐκλιπῶν N^a (ἐκλιπ. N^{c. a, c, b}) ἐκλιπῶν A Q deficient] ἐκλιπῶν N^a (ἐκλιπ. N^{c. a, c, b})
Q ἐκλιπῶσαν A maris] + καὶ ἀσθενησοῦσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς (βασιλεῖς N^a (ἀσ sup ras N^a)
Ἐ L (exc 22 καὶ τὰ σκανδαλὰ τοῖς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀσθενησοῦσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς) H 7. eius]
τοῦ Κυρίου Ἐ 8. Erit] πρ καὶ Ἐ principibus] + καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλεως Ἐ
11. in argento] οἱ in Ἐ (hab 311) et auro] οἱ Ἐ 12. S = Vulg (exc
Hierusalem S Jerusalem Vulg lucernis S in lucernis Vulg) ne custodiant mandata]
ἐπὶ τὰ φυλαγμὰ αὐτῶν Ἐ 13. inhabitabunt] + ἐν αὐταῖς Ἐ (om Compl)

III. 1 ¹ Civitas contemnens quae habitat in spe, quae dicit in corde suo, Ego sum et non est post me adhuc! quomodo facta est in exterminium pascua bestiarum! omnis qui transit per illam sibilabit, 2 et movebit manus suas. ² O inlustris et redempta civitas, columba quae non audit vocem, non recepit disciplinam, in Domino non est con- 3 fisa, et ad Deum suum non adpropinquavit. ³ Principes eius in ea ut leones frementes, iudices eius ut lupi Arabiae non relinquebant in 4 mane. ⁴ Profetae eius spiritu elati viri contemptores, sacerdotes eius 5 profanant sacra et conscelerant legem. ⁵ Dominus autem iustus in medio eius non faciet iniustum

Cyprian.

8 ⁸ Expecta me, dicit Dominus, in die resurrectionis meae in testimonium, quoniam iudicium meum ad congregationes gentium, ut excipiam reges, et effundam super eos iram meam

III 1-5 Tycon. *Reg. Quart.*; Luc. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 36 III 1, 2 Cypr. *Ad Novat.* v III 4 *Spec.* xlviii III 8 Cypr. *Testim.* iii 106; *De bono pat.* xxi.

III. 1. Civitas] *pr αυτη* *Gr* in spe] *εν ελπιδι* *Gr* *εν ελπ.* Q* (*superscr.* π Q* *vid*)
2. Columba non exaudit vocem, id est praecleara et redempta civitas, non recepit doctrinam, et in Dominum fidens non fuit C inlustris] quae erat splendida L quae] *om* *Gr* vocem] + *σου* 68 87 disciplinam] *παιdias* N* (-*διαν* N^{c. a, c. b}) non adpropinquavit] non accessit L *ουκ ηγγικεν* Q 153 233 *ουκ ηγγισεν* *Gr* *L* (*exc* 153 233) *℣* 3. in ea] *om* L *hab* *Gr* (*om* *Arm.*) ut 1^o 2^o] sicut L frementes] fremunt L non relinquebant] non subreliquerunt L 4. spiritu elati] spirituales L eius 2^o] *αυτων* Γ profanant *ad fin com*] contaminant se et impie agunt L contaminant sancta et reprobant legem S sacra et conscelerant] *om* N* (*hab* N^{c. a}) legem] *pr eis τον* *L* 5. iustus] + est L non] *pr et* L *Gr* iniustum] iniuste L *αδικων* 62 147 *αδικον* *Gr* *L* (*exc* 62 147) *℣* 8. Expecta] *pr δια τουτο* *Gr* in die] *eis ημεραν* *Gr* (*εν ημερα* 42 240 *Compl*) iram meam] *pr πασαν* *Gr* *L* *℣* *pr την οργην μου* *L* N^{c. b} (*vid*) (*postea ras*)

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

THE METRICAL ENDINGS OF THE LEONINE SACRAMENTARY.

It is now more than twenty years since M. Noël Valois, by the publication of his study of the rhythmical system known as the 'cursus Leoninus' or 'stylus Gregorianus', as it appears in the Papal bulls of the middle ages¹, awakened interest in the history and development

¹ *Etude sur le rythme des bulles pontificales: Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* 1881.

of the 'cursus'. Since that time much has been written on the subject, especially on the earlier history of the system which after long disuse was 'restored' in the eleventh century. Its use has been traced further and further back by successive writers. By Mgr Duchesne it was shewn that the 'cursus' introduced by Gelasius II and improved by Gregory VIII was professedly a revival of the usage of the time of St Leo¹. M. Léonce Couture traced the use of a similar system in liturgical formulae, and in the works of Christian writers from the third century to the time of St Gregory². M. Louis Havet shewed that the letters of Symmachus are permeated by a 'cursus' which is not a matter of rhythm and accent, but of metre and quantity³. Prof. W. Meyer, in a notice of M. Havet's work, advanced a theory of the metrical principle of the 'cursus' differing from that of M. Havet⁴. Prof. E. Norden has traced the use of the 'cursus' in classical writers, Greek as well as Latin, and brought together passages from various authorities to elucidate its principles, following and supporting the general theory of Prof. Meyer, though differing from him on points of detail⁵. So far as I am aware no systematic attempt has been made, save in certain papers by Dom A. Gropellier⁶, to shew the extent to which the 'cursus' can be traced in the early sacramentaries, or the precise character of the 'cursus' which they exhibit.

In the following note I have attempted to deal with a part of this task for the Leonine sacramentary (*Leon*). The final phrases of its prayers and prefaces form the natural starting-point for such an investigation, and to these I have for the present limited my examination of its contents⁷. I have followed the text of Mr. Feltoe's edition, but in

¹ *Note sur l'origine du 'cursus'*: *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* 1889.

² *Revue des questions historiques* 1892.

³ *La prose métrique de Symmaque et les origines métriques du 'cursus'* Paris 1892.

⁴ In *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1893. Prof. Meyer held that the 'cursus' does not depend upon the form of the last word, but is made up by combinations in which the cretic plays a special part.

⁵ *Die antike Kunstprosa* Leipzig 1898.

⁶ *Revue du chant Grégorien* 1897. The discussion of the 'cursus' in its relation to the Gregorian plainsong by Dom A. Mocquereau, in vol. iv of *Paléographie Musicale*, proceeds, of course, on different lines.

⁷ By 'final phrase' I mean, of course, not the 'common form' beginning e.g. with 'Per' or 'Et ideo', but the phrase immediately preceding this 'common form' or separated from it by words which serve only to connect the 'common form' with the prayer or preface, and which may be treated as belonging rather to the 'common form'. In three cases it seemed uncertain where the division should be made, or whether any 'final phrase' could be clearly separated from the rest of the prayer. These I have left out of the reckoning. Where the MS seems to indicate alternative forms of final phrase I have reckoned both: where a prayer is

giving references I have cited not the pages of that edition but the columns of Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (1745), since that numeration is to be found in the margins of Mr. Feltoe's volume, and is therefore equally useful for either text.

In classifying and tabulating the endings of *Leon*, I have so far followed the system employed by M. Louis Havet in his examination of the letters of Symmachus (*Sym*) as to make my arrangement depend on the form of the final word or group of syllables. It is, I think, not impossible that for the composer or composers of the prayers the form of the last word did actually determine that of the word preceding—that they would, for instance, have described the ending 'esse concede' (with Martianus Capella) as formed by prefixing a trochee to a final molossus, rather than (with Terentianus Maurus) as composed of a cretic followed by a trochee: and in any case the relative frequency of particular forms in the final word seems to be a factor of which account should be taken in estimating the character of the 'cursus' as it appears in a particular author or collection. But in following M. Havet's plan I have specially had in view the convenience of ready comparison with his record of the results of his observations with regard to the final phrases of Symmachus: the method does not imply disregard of the theory of the original principle of the 'cursus' to which the investigations of Prof. W. Meyer and Prof. E. Norden would seem to lead.

In respect of the form of the final word or group of syllables there is less variety in *Leon* than in *Sym*. On the other hand, one type of final which is hardly found at all in *Sym* is not infrequent in *Leon*. The whole number of endings of which I have taken account is 1,340. In four of these the last word is a monosyllable, in thirty-five a dissyllable, in 605 a word of three, in 695 a word of four, and in one a word of five syllables. The four final monosyllables are all parts of a larger group—*quae iusta sunt, quae recta sunt, exorta est, quod suum est*. In the following table these are classed among four-syllable endings. Of the final dissyllables thirty-four are preceded by a monosyllable with which they are closely linked, so that the endings in which they occur may be classed as three-syllable endings: and in the same way 154 of the 605 final trisyllables are preceded by a monosyllable, forming a four-syllable group¹.

divided into paragraphs, as in the *Consecratio Episcoporum*, I have reckoned only the last.

¹ In seven out of the 154 cases it may perhaps be said that the monosyllable is more closely connected with the word which precedes than with that which follows it, or is, so to say, disconnected from both. For convenience of tabulation, however, I have reckoned these also as four-syllable groups.

The principal types of final word or group represented in *Sym* are all found in *Leon*: their relative frequency may be most clearly shewn in tabular form:—

Type of final	<i>Sym.</i>			<i>Leon.</i>		
	Single words	Groups of syllables	Total	Single words	Groups of syllables	Total
— — ∞ (A)	207	5	212	449	34	483
∞ ∞ — ∞ (B 1)	54	1	55	71	2	73
— ∞ ∞ ∞ (B 2)	98	8	106	196	32	228
— — ∞ ∞ (B 3)	160	31	191	89	42	131
— ∞ — ∞ (C)	199	36	235	257	58	315

Thus the whole number of final words or groups which belong to one or other of these five types is in *Sym* 799 out of about 940, in *Leon* 1,230 out of 1,340. The great majority of the remaining finals of *Leon* belong to one of two types: these are ∞ — — ∞ (D) and — — — ∞ (E). The type D is represented in *Sym* by twenty-nine instances, all but one being four-syllable words: in *Leon* it appears forty-six times, forty-one being cases of a four-syllable word. The type E is hardly ever employed by Symmachus as the last word of a letter: in *Leon* it appears forty-nine times, thirty-one being cases of a four-syllable word, eighteen of a three-syllable word with preceding monosyllable. The fifteen remaining finals of *Leon* are divided as follows: ∞ — ∞ — occurs six times, five being cases of a single word; this is hardly to be found as a final in *Sym*: ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ is an *apparent* final in five cases in *Leon*, but is not used as a final in *Sym*: — — (once in *Sym*), ∞ — — (thirteen times in *Sym*), — ∞ ∞ (twenty-eight times in *Sym*), and — ∞ — ∞ — (once in *Sym*), each appear in a single instance in *Leon*.

According to M. Havet's observations *Sym* furnishes 207 cases in which the last word of a letter is of the type A. In 204 of these the penultimate word or group supplies a trochee before the final word, producing the ending — ∞ — — ∞, the parent of the later 'cursus planus'. Out of the 483 finals of this type in *Leon*, one is preceded by two monosyllables, 124 or 125 by a word of two syllables, the remainder by a word of three or more. The *foot* preceding the final word is in 472 cases a trochee. In one case the text is apparently faulty; the most probable emendation gives the form 'cuncta succedant'¹: in 'proficiendo sectemur' it is likely that the syllable before the final word should be regarded as short. The remaining nine cases² substitute a spondee for the penultimate trochee. *Leon* supplies no instance of

¹ The prayer in question is omitted in Muratori's text, where it should appear on col. 481. Bianchini's emendation seems better than that suggested by Mr. Feltoe.

² Including 'possis audire', which occurs thrice.

a tribrach before a final word of type A, a combination which occurs three times in *Sym*.

This variation is not mentioned by Martianus Capella, who, in common with other authorities cited by Prof. Norden, commends the ending — — — — which he describes as produced by combining a trochee with final molossus. The substitution of a spondee for the penultimate trochee he regards as bad: probably the few cases of this ending in *Leon* are due to the influence of accent.

With the final molossus Martianus Capella connects the three types of final which appear in the table above as B 1, B 2, B 3. These he treats as developements or variations of the molossus, formed by resolution of its first, second, or third syllable. The form B 1, which he also describes as 'ionicus minor', may be combined either with a trochee or with a tribrach, the other two forms apparently with a trochee only¹. All three types occur frequently both in *Sym* and in *Leon*, but their relative frequency, as will be seen from the table above, is by no means the same in the two collections. In *Sym* B 3 is more common than the other two taken together; in *Leon* the instances of B 2 outnumber those of B 1 and B 3. In both collections B 1 is the least common of the three types. In *Sym* all three types of final are regularly combined with a preceding trochee, thus furnishing the endings — — — — (the 'esse videatur' of Cicero), which Julius Victor describes as composed of a 'paeon primus' followed by a spondee; — — — —, described by Terentianus Maurus as a cretic followed by a tribrach; and — — — —, which Terentianus Maurus describes as a cretic followed by a dactyl, Julius Victor as a doubled cretic. M. Havet points out that the ending 'esse videatur' is a form which would tend to disappear when accent rather than quantity became the principal factor in determining the final cadence. Under this condition, while the distinction between the final B 2 and B 3 would be obscured, and the one type would be confused with the other, neither of them would be confused with a final of a different type: they would both be com-

¹ Trisyllabis clausulam terminantibus lex est, si modo eam velis molliter fluere, ut trochaeo praecedente paenultimo molossus subsequatur, siue longam habeat nouissimam syllabam siue breuem iure metrico, ut illud est Tullii 'mare fluctuantibus litus eiectis'. fit autem pessima clausula si pro trochaeo paenultimo spondeum praelocaueris ut si dicas 'mare fluctuantibus rupes eiectis'. . . . item bona clausula fit si pro nouissimo molosso ionicus minor ponatur post trochaeum, ut si dicas 'mare fluctuantibus litus agitantis'. . . . si autem paenultimo trochaeo mediam molossi solueris, pulchram clausulam feceris, ut si dicas 'litus Aemiliae'. item trochaeo paenultimo pulchre etiam tertia molossi resoluitur ut si dicas 'litus aequabile'. item si trochaei paenultimi longam soluerimus et primam molossi ultimi, fit elegans clausula ut est 'curas regere animorum'. Mart. Cap. *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* v (522). The passage is mentioned by Norden *Die antike Kunstprosa* p. 929.

bined with a trochee or with its rhythmical equivalent, and both pass into the later 'cursus tardus'. The type B 1, on the other hand, would tend to be confused with the type C, a tendency which would be assisted by uncertainty as to the quantity of the first syllable. It would therefore be combined with such preceding words as would be suitable in the case of a final of the type C, and pass, like that type, into the later 'cursus velox'¹.

It might therefore be expected that the usage with regard to type B 1 would, as the influence of quantity declined before that of accent, be less stable and constant than that which is observed with regard to B 2 and B 3. That this is actually the case in *Leon* will be seen from the following tabular statement:—

	B 1	B 2	B 3
Preceded by — —	45	215	125
„ — — —	4	0	0
„ — — —	18	1	2
„ — — —	4	0	0
„ — — —	2	0	0
„ — — —	0	12	4
Total	73	228	131

The number of exceptions to the rule shewn in this table should perhaps be somewhat reduced. I have classed as belonging to the type B 1 six cases in which the last word is 'celebramus' or 'celebremus'. These ought perhaps rather to be classed as D. If they are deducted the total of instances of B 1 will be reduced to sixty-seven, of which forty-nine will be regular according to the rules of Martianus Capella. Two cases of an apparent penultimate spondee under B 2 are perhaps really regular². It is clear, however, that while in the case of B 2 and B 3 the few departures from rule are of the same kind which we have seen in the case of A, the more frequent irregularities in the case of B 1 are all of another character: they substitute for the trochee a foot with short penultimate, thus assimilating the ending to those which we find in the case of type C or D.

The type C is more frequent in *Sym* and *Leon* than any other save A. It is, of course, the 'dichoreus', which is regarded by the authorities

¹ See Havet *La prose métrique de Symmaque* p. 9.

² These are 'renovando vivificent' and 'lucis aeternae efficeret'. In the latter of these (470) 'aeternae' is an alternative reading for 'perpetuae' and should probably stand before, not after, 'lucis'. It is just possible that in the phrase 'convertere supplicibus' 'convertere' should be regarded not as imperative but as future indicative. The two cases of a dactyl before B 3 are the ending of a preface which occurs twice.

cited by Prof. Norden as a final cadence complete in itself¹. But Terentianus Maurus rejects the ending produced by adding a 'bacchius' to the cretic, i. e. an ending consisting of three trochees. This combination is avoided in the case of a final of the type C by the common usage of *Sym* and *Leon*, which place before this type of final word a word or group of three or more syllables with short penultimate word. In *Leon* this usage is almost invariable. Of the 315 finals of this type 310 are preceded by a cretic, an anapaest, a dactyl or a tribrach: the cretic is the most frequent, the dactyl next, the tribrach the least common. In more than half the cases the syllable preceding the final word is long. In *Sym* this is still more general². Of the five apparent exceptions to the rule in *Leon*, one has before the final the words 'ostensum est', another 'gratae sunt'³: the remaining three have a trochee; but in two of these the last word is 'prosequaris' which might fairly, in view of the uncertainty of late writers as to the quantity of 'pro' in composition, be assigned rather to the type B 1. In any case it is clear that in *Leon* the ending of three consecutive trochees is on the whole carefully avoided⁴.

M. Havet treats the type D as a variant of the type C, having regard apparently to the facts that the usage of *Sym*, in respect of the penultimate word or group of the phrase, is the same for both, and that both types, so treated, would pass into the later 'cursus velox'⁵. The same usage is found in *Leon*, where, out of forty-six instances of a final of type D⁶, forty-one are preceded by a polysyllabic word or group of which the penultimate syllable is short. But it would be difficult to suppose that the type D was originally admitted as the equivalent of the 'ditrocheus' where the system was regulated by quantity. It may be observed that in *Leon* the syllable immediately preceding a final of this type is long in thirty cases or more out of the forty-six. It may be said that these cases yield an ending of the form — u — — u, while others would give the form u u u — — u, and that it seems not altogether unlikely that the type D, at first treated as one of the elements in these combinations, was, at a later time, under the influence of accent, or in some cases through uncertainty as to the quantity of its first two syllables,

¹ Martianus Capella v (521) recognizes it as good when composed of two dissyllables. A lacuna in his text leaves it uncertain whether he gave any rule as to the form of the word preceding a quadrisyllable of this type.

² See Havet *La prose métrique de Symmaque* p. 37.

³ On these cases see below, p. 394.

⁴ Cassiodorus, in a passage quoted by Prof. Norden (*Die antike Kunstprosa* p. 930), treats this ending as one which ought to be discarded: 'trochaicum triplicem laudabilis neglectus abscondat' (*De inst. div. litt.* 15).

⁵ *La prose métrique de Symmaque* pp. 8, 36, 37.

⁶ I include 'patronorum', 'sacrauerunt', 'sacramentum'.

assimilated to the type C. In *Leon* out of the five cases in which it is not so treated it is preceded by a trochee in four, in one by the combination 'digni sunt' ¹.

The type E is of very rare occurrence in *Sym*. Its appearance in *Leon* is nearly as frequent as that of D. It seems to be treated as a variety of C, having before it in all cases but one ² a word or group with a short penultimate syllable. The syllable before the final word or group is short in the majority of cases. The admission of this type is probably due in part to the influence of accent, in part to uncertainty as to the quantity of the second syllable, as in the cases of 'et profectum' ³, 'suffragantur', 'suffragator', 'suffragari'.

The final $\cup - \cup -$ is preceded in one case by a spondee, in five by a trochee. In the rare cases of its occurrence in *Sym* the preceding foot is always a spondee; but the instances are too few to warrant the assertion of a rule. It seems most likely that all the instances should be regarded as cases of faulty endings. The five cases of final $\cup \cup \cup \cup$, a type not found in *Sym*, are all instances of the same phrase, 'gratias tibi referimus'. I am inclined to think that these words should be connected rather with those which follow than with those which precede them, and do not constitute the true ending of the collects in which they occur. The words preceding 'gratias' furnish in each case an ending of a more regular kind ⁴. With regard to the four isolated cases it may be observed that the instance of $\cup - -$, 'iustificando capaces' (358) may be said to yield a 'dichoreus', that of $- -$, 'conferant vitam' (405) an ending of the form $- \cup - - -$; the instance of $- \cup \cup$, 'elegere super omnia' (446) is in accordance with the usage of *Sym*. The single case of a five-syllable final is 'sequatur universitas' (333).

M. Havet remarks ⁵ that the only monosyllables which Symmachus allows to stand at the end of a phrase are those which belong to the conjugation of the verb 'sum'. This rule holds good for the small number of final monosyllables which appear in *Leon*. Two of these are 'est', two 'sunt'. At the end of a group of syllables preceding the final word 'sunt' appears five times, 'est' twice, 'sit' twice: there

¹ See below, p. 394.

² The ending in this case is 'redemptionis exercetur' (304). It may be observed that the last word appears in the MS as 'exercitur', and that in the variation of the same collect which appears in the Gelasian sacramentary the MS has 'exercitum'.

³ The authority of Ausonius *Idyll.* iv 71 may perhaps favour the transference of the four cases of this final to the type C.

⁴ These are 'dona sumentes' (346), 'perceptione satiati' (348), 'recordatione satiati' (402), 'dulcedine vegetati' (396), and 'dona caelestia' (367).

⁵ *La prose métrique de Symmaque* p. 66.

are no instances of any other monosyllable in this position. M. Havet remarks further that in *Sym* the monosyllable in such a case seems to be treated as non-existent for metrical purposes, so that on the one hand it is a matter of indifference whether the syllable preceding it is short, long, or subject to elision, and on the other hand the word preceding the group of which a final monosyllable forms part has the same form as if the monosyllable were not there. In *Leon*, except for the doubtful 'lucis aeternae efficeret' mentioned above¹, there is no case of elision or hiatus in a final phrase, except before the word 'est': 'exorta est', 'quod suum est' are the only instances: in a penultimate group of syllables there is no other case besides 'ostensum est'². But I am inclined to think that in all cases in *Leon* these monosyllables have the full value as syllables, and that in the three cases specified the hiatus is admitted. It may be that M. Havet's view that a long vowel before 'sunt' at the end of a phrase is in *Sym* practically regarded as short, should be taken into account in the cases of 'digni sunt' and 'gratae sunt' before finals of type C or D. The other cases of final 'est', 'sit', 'sunt' are regular (apart from hiatus) if 'est', 'sit', 'sunt' have their full value: most of them would not be so if the monosyllable were removed.

The conclusions which seem to result from this examination may be briefly stated; they are these:—

1. That the final phrases of *Leon* are regulated by a metrical system which is for the most part strictly observed.
2. That while the influence of accent may be traced in the assimilation of endings with a final of the type B 1 to those with a final of the type C, in the occasional combination of finals of the types A, B 2, B 3 with a preceding spondee, and in the admission of finals of the type E, this system agrees in the main with that which M. Havet has traced in the letters of Symmachus³.
3. That a large majority of the final phrases are instances of one or other of the three principal forms of the early 'cursus'⁴.

¹ See p. 391, above.

² Martianus Capella, from his instance 'curas regere animorum', would seem not to have had much scruple about hiatus. But it is avoided in *Leon* as a general rule.

³ Perhaps we should also consider as due in part at least to the influence of accent the greater relative frequency of the type B 2.

⁴ If we do not reckon those which have a final of the types B 1, B 2, D or E, the regular endings are about sixty-seven per cent. of the whole. About thirty-five per cent. are of the form composed of cretic and trochee or spondee, about nine per cent. of the form of the double cretic (or cretic and dactyl), about twenty-three per cent. in the form of the 'dichoreus' (cretic with added syllable). If we take into account, as metrically regular, the endings in which a final of the types B 1, B 2 is treated according to the rules of Martianus Capella, the metrically regular endings will number more than eighty-seven per cent. of the whole.

On two questions which may be of some importance in their bearing on the subject of the formation of the Leonine sacramentary, the question whether the system which prevails in the endings of the prayers and prefaces is traceable through their whole structure, and the question whether exceptions to its rules are specially frequent in particular sections of the collection, I hope to say something in a future note.

H. A. WILSON.

THE POEMANDRES OF HERMES TRISMEGISTUS.

AMONG the writings which pass under the name of the Egyptian Hermes the chief place is taken by the *Poemandres*. It consists of fourteen short treatises or chapters which are connected by their reference to a common subject. They deal with the creation of the world and of the soul; the nature of God; the deification of mankind. The character of the book was recognized by Casaubon who devotes to it the greater part of a section in his *Exercitationes Baronianae de Rebus Sacris*. No one, however, seems to have followed up the clue which he gives. And Zeller, while recognizing the Gnostic character of the first and thirteenth chapters, treats the rest of the book as an expression of paganism in its decline. It seems worth while, therefore, to reconsider the *Poemandres* in the light of some of the knowledge which has been added since the time of Casaubon. We shall have little difficulty in shewing as against Zeller that the book is in the main homogeneous and of a Christian origin. Not only so, our discussion will bring us into contact with the later Greek culture as it developed amid Egyptian surroundings, and will raise several problems of considerable importance. Among other things we shall have to trace the way in which Hermes passes over into Christian tradition, and how the Greek representations of Hermes furnished Christian art with one of its earliest motives. We shall further find in it a bridge by which we may pass over from Greek philosophy and science to modes of thought which are properly Christian. And yet the writer still retains so much of the antique spirit that, as we have seen, he can actually be mistaken for an apologist of paganism. But if, on the one hand, we are enabled by recent discoveries to understand the *Poemandres* better than Casaubon was in a position to do, on the other hand the *Poemandres* throws fresh and unsuspected light upon these very discoveries.

I.

In preparing his edition of the *Poemandres* Parthey employed two MSS, one of the fourteenth century in the Laurentian library at Florence, plut. lxxi 33, and one of the latter part of the thirteenth century, Paris 1220. Stobaeus, in the *Eclogae Physicae*, furnishes an independent tradition for a large part of the second, fourth, and tenth chapters. Stobaeus gives a much better tradition than Parthey's MSS, and deserves to play a large part in constituting the ultimate text of these three chapters. The differences between Stobaeus and the MSS of the *Poemandres*, however, are so great that it seems impossible to explain them merely by the corruption of the MSS. Not only is there very great divergence in the order of the words, but constructions are replaced by different but equivalent constructions, and particles are omitted or inserted in the most varied manner. Parthey, in his variant readings, includes some, but by no means all, the important instances from Stobaeus, and the result of comparing his edition with the text of Stobaeus is to inspire a feeling of distrust towards his work as an editor.

Even before Stobaeus we find the *Poemandres* quoted: for example, by Lactantius (*Epitome Div. Inst.* 14): 'Trismegistus paucos admodum fuisse cum diceret perfectae doctrinae viros, in iis cognatos suos enumeravit Uranum, Saturnium, Mercurium,' cf. *Poem.* x 5¹. Also the same writer's ἡ γὰρ εὐσέβεια γνῶσις ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Div. Inst.* ii 16) may fairly be referred to *Poem.* ix 4 εὐσέβεια δὲ ἐστὶ θεοῦ γνῶσις. The slight variation is exactly of the same kind as the variations which we find in Stobaeus. The writer of the *Cohort. in Gentiles* 38 quotes from Hermes the saying θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν ἐστὶ χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον ᾧ καὶ νοῆσαι δυνατόν. Lactantius translates the words into Latin, and says that they begin a book which is addressed by Hermes to his son (*Epitome Div. Inst.* 4). They are not found in the *Poemandres*, and cannot therefore furnish any evidence about its date. Parthey, therefore, makes a mistake in his preface, which he fathers upon Casaubon. Casaubon did not argue from the reference in the *Cohort. in Gent.* to the date of the *Poemandres*.

Of the earlier editors Vergicius supposes the author, Thoth, to be an Egyptian king who lived before the time of Moses, a view repeated by de Foix and Patricius (see Parthey's ed. Pref.). Casaubon introduces a more scientific standpoint. He is surprised that such writings should be quoted by the fathers as if the most ancient Mercury were their author². He devotes a whole section to the *Poemandres* (*De Rebus*

¹ References to the *Poemandres* are given by chapter and paragraph from Parthey.

² See *De Rebus Sacris* 56 'Librum integrum esse ψευδῆ περίγραφον, utpote qui sit

Sacris 52 ff), and one wonders how he could have been misunderstood or overlooked by the more recent editors and historians, Parthey, Ménard, Zeller, and Erdmann. The Christian origin of some of the Hermetic writings did not escape Gibbon, who classes Hermes with Orpheus and the Sibyls as a cloak for Christian forgery (vol. ii p. 69, Bury's ed.).

Ménard's *Hermès Trismégiste* has probably been the means by which most students have approached these writings. He describes his translation as complete, but this is a misnomer. In addition to those works which Ménard translates, Ideler *Physici et Medici Graeci* prints a medical tract, and other similar writings are enumerated (Christ *Griech. Lit.*² p. 697). Moreover any list of the Hermetic books must take account of Ostanès, about whom something shall be said later on. Not only is Ménard's translation incomplete, but it gives a most misleading impression by presenting its varied contents in four books as though together they formed a system; the *Poemandres* coming first, the *Asclepius* second, and various fragments as the third and fourth books. But it is impossible to understand the Hermetic collection so long as we fail to distinguish the Christian origin of the *Poemandres*. Ménard makes the incorrect remark (pref. ii) that Casaubon attributes the books which bear the name of Hermes Trismegistus to a Jew or a Christian. Ménard cannot have seen Casaubon's *De Rebus Sacris*, or he would have been saved from such mistakes.

Ménard seems to have misled even Zeller. The historian of Greek philosophy, whom it seems almost ungrateful to criticize, has overlooked the unity of intention, which may be traced throughout the *Poemandres*, and, like Ménard, treats it as homogeneous with the *Asclepius*. He distinguishes indeed between the authorship of various parts of the Hermetic collection, and, in particular, the Gnostic elements in the first and thirteenth chapters of the *Poemandres*, but he overlooks the indubitable traces of Christian teaching, which Casaubon pointed out, in the other chapters.

Erdmann confines his main exposition to the *Poemandres* (*Hist. Phil. tr.* i 113, 2), and attributes the constituent treatises to different authors and times. Curiously enough the thirteenth chapter, in which Zeller sees Gnostic elements, appears to Erdmann of Neopythagorean tendency, because of the references to the ogdoad, decad, and dodecad, in which undoubtedly we are dealing with Gnostic ideas. At the same time Christiani alicuius vel, ut dicam melius, semichristiani merum figmentum. Neque vero dubitamus id egisse auctorem ut multa pietatis Christianae dogmata quae ceu nova et prius inaudita reiciebantur, probaret ab ultima antiquitate sapientibus fuisse nota et ab illo ipso Mercurio in literas fuisse relata, quem non solum Aegyptii sed etiam Graeci propter vetustatem et doctrinae opinionem magnopere suspiciebant' (*De Rebus Sacris* 55).

Erdmann comes nearest to what is probably the truth when he says, in passing, 'these writings . . . contain also points of correspondence with gnostic, neoplatonic, patristic, and cabalistic ideas' (*op. cit.* 216).

It appears worth while, therefore, to reconsider the authorship and composition of the *Poemandres* in order, if possible, to clear up some of the confusion, which, as we have seen, prevails throughout nearly all that has been written about it.

II.

A considerable part of this confusion is due to the fact that the reigning convention of Egyptian literature is overlooked. What does it mean when a treatise or a saying is ascribed to Hermes? In answering this question it will be necessary to recapitulate facts which are now perfectly familiar even to the tyro in Egyptian studies, but were unknown to or overlooked by most of the writers whom we have mentioned.

The Egyptians lumped all their literature together under the name of Thoth. In the main he personified the profession of a scribe. Plato (*Philebus* 18 b) speaks of him as a god or divine person quite in the Egyptian way. The Egyptian priest and historian Manetho regards him as the remote ancestor by whom all sacred records were written (*Syncellus* I 73, Bonn). Clement of Alexandria groups him with Asclepius—'Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρώπων ποτὲ γενομένων δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῃ δόξῃ θεῶν, Ἑρμῆς τε ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ Μεμφίτης (*Strom.* I xxi 134). The convention by which all literature was attributed to him was recognized as such at any rate by some people. To use the phrase of the Pseudo-Iamblichus (*De Mysteriis* viii 1), the Hermetic books are 'the writings of the ancient scribes'. Hence there is no necessary exaggeration when Manetho speaks of the 36,000 books of Hermes, or Seleucus of 20,000 (*ib.*). Clement gives an interesting account of a collection of forty-two Hermetic books, which were used by certain Egyptian priests (*Strom.* VI iv 35 ff). Now there is very little doubt that the books of which Clement and Seleucus and Manetho speak were written in the Egyptian language. Hence the presumption about writings referred to Hermes, is that they belong to the national Egyptian literature, and are written in the native tongue. Of course many Egyptians were bilingual, and it is probable that the greater part of the extant Hermetic collection was composed in Greek by such persons, or by Greek-speaking foreigners. But in face of the facts there is nothing farfetched in supposing that a work like the *Poemandres* may also have been current in a Coptic version.

But Hermes or Thoth is not the only legendary Egyptian author. Maspéro, following Goodwin, has shewn that Ostanès is the name of

a deity who belongs to the cycle of Thoth (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xx 142). His name Ysdnw was derived by the Egyptians themselves from a verb meaning 'to distinguish', and he was a patron of intellectual perception. As time went on, he gained in importance. Under the Ptolemies he was often represented upon the temple walls (*l. c.*). In Pliny he appears as an early writer upon medicine (*Nat. Hist.* xxviii 6). Some of the prescriptions quoted as from him are quite in the Egyptian style (*ib.* 256, 261). Philo Byblius, on whom to be sure not much reliance can be placed, mentions a work of Ostanēs—the *Octateuch* (*Eus. Praep. Ev.* I 10, 52). It is tempting to identify this with some such collection as the six medical books which occupy the last place in Clement's list (*Strom.* VI iv 37). Now Pliny, as appears from his list of authorities, does not quote Ostanēs directly. If we note that Democritus is mentioned by Pliny in the same context, and that Ostanēs is the legendary teacher of Democritus upon his visit to Egypt, we shall consider it at least probable that Pliny depends upon Democritus for his mention of Ostanēs. The philosopher, whose visit to Egypt may be regarded as a historical fact, would in that case be dealing with a medical collection which passes under the name of Ostanēs. Asclepius, who appears in the *Poemandres*, will be the Greek equivalent of Ostanēs. Thus the collocation of Hermes and Asclepius is analogous to the kinship of the Egyptian deities Thoth and Ysdnw.

We shall next try to shew that the *Poemandres* is not without precedent in the later Egyptian literature. Plutarch had access to good sources for the narratives which he gives *De Iside et Osiride* (Maspéro *Dawn of Civilization*, tr. 173). In the legend of Osiris (cc. xii-xix) Typhon charges Horus with being a bastard; but, with the advocacy of Hermes, Horus is adjudged by the gods to be legitimate. This is the Greek form of a legend which was very widely spread in Egypt. In the Egyptian versions, however, Thoth appears as the judge or arbitrator rather than the advocate (Maspéro, *op. cit.* 177). After Plutarch has given the popular form of the legend, he proceeds to make a fresh beginning, and to enumerate the interpretations which were given by those who seemed φιλοσοφικώτερόν τι λέγειν (c. xxxii). First, he deals with those opinions which identify the Egyptian gods with natural objects, Osiris with the Nile, Isis with the land, and so on. Then he considers the interpretations of those who identify the gods with the sun and moon, &c. (c. xli). These speculations summarize for us, at first or second hand, some of the Hermetic books which were current in Plutarch's time, and enable us to trace the passage from the tentative explanations which already occur in the *Book of the Dead* to the free speculation of Roman times. Now Plutarch gives an explanation of the lawsuit between Typhon and Horus in the following terms: Horus

ὃν ἡ Ἴσις εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου αἰσθητὸν ὄντα γεννᾷ. Διὸ καὶ δίκην φεύγειν λέγεται νοθείας ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος, ὡς οὐκ ὦν καθαρὸς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινής, οἷος ὁ πατὴρ λόγος αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἀπαθής, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένος τῇ ὕλῃ διὰ τὸ σωματικόν (c. liv). Horus wins the suit. For Hermes, that is ὁ λόγος, bears witness ὅτι πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἢ φύσιν μετασχηματιζομένη τὸν κόσμον ἀποδίδωσιν (ιδ.). Such expressions as these are of the same philosophical tendencies as the extant fragments of the Hermetic literature, and render Plutarch an important source of information for the very period in which we are interested.

Now let us turn to the title of the book. It is usually derived from ποιμήν, after Casaubon (*op. cit.* 57), who compares the phrase in the Fourth Gospel (x 14). Yet it is difficult to admit that such a compound as ποιμάνδρης could arise in this way. From ποιμήν we find the form ποιμάνωρ (Aesch. *Pers.* 241), and by a similar syncopation we might have the form ποίμανδρος, of which Poemander would be the proper Latin equivalent. Λέανδρος furnishes a parallel case of syncopation. But we have not yet the form required. I speak subject to correction, but I cannot find a derivative from ἀνὴρ which ends in -ανδρης. There is one passage which seems to support this derivation: λόγον γὰρ τὸν σὸν ποιμαίνει ὁ νοῦς (xiii 19). But this expression is far from being equivalent to the meaning required for Ποιμάνδρης, if it is derived from ποιμήν and ἀνὴρ. While, however, the name Poemandres does not answer to any Greek original, it is a close transliteration of a Coptic phrase. In the dialect of upper Egypt πᾶπῑτρε means 'the witness'. That the Coptic article should be treated as part of the name itself is not unusual; compare the name Pior (Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 89). Such a title corresponds very closely in style with the titles of other works of the same period, for example the *True Word* of Celsus, or the *Perfect Word*, which is an alternative title of the *Asclepius*. The term Poemandres, therefore, on this supposition contains an allusion to the widely spread legend of Hermes as the witness, a legend which is verified for us from several sources. But the writer has adapted the details to his purpose. Hermes is not himself the witness, but the herald of the witness. There is probably an allusion to the legend in xiii 13 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ παλιγγενεσία, ᾧ τέκνον, τὸ μηκέτι φαντάζεσθαι εἰς τὸ σῶμα τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν περὶ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, εἰς ὃν ὑπεμνηματισάμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὦμεν διάβολοι τοῦ παντὸς εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, εἰς οὓς αὐτὸς οὐ θέλει θεός. That is to say, the new birth consists, in one of its aspects, in recognizing the spiritual affinities of the visible world. And those who deny these affinities are compared to slanderers, to the part played by Typhon in the legend. This passage is important for the writer's attitude to Gnosticism. As we shall see, he recognizes the goodness of the creator of this world and appeals to the books of the

Old Testament. In other words he separates himself from the sects both Christian and non-Christian who treated the visible world as evil. Man was created *εἰς ἔργων θεῶν γνῶσιν καὶ φύσεως ἐνεργούσαν μαρτυρίαν, καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς πάντων τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν δεσποτείαν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπίγνωσιν* (iii 3). Thus the explanation of the title which I venture to suggest is entirely consonant with the purpose of the book.

If this is so, we are compelled to consider the possibility that the *Poemandres* is a translation from a Coptic original. In that case we shall also be able to explain the striking variations which we find in the excerpts of Stobaeus and the manuscripts. At the same time we must remember that the Coptic writers took over bodily from the Greek the full vocabulary of religious and philosophical terms. And the translator of the presumed Coptic original would find half of his work already done¹. The Coptic of the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Ielû* borrows nearly all unusual terms from the Greek.

I am surprised at the confidence with which Schmidt declares the *Pistis Sophia* and other Gnostic works to be translations from Greek originals². There seems no adequate reason why such works may not have been composed in Coptic. The Egyptian Gnostic writings of the third century exhibit the same qualities of style as the Coptic biographies and apocalypses of the fourth and following centuries. And so I am prepared to believe that the *Poemandres* may have been first composed in Coptic. Or shall we say that the work was current from the first in both languages? We must not forget that over against the intellectual life of Alexandria, there

¹ There is a curious variant in Stobaeus which furnishes an incidental proof of the existence of a Coptic version, or shall we put the argument at the lowest and say that the variant seems to have originated in a Coptic scribe? In the *Poemandres* we read ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ καὶ αὐτὴ θεία τις οὐσα καθάπερ περιβολῇ τῷ πνεύματι χρῆται, x 16. Here Parthey's manuscript B seems to have preserved the correct reading. Stobaeus, however, gives the striking variant καθάπερ ὑπηρέτης τῷ πνεύματι χρῆται, a reading which Patricius corrected to ὑπηρέτῃ. ὑπηρέτης can only have been due to a Christian scribe to whom πνεῦμα suggested the Pauline distinction of πνευματικός and ψυχικός. Hence he would stumble at the phrase which seems to make the Spirit the servant of the soul, and by a change of termination ὑπηρέτης for ὑπηρέτῃ, arrives at the quite orthodox sentiment καθάπερ ὑπηρέτης τῷ πνεύματι χρῆται. But since in the *Poemandres* the term πνεῦμα regularly bears the physiological meaning, the alteration to ὑπηρέτης makes nonsense, and this Patricius saw. But we have still to explain the passage from περιβολῇ to ὑπηρέτῃ. I am afraid the explanation which I am about to suggest will not be entirely convincing, but it must stand in default of a better one. περιβολή is perhaps near enough to the Coptic παλου, the servant, to explain how to a Coptic scribe the words might be interchanged. The almost incredible mistakes which were made in transcribing Greek phrases into Coptic are illustrated by Junker and Schubart in their article 'Ein griechisch-koptisches Kirchengebet' (*Zeits. für Aeg.* vol. xl 1 ff).

² *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache* 11.

stood in contrast the native Egyptian thought of the upper Nile. Hermopolis (Ashmunen) and Panopolis (Akhmim) were the centres of religious and other influences which reacted even upon Alexandria. Plutarch gained part of his information from Hermopolis, *de Is. et Os.* cc. iii, l. And the legends about Thoth were most likely to be current near the seat of his chief shrine. In fact Alexandria was regarded as being on the confines of Egypt rather than as an Egyptian city. Thus Macarius of Alexandria is distinguished from Macarius the Egyptian. So also the title of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* points us away from Alexandria for its origin. And it is remarkable that the *Poemandres*, which as we shall see is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of that Gospel, stands in close relation with native Egyptian life.

III.

Let us now proceed to the analysis of the *Poemandres*. But in order to avoid the confusion into which Ménard and Zeller have fallen, we will note the real character of the other chief Hermetic book, the *Asclepius*, in order that we may leave it entirely on one side. The *Asclepius* or, to give it its Greek title, ὁ τέλειος λόγος, *The Perfect Word*, was written as an apology for the moribund religion of Egypt at a time when there were signs of the approaching victory of Christian ideas. It has come down in a Latin translation wrongly attributed to Apuleius. The author casts his indignation and fear into the form of a prophecy. 'A time was coming', he laments, 'when the national religion would have passed away into a legend no longer believed, mere records upon stone' (c. 9). And, in a passage quoted from the Greek by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* vii 18), he proceeds after the manner of a Jewish or Christian apocalypse to threaten the apostate world with a deluge or a destruction by fire. He interprets the national religion in the usual Neopythagorean manner. Polytheism and the worship of images are justified; they are approximations, symbols of the truth (c. 13). Thus the temper and method of *The Perfect Word* present very close resemblances to *The True Word* of Celsus. Celsus was far from being an Epicurean who attacked the popular religion generally; he was rather a champion of the national religions and especially of the Egyptian religion against Christian cosmopolitanism. And both these writers seem to have been dealing with Christian opponents of the Gnostic type. In the eyes of the author of *The Perfect Word*, the Christians were men who, in their weariness of soul, disdained the glorious universe and preferred darkness to light, death rather than life. This criticism made from the side of pagan religion was repeated by Plotinus from the side of Greek philosophy

(*Ennead* II ix 13 &c.). As we have already seen, it was one of the objects of the *Poemandres* to meet this attack by vindicating for Christian thought the spiritual affinities of the visible world.

Let us now consider the words in which the author declares his purpose: μαθεῖν θέλω τὰ ὄντα καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν τούτων φύσιν καὶ γνῶναι τὸν θεόν (i 3). Here we have three leading topics indicated: the understanding of nature, the Divine attributes, the process by which man attains γνῶσις.

The hierarchy of being may be arranged thus:—The supreme God is ὁ νοῦς. He ἀρρενόηλος ὢν, ζωὴ καὶ φῶς ὑπάρχων, ἀπεκύησε λόγῳ ἕτερον νοῦν δημιουργόν, ὃς θεὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος ὢν ἐδημιούργησε διοικητὰς τινὰς ἐπτά, ἐν κύκλοις περιέχοντας τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον καὶ ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῶν εἰμαρμένη καλεῖται (i 9). Hence we may mark off: (a) Divine beings, ὁ νοῦς, ὁ δημιουργός, οἱ ἐπτά διοικηταί; (b) ὁ νοητὸς κόσμος: the author, like Philo, describes a creation before the material creation, βουληθεὶς τὸν ὁρατὸν κόσμον τουτονὶ δημιουργῆσαι προεξετύπου τὸν νοητὸν (*Philo Opif. Mund.* 4); (c) ὁ αἰσθητὸς κόσμος.

The seven διοικηταί or planetary spirits who embrace and control the sensible world in i 10, answer to the αἰών in xi 3 τοῦ κόσμου ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐμπεριεχομένου. Just as the διοίκησις of the planetary spirits is called fate i 9, so xi 5 συνέχει δὲ τοῦτον (sc. τὸν κόσμον) ὁ αἰὼν, εἴτε δι' ἀνάγκην εἴτε διὰ πρόνοιαν εἴτε διὰ φύσιν. Thus the aeon is treated as equivalent to the seven planetary spirits, a fact which throws light upon the number of the aeons in other systems.

If now we turn to the third chapter of the *Poemandres*, we shall find that this cosmogony, for all its Platonic origin, is presented, quite in the style of Philo, as a commentary upon *Genesis* i–iii. The planetary spirits act as intermediaries in the work of creation; ἀνῆκε δὲ ἕκαστος θεὸς διὰ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως τὸ προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ, and created beasts and creeping things and birds and herbs and lastly mankind. There is also an obvious allusion to *Gen.* i 4 ff in *Poem.* i 11. Hence the phrase αὐξάνεσθε ἐν αὐξήσει καὶ πληθύνεσθε ἐν πληθεί (*Poem.* iii 3), which has generally been recognized as an allusion to *Gen.* i 28, is but one instance out of many which prove the writer's familiarity with the Old Testament.

Let us pass now to the second of our main topics, the Divine attributes. If the writer sets forth his cosmogony as a commentary upon *Genesis*, he has *Isaiah* xl in view when he portrays the nature of God. He adopts from the Jewish prophet the rhetorical question: 'Who is it that set the boundaries to the sea? Who is it that established the earth?' But it is especially instructive to compare *Isaiah* xl 19–22 with the following passage: καὶ ἀνδριάντα μὲν ἢ εἰκόνα χωρὶς ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ ἢ ζωγράφου οὐδεὶς φησι γεγενῆναι, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ

δημιούργημα χωρὶς δημιουργοῦ γέγονεν; where the Egyptian writer seems to have understood the prophet to be arguing from the work to the workman, instead of attacking the use of plastic representations of God (*Poem. c. v*).

Since the writer thus starts with the Jewish conception of God as the creator, it is not surprising that he should devote one chapter, the second, to refuting the Aristotelian view (*a*) that God is νοῦς ἐαυτὸν νοῶν, (*δ*) that God is the prime mover. Νοητὸς γὰρ πρῶτος ὁ θεός ἐστιν ἡμῖν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ (*Poem. ii 5*) and ἡ οὖν κίνησις τοῦ κόσμου καὶ παντὸς ζώου ἑλικοῦ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν κατεκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι (*ib. 8*). From *ii 9* the soul seems to be regarded as the source of motion.

God's nature is most fully revealed in creation: ὁ θεὸς ὁράται ἐν τῷ ποιῶν (*xi 22*; cf. *v 9* κυεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν). In another place He is said to be pure will, ἡ γὰρ τοῦτον ἐνέργεια ἢ θέλησίς ἐστι (*x 2*).

God is not only the creator, He is also the father. But the fatherhood of God is to be understood in a special sense; and here we are brought to the theory of γνώσις and παλιγγενεσία. Man is naturally a child of this aeon, or of the planetary spirits. It is only so far as he receives νοῦς and thus becomes capable of the knowledge of God, that he can be called 'perfect', or 'the son of God'.

By γνώσις man rises from the purely 'sensible' view of the world to the 'rational' one. He 'bears witness', lest he should be 'a slanderer' of the Divine purpose. But this knowledge is only possible by the gift of God: γνώσις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμης τὸ τέλος, ἐπιστήμη δὲ δῶρον τοῦ θεοῦ (*x 9*). And this gift is pictorially represented as a laver, κρατήρ, of reason, νοῦς (*iv 4*): ὅσοι μὲν οὖν συνῆκαν τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ ἐβαπτίσαντο τοῦ νοός, οὗτοι μετέσχον τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τέλει ἐγένοντο ἄνθρωποι τὸν νοῦν δεξάμενοι (*ib.*). It follows that belief is identified with the activity of reason: τὸ γὰρ νοῆσαι ἐστι τὸ πιστεῦσαι, τὸ ἀπιστῆσαι δὲ τὸ μὴ νοῆσαι (*ix 10*). So, τοῦτο μόνον σωτήριον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὶν ἡ γνώσις τοῦ θεοῦ (*x 15*). The whole idea of the laver of regeneration in the *Poemanderes* is obviously related to the teaching about baptism addressed to Nicodemus.

This process, which on the intellectual side is represented as a change from a 'sensible' to a 'rational' view of the world, is, on the moral side, a change from the immediate impulses of the senses, to the control of such impulses: ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κρείττονος αἴρεσις οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐλομένῳ καλλίστη τυγχάνει, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεῶσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδείκνυσιν. The moral change which the new birth involves is analysed in detail: ἐγνωκας, ὦ τέκνον, τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τὸν τρόπον, τῆς δεκάδος παραγινομένης συνετέθη νοερά γένεσις (*xiii 10*). The decad consists of the ten virtues: γνώσις τοῦ θεοῦ, γνώσις χαρᾶς, ἐγκράτεια, καρτερία, δικαιοσύνη, κοινωνία, ἀλήθεια, ἀγαθόν, ζωή, φῶς

(xiii 8 ff). This list presents some suggestive resemblances to the corresponding list in the *Shepherd* of Hermas, S. ix 15: *πίστις, ἐγκράτεια, δύναμις, μακροθυμία, ἀπλότης, ἀκακία, ἀγνεία, ἱλαρότης, ἀλήθεια, σύνεσις, δμόνοια, ἀγάπη*. And yet in order that we may not identify this change with a purely moral process, it is referred to a personal agency; regeneration is brought about by *ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς, ἄνθρωπος εἷς, θελήματι θεοῦ* (xiii 4), a statement to be compared with *St. John* i 13.

The figure used by the writer for the moral change varies between the new birth and the sowing of seed (iii 3, xiv 10). He is still at that early stage in the development of doctrine, when metaphors, such as that of the new birth and the sower, are still fluid, and have not yet crystallized into rigid and impassive forms of thought. By one of those curious accidents which may be traced in the history of ideas, a third kind of metaphor which found great favour with the Christian writers of the second and third centuries has passed away into oblivion. This same moral change is represented as an ascent to the highest spheres, and as a kind of deification. Although this metaphor, which is found frequently in Stoic writers, failed to obtain recognition, it had considerable influence upon Christian dogma so far as it involved the idea of apotheosis. In one place (i 24) the soul is said to rise through the planetary circles, laying its vices down in order until at the eighth stage it 'chants the father in company with τὰ ὄντα'. Now just as the new birth is a metaphor, just as the farmer sowing seed is a metaphor, so is this rising through the planetary circles a metaphor: and the real meaning which underlies it is found in a moral change, in the discarding of vices and the acquisition of the virtues. That is to say, the writer does not treat the Gnostic ogdoad, or decad, or dodecad, as fixed schemes of thought, but as pictorial statements thrown out at certain moral facts. Hence we have to face this possibility, that the orthodox criticism of Gnosticism is largely based upon a misapprehension, which insisted upon taking metaphor for doctrine.

The writer of the *Poemandres* lets it be seen clearly that he is consciously using figurative modes of speech, as when (x 15) he says that the knowledge of God is the ascent to Olympus. The seventh chapter contains traces of an interesting attempt to incorporate this notion of an ascent into Christian belief: *μὴ συγκατενεχθῆτε τοιγαροῦν τῷ πολλῷ ῥεύματι, ἀναρροία δὲ χρησάμενοι οἱ δυνάμενοι λαβεῖσθαι τοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας λιμένος, ἐνορμυσάμενοι τούτῳ ζητήσατε χειραγωγὸν τὸν ὀδηγήσαντα ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς γνώσεως θύρας ὅπου ἐστὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν φῶς, τὸ καθαρὸν σκότους, ὅπου οὐδὲ εἰς μεθύει, ἀλλὰ πάντες νήφουσιν, ἀφορῶντες τῇ καρδίᾳ εἰς τὸν ὁραθῆναι θέλοντα*. Now this whole passage receives a most suggestive commentary in the exposition which Hippolytus quotes from a heretical writer of the sect of the Naassenes (*Refut.* v 7 f). The spiritual

birth is, according to the Naassenes, ὁ μέγας Ἰορδάνης, ὃν κάτω ῥέοντα καὶ κωλύοντα ἐξελεθεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου . . . ἀνέσταιλαν Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ῥέειν. The same writer proceeds to explain the meaning of the door: λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πύλη ἡ ἀληθινή. In the third place the body is put off in a spiritual resurrection. It is a fair inference from these resemblances that the writer of the *Poemandres* and the Naassene writer are occupied with the same context—an inference which will lead us to some important further consequences.

IV.

The traditional estimate of Gnosticism, then, requires to be reconsidered, in the light of the *Poemandres*. It belongs to a time when religious definitions were still in the making; a time therefore when the limits of free discussion were not yet straitly drawn. Hence the varied presentations of religious belief which we find in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, would not be admitted by their exponents to be in conflict with the Christian faith, but would rather be regarded as exhibiting new and fruitful applications of principles common to all. Ecclesiastical opinion ultimately settled down in one direction rather than another. But until this process was complete, each living system of belief might count upon a possible victory, and so, among others, the system which may be traced in the *Poemandres*¹. And the *Poemandres* is so far from being a merely heretical production, that its relation to orthodox belief may fairly be indicated by saying that it answers to the earlier intellectual position of Clement of Alexandria.

And perhaps this is as suitable place as any to mark the date and origin of the *Poemandres*. It will be found that the relations which we have traced between the book and other early Christian literature, agree very well with a time towards the end of the second century. Nor does this date preclude us from finding occasional traces of even earlier material. The author may very well have combined, with material of his own, expositions from other sources with which he found himself in agreement. It is perhaps in this way that we may explain the occasional variations in detail which chequer the fairly uniform character of the work. It is a production which stands halfway between the Gnosticism of the Valentinian type, and that Gnosticism of Clement and Origen which ultimately became the official theology of the Church. The *Poemandres*, in fact, carries us back to that common standpoint

¹ The ordinary use of the term 'Gnostic' tends to obscure the claim of the Gnostic sects not only to be part of the true Church, but the most perfect part of it; though the historians of Doctrine, of course, recognize this claim as characteristic.

from which both the Valentinians and, later, Origen, took their start. The thinkers to whom Hippolytus gives the name Naassenes, styled themselves Gnostics pure and simple. And their system is identical in all main respects with the system of the *Poemandres*. In both cases we find the free use of Greek mythology to embody Christian ideas. And the Hermes of the *Poemandres* is simply the Hermes of the Naassene Gnostics transplanted to Egyptian soil. More than this, we find the common use of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, and by comparing the *Poemandres* with the exposition given in Hippolytus's *Refutations*, we are enabled to add considerably to our knowledge of that Gospel.

V.

The functions of Hermes in Greek religion, and of Thoth in Egyptian religion, offered a sufficiently close analogy to the mission of Jesus, and Christian writers hastened to make use of this analogy. 'Just as the Greek philosophers had found their philosophy in Homer, so Christian writers found in him Christian theology.'¹ Taking Homer *Odyssey* xxiv 1 ff as a text, the Gnostics traced the resemblances which held between Christ and the Greek Hermes. Hermes charms the eyes of the dead, and again he wakes those that are asleep: *περὶ τούτων, φησὶν, ἡ γραφή λέγει* "Εγείραι ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἐξεγέρθητι, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ ἐν πᾶσι, φησί, τοῖς γενητοῖς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου κεχαρκτηρισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρκτηρίστου λόγου (Hipp. *Refut.* v 7). Now since the *Poemandres* belongs to the same school of thought, we need not be surprised to find that Jesus is represented under the figure of the Egyptian Hermes. Poemandres, who is ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς, instructs Hermes, and after the instruction he asks: *λοιπὸν τί μέλλεις; οὐχ ὡς πάντα παραλαβὼν καθοδηγὸς γίνῃ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ὅπως τὸ γένος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος διὰ σοῦ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σωθῇ; (i 26)²*. Hermes then proceeds with what is in all probability a paraphrase of the third *Logion Iesu*: *ἡργμαὶ κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως κάλλος. ὦ λαοί, ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς, οἱ μέθη καὶ ὕπνῳ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες καὶ τῇ ἀγνοσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, νήψατε, παύσασθε κραιπαλῶντες, θελγόμενοι ὕπνῳ ἀλόγῳ (i 27)*. And some gave themselves up to 'the

¹ Hatch *Hibbert Lect.* p. 69.

² This turn of phrase may be compared with 1 *Clem.* 61 σοὶ ἐξομολογούμεθα δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and the *Didache* 10 ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου. That is to say, the position which is assigned to Jesus in the *Poemandres*, answers to the early view which finds its most characteristic expression in what Harnack styles the adoptionism of the Shepherd (*Sim.* v and ix 1, 12; Harnack *Hist. Dogm.* tr. i 190).

way of death'¹: οἱ δὲ παρεκάλουν διδασθῆναι, ἵνα τοὺς πρὸ ποδῶν μου ῥύψαντες. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναστῆσας αὐτοὺς καθοδηγὸς ἐγενόμην τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου, τοὺς λόγους διδάσκων, πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ σωθήσονται. καὶ ἐσπείρα αὐτοῖς τοὺς τῆς σοφίας λόγους καὶ ἐτράφησαν (*Patr.* ἐτρόφησα) ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ὕδατος. ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλλίου αὐγῆς ἀρχομένης δύνεσθαι ὅλης ἐκέλευσα αὐτοὺς εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ (i 29). It would be interesting, but superfluous for our present purpose, to trace all the connexions between this passage and the evangelical narrative. We may, however, note the conclusion εὐλογητὸς εἶ πάτερ· ὁ σὸς ἄνθρωπος, συναγιάζειν σοι βούλεται, καθὼς παρέδωκας αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν (i 32) with its reference to *St. John* xvii 2.

Since then, the identification of Jesus with Hermes took place in circles which formed part of the Christian community, we shall not be surprised to find that one of the leading types of Christian art, the Good Shepherd, was immediately adapted from a current representation of the Greek Hermes (see Sittl *Klassische Kunstarchäologie* 777, 809, 819). As we see from Hippolytus (*Refut.* v 7), the Gnostics were especially interested in Hermes as Hermes Logius, a type which was increasingly frequent in later Greek art. And this epithet was connected by them with the conception of Jesus as the Logos. Now another type of Hermes, the Kriophoros, served to bring together Jesus as the Logos, and Jesus as the Good Shepherd. These representations of Jesus begin in the second century; and so they correspond in order of time with the appearance of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, and of these Gnostic compositions which largely depend upon it.

Another fact leads us to think that the figure of the Good Shepherd had its roots in a previous tradition. 'It is probable that there were no statues before the age of Constantine, except the Good Shepherd.'² We must therefore add Hermes to the list of pagan types which were taken over for its own purposes by the rising Christian art.

Moreover, we are enabled to advance one step further the long-standing controversy as to the portraits of Jesus. Since the figure of the Good Shepherd is borrowed from Greek sculpture, it cannot be used as evidence for the earliest conceptions about the appearance of Jesus. And so the arguments of Farrar and others fall to the ground in so far as they take the presence of this type to shew that there was no genuine tradition of Christ's appearance.

We are now in a position to throw a little further light upon the famous inscription of Abercius. The inscription speaks of a shepherd—

¹ Cf. *Didache* 5.

² Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* p. 290. This is one of the few omissions that may be noted in Mr. Lowrie's valuable book.

ὅς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὅρεσιν πεδίοις τε
ὀφθαλμοὺς ὅς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντῃ καθορῶντας
οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε . . . γράμματα πιστά¹.

The shepherd whose great eyes look in every direction, is no other than Hermes treated as a symbol of Christ. And so some of the arguments which may be directed against the Christian character of this inscription, and to which Harnack (cf. *Class. Rev.* ix 297) attaches an exaggerated weight, are turned aside. It is very likely that the figure upon the tomb of another Abercius² is also adapted from the figure of Hermes.

VI.

We now approach what is perhaps the most important contribution which the *Poemandres* makes to our knowledge: namely the light which it throws upon the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* and the *Logia Jesu*.

The *Gospel according to the Egyptians* was much better known than might be gathered from the current accounts of it. Clement of Alexandria quotes several passages from it (see *Strom.* iii 6 45; 9 63, 64, 66; 13 92). It was used by the Valentinians (*Fragm. Theodot.* 67), and probably by the author of the Homily ascribed to Clement of Rome (§ xii). In tendency it was Sabellian, and it was used by persons of that way of thinking in the third century (see *Epiph. Haer.* 62 2, who quotes the saying τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἅγιον πνεῦμα). But we are fortunate in having an explicit indication of the contents of this Gospel, an indication which deserves

¹ The *Poemandres* would suggest that the lacuna contained some such phrase as νοεῖν οὐ νοῶν :

οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε νοεῖν καὶ γράμματα πιστά.

Among the works which from time to time are attributed to Hermes, there occurs the name τὰ ἀλμενιχιακά. Casaubon, in one of his less happy moments, suggests that it is derived from Salamis Σαλαμινιακά (*De Rebus Sacris* 55). If, however, we turn to Hippolytus (*Refut.* v 7), we find that the Gnostic writer is occupied with the question who was the first man, and quotes a poem which has been attributed to Pindar. This poem begins—

εἴτε Βοιωτοῖσιν Ἀλαλκομενεὺς λίμνας ὑπὲρ Καφισίδος
πρώτος ἀνθρώπων ἀνέσχευεν κ.τ.λ.

Ἀλαλκομένιος was the name of the first month in the Boeotian year. On the sixteenth a festival was held to commemorate the battle of Plataea, and at this festival the Plataean priest prayed to Zeus and Hermes Chthonios. The name itself seems to have been derived from a cult-name of Athena, *Iliad* iv 8. I would suggest then that a Hermetic writing was current under the name τὰ Ἀλαλκομενιακά. A considerable discussion is devoted by the Gnostic writer in Hippolytus *Refut.* v 7 to the nature of the first man, a topic which of course filled the mind of St Paul. And the name Ἀλαλκομενιακά would suit such a subject-matter very well.

² See Ramsay *Church in the Roman Empire* 441.

more attention than it has received. Εἶναι δὲ φασὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δυσεύρετον πάνυ καὶ δυσκατανόητον· οὐ γὰρ μένει ἐπὶ σχήματος οὐδὲ μορφῆς τῆς αὐτῆς πάντοτε οὐδὲ πάθους ἐνός, ἵνα τις αὐτὴν ἢ τύπῳ εἴπῃ ἢ οὐσίᾳ καταλήψῃται. τὰς δὲ ἐξαλλαγὰς ταύτας τὰς ποικίλας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ κειμένας ἔχουσιν (Hipp. *Refut.* v 7).

Let me now recall the attention of the reader to the close parallel which we traced between the seventh chapter of the *Poemandres*, and a considerable portion of Hipp. *Refut.* v. It is impossible to believe that such resemblances could be fortuitous. The explanation which, I think, will commend itself upon a careful survey of the facts, is that both writers had before them the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. The description of that Gospel which we have just quoted, occurs early in the description of the Gnostic (or so-called Naassene) system; and it may be said of the Gnostic system, as of the Gospel, that it is concerned with the changes of the soul.

But the author of the *Poemandres* also belongs to the same school with the writer of the Gospel (compare xiii 21 θεέ, σὺ πάτερ, σὺ ὁ κύριος, σὺ ὁ νοῦς with the Sabellian tenet already quoted from Epiphanius). Not only so, he twice (i 27, vii 1) paraphrases the third *Logion Iesu*¹, and there is considerable reason for believing that the *Logia Iesu* are extracts from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. For in the *Classical Review* (xii 35) I shewed that the second *Logion* was to be referred to a context from which Clement quotes (*Strom.* iii 15 99), and that this context is probably the Gospel in question. Hence we reach this important conclusion that the *Poemandres*, the Naassene writings summarized by Hippolytus, and the *Logia Iesu* are all based upon the heretical Gospel.

VII.

Not only so; by combining the scattered hints which we may glean from these several connected sources we are enabled to enter more fully into the Alexandrine life of the first and second Christian centuries. And in so doing we find ourselves better placed for understanding the composition and origin of the Fourth Gospel.

Let us begin with the title of the thirteenth chapter of the *Poemandres*, ἐν ὄρει λόγος. 'The sermon on the mountain' would suggest to the Gnostic reader, not the beginning of the teaching of Jesus, but one of His discourses delivered after the resurrection. Ménard's remarks (*op. cit.* lxiii) lose their point because they ignore the characteristic distinction between the public discourses of Jesus, and the mystical discourses delivered to the disciples alone upon the Mount of Olives.

¹ In the *Classical Review* xvii 251, I have suggested an emendation in the third *Logion* with the help of these paraphrases, νήψαντα for διψῶντα.

If we compare Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii 13 92 πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, with the quotation in '2 Clem.' xii introduced by the words ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, we are led to think of the passage in the *Acts of the Apostles* i 6 οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες ἡρώπων αὐτὸν λέγοντες Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ; (cf. i 4 λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ). It was on these two passages that the early Christian imagination erected an enormous structure of apocryphal literature, all professing to set forth the revelations of the risen Lord to His disciples. Thus the Mount of Olives is the scene of the conversations recorded in the *Pistis Sophia*. It is remarkable that Salome herself appears in the *Pistis Sophia* as one of the women who accompanied the Apostles on these occasions (*tr.* Schwartze, p. 213). Now in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* Salome puts questions to Jesus, and receives answers very similar to the conversations which make up the staple of the *Pistis Sophia* (see Clem. *Strom.* iii 9 63 f). It is thus very probable that the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* consisted in conversations which took place after the resurrection upon the Mount of Olives, and that the title of the thirteenth chapter of the *Poemandres* conveyed an allusion to the same locality.

Now it is instructive to note that Salome, who plays so prominent a part in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, is the mother of St John, and that the same Gnostic circles in which this Gospel was current, were also those in which we hear for the first time of the Fourth Gospel. That is to say, the Fourth Gospel comes to us from the hands of the Alexandrine Gnostics. The system of Valentinus is really a somewhat fanciful commentary upon the opening chapters of *St John's Gospel*. Heracleon, the first great commentator upon St John, was both a Gnostic and at the same time was really the master of Origen, and through him helped to determine the development of the orthodox theology. Now the key to the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel is to be found in the Gnostic ideas which underlie the *Poemandres*, ideas to which Heracleon furnishes a clue. But the commentators have refused the help which the Gnostics could give, and the Fourth Gospel has been consistently misunderstood owing to the exaggerated stress which has been laid upon the doctrine of the λόγος. A few considerations upon this point shall bring this paper to a close.

In the *Poemandres* the term πνεῦμα is still used in the traditional medical sense x 13 τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα . . . κινεῖ τὸ ζῶον. Along with air πνεῦμα fills vacua (ii 11). The soul uses the πνεῦμα as a vestment. For the πνεῦμα pervades the living creature. The whole theory of the πνεῦμα is not very clearly expressed, but it seems to be borrowed from Galen (Sieb. *Geschichte der Psychologie* I ii 145). If this is the case, we reach

an upward limit for the date of the *Poemandres*, which cannot in this case be earlier than the end of the second century. The interesting enumeration of the parts of the body (v 6), shews that the writer, if not himself a physician, was at any rate in touch with the medicine of his time. The spirit of Greek science has not yet been submerged entirely under the rising flood of mysticism.

Now it is interesting to notice that the connexion of the N. T. idea of πνεῦμα with Greek ideas, 'is most perceptible in the Johannine Gospel (which stands near Alexandrine culture) with its analogies of Divine spirit and moved air of breath' (Sieb. *op. cit.* I ii 157). Cf. *Joh.* xx 22 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐνεφύσησεν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Here undoubtedly πνεῦμα is used in a partly material sense, and the term is ambiguous. Hence we need not be surprised to find in the *Poemandres* that πνεῦμα is confined to the material sense and is replaced by another term, namely νοῦς, in order to denote the highest or spiritual nature. The author thus removes the ambiguity which attaches to the Johannine conception of πνεῦμα by analysing it into the material πνεῦμα, and the immaterial νοῦς. Hence throughout the *Poemandres* νοῦς replaces πνεῦμα in the sense of spirit. Thus God is addressed as Father, Lord, and νοῦς (xiii 21). The laver of regeneration is filled with νοῦς (iv 3).

The λόγος is subordinated to the νοῦς. All men have λόγος, not all men have νοῦς. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμέρισε, τὸν δὲ νοῦν οὐκ ἐτί (iv 3). The presence of the λόγος in man is explained as τὸ ἐν σοὶ βλέπον καὶ ἀκούον (i 6). Now a careful reading of the opening chapters of *St John's Gospel* will shew that the writer introduces the λόγος in the prologue, as a transition from a subject in which he is only partially interested, to his proper subject, the new birth which is brought about by the imparting of the spirit by Jesus. Hence the phrase 'incarnation of the λόγος' does not render to us the leading purpose of the writer, and the theology which is based upon that phrase is an inadequate criticism of his thoughts. Both in *St John* and the *Poemandres*, man is imperfect until he receives the Divine Gnosis.

VIII.

The *Poemandres*, then, is a very striking exponent of the religious and philosophical ideas amid which Alexandrine theology arose. On the one hand it is in touch with Greek mythology and science; on the other with Jewish and Christian literature. The author is more sober than most of his Gnostic contemporaries; he is a more consistent reasoner than Clement. I have but indicated a few of the problems which the *Poemandres* raises and helps to solve, and should like to think that this paper may lead other students to the same field.

FRANK GRANGER.

THE FIRST LATIN CHRISTIAN POET¹.

ISIDORE of Seville, in the middle of the seventh century, writes that 'the first composer of hymns'—that is to say, in Latin—'was Hilary the Gaul, Bishop of Poitiers'.² That Hilary was a hymn-writer is known from more than one passage of Jerome, who was twenty or thirty years of age when Hilary died. In one passage he mentions that Hilary, 'whose Latin eloquence is like the river Rhône, but who was himself a Gaul, and born at Poitiers, describes the Gauls in one of his hymns as difficult to teach'.³ And in the account of Hilary which he gives in his *Notices of Remarkable Men*, he mentions a *Book of Hymns and of Mysteries* written by him.⁴

The *Book of Hymns and Mysteries* was lost, though a few poems have been ascribed to Hilary on varying degrees of authority. A letter, appended to the biography of Hilary, which was written by a distinguished man who succeeded him in the bishopric of Poitiers after an interval of two hundred years, mentions two hymns as sent along with it, a morning and an evening hymn, which the writer presents to his little daughter Abra, or Apra.⁵ The general, though by no means unanimous, verdict of scholars has been that the letter to Abra is to be reckoned spurious. But even if it is genuine, it is not easy to ascertain on what grounds the Benedictine editor convinced himself that the hymn *Lucis largitor* was the morning hymn referred to, or on what grounds Mai connected the penitential verses *Ad caeli clara non sum dignus sidera* with the evening hymn. A hymn beginning *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* is ascribed to Hilary in the ancient Irish *Liber Hymnorum*,⁶ as well as by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims in the ninth century; but in the absence of further evidence little heed has been paid to that ascription. Mr. Glover, in his charming *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, knows only of 'some dull and rather halting hexameters on Genesis' as

¹ A paper read before a College Classical Society.

² *De Off. Eccl.* i 6.

³ *Praefat. in Galat.* II 'in hymnorum carmine Gallos indociles uocat'. The context, if not the words themselves, makes it clear that he does not mean, as some have supposed, that Hilary said that it was hard to teach the Gauls to sing hymns.

⁴ *De Vir. Illust.* c 'et liber hymnorum et mysteriorum alius'. It is not clear whether Jerome intends to speak of these as one book or as two—'and another book of hymns and mysteries', or 'and a book of hymns and another of mysteries'. I incline to the former rendering.

⁵ So Mai prefers to write it (*Nova Bibl. Patrum* i p. 475).

⁶ Edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by the present Dean of St Patrick's.

being attributed to Hilary of Poitiers: but, as he justly says, it is believed that they are not his work¹.

In recent times, however, fresh light has been thrown upon the poetical activity of Hilary. Signor Gamurrini discovered in the beautiful library of the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Pieve at Arezzo a MS, written in Lombardic character, of about the eleventh century, which contained matter of extraordinary interest. A great part of it was occupied by a pious lady's account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the fourth century². To the world of letters in general this was, no doubt, the most important part of the treasure trove. But the MS contains also a large portion of the long-lost treatise of Hilary upon the Mysteries, the last page of which, after a gap of some thirty-two pages, fortunately remains to tell us what it is—*Finit tractatus mysteriorum S. Hylarii episcopi*; and then follows the heading *Incipiunt Hymni eiusdem*. Gamurrini, who had already made known his discovery in a learned periodical in 1884, three years later published the whole contents of his MS in a quarto volume. Unfortunately, his skill in deciphering his MS was not equal to his merit in finding it; and in the part which concerns us at present, the facsimile page which he has given us enables us frequently to correct his published text of the first hymn. Sometimes he has made intentional corrections of the MS text which are not required. Truth compels us to add that the volume contains so many misprints as seriously to shake our confidence in Gamurrini's printed text. I subjoin an attempted revision of the text, and can only wish that I had been able to make it more perfect by a new examination of the MS³. Gamurrini's facsimile only carries us as far as I 31. Where, after that point, my critical notes say 'MS', it must be understood that Gamurrini's reading of the MS is meant.

FELIX PROPHETA DAVID PRIMVS ORGANI
IN CARNE CHRISTVM HYMNIS MVNDO NVNTIANS.

I

Ante saecula qui manes,
semperque nate, semper ut est Pater,—
namque te sine quomodo
dici, ni pater est, quod pater sit, potest?—

4

I. *ms.* manens

¹ *Life and Letters* p. 253 (Cambridge, 1901).

² Subsequent discoveries shew that the lady was a Spaniard called Etheria (Ferotin *Le véritable auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviae* 1903).

³ A somewhat improved text was published, but without a fresh inspection of the MS, by the learned hymnologist, Dreves, in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* for 1888 (vol. xii), together with an interesting paper upon the hymns; but his punctuation of the poem makes it impossible to construe in parts.

Bis nobis genite Deus, Christe, dum innato nasceris a Deo, uel dum corporeum et Deum mundo te genuit uirgo puerpera,	8
Credens te populus rogat, hymnorum resonans mitis ut audias uoces quas tibi concinit aetas omnigena, sancte, gregis tui.	12
Dum te fida rogat, sibi clemens ut maneat, plebs tui nominis, in te innascibilem Deum orat, quod maneat alter in altero.	16
Extra quam capere potest mens humana, manet Filius in Patre; rursum, quem penes sit Pater, dignus, qui genitus est Filius in Deum.	20
Felix, qui potuit fide res tantas penitus credulus assequi, ut incorporeo ex Deo perfectus fuerit progenitus Dei.	24
Grande loquimur et Deum uerum, ut genitor, quicquid inest sibi aeternae decus gloriae, totum in unigenam ediderit Deum.	28
Hinc unus merito bonus ipsum, quod Deus est, extra inuidiam sui gigni uellet in alterum, transformans se, ut est, uiuam in imaginem.	32
Istis uera patet Dei uirtus: cum dederit omnia, non tamen ipsis, quae dederit, caret, cuncta, quae sua sunt, cum dederit, habens.	36
Kara progenies Dei, cognatum cui sit omne decus Patris, nil natae eguit dari, sed natum simul est quicquid erat Dei.	40
Lumen fulsit a lumine, Deusque uerus substitit ex Deo	

uero, non aliud habens ortus unigena quam innascibilis Pater.	44
Mirum Dei hoc opus est, aeternus ut incorruptibilis Deus, ortu qui careat,—quia sit sempiterna uirtus, quod est Deus,—	48
Non natis quibus est in bonis ex sese placidus gigneret in Deum ; ac sic unigena in Deo hoc ipsud ortu, quod genitum est, caret.	52
O felix duum unitas, alter qui cum sit mixtus in altero, unum sic faciunt duo, sit in duobus cum quod est in altero.	56
Patri sed genitus paret, omnemque ad nutum attonitus manet, et scire non est arduum, quid uelit, sese qui penes est, Pater.	60
Quanta est genitus in bona ; nam constitutus in cunctorum exordio, condens qui primum saecula aeternum in motum tempora protulit,	64
Rebus anterior Deus cunctis,—nam per eum omnia facta sunt, esset cum nihilum modo,— mundum corporeo condidit in statu.	68
Sed nos littera non sinit, per quam te genitum concinimus Deum, gesta, quae tua sunt, loqui carmenque natum, iam qui eras Deus,	72
Te cunctis Dominum modis caelorum regem et caelestis gloriae, ut cuncta per te condita * * * * *	

II

* * * * *	
Fefellit saeuam Verbum factum et caro ; Deique tota uiui in corpus irruis.	12
51. <i>ms.</i> in unigena	61. <i>ms.</i> exordia

Gaudens pendentem cernis ligno cum crucis,
tibique membra fixa clauis uindicas.

Hanc sumis ante pompam tanti proelii
sputus, flagella, ictus, cassa harundinis. 16

Ibat triumpho morte sumpto a mortua
Deus inferno uinci regno nesciens.

Kandens frigescit stagnum ; pallida est iugis
rigensque nescit Flegethon se feruere. 20

Lux orta uastae noctis splendet ; inferum
tremet, et alti custos saeuus Tartari.

Mors, te peremptam sentis lege cum tua,
Deum cum cernis subdedisse te tibi. 24

Non est caducum corpus istud, quod tenes,
nullumque in illo. ius habet corruptio.

Omnis te uincit carnis nostrae infirmitas ;
natura carnis est connata cum Deo. 28

Per hanc in altos scandam laeta cum meo
caelos resurgens glorioso corpore.

Quantis fidelis spebus Christum credidi,
in se qui natus me per carnem suscipit. 32

Renata sum—o uitae laetae exordia—
nouisque uiui christiana legibus.

Sanctis perenne munus praestat hoc Dei,
conformi secum uiuant post haec corpore. 36

Terror recedat sortis tandem, mors, tuae ;
sinu me laetam patriarcha suscipit.

Viuiam locata post haec in caelestibus,
Dei sedere carnem certa a dexteris. 40

Xriste, reuersus caelos uictor in tuos,
memento carnis, in qua natus es, meae.

Ymnos perennes angelorum cum choris
in hoc resurgens laeta psallam corpore. 44

Zelauit olim me in morte Satanas ;
regnantem cernat tecum totis saeculis.

13. *ms.* gaudes . . . carnis 17. *ms.* mortem sumpta mortuo 22. *ms.* tremet
32. *ms.* suscepit 34. *ms.* nouis quae 36. *ms.* corpora 37. sortis
ms. mortis

III

Adae cernuata gloria et caduci corporis, in caelesti rursum Adam concinamus proelia, per quae primum Satanus est Adam uictus in nouo.	3
Hostis fallax saeculorum et dirae mortis artifex, iam consiliis toto in orbe uiperinis consitis, nihil ad salutem praestare spei humanae existimat.	6
Gaudet aris, gaudet templis, gaudet sanie uictimae, gaudet falsis, gaudet stupris, gaudet belli sanguine, gaudet caeli conditorem ignorari gentibus.	9
Inter tanta dum exultat nostrae cladis funera, Deo audit in excelsis nuntiari gloriam, et in terra pacem hominum uoluntatis optimae.	12
Terret coetus angelorum laetus ista praedicans, terret Christum terris natum nuntians pastoribus, magnum populis hinc futurum desperatis gaudium.	15
Errat partes in diuersas tantis rebus anxius; quaerit audax et quis hic sit tali dignus nuntio, nihil ultra quam commune est terris ortum contuens.	18
Cernit tamen, his quod Iohannes in desertis praedicet, aquis mersans in Iordanis, cunctis paenitentiam, quam sequatur confessorum criminum remissio.	21
Inter turbas, quae frequenter mergebantur, accipit uocem e caelo praedicantem, 'meus est hic filius; hunc audite; hic dilectus, in quo mihi complacet.'	24
Cernit hominem, cernit corpus, quod Adae perlex erat; nihil ultra uox honoris afferebat desuper; scit terrenam subiacere mortis legi originem.	27
Ad temptandum multas artes priscae fraudis commouet; quaerit audax tempus quid sit . . .	

It will be seen at once that the Arezzo MS does not give us any one hymn of Hilary in full. It contains large fragments of three hymns. Between the first and second fragments, twelve pages of the MS have been lost. It is impossible to tell how much has been lost after the third fragment. How large the collection originally was, we cannot say. The missing pages may, or they may not, have contained the hymns

1. *ms.* Adae cernis gloriam9. *ms.* ignorare24. hic *ms.* hinc28. *ms.* fraudes

Ad caeli clara, Lucis largitor, and Hymnum dicat. It would not even be quite certain, without investigation of the contents, whether the heading *Incipiunt hymni eiusdem* was intended to apply to all our three fragments, or whether the hymns of Hilary ended somewhere in the lost pages and a new heading began. These questions can only be answered after careful investigation of the second and third of the fragments.

That the first, at any rate, of the three hymns discovered by Gamurrini is a genuine work of Hilary can hardly, I think, be doubted¹. Its close connexion with the *Tractatus Mysteriorum* is exactly in keeping with the way in which Jerome speaks of the *Book of Hymns and of Mysteries*. The theology of the hymn is precisely the theology of Hilary's great work on the Trinity. The style, in its involutions and obscurities, is as much like that of Hilary's treatises as could be expected in comparing verse with prose. There are constructions, phrases, and favourite words which point strongly, when taken in conjunction, to the Bishop of Poitiers. I will call attention to a few of them.

Among constructions may be mentioned the use of *quod* with the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*, instead of the accusative and infinitive. Thus vv. 3, 4 we have *quomodo dici . . . quod pater sit potest*, 'how can it be said that He is Father?' The same construction occurs in iii 19 *cernit . . . quod Iohannes . . . praedicet*, 'he sees that John is preaching.' Hilary not infrequently uses this construction: e.g. *de Trin.* i 20 *noli negare quod steterit*; . . . *noli nescire quod . . . Deus natus sit*; iv 42 *audit Israel, quod sibi Deus unus sit*; v 16 *memento quod . . . sis professus*; v 33 *ignoras quod . . . uiderit*; vi 21 *credo . . . quod, quae tua sunt, eius sint; et quae eius sunt, tua sint*. The useful particle *quod*, on its way to become the *che* and *que* of the Romance languages, is of course common in fourth-century Latin; but it is not, I think, so common in other authors with the subjunctive: they usually put the verb in the indicative².

A remarkable phrase occurs in v. 20. There we read *qui genitus est filius in Deum*, 'the Son who is born God' (or 'God by birth'); in 28, *in unigenam ediderit Deum*, 'that the Sire should have reproduced undiminished in an only begotten God whatever splendour of eternal glory there is in Himself'; in 31 *gigni uellet in alterum*, 'should wish His very Godhead to pass by generation into another'; in 50 *gigneret in Deum*, 'that the eternal and incorruptible God should without

¹ The most careful examination known to me which rejects the Hilarian authorship is that of Mr. E. W. Watson in the Introduction to his translation of Hilary in the *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*.

² Jerome perhaps uses the subjunctive more frequently than the indicative; see the instances in Goelzer's *Latinité de S. Jérôme* p. 375 foll. The instances in Regnier's *Latinité des Sermons de S. Augustin* p. 112 foll. are about half and half.

effort beget out of Himself His unoriginate elements of bliss into one who is God'. The phrase is a very bold and striking one. Gamurrini, who seems to have felt no difficulty over the three earlier cases, thought to simplify the fourth by omitting the *in*. But this was quite unnecessary. The expression is highly Hilarian. In *de Trin.* iv 35 we read, *idcirco Deus eius est, quia ex eo natus in Deum est*, 'God is Christ's God, because to Him He owes His birth as God'; in v 35 the Arians say that Christ is *non ex Deo natus in Deum, sed per creationem susceptus in filium*; in v 37 Hilary writes *neque abest a se, quod uiuus genuit in uiuum*; in vi 11 *quod per natiuitatis ueritatem ex Deo in Deum extitit*; in vi 13 *natiuitas . . . Dei, quae ex Deo in Deum extitit*; in vi 13 *id laborans ut de non extantibus nasceretur, id est, non a Deo Patre in Deum Filium uera et perfecta natiuitate natus esset*; in vii 11 *quae cum in Deum filium cum substantia uerae natiuitatis extiterint, Deo tamen, ut sua propria, quamuis ex eo in Deum sint nata, non desunt*. Instances might be multiplied from Hilary, but I do not remember the use of this turn of expression in any other author.

Such phrases as vv. 30 *ipsum quod Deus est*, 48 *quod est Deus*, to express what constitutes Godhead, have a very Hilarian sound. I quote rather at random from *de Trin.* iii 3 *omne quod Deus est . . . natiuitati eius impertiens*; iv 8 *conantur . . . filio auferre quod Deus est*; x 19 *habens in se et totum uerumque quod homo est, et totum uerumque quod Deus est*; xi 4 *cui non sit ex natiuitate quod Deus est*.

Again, the Greek-like phrase v. 49 *quibus est in bonis*¹ may be paralleled by such passages in Hilary as *de Trin.* xi 4, where, after recounting the attributes of Godhead, Hilary complains that according to the Arians our Lord is *extra hanc beatitudinem, manens ipse et mortalis et infirmus et malus, . . . dum in his Pater solus est*; ix 31 *Deum in his ostendit intellegendum esse quae sua sunt, in uirtute, in aeternitate* cet.; *ibid.* *unigenitus igitur in his se docens substituisse quae Patris sunt*; *ibid.* 61 *quod in his quibus ipse est, ei qui ex se est Pater totus sit*.

The little phrase *ut est* in v. 32 is a favourite phrase of Hilary's. Compare *de Trin.* ii 7 *Deumque ut est quantusque est non eloquetur*; 8 *est Pater ut est, et ut est esse credatur*; vi 12 *Deus, ut est Deus, quod est, permanet*.

When we come to special words, perhaps *unigena* and *innascibilis* are the two which most closely link the hymn to the prose writings of Hilary—especially when *unigena* is joined to *Deus*. The word *unigenitus* could not easily be got into the metre of the hymn, although Gamurrini, misreading his MS and misunderstanding his metre, has endeavoured to cram it in. *Unigena* does duty for it (vv. 28, 44, 51). I may say

¹ Cp. Srawley's Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* pp. 9, 93.

in passing that Hilary does not appear to have actually read *unigenitus Deus* in the famous text of St John (i 18); when he formally quotes the text he gives it as *unigenitus filius*, unless the printed editions misrepresent him. But the phrase *Deus unigenitus* occurs in him more frequently than in any other author, or than its equivalent Greek either. It comes scores and scores of times in the *de Trinitate*. It comes in the *Mysteriorum Liber* on the same page of Gamurrini as our hymn itself. So does *innascibilis*, which represents the Greek ἀγέννητος. I have counted nineteen occurrences of the word, together with the still more unpromising substantive *innascibilitas*, in the fourth book of the *de Trinitate* alone.

Manere again, in the sense of ὑπάρχειν, which comes in the first line of the hymn, and which in 14, 18, 20 is almost a synonym of *esse*, is a thoroughly Hilarian word. In dealing with the famous text Phil. ii 6 he again and again interprets the word ὑπάρχων by *manere*. In *de Trin.* ix 14 we have *qui in forma Dei manebat, formam serui accepit*; and again *cumque accipere formam serui nisi per euacuationem suam non potuerit qui manebat in Dei forma*. In these and similar passages Hilary does not mean by *manebat* that the Son remained in the form of God while assuming the form of man. It is one of his peculiarities to suppose that the assumption of the form of the servant involved the abandonment of the form of God—though he understands the word ‘form’ in a different sense from most theologians. His *manebat* there refers to the essential existence of Christ before the Incarnation; ‘He who was (at the moment of the Incarnation) abiding in the form of God (abandoned that form and) took the form of a servant’. The use corresponds exactly with our *ante saecula qui manes*. So again in *de Trin.* xi 14 we read *manens igitur in forma serui, qui manebat in Dei forma*; *ibid.* *in forma Dei manens formam serui assumpsit*. Or, leaving the text from Philippians, we get *manere* = ὑπάρχειν in such sentences as these: *de Trin.* vi 12 *natura illa non . . . ex diuersis constat ut maneat*; 13 *non enim qui manebat Deus, sed ex manente Deo Deus natus est*; xii 25 *nemini . . . dubium est quin . . . natiuitas manentem doceat, non etiam non manentem*; *ibid.* *cum ex manente natus est, non est natus ex nihilo*; 36 *ne forte ante Mariam non manere existimaretur*¹.

The curious use of the word *penes* which twice over in this hymn denotes the mutual indwelling of the Persons of the Trinity (19, 60), occurs in Hilary’s *Comm.* in Matt. xxxi 3 *quod is ipse est penes quem erat antequam nasceretur*. I do not remember this use elsewhere.

The more this hymn is examined in detail² the more abundantly

¹ *Constitutus* (v. 62) is another representative of ὢν or ὑπάρχων.

² A few special points in the hymn may be illustrated thus: v. 20 *dignus*, cp.

clear it becomes that the attribution of it to Hilary of Poitiers is correct.

The results which this conclusion conveys to the classical and philological student are not without importance. We cannot but be interested to see how a bishop of one of the most cultured parts of Gaul in the fourth century went to work to commend his doctrine to the people. Hilary was himself a good scholar, both in Greek and in Latin. He had been, like other great Latin Fathers, a student of philosophy, and had found the study a bridge to Christianity. During his exile in the East, if not before, he became acquainted with the use of religious poetry among Greek-speaking Christians. He probably learned how the Arians employed verse as a medium for disseminating their heresy. He determined to make a similar attempt in Latin for the propagation of the Catholic faith. The little prologue to his book of hymns shews that he was conscious of the boldness of his attempt. 'Happy the prophet David, who was the first to announce to the world in hymns Christ in the flesh of service.' Hilary felt that he was putting himself, like a new David, at the head of a new line of hymn-writers, to proclaim the incarnate Christ to the western world.

The first thing which Hilary had to do—at any rate the first after selecting his special theme—was to select a metre. His first choice was a somewhat strange one. He took the asclepiadean metre of Horace's third ode:—

Sic te diua potens Cypri,
sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera.

For purposes of convenience he grouped his lines in stanzas of four. Horace, in many cases, did the same, though Munro refused to say that he did so always. Hilary does not always mark the end of his quatrain by a break in the sense, as Ovid marks his couplets; but he marked the beginnings of them by following the letters of the alphabet. The Old Testament probably gave the first suggestion of this arrangement, where, besides Psalm cxix, a good many other Psalms and Lamentations are alphabetical¹. Not only the first of Hilary's hymns was composed on the alphabetical plan: the second of Gamurrini's fragments was composed on the same plan, and it is so far in favour of the Hilarian

de Trin. iv 10 'cum potius . . . gloriosus auctor sit, ex quo is qui tali gloria sit dignus extiterit'. v. 30 *extra inuidiam*: cp. *de Trin.* ix 61 'qui diligit, non inuidet, et qui pater est, non etiam non pater totus est'. Ibid. *uiuam in imaginem*: cp. *de Trin.* xi 5 'Deum uiuentis Dei uiuam imaginem'. v. 38 *cognatum*: cp. *de Trin.* ix 31 'naturalis igitur filio Dei et congenita omnis potestas est'.

¹ This way of treating verses was not foreign, however, to the genius of Latin poetry. Cicero tells us (*De Diuin.* ii 54) that some of the poems of Ennius were acrostichal in character.

authorship of *Ad caeli clara* that it likewise is alphabetical. The device was no doubt an aid to memory. It approved itself to later hymn-writers within the patristic period, who wrote not for scholars but for the people; and Augustine's swinging *Hymnus Abecedarius* on the one hand, and Sedulius's fine poem beginning *A solis ortus cardine* on the other, shewed what could be done in that way.

Hilary chose an elaborate Horatian metre for his first hymn, but he dealt with it in a way that would have made Horace—or Quintilian—'stare and gasp', though Priscian or Servius would have regarded it with greater equanimity. According to the Horatian scheme, the odd lines prefix a spondee, the even lines a spondee and a choriambus, to the two final dactyls. Hilary, knowing that metres were made for men, and not men for metres, felt free to alter this scheme where it suited his purpose. Not only did he freely put a trochee—or less often an iambus—for a spondee at the beginning of any line—he begins straight away with *Ante saecula*—but he freely puts a spondee or quasi-spondee, or even an iambus in place of the first three syllables of the choriambus of the even lines—and more frequently as the poem goes on:—

- 2 semperque nate, | semper ut est Pater
 6 Christe, dum innato | nasceris a Deo
 38 cognatum cui sit | omne decus Patris
 42 Deusque uerus | substitit ex Deo
 48 sit sempiterna | uirtus quod est Deus
 52 hoc ipsud ortu | quod genitum est caret
 54 alter qui cum sit | mixtus in altero
 56 sit in duobus | cum quod est in altero
 58 omnemque ad nutum | attonitus manet
 60 quid uelit sese | qui penes est Pater
 64 aeternum in motum | tempora protulit
 72 carmenque natum | iam qui eras Deus
 74 caelorum regem et | caelestis gloriae.

These rhythms occur thirteen times out of the thirty-seven possible opportunities. But Hilary takes an even wider view of the capacities of his metre. In at least one formidable-looking line, he resolves the initial spondee into a dactyl—that is, a dactyl of a kind:—

- 62 nām cōnstītūtūs īn cūnc|tōrūm ēxōrdīō.

The same seems to be the only possible account of a line still more formidable, unless the copyists have done it an injustice: I mean the line—

- 44 ōrtūs (genitive) ūnigēnā qu(am) īn|nāscībīlis Pātēr.

In other words, he treats the first half of the long asclepiad line as the first half of a variable pentameter, or of an alcaic, or of a sapphic, just as it suits him.

But the liberties which Hilary took with his metre were of a far more striking kind than a mere alteration of the feet which compose it. The feet themselves, spondee, trochee, iambus, even dactyl, are not feet—or only accidentally so—which Horace would have recognized as such. To all intents and purposes they are accentual, and not quantitative feet. A most interesting paper by the great Munro¹ takes a Latin metrical inscription at Cirta as the text for an essay on the substitution of accent for quantity in the making of Latin verse. In that inscription the substitution is complete, as it is also in the verses of Commodian. As Munro shews, the worthy banker, whose tomb it adorns, had never learned prosody, and read his Virgil by accent and by nothing else. I wish that Munro could have threaded for us the intricacies of the metrical laws by which Hilary was governed. They were not quite so simple as those of the banker of Cirta. Hilary is not wholly uninfluenced by quantity. Probably, if he had chosen, he could have written as good quantitative verses as his contemporary and fellow countryman, Ausonius. There is indeed one false quantity in his first hymn, which no ingenuity can explain away: it is in the sadly *scasontic* line 57 *Patri sed genitus paret*. But there is no other shortening of a naturally long syllable which can be quite set side by side with this². Accent, at any rate, has nothing to do with this shortening, for the accent in any case would be upon the first syllable of *paret*. The line itself may be taken as an example to shew that Hilary was not guided by accent alone. To Praecilus of Cirta *Patri sed genitus paret* would have been two dactyls and a spondee (or trochee); to Hilary it is a spondee (or trochee) and two dactyls. Quantity with him still counts

¹ 'On a metrical Latin Inscription at Cirta,' in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* vol. x part II (Cambridge, 1861).

² Unless it be (63) 'condens qui primum saecula'. It will be observed that if this line be read accentually it would nearly agree with 'bis nobis genite Deus', or *uel dum corporeum et Deum*, or *et scire non est arduum*, or indeed with almost all the short lines of the poem. It would seem from such lines as if Hilary read his *navis quae tibi creditum* as a dimeter iambic. Even *quanta est genitus in bona* might be reconciled with that scheme, by leaving the *a* unelided, and (as is frequent in conversational Latin) ignoring the *i* in *genitus*. But there are at any rate nine lines which would not lend themselves to that scansion. *Dura te fida rogat sibi* would resist it as obstinately as *sic te diua potens Cypri*. Metrically, perhaps, the most difficult line in the piece is the last but one,

Caelorum regem et caelestis gloriae.

The accent of *caelestis* makes it, of course, as unlike a dactyl as the quantity. I cannot but think that there is some error of transcription.

for something. But it counts for very little. He had not the horror of the *profanum uulgus*, which Munro shews to have induced Horace to make accent and quantity so often clash. His great desire was to popularize his thoughts. Accentual verses were what the people liked, and made, and sang. So long as the people in general had an ear for quantity, they made and sang verses in which accent and quantity went together; but when the decay of quantity took place, accent had things all its own way.

Unus hómo mille mille mille decollauimus;
tantum uini hábet nemo quantum fudit sanguinis.

So sang the boys of Rome to salute a victorious emperor at the end of the third century. Hilary took the side of the people.

Let me say again that Hilary was an explorer and a pioneer. 'He was the first who ever burst' into the untried region of Latin Christian hymnody. Other writers who followed him seem to have felt that in submitting to the demands of accent he had made a mistake. The genuine hymns of Ambrose, the poems of Prudentius, of Sedulius, and of Venantius, are far more classical and quantitative in their construction than those of Hilary. It is impossible to say whether their greater success in the way of use in church is in any degree owing to this cause, or whether it is all to be traced to their higher poetical genius and more touching devotional power. But Hilary, at any rate, had no experience of others to direct him. He had to make the venture for himself; and if some of the great fathers of Christian poetry shrank from following him in this particular respect, there were others, of scarcely less merit, who flung the scholastic traditions of quantity altogether away, and wrote hymns like *Ad cenam Agni prouidi*, and *Urbs beata Ierusalem*, and *Sancti uenite, Christi corpus sumite*, without regard to anything but accent.

I will not, however, pursue further the somewhat intricate question of the relation of accent to quantity, but will call attention to one or two other features in Hilary's first hymn which illustrate the state of the Latin language in the latter half of the fourth century.

Observe the freedom with which Hilary uses or refuses elision. Munro's Numidian banker seems to have known nothing of elision. There are cases in Hilary's poem where we may take our choice whether to elide or not. In *Christe, dum innato*, or *Totum in unigenam*, the first foot may be a dactyl or a trochee, as we may be pleased to read it. But in the lines—

7 uel dum corporeum et Deum
23 ut incorporeo ex Deo

elision is necessary: in the lines—

26 uerum, ut genitor, quicquid inest sibi

32 transformans se, ut est

45 mirum Dei hoc opus est,

elision is impossible. Classical students will remember how easily a juxtaposition like *se ut est* or *iam qui eras* (where the *se* and *qui* are shortened by position), could be paralleled out of Plautus or Terence.

It is perhaps more interesting to observe that Hilary uses, when he likes, the elision of the final *s* with a following *est*—or rather perhaps I should say, how he uses the shortened *est*, which is so familiar in the older Latin poetry. That is obviously the scansion of—

20 dignus, qui genitu(s e)st filius in Deum

and of—

30 ipsum, quod Deu(s e)st, extra inuidiam sui

and of—

49 non natis quibu(s e)st in bonis.

It seems to me that a similar account—that is, of an enclitic and abbreviated *est*—is the best that can be given of the line—

56 sit in duobus cum quod (e)st in altero.

I need hardly say that the treating of *quodst* as a short syllable is not at all beyond what the Latin playwrights would have thought permissible.

The only other thing that I need notice in the first hymn is the curious, the violent use which the poet makes of hyperbaton. It sometimes seems as if he paid no regard to the order in which the words should stand, like an English schoolboy making Latin verses for the first time. In the third stanza, *resonans* belongs either to *populus* in the line before, or to *aetas* two lines below. I think it goes best with the latter. In the *O* stanza is a still more complicated arrangement. The *qui* which is the subject of *faciunt* is intruded into the first *cum* clause. This would not be so bad by itself, but a second *cum* clause follows, in which the *cum* appears at the very end of the sentence, except for the phrase which forms the subject of the verb. Written in straightforward prose, it would be *cum quod est in altero in duobus sit*. That Hilary liked this position for the *cum* is shewn by his writing a little below *esset cum nihilum modo*, when, for all that can be seen, *cum esset* would have suited his prosody quite as well. So, for that matter, would *cum in duobus sit*. But perhaps the most difficult transposition of all is in the last unfinished sentence which closes the fragment. Hilary seems to mean that the point of the alphabet which he has reached (*littera*) will not admit of his treating of the wonders

of creation, in which the Son of God had His share, nor of His Incarnation. If *carmenque natum* is what Hilary wrote, *carmen* is coupled to *littera*, and we have to supply *non sinit loqui* before *natum*, which agrees with the *te* of the following stanza. But this is very harsh, and I rather suspect that *carmenque natum* is a mistake for *carnemque natam*, or something of that sort.

Whether Hilary wrote any more hymns in these elaborate metres we cannot tell; but few readers, I think, will be inclined to doubt that he was more successful with the iambic and trochaic metres of the other two fragments which Gamurrini has given us, if indeed he was the author of them.

I must admit that there has been some question, even among those who accept Hilary's authorship of *Ante saecula qui manes*, as to whether these other two poems are to be ascribed to him. The speaker in the second fragment is a feminine speaker:—

29 per hanc in altos scandam laeta cum meo
caelos resurgens glorioso corpore;

and again—

33 renata sum—o uitae laetae exordia—
nouisque uiuo christiana legibus.

(Compare vv. 38, 39, 40, 44.) Gamurrini therefore supposes it to be the poem of some lady neophyte, which Hilary has incorporated into his collection. He thinks that he has discovered the lady. She was a certain Florentia, whom, according to Venantius, Hilary met and baptized in his exile, and who followed him to Poitiers on his return. This is of course possible; but on the other hand, as Duchesne has pointed out¹, there is no reason why Hilary should not have composed the poem for the use of Florentia or of some other lady. If there is any historical foundation for the statement that he composed a morning and an evening hymn for his daughter Abra, nothing could be more natural than that these verses should have been written for a Christian woman's use. We might even suppose that they were written for Abra herself. Dreves, indeed, thinks that as she appears to have been baptized at the same time as her father, it is unlikely that he would have written such a poem at such a moment. It need not, however, have been written at the time of their baptism. The language would be appropriate for a baptized Christian at any period after baptism—especially at Eastertide, to which the hymn evidently belongs. I would, however, venture the suggestion that the ten lost lines at the beginning may have contained words that gave

¹ *Bulletin Critique*, 1887, No. 13.

another reason for the feminine. For instance, the speaker may conceivably be the Christian soul.

In these two poems, Hilary whom I assume for the moment to be the author, shews to far greater advantage than in the first. The subjects, no doubt, are easier to treat; but the verse also moves with greater freedom and force. The accent no longer struggles for mastery with quantity; its dominion is unchallenged. The only places where accent and ictus do not always agree are the first and last foot of the iambic. It gives variety to get sometimes a rhythm like *ibat triumpho, sputus flagella*, in the first foot, instead of having always one like *fefellit saenam, Deique tota*; and in the last foot a rhythm like *et caro, cum crucis*, instead of a constant rhythm like *irruis* and *uindicas*. Even this closing inversion of accent, which comes thirteen times out of thirty-six in the iambic hymn, comes only twice out of twenty-eight in the trochaic, *uictus in nouo, quod Adae pellex erat*. The caesura, on which the verse turns, is always well managed: in the only place where it is not strictly observed,

renata sum—o uitae laetae exordia—

the break in the sense, to my ear at least, makes the observance unnecessary, and the effect is rhythmically good.

In the third poem Hilary may be regarded as having achieved a real success. The old Greek trochaic metre was well adapted to the Latin accentual system, and it had often been used in popular songs. But, unless I am mistaken, our poem is the first in which the trochaic lines are grouped in stanzas of three; and any one familiar with Latin hymns, patristic and mediaeval, rhymed and unrhymed, will know what the world owes to the inventor of this stirring form of verse. Hilary's mutilated *Paradise Regained*—for so I may call the third hymn—is metrically the direct parent of Prudentius's magnificent lines—

Corde natus ex parentis ante mundi exordium,
Alpha et O cognominatus, ipse fons et clausula
omnium quae sunt, fuerunt, quaeque post futura sunt,

and indirectly, through Venantius, of Thomas's great sequence—

Pange, lingua, gloriosi corporis mysterium
sanguinisque pretiosi, quem in mundi pretium
fructus uentris generosi rex effudit gentium.

If, as I believe is far from unlikely, the morning hymn *Lucis largitor optime* is really Hilary's, then Hilary has the almost greater glory of having invented the stanza of four equal iambic lines which Ambrose

made his own—the Christian remet *par excellence*—which has given us such poems as—

Veni, redemptor gentium,
ostende partum uirginis;
miretur omne saeculum;
talis decet partus Deum—

and a hundred other noble hymns.

I said that the *Pange, lingua* of Thomas Aquinas was descended from Hilary's trochaic poem through Venantius Fortunatus. That Thomas's *Pange, lingua, gloriosi corporis mysterium* was modelled after Venantius's *Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis* will be disputed by no one. But that Venantius in turn was influenced by Hilary, can hardly be doubted by any who will compare his *Pange lingua* with those which Gamurrini has recovered for us. It will be remembered that Venantius lived at Poitiers, of which city he became bishop. He it was who, while still a presbyter, wrote the life of Hilary to which I have already referred.

Not only is the metre of Venantius the same as that of the third of Hilary's poems. The thoughts are in great measure taken over from that hymn and from the foregoing one. The very beginning, which lifts the story of the Passion into a paean, is almost enough to shew it:—

Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis,
et super crucis tropaeum dic triumphum nobilem.

It is the very spirit, not only of the lines—

III 2 in caelesti rursum Adam concinamus proelia,
per quae primum Satanas est Adam uictus in nouo,

lines which so curiously anticipate the modern—

A second Adam to the fight
And to the rescue came—

but the same spirit rings through the iambic poem also:—

15 ante pompam tanti proelii—
17 ibat triumpho morte sumpto a mortua.

The thought that the craft of Satan was foiled by a higher and better craft—

multiformis proditoris ars ut artem falleret—

was a fairly common one in ancient days; but it lay ready to Venantius's hand to combine Hilary's—

III 4 Hostis fallax saeculorum et dirae mortis artifex

and—

ad temptandum multas artes priscae fraudis commouet—
with his—

II 11 Fefellit saeuam Verbum factum et caro

and—

III 25 cernit hominem, cernit corpus, quod Adae pellex erat.

To reckon up the elements and instruments of the Passion must always have been a favourite exercise of the devout Christian; but when we read Venantius's—

Hic acetum, fel, harundo, sputa; clauis, lancea
mite corpus perforatur

with Gamurrini's discovery before us, we cannot but see its source in Hilary's—

II 16 sputus, flagella, ictus, cassa harundinis.

Perhaps I may add that Venantius's—

Vagit infans inter arta conditus praesepia,

which has no support in the Gospels, may very likely have been derived from Hilary's strange insistence upon the same point in his prose works: *de Trin.* ii 24 *per conceptionem, partum, uagitum, cunas*; 25 *ad cuius uocem archangeli tremunt, . . uagitu infantiae auditur*; 26 *cunae, uagitus, partus atque conceptio*; 27 *partum, uagitum, et cunas*; 27 *sic uagitus per angelorum . . gaudia honoratur*; *ib. infans uagit, laudantes angeli audiuntur*. It is indeed possible that one of Hilary's lost hymns may have insisted likewise on the wailing. It is not, so far as I am aware, a common feature of early teaching. Finally, Hilary's repeated reference to the 'law of death'—

II 23 Mors, te peremptam sentis lege cum tua—

III 27 scit terrenam subiacere mortis legi originem

is caught up with vigour in another poem of Venantius, from which various centos have been culled for church processions under the heading of *Salve festa dies*—

legibus inferni oppressis—
tristia cesserunt inferni uincula legis.

The accumulation of these coincidences of thought and expression forms no inconsiderable argument for the genuineness of the hymns attributed to Hilary in Gamurrini's MS.

It may seem superfluous to go on illustrating the language of these hymns from the recognized works of Hilary; but I will give one example which may suffice for many. In that portion of his Commentary upon St Matthew where he discusses the Temptation of our

Lord (canon 3), Hilary, after giving a somewhat minute and detailed account of the state of the tempter's knowledge at the time, proceeds to say: *igitur istius temporis metu, in temptando eo quem hominem contuebatur, sumpsit temeritatem. Adam enim pellegerat, et in mortem fallendo traduxerat.* The whole passage exactly corresponds with our hymn. Its very words, *contuebatur, pellegerat*, recall our *contuens, pellex erat*. It and it alone gives the explanation of the enigmatical enquiry with which the fragment ends—*quaerit audax tempus quid sit.* The poet no doubt went on to say, as Hilary says in his Commentary, that Satan was alarmed at the fast of forty days (*istius temporis metu*)—a period which in other instances already had portended disaster for him; yet the very fasting, with its proof that our Lord was truly man, emboldened him to essay temptation (*sumpsit temeritatem*).

I will end with calling attention to a few particular words which are worthy of a moment's notice from classical students.

II 16 *Cassa harundinis.* The only other instance of the word *cassum* that I have been able to find is in Julius Solinus, p. 215 of Mommsen's edition. Solinus lived about the same time as Hilary, and wrote a kind of abridgement of Pliny's *Natural History*, mixed with passages from other authors. Speaking of the stone *lychnites*, he says that it *aut palarum cassa aut chartarum fila ad se rapit.* Pliny XXXVII vii 30, has simply *paleas et chartarum fila.* The dictionaries—Facciolati and Ducange—say that it means *fragmenta*; and I do not doubt that they are right, though I think it is doubtful whether the word is simply the neuter plural of the adjective *cassus*. Here then it will mean 'the splinters of the reed'; and, unlike Venantius's *harundo*, it refers, not to the reed on which the vinegar was offered, but to the sceptre with which 'the King of the Jews' was mocked. Its place is *ante pompam . . . proelii.* Hilary imagines its splintering as they struck Him with it on the head.

III 1. This line is evidently corrupt in the MS. It needs two additional syllables to complete it. It was in reading Solinus that the emendation which I have ventured to propose occurred to me. Solinus (p. 194, Mommsen) tells the story from Pliny, how Antiochus slew a chieftain of the Asiatic Gauls and triumphantly mounted his charger. The faithful animal *adeo spreuit lupatos, ut de industria cernuatus ruina pariter et se et equitem affligeret*¹. The verb *cernuare* is one of those good old Latin words which began to reappear in the second and third centuries after a period of obscurity. It is quoted from Varro. It is found again in Apuleius. Prudentius has it in his poem against Symmachus i 350:

post trabeas et eburnam aquilam sellamque curulem
cernuat ora senex.

¹ Pliny's words are (viii 64) *praecipitem in abrupta isse.*

The word was rare, and the copyists of Prudentius, like those of Hilary, as I imagine, were puzzled by it and offered substitutes for it. But it is not a bad word, and it would suit this passage well enough:—'When the glory of Adam and of the perishable body had been thrown to the ground.'

III 25. The word *perlex*, or *pellex*, is unknown to the dictionaries. Dreves, in his reprint of these verses, emends *perlex erat* into *perlexerat*, which is very simple. Dreves had not thought of comparing with this poem the passage of Hilary's Commentary on St Matthew to which I have referred; the comparison makes his emendation more tempting. But Dreves curiously leaves *Adae* in the genitive, which of course is impossible with *perlexerat*. If *perlexerat* had been the right reading no scribe would have gone out of his way to change *Adam* into *Adae*. We must therefore find something to suit *Adae*. At first I thought of *pellax*, a word which in itself needs no recommendation. But the meaning of *pellax* is not quite what we want; and I have no doubt now that the MS is perfectly right, and that *perlex* is the word. *Allex* and *illex* are well-recognized Latin words connected with *allicio*, *illicio*. *Pellex* would be a parallel form connected with *pellicio*. I think, therefore, that we may add it to our dictionaries. I need hardly say that it has nothing to do with the word *paelex*, a concubine or rival wife, though that is sometimes barbarously spelt *pellex* in the printed books, to make it seem to be connected with *pellicio*.

A. J. MASON.

THE INTERPOLATIONS IN ST CYPRIAN'S *DE UNITATE ECCLESIAE*.

DOM JOHN CHAPMAN has earned the admiration and gratitude of all who are interested in the text of St Cyprian and in the history of its transmission. Since Dr von Hartel no one has contributed so much as he to our knowledge of a subject, the intricacy of which only those who have attempted to unravel it can appreciate. He has lately added to our debt by three articles in the *Revue Bénédictine* (nos. 3 and 4, 1902, and no. 1, 1903) in which, whether or no we regard him as somewhat hasty in his main conclusion, a substantial addition is made to our acquaintance with St Cyprian.

It is well known that in *De Unitate* § 4 a variation of the text, of no great theological importance, has been for upwards of three centuries

the cause of strife. Was it, or was it not, an interpolation made in order to claim the authority of St Cyprian for views which he did not hold? And in after-times was it foisted into the printed text with the same object by those who were well aware of its spuriousness? It is impossible not to regret the acrimony with which the attack has often been urged. Yet it must be remembered that this was but one point in a long line of battle, and that the same spirit must inevitably pervade all the combatants in a common cause. Again, it is only to-day that we know the extent to which ancient Christian literature was infected with a habit which it is too severe to name forgery, and which was too prevalent to deserve in any particular case an extreme censure. Hermann Reuter in his *Augustinische Studien* would hardly have spoken on the subject so strongly as he does had he been writing now. The charge is one that should neither be made nor repelled with excessive vigour.

This particular literary difficulty is well stated by Dom Chapman. There is the accepted text of the passage, so well attested that grave doubt must rest upon its competitor; and there is the competitor in two forms. In MQ and some other MSS it takes the place of what may be called the authentic text; in T¹ and its allies and in well-known early citations it appears in a conflate form, the two texts being somewhat clumsily combined. It is curious that the evidence for this impossible combination should be much stronger than that for the alternative text in the pure form; it reaches back if not to the third century, as Dom Chapman holds, at least well towards it.

There is nothing inconsistent either in style or in thought in the so-called interpolation with Cyprianic authorship, and Dom Chapman has not strengthened his case by a minute research for likenesses to undoubted passages of the same writer and by still more minute discussion of the probability of a forger acting exactly as the author of the 'interpolation' has done². But the few clauses in question give no scope for an exact determination of the authorship, if the conclusions so often adventured on grounds of purely internal evidence can ever be called exact. Dom Chapman passes the bounds of criticism when he

¹ It is one of Dom Chapman's merits that he divined, and afterwards verified the correctness of his conjecture, that this important MS is in line with the rest of its group.

² On p. 48, vol. 1903, is a singularly unfortunate argument. In a cognate passage St Cyprian has *fundata est ecclesia*. In Un. 4 the words are in the order *fundata ecclesia est*. Dom Chapman reasons that a forger would have copied exactly, and that therefore the 'interpolator' was no forger. But the words form part of the clause *qui cathedram Petri super quam (or quem) fundata ecclesia est deserit*, which gives a proper rhythmical ending. It was impossible for any one with a tinge of rhetorical culture to end a clause with a double dactyl. Dom Chapman should have consulted the Abbé Bayard.

claims that no one living in St Cyprian's day but St Cyprian himself could be the author. He should have recalled the anonymous writings which pass under the name of 'Pseudo-Cyprian'. For the Cyprianic authorship of one of these we have the arguments of Wölfflin himself, to whom the study of late Latin owes as much as that of the Catacombs owes to de Rossi, and he has stamped with his approval the similar argument of Matzinger on behalf of another¹. If their conclusions concerning the *De Spectaculis* and *De Bono Pudicitiae* have not been generally accepted, the doubt has been based not on discrepancy of style but on wider grounds of inadequate evidence. Other writings in the same group have strongly marked Cyprianic characteristics, or rather characteristics of a rhetorical school to which both he and their authors belonged; notably the *De Laude Martyrii*, which is more Cyprianic than Cyprian himself, though its Biblical citations shew that it cannot be his. It may be that Dom Chapman accepts as St Cyprian's everything that in style resembles his undoubted writings, and in that case there will be one sole writer who possesses this marked style. But at least he should have told us of this belief of his; and we should still have had to decide whether these scraps of 'interpolation' contain anything definite enough to compel us to father them upon St Cyprian. Most of us will be content to hold that there is nothing in them to prejudice us in advance against his further arguments.

These are based upon history. We know that the deacon Felicissimus was a most formidable opponent of his bishop, and the *De Unitate*, with the text in the accredited form, is perfectly suited for the purposes of being read at Carthage and dispatched to Rome as an indictment of him and his party. It presents the author and his antagonist as he would have wished them to be seen both in the light of present circumstances and of permanent principles. Such a document must have been preserved and circulated; and in fact it gained, and has retained, a circulation and an authority which is truly surprising if we accept Dom Chapman's account of what followed. It was recited at the Council held soon after the Easter of 251, and had been prepared with a view to the exigencies of the moment; a consideration which, in combination with its rhetorical character, might have warned Dom Chapman not to press its terms as though it were a leisurely scholastic treatise. But at the very time when the Council was assembled at Carthage, in April and probably early in the month, came the conflicting messages from Cornelius and Novatian, each announcing his election

¹ It is true that Wölfflin in his *Archiv* ix 319 has changed his mind, and now follows a common, though surely ill grounded, opinion that these two treatises are by Novatian. But he still holds that their style is in the main that of Cyprian, which is the point with which we are concerned.

to the see of Rome¹. A contested election was an opportunity for making their weight felt which the bishops of the great sees never neglected, and Cornelius had to suffer anxiety until St Cyprian strengthened his position by a public recognition. It was made secure by the secession from Novatian of the great body of Roman confessors, to whom Cyprian wrote, as soon as he heard of their decision, a letter of congratulation (Ep. 54) to which he appended copies of the *De Lapsis* and the *De Unitate*. It was in this copy that Dom Chapman holds the change was made by the author; a change which, as he rightly says, makes the immediate context more suitable to the new circumstances than the vaguer language which had been employed in regard to the schism of Felicissimus.

This startling suggestion, advanced as a conjecture, but as one which 'accords perfectly with the circumstances', must now be examined. The first point to strike a student is the importance and the publicity of the transaction. It was to the credit of the confessors and to the obvious advantage of Cornelius that this budget from Carthage should be circulated as widely as possible. Throughout the Empire, and in the provinces where Latin literature was read as well as in those of Greek speech, Novatian communities were rising. This authoritative antidote would surely be disseminated by all the means which the world-wide connexions of the Roman Church put at Cornelius's disposal. And we should expect, if the earlier version remained in existence, to find that it had escaped oblivion as narrowly as the African type of the Old Latin Bible has done. Just as the Italian, perhaps the specifically Roman, type of the Old Latin is richly represented in comparison with the few and fragmentary witnesses to the African text, so must the orthodox reading in *De Unitate* § 4 have descended to us, if at all, in one or two MSS, and have laboured under the inevitable suspicion of spuriousness. Yet Dom Chapman holds that the revised text which St Cyprian sent to Rome was neglected by its recipients and lingered in obscurity till after the author's death. Then the first collection of his writings was promptly made, and in one of the copies which reached Rome some unknown hand made a marginal insertion, over against the place where the first version was written, of St Cyprian's revision. From this one copy by substitution or conflation the later text has reached us through a few channels, while the main stream of tradition has carried down in triumph the uncorrected draft. Setting

¹ It may be worth while incidentally to point out how the delay of a month in the arrival of the tidings of an event which, in the case of Cornelius, had happened on March 5, is accounted for by the fact that the navigation of the Mediterranean was opened in April. This may induce us to put the Council a little later in that month than Archbishop Benson has done.

aside the question whether St Cyprian, an expert literary man and accustomed to circulate his own writings, would have allowed one of them to go forth in a double shape, is it probable that the history of the passage should have shaped itself as it has done if Dom Chapman's conjecture is right? And could not a case almost as strong be made out for the 'interpolation' as the original, which St Cyprian failed to supersede, though he had a large measure of success in the attempt, by the corrected version with which we are familiar in Hartel's text?¹ Is it not more reasonable to acquiesce in the old-fashioned view that there has really been an interpolation, and at the same time to clear our minds of modern notions of literary propriety and of an indignation which is an anachronism?

It was perhaps inevitable that a large part of Dom Chapman's space should be occupied with well-worn controversial topics. He says what we should expect him to say, and says it well; and he delivers some telling strokes. Father Puller, for instance, is keenly and not unjustly criticized for his explanation of the word *principalis*; in illustration of which, however, there are interesting passages to be cited which have escaped the notice of both combatants. In fact, Dom Chapman more than holds his own in the points which he has chosen for attack. But we must bear in mind that they are his choice, and that there are weak points in his own armour which become very conspicuous as he develops his argument. And it is one of the merits of the Papacy that it taught Europe that the more skilful duellist has not necessarily the better cause. But, after all, no one has anything to gain by the controversy. The one side may rightly make the most of the foundation upon St Peter; the other has an equal right to dwell upon the *pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis*, which is the one passage where, unconsciously no doubt, Dom Chapman seems a little to fail in candour in his explanation. It is a drawn battle; the authority of St Cyprian can be equally urged on both sides, even though his emphasis be on that which is the less acceptable to the learned Benedictine. But is there one of the Fathers, down to and including St Bernard, who can be cited by any school as a constant witness in its favour?

E. W. WATSON.

¹ I confess that on first reading Dom Chapman I was greatly taken with this idea:—both Cyprianic, and therefore both have survived, but that which had his final sanction with the greater weight of attestation.

REMARKABLE READINGS IN THE EPISTLES
FOUND IN THE
PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY.

IN 1897, Mrs. Lewis published the above Lectionary, with 'critical notes' by Dr. Nestle, and a Glossary by Mrs. Gibson. It contains lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts and Epistles. As to its dialect, it belongs to what Nöldeke, Dalman and others have called Christian-Palestinian Aramaic; and it is indicated in critical editions of the New Testament as Syr-jer or Syr^{hr}, i. e. Jerusalem Syriac. This dialect is represented in the following works, in addition to the Lectionary now before us:—(1) *Fragments* edited in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. iv. (2) *The Lectionary of the Gospels*, first edited by Count Miniscalchi-Erizzo in 1861 and then by Lagarde in 1892 from a unique imperfect MS. In 1899 it was re-edited by Mrs. Lewis, together with two other MSS, which she had had the good fortune to discover, and which were rather more complete—the text of the three MSS being exhibited in parallel columns. (3) *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, edited by Gwilliam, Burkitt, and Stenning. (4) *The Liturgy of the Nile*, edited by the Rev. George Margoliouth. For a complete Bibliography, the reader is referred to a paper by Mr. F. C. Burkitt in the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES vol. ii 174 ff. In that paper Mr. Burkitt contends that the designation *Jerusalem* Lectionary, as applied to the Lectionary of the Gospels, is a misnomer, inasmuch as notes at the end of the MS indicate, according to his interpretation of them, that the MS was written in or near Antioch. It was eventually carried off to Egypt by Bibars the Mamluk Sultan, in the thirteenth century (*J. T. S.* ii 183).

There is no clue in the *Lectionary of the Prophets and Epistles* as to the locality in which it was written or used; but there are one or two indications which rather incline us to look to Egypt as the birthplace of the work. The first is, that the 'Lesson' containing Genesis ii agrees almost verbatim with that found in the *Liturgy of the Nile*, as published by Margoliouth: and the other is, that there are numerous coincidences between the Lectionary and the Bohairic version. This version was used in Lower Egypt, where the religious services to pray for the rising of the Nile were also held. I have computed that in the case of disputed readings, such as are quoted in critical editions of the N. T., the Lectionary agrees with the Bohairic four times as often as it disagrees; and far more frequently than it agrees with any other MS or Version. The Lectionary agrees with the Bohairic both when it is in harmony with the first-class Greek MSS, and when it dissents from them. I venture

to think that the evidence which will be here adduced demonstrates a historical connexion between the Lectionary and the Version.

What is chiefly remarkable, however, in this Lectionary is that it contains scores of readings not found anywhere else. It has a closer resemblance to a Targum than any other N. T. MS has. The translator often felt called upon to assume the function of exegete, and not only so, he often deliberately alters the text, so as to make it express his own theological views. Everywhere, there are abundant indications of strong theological bias, so that the chief interest of the Lectionary is as a study in Historical Theology.

A. Disputed readings in which the Lectionary agrees with the Bohairic, and also with the best Greek MSS.

- Rom. iii 22 'Unto all . . . those who believe [omitting "and upon all"].'
 v 1 'Let us have peace from with God.'
 v 2 'In whom we have an entrance *by faith*.'
 ix 32 'They stumbled [om. "for"].'
 ix 33 'He that believeth on Him [om. *πᾶς*].'
 x 1 'My wish . . . is *on their behalf*.'
 1 Cor. i 23 'Jews ask for *signs*.'
 xi 24 'This is my body [om. "Take, eat"].'
 2 Cor. v 17 'Behold now *they* have become new.'
 Gal. vi 15 'For neither *is* circumcision anything.'
 Eph. iii 14 'I bow my knees unto *the Father*.'
 iii 21 'Glory in the Church *and* in Christ Jesus.'
 Col. i 12 'Giving thanks to the Father [om. "God and"].'
 ii 11 'In stripping off . . . the flesh in the body [om. "sins"].'
 Heb. ii 14 'Partakers of blood and flesh (order).'
 ix 13 'The blood of goats and bulls (order).'
 1 Tim. iii 16 '*He who* was manifested in flesh.'

B. Readings in which the Lectionary agrees with the Bohairic, in cases where it is not generally supported by the best Greek MSS.

- | | | |
|-----------|---|----------------------|
| Rom. v 6 | 'For if Christ when we were weak, <i>still</i> &c.' | Boh. only |
| vi 5 | 'In the likeness of <i>His</i> resurrection.' | F Syr. Boh. |
| vi 11 | 'Alive unto God in <i>the</i> Lord Jesus Christ.' | κ C " |
| viii 2 | 'Hath made <i>us</i> free.' | Aeth. Arab. " |
| viii 11 | 'Raised up <i>Jesus</i> Christ.' | C Vg " |
| x 5 | 'The man that doeth <i>it</i> shall live by it.' | D ³ lat " |
| x 8 | 'But what doth <i>the</i> Scripture say.' | D F G Vg " |
| x 9 | 'Confess that Jesus <i>is</i> Lord.' | Hil Aug. " |
| Eph. i 11 | 'By the appointment of <i>God</i> who works.' | D F " |
| i 20 | 'And made <i>Him</i> (αὐτόν) sit down.' | κ A " |

Col. ii 13 'Who forgave us all <i>our</i> trespasses.'	D Syr. Boh.
Heb. ix 14 'Who by the <i>Holy</i> Spirit offered Himself.'	D ¹ N "
x 32 'Remember <i>your</i> former days.'	N ¹ 17 "

I wish now to bring forward from our Lectionary, certain readings of a *theological* character, which are either unique, or are very rare indeed, in extant MSS and Versions. Some are intentional alterations: others may yet be found in MSS or Versions not yet collated or imperfectly reported in critical editions of the Greek Testament.

C. *Unique or rare readings as to God the Father.*

There is an evident tendency in the Lectionary to emphasize the distinction between the relation which God, as Father, sustains to the believer, and that which He sustains to Jesus Christ: after the manner of John xx 17 'I ascend unto *My* Father, and *your* Father'. This is strongly marked in Heb. ii 11 'He that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all *as it were* from One'. The translator, or editor, here evidently demurs to a statement which might seem to make Christ's *descent from* the Father the same as that of believers. The following passages are in the same direction:—

Rom. vi 4 'Raised . . . by the glory of *His* Father.'

Phil. ii 11 'To the glory of God *His* Father.'

Gal. iv 6 'Crying, Abba, *our* Father.'

Heb. i 2 'Hath spoken to us in *His* Son.'

These four are also found in the Peshitta, but that does not account for their occurrence here. There is a connexion between the Lectionary and the Peshitta, but it is one of antipathy. We are disposed to believe that the translator was familiar with the Peshitta, because we think that otherwise he could scarcely have so systematically evaded its readings.

Other theological readings are:—

Gal. iv 7 'If a son, then an heir [om. *θεοῦ*] through *Christ*.'

1 Cor. i 24 'Christ the Power of God, and the Wisdom *of the Father*.'

Heb. i 3 'The effulgence of the glory *of the Father*.'

D. *Christological readings.*

Even a cursory glance at the contents of the Lectionary shews that whoever selected the Lessons was anxious that the congregation should be familiar with the most important theological passages in the Bible. All the great Christological passages in the N. T. are here—four of them twice over; and the choice of readings from the O. T. is evidently guided by a desire to give prominence to Messianic prophecies. The O. T. passages are a translation from the LXX, but it is interesting to note that in Micah v 2 the reading is:—'And thou Bethlehem, house of

Ephratah, and *not* little among the leaders of Judah, for from thence shall go forth for me a *leader*, who shall be archon also in Israel'—thus assimilating the passage to Matt. ii 6.

The Christological passages of the N. T. contain so many points of interest that it may be well to give them entire.

Phil. ii 6-11 'He who was also [om. "in"] the likeness of God, and did not think it robbery *for Him* that he was equal to God : but emptied Himself and took the likeness of a slave, and in the likeness of men *was* also *found* : and in form He was found as a man, and He humbled Himself, and was made obedient as far as to death ; the death, moreover, of the cross' [$\thetaάνατον δὲ τοῦ σταυροῦ = \kappa$].

Col. i 12-20 'Giving thanks unto *the Father*, who made *you* meet for the portion, which is the allotment of the saints in Light. Who delivered *you* from the domination of darkness, and led (you) through into the kingdom of the Son, Who is *in* His love. In whom we have Redemption *and* the forgiveness of our sins. Who is the image of God who is not seen : the firstborn of every creature. In whom the whole was created : what is in heaven and what is on earth : what is seen and what is not seen ; whether thrones or lordships or headships or dominions, all was created by-virtue-of Him [om. "and for Him"] And He is first, in comparison with all, and in Him the whole stands. And He is the head of *all* the Church [om. "his body"]. He who is from the beginning, the firstborn from among ($\piρῶτον$) the dead, in order that He may be first in everything, *in whom* all the fullness dwells [or $ἐνδύκεται$]. And by-virtue-of Him(self), He made acceptable all things unto Him, and made peace through the blood of His cross [or the second $δι' αὐτοῦ$] : whether what is on earth or what is in the heavens.'

Heb. i 1-4 'In the last of these days (God) hath spoken to us *His Son* [= Pesh] whom He appointed heir over all things, by-virtue-of whom also He made the world ; who was the effulgence of the glory of *the Father*, who is *at the right hand of God* [a bold paraphrase for "the impress of His substance"] and providing-for all things by the word of His power. And He made [om. "through Himself"] the purification of *our* [= Pesh] sins, and He sat down at the right hand of the Majesty in the Heights.'

Other interesting readings as to the Person of Christ are :—

Heb. ii 13 The omission of the words : 'I will put my trust in Him.' This, if intentional, implies an ultra-orthodox conception of the Deity of Christ.

Heb. i 8 'Thy throne (is) the God of the ages. Amen.' This was very like the rendering of Grotius (see Alford *in loco*) and was adopted by some Socinians, quite in ignorance of our Lectionary. By the

author of the Lectionary it was doubtless interpreted in the sense of John i 18 'the Son who is *in the bosom* of the Father'.

Rom. iii 25 'Whom God pre-appointed, a-means-of-acceptance, by faith in the blood of *himself*.' This has the support of B, who gives *ἐαυτοῦ* for *αὐτοῦ*; and of Origen, who gives 'in sanguine ipsius'. The preference for this reading in our Lexicon possibly indicates a Monophysite tendency. Men of these views would be very likely to catch at the expression 'the blood of God'.

Heb. ii 18 'He suffered *and* was tempted.'

Heb. ii 14 'Because the children participated in blood and flesh: He also thus participated with them *in sufferings*.' The Greek MSS have '*in the same*'; except D¹, which reads '*in the same sufferings*'. It is interesting to note that D¹ gives a conflate reading of Greek MSS + Lectionary. This reading is anti-docetic.

Acts ii 36 'God hath appointed to be Lord and *Apostle* this Jesus whom ye crucified.' A probable reference to Heb. iii 1. The Greek reading is 'Lord *and Christ*' but the keen theological translator seems to have raised the objection that Jesus was 'Christ' *before* His ascension; and therefore judged 'Apostle' to be a more suitable reading.

E. Readings as to the Holy Spirit.

Rom. viii 11 'He that raised up Jesus Christ from among the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies *because of* the Spirit of God which dwelleth in you.' There is a well-known disputed reading in this verse between *διὰ τοῦ* and *διὰ τοῦ*, 'Because of His Spirit', or 'By means of His Spirit'. The Lectionary favours the former, which is found in BDFKL but is not adopted by the English Revisers. In dealing with the Macedonian heresy, which denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, the orthodox attached great value to *διὰ τοῦ* as expressing the agency of the Spirit. The Lectionary gives the reading which was the favourite of the Macedonians and still somewhat nullifies that by the addition of *ἐνεκα*, 'because of the Spirit of God'. There is not a trace of heresy on *this* subject in the Lectionary but rather the opposite, and we can only conclude that at the time it was written the controversy as to *διὰ τοῦ* and *διὰ τοῦ* was forgotten. Our paraphrast has rather a habit of adding the word 'God' where the pronoun 'His' occurs in Greek, in order to remove all possible ambiguity.

Rom. xii 3 'Through the grace of God that was given me.'

Eph. i 11 'By the appointment of God who worketh, &c.'

Rom. i 4 'Who was made known as Son of God, *by* the power of the Spirit of holiness.'

Rom. v 5 'Because the love of God is poured into our hearts *by* the Holy Spirit.'

Heb. ix 14 'Christ who by the *Holy* Spirit offered Himself to God.'
So ND. Other MSS reading 'the *eternal* Spirit'.

F. *Miscellaneous readings.*

Rom. vi 8 'If we *are dying* with Christ we believe we *are living* with Him.'

x 4 'God's end of the Law is Christ.'

Eph. iii 20 'According to the power *of Him* that worketh in us.'

Jas. i 5 'Let him ask of God who giveth everything to him *little-by-little* and does not put to shame.'

Tit. ii 12 'That in *fear* and righteousness and the love-of-God we may live in this world.'

i Th. iv 14 'So also those who sleep (?) in Jesus Christ God will *raise and* bring them with Him.'

iv 16 'With the *sound of the horn* of God.'

2 Tim. ii 10 'That they may receive salvation in Jesus Christ with His glory *which is from Heaven*.' R. V. 'with *eternal* glory', so all MSS and Versions. Ambrosiaster, however, has 'cum gloria caelesti'. We may here note that the text which stands at the head of Ambrosiaster's expositions agrees with our text more frequently than that of any other Church Father. I find no one else but Ambrosiaster, who, with the Lectionary, omits the second $\delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in Col. i 20.

We will conclude this section by giving the account of the Lord's Supper as it is given in

i Cor. xi 23 'For I received from the Lord what also I delivered to you, that our Lord Jesus in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread; and He gave thanks, and brake it off, and said: This is My body [om. "Take, eat"] *which is for you* [om. "broken"]: this do ye for My memorial. And so likewise [om. "the cup"] after He had dined He said: This cup is the new covenant in My blood. This do ye, whenever ye drink (it), for My memorial. Whenever ye eat *from* this bread *and* drink *from this* cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death until He come. Every one who eateth this bread or drinketh the cup of the Lord, when there is no meetness in him, he shall be guilty of the body and of the blood of the Lord. Let a man examine himself and thus from the bread let him eat, and from the cup let him drink. For he who eats and drinks, and has no meetness, is eating and drinking a judgement to himself, for he does not appreciate ($\delta\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$) *His* body. Because of this, many among you are sickly and afflicted, and many sleep. For if we judged ourselves, *if it were not so* (i. e. if after self-

examination we found ourselves innocent) we should not be judged (by God's visitations). But being judged by the Lord, we are chastised, that we may not be condemned with the world.'

We come now to what is in some respects the most interesting part of our task. If the dialect is correctly designated Palestinian Syriac, we may infer that the Lectionary was meant for Jewish Christians. We know well that many of the Palestinian churches were soundly orthodox; and we have abundant indications of Nicene Christology in the paraphrastic modifications of the text of the Lectionary. But there are two points which stand out conspicuously in some phases of Judaistic Christianity in contrast with Paulinism. One is a disposition to absorb more or less of the tenets of Gnosticism, and the other is an antipathy to the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith only. Indications of both these tendencies reveal themselves in the work before us.

G. *Readings which imply a leaning to Gnosticism.*

The indications of sympathy with Gnosticism are not strong or numerous; and are found only in the undue *importance attached to knowledge*. The fundamental feature of Gnosticism was that it aspired to possess knowledge; and whatever value it attached to Christianity, over against Judaism, or Heathendom, was that it enabled men to *know* more of God. Christianity, to the Gnostic, is a system of knowledge, as well as a plan of salvation. We now adduce four readings which look in this direction:—

Rom. iii 23 'All have sinned and lack *the knowledge* of the glory of God.'

Heb. ii 16 'For not upon angels did he take hold, *that He might declare God*; but upon the seed of Abraham He took hold, *that He might declare* (Him).' This verse seems to teach that the great purpose of the Incarnation was to make God known.

Eph. iii 19 'That ye may know *the knowledge* of the love of Christ.' (This is not a Hebraism. We have two distinct words for 'know'.)

Eph. iii 18 'What is the breadth and length and depth [om. "and height"].' (We include this, because Hippolytus records that the Valentinians omitted τὸ ὕψος in this verse.)

H. *Readings which attach great importance to Works, as the ground of Salvation.*

Our first passage is a remarkable one. It omits altogether the word '*not*,' and thus, of course, entirely alters the meaning of the text. We might regard this as a clerical error, if it were not that the paraphrast invariably shews himself restive, whenever faith is said to justify, and frequently inserts the word '*also*' when the doctrine of Justification by Faith is mentioned.

Rom. iv 4 'To him that worketh [om. "not"] believing on Him that justifieth the unrighteous, faith is reckoned to him for righteousness.' (The cursive 17 also omits $\mu\eta$ in this verse, but this is apparently the only MS or Version which does so, besides our Lectionary.)

Rom. iii 21 'Testimony was given concerning it by the Law and by the Prophets, the righteousness of God, which is *also* by faith on Jesus Christ, to all those who believe on Him.'

Rom. iii 26 'In order that He may be just and may justify *also* by faith on Jesus Christ.'

Rom. iii 28 'For we reckon that by faith a man is *also* justified apart from (his) deeds of law.'

Rom. iv 3 'Abraham believed God, it was *also* reckoned to him for righteousness.'

Rom. iv 9 'For we say that to Abraham, his faith *also* was reckoned for righteousness.'

Rom. iv 11 'He received the sign, circumcision, the seal of righteousness, *also* his faith, which he had in uncircumcision.'

Eph. ii 8 'By grace are ye saved, by-virtue-of faith: and this not from yourselves, *but from* the gift of God: not from *our* work lest man should boast: for we are His work, &c.'

Col. ii 12 'Ye were buried with Him *also* in Baptism, in which also ye rose with Him, by-the-influence-of Faith *and* of the operation of God.' The Greek gives 'faith *in* the operation of God'. There is the same objection shewn by the translator here, as in Romans, to ascribe saving efficacy to Faith only.

We will conclude by adducing a few passages which are not of special theological value, but are of interest in the indications they seem to give that the paraphrast or redactor was a *Jew*.

Heb. ix 12 'Entered into the house [so Pesh] of the Holy of Holies', R. V. 'the holy place'. The paraphrast wishes to be quite exact.

Rom. i 3 'Born of the seed *of the house* of David.'

Heb. i 12 'But Thou art *He*, and Thy years end not.'

Rom. xii 1 'Present your bodies a sacrifice, living and holy, acceptable to God, a service which is *orderly*.' We are reminded of the second Palestinian Targum to Gen. iv 8 where Abel says to Cain: 'Because my *service* was more *orderly* than thine, my offering was acceptable.'

Rom. xii 18 'If it be possible . . . be ye *sons of peace* towards all.'

James i 1 'To the twelve tribes *of Israel*.'

Acts i 12 'Which is a journey *of the caravans* on a Sabbath.'

The above lists by no means exhaust the changes introduced into the text of our Lectionary, but they give the most important. The

theological oddity of the readings would seem to have escaped the notice of the Editors, and the readings are given now to stimulate further research. We have not before us a work which, like the Sinaitic Syriac, can shed any light on the *origines* of the New Testament. The work is late, and is of interest to the student of Historical Theology more than to one of Textual Criticism. Can we locate it? Can we shew from other evidence the existence of a community holding the views here set forth? The evidence is slender, but provisionally we suggest that the version was made for the use of a settlement of Palestinian Christians in the Delta, from an ancient Greek text, which bore strong affinity to the neighbouring Bohairic Version, and that the community who used the Lectionary were Jews, who still retained some of the Theology of their fathers along with their Christianity.

J. T. MARSHALL.

THE SCRIBE OF THE LEICESTER CODEX.

WHILE examining some manuscripts at the University Library of Leiden in September last, I was fortunate enough to stumble upon one which reveals beyond a doubt, as I think, the identity of the scribe of the well-known *Codex Leicestrensis* (69 of the Gospels). Readers of this JOURNAL will hardly need to be reminded of the fact that Dr. J. Rendel Harris in his two books, *The Origin of the Leicester Codex* (1887), and *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group* (1900), has brought together, and given facsimiles of, a not inconsiderable group of books written by the scribe of the Leicester Codex. They are:—

1. A Psalter at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, no. 348 in Smith's Catalogue.
2. A Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 3. 14.
3. An Aristotle in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, C. I. 15.
4. A Plato in the same Library, C. IV. 2.

The Leiden MS which throws light on the writer of these is marked Voss. Graec. 56. It is a paper book with two leaves of vellum at the beginning. The verso of the second serves as a title-page, and of it a facsimile is given here. It offers a rough table of contents and a donatory inscription. I subjoin a copy in ordinary type:—

Sermones iudiciales Demosthenis

λόγοι δικανικοὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους

Eschinis oratoris epistole

αἰσχίνου ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαί

Platonis epistole

πλάτωνος ἐπιστολαί

Chionis epistole discipuli Platonis

χίωνος ἐπιστολαί μαθητοῦ τοῦ πλάτωνος

ἐγὼ ἐμανουέλ ἀπὸ τῆς κωνσταντινουπόλεως δίδωμι ταύτην τὴν βίβλον
τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ πατρί | καὶ κυρίῳ, κυρίῳ γεωργίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς |
ἐβροάκου φωτὶ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῆς ἀγγλίας | ἐγράφη δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔτα
ἀπὸ τῆς χριστοῦ καταβάσεως, χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἐξηκοστῷ ὀγδῶ |
τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ δεκεβρίου μηνός. |

I have followed the peculiarities of the accentuation, which appear in the other MSS of the group, with the addition in some places of a straight circumflex.

I do not think that any one who compares the facsimile given here with those of the Leicester group (if I may so style the books enumerated above) in Dr. Rendel Harris's two publications, can doubt that the same scribe was responsible for all five MSS. We now know that he was not an Italian, as Dr. Rendel Harris was inclined to suppose, but a Greek, Emmanuel of Constantinople, who at some time late in the fifteenth century was residing in England, and who occupied himself in the transcription of classical and Biblical texts. One of these he presented, we now learn, to George Archbishop of York. This was George Neville. Into the detail of Neville's stormy career there is no need to enter: let it be remembered only that he was a student at Balliol College at a time when humanistic studies were actively prosecuted there, that he became Bishop of Exeter in 1458, Archbishop of York in 1465, was disgraced and imprisoned in 1472, and died (not very long after his release) in 1476.

The MS before us was written in 1468, when Neville was prosperous and powerful. The troubles of 1472 led, as we learn from the *Paston Letters* (iii 391, quoted in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), to the dispersion of his household; and John Paston adds an interesting sentence: 'some that are great clerks and famous doctors of his go now again to Cambridge to school'. It will perhaps be remembered that Dr. Rendel Harris very ingeniously shewed that the Caius Psalter was bound in the Convent of the Grey Friars at Cambridge. I feel inclined to go a step further, and guess that Emmanuel of Constantinople was a member of Neville's household at the time of his disgrace, that he retired to Cambridge with the other 'clerks and doctors', and there wrote the Psalter now at Caius. It is likely enough that the Durham

δομοίον ἰδιαιτέον

λόγοι ἀναγκαῖοι τοῦ ἀνωσένου :-

ἀνωσένου

ἐπινοῇ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἀνωσένου :-

Plato and Aristotle were produced during his sojourn in the north of England, for Neville's tastes seem to have run more in the direction of secular than of ecclesiastical learning. Conjectural as all this is, it seems to me worth suggesting.

There is one curious point about the Leiden MS. The title-page of which I have been speaking is the only one in the whole volume written in the peculiar 'Leicester' hand: yet Emmanuel claims to have written it all. Is his claim analogous to that of Constantine Simonides with regard to the *Codex Sinaiticus*? I was at first doubtful on the point, but an examination of the writing (of which I have a photograph) has led me to the conclusion that Emmanuel really did write the whole, but that he used a much finer pen and took more pains with his work than he did in other cases. The recumbent *epsilon*, so marked a feature of his writing, is present here: the other letters, notably the *episemon* and *xi*, are formed in his fashion throughout; and the rubricated initials are just such as appear in the Trinity Psalter. Yet the writing is so much finer, closer, and prettier than Emmanuel's ordinary hand, that a casual glance would never have suggested that it came from his pen.

I have not succeeded in identifying Emmanuel of Constantinople with any of the scribes of whom lists are accessible to me. Perhaps some reader of this JOURNAL will be more fortunate.

M. R. JAMES.

JACHIN AND BOAZ.

IN 1 Kings vii 21 (= 2 Chron. iii 17) we are told that two pillars of 'brass' (bronze or copper) were set up at the entrance of Solomon's Temple. They were cast by Hiram, the half-Tyrian copper-worker, whom Solomon fetched from Tyre to do foundry work for him. To these two pillars the names 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' were attached. Whether these names were given by Hiram, or by Solomon, or by popular usage, cannot be decided from the vague Hebrew expression וַיִּקְרָא, 'and he (some one) called'. On the other hand it is reasonable (though not necessary) to suppose that the two names, or two words closely resembling the names, were *inscribed on the pillars*.

In what precise form the two names appeared on the pillars (if they so appeared) I do not venture to enquire. If the inscriptions were due to Hiram, whose training was Tyrian, they may have been copied *literatim* from some Tyrian Temple in which they bore a meaning which is unknown to us at the present stage of Phoenician archaeo-

logical research. My chief object in the present paper is to ask in what form the two names appeared in the pre-Septuagintal text of Kings. If I venture to add a word about their significance it is with all reserve.

I can hardly hope to say much that is new. The textual facts are well given (on the whole) in Dr. Cheyne's Article on JACHIN AND BOAZ in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. A good selection of theories worthy of consideration also appears in that article. The two readings which seem to me to be probably right are found there. What I miss in Dr. Cheyne's work is a sufficient consideration of the evidence of the LXX. I am inclined to think (1) that the LXX points pretty clearly to the true reading; (2) that it gives a hint of the road by which scribes or editors arrived at our present text.

In Dr. Swete's LXX *Jachin* is Ἰαχούμ (cod. A, H. P. 158, 247, Ἰαχούμ) in 3 Regn. vii 7 [21] and (by translation) Κατόρθωσις, 'Setting up', 'Establishing', in 2 Chron. iii 17: Boaz is Βάλαξ (cod. A, Boos) in 3 Regn. vii 7 [21], and (by translation) Ἰσχύς, 'Strength', in 2 Chron. iii 17. Our present enquiry, however, is concerned only with the text of Kings; it seems to me quite probable that the LXX translators did not find the Hebrew text of Chronicles in agreement with that of Kings, as it is at the present day. I refer to Chronicles therefore only by way of illustration.

(A) JACHIN.

With regard to the first name we may say that while at first sight the question between the יָכִין (Hiphil), 'He shall establish', and the יָכָן or יָכַן (Kal?) which lies behind the text of the LXX, must on the external testimony be left undecided, internal evidence inclines the scale in favour of the LXX. The evidence may be presented thus:—

(a) For a Hiphil (*Jachin*) M. T.

Vulgate, *Jachin*.

Josephus, *Archaeol.* viii 3. 4 [§ 78], ed. Niese, Ἰαχέιν¹.

Peshitta (LU = A) יָכָן (exact transcription of the M. T.).

Targum (Antw. Polyg. = Lagarde) יָכִין (again an exact transcription).

(M. T., Vulgate, Peshitta, and Targum have the same reading in 2 Chron. iii 17²).

(b) For a Kal or a verbal substantive having the form of a Kal imperfect (or voluntative).

LXX (cod. B; Lucian) Ἰαχούμ.

(cod. A) Ἰαχούμ.

¹ Cf. Lagarde, *Onom.* p. 168 Ἰαχιν, ἡτοιμασμένος, ἔτοιμος.

² The Targumic gloss however suits יָכָן somewhat better than יָכִין. The passage is, יָכָן עַל שֵׁם דְּמִתְקֵן מְלִכּוּתָא דְּבֵיא דְּרוּר.

De Nom. Hebraicis (Lagarde *Onomastica* p. 42) has :

Jachon, *Præparatio*,

which is probably a reproduction of a Greek gloss

Ἰαχὼν¹, Κατόρθωσις.

(I have not been able to find any Old Latin evidence in Sabatier, or Vercellone, or in the *Speculum*, or in Cyprian.)

The Ethiopic (in the main, I suppose, a daughter-version of the LXX) has a transcription answering to Ἰακουμ (with κ), a reading found in H. P. 44, 55, 56, 64, 71, 92, 106, 120, 123, 134, 144, 242, 243, 244, 246, Ald. Cat. Nic., and plainly a corruption of Ἰαχουμ. I think on the foregoing testimony that we may say with confidence that the original reading of the LXX was Ἰαχουμ or Ἰαχουν.

The decision between this and the Massoretic reading is to be given on internal grounds. יָכֹן is a form known to Mass. Hebrew, יָכִין or יָכֵן (uncompounded) is not. The Massoretes gave a meaning to an obscure Hebrew name by making one of the regular Massoretic changes. Thus Ἰαχουμ (Ἰαχουν) is to be preferred as the reading which gave birth to its rival.

(B) BOAZ.

The evidence for the reading *Boaz*, a name identical with that of Ruth's second husband, is as follows :—

M. T. בֹּעַז, written *plene* in four of Kennicott's MSS.

LXX (cod. A, Boos; H. P. 123, Boaz; H. P. 247, Bowz; Arm., Booz or Bowz²).

[*De Nom. Hebraicis*. Booz, *In fortitudine*.]

Peshitta, בּוּז or בּוּזָא.

Targum, בּוּז Lagarde; בוּז Antw. Polyg.

Vulgate, Boos.

(Targum on 2 Chron. iii 17: 'He called the name of that on the left 'Boaz' after the name of Boaz, the head of that family of Judah whence came forth all the kings of the House of Judah.')

At the head of the variants to the received reading *Boaz* should be placed a significant variant which affects the vowels only :

LXX (Lucian = H. P. 19, 93, Baaζ; H. P. 108, Baaζι).

Josephus (*ut supra*, ed. Niese), Ἀβαίζ, Βαίζ, Βαίς; Josephus^{1st}, Βαεζ.

The remaining variants of the Septuagint are those which introduce a λ as middle consonant of the name. They may be said to follow two forms: (1) a form of which it may simply be said that λ is introduced;

¹ Lag. *Onom.* p. 167, Ἰακουβ, (*sic*) which is the reading of H. P. 119 in 3 Regn.

² So Mr. N. McLean informs me.

(2) an elaborated form which suggests in addition a disturbance of the vowels of the word.

First Form.

LXX (cod. B=Ethiopic), Βάλαζ.

Second Form.

LXX (cod. Basiliano-Vaticanus, IX Century), Βαολαοζ.

„ (H. P. 52, [74?]¹, 92, 121, 134, 144, 236, 242, 243, 244. Cat. Nic.), Βαολοαζ.

„ (H. P. 71, 245), Βοολαοζ.

„ (H. P. 44), Βολοαζ.

„ (H. P. 55), Βοολαζ.

„ (H. P. 64), Βολοζ.

Naturally the first question to ask in considering these variants is, Can any explanation be given of the origin of the form which contains the elements B-λ-ζ and is supported by the united authority (very strong, it seems to me) of cod. B and the Ethiopic version? I think it can. Assume for a moment that the original reading here was, as some scholars suppose, BAAL (בעל). The reading is now at any rate BOAZ (בעז). The intermediate step between these readings is afforded by the word בעל written with an תלייה², *i. e.* with a suspended † to warn the reader that the offensive word BAAL must be softened into BAAZ, *i. e.* into the reading found in the Lucianic LXX. The editors or translators, however, to whom the reading of cod. B is due, either hesitating to suppress any letter of Scripture, or misunderstanding the purpose of the suspended letter, simply added the † and so gave us Βαλαζ.

The second question to be answered is, Can any explanation be given of the forms which shew a marked disturbance of vowel sounds, *i. e.* of the form Βαολαοζ and of its numerous variants which appear in the cursives? To this, I believe, an affirmative answer may be given; the theory of a suspended letter, if it be accepted, does explain these longer forms no less satisfactorily than the form Βαλαζ. We have only to suppose that in some Hebrew MSS the correction in the reading was written בעלעז instead of בעלז.

(The reason for introducing the *υ* in addition to the † would be to shew more clearly that the † was a *substitute* for the ל and not an addition to the three letters בעל; in other words to shew that the † was to immediately follow *υ*.)

¹ No. 74 is quoted also for the reading Βαζ.

² The four instances of a 'suspended letter' are Jud. xviii 30; Ps. lxxx 14; Job xxxviii 13, 15. (Cf. L. Blau *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891.)

But again (so I suppose) the fear of omitting something prevailed. Some early transcriber of the LXX text of Kings who was acquainted with the Hebrew text found there a combination of letters which he (disregarding the suspension of the last two) read as בעלן. Such a form, if we may judge by analogy, would be represented in the LXX by Βοολοζ¹ or Βαολαοζ or by one of the many intermediate forms cited above. But if we accept either of the above forms as original, the remaining forms given in the cursives may easily be explained as corruptions which arose in the course of the transcription of the Greek. (The present Heb. reading BOAZ (= LXX A) may be described as one remove further in the direction of euphemism than the Lucianic BAAZ.)

I conclude that the evidence of the LXX points to the reading יכ (read *yāchūn* or *yāchōn*) for *Jachin*, and to בעל (read, however, as *Baas*² by way of euphemism to avoid the name *Baal*) for *Boaz*. The two words thus restored *may* be Hebrew (though not Massoretic Hebrew), but they are more probably Phoenician. If they be Hebrew, it is conceivable that יכ was understood by the writer of the account of the Temple-building in a sense kindred to the word יכנף (1 Kings viii 13, 'a settled place' A.V.; 'a place' R.V.; οἶκον ἐκπρεπή LXX B; οἶκον εὐπρεπή cod. A). Then reading the two names in the order given in the text of ver. 21 the writer may have understood them to mean 'The Lord dwelleth' or 'The Lord hath a dwelling'. But the words *may* be Phoenician, they *may* have to be read in the order *Baal Jachun*, and they *may* both be names or epithets of a Deity. Until we know more of Phoenician religion and Phoenician worship, it seems to me unsafe to go further.

W. EMERY BARNES.

PS. In *Critica Biblica* (Part IV, *in loco*) Prof. Cheyne proposes to read *Jerahmeel* for *Jachin*, and 'Jezebel, i. e. *Ishmael*' for *Boaz*.

ON ROMANS IX 5 AND MARK XIV 61.

THE punctuation of Rom. ix 5 has probably been more discussed than that of any other sentence in literature, and I should not venture to reopen the subject were it not that the interpretation which I wish to bring forward is based on a somewhat different view of the

¹ Cf. Νοομμειν = נחמ (Ruth, *passim*, cod. A); Γοθονηλ = גִּתְוֶה (Jud. iii 9, 11, codd. A B); γομορ = מֹר (Exod. xvi 36, codd. A B); 'Αρβωκ = אֲרֶבֶק (Gen. xxiii 2, cod. A; hiat B).

² I fancy that the Lucianic LXX here as in some other places has preserved an ancient Hebrew tradition.

whole passage from what is usually taken. As a rule the discussion is confined to the question whether the doxology (*ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.*) is to be referred to the preceding words *ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, or to God the Father. But the question still remains why any doxology at all occurs in this context. Why does St Paul suddenly pause in his argument to bless God?

For the passage is a formal Benediction, followed by the *Amen*, not a statement of the Glory of a divine Person. Dr Sanday and Dr Headlam (p. 232) speak of the words which we are considering as a 'description of the supreme dignity of Him who was on His human side of Jewish stock', but to say this is to ignore St Paul's *Amen*. Whatever else the words may be, they are not a description but an ascription.

The obvious difficulty in referring the words to our Lord is not that the Christology, which on this assumption would underlie the clause, is too 'high' for St Paul, but that the words are used in a parenthetical way. How different is Philippians ii 5-11, with its careful choice of theological terms! I can imagine that St Paul or his immediate hearers might have been willing to assert that Jesus Christ was *θεὸς εὐλογητός*, but I cannot believe that He was commonly given that title. Be this as it may, it does not explain the *Amen*. We cannot properly understand the passage until we have found some reason why St Paul should break off his impassioned rhetoric to utter a benediction.

The word *εὐλογητός* occurs eight times in the New Testament and is always used of God. In four places (Lk. i 68, 2 Cor. i 3, Eph. i 3, 1 Pet. i 3) it occurs in its natural place as an exordium, like the 'Praise be to God' at the beginning of the Qoran. The passage Mk. xiv 61 we shall discuss later. The remaining passages are Rom. i 25, ix 5, 2 Cor. xi 31. In all of these we find the phrase *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. We are evidently in the presence of a standing formula, of fixed meaning. On what occasions does St Paul use it?

The question almost answers itself, if we compare the three passages. In all three St Paul breaks off what he is saying to utter an interjection of blessing to God, after having deliberately made what might seem to be a monstrous statement. In Rom. i 25 he has said that God Himself had given up the idolatrous heathen unto uncleanness, and as a pious Jew he cannot mention the blasphemous pagan worship without cleansing his lips by blessing the Creator. In 2 Cor. xi 31, in the midst of St Paul's *ἀφροσύνη* of 'boasting' he pauses to say 'These things are serious and true, wild as they sound, and in proof of my soberness and sincerity I do not shrink from taking God's Holy Name on my lips'.* Here in Rom. ix we find the same state of things. The Apostle has shewn how the elect of God without distinction of Jew or

Greek are justified by faith. He might seem to have no care for the fate of his fellow countrymen, but he passionately affirms the contrary by every Christian vow. He does not underrate the privileges of the chosen people of whom came the Messiah (ix 4 f); he swears by Christ that he is truly grieved if they are to perish (ix 1 f), nay, he would pray to be banned from Christ for his fellow countrymen's sake (ix 3). And then he goes on to explain that nothing is further from his meaning than to imply that the Word of God can have failed of its purpose (ix 6 ff). St Paul's language is so well known to us that it makes little impression, but to his first hearers it might very well seem either insincere or blasphemous, like the excited statements which precede Rom. i 25 and 2 Cor. xi 31. He therefore adds here, at the end of his enumeration of Israel's privileges, at the first point where he can stop to take breath, his solemn invocation of the God of Israel.

On this view there is no pause at the end of Rom. ix 5, any more than there is a pause at the end of Rom. i 25 or 2 Cor. xi 31: whatever the grammatical structure of $\delta \omega \nu \dots \acute{\alpha} \mu \eta \nu$ may be, it is in the argument a parenthesis, and the essential meaning is 'I know well what I am saying, and I am not afraid to call God to witness my words'.

And by what name is St Paul thus calling upon God? Of course he is writing in Greek, but I venture to think that what he has in his mind is the sacred Hebrew Tetragrammaton. It has been objected by those who refer the doxology to 'Christ after the flesh' that no parallel to this use of $\delta \omega \nu$ can be found. But apart from the remarkable use of $\delta \omega \nu$ in the Apocalypse we have the parallel of Exod. iii 14, 15, which might very well have guided the phraseology of a Greek-speaking Jew. There we read $\delta \omega \nu \acute{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \lambda \acute{\kappa} \epsilon \mu \epsilon \dots \tau \omicron \upsilon \tau \acute{o} \mu \omicron \upsilon \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \nu \delta \nu \omicron \mu \alpha \alpha \iota \omega \nu \iota \omicron \nu$. The mention of the Tetragrammaton calls forth the benediction expressed in $\epsilon \upsilon \lambda \omicron \gamma \eta \tau \acute{o} \varsigma$, for the Name of the Holy One, *Blessed be He!* should not be uttered without a benediction; and conversely, the occurrence of the word $\epsilon \upsilon \lambda \omicron \gamma \eta \tau \acute{o} \varsigma$ is enough to shew that the Holy Name has been explicitly or implicitly *pronounced*.

This brings me to my second point, the meaning of Mk. xiv 61 ff. According to St Mark, our Lord after one indignant exclamation at the moment of His arrest (vv. 48, 49) kept a resolute silence. He answers nothing at all to the charges brought against Him. Why then does He at once reply when the High Priest asks Him whether He be the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One? I venture to suggest that the reason lay in the form of words which the High Priest was at last driven to use. It would be hazardous to attempt to reconstruct the probable Aramaic original of his question, but I feel pretty sure that the phrase $\delta \nu \iota \delta \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \epsilon \upsilon \lambda \omicron \gamma \eta \tau \omicron \upsilon$ indicates either an actual use of the Tetragrammaton itself, or one of the recognized substitutes for it. In

other words, Caiaphas adjured his prisoner by the Holy Name. And this course did secure him a tactical victory. It compelled Jesus to speak, because not to speak after such an adjuration would mean to all those standing by that He was afraid to claim Messiahship in God's hearing. Matt. xxvi 63 ('I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God') is therefore a correct paraphrase of St Mark's more discreet and yet genuinely Jewish phraseology, but the language used in Matt. does not afford the parallel with St Paul's use of εὐλογητός.

To make my meaning clearer I give a paraphrase of what I have ventured to suggest as the meaning of the three passages in St Paul's Epistles.

Rom. i 25 τὸν κτίσαντα, ὃς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

'God Almighty, whose Name all creatures are bound to bless, as I do now.'

(The last clause corresponds to 'Ἀμήν.')

Rom. ix 1, 5^b οὐ ψεύδομαι . . . , ὁ ὢν, ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

'I lie not . . . , The Eternal (Blessed is His Name!), I call Him to witness.'

2 Cor. xi 31 ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὢν, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι.

'The God and Father of our Lord Jesus knows, even the Eternal Himself (Blessed is His Name!), that I lie not.'

For a calling on the Divine Name, with the Divine Attributes, but without a verb, it is sufficient to mention Exod. xxxiv 6, 7. With regard to the use of the Name among the Jews to compel an unwilling witness, the decisive passage is Mishna Shebû'oth iv *ad fin.* '[If a man say] I put you on your oath, I adjure you, [it depends on the form of words used whether you are bound to comply. If he merely say] "By Heaven and Earth!" you are not bound. [But if he say] "By Yod-He!" "By Aleph-Daleth!" "By Shaddai!" "By Sabaoth!" "By Merciful and Compassionate!" "By Slow to anger and plentiful in mercy!" or by any of the recognized Attributes of [the true] God, you are bound.'

A still nearer parallel to the view here maintained is to be found in the Syriac *Acts of Philip* (Wright, p. 94; E. Tr., p. 87). This document is certainly Syriac in origin, so that it has some authority as a witness to Oriental customs. A Jew named Ananias had been converted by St Philip and then murdered by his countrymen. The Jews having denied the murder, St Philip says: 'Swear to me, for as the Paraclete

who is with me commands me will we do unto you.' Then the Jews cried out and said: 'No,—*the God of Abraham, He that spake with Moses from the midst of the Bush*,—that this Ananias has not been seen by us and we do not know what has befallen him.' I give the curious syntax of the sentence quite literally: there is no preposition before the Name of God, so that the form of oath exactly corresponds with that used by St Paul.

I take this opportunity of pointing out that there appears to be a reminiscence of Rom. ix 5 in the Epistle of Clement of Rome §§ 31, 32. The reference is given by Hilgenfeld, but it does not appear in Tischendorf's apparatus, and it is barely noticed by Lightfoot. St Clement is speaking of the honours and blessings received by Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, not through their own merits but through the will of God. To Jacob, says Clement, were given the twelve Tribes of Israel. How great was the free gift given to him! 'For from him were Priests and Levites, all those who served at the altar of God, from him was the Lord Jesus according to the flesh (*ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*), from him were kings and rulers and governors through the tribe of Judah', the other tribes all receiving great honour, not for their merit but according to the will of God; and similarly we have been called in Christ Jesus and justified by faith, 'by which alone all the saints from of old were justified by Almighty God, to whom', adds Clement, 'be glory for ever and ever, Amen'.

Surely this is just such a sentence as might flow from the pen of one to whom Rom. ix 1-5 was verbally familiar. But if so, it is clear that St Clement did not take the doxology at the end of *v.* 5 to be addressed to 'Christ after the flesh'.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF WISDOM.

'And wisdom is justified by her works.'—Matt. xi 19 (R.V.).

'And wisdom is justified of all her children.'—Luke vii 35 (R.V.).

THE difficulties of text and of interpretation which are connected with these words are well known to all readers of the JOURNAL. None of the many attempts to account for the variations in the form of the saying seems to be satisfactory. So there is room for a fresh suggestion. By a combination of the two readings we can reach, I believe,

the aphorism in its original form, as follows:—καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία τῶν ἔργων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς πάντων.

If the original utterance ran thus 'And wisdom is justified by works of all her children', Matthew and Luke have each preserved portions, and portions only, of it. Such a supposition is not historically impossible or unlikely; for in the oral tradition, which lies behind the Gospels, a saying like this, obscure, disconnected, difficult, would be remembered imperfectly. The tendency in the oral tradition was to compress and abbreviate, and compression was only possible in the second half of this saying. That wisdom is to be justified by works such would be the imperfect impression left on the minds of some, while by others the saying would be remembered in the form in which we find it in Luke vii 35, 'Wisdom is justified by all her children'. At the same time it should be noted that the version of neither evangelist can be described as incorrect or inaccurate. The utterance as found in both Matthew and Luke has been so abbreviated as to become indefinite and ambiguous, but let the original saying be reconstructed and both versions, it is perceived, do not differ from but agree with.

Moreover, certain peculiarities in the grammatical structure and form of the two versions of the saying, warrant us in believing them to be severed parts of one original whole. And careful consideration of the immediate context favours the same view.

Expositors have been often puzzled by the omission of πάντων from Matthew's version. Why have we not in his Gospel 'And wisdom is justified by all her works' or 'by all her children'? That the evangelist should have failed to include so important a word is what Mr. Latham an indication that he had not realized the exact significance of the Master's saying: 'indeed, as St. Matthew in his version omits the important word *all*, it looks as if he had himself missed the sense' (*Pastor Pastorum* p. 267). If the saying recorded in Matthew is the same as that in Luke, or the same with a slight discrepancy (ἐργων for τέκνων), the omission is certainly inexplicable. But the suggestion which I am advocating supplies an adequate explanation of the absence of πάντων from Matthew's version. It is not there, because it was not in that part of the original saying 'And wisdom is justified by the works of all her children' which is recorded by him. Again, there is in Luke's version the grammatically irregular expression ἐδικαιώθη . . . ἀπὸ τέκνων αὐτῆς. We have sufficient evidence of the difficulty of this expression in the divergency of opinion with respect to its exact meaning. The R.V. retains as the rendering of ἀπὸ the A.V. 'of', which is ambiguous. Some translate the preposition 'on the part of'; others treat it as almost equivalent to ὑπὸ with the passive, and render 'wisdom is justified by all her children'; others again find in ἀπὸ the 'from

origin (the confirmation has come to wisdom from those devoted to her) or even the 'from' of separation (wisdom is justified apart from all her children). But let the two versions be combined and this difficulty exists no longer, the saying being then perfectly clear and unambiguous: *καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς πάντων*. For the use of *ἀπὸ* with *ἔργων* is then comparatively simple and regular, expressing the efficient cause. One of the most awkward expressions in the aphorism is thus shewn to be foreign to the original utterance, and may be regarded as a consequence of the broken form in which it has come down to us.

Next we turn to the context. Let the aphorism be read 'And wisdom is justified by the works of all her children', and it supplies a fitting conclusion to our Lord's discourse on this occasion. Interpolated in this discourse there is a striking passage (Luke vii 29, 30)¹ which runs as follows: 'And all the people when they heard, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God, being not baptized of him.' Now taking into account the exact form of this statement ('and all the people *when they heard*'), and the place it occupies in the narrative, we cannot but conclude that it was made in consequence of some expression of approval, probably by acclamation or perhaps in some less noticeable way, of our Lord's appreciation of John the Baptist. It must have been evident to an onlooker that what he said pleased the people and displeased the Pharisees. This situation is the key to the brief discourse that follows (vv. 30-35) and especially to the aphorism in v. 35. In uttering the parable of the children in the market-place our Lord evidently had more particularly in mind the Pharisees; it was they who said of John that he was devil-possessed and had accused our Lord of being a gluttonous man and a winebibber. But the aphorism was addressed more especially to the people, to those who had just shewn their approval of our Lord's appreciation of the Baptist. Now that the first excitement caused by John's preaching was past, there was doubtless a danger of the people according to him, as also to our Lord, an empty popularity, enthusiastic in its applause, but deficient in its practical response. Our Lord would have them remember that Wisdom is not to be justified by mere acclamation, that all those who are really the children of Wisdom, who truly love and strive after her, justify her not by their shouts but by their deeds. Let them continue to bring forth fruits

¹ Though some scholars (e. g. Dr. Plummer) argue that these verses are part of our Lord's address, the traditional view, represented by the interpolation 'And the Lord said' before v. 31, that they are the Evangelist's parenthetical comment, may well be true.

worthy of repentance, to be like the man who built his house upon a rock, following up hearing by doing. This, rather than wrangling and disputing or mere noisy outcry, will be the best answer to the adverse criticism of those who were His enemies and John's. So they will shew the Divine Wisdom to be in the right in sending them such teachers as John and Himself. For 'Wisdom is justified by the works of all her children'.

A. T. BURBRIDGE.

ON THE USE OF THE *QUICUNQUE VULT* IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

[THE following draft of a letter written by the late Henry Bradshaw, apparently intended for publication but never published, has been placed at our disposal by the kindness of Mr F. Jenkinson, Librarian of the University of Cambridge. The letter is undated; but its mention of a statement made by 'the Cambridge Professors' on the subject with which it deals points to the year 1872 as the time when it was written. The reference is no doubt to the last paragraph of a memorandum on the *Quicunque vult* drawn up at the request of Archbishop Tait by Dr Westcott, Dr Swainson, and Dr Lightfoot, which was laid before Convocation early in that year¹. The paragraph in question is as follows:—

'We would also add that we deplore the change ratified at the last revision of the Prayer Book, by which this Exposition of the Faith when used was substituted for the Apostles' Creed; and we hope that the earlier usage of our Church may be restored, by which it was recited on special occasions before that Creed and not in place of it.'

The statement thus put forward appears to have been challenged by Mr J. W. Burgon (afterwards Dean of Chichester), and by another writer who used the signature 'N. P.'² The reply to their criticism prepared by Mr Bradshaw seems worth preserving as a clear statement of the facts with regard to the use of the *Quicunque vult*.—H. A. W.]

'SIR,—I shall be glad if you can find space for a few words concerning the pedigree of the use of the *Quicunque vult*, a point to which your correspondent N. P. justly attaches some importance, though the "palpable blunder" which he and Mr Burgon attribute to the Cam-

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1872, p. 49.

² The initials suggest that this writer may have been Mr. Nicholas Pocock.

bridge Professors lies in the writers' own want of sufficient knowledge rather than in the careful statement with which they find fault.

'Facts are always safer ground than assumptions, as perhaps even Mr Burgon will allow some day. If any one will take the original preface to the Prayer Book "Concerning the Service of the Church" as a guide, and will patiently study the anatomy of the old services of the English Church, and compare them with the Reformed Prayer Book, he will see what a deep knowledge the English Reformers had of the old services, and how closely they followed the old lines, even while they ruthlessly cut off what they (rightly or wrongly) considered excrescences.

'At Mattins the *Venite* was divested of its varying invitatory, the Hymn was abolished, the Psalms for the day were cleared of their anthems, and the Lessons for the day of their responds, while the *Te Deum* was left, to be used daily except during a certain portion of the year. At Lauds immediately following, the fixed Psalms (one of which was the *Benedicite*) with their anthems were abolished, the *Benedicite* alone being retained for use at such times as the *Te Deum* was omitted; the *Capitulum* was deprived of its respond and was expanded into a whole chapter from the New Testament; and the *Benedictus* was retained, only divested of its varying anthem. At this point followed, preceded (on week-days only) by the *Preces feriales*, the Collect for the day and other *memoriae*, among which the Collect in the *memoria pro pace* [Collect for Peace] was one.

'At Prime, which followed at once, the Hymn was abolished, the fixed Psalms (the last of which was the *Quicunque vult*) with their anthems were abolished, the *Quicunque vult* alone being retained for use on certain festivals; the *Capitulum* and its respond were abolished; but the *Preces in prostratione* (including in them the *Credo* and *Paternoster*) were retained in a modified and much abridged form, as well as the Collect for Grace with which (on Sundays, &c.) this service concluded. To this last were prefixed the Collect for the day and the *memoria pro pace* which had formed part of the conclusion of Lauds¹.

'It is difficult to give a broad view of these changes in few words, so as to be understood. But let any one read carefully the old service of Prime, which the Reformers had been in the habit of using for years past. He must allow that in abolishing the Hymn, in cutting down the daily use of the long series of fixed Psalms to the occasional use of one of them, the *Quicunque vult*; in reducing the long *Preces in prostratione* (which consisted of the *Kyrie eleison*, Lord's Prayer, Creed,

¹ Here follows a paragraph which has been cancelled, and written afresh in another form.—H. A. W.

Confession and Absolution, with from twenty to thirty verses and responds interspersed) to the simple Prayers to be said all devoutly kneeling, *Kyrie*, Creed¹, Lord's Prayer and seven verses and responds; the Reformers may well have felt that curtailment could hardly go further.

'It will be seen from what I have said, and it must always be borne in mind, that in the old service, and in the Prayer Book of 1549, the *Quicunque vult* is sung as an ordinary Psalm, while the *Credo* forms part of the *Preces in prostratione* or Prayers to be said all devoutly kneeling. In 1552 the Revisers seem to have come to the conclusion that it was better to repeat the *Credo* standing; at any rate, from whatever cause, we find the Creed now removed from the *Preces in prostratione* and prefixed to them with a rubric ordering that it shall be said standing. If they had meant to say that the Creed was not to be used at all when the *Quicunque vult* was sung, surely they would have said so. Having been accustomed all their lives to use the two in the same service, they might at least have added a direction to omit one of them if they had really meant us to do so. It is perhaps difficult for us, at the present day, to appreciate the enormous reduction which the Reformers made in the length of the services. The tendency, as we all know, has been gradually to shorten even these abridged services more and more. From this point of view, Mr Burgon's note about Cartwright is very interesting, as shewing that even in 1572 the practice of mutilating the service had begun. But even Cartwright's words hardly authorize us to speak of the practice as universal, much less of its affording the only rational meaning of the rubric in question. Otherwise we might almost be told that the modern abuse of closing the common² Sunday service with the sermon was sufficient warrant for believing that the offertory rubrics naturally supported that interpretation. When we know for certain what the Reformers had been accustomed to themselves, it is only fair to interpret their words by this rather than by the custom which grew up even in the very next generation.

'The Quignon Breviary³ afforded our Reformers many valuable hints; but it is a fancy service, which deserts the old lines of the Catholic service-books, and it is a very unsafe guide to those who would study the genuine history of the English services.'

¹ In the draft the words '*Kyrie*, Creed' precede the words 'Prayers, all devoutly kneeling'; but in the Prayer Book of 1549 the *Kyrie* and Creed are part of these prayers, not something prefixed to them: the later changes are discussed in the next paragraph.—H. A. W.

² This word is doubtful.—H. A. W.

³ The Breviary of Quignon, in both its forms, contemplates the omission of the Apostles' Creed on Sundays, when the *Quicunque vult* was to be said.—H. A. W.

CLARENDON PRESS GREEK TESTAMENTS.

1. In a note added to my unpretending article¹ Professor Sanday expresses a little surprise that I ruled out the one book which has some real connexion with the Oxford of the present day, and demurs to the title I have given to my study. The reason of the first fact is very simple: I wished to treat of those editions alone which confine themselves to the *Text* of the Greek Testament. If any one wishes to buy a Greek Testament *without apparatus* published by the Clarendon Press he can get no other than 'Lloyd' for 3s. and 'Mill' for 2s. 6d. 'Palmer' has an apparatus, a special purpose, and costs in its cheapest form 4s. 6d. I further confined my words strictly to the 'Press', and I did not speak at all of the New Testament at Oxford at the present day.

2. But as Professor Sanday insists on Palmer's Greek Testament, as prescribed for use in the Examinations of the University, a word on 'Palmer' will be allowed. The principle was to introduce into the text of Stephanus 1550 (= Mill=Lloyd) the readings adopted by the Revisers, and it contains on its margins, if I counted correctly, 5,257 variants, as proof how far the text of the Revisers deviated from that of 1550. But there are grave doubts, whether this principle really does justice to the Revisers and whether it satisfies the wants of modern students.

The Revisers continue in their Preface, after the words quoted by Palmer in his Preface (that it did not fall within their province to construct a continuous and complete Greek text)—'In many cases the English rendering was considered to represent correctly *either of two competing readings in the Greek*, and then the question of text was usually not raised'. Now I ask, is it justifiable in the hundreds and thousands of these cases where *S* deviates from a modern text, say that of Westcott-Hort, to exhibit (just and only) *S* as the text represented by the Revisers, with the exclusion of the competing reading, which has, perhaps, much better foundation?

To quote the examples from the first two chapters of Matthew. Palmer changed *S* in ch. i seven times, in ch. ii three times; Scrivener gives in his *editio maior* in the same chapters 19 + 7 and 15 + 3 deviations of Westcott-Hort from *S*; to mention but the spellings Δαυείδ, Ἀχάς, Σολομῶνα, Ἡρώδης; the transpositions ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς, κατ' ὄναρ φαίνεται, ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, the replacing of παραδειγματίσαι by the simple verb, ἔστη by ἐστάθη, the omission of ἐπὶ in ii 22. Surely these readings are all much better attested than those of *S*, may just as well claim to correspond to the Revised Version,

¹ See *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1904, p. 274.

and have better claims to be placed in the hands of modern students than those of 1550. But this is a question by itself; what I wished to insist upon was, that the Clarendon Press in its *text*-editions ought no longer to circulate the *Textus Receptus*.

3. Finally, Professor Sanday made a little mistake in writing: 'Cambridge prints the Stephanus text of 1550 with the Revisers' readings as variants'. It is not the Stephanus text of 1550, but Beza's fifth and last text of 1598 (as being more likely than any other to be in the hands of King James's revisers). Whether the Cambridge Press, in like manner as the Clarendon does with Lloyd and Mill, 'still issues the text of Stephanus' is unknown to me¹. Scrivener's reprints of Stephanus are, as far as I am aware, private undertakings, and his edition of Beza with the reading, of the Revisers, published for the University Press, ranks with Palmer, not with 'Lloyd' or 'Mill'.

EB. NESTLE.

NOTES ON THE BISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS.

Addenda et Corrigenda.

DURING the great schism, while Scotland up to 1417 adhered to the Anti-Popes, the Popes continued to make appointments to Scottish sees, which appointments in Scotland were wholly unrecognized and ineffective. The following may be recorded. (1) As already noticed (see p. 122 note) Alexander de Neville, archbishop of York (deposed 1388), was translated by Urban VI to the bishopric of St Andrews in Scotland (*Walsingham*, Rolls Series, ii 179). The date of the bull is given as April 30, 1388. He is the 'Alexander bishop of St Andrews' of subsequent letters of Urban VI and Boniface IX (*C. P. R.* iv 271, 326, 343). He died in poverty at Louvain in May, 1392. (2) Thomas de Arundel (successor of Neville at York, translated to Canterbury in 1396), while in banishment after his attainder, was translated to St Andrews by Boniface IX, Jan. 21, 1398. He was restored to Canterbury in Oct. 1399 (see Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti*). (3) John Trevor,

¹ The Cambridge University Press publishes Beza's text of 1598, with the variants adopted by the Revisers at the foot of the page, as stated by Dr. Nestle. For this edition there is a good demand. It also still prints and publishes the Stephanus text of 1550, with the English of the Authorized Version in parallel columns (first edited by Scholefield in 1836—some small changes, e.g. of orthography, in later editions), as there is still some demand for this edition. Scrivener's reprint of the Stephanus text of 1550, with the variants of later editors and the Revisers at the foot of the page, is published by Messrs Deighton & Bell, though printed at the Cambridge Press.—[EDD.]

who had been provided bishop of St Asaph (Oct. 21, 1394—*C. P. R.* iv 481), was translated to St Andrews in 1408 (see Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica* i 88 note 5). Trevor died April 10, 1410 (Stubbs's *Reg. Sanct. Angl.* 2nd edit. 82).

Scheves (p. 256). His provision as *coadiutor cum iure successionis* was as early as Sep. 13, 1476 (Eubel ii 99).

Corrigendum (p. 259 note) : for 1572 read 1512.

Corrigendum (p. 260 note 1). Delete the reference to the *Black Book of Taymouth*, which, however, may mark that Gavin Douglas's *obit* was observed on that day. His death must have occurred between Sep. 10, 1522, when his will was executed, and Sept. 19, 1522, when probate was granted. The will is printed in the introduction to Small's edition of the *Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas* i pp. cxvii ff. I owe this reference to the Rev. John Anderson of H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

J. DOWDEN.

REVIEWS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

Grundprobleme der Religionsphilosophie. Von D. Dr A. DORNER.
(Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903.)

THIS work consists of eight lectures delivered before an audience of educated men and women, with the purpose, so their author tells us, of making known the principal questions with which religious thought is at present busy. The work is therefore semi-popular in nature; but it presupposes a considerable acquaintance, on the part of its readers, with several departments of theological science. It is a book which may be commended to the student not only for its concise presentation of the results of modern enquiry, but also for the interesting way in which these are brought into relation with one another in the light of one or two general principles which the author especially emphasizes. Dr Dorner has in fact, in these lectures, supplied a useful general survey of a complex subject, much of the work in connexion with which has been done in his own country.

The eight lectures are not equal in interest or in merit. The first and one or two of the later ones, perhaps, contain much that is commonplace. The discussion, for instance, of the temper essential to theological investigation, and the treatment, at the end of the book, of the relation of religion to science and art, are of this nature. On the other hand, the lectures which deal with 'Das Wesen der Religion', and with the developement of the religious consciousness and of religious rites, abound in suggestive remarks and treat their subjects in an able and somewhat original manner.

The enquiry, in Lecture II, into the psychological basis of religion is abundantly illustrated by the views of modern writers, or rather of modern German writers. The array of names here cited enables one to realize how strong, in the author's country, is nowadays the tendency to see in religion no addition to man's knowledge, but merely a practical aid to moral life. Religion is identified, as Dr Dorner points out, sometimes with the feeling of reverence or of dependence, sometimes with the impulse or effort to obtain a unified view of the world or victory over its hindrances to the higher life; but religion as thus conceived does not even presuppose the existence of God. After enumerating examples of this kind of belief as to the essential nature of religion, the author instances views of the opposite

class—those, namely, of writers who, beginning at the other end, set out from a metaphysical idea of God.

In the third lecture, Dr Dorner states his own conception of what subjective religion is. He takes it to be the outcome, in the main, of the *Einheitstrieb*, of the search for a unity transcending and reconciling the contrasts between the individual ego and the world, between good and evil, &c., which leads the mind on to the idea of a unifying power. This, supplemented by the consciousness of dependence, which figured so largely in Schleiermacher's definition, constitutes religion on its subjective side. To this unifying power reality is ascribed, and so religion becomes metaphysical.

We are obviously introduced here to the problem which modern philosophical thought on religion is endeavouring afresh to solve: how to bridge the gulf between our subjective religious experience and the objective existence of God, to whose activity we would refer the causation of our religious affections. Neither psychologists, such as William James, nor theological philosophers, such as Sabatier, have helped the religious man here with anything like a demonstration of the real existence of the *objects* of our religious consciousness. Nor does Dr Dorner bring us any assistance. In his endeavour to do so, he would seem to commit a very old fallacy. He argues thus¹: if the unifying power, which we call God, is a necessity to our subjective reason, our reason cannot call that Being a product of itself, and therefore, possibly, an illusion. We are reminded here of the old 'ontological argument'; and Dr Dorner's reasoning seems no more trustworthy in its attempt to get from thought to existence, from idea to thing, than that so-called 'proof'. Moreover the 'unity' which we necessarily postulate, in order to unify our knowledge, *may* not exist in the world; necessity for thought is not, in this instance, necessity of existence. The author, then, does not seem to make good his identification of religion, as a psychological condition or a human experience, with the activity in man's spirit of an existent God. There is much, however, in his treatment of subjective religion which is valuable.

In the next lecture, the author traces out the course of development of religion, as it is to be read in the history of particular religions.

¹ 'Wenn sie (die endliche Vernunft) dies tut, und damit bekennt, dass sie sich genötigt sehe, von sich als der subjektiven Vernunft auf ein Wesen zurückzugehen, das über ihr stehe, so kann sie nicht zugleich wieder behaupten, dass dieses Wesen doch nur ihr Produkt sei und nur in ihrer Vorstellung vorhanden sei. Sie würde sich sonst widersprechen. Kurz: wenn der Einheitstrieb notwendig in einem transzendenten . . . Wesen ausmündet, so wird man nicht in einem Atem sagen können, aber dieses Wesen sei doch nur unser Produkt, sei gar nicht transzendent.' S. 44.

This he does under the guidance of the principle that, religion being primarily the satisfaction of our longing for unity, religious developement must be a process of unification. Hence the appearance, in time, of monotheism in place of polytheism and animism. Such is the first law of developement which he finds in the history of religious thought. Another such general law at which he arrives is, that the richness of the conception of God in the religion of any particular people at a given time stands in direct proportion to that people's width and complexity of experience, and to the degree of energy with which it separates the contrasting elements, such as good and evil, finite and infinite, which religion endeavours to unify or transcend. Further, Dr Dorner discusses, in an interesting and suggestive manner, the evolution of religion and the progressiveness of revelation in the light of the principles which he sought to establish in a previous lecture: that religion, in its subjective aspect, is the activity of the *Einheitstrieb*, and, on its objective side, the revelation of an immanent God.

Lecture V deals with subjective faith and the various modes in which it has found expression.

We could wish that Dr Dorner had here attempted a more thorough and clear definition of faith in contrast with knowledge. He fails to distinguish between objective certainty and subjective certitude, a distinction which is essential to a clear definition of faith. The same lecture contains some discussion of the developement of faith during the course of religious evolution, and as to the point at which the necessary illusoriness of such faith as was possible in earlier stages was exchanged for possible certainty.

With the later lectures we need not deal. They are concerned with the specific forms in which religion has expressed itself: revelation, prayer, symbols, sacraments, dogmas, and so forth. The author considers that most of such outward adjuncts, even such as belong to Christianity, are destined to pass completely away as religion approaches more and more nearly to its ideal. But on these matters less light is thrown by the lecturer than upon the topics dealt with in the earlier portion of his interesting volume.

F. R. TENNANT.

THE FALL AND ORIGINAL SIN.

The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin. By F. R. TENNANT, M.A., B.Sc., formerly Student of Gonville and Caius Coll., Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1903.)

IN this volume Mr Tennant presents us with the historical investigation which preceded his recently published Hulsean Lectures on *The*

Origin and Propagation of Sin. The book forms a fairly complete introduction to the study of the most remarkable, though by no means the most important, of the doctrines associated with the name of St Augustine. Mr Tennant begins with the story of the Fall as given in Genesis; its exegesis, ethnological origin and relations; its psychological origin, and character, and the use made of it in the Old Testament. Subsequent chapters deal with the teaching of Ecclesiasticus and of the Alexandrian Judaism, of the later Rabbis, and of the Jewish pseud-epigrapha. This elaborate review of Jewish opinion occupies about two-thirds of the volume, perhaps too large a proportion in view of the fact that the Rabbinical speculations are post-Pauline in date and of dubious relevancy. Perhaps we may sum up the result by saying that on the subject of the Fall the Jews had no doctrine, but many opinions. Some held that Eve's transgression brought universal punishment on the human race, that of physical death; but this view, which Mr Tennant finds for the first time in Ecclesiasticus (p. 119), was not held by Philo. Others held that the result of the Fall was a permanent and general weakening of the moral nature of man; but to this rule exceptions were admitted, for instance in Wisdom viii 20 'Solomon is represented as having entered into a "body undefiled" in consequence of the "goodness" of his soul in its previous state of existence' (p. 129). But no one, except possibly Rabbi Nathan in the second century, spoke of hereditary guilt (p. 171). Mr Tennant says (p. 258): 'It is certainly the case that, in some of the apocalyptic books approximately contemporaneous with the writings of St Paul, we meet with the assertion that death was decreed against the race because of Adam's sin, and side by side with this the (apparently) conflicting statement that each individual is responsible for his own ruin, or, as pseudo-Baruch expresses it, that every man is the Adam of his own soul.'

The second, and much shorter, division of the book deals with the development of the doctrine of Original Sin from St Paul down to St Augustine.

Mr Tennant holds (against Sanday and Headlam) that in Rom. v 12 St Paul must be regarded as meaning that all men sinned in Adam, but follows Mr Stevens in explaining this statement away as due to 'mystic realism', in other words as a poetical trope (p. 262). This phrase of Mr Stevens is surely ill-chosen. Realism is certainly mystical, but it is as certainly real; the realist regarded his ideas as things. Nor is it easy to follow Mr Tennant when he says that 'St Paul identifies the race, as sinners, with Adam in the same sense that he identifies the believer with Christ'. Certainly as regards the latter of these unions it would be unjust to the Apostle to suppose that he is employing a mere figure of speech. But we all know how difficult it is to explain a mystic, if we do

not happen to be mystics ourselves. However, the result seems to be that St Paul is left with no doctrine at all, except just this that physical death is the consequence of the Fall. From this it follows naturally that 'his doctrine of the Fall must be regarded as widely different from that which was destined to become general in the Christian church' (p. 267). In other words, Augustinianism rests upon a serious misunderstanding of St Paul. This is the most disputable point in Mr Tennant's book.

From this point onwards little or no difference of opinion will be evoked by Mr Tennant's clear and scholarly account of the progress of speculation. The chief pioneers of Augustinianism he discovers in the East in Origen and the two Gregories, in the West in Tertullian. The last-named doctor is by far the most important. He is marked by three extraordinary peculiarities; he was a Stoic, a Traducianist, and a Montanist. Mr Tennant does not dwell upon this last feature which is probably the most important of all, and has never been properly worked out. From Montanism Tertullian received, not indeed his doctrine of the Trinity, but the figures by which he illustrated the doctrine. It has often been noticed that these figures are much too concrete, and the reason is that they come from visions. We may guess that much of his teaching is derived from the sister who used to fall into trances during service, and see visions which she afterwards described. Montanism would lend itself very readily to a pessimistic view of human nature. The Stoics again were at many points Calvinists before Calvin. From the Stoics Tertullian borrowed his view of the animal propagation of the soul. Finally, by combining traducianism with the Christian belief in the Fall, he reached his doctrine of an inherited degradation of the soul, which however, though grievous and ruinous, was not absolute (we shall remember the *testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*). It may seem strange that Augustine should have retained and darkened Tertullian's view of human nature while rejecting, though not quite positively, the traducianism on which that view reposed. Perhaps, however, Mr Tennant (see p. 335) rather exaggerates this apparent inconsistency. A Platonist Father, though he believed in the divine origin of each individual soul, would still hold that at the Fall the *donum superadditum* was lost, and this view, though widely different in its logical foundation from that of the *tradux*, comes really to much the same conclusion.

Finally, it may be said that the essential feature of St Augustine's teaching is not his doctrine of Original Sin, which is really quite secondary, but his doctrine of Grace, which he identifies with Love. It is this that makes his teaching at once so beautiful and so terrible. Nothing can be simpler or juster than the precept 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God'. Yet nothing is more appalling, for no man can say

I will love anything or anybody. This is the true root of Augustinianism, both in its sweetness and in its bitterness. Mr Tennant has done his work very well, so far as one to whom the Rabbinical writers are known only at second hand can judge of it. But the scheme which he planned for himself, and to which he has adhered with scholarly concentration of purpose, obliged him to deal exclusively with the less important, less agreeable, less scriptural, and less philosophical of the sources of Augustinianism.

C. BIGG.

THE LIFE OF SEVERUS.

Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique, texte syriaque publié, traduit et annoté par M. A. KUGENER (Patrologia Orientalis tom. 2 fasc. 1). (Paris, 1903.)

THE life of Severus was published by Dr Spanuth in 1893, and has been translated into French from his text by M. Nau in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1899, 1900; but, as Spanuth's text is so printed that one can hardly read it without injury to the eyesight or find any desired passage in it, the editors of the *Patrologia* have done well in publishing M. Kugener's work, which he intends to follow up by an edition of the unpublished life of Severus by John the archimandrite (parts of which have been translated by M. Nau¹), and by an introduction and commentary. Moreover, M. Kugener has been able in several places to correct Spanuth's text from the MS, and has done much more towards removing corruptions than was attempted by Spanuth. At 37. 4 and 86. 12 however, and perhaps also at 106. 11, his corrections are unnecessary, and at 91. 6 the emendation spoils the sentence, where we should supply *ܡܚܝܐ* from the previous clause, and render 'or how can any one who is a Christian give any attention to such words?'. On the other hand at 66. 5 an emendation seems to be required, for the extraordinary statement that Leontius the law-student 'was at that time *μάγιστρος*' cannot be right, unless M. Kugener has some explanation which he is reserving for the commentary. Many passages however defy emendation, and M. Kugener has here wisely given the text as it stands with an approximate translation instead of making wild conjectures. The printing is clear and misprints few (I have noted such at 18. 12 translation, 66. 3, 70. note 6, and 104. 16 translation); but an unfortunate system has been adopted of using vowel-points in place of diacritic marks, which, being unusual, is sometimes puzzling.

The Syriac is a literal translation from the Greek; and M. Kugener,

¹ *Rev. de l'O. C.* v 293.

who has made a special study of Graeco-Syriac, has done very good service by giving the Greek originals of words and phrases in notes. This he has done with great thoroughness, and his restorations will command general acceptance; but at 33. 14 κτήτορες should be given as the original of ܩܬܝܪܐ, and at 47. 6 I cannot think that ܡܫܝܬܐ can represent ἐγκράτεια: M. Kugener by so rendering this word and by apparently taking no account of ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ has made shipwreck of this passage, where I would read ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ for ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ and render 'but such things as excite laughter only in the spectators, and display temporary power' (so M. Nau) 'over those at whom they are laughing'. There is a less important error at 86. 13, where ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ must mean 'John should be set apart for the altar', not 'de reserver l'autel à Jean'. Again at 41. 3 'les soi-disant dieux' hardly renders ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ ܡܫܬܚܝܬܐ, and at 36. 17 and 39. 13, 14 the renderings 'le σχολαστικός', 'le σοφιστής' make it appear as if there could only be one barrister or professor in a town or district. The text of the life is however very difficult; and M. Kugener has been able not only to grapple successfully with its complications and obscurities, but to produce a clear and fluent translation. The two remaining parts of his work, in which new matter will be touched, will be awaited with interest.

E. W. BROOKS.

MISCELLANEA.

IN the Rev. W. B. Trevelyan's *Sunday*, a contribution to the *Oxford Library of Practical Theology*, we have a good example of the way in which one standing need of the English Church should be met. She has no standard writer in the field of moral theology, who covers, in his progress, subject by subject as it arises. But here is a beginning with the observance of Sunday: and a beginning on sound lines. After an introductory chapter of his own, the author entrusts to the Rev. G. W. Hockley two chapters on the history of Sunday, which trace it, in general, down to the Reformation; and, in England, to the Restoration. Their drift is to show that the history of Sunday observance is a history of reactions, in which Old Testament analogy was pressed into service as well by the legalism of Councils and Canonists from the sixth century onwards as by the disciplinarianism of English Puritans. The fourth chapter, historical also, wisely draws upon the late Canon Overton's unique knowledge of the later seventeenth and of the eighteenth century for a sketch of Sunday in that age; and for the nineteenth, Mr Trevelyan, if he naturally has at his disposal the records of the Macaulay family, is as fortunate in intimacy with the friends of Mr Gladstone. For thus he is able to reproduce the best traditions, in regard to Sunday

observance, both of the Evangelical and of the Tractarian movements in the generations immediately preceding our own. But for a slip as to the date of the Bishops' Book, which should be 1537, the historical side of the study seems to be accurately done. It is clearly arranged, and has vivid touches of personal interest toward the end. The author then proceeds to work out the principles which emerge from the history. They are three. The Lord's Day, as His, is primarily a day of worship. Then it is a day of rest *in*, and not merely *for*, worship. Finally, a day of service. It is a day for God, for self, for others. These chapters are marked by a wisdom and a sympathy with the exacting conditions of modern life which are among the ripest fruits of a pastoral experience that must in many ways be unique. They disarm criticism and commend themselves to conscience, as one reads, by force of that within them, which 'judgeth all things' and itself 'is judged of none'.

The same may be said of the Rev. A. W. Robinson's *Personal Life of the Clergy*. Bearing, as it does, the mark of a wise spiritual guide, it is eminently suited to be introductory to a series of *Handbooks for the Clergy*, intended 'to promote the efficiency of clerical work'. The writer first recalls the three needs of a priest in his inner life; penitence, prayer, and devotion to our Lord. He then proceeds to 'single out such dangers as we should agree to consider the most serious and widespread at the present time'; and finds them in secularization, over-occupation, and depression. 'The life of the clergy is a difficult one', he concludes; 'but "difficulty" is the watchword . . . in the Exhortation of the Ordinal . . . and life is only a choice of difficulties. The really "hard" thing is to "kick against the pricks".' Such handling of a great subject speaks for itself.

Another excellent *Handbook for the Clergy* is *A Christian Apologetic*, by Dean Robbins, late of Albany and now of the Theological Seminary, New York. The plan of this little work is modest enough. After an introductory chapter which is an apology for apologetics based on the obligation of Christians, and, *a fortiori*, of clergy to 'be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you', the Dean selects as the type of inquirer most in mind to-day the man whose 'mood is not that of dogmatic denial but rather that of a vague . . . agnosticism'. He then sets out 'not to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, but merely to prove the reasonableness of believing that Jesus Christ is the supreme revelation of God'. At that point he stops: for to go further would be to cross the frontier from Apology to Theology. Accepting the inductive method as applicable to the things of faith, and asking in return only that they shall be treated as real things, the Dean begins with the facts of 'the moral supremacy of Jesus Christ and the answer which He makes

to the deepest cravings of the human heart'. Then, in cc. iv-ix, he travels over the usual course of the argument for Christianity, dealing in turn with His unique moral pre-eminence, with the supreme place which, *pace* Harnack, His Person rather than His teaching has ever occupied in the life of Christians, and with the evidence afforded by the Resurrection, by Prophecy, and by the Christian Church. The whole argument is compact, consecutive, and brightly written. There is hard, but fair, hitting: nor does the author make the mistake of confining Apology to the defensive. He readily owns that 'demonstration and faith are incompatible', and is frankly content with just 'the sunnier side of doubt'. If anything should make his plea convincing, it is just this frank strength of modesty and self-restraint.

B. J. KIDD.

We have also received reprints, in cheaper editions, of two well-known works on Apologetics of a more popular kind: *The Truth of Christianity*, by Major W. H. Turton (Kegan Paul, 3s.); and *The Bible: its Meaning and Supremacy*, by the late Dean Farrar (Longmans, 6s.).

Books of Devotion. By the REV. CHARLES BODINGTON, Canon of Lichfield, &c. (Oxford Library of Practical Theology). (Longmans, 1903.)

JUSTICE cannot be done in a few lines to the industry and research shewn in this book, nor to the spiritual tone which all who know Mr Bodington will expect to find in it. In the main it is a review of nearly fifty books of devotion, from the Psalms to the works of the Wesleys at the end of the eighteenth century. The author has not confined himself to English writers. Besides Augustine and Thomas a Kempis, he notices Loyola, Rodriguez, Francis of Sales, and many others. With regard to books in our own language, two things will somewhat astonish readers who have not made a special study of the subject. In the most lifeless days of the English Church, all through the eighteenth century, there was a succession of these books of devotion. And, even in that age, the doctrine taught and assumed on such questions as the Eucharist and Private Confession is remarkably 'high', and would by many be called 'extreme' in our own day. Real students of the Prayer Book seem always to have read it in one way. Mr Bodington does not shrink from criticism of Roman devotions, nor from the present day question of Invocation of Saints. He almost passes over the multitude of manuals which came out in the last century, naming only some of the earliest, which were chiefly translations or adaptations from French and Italian works by the Tractarians. Of later books his judgement is concisely given:

'Some of them, built upon the foundation of the Catholic Verity, contain the gold, silver, and costly stones of devotion, and these are a "possession for ever". Others are but wood, hay, and stubble, whose end is to be burned' (p. 297).

But he thinks that 'the good and enduring devotions have preponderated', and that they are, on the whole, a precious inheritance of the present century. One rather wishes that he had urged a revision of some of these in the light of the experience of forty years or more. A '*Little Treasury of Devotion*', for instance, with large omissions, might be a really valuable book.

E. C. DERMER.

The Chief Truths of the Christian Faith. J. STEPHENSON. (Methuen, 1902.)

THIS book has grown out of a series of instructions to the Winchester Diocesan Community of Deaconesses and other Church workers. It is now published with the hope that it may be of service to Church teachers of all kinds. From this point of view it is heartily to be commended. Mr Stephenson has given us a book thoroughly and worthily representative of the Catholic school of thought within the English Church to which he belongs. He has thought and read deeply—very deeply indeed for a hard-working parish Priest. The reader may rely on finding here the best and truest exposition of this side of English religious feeling. Mr Stephenson writes from the heart as well as from the head, and speaks to the heart as well as to the head. His parochial experience has given him a practical grasp of the meaning of dogma and its vital connexion with morality and the spiritual life. Added to these he shews in a high degree the qualities of clearness, caution, and reverence. The arrangement of the Chapters is a little puzzling. The subjects are treated in this order: God—Man (origin, nature, and fall)—the Incarnation—the Atonement—the Sacraments—the Future Life—the Holy Spirit—the Church. Would it not have been possible to arrange the matter so as to give a better idea of Christianity as a system: e.g. by putting the chapters on the Holy Spirit and the Church before those on the Sacraments and the Future Life? Mr Stephenson warns us that we shall find certain subjects omitted in his book as not falling within the scope of his work. Some of these omissions, it must be confessed, seem to make gaps in the book. In the chapter on the Atonement we look for some statement of the Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord and His Mediatorial work as the Completion of the Atonement from the side of God. So also it might have been made more clear in section 3 of 'the Results of the Atonement', that man's Communion with the Atonement *through union*

with the Risen Lord is the consummation on the side of man. Was not the Sacrifice of our Lord vicarious in order that it might become not-vicarious, but make possible our sacrifice of ourselves? that we, being united to Him, might through His Sacrifice be able to offer our own sacrifice? When we come to the chapter dealing with the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist there is the same gap. The aspect in which we plead the merits of Christ's Sacrifice is brought before us; but the presenting of our own sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies, is not mentioned. Do not both—the latter resting upon the former—belong to the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist? Nothing is said of the angels: but this perhaps is allowable in view of the scope of the book. But in the chapter on the Eternal Future, when Universalism has been met and answered, should we not expect some statement on the question of Conditional Immortality? Under the heading of omissions we may note also a few cases in which those for whom the book is written would probably need explanations which are not given. Mr Stephenson's readers will hardly perhaps understand the (undefined) terms 'Nature' and 'Person' in the chapter on the Incarnation (p. 81), or 'Sacrifice' in connexion with the Holy Eucharist (p. 154): and the unexplained allusions to the 'ancient expression "of the Father, through the Son, by the Holy Ghost"' (p. 48) and to the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements in the Eucharistic Consecration (p. 146). A good index would add very materially to the usefulness of the book. There are a few passages in which Mr Stephenson seems to tread on doubtful ground. On p. 39, the sacred Name of God (Ex. iii 14) is translated 'I am' without recognition of the truer meaning 'I will be', and the explanation given misses in consequence the much deeper truth of the Eternal as a *personal living* God, which is contained in the Name. On p. 63, the heredity of acquired properties is said to have 'found considerable acceptance'. Would it not be truer to say that science treats the question as non-proven? Lastly, is it not a very doubtful statement that the Jews 'regularly used' prayers for the dead in their public services in our Lord's time (p. 165)? These criticisms, however, even if they are just, must not hinder our appreciation of the solid excellencies of the book. Mr Stephenson has formidable competitors among the many other books of the same kind and written with the same purpose; but his book will compare very favourably with the best of them. We hope a second edition may be soon called for, and, if it is found necessary, that Mr Stephenson may find room for a little expansion on the one or two points which demand recognition or alteration.

S. C. GAYFORD.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, January 1904 (Vol. lvii, No. 114: Spottiswoode & Co.). The Church in South Africa—A Philosophy of Phrases—The Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels: their Historical Value—Monotheism in Semitic Religions—A Jesuit Philanthropist: Friedrich von Spee and the Würzburg Witches—Charlotte Mary Yonge—The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquiry, Part ix—The Education Acts and After—The University of London—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1904 (Vol. ii, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). H. C. CORRANCE Progressive Catholicism and High Church Absolutism—The alleged indifference of laymen to Religion. I. SIR OLIVER LODGE; II. SIR EDWARD RUSSELL; III. PROF. J. H. MUIRHEAD; IV. THE EDITOR—EDWARD CARPENTER The Gods as Embodiments of the Race-Memory—WM. PEPPERRELL MONTAGUE The Evidence of Design in the Elements and Structure of the Cosmos—J. H. BEIBITZ The New Point of View in Theology—LEWIS R. FARNELL Sacrificial Communion in Greek Religion—JAMES MOFFATT Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity II—ALICE GARDNER Some Theological Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy—Discussions—Reviews.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1904 (Vol. xvi, No. 62: Macmillan & Co.). C. G. MONTEFIORE Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance—S. A. COOK North-Semitic Epigraphy—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge—W. BACHER, A. WOLF, and S. LEVY What is 'Jewish' Literature?—H. S. Q. HENRIQUES The Jews and the English Law—F. PERLES Proben aus dem Nachlass von Joseph Perles—L. BLAU Neue masoretische Studien—M. STEINSCHNEIDER Allgemeine Einleitung in die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters—Critical Notices.

The Expositor, January 1904 (Sixth Series, No. 49: Hodder & Stoughton). T. K. CHEYNE An Appeal for a Higher Exegesis—W. M. RAMSAY The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia—G. G. FINDLAY Studies in the First Epistle of John: The True Knowledge of God—A. S. PEAKE A Reply to Dr. Denny—J. H. MOULTON Characteristics of New Testament Greek—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St. Mark.

February 1904 (Sixth Series, No. 50). W. M. RAMSAY The Letters to the Asian Churches—J. B. MAYOR Φθινοπωρινός—S. R.

DRIVER Translations from the Prophets: Jeremiah xvi 10-xx 18—ARTHUR CARR The Authorship of the Emmaus Incident—J. C. TODD On the 'Aristocratic Character' of the Old Testament—ALEX. SOUTER Some Thoughts on the Study of the Greek New Testament—JAMES DENNEY Adam and Christ in St. Paul.

March 1904 (Sixth Series, No. 51). W. M. RAMSAY The Letters to the Seven Churches—S. R. DRIVER Translations from the Prophets: Jeremiah xxx-xxxi—M. KAUFMANN Was the 'Weeping Prophet' a Pessimist?—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St. Mark—J. H. MOULTON Characteristics of New Testament Greek—G. G. FINDLAY Studies in the First Epistle of John: 3. The Old and New Commandment.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1904 (Vol. viii, No. 1: Chicago University Press). A. G. B. The religious situation in Paris—F. C. PORTER Inquiries concerning the Divinity of Christ—J. E. MCFADYEN Hellenism and Hebraism—G. T. KNIGHT The new Science in relation to Theism—E. KOENIG Critical note: the Problem of the Poem of Job—Recent Theological Literature.

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The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

JULY, 1904

A MODERN THEORY OF THE FALL¹.

FOR a long time past—and not least since the Abbé Loisy published his little book on the *The Gospel and the Church*—we have had it urged upon us that the Christian faith needs to be presented afresh, in terms suited to the thought and knowledge of our time, and that to adhere to ancient modes of formulating it, is to court disaster for what Christians most prize. So familiar are we in England with this way of speaking, that it is difficult not sometimes to be a little impatient with it. The hearer considers the assertion to be a commonplace and a truism in itself, and waits to hear the new statement which is to be such an improvement upon the old.

Among those who have laboured the most earnestly to convert the truism into a reality, and to apply the general proposition to a particular doctrine, is Mr F. R. Tennant of Gonville and Caius College. His Hulsean Lectures on *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, followed by a more extended and mainly historical work on *The Fall and Original Sin*, give abundant material for reflexion on the subject with which they deal; and believers who take an interest in the philosophy of their religion cannot afford not to read those works. The style of them is clear and telling; the learning which they disclose is most remarkable. The author is a man who has earned the right to be heard on topics such as these, by his eminence both in Natural Science and in Philosophy. His position is that of a sincere and devout Christian; and no one can read his books without feeling the dignity and high purpose with which Mr Tennant writes.

¹ A paper read to the Reading Branch of the Central Society of Sacred Study.

Even when his argument fails to carry conviction, it impresses the reader with deep respect for one who has courageously grappled with a difficult task,—a task for which he is much better qualified than most of his critics can ever hope to be. I for one am profoundly conscious that this is so.

The general belief of Christians,—at any rate of Western Christians and since the time of Augustine—has been that the first human beings lived for some undefined length of time in a state of innocence, from which, under stress of temptation, they fell, and that in consequence of their fall all subsequent generations of mankind have been sinful by heredity, and lie under condemnation from the outset. There have been various ways of propounding this doctrine in one part of it or another; but, broadly speaking, the belief, as I have stated it, has been the belief of Christendom.

It has become difficult to retain this belief in modern times. In particular, 'several natural sciences', as Mr Tennant says, are combined against that which forms the 'fundamental basis of the doctrine of the Fall', viz. the notion that mankind at its beginning existed in a state of original righteousness. 'Literary criticism', he says, 'and historical exegesis, Comparative Religion and Race-Psychology, Geology and Anthropology all contribute materially to the cumulative evidence on this head.'¹ And if we could maintain the theory of a state of original righteousness, it would be impossible to understand how the transition from that state could be brought about, or how a single act of sin could shatter and ruin the whole nature of the doer. Even if we could be convinced that our first parents had actually accomplished such a disastrous change in themselves, it is difficult to understand 'how the results of the Fall upon the nature of our first parents could be transmitted to their posterity by natural descent'².

The counter-theory of man's original condition now propounded to us is one which is based upon evolution and evolution alone. 'What if he were flesh before spirit; lawless, impulse-governed organism, fulfilling as such the nature necessarily his, and therefore the life God willed for him in his earliest age, until his moral consciousness was awakened, to start him, heavily weighted with the inherited load, not indeed of abnormal and corrupted nature,

¹ *Hulsean Lectures* pp. 26, 27.

² *ibid.* p. 31.

but of non-moral and necessary animal instinct and self-assertive tendency, on that race-long struggle of flesh with spirit and spirit with flesh, which for us, alas! becomes but another name for the life of sin. On such a view, man's moral evil would be the consequence of no defection from his endowment, natural or miraculous, at the start; it would bespeak rather the present non-attainment of his final goal.¹

The text, if I may so call it, of Mr Tennant's dissertations is contained in a sentence or two of Archdeacon Wilson's, expressed with all the vigour and forcibleness which we are accustomed to expect from him. 'Man fell according to science,' says the Archdeacon, 'when he first became conscious of the conflict of freedom and conscience. To the evolutionist sin is not an innovation, but is the survival or misuse of habits and tendencies that were incidental to an earlier stage in development, whether of the individual or the race, and were not originally sinful, but were actually useful. Their sinfulness lies in their anachronism: in their resistance to the evolutionary and Divine force that makes for moral development and righteousness.'²

This is the theory which I propose briefly to discuss. It will obviously be impossible to examine it in all its parts and bearings within the time at our disposal; and what I say must be considered, not as a refutation—or even as an attempt at a refutation—of the theory, but only as the offer of some considerations which, it seems to me, must be more fully weighed before the new theory can be adopted.

In passing, before examining Mr Tennant's developement of his text, I will venture one criticism upon the text itself. I am not sure whether Dr Wilson states his position as clearly as he might when he says that sin is 'the survival or misuse' of certain habits. 'Survival and misuse' are not words which belong to the same logical class. The wrongfulness of a survival may lie in its anachronism,—as for instance, when the grown man refuses to put away childish things, and to think and act as a grown man. But 'misuse' is a wholly different thing from continued use. It is a thing which is not to be defined by dates. Anachronism cannot describe it. A misuse of a faculty is a misuse at any stage in the agent's career. Two quite distinct

¹ *H. L.* p. 11.

² *ibid.* p. 82.

classes of sins are denoted by the terms 'survival and misuse'. The Christian who is an anti-evolutionist—if such there still are—will quite agree with the Christian evolutionist, that sin is the 'misuse of habits and tendencies that' once 'were actually useful',—though possibly the language may seem to him a little mixed. St Augustine himself might subscribe to the statement; but he would refuse to say that the sinfulness of both classes of sins lies in their anachronism.

I pass to Mr Tennant's works.

I. I think that we shall all be ready to admit that the early chapters of Genesis are not in the strict sense history. Whether the writer who threw them into their present form believed them to be history or not, may be disputed; but that they are not history, in the sense of a plain statement of definite facts which occurred at a given date, related to us on the authority of persons who were present and cognizant of the facts when they occurred,—this, I say, will probably be admitted by most of us. I may add that few people would now believe that the story of the Fall was directly and independently revealed to Moses or some other writer by God. Comparison with the folklore and the speculations of Gentile nations renders such a view untenable. Mr Tennant sums up his discussion of this question by saying that 'it must be considered as utterly unfaithful to the cumulative and conclusive results of modern study, still to seek for even a kernel of historical truth, and a basis for a theological doctrine of human nature, in such a narrative as the Fall-story of the Book of Genesis'¹.

I venture to think that in this short summary Mr Tennant has joined together two things which ought not by rights to be joined. It is one thing to seek in the narrative for a 'kernel of historical truth'; it is another to seek in it for 'a basis for a theological doctrine of human nature'. I am quite prepared to say that we must not seek for historical truth in the story of the Fall, though here I may remark in passing that we must distinguish between two different senses in which the words 'historical truth' may be used. It may be used to signify what is recorded for us on sufficient documentary or oral evidence, or it may be used to signify what actually occurred, whether known to us or

¹ *Fall and Original Sin* p. 78.

unknown, and, if known, whatever may be the source of our knowledge. The former is the right sense of the phrase ; and in this sense I repeat that we must not seek for even a kernel of historical truth in the third chapter of Genesis: but I am not prepared to say that we may not look to it for religious truth. I think that the Christian doctrine of man must to the end of time be largely based upon that chapter. In this respect, the story of the Fall stands on much the same footing as the account of Creation in the first chapter, although the two chapters may be derived from different sources. In the first chapter, no less than in the third, we should do wrong to look for historical truth. It is not the historian, any more than the physiologist, who tells us in that chapter how man came to be what he is. But it forms an inalienable part of Christian doctrine, or rather it is the foundation of it all, that God created man in His own image. I do not know what religious truth is, if that account of man's origin is not religious truth. The whole teaching of the Gospels and Epistles would be shattered if that view of man's origin were taken away. And in the same manner I cannot but feel that the teaching that man at his first creation was, in his place in nature, 'very good', and then by his own act came to be far otherwise, is rightly used as 'a basis for a theological doctrine of man'. It is, to my mind, a matter of little importance, though of much interest, from what quarters the accounts in these chapters of Genesis came ; but it was, I believe, the true prophetic spirit which gave to the Israelite teachers the insight to select or to develop out of the floating legends of antiquity these particular accounts of the beginnings of the human race, just because they contain so noble a doctrine of man. That man was made in the image of God ; that man and his world, as they came from their Maker's hand, were 'very good' ; these beliefs—however we may interpret them—form an unfailing 'Gospel of Creation'. Indeed, I suppose that Mr Tennant himself does not challenge either of these propositions, though he disputes the form which they have assumed in Christian theology. They still are to him a basis of theological doctrine concerning man. He only thinks that man is still 'very good', as he was in the beginning, though each human being falls from the 'goodness' in which he is born.

II. Mr Tennant has, in my opinion, very largely made good

his contentions with regard to the teaching of St Paul upon the transmission of Adam's sin to his offspring. In the first place the sources of St Paul's doctrine may, as he says, be found rather in the current ideas of his time than in the text of Genesis. '(Our) doctrines of the Fall and of Original Sin', Mr Tennant says, 'have their beginnings, as doctrines, neither in the Old Testament nor in the New, but rather in the Jewish speculation and the uncanonical literature of the age which intervened between them.'¹ I am not sure whether the statement is not a little too sweeping. I am inclined to think that Mr Tennant's argument is in danger of falling to the level of special pleading when he deals with the Old Testament doctrine of man. The book of Genesis, in particular, seems to me to imply much more of a connexion between Adam's sin and the corruption of the ancient world than Mr Tennant is willing to admit. He appears to catch too eagerly at anything in the Old Testament which might possibly indicate other notions of the origin of man than those contained in the book of Genesis; and this eagerness leads him to see 'obvious allusions' and 'undoubted accounts'², where to other readers the interpretations which he adopts appear fantastic and improbable in the extreme. Nevertheless, it may be safely affirmed that the Old Testament contains a far less consistent and formulated teaching about the origin of human sin than has often been supposed; and Mr Tennant has done good service in bringing this fact into view.

But I would observe on the other hand that the Christian student is not, after all, much concerned to know what were the sources of St Paul's doctrine. It would make little difference to us if it were proved that some part of that doctrine were derived from still less venerable quarters. Suppose that St Paul, like the author of the book of Wisdom, was affected by an acquaintance with Hellenic philosophy. The belief so derived would be none the worse for its origin. Our confidence in the insight and inspiration of St Paul is such that the fact of his embracing and enforcing a belief would strongly commend the belief to our acceptance, from whatever quarter it might be shewn to come. If St Paul was to a considerable extent influenced, as Mr Tennant thinks, by apocryphal and pseudepigraphic Jewish writings, or

¹ *F. and O. S.* p. 272.

² *ibid.* pp. 61, 63.

by traditional teaching associated with them, the fact will dispose us to value those writings more highly, and not St Paul less.

But the doctrine of St Paul himself is by no means so certain and so definite as has been often thought. With Mr Tennant's exegesis of St Paul I am inclined to agree at almost every point. Perhaps the only passage where I demur is the well-known passage in Eph. ii 3 καὶ ἡμεθα τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί. Even there I assent to what he says, and only quarrel with what he does not say. The word φύσει in that passage, as Mr Tennant indicates, is not intended by St Paul to cover a whole theory of the mode in which sin is transmitted from generation to generation. It does not mean 'by heredity', scarcely even 'by birth'. It stands tacitly contrasted with a word like θέσει, 'by adoption', 'by intentional transference from one position to another'. Φύσει refers, to use Mr Tennant's own language, 'to the natural state before conversion, apart from the grace of God'. But all is not said when this fact is pointed out. The position of the word φύσει in the sentence, an unimportant position in itself, has the effect—the intended effect—of throwing into greater prominence the two words which it divides, τέκνα ὀργῆς; and although the words τέκνα ὀργῆς do not define, any more than φύσει, the mode in which sin is transmitted, which would be foreign to St Paul's purpose, yet they emphatically declare that the persons spoken of were 'born to wrath'. Τέκνα ὀργῆς is a phrase which may be contrasted with υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας immediately before. I cannot hold with the Dean of Westminster that the meaning of υἱοί and τέκνα is precisely the same, because either of them might represent a common term in Aramaic. Τέκνον denotes a birth connexion, υἱός denotes a status; and there is an instinct which guides St Paul to choose now the one word and now the other. But even if τέκνα, strengthened by φύσει, did not indicate that the persons spoken of were objects of God's wrath from birth, there is still the word ἡμεθα and there is still the context. The Jewish descent of these persons—for St Paul is for the moment speaking of himself and other believers belonging to the chosen race—made no distinction in one respect between them and the mass of mankind. They were 'by nature children of wrath even as the rest'; and it is a mistake to suppose that St Paul means that their evil lives, of which he speaks

so vehemently, had made them so. 'Εγενόμεθα would in that case have been a better word than ἡμεθα. Rather the opposite. They were not naturally 'children of wrath' because they had lived bad lives; their bad lives were the evidence that they, like the rest, were 'naturally children of wrath'. I have laboured this point at some length because Mr Tennant's brief treatment of the passage is an example of the tendency which is sometimes discernible in this chapter of his book to *minimize* the teaching of St Paul on the natural and universal corruption of mankind. Taking that teaching in its broad outlines, it contains more than Mr Tennant seems willing to admit.

III. The scientific theory of evolution must necessarily affect our views of the beginnings of man in the world. Probably all of us are ready to accept the belief that the life of man is continuous with that of lower animals, and has at a very early period been developed out of it. But while we frankly accept that belief, it is still possible to question whether *all* the facts of nature are to be explained by evolution, and by evolution alone. I submit that there is good reason to think that the history of the world contains some moments of new departure, which were not the work of evolution, though evolution lends itself to them. Two moments, at least, of new departure a Christian must recognize. The incarnation of the Son of God was not the result of evolution. It was the introduction of a wholly new factor from without—or shall we say from within?—into a world prepared by evolution to receive it. The original act of creation was not the result of evolution, but the starting-point of the whole cosmic process. So far as I am aware, science offers no contradiction—rather the opposite—to the biblical view that such a beginning there was, and that the world of matter and force is not eternal in the sense of stretching back and back through time that is without limit.

If, then, we are compelled to acknowledge *some* points in the history of the world at which a thing took place effected by no evolution, is it disloyal to the teaching of science to suppose that there may have been *more* such points? At present, we are unable to shew any examples of life which are not derived from life anterior to them. Yet life was certainly at one time impossible upon this planet. Science is very confident that it will

be able to account for the beginning of life on the principle of evolution. Far be it from me to say that science will never do so. But at present it is not done. Science here walks by faith. It is at least open to us to think that the first beginning of life upon the earth was a creative touch, which introduced a new element into the world made ready for its habitation. The same thing may be said of human existence. If it is ever proved that the mental and spiritual faculties of man are as purely a product of evolution as his body, the Christian will find no difficulty in receiving the truth. But so great and unbridged at present is the division between self-conscious man and the animals most akin to him, that it is no treason against science to believe that the introduction of human powers into a physical organism capable of serving as a basis for them, was a new thing, a sudden interposition, a creative moment, for which evolution prepared, but which was no necessary result of evolution.

I do not affirm that this was so ; I only express my belief that it is still possible for a man to believe that it was so. And supposing it to be the case, then it is not only possible but natural and pious to imagine, that the first man, or the first men, with their divine endowments fresh upon them, were in a different moral position from that which we occupy, and that, although it would be unnecessary and unreasonable to imagine that they were perfectly holy in the manner in which the Christian strives to be so, yet their moral instincts were sound, their lives were governed by them, and they were innocent in a different sense from that in which 'the ape and tiger' may be called innocent.

IV. But, it is argued, even if we can imagine the first specimens of humanity as having existed in such a state, and as having fallen from it, it is not easy to see how their fall can have been such as to affect their progeny. The only way in which the physiologist can imagine it to have done so, is to suppose that the fall was an act of so violent a character as to alter the physical organization of man. But on the other hand, according to the theory which now offers itself, the first sin must have been of a very different character. The knowledge of what is morally right and wrong is a matter of slow growth ; and as sin consists in transgressing a law which the conscience of the sinner recognizes as authoritative, it is most unlikely that the

first breach of that law would be such an act as to impair the very physique of him who did it. 'The origin of sin', Mr Tennant says, 'like other so-called origins was a gradual process rather than an abrupt and inexplicable plunge. . . . The sinfulness of sin would gradually increase from a zero ; and the first sin, if the words have any meaning, instead of being the most heinous, and the most momentous in the race's history, would rather be the least significant of all.'¹

To these weighty allegations I would with great deference, and in a purely tentative manner, submit a few considerations in reply, reserving to myself, as well as to others, the right to change my mind, upon cause shewn.

(1) I know of no reason why we should not accept Mr Tennant's view of the relative magnitude of the first sin. The very imagery which is used in Genesis to describe it is that of a childish fault. The history of sin does not begin with the fratricide of Cain, but with the longing look at a forbidden fruit. It is part of the imagery of the story that the first gratification of that longing was immediately followed by the sense of shame, and alienation from God, and expulsion from the happy Garden. We may, if we are so led, interpret that imagery of the instantaneous fall of a man and his wife to stand for a slow and gradual deterioration of a race. Their earliest sin may well have consisted in allowing impulses which were inherited from their animal ancestry, and which in their animal ancestry were blameless, to prevail over higher impulses which belonged to them as men, and which indeed made them men as distinguished from the animals that they or their fathers were before. The fall may have been a process rather than an act ; but to use such words as those which I have quoted—'the first sin, if the words have any meaning'—is to imply that there is no real line of demarcation between right and wrong, and that if there is one, the first sinner could not have been expected not to overstep it : in other words, first sins are not sinful, and men found themselves sinners through no fault of their own. Here, I submit, is a confusion of thought which is much to be regretted.

(2) It is well known that the masters of science have not yet been able to decide for certain whether 'acquired modifica-

¹ *H. L.* p. 91.

tions' can be transmitted from parent to offspring—whether, in the case before us, the children of an Adam and Eve could be themselves modified as a direct result of their parents' fall. I will not attempt to argue the point upon the assumption that the story in Genesis is historical—an assumption which I have already disclaimed. But if the fall may be interpreted in the way that has been suggested, as a gradual process, lasting, it may be, through many generations, it would not, I believe, be unscientific to suppose that at length the race itself might be profoundly modified by successive resistances to the nobler impulses; and that as, by the laws of nature itself, special bodily characteristics imprinted themselves by degrees upon various strains of animal life, and one became a race of elephants, while another became a race of whales, so humanity at large came to bear a certain ethical impress, not derived merely by imitation from the state of society into which the individual finds himself born, but by each member bringing with him into the world tendencies and aptitudes, proclivities and insensibilities, which are the result of habits formed by generations of his human ancestry.

And even if it should be held impossible for acquired modifications to be transmitted in the present state of things by natural generation, I would submit that this need not always have been the case. In earlier conditions of existence much may have been possible which we cannot observe to take place now. This is the very plea which the evolutionist urges in favour of the view that the original production of life, for instance, was at its own date a necessity of evolution. 'We do not maintain', says the philosopher Lotze, 'that all which the elements can accomplish is to be measured by the narrow possibilities still left open by the rigidity which the most essential natural relations have attained. In earlier stages of cosmic developement, when (everything being yet in process of formation) there was both greater celerity of change and also a prevalence of modes of connexion which did not afterwards recur, it may perhaps have been the case that the elements produced effects different in nature and magnitude from those to which the present course of Nature gives rise, limited as this is to the maintenance of uniform conditions.'¹ In accordance

¹ *Microcosmus* ii p. 138 (E. T.).

with this observation of Lotze, I ask whether moral effects, or effects which are both moral and physical, may not have been possible in the first plastic stages of human history which would no longer be possible now.

(3) It forms part of the modern theory which we are discussing that nothing can be called sinful which is not a conscious and wilful refusal to comply with a recognized law. In other words, nothing can be morally wrong except for those who know that it is wrong. In this way, the champions of the theory can see no meaning in attributing any sinful character to an infant. At about the age of three years, according to a statement which Mr Tennant seems to regard with approval, 'moral sentiment' begins to make its appearance in the young child¹. Before that time it is incapable of sin. 'It is the basal proposition of the theory of sin which is now being elaborated', Mr Tennant says, 'that until the will has emerged, and the life begins to be self-conducted, no germ of evil can be said to exist in the individual. The young child in following the impulses and instincts which it is as yet unable to direct or control, is entirely fulfilling its life's purpose. With the dawn of will and reason morality first becomes a possibility. And until moral sentiment appears, the existence of sin is of course excluded.'²

Lest any one should suppose from this passage that Mr Tennant has an optimistic opinion of the ways of little children, and thinks that they all behave like little angels, I must say that, on the contrary, he speaks of 'children's impatience of restraint, their wilfulness and passionate temper, their unconscious cruelty, their greed and envy and self-pleasing'³. He calls them 'pure little animals', and says that 'the young child presents sometimes an appalling spectacle of self-centredness in the satisfaction of its impulses and appetites, and of passionate resentment to restraint on their indulgence'⁴. But it is a mistake, according to the new theory, to suppose that there is anything wrong in all this. 'The naturalist reads there only a sign of future sanity and vigour.' 'The apparent faults of infantile age are in fact organic necessities. There *must* be what looks to older eyes so much like unmitigated selfishness.'⁵

¹ *H. L.* 104.

² *ibid.* p. 103.

³ *ibid.* p. 95.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 97.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 97.

I would only ask in reference to this view of infancy, what its upholders have to say about the sacred infancy of Jesus Christ. He came, as we have learned from Irenaeus, to sanctify all ages, infancy included, by passing through them Himself. Can we imagine that the blessed Babe gave 'signs of future sanity and vigour' by presenting appalling spectacles of self-centredness and resentment? Is it only a perverse and unreasonable prejudice that makes us shrink from the thought? I ask again, what would be the nature of an education conducted on the principle that the child is a non-moral being till it reaches the age of three? For my own part I am convinced by observation, no less than by other methods, that there are movements of conscience long before the child knows the meaning of the words which formulate the law for it, that it recognizes when, as we say, it has been naughty—partly, no doubt, by the looks and demeanour of its parents, but partly also by some responsive motion within itself—that it has impulses and instincts of love and trust which run counter to the impulses and instincts of self-will and self-assertion—and that a perfect childhood, at any rate when lived under good and wise direction, would be free from those storms in which 'the naturalist' sees nothing but what is wholesome. That Christian teachers have often exaggerated the depth of human corruption, and have often planted at the wrong point the boundary between what normally belongs to man as an animal being and what belongs to him as a fallen and sinful one, this I readily admit; but I cannot think that all the phenomena which shock and grieve us in the ways of little children are necessary tokens of their animal well-being, and should be welcomed as such—or that we should have observed them in the one human life which we believe to have been perfect throughout.

(4) Mr Tennant finds it difficult to see how a 'nature' can be said to be sinful and corrupt. He complains—I will not say that he complains unjustly—of the loose and confused way in which the word 'nature' is often used. I should wish to be free from the ambiguity which he condemns. His own definition of what human nature means is to me quite satisfactory. It denotes 'the sum of the equipments, actual and potential, with which a man is born: his congenital endowments, in fact,

as distinguished from what is afterwards bestowed upon him, or acquired by him, from his surroundings and his education and experience¹. This is the nature which according to traditional Christianity is sinful. Mr Tennant does not see how sinfulness can attach to it, when 'sinfulness', as he truly says, 'attaches exclusively to the consent of the will itself'².

It is with great diffidence that I criticize the language of so clear and philosophical a writer as Mr Tennant; but I cannot but feel that he has been misled into his denial of a sinful nature by taking too narrow a view of what constitutes sin, especially with regard to two particular points.

(a) He can only conceive of sin as an 'act of will'³. Here he is partly right, in my opinion, and partly wrong. That sin resides in the will, and the will only, I heartily agree; it would be pure Manichaeism to place it elsewhere; but it seems to me that will is not to be seen only in 'acts of will'. It would lead to what I might call an atomistic view of life if in estimating moral values we were to confine our attention to express and definite volitions. There are such things as moral states and attitudes to be considered, as well as distinct movements of will. Such states and attitudes are of course recognized at that advanced stage of moral progress or declension where good or bad habits and character have been formed. We do not in these cases measure a man's meed of blame or praise solely by his acts of will. There are times in the life of the most confirmed drunkard when his will is not actively going out towards the intoxicant; for instance, when he is asleep, or when some other dominant passion has possession of him, the drink is forgotten. But at such times he is not ethically to be considered as holding a position free from blame, even with regard to the drink. His will, though quiescent so far as the drink is concerned, is nevertheless set in a wrong direction in the matter. When the temptation to drink comes again, he is certain to yield to it. The Christian is not wrong in saying that that drunkard is sinful all the time, not only when he sets himself to commit excess, but also in the intervals when his volition in that respect is in abeyance.

Something of the same kind may not unreasonably be said

¹ *H. L.* p. 172.

² *ibid.* p. 170.

³ *ibid.* p. 169 foll.

of an infant at the hour of its birth, before it has done either good or ill. Habit and character have not yet been formed; but the still dormant faculty of will may not be wholly neutral, for all that, in its attitude towards moral good and evil. One who possessed the gift of insight—one who could see the oak in the acorn—might be able to discern from the outset which way that undeveloped being is sure to exercise its coming powers, unless influences from without acquire a mastery over it. As the child is father of the man, so the babe is father of the child. His very nature, 'the sum of the equipments actual and potential, with which he is born', includes moral elements no less than intellectual ones. He is born to be a coward or a profligate, as much as another is born to be a poet or a calculating boy. Over and above that common stock of non-moral impulses and instincts which belong to him as an animal among animals, he has already the propensity to use those endowments in such and such a way; and so, even from birth, he may justly be regarded with moral approval or disapproval—unhappily in every instance that we know of, but One, with some degree of disapproval.

(b) Mr Tennant again and again insists that nothing can be sinful which is not consciously so. 'Apart from the conscious volition of a person there is no such thing as moral goodness or badness.'¹ The definition of sin makes it 'a transgression of the law in the sense of *his* (the doer's) law, what is known and recognized by him individually as constituting a moral sanction'².

It is perhaps in this insistence that the new theory comes more gravely and practically into conflict with Christian teaching in general than at any other point. The Bible by no means identifies sin with guilt. 'Sin is not imputed when there is no law'; but sin is there, whether imputed or not. The sin which is committed ignorantly in unbelief is forgiven on that account, but it needs forgiveness, and it involves a life-long penitence. And although the guilt of sin may be indefinitely diminished by the sin being unwittingly done, yet even the guilt is not wholly done away: the man who commits things worthy of stripes without being aware of the character of them receives few

¹ *H. L.* p. 161.

² *ibid.*

stripes in comparison with other sinners, but he receives stripes. Thus even guilt is not wholly dependent upon consciousness, and sin is by no means conterminous with guilt.

It is impossible really to maintain that the sinfulness of an action is wholly to be measured by the doer's standard of right and wrong, and by his sense of transgression at the time of doing it. A single proof of this is sufficient. It is the well-known tendency of indulgence in sin, to harden the sinner's heart, and to make him less sensitive to the moral quality of his actions. The sin which at first he committed with misgiving and hesitation, and perhaps with subsequent remorse, he comes to do half mechanically, with no struggle of conscience, until at last, in the words of the Psalm, he 'imagineth mischief as a law'. Is his last sin, committed when his conscience ceases to remind him that he is doing wrong, or when in its perversion it tells him that he is doing right, to be regarded as less sinful, and less liable to just punishment than the sin committed when conscience was tender and the true canon of action stood vividly before it? That would be no just judgement. The hardened offender is guilty, not only of the sinful deed which he so lightly commits, but of the injury done to himself by which it becomes possible for him to sin so lightly.

I admit that with regard to the moral disabilities with which we all, according to the traditional belief, begin life, we are not to be accounted guilty for them, like the sinner who has hardened his own conscience. It is no fault of our own if we are born in sin. That is our misfortune. Only when we consent to the evil warp in our nature, and begin, as Mr Tennant says, to weave sinful acts into sinful habit and sinful character, do we become justly subject to punishment for it¹. But we may begin at a very early point in life either to consent to be what we are by nature, or by God's grace to rise to something better. No clear consciousness of the issues is needed to make a difference between our movements of will—some movements right and others wrong. Sin consists in the will to do wrong things, and there is (strictly) no such thing as an involuntary sin; but the wrong thing may be done without knowing how wrong it is.

The fact is, I believe, that there is an 'ought' and an 'ought

¹ *ibid.* p. 168.

not' independent of the feelings and opinions of this man or that, and perhaps extending further than most of us suppose. We are not justified, I think, in treating as a fantastic Jewish speculation the belief expressed by St Paul that human sin is a fact of cosmic significance¹. Is it entirely a poetical figure of speech when Jesus 'rebukes' the wind and the fever; or when the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the 'curse' awaiting the ground which, in spite of advantages and culture, fails to bear fruit? Is it (to use Ruskin's phrase) nothing but a 'pathetic fallacy' to see something that 'ought' not to be in the needless cruelties of a cat with a mouse, or in the evasion of parental duties on the part of the cuckoo? True, the creatures know no better, and it would be absurd to blame them for what, as St Paul says, they are made subject to 'not willingly'; but wherever the blame may lie there is sin somewhere to account for it. To come a step higher, it would be absurd to blame the individual South Sea Islander for taking part in the cannibal feast which the custom of his village prescribes, in the same degree as if the thing were done by Englishmen. The blame is hard to locate; but no one can well doubt that things have gone very far wrong where cannibalism exists, and that the custom is a wicked custom which ought not to be tolerated or excused, and that the whole tribe or nation which tolerates it is heavily loaded with sin.

The Christian is not much concerned to distribute and apportion the blame of sin amongst the units who compose mankind. That is a task which he is wisely warned to leave to an intelligence above his own. Nor does it greatly concern him to say how much of the sin in the world is to be traced to a depravity of nature transmitted by physical descent, and how much to what is called social heredity. It is enough to say that humanity is both outwardly and inwardly one. Mankind is a single, living whole, out of which and into which the individual man is born. In both ways he partakes of the life of the race, and in both ways, as I believe, of the sin which penetrates the life of the race. It does not seem to me to be probable that all our sins are to be attributed to the vicious surroundings into which we come, and that we come into them capable indeed

¹ *F. and O. S.* p. 271.

of sin, but sinless. It will always, so far as I can judge, be the simplest explanation of the acknowledged universality of sin, as well as that which expresses best the penitential experience of good men, to say with the Psalmist 'Behold, I was shapen in wickedness; and in sin hath my mother conceived me'. If, according to the striking expression of Baruch, 'each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul'¹, and has started from the same neutral position—morally speaking—as his first human ancestors, it becomes beyond all calculation of chances improbable that no single human being, except the One who was also more than human, should have lived without sin. But however else the fact may be explained, I cannot believe that the Christian consciousness will ever reconcile itself to a theory which endeavours to account for the universality of sin by really denying its sinfulness.

A. J. MASON.

¹ Quoted in *F. and O. S.* p. 217.

THE POSITION OF THE LAITY IN THE CHURCH.

THE Report of the Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury on the Position of the Laity has been before the public now for many months without any serious attempt at independent criticism of it, as a whole.

The Report is constructed to support a scheme of Church bodies in which the laity are to be represented by laymen, and their representatives would not materially differ from the lay elders of the Scotch establishment. The theory of the Church of England is that the clerical Convocations are that 'Church by representation' (Canon 139 A.D. 1604), which implies that her clergy represent her laity. That theory rests on the primitive fundamental fact, that in the choice of their clergy of all orders the laity are entitled to a substantial suffrage.

The theory seems to involve the further assumption that, by the action of the Crown or other patron, public or private, and by virtue of the appeal or challenge conveyed in the 'Si quis' document, the demand of that suffrage is adequately met.

As regards lay suffrage in the election of a bishop, the Report contains the following remarks :—

'The bishop *was* emphatically the chosen representative of the brotherhood. It is obvious that, *when this is a reality*, bishops, as such, represent churches in a very special sense. *When it is not a reality*, there is the more need of other modes of touch with the brotherhood, if the brotherhood is to be represented by them, not by fiction but in fact' (p. 12).

The suffrage of the laity in the election of all church officers, if it ever existed in fact, must have existed as a right, fundamental and indelible. That it *did* exist in fact, at any rate as regards bishops, is attested by the Report itself, a few lines above those just quoted, recognizing 'their (the laity's) position in the

election of bishops as a *fact of primary importance*', &c. The words which I italicize in these extracts shew that the Committee regard it as an open question whether the layman's oldest right in Church government is to be treated as a reality or not.

On p. 7 we read, 'When a Church is addressed, the address is to the brethren corporately'—apparently in total forgetfulness of Him who, 'walking in the midst of' the Churches of Asia, addresses each by and through its individual 'angel' (Rev. i—iii). Interpreters differ as to the meaning of the term 'angel'; but whatever else it may mean, it cannot mean 'the brethren corporately'. Yet His words addressed to those angels are to be received as what 'the Spirit saith *unto the Churches*'. Again, to descend to the level of human agency, can any one read the whole narrative of St Paul's last recorded visit and parting charge to the 'elders' of Ephesus, without feeling that he treats them, not merely as office-holders, but as actual representatives of 'the brethren corporately' (Acts xx, especially vv. 20, 31, 35)?

Nor does the Report shew an adequate grasp of what in apostolic and sub-apostolic history may be taken as an elementary fact, viz. that where any choice of any official person is concerned, from the highest to the lowest, even there where the office might seem, to our notions, to be perfunctory only, the lay voice finds its natural and necessary utterance.

This function is so strongly marked in the two conspicuous and decisive precedents of the early apostolic ministry, that it might seem as though they were selected by the Holy Spirit's action as types to be stamped on all Church history from the beginning. They are, the choice of the twelfth Apostle (Acts i 15 *ad fin.*), and the selection of the seven assistants or deacons (vi 1-6). In the former case the 'one hundred and twenty' were parties to whatever was done in the final selection of St Matthias; although *what* the exact mode of procedure was, may perhaps be uncertain. Indeed, to place this unmistakeably on record is probably one reason why that total of brethren is definitely stated. In the second case the whole procedure is clear. Popular election from below concurring with apostolic sanction and commission from above, authority setting thus its seal upon the suffrage of the multitude concerned, gave the surest omens for the harmony of all.

The latter alone of these instances, as 'likely to be typical and exemplary', is briefly touched in the Report, p. 11. Both together should have guided discreet commentators in Acts xv 22. There the R.V. corrects an error of the A.V. by rendering 'Then it seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church to choose men out of their own company¹ and send them', &c. Why is it that 'the whole Church', including the entire unofficial brotherhood, here first comes in for a share in the proceedings? *Not*, as the Report suggests, to share in authorizing the decree, but because the function exercised is elective here—that of choosing official persons to convey and attest it. And to this the words which follow in v. 25 seem to recur, 'It seemed good to us *having come to one accord* to choose out men,' &c. The choice of the envoys had the 'accord' of the united assembly behind it. Viewed in this light the earlier examples of ch. i and ch. vi coincide with that of xv 22, 25, and all cohere in one triple context of precedent. The same principle speaks out in St Paul's claiming for the brethren who were on their way to Corinth (2 Cor. viii 16–24), the status of 'envoys ('apostles') of the Churches,' not like Titus (v. 16) personal legates of his own. Of one in particular, 'whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches', he adds, 'and not that only, but who was also chosen of the Churches to travel with us' on this very errand (vv. 18, 19); and adds emphatically of the entire company that 'they are the messengers of the Churches, the glory of Christ'—Christ's own dignitaries or order of merit, we might render this phrase of startling emphasis. What made them so? Nothing but the one principle of popular choice in the Apostolic Church. They have the suffrage of Christ's Body, and that conveys a patent of nobility. The *vox populi* was on this behalf, when unanimous, the *vox Dei*. St Paul's language flashes out with new life and force when this is recognized. But this is what the Report slurs over in Acts xv 22, in order to ascribe to the laity a *quasi*-share in authorizing the decree, which is a wholly separate matter, and is therefore not conveyed in the narrative until we reach v. 28. 'It seemed good to the Holy

¹ The Greek here is ἐξ αὐτῶν, 'out of themselves', and rendered simply so is more forcible than by the more vague phrase 'their own company'—a curious expression for the whole Church met representatively.

Ghost and to us', i.e. the Apostles and Elders to whom the appeal had been carried. Plain as is the force of this majestic grouping, it is again the supreme point which the Report exactly misses; for it says 'the whole body in general was present and concurred', relying on v. 22, which, as shewn above, has a wholly different reference, viz. to the choice of envoys. In support as it seems of the same error, we further read that—

'There was much argument before St Peter spoke. The effect of his speech was that "all the multitude kept silence"¹ . . . "Kept silence" in this context (especially when compared with the much disputing of v. 7), seems to mean "desisted from disputing". The indications then are against supposing that the brethren were excluded either from presence or from utterance at the meeting.' (pp. 7-8.)

There is an ambiguity in the phrase quoted 'The whole body concurred'. The stranger in the gallery and the public out of doors may 'concur' with the debater in the House; but voice and vote belong to the latter only. To think 'that the brethren were excluded' by any formal regulation 'from utterance' would probably be false; nevertheless, that the discussion was in fact shared by those only who framed the decree, viz. the Apostles and Elders, lies on the face of the narrative. But as the sense attached to ἐσίγησε in v. 12 by the Report rests on a linguistic idiom overlooked, it is proper to shew by a few examples why that sense seems unwarrantable. St Luke for 'desisted from disputing' uses a different verb, ἡσυχάζω not σιγᾶω; see e.g. Acts xi 18, where the circumstances are very similar, only the occasion less public. The very same speaker, St Peter, is there pleading virtually the very same cause, but on more personal grounds, and to an audience of Jewish believers only (ib. v. 2), not mixed, as here. See, again, St Luke xiv 3, where our Lord puts a question to the Pharisees, who 'were watching him', and who, it is implied, should or might have answered, but did not. In both cases St Luke says the persons concerned ἡσύχασαν. See further Acts xxi 14, where he says of himself and company, being unable to dissuade St Paul from his rash venture (as they deemed it) to Jerusalem, ἡσυχάσαμεν—which might be rendered by the exact phrase of the Report, we 'desisted from

¹ Ἐσίγησε πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, Acts xv 12.

disputing'¹. It is worth notice also that except once by St Paul², with whom St Luke has many analogies of language, its use in the New Testament is limited to the latter writer. It is not only his favourite word in this sense, but it is all but peculiar to him.

On the other hand, *σιγάω*, the verb here found (Acts xv 12), bears in St Luke a different shade of meaning. It is used, with its noun *σιγή*, to express a hush in some outbreak of exclamations; see Acts xii 17, where the inmates' evident outcry, startled by St Peter's sudden appearance, is by him checked with a motion of hand—*σιγᾶν*, a motion repeated by St Paul in Acts xxi 40, where the effect is 'a great hush'. In St Luke xviii 39 the best editors prefer to read the same word, expressing that the shouting of the blind man after Jesus should be hushed³. Now this exactly represents what took place in the Council of Jerusalem in Acts xv 12⁴. The habits of ancient public assemblies are best exemplified in those of the Athenian *Ecclesia*. To follow favourite speakers or approved sentiments with cheers, sometimes vociferous, was an ancient custom⁵ and is still a custom.

Probably in no popular assembly of the ancient world were these demonstrations of sympathy wholly unknown; and certainly among Asiatic Greeks or Syro-Greeks they would not be wanting. This is the natural meaning then of the 'hush' which came upon the 'multitude', when St Barnabas and St Paul began to speak (Acts xv 12). The hum or buz of applause which had followed St Peter's address was arrested. The same is probably to be understood in v. 13, where 'after they were hushed' introduces St James's summing up of the debate—'they' including probably

¹ The word is found in this exact sense in the LXX Version; see Neh. v 8, where Nehemiah says of his opponents, they *ἠσέχασαν καὶ οὐχ εὑροσαν τὸν λόγον*, 'desisted and could not find anything to say'; also Job xxxii 6, where Elihu explains his backwardness in taking up the argument against his seniors by the same word.

² 1 Thess. iv 11 'to be quiet', A.V. and R.V.

³ The only exceptional use by St Luke is in ix 36, where 'said nothing about it' (the Transfiguration) or, as we might familiarly render 'hushed it up', is the meaning.

⁴ It is worth notice also that the tense of *ἐσίγησε*, denoting the action of the moment, is strictly proper to this sense, in contrast especially with *ἤκουον* following.

⁵ See Liddell and Scott's *Lex.* under *θορυβέω*, *θόρυβος*, and the references there given.

all present, speakers and applauding hearers together. Having suppressed the real lay function in the election of the envoys, the Report thus finds room for an imaginary lay function in sharing the debate; instead of which what the words convey is that the laity were interested and approving, even applauding, listeners only.

No doubt the emotion proper to a great crisis would pervade the whole brotherhood, and in some such emotional overflow of assent as is here supposed, their feelings would find vent. Such escapes of enthusiasm, although formally superfluous, and adding nothing of authoritative weight, are not therefore valueless. In them the flush of spontaneous emotion seems to pervade the entire body and vibrate even to the extremities.

The principle of elective suffrage in the choice of presiding officials is attested by the epistle of St Clement to the Church of Corinth, and indeed is strongly claimed for that document in the Report itself, which also cites, but hardly with adequate fullness, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (sect. 25)—a document which strongly founds upon this fact the duty of highly respecting those thus elected. These are followed at no long interval by the testimony of St Ignatius, the martyred Bishop of Antioch, urging St Polycarp of Smyrna¹ to convene his council and elect a nuncio (θεόδοτος) to Syria, to assure the Antiochene Church of their unfailing love. By the stress which he lays on election in this inferior and occasional office, he in effect substantiates the case for the whole hierarchy. Amidst much that is obscure, intricate, and fluctuating in title and function, as regards apostles (in the secondary sense), prophets and teachers, bishops, presbyters and deacons, the fact which stands out bold and broad is that, wherever in the apostolic and sub-apostolic age we meet with a permanent ministry, there the elective voice of the laity finds its place, and the representative character thence arising is primary and indissoluble. St Paul in 1 Tim. iii 7 appears to assume it, in his directions about his bishop-presbyter; for he who must have a good report of 'them which are without' (the Church) could not dispense with the supporting voice of them which were within.

¹ *Ad Polycarp.* 7; cf. *ad Smyrn.* 11, *ad Philadelph.* 10.

This highly representative system, in which the clergy were merely the cream of the laity, seems to be the ecclesiastical ideal of the first and following ages; which ideal the Report seemingly fails to grasp in remarking (p. 16) that 'the attempt to include the laity without any machinery of representation' (meaning in Cyprian's time) 'was not likely to be permanently successful'. Cyprian is as clear with regard to the basis of the presbyterate lying ordinarily in lay franchise (although with occasional and rare exceptions, noticed in the Report itself p. 12, par. 2), as he is with regard to that of the episcopate. He is also positive in tracing this custom to apostolic practice: see *Ep.* lxxvii 4, 5 'nec hoc in episcoporum tantum *et sacerdotum*, sed et in diaconorum ordinationibus observasse apostolos animadvertimus. . . . Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est', &c.

He had indeed just above (*ib.* 3 end) reminded the laity that they should withdraw from the sinful *praepositus* and sacrilegious *sacerdos*, because the laity itself 'maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi'. The words '*et sacerdotum*', interposed between *episcoporum* and *diaconorum*, can only refer to the presbyterate, and shew that the *sacerdos* is intended to be similarly distinct from the *praepositus* in the passage just before. Thus the representative system was complete; and not only so—it seems conscious of its completeness. This explains canon 139, as cited above. Amidst whatever shortcomings of fact, the Church of England recognizes its ideal as the apostolic norm to which Cyprian refers.

But there is and always was one lay function which, in the nature of things, it seems impossible to depute even to the most effective and sympathetic representatives—that of giving practical effect to a sentence of excommunication by authority. 'With such an one no not to eat' remains *a brutum fulmen* unless the actual 'thousands of Israel', the men who have doors open and tables spread, take action upon it by closing the door and banning from the board. This was felt by St Paul as much as by St Cyprian—to whom we shall next come—and therefore the Apostle speaks of it (2 Cor. ii 6) as a 'sentence inflicted by the majority' (τῶν πλειόνων). The position of affairs under

Cyprian, owing to certain special difficulties, tasked to the utmost his mixture of winning persuasiveness and weighty authority. But before touching upon those difficulties, one should point out that the Report, where it claims (p. 9) that 'at the councils of bishops the laity were present, not in silence but for active discussion and effective influence' (with references to *Cypr. Ep.* xx 3, lv 6, lxiv 1, xvii 3, xiv 2, xxxiv 4) and that 'they could and did oppose and contradict' (with reference to lix 13 'obnitente plebe et contradicente'), seems to misjudge and misrepresent the real facts of the case. A 'council' of African 'bishops' must mean the council of the province or of some large area of it; e.g. thirty-seven bishops led by Cyprian address *Ep.* lxvii as a reply to certain clergy and laity who had written to consult them. We might fairly assume this to be a provincial council. How any significant portion of the laity of thirty-seven dioceses could meet for 'active discussion and effective influence' in or about 250 A.D. in Africa, it is not easy to imagine. Nor is this what Cyprian means when he speaks of his original plan of 'doing nothing without your (the clergy's) counsel and the consent of the laity' (*Ep.* xiv 4); or when he speaks of a 'process to be fully gone through in detail, not only with my colleagues' (the bishops), 'but with the whole lay body itself' (xxxiv 4).

The title of the letter lxvii above referred to, suggests his method in general. He and his thirty-six colleagues there reply to a letter received from 'Felix a presbyter, and the *congregations localized* at Legio and Asturica, and to Aelius a deacon and a *congregation* at Emerita'. The phrases *plebibus consistentibus* . . . *et plebi* are not otherwise intelligible. These local bodies of laity under their pastors had written to consult Cyprian and the bishops. Obviously therefore, it would be equally easy for these latter to consult each such local body under pastoral leading; and the sequel will shew that this, and not any presence of the laity in council, is what he means when he speaks of obtaining the consent &c. of the *plebs ipsa universa*, because the parts would equal the whole.

The force of excommunication depending, as shewn above, in the last resort upon the general community sympathizing with the sentence, and the laity forming everywhere the vast

majority, caused unusual difficulties in the case of the *lapsi*¹ in the African Church.

Here we have a highly exceptional, perhaps unique, concurrence of circumstances. And to deduce from the steps taken to meet them an argument for the normal state of relations in Church government seems highly hazardous. And the hazard is the greater when we remember that the entire aspect of the case as presented by Cyprian is not deliberative, but judicial. He calls it a *iudicium*, a *cognitio singulorum*. The latter term is well known in Roman law and history, from Cic. *Verr.* ii 2, 25;

¹ This term was applied to those who in various degrees had given way under the persecution which is connected with the name of the Emperor Decius, but considerably outlasted his short reign. We learn that

(1) These *lapsi* constituted the major part of the laity themselves in, probably, every diocese and local congregation; 'plebem nostram ex maxima parte prostravit' (*Ep.* xiv 1, cf. xi 1):

(2) A portion of the clergy, but probably a minority, had shared the defection; 'per lapsum quorundam presbyterorum nostrorum' (*Ep.* xi, cf. xiv 1):

(3) A series of attempts had been made to overbear all discipline by the mere weight of numbers; 'ut pacem . . . extorquere violento impetu niterentur' (*Ep.* xx 3, cf. xv 3, lviii 13):

(4) Among the clergy a party had, unadvisedly and without observing the rules of discipline, granted readmission to communion—the peace of the Church—to many of these *lapsi* on too easy terms, against the counsel of Cyprian (*Ep.* xv 1, xvi 1, 2):

(5) A seditious faction led by Novatus and Felicissimus were on the watch to form a schism out of the discontented and impatient among the *lapsi* (*Ep.* lii 2, lix 1):

(6) A promiscuous and unscrupulous use had been made of the letters of intercession (*libelli*) on behalf of these *lapsi*; 'confessores quoque importuna . . . deprecatione corrumpere, ut sine ullo discrimine atque examine singulorum darentur cotidie libellorum millia contra evangelii legem' (*Ep.* xx 2, cf. xxii 2, xxvii 1, 2).

(7) Cyprian also was, as he confesses to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, personally compromised, by having granted 'peace' to some whose subsequent conduct had shewn them unworthy of his lenity, indulged in opposition to the popular voice which favoured severity; 'unus atque alius obnitente plebe et contradicente, mea tamen facilitate suscepti peiores exstiterunt quam prius fuerant' (*Ep.* lix 15); and another bishop, Therapius, had taken a similar course (lxiv 1) to the embarrassment of discipline.

(8) But the gravest feature of all the complication was that, whereas the *ultima ratio* of discipline depends so largely on the action of the lay body in enforcing sentence, here we find that laity divided against itself—a minority of *stantes* against a majority of *lapsi*. The minority were strong in the moral power gathered from constancy unflinching under trial; the majority had only the strength of numbers and noise. The minority were disposed to the extreme of severity, but in the face of numbers this was not easily maintained. The majority were clamouring for concessions, on terms which, it was felt, were likely to compromise Christian character, and depress the spiritual standard of the whole Church.

also Livy i 49 mentions *cognitiones capitalium rerum*¹. If the lay share in the decisions reached were even larger than appears, no conclusion regarding their share in general Church government, or in general conciliar action, could safely be founded on the fact. But I think it will also appear that the Report has transferred to action in Council what really took place elsewhere, and formed a wholly distinct function there.

It becomes of the greatest importance to trace from Cyprian's letters what the process of discipline actually was, what were the exact steps taken by which reconciliation was effected, and the 'peace of the Church' assured.

Cyprian (*Ep.* lv 4) states his resolution to postpone judgement on the *lapsi* until Divine mercy restored quiet and respite to the persecuted so far as to allow the bishops to meet. Then (*ibid.* 6) he states that accordingly a *copiosus episcoporum numerus* had met, and concluded that the causes, inclinations, and exigencies of individual cases (*singulorum*) should be examined. Again, to Cornelius, then lately chosen Bishop of Rome, he writes (*Ep.* lix 14): 'It was agreed by all of us (bishops), and is equally just and right, that the cause of each individual lapsed should there be heard where his fault was committed', and 'there each should plead his cause where he may have the accusers and witnesses of his delinquency'. Now the notion of this being carried out by a panoramic 'panel' of the lay body of the province of Africa is of course absurd. Such a *levée en masse* was never seen since the Day of Pentecost; and lay representatives—except the clergy—there were none. But take Cyprian's words in their simplest sense and no difficulty is possible. He means to empanel each delinquent among and before what we should call his fellow parishioners. In the above quotation from *Ep.* lix 14 a link was skipped designedly, to be adduced now. Its effect is that 'each pastor has a part of the flock assigned to him, for him to guide and govern, and to give account for to the Lord'. So then every parochial congregation, the local *plebs* under its parish priest was for this purpose a 'Court Christian', as our own forefathers used to call it. Here in detail the *cognitio singulorum* went on. Here the *causae singulorum* would be tried,

¹ It is also the term by which Pliny in his well-known epistle to Trajan describes the process which he pursued against the Christians of Bithynia.

where every face was known on the spot, and every fact was indeed recent and notorious. Here the dwindled flock of the *stantes laici* were disposed on the whole to maintain a stern front of severity; while in Rome, only just across the water, a schismatic party was forming under Novatian, on the sternest lines of puritanic rigour, having for its watchword 'no peace for any once lapsed'. St Paul's golden words in Gal. vi 1 'Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye that are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness', &c., were in danger of losing their power in the headstrong fumes of party-strife. The fewer the *stantes* left, the more numerous obviously the *lapsi*, and the greater, we may be sure, the tendency to be severe. A body of delinquents, outnumbering probably the jury which sat to try them as five to three on the average, would knock at the door of the local church¹, and be introduced as penitents, presenting any letters of confessors, and accompanied doubtless in some cases by actual confessors, pleading on their behalf; nay often, we must suppose, tendering those unauthorized *libelli* by which 'peace' had been, as it were, by connivence or even collusion, unadvisedly granted already—in some instances even by Cyprian himself (see the passage '*mea tamen facilitate suscepti*' &c., lix 15, as already quoted in a note above). Here we may be sure the hot African temperament would shew itself in the *obnitente plebe et contradicente* (*ibid.*)—in hostile murmurs and perhaps angry shouts, expressing the scandalized sense of the local *plebs* at Christian principle compromised. No wonder it taxed to the utmost the long experience and personal influence of Cyprian to retain and enforce an ascendancy over such elements of repugnance and discord. There can be no doubt that, with this burden on his back, he had to go round in person to each *plebs*—holding in fact an exhaustive visitation, or at any rate omitting none where feelings ran high and peace was in jeopardy. This one may infer from his words to Cornelius (lix 15) expressing the extreme difficulty he found in wringing such concession from the exasperated laity: '*plebi vix persuadeo, immo extorqueo, ut tales patiantur admitti*' (*ibid.*). What an instructive and memorable series of local struggles we have before us here!

¹ 'Ad ecclesiam pulsant, ut recipi illuc possint ubi fuerunt' *Ep.* lxxv 5; cf. 'Ne pulsetur ad ecclesiam Christi' lix 13 (end).

How the function of the laity, including that of witness with that of juror (as so often instanced in our own older forms of trial), stands out supreme and indisputable, whether incriminating or compurgating and condoning. Now this is exactly what the Committee in their Report have entirely mistaken. For lack of insight into the spirit of the age, they transfer to some provincial Council what went on in the local congregations. It is as if in the Scotch Establishment one were to confound the parochial Kirk Session with the General Assembly. But lastly, there *was* a Council held to confirm and ratify the conclusions arrived at all round. And here all the elements were rallied, united, and consolidated, in a guarantee for the durability of 'the Church's peace'—bishops, presbyters, deacons and *stantes laici*, viewed as for this purpose the equivalent of the *plebs universa*, which in their voices had given its verdict; and of course pledged by their presence to that effective support of the Church's discipline, which, as above contended, must ever in the last resort lie absolutely and unreservedly in the power of the laity. But beyond this no ground appears for the claim advanced for them in the Report (p. 15)—one of a 'very large and real, though secondary, place in the whole guidance and government and practical administration of the Church of Christ'.

The remaining four chapters of the Report may be dealt with in lesser detail, as they all, in a clear march of developement, involve the same principle—that of (p. 16) 'the long ambiguity between

¹ In the Allocution which appears in *Ep.* xxxiii the Church is said to be constituted 'in episcopo et clero et in omnibus stantibus' (cf. xix 2); more fully in *Ep.* xxxi 6. Certain clergy address Cyprian, echoing, it seems, his advice to them for settling such questions, 'consultis omnibus episcopis presbyteris diaconibus confessoribus et ipsis stantibus laicis'; and the words of the Roman clergy to him (*Ep.* xxx 5) are identical. Thus the concord of all ranks by free expression was established and the *Pax Ecclesiae* secured for and by each and all—but not without exceptions, although the amnesty was general, as may be gathered from lix 15 (already in part quoted): 'quibusdam ita aut crimina sua obsistunt, aut fratres obstinate et firmiter renituntur, ut recipi omnino non possint'. This exactly illustrates the principle, that in a sentence of excommunication the laity have the last word.

But in Cyprian's day we trace nothing of the morbid distrust and supercilious suspicion which pervades the attitude of laity and clergy in our later period. Therefore at a Council the laity might be present not only without any sense of intrusion, but were probably welcomed with open doors; thronging the 'galleries', or their ancient analogues, as in our own Houses of Parliament, as eager and interested listeners.

the corporate brotherhood (the laity proper) and the Christianized State-power'. The form of that State-power was an absolute despotism, in which all constitutional checks were lost; besides which 'a kind of divinity attached to his (the emperor's) person investing it with an influence which perhaps transcended all the rest' of those various authorities and offices, which once tended to balance each other, but were now all lodged in his hands with a prescription of over three centuries (p. 19). Now the constitution of the Church never had been one of absolutism, but rested on a broad basis of democratic election under strict discipline. A total loss of symmetry, balance, and harmony was the result of such a Church fusing itself with such a State-power. Here we have the origin of 'prelacy' in its proper sense. The bishops were almost forced to become Church monarchs, while laxity of discipline made the lay suffrage unmanageable. The State-power, if it included in any degree the corporate brotherhood, could not express it as a spiritual entity, but only as a political one; and, moreover, included with it the vast unsifted mass of semi-pagan half converts who 'worshipped the rising sun'—the *sol invictus* borne upon Constantine's coins with his effigy. Niebuhr has remarked how—

'Entire cities became Christian with the same frivolity with which they proclaimed a new ruler, the population remaining as thoroughly bad as it had been before. It was the greatest misfortune for the world and for Christianity that Constantine made the latter become so quickly the universal religion; the hierarchy grew worse and worse; there still existed indeed popes like Leo the Great, but at the same time many bishops were worthless.'¹

The Church in effect took over the old pagan conception of a quasi-deified despot, veiled, of course, under certain decencies of outward reserve. We are dazzled by the scene of Theodosius a penitent at the gate of Milan Cathedral, but we make a false assumption if we take it to represent the norm. A civil power so headed, as soon as it entered into relations with the spiritual, began necessarily to intrude and usurp; but the gravest fact was that it perpetuated the confusion between the Christian laity and the gross licentious proletariat of the Empire.

¹ Niebuhr's *Lect. on Hist. of Rome*, edited by Dr. L. Schmitz, 3rd ed. 1870, p. 793 (b).

It is, however, of the conditions existing between Church and State within the Roman Empire that the Report proceeds to say:

'We have assumed that the Church was guided by divine Providence into its acceptance of the alliance with the State, and particularly into its acceptance of the opportunity, thereby provided, of meetings for counsel on a large scale.'¹

Indeed, there is no plainer fact on the face of history than that the Oecumenic Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries were organized to represent *both* Church and State; and that, by consequence, to view them as representing the Church only, is a capital error. Yet this is what the Report actually does. Its supposed lay members (of whom more presently) were there as representing the State. To treat them as Christian laymen, voicing the lay element there, is to reproduce in its most mischievously deceptive form 'the ambiguity', stigmatized as such in the above quotation from the Report itself (p. 16).

This confusion indeed between the laity as churchmen and the grandee personages attending Church Councils, presiding in Church Courts (or those which should have been such), and exercising other intrusive functions in the body spiritual, taints every instance alleged in the following and far larger portion of the Report. These personages were chosen, either for their important secular position, or through the favouritism of a despot to whom they had become necessary agents in all affairs of state. They are betrayed by their very titles as *optimates*, as *palatii*

¹ Qualifications certainly follow:—How the result 'on the one side enlarged and on the other obscured the functions of Christian laymen': how to the Emperor was allowed a halo of prerogative, 'like that of Jewish monarchs of the House of David': how 'it became almost impossible for the brotherly corporate spirit of co-operation between clergy and laity . . . to continue in its old simplicity': how the 'conversion' of Constantine 'became much less beneficial than enthusiasts at the time hoped it would be': how 'over and above the absorption of the powers of Christian laymen, there was a gradual assumption by the Emperors of much that belonged to the clerical office': how the arrangements for keeping good order at a council 'obviously gave the secular power enormous influence over the issue': how the resulting position, as summed up in a quotation from Archbishop Bramhall, went to vest in the Emperors all functions except those of actual worship, sacraments, and preaching, so that each could virtually say '*l'Eglise c'est moi*': how 'the "divinity" constantly ascribed to their letters is at the same time a survival of heathen imperialism' (pp. 18-21).—These large deductions in effect confirm the wise words of Niebuhr quoted above.

seniores, as *principes*, *comites*, *duces*, *viri illustres*, &c. In one (a Spanish) instance, 'it is implied that they (the laymen so present) will be chosen by the Council; but as a matter of fact . . . they seem to have been generally chosen by the king' (p. 30). In short, however chosen, they were there for political reasons. The adoption of the Church by the Empire was a political measure. The best title of Constantine to the title of 'the Great' lay in his political insight into the essential demoralization of all the elements of Roman grandeur, and his recognition of the fact that nothing but Christianity could purify and regenerate it. Agreeably to this we read (p. 24):

'The imperial conception of Councils was probably always that which Constantine had in his mind when he summoned bishops to Arles and Nicaea, that they were assemblies of divinely aided experts fit to advise him how to treat a difficult controversy. Hence his relation to a Church Council was, in his opinion, not so much a matter of principle, as one dictated by his own sense of expediency.'

This view prevailing in the cabinet of empire all along, the state officials present at Councils have no connexion with the laity as a spiritual entity, and only represent certain interests present to the mind of the master of the legions. The same is the real character of those present at the Spanish and other Councils, in kingdoms which arose later from the empire's wreck. In short, by the above quotation the whole case for the lay-presence at Councils is effectively given away. But these Court officials, by their presence there, gave a guarantee more or less effectual for the confirmation and maintenance of the Conciliar decisions by the secular authority. At the same time, being laymen still, although as it were *per accidens*, they were the means of diffusing among the general public both the decisions reached and the reasons why. An age like our own, crammed with newspapers and reporters, can ill estimate the value of such channels of information in a period barren of those useful agencies.

From the pre-Norman English Church the Report cites the case of Bishop Wilfrid of York as evincing 'the powerful, we may almost say the conclusive intervention of laity, and . . . the treatment of ecclesiastical affairs of the very highest importance in the great councils of a kingdom of the Heptarchy' (p. 33).

It seems strange that the Committee should fail to see that because they are so plainly the latter, therefore they cannot be the former. Only by themselves perpetrating the confusion of which they complain, between the laity of the Church and the political organization of the secular State, can they sustain their contention. If 'the decree of the king and his counsellors', by which 'Wilfrid was sent to prison', does not represent that State, there is nothing in history which can; and 'the consent of the bishops to their act' shews that the authorities in Church and State acted concurrently (p. 34); but as to any lay right as such it proves nothing at all. Again we read (p. 36) that—

'The Legatine Councils of A. D. 787, which in their very nature were entirely ecclesiastical, were attended by kings and ealdormen, as well as by bishops and abbots, and must therefore be numbered among true Witenagemots.'

It is remarkable that the late Earl of Selborne has expended over twenty pages in disproving exactly that which the Committee here assert (*Ancient Facts and Fictions* ch. III). Among his lordship's remarks is the following on p. 159 (ed. 1888):

'In these proceedings there seems to be nothing inconsistent with the nature of legatine synods, at which the active part was that of the Pope by his legates, others who were present being passive, and merely promising dutiful obedience. For such a purpose, bishops who were strangers to the province might very well be present. . . . But how could these strange bishops take part in an act of civil legislation for the Kingdom of Northumbria? How could bishops of Kent, East Anglia, and Wessex take part in a Witenagemot passing secular laws for the kingdom of Mercia?'

And he concludes thus:

'I think I have established by the simple process of shewing what the form and substance of these Injunctions, from beginning to end, really is, their true nature and character; and that further argument against the proposition that they or any of them were legislative enactments by kings and Witenagemots of any Anglo-Saxon kingdom or kingdoms would be superfluous' (p. 167).

The authority of the late Earl of Selborne stands deservedly high as an acute investigator with a highly trained legal intellect. One would suppose from the way in which the above subject is dealt with in the Report that he had never touched it, or else that the Committee had never heard of him.

But again, assuming for argument's sake that his lordship was wrong, the argument then stands thus: 'because these were the acts of the Witenagemots, therefore they were the acts of the laity of the Church present in its councils by traditional lay right.' But that is exactly what their being the acts of a Witenagemot would exactly *not* prove, but *disprove*. Indeed, the mutual interpenetration of Church and State in this pre-Norman period was so complete, that our historians, from Soames and Turner to Bishop Stubbs, find it impossible to draw a line between them. But, the fusion being thus complete, to resolve the blended elements into clerical and lay, is obviously a false analysis.

The net result reached is: (1) the evidence in favour of the *elective* rights of laity and clergy, for the period down to the conversion of Constantine, is overwhelming; and (2) for the same period any alleged evidence for the presence of laymen as effective members of Church councils disappears before investigation. But with the converted Empire, a change gradually sets in: (*a*) the Emperor and his officials, later the king and his magnates, intrude into positions of influence in Councils; and, having a lay *status* only, yield a pretence to the claim of lay suffrage there, which resolves itself, when examined, into a representation of the secular power; and (*b*) the Emperor and, later, the kings usurp into their hands the nominations to all the important, and sometimes to absolutely all, the sees of their dominion.

This latter process was necessarily a slow and gradual one, for the roots of free election were deep in the soil of Christendom. Several of the Roman bishops of the fifth century attest the tenacity of the right. It may suffice to quote Celestin *Ep.* ii ch. 5: 'Nullus invitis detur episcopus. Cleri, plebis et ordinis (sc. episcopalis) desiderium requiratur.' A capitulary of Charles the Great is cited as prescribing the same condition, which is echoed by the voice of not a few canons of Councils and *dicta* of distinguished fathers. Yet in all the leading kingdoms of the West that voice became gradually stifled by royal usurpation, or by the intrusion of such oligarchies as the chapter of a cathedral or the members of a monastery into the functions of clergy and laity at large.

Thus the Bishops of the Church of England remain to this day

severed organically from their natural root in the clergy and people, as on the whole do the clergy of the parishes from theirs; and this in spite of the overwhelming attestation of all Christian antiquity to the vigour and tenacity of that organism of the 'threefold cord not quickly broken'. On the other hand it is sought to introduce a new factor of laymen representing laymen into the official mechanism of the Church in spite of the total silence of all the ages regarding it. On the wisdom or unwisdom of that introduction it is foreign to the purpose of this paper to raise any question. It is enough to have exposed the illusory character of the support sought in Scripture and Church History for the 'idea of real lay partnership in government' (p. 16).

The Report (p. 11) seems to misrepresent an incident given by the Church historian Socrates as prelude to the Council of Nicaea—'When he (Socrates) says that there came with the bishops a number of lay dialecticians ready to join in argument on both sides, it seems fair to infer that ante-Nicene precedents and assumptions are rather illustrated than contradicted by the fact.'

These 'lay dialecticians' were one of those numerous professional classes which the favourite study of 'rhetoric' had evolved in Greek and later Roman society. They were in fact practitioners looking out for business. Socrates adds that shortly before the bishops assembled at Nicaea they gave public exertitions in the arguments (*προαγώνας τῶν λόγων*), no doubt on either side. They found public interest lively on the question awaiting discussion, and probably netted fees from their audiences. This went on until a layman, one of the 'confessors', a man of much simplicity of character, rebuked the dialecticians, by contrasting their standards and methods with those of Christ and the Apostles. This turned public opinion against them and led them to abandon their argumentations. But all this took place outside the Council doors, and indeed before they were opened. The words of the Report would seem to regard it, not as a piece of professional advertisement, which it really was, but as a proposed medium for conducting the discussions in the Council. This is only so far true as that the dialecticians were ready to 'hold a brief' for the bishops and clergy on either side. To regard it as somehow maintaining a claim of the lay voice to be heard there seems a rather grotesque mistake. Of course they were classed as 'laymen', in the negative sense of having no clerical *status*, although they had accepted the imperial religion.

HENRY HAYMAN.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST JOHN.

II.

§ 4. *The Second Epistle. Who was the Elect Lady?*

DR. WESTCOTT has said that 'it is, on the whole, best to recognize that the problem of the address is insoluble with our present knowledge'. It seems to me far preferable to attempt still to discover a solution. If others disagree with my results, I trust they will continue the search for a better.

'The Elder to one who is an elect lady and her children, whom I love in Truth; and not I only, but also all they that know the Truth.'

She must be indeed a very important lady, for all they that know the truth love her.

So celebrated a personage can hardly be hidden from our view even by the thick mists which cover the first century. Was it one of the daughters of Philip (the deacon or the Apostle, no matter which)? They lived at Hierapolis, and Clement tells us that their father gave them in marriage. One of them is said to have died at Ephesus; hence the words: 'The children of thine elect sister salute thee'; for St John is writing from Ephesus to Hierapolis.

More important, surely, would be Tryphaena, the Queen-dowager, who protected Thecla at Ephesus. She may have been beloved by all [in Asia] who knew the Truth. But who was her elect sister? Tryphosa? Or are not the Tryphaena and Tryphosa of Rom. xvi 12 Roman ladies? And who were her children? It is hardly likely that the ex-Queen of Pontus had Christian children.

If we look elsewhere, in Palestine we might think of the mother of John Mark, whose house was once the meeting-place of the faithful, or the wife of Peter who was (so Dr Bigg assures us) a most important personage in early Church life. I do not think it would be easy to support such suggestions.

If we turn to Rome, Pomponia Graecina may have been dead, but St Flavia Domitilla, niece of Vespasian, and exiled by Domitian, might arrest our fancy. She must surely have disposed of great wealth, and her alms to distant churches (if she gave any) might be the ground for the statement of Dionysius of Corinth that it was the custom of the Romans 'from the beginning' (ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀρχῇθεν, πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος διαφυλάττοντες, Eus. *H. E.* iv 23) to show generosity to the rest of the churches. This would have caused her to be loved 'by all them that know the Truth'. But we have no record of any such thing. And who were her 'children'? Her freedmen Nereus and Achilleus? or her cousin or freedman, Clement of Rome? And can she have had Christian nephews and nieces living at Ephesus?

It seems to me quite clear that the problem is really insoluble on such lines as these. We can never find a lady beloved in all the churches, who had children with her, and who had also sister's children at Ephesus, and whom St John intended shortly to visit. And if such a lady existed, we shall never guess why St John should have written her a little letter recommending the practice of charity and the avoidance of heresy in very general terms. It is neither the letter of a friend nor that of a spiritual director. Some special meaning must lurk under these generalities, else one cannot see why such an epistle should be sent at all.

§ 5. *The Elect Lady is a Church.*

The word ἐκλεκτός is once applied to an individual in the New Testament, 'Ροῦφον τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ' (Rom. xvi 13). St Clement (*ad Cor.* 52 2) applies the adjective to David, and St Ignatius to his companion Rheus Agathopous (*Philad.* xi 1). But the common use of the word was in the expression ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, so frequent in St Paul, St Clement, and Hermas. A Church consisting of the 'elect of God' receives the same attribute. St Peter speaks of ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή (1 Pet.

v 13), and St Ignatius calls the Trallian Church ἐκλεκτὴ καὶ ἀξιόθεος. But St John, who employs the word twice in this epistle, uses it nowhere else except in a single place of the Apocalypse (xvii 14), κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί, said of those who are with the Lamb. It is therefore not a Johannine word.

The idea that it is a proper name is sufficiently refuted by the observation that there must in that case have been two sisters with the same name 'Electa'.

Let us assume that a Church is intended. The advice given becomes much more suitable, and the messages more comprehensible.

§ 6. *The Internal Evidence of the Second Epistle.*

'The Elder to one who is an elect lady, and her children, whom I love in Truth; and not I only, but also all they that know the Truth; for the Truth's sake which abideth in us—and it shall be with us for ever: grace, mercy, peace, shall be with us from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ the Son of the Father, in truth and love.'

The children of the Church need no explanation. It is a Church which St John loves, and a famous Church, for it is loved by all that know the Truth.

The greeting is very noticeable. All the epistles to Churches in the New Testament (nine of St Paul, viz. Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 and 2 Thess., and two of St Peter), have the greeting 'grace and peace'. But in both the letters to Timothy and in that to Titus, St Paul says, 'grace, mercy, and peace', as does St John to the elect lady¹. Shall we argue from this that a lady is really meant, because this was the recognized form of address for private letters? If any one could be satisfied with such an argument, he might be refuted with the awkward fact that St Paul writes to Philemon simply 'grace and peace', while St John says nothing of the sort to Gaius. The simple explanation is that in his ten earlier epistles St Paul used χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη, and that the addition of ἔλεος is peculiar to his three latest greetings. The connexion of 3 John with the Pastoral epistles will come before us presently.

¹ The only other parallel is Jude, 'mercy unto you, and peace and charity be multiplied', but here 'grace' is omitted, and 'charity' inserted, against all precedent.

'I rejoice greatly that I have found of thy children walking in Truth, even as we received commandment from the Father.'

St John has found some of the Church's children walking in truth. This does not mean that they believed rightly; it would be a poor praise to say that *some* of the Christians in a Church are found to be orthodox. The same phrase twice used in the third epistle we found to mean that Gaius had been doing a good action. Here the meaning is plainly: 'I rejoiced greatly when I heard that some of your children had practised some remarkable virtue, according to the Father's commandment.'¹ What was this particular act of virtue? It was not brotherly love, ἀγάπη, as in the case of Gaius, for that was the 'new command' of Jesus Christ, and would hardly be called a command of the Father, and St John gives it immediately afterwards. Nor are any of the Commandments of the old law meant: it is a command which 'we', that is Christians, have received. St John has a way of referring back from one passage to another by the use of certain catchwords. This is above all noticeable in his first epistle, a careful study of which reveals a system of continual reference to words of our Lord reported in the Gospel. But then the first epistle is without doubt (as Lightfoot, amongst others, has pointed out, *Essays on Sup. Rel.* pp. 187, 188), an introduction or *envoi* to the Gospel. Yet, even here, in the second epistle, we may venture to interpret St John by St John. In the Gospel our Lord says: 'Therefore doth the Father love Me: because I lay down my life that I may take it again. No man taketh it from Me; but I lay it down of Myself, and I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it up again. This commandment have I received of My Father' (x 17, 18). Ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς μου: this is nearly the same as our καθὼς ἐντολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς. For the command is to all Christians, upon occasion, as well as to Christ: 'In this we have known the charity of God, in that He hath laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down

¹ It is only in 2 and 3 John that περιπατεῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ occurs, but it is parallel to the walking in light or darkness of the first Epistle (i 6, 7, ii 11), of the Gospel (viii 12, xii 35), and perhaps of the Apocalypse (xxi 24). It certainly refers to right conduct according to right teaching, and not to right belief. The Hebraistic metaphor περιπατεῖν is used more variously and freely by St Paul than by St John.

our lives for the brethren.' It is, then, a possible hypothesis that St John had rejoiced in hearing of the glorious martyrdom of some of the sons of the Church to which he writes.

'And now I pray thee, Lady, not as writing a new commandment to thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another. And this is love, that we should walk according to His commandments. This is the commandment, even as ye heard from the beginning, that ye should walk in it (love).'

That St John (who in his old age, according to St Jerome¹, could say nothing to his children but 'love one another', when carried to the Church to address them), should mention the 'new commandment', is of no special significance. But it would surely be unnecessary to tell a mother and her children to love one another, unless family quarrels were anticipated or had occurred, while it can never be supererogatory to remind a Church of the command of the Lord which, *si solum fiat, sufficit*.

'Which we had from the beginning', 'as ye heard from the beginning'. This can hardly mean 'the time when the Church was founded', on account of the 'we'². It appears to imply that this Church was founded 'in the beginning', that is, either on the day of Pentecost (in which case only Jerusalem could be meant), or at least at the dispersion of the Apostles, twelve years later, which might be looked upon as practically 'the beginning'. Then, of the great churches, Antioch and Rome come into competition. There are reasons for thinking that the Roman tradition in 160-70 placed the coming of Peter in the twelfth year after the Passion, and the death of Peter and Paul twenty-five years later³. If this tradition was true, it is not a mere coincidence that St Irenaeus, with the (dated) list of Roman

¹ *Comm. in Gal.* vi 11, Bk. iii vol. vii p. 529.

² 'Which we had from the beginning' would naturally mean 'which we Apostles heard from Christ'; and 'as ye heard from the beginning' would mean 'which you heard when the Gospel was first preached to you'. But by this we get two different meanings for 'from the beginning', and further, it is not easy to exclude the elect lady from the 'we'. I therefore prefer the view in the text, that the writer, about A.D. 90-5, can look back to the years 29 and 41 as 'the beginning'.

³ I urged this in the *Revue Bénédictine*, 1901-2, on the chronology of the Roman catalogues. When I wrote the first of the three articles, I was strongly prejudiced against both of these dates, and against the twenty-five years' episcopate. In the second article I gave the reasons which changed my opinion, and they may convince others also.

bishops before him, calls the Roman Church *antiquissima* (*Haer.* iii 3). Anyhow, it had been founded many years when St Paul wrote to the Romans, and was already famous for its faith.

'Because many deceivers are gone out¹ into the world, even they that confess not Jesus Christ coming in flesh: this is the deceiver and the antichrist.'

The same heresy is denounced as in 1 John iv 2 (cf. John i 14). It is the Docetism of Cerinthus, which was still the main danger in Asia in the time of St Ignatius, just after the death of St John. The false teachers had been members of the Asiatic churches, but they left their brethren and 'went forth into the world'. Elsewhere St John describes their apostasy more fully: 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us; but it was in order that it might be made plain that they were not of us, all of them' (1 John ii 19). Having no more footing in the Asiatic churches, they had evidently turned their attention elsewhere, and St John expects them to make an attempt to get from another important Church that recognition which they had been refused at Ephesus.

'Look to yourselves, that you may not lose (destroy) the things which you have wrought², but may receive a full reward. Every one that goeth forward and abideth not in the teaching of Christ hath not God; he that abideth in the teaching, the same hath both the Father and the Son. If any one cometh unto you, and beareth not this teaching, receive him not into your house, and give him no greeting; for he that giveth him greeting hath fellowship with his evil works.'

The Church is warned not to receive the heretics if they come. 'Into your house' has a mystical sense, and so has 'give him no greeting'. They are not to be received to Church membership, to the kiss of peace and to Communion, else the Church herself will be answerable for their heresy, and defiled therewith.

'Though I have many things to write to you, I would not with paper and ink; but I hope to be present with you, and to speak face to face, that your joy may be fulfilled. The children of thine elect sister greet thee.'

¹ Reading ἐξῆλθαν, with NAB. Iren. Lucif.

² Reading ἐργάσασθε with NA. What they had wrought was the 'walking in truth'.

The elect sister will be the Church of Ephesus. Perhaps St John would have given the names of the heretics, if he had not been afraid of his letter getting into wrong hands.

We have arrived so far at the result that the letter has two objects—to congratulate a Church on the virtue (martyrdom?) of some of her children, and to warn her against receiving certain heretics who were thought to have left Asia for the purpose of gaining her to their views.

§ 7. *The close connexion between the Second and Third Epistles, and of both with 2 Tim. and 1 Peter.*

The second and third epistles have a close likeness to the first, but their connexion with one another is closer still.

2 John

1. ὁ πρεσβύτερος . . . οὗς ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

4. ἐχάρην λίαν (ὅτι εὗρηκα . . .) περιπατοῦντας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

12. Πολλὰ ἔχων ὑμῖν γράφειν οὐκ ἐβουλήθην διὰ χάρτου καὶ μέλανος· ἀλλὰ ἐλπίζω γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ στόμα πρὸς στόμα λαλήσαι. Ἀσπάζεται σε (τὰ τέκνα . . .).

3 John

1. ὁ πρεσβύτερος . . . ὃν ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

3. ἐχάρην γὰρ λίαν . . . καθὼς σὺ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ περιπατεῖς.

13. Πολλὰ εἶχον γράψαι σοι, ἀλλ' οὐ θέλω διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου σοι γράφειν· ἐλπίζω δὲ εὐθέως σε ἰδεῖν, καὶ στόμα πρὸς στόμα λαλήσομεν. Ἀσπάζονται σε (οἱ φίλοι).

The subject-matter which forms the body of the epistles is different, but the commencement and the conclusion of each letter have a remarkable coincidence of formulas. The habit of writing just in this way would surely not last for years, in one who probably did not write a great quantity of letters. I think we may presume that the two letters are separated by no great distance of time.

There is another curious coincidence. We have seen that the emphasis of the testimony to Demetrius was occasioned by a contrary estimate of him in 2 Timothy. In the second epistle we find another connexion with the Pastoral epistles in the formula 'grace, mercy, truth'.

Yet another coincidence:—there is a manifest reluctance to mention the place whence Demas 'went out for the Name's

bishop ~~was~~ ^{was} seen that Rome was intended. In the same
iii 3). ~~A just cause~~ ^{A just cause} is equally a determination not to mention its desir-
wrote to ~~have~~ ^{have} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~name~~ ^{name} of the 'elect lady'.

the ἐκκλησίᾳ Κυρία cannot but remind us of the ἐκκλησίᾳ of 1 Peter; is not there a reminiscence of 2 John? At all events 3 John has another reminiscence with 1 Peter, which needs some explanation.

The ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~area~~ ^{area} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~sent~~ ^{sent} ~~to~~ ^{to} the Christians of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia (i 14). It ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~sent~~ ^{sent} ~~to~~ ^{to} Bithynia. We may understand by 'Galatia' danger in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~area~~ ^{area} which St Paul thus named according to the ~~of~~ ^{of} St John ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~theory~~ ^{theory}. The description is thus intended to churches, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~whole~~ ^{whole} of the Roman part of the peninsula world'. ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~eastern~~ ^{eastern} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~western~~ ^{western} parts had been evangelized by St Paul. 'They went ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~northern~~ ^{northern} parts probably by his disciples, for that had been ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~area~~ ^{area} ~~where~~ ^{where} ~~there~~ ^{there} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~a~~ ^a ~~guess~~ ^{guess} of Origen's. Perhaps in order that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~letter~~ ^{letter}, is the Silvanus of 2 Cor. and all of them ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~and~~ ^{and} the Silas of Acts; and he may have been Asiatic churches ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~this~~ ^{this} ~~missionary~~ ^{missionary} work ever since he disappeared elsewhere, at ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Acts~~ ^{Acts} xviii.

get from any ~~part~~ **had**, during his first imprisonment, sent to Asia had been refused **of** advice and consolation. St Peter writes

'Look to ye churches and to those that had since grown up, and which you have surprised to find that he has consulted the former that goeth forward, to see what the founder of the churches God; he that is to be suitable admonition'; for St Peter probably and the Son. them personally, and had possibly never been teaching, receive the obvious explanation of the extraordinary for he that give in St Paul's circular letter to the Ephesians

The Church of St Peter to the same address. Peter to write? It is very important *console them in a time of persecution, them to endure under a persecution* any to think of St Peter as settled in Rome.

'Though I have no paper and ink; but with the face, that your joy I greet thee.'

¹ Reading ἐξηλθαν.

2 Reading εἰργάσασθαι
truth'.

the date (64-5) I have assigned

which appears to be impending. There is nothing to shew that the Asiatics had suffered at all, up till now, but there is much said to brace them up to bear what they may have reason to expect.

I have already said that I do not think that St Peter and St Paul were martyred in 64 during the first fury of the Neronian persecution. But I believe (with Mommsen and most of the chief authorities, against Ramsay) that the name of Christian was made a legal crime from that year onwards. The persecution of 64 raged at Rome only; but it endangered the Christians throughout the world. Peter was very likely not in Rome in 64, but the persecution brought him back, and Mark came also (1 Peter v 13) having been brought by Timothy from Ephesus, as St Paul requested (2 Tim. iv 11). St Paul may also have hurried to Rome at the news of the awful horrors wrought by Nero after the fire. Perhaps he arrived before St Peter, and for this reason does not mention him in his epistles¹.

Titus and 1 Tim. were no doubt written before the persecution, so that St Paul may have been in Rome all the time. If 2 Tim. was written as early as 64, there is no difficulty in supposing that St Paul was mistaken in expecting the crown of martyrdom at once. He had been mistaken on a former occasion when he supposed at Miletus (Acts xx) that the Ephesians would see him no more, for in 2 Tim. iv 21 we find he has been again to Miletus.

St Peter, believing that the persecution would spread, wrote a long letter to the Churches of Asia, whose Christian population probably greatly outnumbered that of the whole of the rest of the Roman world. The 'Christian name' was now forbidden, as it was in Pliny's time, who asks Trajan whether '*nomen ipsum si flagitiis careat*' is really to be punished, or whether '*flagitia cohaerentia nomini*' are not rather intended. Trajan's answer makes it plain that the name itself was legally a sufficient crime.

¹ We might also interpret his silence as the earliest example of prudent care which arose from the danger of Peter, who must have been known to the government by name. (The persons mentioned by St Paul were in less danger, being, like himself, Roman citizens, and perhaps of high rank.) But such an assumption would be very precarious.

This throws a brighter light on 1 Peter iv 14, 16: 'If you be reproached for the Name of Christ, you shall be blessed . . . but if (he suffer) as a Christian, let him not be ashamed.' The whole accusation would be 'he is a Christian'. And the passage in 3 John becomes actually a case in point: 'They went out for the Name's sake' from Rome, under the persecution of Nero. We are not so much to understand 'for the name of Christ' (as in so many passages of the Gospels 'for My Name's sake') but 'for the name of Christian'.

Now it is impossible that a circular letter of St Peter to the Churches of Asia should be unknown to St John, when he lived at Ephesus as the ruler of those churches. If he wrote to Rome, it would naturally come into his head to think of the letter once sent from Rome to Asia, and to recollect the way in which St Peter had avoided mentioning the place from which he wrote. St John also knew that he must name no names, and he takes up St Peter's idea and plays with it: 'The fellow-elect in Babylon greets us, does she? I have to write to her,—I will greet the elect lady and her children, and send her the salutation of her elect sister in Ephesus.'

This seems to give the clue we need in a very simple fashion. In 1 Peter there is no doubt as to the meaning of 'the fellow-elect'. He is writing to churches, and 'that which is elect also with them' is not a lady but a church; the recipients of the epistle could make no mistake. Further, they knew where St Peter was, and this would interpret the mystery of 'Babylon'. Besides (as Dr. Bigg has pointed out) Silvanus was not deaf and dumb.

But St John's letter presents an enigma, and without a key it could hardly be guessed; the bearer would have to explain the whole, and the metaphor would fall rather flat.

If we imagine that it is sent to those who knew well St Peter's earlier epistle¹, and who were aware that 'the fellow-elect in Babylon' referred to themselves, they had the key in their hands, and misinterpretation would be impossible.

And now comes in as a confirmation a remark already made:

¹ 1 Peter was known to Clement of Rome and Hermas of Rome; while its citation by Papias (Euseb. *H. E.* iii 39) will answer for its circulation in the Johannine circle.

ἐκλεκτός is not a Johannine word. St John's vocabulary in the gospels and the three epistles is strangely limited. This word occurs nowhere else in them. There must be some special reason for its use. It is borrowed. It can be borrowed only from the one similar passage, that of St Peter.

It need not follow that the reply was sent soon. The longer the interval, the better known would be the epistle of Peter. It was still ringing in St John's ears in Patmos, when he saw Rome as Babylon, according to the mystical language suggested by St Peter: 'A mystery; Babylon the great, the mother of the fornications, and the abominations of the earth. And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' (Apoc. xvii 5). 'Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath judged your judgement upon her' (*ib.* xviii 20). The holy apostles are, of course, St Peter and St Paul, martyred in Rome thirty years previously. What was their judgement against her? I think 1 Peter v 13 suggests part of the reply. In calling Rome Babylon (as the Jews had often done) the Apostle had suggested the application to her not merely of the character of Babylon, but of the doom of Babylon, as foretold by Isaiah, and St John works out the idea (in language inspired by Isaiah and by Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre) in his vivid xviiith chapter of the Apocalypse.

We may now turn to the coincidences with 2 Tim. If 2 and 3 John were written about the same time, St John will have been forced to look for a copy of 2 Tim., to see what St Paul had said against Demetrius, nay, the enemies of Demetrius will have thrust it upon his notice. Here was another letter from Rome to Ephesus. Just as he had returned the greeting of the 'fellow-elect' by saluting her back as the 'elect lady', so he repeats the peculiar greeting of St Paul to Timothy, 'grace, *mercy*, peace'. Is this too far-fetched and fanciful? Was it not perhaps a mere coincidence that St John adds 'mercy' to the familiar 'grace and peace'? The reply is rather startling. Ἐλεος is again a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in St John, though it is fairly common in Matthew, Luke, Paul, and James. Why should St John use so unaccustomed a word (he never uses ἐλεέω; ἐλεεινός occurs only once, and that in the Apocalypse, which has a different vocabulary), unless he was borrowing?

To sum up. There are remarkable coincidences between 2 John and 3 John in the epistolary formulas; the expression *περιπατεῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ* is peculiar to these epistles; each of them has subtle coincidences or connexions with 2 Tim., and with 1 Peter. All this confirms in a remarkable way the contention of Dr Zahn, that the two letters were written by the Apostle on the same day, and sent by the same messenger¹. We have seen that Demas and his companion or companions were travelling towards the West. They were to stop a night at Thessalonica, and Gaius would speed them on the journey along the Egnatian way to Rome, where they would deliver 3 John to St Clement. It will not be, then, a mere accident that these two letters have survived together. Demetrius, of course, kept a copy of the valuable testimonial he had obtained, and the companion letter was naturally preserved with it. The letter to a Church took rank as no. 2, before that to an individual.

The two visits promised by St John, 'that we may speak mouth to mouth', were evidently to be realized in a single journey. Diotrophes had not expected St John to interfere in Macedonia; but he was unaware that the Apostle wished, like St Paul, 'to see Rome', and that he intended to take Thessalonica on the way.

§ 8. *Clement of Alexandria interpreted the 'Elect Lady' as the Church of Rome.*

The oldest interpretation of our epistle is that preserved in the Latin *Adumbrationes* of Clement of Alexandria, and he appears most certainly to understand the epistle as addressed to the Church of Rome.

'Secunda Ioannis Epistola quae ad virgines scripta est simplicissima. Scripta vero est ad quamdam Babyloniam Electam nomine, significat autem electionem Ecclesiae sanctae.'

Now there is no mention of Babylon in St John's epistle. Is, therefore, Clement confusing it with 1 Peter? I think it impos-

¹ *Einleitung* ii p. 581. Zahn has further supposed that 2 John is actually referred to in 3 John 9: 'I wrote a few words to the Church.' We have, however, seen in analysing 3 John that this certainly refers to the letter of introduction which Demetrius had taken to Thessalonica on his former visit, and which Diotrophes had spurned.

sible to suspect him of such stupidity. In the *Adumbratio* on 1 Peter there is no comment on the words ἀσπάζεται υἱὸς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, but only on the words which follow καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱὸς μου: 'Salutat vos Marcus filius meus', and on this Clement says that Mark was persuaded by the Romans to commit to writing what Peter preached. Either this must be taken to imply the explanation that ἡ συνεκλεκτή is the Church of Rome or else some definite statement to the same effect had preceded in the original Greek, of which the Latin may here be an abbreviation.

For *ad virgines* we should certainly read *ad virginem*. This was later corrupted not merely into παρθένους, but into Πάρθους; hence the *ad Parthos* of St Augustine and others¹.

Why *ad virginem*, since the elect lady has children? Clearly because Clement is about to explain that a church is meant.

The translation, or paraphrase, is inaccurate or corrupt, and we may perhaps make another correction, by placing a comma after *Electam*, and reading 'nomine autem significat'. The sense will be:

'The second epistle of John, which is addressed to a virgin, is most easy to understand. It is written to a certain Electa of Babylon, and by this name he signifies the election of the holy Church [there]';

and the Greek may have been: 'Ἡ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δευτέρα ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς πάρθενον γραφεῖσα ἀπλοτάτη (οἱ ἀπλουστάτη) ἐστίν. Ἐγράφη μὲν οὖν πρὸς τινα Βαβυλωνίδα Ἐκλεκτήν· τῷ δὲ ὀνόματι σημαίνει τὴν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐκλογὴν. The Latin is probably servilely literal, giving even the order of the words of the Greek. The awkwardness of *nomine* for *hoc nomine* is explained if the Greek had simply the article without τούτῳ.

Clement says Babylon, not Rome, because he is naturally thinking of the similar passage of St Peter. But he knows that his readers will be aware that Rome is meant, for either he has just stated, in commenting on 1 Peter, that Babylon means Rome, or else (if nothing has dropped out there in the Latin) he

¹ In his third vol. of *Forschungen*, pp. 100-103, Zahn takes the converse view, that παρθένους is a corruption of Πάρθους. But his explanation of Πάρθους is impossible, since Clement certainly identified the συνεκλεκτή of 1 Peter with the Church of Rome. See Bardenhewer *Gesch. der altkirch. Litt.* vol. 2 pp. 47, 48, note, who however renounces the task of explaining *ad Babyloniam electam nomine*.

had assumed in that place also that the reader would need no interpretation, and had mentioned what Mark did at Rome without explaining the connexion¹.

§ 9. *The silence about the Roman Church.*

In commenting on the third epistle I have already stated that there is a conspiracy of silence with regard to the Roman Church from the persecution of Nero in 64 until the rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, which, while not rescinding the established principle, inaugurated a period of comparative toleration (between 117 and 138). It is true that Hermas mentions St Clement, and the early part of his work in which the mention occurs may conceivably have been written in the episcopate of Clement², for Hermas was evidently a young man at the time, with small children. But his book as a whole was published later.

It was not unnatural that greater precautions should be needed in the capital than elsewhere. There are other instances of catacombs (as Syracuse, Padua, &c.), but the extraordinary developement of these underground labyrinths at Rome is unparalleled, and would be incredible if we merely knew of it from ancient writers and not by ocular demonstration³. Every decree which emanated from Rome would be put in force there first, and more energetically than elsewhere. We see the results in the mystery to which Tacitus is witness as surrounding the

¹ A confirmation of this suggestion that something has dropped out is to be found in Euseb. *H. E.* ii 15, who gives a traditional account of St Mark's Gospel, which he has made up from this passage of Clement and from the passage of Papias which he quotes, iii 39. He states that 'they say' that St Peter meant Rome by the name Babylon. This does not necessarily mean that Clement and Papias said so; but it is natural to suppose that this piece of information, which he gives as an afterthought, came from one of the sources he had just quoted, viz. from the Hypotyposes of Clement. Harnack has taken a view somewhat adverse to this suggestion (though he speaks of Papias, not of Clement) in the *Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissensch.* 1902, 2 'Pseudopapianisches'.

² So Harnack thinks. The young slave may have persuaded Grapte to read his vision to the old women, but the presiding presbyters are not likely to have consented to listen to him, nor will Clement have actually sent his volume to the other churches! (see *Revue Bénédictine*, 1902, p. 155).

³ Though not primarily intended for hiding-places, they were certainly used for the concealment of Christian rites.

Christians. In 115-17 he writes that Christianity is an 'exitiabilis superstitio', numbered among things 'atrocia aut pudenda', that Christians were convicted of 'odium humani generis', they were 'sontes, et novissima exempla meriti'. The great and careful historian thinks he knows all about them, yet he knows nothing. How different things were in Bithynia and Pontus, we learn from Pliny, the intimate friend of Tacitus, writing a few years earlier under the same emperor. The numbers of the Christians were there so great that the temples were becoming deserted, and the solemnities had been discontinued. Pliny says it would be an impossibility to punish such a multitude, and besides they appeared to be harmless. He knows of their early meetings for the 'sacrament' (which he naturally supposed to be an oath), and their high moral teaching. But another friend of Pliny, Suetonius, not in Asia but at Rome, thinks that 'Chrestus' was the leader of the Jews whom Claudius banished from Rome, that the Christians under Nero practised magic ('superstitionis novae ac maleficae'). It may or may not be true that Seneca, before the persecution of Nero, had made the acquaintance of St Paul; but it is evident that under Trajan the Christians were an obscure sect in Rome, and that the great and the learned in the capital knew nothing of their religion. Their numbers were also probably not enough to make them formidable, though there must have been many more Christians in the capital than the heathens had any idea of.

There are other instances of this secrecy. The sin of the children of Hermas, for which he ought to have punished them, was apparently that they got under the influence of some pagans, used some bad words, betrayed the fact that their parents were Christians¹, and joined with heathen children in vicious practices. This is represented as taking place in the time of Clement, who died in 99. Again, apart from the letter of Clement, we know absolutely nothing of the Roman bishops of this period, except their dates,—of Linus, Anencletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander,

¹ *Vis.* ii 2, 2 τὸ σπέρμα σου, Ἑρμᾶ, ἤθετησαν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προέδωκαν τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἤκουσαν προδῶται γονέων καὶ προδόντες οὐκ ὠφελήθησαν, κ.τ.λ. Perhaps the fault of Hermas's wife (οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς γλώσσης) is also that she was in danger of betraying her faith. Ἦκουσαν προδῶται probably means 'got the reputation of traitors' with the Christians.

Sixtus¹. The latter succeeded in the first year of Hadrian, and emerges from the mist in the mention of him by St Irenaeus (Fragm. of Ep. to Victor, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v 24), with regard to the Paschal question.

In connexion with this secret character of the persecuted Roman Church, we must notice the following remarkable examples of silence:

1. When St Ignatius wrote to the Romans, he took care to mention no names, not even that of the bishop, which he must have known² (before 117).

2. When St Clement wrote to the Corinthians he wrote in the name of his Church, but suppressed his own name (c. 95).

3. When St John wrote his Apocalypse he gave to Rome the mystic name of Babylon (c. 95)³.

4. In the third epistle of St John there is a careful avoidance of the name of Rome, and a very guarded reference to the persecution there.

5. While 1 Peter gives the names of the churches to which it is sent, the place from which it is sent is 'Babylon' (c. 67?).

6. It is natural to quote 2 John as a sixth instance of the avoidance of the name of Rome, and to see in the 'Elect Lady' the Roman Church.

§ 10. *Additional Considerations.*

1. Caspari has given a very full list of heretics, who went to Rome in the course of the second century and the first years of the third, to make converts and to get recognition⁴. It is

¹ Yet the mention in the Canon of the Mass, of Linus, Cletus, Clement (I believe this order to imply a date earlier than Hippolytus), suggests that all this careful secrecy did not prevent these three at least from becoming martyrs.

² Of course there was one, as I have more than once argued elsewhere against Harnack; for St Ignatius says that without a bishop and priests ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται (*Trall.* iii 1).

³ The Apocalypse is written in exile, before the death of Domitian. The writer is consequently so guarded in his language that he mentions no single Christian by name except Antipas, who was no doubt dead. He avoids the names of the bishops of the churches, of the altar of Augustus and Rome at Pergamus, of 'that woman Jezebel', of Peter and Paul, slain at Rome, &c., &c. So at the very beginning of the Decian persecution, the Roman priests and deacons sent a letter to the Church of Carthage without address or salutation—a letter which they were possibly ashamed afterwards to own as theirs (Cyprian, *Ep.* 8).

⁴ *Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols* vol. iii p. 310 sqq.

curious that nearly all of them began in Asia Minor. If the foregoing conjectures are right, one more item will be added to the long catalogue, and somewhat earlier than any of the others; it will be seen that the Cerinthians, like the heresies which succeeded them, started among the populous and prosperous Christian communities of Asia, and when they had gained a party on the one hand, and yet had failed on the other to infect the main body of Christians, they migrated to the capital, to try their fortune there.

2. 'The Elect Lady, whom I love in the truth, and also all they that have known the Truth.' If these words apply to Rome, which St John had doubtless never visited, they are a curious parallel to the affection expressed long before by St Paul for the Church in the capital, which he had never seen: 'I must also see Rome' (Acts xix 21), 'Your faith is spoken of in the whole world', 'God is my witness . . . that without ceasing I make a commemoration of you always in my prayers . . .' (Rom. i 8-9). Here we have both the personal love of the Apostle, and that of the whole world. Again St John writes: 'For I hope that I shall be with you, and speak face to face, *that your joy may be full*'. How like St Paul's: 'If by any means now at length I may have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you; for I long to see you, *that I may impart unto you some spiritual grace to strengthen you*' (Rom. i 10-11); and again; 'I hope that as I pass I shall see you . . . and I know that when I come to you, I shall come in the abundance of the blessing of the gospel of Jesus Christ'.

3. These exact parallels (which I give for curiosity, not for argument) are remarkable enough. But the sequel is stranger still. St Paul did indeed see his desire fulfilled. He went to Rome, but in bonds. And St John, if we follow the story of Tertullian, also saw his wish accomplished. He was sent for by the tyrant Domitian, as the only surviving disciple of Jesus Christ, and he too went on the desired journey at the will of the emperor. Truly man proposes, and God disposes. The 'spiritual gift' and 'abundant blessing' which Paul gave, were his martyr's death; and that the joy of the Romans 'might be full', not only the Princes of the Apostles, but also the beloved Disciple, were to bear witness to the faith before her rulers.

4. The date of these two epistles will be before St John's trial before Domitian, that is to say, not later than 95, and probably earlier. The martyrs (if martyrs are referred to) may have been the earliest martyrs under Domitian, or they may have been unknown martyrs of an earlier date, or even simply those of the Neronian persecution.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

DOCUMENTS

THE SYRIAN LITURGIES OF THE
PRESANCTIFIED. III.

EAST SYRIAN, OR PERSIAN.

THIS liturgy, now obsolete, is contained in two manuscripts: Add. 1988 in the Cambridge University Library, dated A. Gr. 1870 (A. D. 1559), and written by Isho'yabb, metropolitan of Nisibis, Mardin, and Armenia; and Add. 7181 in the British Museum collection, finished at Gazarthā A. Gr. 1881 (A. D. 1570), and not so fully detailed as the preceding. In the British Museum text, it is attributed to 'Abhdisho', bishop metropolitan of Elam, or Gandisapor, the writer of an *Exposition of the Mysteries*, under the catholicos Sabhrisho' IV (A. D. 1222-5): in the Cambridge MS the authorship is assigned to Israel, bishop of Kashkar (Wasit) in the patriarchal province of Seleucia (+ A. D. 877).

The rite is constructed in the same manner as the Jacobite Presanctified, from which the idea may have been borrowed by the Nestorians of the plains, and is adapted to the normal Persian liturgy. The anaphoral prayer, from the fact that it is covered by the *kazutha* (Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western* p. 271. 19), would seem to correspond to the 'First gēhantha' of the Mass, and of Baptism. The absence of the lections is customary in the ferial *Ḳurbana* (Assemani *B. O.* iii [2] p. 316).

The use of the Persian Presanctified is obscure. The Orthodox and Jacobite practice is precluded by the condemnation of Elias bar Shinaya of Nisibis (v. note 2, p. 369). George of Arbela (fl. A. D. 960), in his *Questions on the ministry of the altar*, states that 'because the priests cannot watch over the Treasure that remains to them, they distribute it among the people,' and at the present day the Nestorians do not permit reservation, in accordance with Canon XX of the catholicos John V bar Abgare (A. D. 900): v. Assemani *B. O.* iii (1) p. 244. Yet Isho' bar Non (+ A. D. 826) asserts that some doctors allow the Body to remain for three days in case of necessity (*ib.* p. 244), and John himself in Canon XXIII prescribes the course to be followed in the reservation of the mysteries after Mass: if the Body alone remain, it is to be left upon the altar with lights before it; if both species, 'through lack of one to

order (i. e. consume) them, let him, who is their minister, know that he must stand upon his feet, until the time of the ordering (ܩܒܠܬܐ, i. e. consumption), whether it be night or day.' Barhebraeus also mentions a Canon of 'the Persians,' according to which the altar, on which the kurbana remains, is not to be left without a light throughout the night. The present rite would therefore seem to provide for the contingency of the Body alone remaining; for the consecration of a new chalice by the 'Signing', rendered necessary by the previous consumption of the Blood, would not be needed, were both species to remain.

There is some obscurity as to the precise meaning of ܩܒܠܬܐ 'Treasure'. George of Arbela, and John bar Abgare (Canon XX) seem to imply that it is the host itself, and this is borne out by the fact that the ܩܒܠܬܐ is also called ܩܒܠܬܐ. Though Isho'yabh of Arzon states that the host is reserved in the ܩܒܠܬܐ, it would seem from the rubric of the Cambridge text that ܩܒܠܬܐ is the vessel considered as containing the host, further on called ܩܒܠܬܐ, a word of some vagueness, but usually, at least among the Jacobites, a synonym of 'paten,' i. e. a flat dish, turned up at the sides. The precise meaning is further obscured by the use in the title of the 'Signing' (p. 539, line 1) of ܩܒܠܬܐ, which normally implies equivalence.

A difficulty also arises in the rubric 'when the Treasure remains in the night, in which the Holy Thing is baked'. The 'Signing of the Chalice' would seem superfluous, for the baking of the bread immediately precedes the celebration of Mass, at which the elements, remaining over from the previous day could be consumed: and the use of such a liturgy on the same day as the offering of the Kurbana, even by a different priest, is alien to the genius of the modern Nestorian rite. Perhaps, if careless composition on the part of the writer be admitted, the rubric may be translated 'when the Treasure is superabundant on a night in which the Holy Thing is baked', i. e. when too many loaves have been prepared at the baking. The parallel sentence in the next rubric seems to be against this rendering, and in the absence of any certain information, the natural meaning of the Syriac has been given in the translation.

The 'true bukhre, or p̄risatha' are the consecrated hosts, as opposed to the unconsecrated loaves, used as eulogiae.

According to the directions at the end of the Cambridge text, the catholicos Isho'yabh (III, + A.D. 660) permits the deacon in cases of necessity to 'sign the chalice' in the absence of the priest (cf. *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iv p. 70, Oct. 1902). In the formula given the consignation is with 'the propitiatory coal, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the rest', differing from that in the texts. At the end, the deacon is to give communion to the people.

The second 'Signing', by means of the consecrated chalice, given below, was provided for occasions, on which the size of the congregation called for the hallowing of a fresh chalice. The hitherto unexplained direction before the proem of the Lord's Prayer in the *Takhsa*: لَا مَدْفُوعَ بِهِ وَلَا مَدْفُوعَ بِهِ وَلَا مَدْفُوعَ بِهِ 'and if there be chalices which they are not hallowing, he signs them here' (Brightman *Litt. E. & W.* p. 295) may possibly refer to this ceremony.

A 'signing' is also prescribed in cases where the chalice has been 'polluted' during communion by the touch of a woman, the priest being directed to sign it with a consecrated particle, before carrying it back to the altar, saying: 'This chalice is signed with the holy Body, in the name,' &c. (Denzinger *Rit. Orient.* i p. 85). 'Signings' are of frequent occurrence in the Persian rite, being employed, among other occasions, at the 'Renovation of the holy leaven'.

The text is that of the Cambridge MS, the chief variations in that of the British Museum collection being added in foot-notes. The numbers in the translation refer to the Persian liturgy in *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. The brackets in the anaphoral prayer indicate passages obliterated in Add. 7181.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

I.

¹ The order of the Signing of the Chalice, or of the Treasure, that is, when the Treasure remains in the night, in which the Holy Thing is baked ; ordered by mar Israel the sharp of wit, bishop of Kashkar.

First, it is not right that the Treasure should stay the night, except from necessity: and when it happens to stay the night, let there not be therein anything that is ² kneaded at all, except the true bukhre, or p^risatha ; (but let not the chalice stay the night in any way) a light not departing from before it.

〈PROTHESIS〉

And in the morning, the presbyter goes up, and the deacon, and orders the altar according to custom, and brings forth the vessel in which is the Holy Thing, and arranges the bukhre in the paten, and sets it on the altar, and covers it with the veil, saying:

Pardon our offences by thy grace, and blot them out ; make our shortcomings to pass away in the copious abundance of thy mercifulness, pardoning all by the grace and mercies of Christ the hope of our nature for ever.

and the deacon answers: Amen.

and he mixes the chalice according to custom, and the deacon holds it in his hands.

〈ENARXIS〉

³ *And he stands towards the altar ;*

and they begin: Our Father, who art in heaven (252. 14).

and he prays: 'Glory, O my Lord, and honour.

⁴ *and he begins: Have mercy on me, O God, after [Ps. 51]. By the hyssop of thy mercies, [may our stains be made white, O merciful one.]*

and then: Thee, Lord of all (254. 28).

〈MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS〉

and, Holy (255. 17).

〈THE PRAYERS〉

⁵ *and both Karoswatha (262. 4: 263. 20).*

¹ Again another Signing, when the chalice is lacking . . . that they sign the unconsecrated chalice with . . . by mar 'Abdisho', bishop of Elam.

² or, ministered.

³ Add. 7181 here begins. *First, the priest offers a genuflection before the altar.*

⁴ The adorable and glorious (253, note).

⁵ *Marmitha.* Have mercy on me after thy great goodness, or Lord, who [Ps. 51] ; *and he prays: And for all (254. note).*

⁶ *and the karoswatha Father of mercies, and its companion.*

<INCLINATION>

١. اَمِنْ مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢. مَعْلَا اَمِنْ مَعْمَدِي

<THE MASS OF THE FAITHFUL>

<OFFERTORY>

١. اَمِنْ مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٣. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

<THE ANAPHORA>

١. اَمِنْ مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٣. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٤. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٥. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٦. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٧. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٨. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٩. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٠. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١١. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٢. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٣. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٤. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٥. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٦. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٧. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٨. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

١٩. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٠. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢١. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٢. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٣. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٤. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٥. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٦. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

٢٧. مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع / مَعْمَدِي / وَقَدْ تَمَع

〈INCLINATION〉

¹ *and the deacon says: Bow down your heads* (266. 36).

² *and he prays according to the Takhsa* (267. 3. 16).

〈THE MASS OF THE FAITHFUL〉

〈OFFERTORY〉

³ *And they say the Anthem of the Mysteries:*

The Body of Christ and his precious Blood (267. 33). Glory. O holy one, whose [will is rested] in the saints, [pardon, O my Lord, the shortcomings and sins of thy servants.]

and then he sets the chalice on the altar under the veil (267. 29).

〈THE ANAPHORA〉

And the deacon says: Let us ⁵ *And the priest worships before*
pray. Peace be with us⁴ (271. 19). *the altar three times: and he repeats*
quietly this prayer:

After thy commandment, O our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast bidden us by thine holy apostles to make with bread and wine memorial of thy dispensation towards us, and commemoration of thy worshipful death and of thy glorious resurrection, we also thy wretched and weak and miserable servants⁶ before thy majesty offer bread and wine on thine altar, and they have been hallowed and completed and perfected by the brooding of the Holy Ghost, and the bread by his working has become thy 'living' Body, which was given for the life of the world, and the wine by his operation thy Blood of the New Testament, which was shed for many for the forgiveness of sins: now also, O Lord, we sign this chalice with thy Body, the fount of life, beseeching thy Godhead, 'O my Lord', that as by the wound of the spear blood came forth from thy side, so also now by 'thy' will may this mixture be perfected by the might of thy Body, so as to become thy propitiatory Blood, that we may live 'by the eating of thy Body and be pardoned' by the drinking of thy Blood, and be in thee and thou in us, and that we may give thanks to thee, and worship and glorify 'thee and' through thee the

¹ deest.

² *and he prays: O Lord God of hosts, thine is* (267. 3): *and he says: And grant unto us, O my Lord, in thy compassion* (267. 16).

³ *Anthem.* Holy and terrible is [his name]. And there is no end [of his greatness]. O holy one, whose will is rested in the saints, pardon, O my Lord, the shortcomings and sins of thy servants. ⁴ Add. 7181 adds: 'Pray ye'.

⁵ *And the priest offers a genuflection before the altar, and rises, and repeats this g^ahantha quietly.*

⁶ Add. 7181 adds: 'who offer'.

⁷ Add. 7181 omits.

וְהָיָה מִלֵּךְ לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

וְחָלָה מִמֶּנּוּ אֶחָד.

(FRACTION AND CONSIGNATION)

¹ וְהָיָה מִמֶּנּוּ לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם מִמֶּנּוּ לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה

לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

² וְהָיָה מִמֶּנּוּ לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה

³ וְהָיָה מִמֶּנּוּ לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

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לְחֵלֶם.

וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

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לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם.

⁴ וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה

לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

⁵ וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה

לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה

לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

Add. 7181 omits. ²

¹ וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

³ וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה

לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

⁴ וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

⁵ וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם. וְהָיָה לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם לְחֵלֶם.

Father, who sent thee, and the Holy Ghost, now and at all times :
and he lifts up his voice : for ever and ever.

and the deacon answers : Amen.

〈FRACTION AND CONSIGNATION〉

¹ And then he lifts the veil, and worships before the altar three times, and kisses the right and the left and the midst, saying at (each) worshipping, quietly : (289. 37)

² We worship, O my Lord, thine undivided Godhead and humanity.

³ and then he stretches forth his hand and takes the uppermost bukhra, but he does not say : The mercifulness of thy grace (289. 30) : but at once says :

Glory to thine holy name, O our Lord Jesus Christ, and adoration to thy sovereignty. For thou art the living and lifegiving bread, that came down from heaven and gave life to the whole world : and they that eat of it die not, and they that receive it are saved and live and are pardoned for ever.

and he proceeds : Glory to thee, O my Lord : glory to thee, O my Lord : glory to thee, O my Lord, for thine unspeakable gift towards us for ever. Amen (290. 19 b).

and he does not say : We draw nigh, and the rest (290. 25 b), but at the same time, at the word 'Amen', he breaks the bukhra, there being no invocation of the Trinity.

and he signs the chalice with the half that is in his right hand, and says :

This chalice is signed with the lifegiving Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost for ever.

and they answer : Amen.

⁴ and he does not sign on the Body, because the Body has been signed once⁴, but he puts the bukhra that is in his hand on the table⁵, saying :

⁶ The Body and the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that give us life be for the pardon of offences and the forgiveness of sins, to us and to the holy Church of Christ here and in every place now and at all times⁷.

¹ And he worships three times, and kisses the altar.

² Add. 7181 omits.

³ And then he takes the bukhra in his hand, though he does not say : The mercifulness of thy grace, but he says : Glory to thine holy name, O our Lord Jesus Christ, at all times for ever. Amen.

⁴ i. e. at the previous mass.

⁵ i. e. paten.

⁶ The Living Body and the precious Blood, &c.

⁷ And he signs on the chalice, and they answer, Amen.

《THE BLESSING》

ⁱp; al-huf amm m.

《THE LORD'S PRAYER》

۵۵۵: مَعَم مَلِك حَسَنٌ ۲

⟨ELEVATION, COMMUNION, AND THANKSGIVING⟩

[illegible]

II.

[illegible][illegible]

〈THE BLESSING〉

*and he worships and proceeds: The grace of our Lord*¹ (293. 17).

〈THE LORD'S PRAYER〉

*And the deacon proclaims: Let us all with awe*² (293. 27).

〈ELEVATION, COMMUNION, AND THANKSGIVING〉

³ *And he completes everything from here, and beyond, as is set forth in the mysteries.*

II.

⁴ The Signing upon the Chalice on a day of want, before it goes up to the altar.

First, the priest says over it: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the rest; and he signs upon it.

And he proceeds: May the divine might, which hath come down upon the holy mysteries of the propitiatory Body and Blood, and hath blessed them, and hallowed them, come down upon this mixture, and make it the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ; in the name of the Father and the rest.

And he signs upon it: and then he brings it near towards the altar, and signs it with the consecrated chalice, and says:

This mixture is signed and hallowed and joined with the propitiatory Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the name of the Father *and the rest.*

*and afterwards he sets it on the altar, and gives it to the deacon, who gives the people to drink*⁵.

It is ended, and to our Lord be glory. Amen.

¹ *and he signs on the chalice.*

² *And then: And account us worthy, O our Lord* (295. 35).

³ *And then: The holy thing to the holy is fitting in perfection.*

and they answer: One holy Father, one, and the rest.

Ended is the Signing over the Chalice: and to God be glory for ever. Amen.

⁴ [Again] we write the Signing upon the Chalice, before it goes up to the altar, when it is wanting! [on a day] of a great congregation.

⁵ And this is the Signing upon the Chalice. Ended is the Signing upon the Chalice; and to Jah be glory.

A HOMILY OF ST EPHREM.

THE MS in which the following Homily is found is in the Library of the India Office (Ethiop. and Syr., No. 9). Prof. Wright, who examined it in 1886, describes it as follows: 'Paper, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$; 444 leaves, 2 columns, 20 to 29 lines. Leaves are wanting at the beginning and end, as well as after ff. 40 (eleven) and 49 (ten). The quires are of 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, and 16 leaves, though 10 predominates; they are signed with letters. This volume is written by two hands, in good, regular Nestorian characters, from the year 1698 to the year 1713 A.D.' (A. G. 2024).

For a further description reference may be made to G. Hoffmann's *Opuscula Nestoriana* p. iii.

Amongst the contents of the MS are:—

The Arabic and Syriac Lexicon of Elias bar Shenaza, Bishop of Nisibis: cf. Lagarde, *Praetermissorum Libri Duo*; an explanation of difficult words, Syrian and Greek, in the *Sāghdīnan*, by Gabriel Kame, Metropolitan of Mosul (cf. Assem. B. O. (iii) 1 p. 566); Universal Canon, by John bar Zōbī (Assem. B. O. iii 1 307); Bar-Hebraeus, **ܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** (cf. Hoffman's *Auszüge* p. 231 note 1897, and Assem. B. O. ii 269 note 1); John bar Zōbī, discourse in seven-syllable metre on four philosophical problems; Īshō'-bōkht, Metropolitan of Rēu-Ardashīr (cf. Nöldeke *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber* p. 19), on Ten Categories (not mentioned by Assemani in B. O. iii 1 pp. 194-5); writings of David bar Paul of Beth Rabban (Assem. B. O. ii 243), cf. Duval *La Littérature Syriacque* pp. 380, 406); selections from the *Capita Scientiae* of Evagrius, with the commentary of Rabban-aphni-Maran (Assem. B. O. iii 1 187); dialogue between Joseph Ḥazzaya and disciple; the book of amusing and facetious stories of Bar-Hebraeus, the subscription to which gives the date **ܬܬܬܐ**; extract from the work of Mār Abhd-Īshō', Bishop of Nisibis, entitled 'Ordinatio iudiciorum et legum ecclesiasticarum' (Assem. B. O. iii 1 360).

It was from this MS that G. Hoffmann published (1) The Canons of Rabban Honain and Rabban 'Anān-Īshō', (2) Expositions of difficult words in the Old and New Testaments, in his *Opuscula Nestoriana*.

The Homily or Hymn is of interest as professing to deal with the opinions of the mysterious and interesting person Bardaisān. But it will be seen that it does not add much to our knowledge of what Bardaisān actually taught. The quarrel which the author picks with

the famous thinker is over the use of the word ܠܬܝܬܐ. The former would restrict the name to the One Deity, while his opponent apparently does not shrink from employing the word to designate created things, e. g. fire.

As to the authorship of the homily an objection to its ascription to Ephrem might be raised on the score of the metre. Ephrem does not seem to have commonly used the twelve-syllable verse. Indeed it was supposed that it was invented by Jacob of Sarūg (*Assem. B. O.* iii 1 p. 3, and *Cod. Vat.* 389). Assemani, however, seems to think that this metre, together with those of five and seven syllables, goes back to Bardaisān or Harmonius (*B. O.* i 61). And even if the evidence for this opinion is slender, we certainly have occasional twelve-syllable lines in Ephrem (cf. Lamy *Hymni et Sermones* vol. iii p. 13), so that the authorship of Ephrem need not be precluded by the metre which is used.

On the other hand, the general style and contents of the Homily support the ascription of the MS.

It is from Ephrem that we derive most of our knowledge of Bardaisān, as Hilgenfeld¹ says 'so ist und bleibt die Hauptquelle Ephrem'. And it is in the works of Ephrem that we find the closest parallel to the objections raised against the heretic in this hymn. Thus he writes (*Op. Syr. et Lat. Rom.* vol. ii p. 443 D):—

ܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ
ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ
ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ
ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ

[Bardaisān asserted and affirmed that two Gods could not possibly be. . . . And if not (two) Gods, then there are not (two) Īthyē. . . . They set four Īthyē according to the four quarters, one they set in the deep, another in the height, &c.]

And again (p. 444), 'Marcion and Bardaisān falsely assert the blasphemy that the Creator is not One',

ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܬܐ

(For Ephrem's use of ܠܬܝܬܐ, cf. p. 554 c.) And elsewhere (p. 532) a heretic is referred to as recognizing as ܠܬܝܬܐ, air, fire, water. Hahn and Hilgenfeld suppose this to be Bardaisān.

It is noticeable too that the author devotes much more space to the

¹ *Bardesanes der letzte gnostiker* (Leipzig, 1864) p. 29.

exposition of the right belief than to the examination of the error of his opponent. This is quite in Ephrem's manner; so the very fact that we learn so little about Bardaisān is some evidence that the ascription of the homily to Ephrem is not incorrect.

The general style of the attack and the treatment of the particular case accordingly both point in the same direction, supporting the authorship of Ephrem.

[illegible]

- ✧ ܐܚܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܥܐ ܕܝܡܬܐ ܕܐܝ ܕܡܥܬܐ
 : ܡܬܝܕܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܝ ܡܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܥܐ ܡܥܬܐ
 : ܡܬܝܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܠܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܥܐ ܡܥܬܐ
 : ܠܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
 ✧ ܡܥܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܡܥܬܐ
 : ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
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 : ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
 : ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ

Translation.

Again, a hymn of Mar Ephrem against Bardaisān.

There is One Being, who knows Himself and sees Himself. And He dwells in Himself, and from Himself sets forth. Glory to His Name. This is a Being who by His own will is in every place, who is invisible and visible, manifest and secret. He is above and below.

Mingling and condescending by His grace among the lower (beings); loftier and more exalted, as befits His glory, than the higher. The swift cannot exceed his swiftness, nor the slow outlast his patience.

He is before all and after all, and in the midst of all. He is like the sea, in that all creation moves in Him. As the water besets the fish in all their movements, so also does God beset all created things. And as the water is clad with the fish at every moment, (so) the Creator is clad with everything which is made, both great and small. And as the fish are hidden in the water, (so) there is hidden in God height and depth, far and near, and the inhabitants thereof. And as the water meets the fish everywhere it goes, so God meets every one who walks. And as the water touches the fish at every turn it makes, (so) God accompanies and sees every man in all his deeds.

Men cannot move from earth which is their chariot, neither does any one go far from the Just One who is his associate. The Good One is united to all His possessions, which are everywhere, as the soul is united to the body, and light to the eyes. A man is not able to flee from his soul, for it is with him. Nor is a man hid from the Good, for He besets him. As the water surrounds the fish, and it feels it, so also do all natures feel God.

He is diffused through the air, and with thy breath enters into thy midst. He is mingled with the light, and enters, when thou seest, into thine eyes. He is mingled with thy spirit, and examines thee from within, as to what thou art. In thy soul He dwells, and nothing which is in thy heart is hid from Him. As the mind precedes the body in every place, so He examines thy soul before thou dost examine it. And as the thought greatly precedes the deed, so His thought knows beforehand what thou wilt plan. Compared with His impalpability thy soul is body and thy spirit flesh. Soul of thy soul, spirit of thy spirit, is He who created thee, far from all, and mingled with all, and manifest above all, a great wonder and a hidden marvel unfathomable. He is the Being concerning whose essence no man is able to explain. This is the Power whose depth is inexpressible. Among things seen and among things hidden there is none to be compared to Him. This is He who created and formed from nothing everything which is.

God said, 'Let there be light!' Lo! it is created¹. He made darkness, and it became night. Observe! It is made². Fire in stones and water in rocks, The Being created them. There is one Power raised them from nothing. Behold, even to-day, fire is not in a house in the earth. For lo! it is continually created by means of flints. It is the Being who ordains its existence by means of who holds it. When He wishes He lights it, when He wishes quenches it by way of appeal against the obstinate. In a great fire by the rubbing of a stick fire is kindled. The flame devours, it grows strong, at last sinks down. If fire and water are Beings and creatures, then before the earth (was), where were their roots? Whoso would destroy his life, opens his mouth to speak concerning everything. Whoso hateth himself, and would not circumscribe himself, holds it great impiety that one should think himself overwise. If he thinks he has said the last thing he has reached heather. Oh, Bardaisān, whose mind is liquid like his name!

A. S. DUNCAN JONES

¹ Lit. 'a created thing'.

² Lit. 'a made thing'.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHENOUTE'S MONASTERY

THE following texts—only, I am told, a small part of the number still unstudied—were copied during the past spring by Canon V. Oldfield on two visits to the White Monastery¹. As Canon Oldfield disclaims any knowledge of Coptic, the accuracy of his copies is remarkable, especially considering the dirty condition of the inscriptions and the bad light in which some of them stand.

The inscriptions may be described in two groups: (A) those on the five niches of the north apse of the church², and upon the small walls between this and the central apse, and upon the domed roof of that apse; (B) those in the small room to the north of the central apse³, entered from the north apse by a narrow passage and called by Canon Oldfield 'the Secret Chamber'. I here number the five niches α to ε, counting from the most eastern. The inscriptions here are upon either the plastered facing of the interior of the room or on the intervening brickwork. They are written partly in Greek

¹ The best published account and plan of the building: W. de Bock *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie* &c. (1901) 39 ff; also, Gayet *L'Art Copte* 142. Shenoute, v. Leipoldt's book (*cf.* this JOURNAL v 129).

² Ih in De B.'s plan.

³ Ik in De B.'s plan.

partly in red; some apparently with a reed pen, others with a brush. Where the plaster has been chipped off there are signs of earlier lettering. It is much to be hoped that the government commission charged with the restoration of the Christian buildings in Egypt, will find means to examine and record these texts, which may well be of importance for the history of the monastery. (One of these earlier inscriptions appears below as A 11.)

Several of those in group A are dated, actually or by implication, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As I have no palaeographical evidence, I can merely hazard the conjecture that the remainder are of the same period. From these dated texts we learn that the frescoes in the domes of the three apses—for all are, apparently, of one style¹—were executed at the beginning of the twelfth century, and that certain structural restorations were carried out about the middle of the thirteenth, though what exactly the latter were it is not easy now to determine². We further obtain information regarding several heads of the monastery, while two texts (A 1 and 2) shew the tradition as to the facts of Shenoute's career then officially accepted.

Group B, combined with Canon Oldfield's account of his interviews with the monks, establishes one fact of interest: namely, that the famous library of the monastery, the source of so great a part of the remains of Sa'idic literature, was stored in the 'secret chamber', in the north-east corner of the building³. Whether by the 'keep' (جوسق), mentioned by Abû Şâlih, this room is intended we cannot tell⁴. A three-shelved book-chest stood, according to the same writer⁵, in the church in the eighth century, but not necessarily, of course, in this room. The lists of books inscribed on the several walls (B 12 to 27) may indicate the relative positions once occupied by special chests or shelves. Thus it would seem that the New Testament MSS were ranged along the north side of the room, the homiletic and historical works along the east, the biographical along the west. Against the south wall, where only one text is legible, may have stood the Old Testament MSS.

In printing the texts I indicate tentative completions of gaps by square *brackets*, probable misreadings in the copies still requiring emendation by *sic*, letters doubtful in the copies and my suggested readings of such by *dots* below them. The copies do not allow of the exact

¹ De Bock questions the age of the apses themselves (*op. cit.* 56).

² Cf. Mr. Peers's note, appended to this article.

³ Not, as De B. thought, the room in the south-east corner. It is clearly to this 'secret' room that Maspero's description (*Mission franç.* vi p. 1) refers.

⁴ Fol. 82 b. The 'keep' was used elsewhere as library; v. Horner's *Bohairic Gospels* vol. i, lx. Sacristy, vestry, and library are sometimes one; v. Can. Basil. No. 96.

⁵ Fol. 83 b.

length of the gaps being estimated; the brackets therefore enclose approximate spaces.

A. I.

Between niches α and β . Enclosed in a simple line border. R black ink, alternating at asterisks. Ll. 1, 2 in ornamental lettering.

ен опомѣти тоѹ патросъ ѿ,
[тоѹ тѣхъ] ѿ, тоѹ а҃г҃л҃ъ пѣатосъ*

таң. ɣɪwɕ ɹɛpɪ[s]χɪnɹa ɛtɔɔ[ɑɪ] o
n ɪtɹɪaɪn n. [soʔ]ʔ ɪtɔwɛ [] . 2

5 жон ѿ проше[пе ѡ]птечаде*. . пен
ниѡт апа [пѡѡ]ѡ апапа пшѡ[і] а

εμπειρικά ετοταὰβ [ατ]ω ατχρотои ^{sic}

[æ]æoç æþr̥s* æþ̥ пархнеатр[и]т[и]с ɣити
[т̥ɔiɣ] напа кер̥т̥аллос пархнепископ[ос]

10 [п]тπολι^{sic} ρανоте* ρηπτοп[ос ηπρδ]τιος

[θεος] ορος πεστратηλατ[ис ^{sic} ρητ]ηλις
κ[ως] τακζακωτπολις ηχον εε . . . ροεπε
. . . *✠ εε ατω ατηωτ εε[η . . .] εεεο
ηατηρι εεηπεοοτρ ετο ηηοτ ατω

15 [а]ѡѡаѡаѡе ~~аааа~~оо ооѡе ааѡо пр[оаа]
 пе .аа. ѡааѡаѡе* аѡа аѡаѡѡѡ аа[аао]ѡ
 [ѡѡѡ] ѡ ааѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡ Ѧ Ѧ
 . . . аѡа теѡе ааѡаѡе тѡѡѡ

[xɪn]печѣло ꙗте҃чапап[аѡсис]

20 [a]neʔote snaʔ ep[ɛ]n.[

] . . . [e]тҕааһы шоп.неср

]. . . IHRU*

] . . [με]ρκοτρ[ι ζ]ωη[ρα]φος

]ті депоноастиріон

25] 4 деени*

] ΠΤΑΝΟ ΘΗΝΤΑΦ
 [OC] Π.[ε]θολ οτοι και ανοκ ψ
] ψωοπ ηψωοπ α(η

'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

... upon him the holy σχήμα¹ ... Sunday (κυριακή) ... the 7th (?) day of Tōbe, [when he had] completed nine years of his life² ... Our Father Apa Pǵol and Apa Pshoi did give [him?] the holy σχήμα and he was ordained (χειροτονεῖν) priest³ (πρεσβ.) and archimandrite at the hands of Apa Cyril, the archbishop of the city (πολ.) Alexandria, in the τόπος of saint (ἄγιος) Theodore Stratēlatēs, in the city (πολ.) Constantinople⁴, (at) the end of ... years ...⁵, era (χρόνος) of the Martyrs (μαρτ.). And [this holy?] monastery and the great place-of-assembly were built and consecrated (ἀγιάζειν) in the 106th year ... of his life. And he went to rest on the 7th day of the month Epēp⁶, (year) ... , era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μ.). And the number (of years) of his whole life, from his birth till his death (ἀνάπαυσις), ... [years⁷ and] two months.' Ll. 23-5 commemorate the artist (ζωγράφος), Mercurius, possibly the same as he who in A.M. 1017 = A.D. 1301 inscribed his name in the neighbouring Red Monastery⁸. Ll. 26-8 shew the beginning of a text similar to No. A 8.

This repeats the received tradition as to Shenoute's career, except as to the place of his ordination. But cf. the next number.

A 2.

In (?) niche β .

**ΔΩ ΠΑΤΧΠΟ
Π[ΝΙ]ΟΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΛΗ
ΔΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΘΝ**

¹ ~~Janua~~ could be read.

¹ v. Leipoldt *Schemata* 40 n. 5.

³ *Op. cit.* 132 n. 5.

⁴ Beyond the frequent mention of this *τόπος* in the spurious 'Sermon of Cyril' (Zoega 28, *Miss. franç.* iv 165), I can only find one reference to it: v. Marin *Moines de Constantinople* 15. For Cyril's and Shenoute's alleged visit to Constantinople, before the Council, v. *Miss. franç.* iv 173.

¹ This should be A. M. 147 = A. D. 431, the year of Shenoute's visit to Ephesus.

• Leipoldt 44.

⁷ But there is hardly space in l. 20 for the year. This age seems to be that given by the Arab. Life (*Mission* iv 467): 109 years, 2 months. Ladeuze and Leipoldt (*Schenute* 47) regard this as erroneous.

* v. De Bock *Matériaux* p. 65.

the Christ, bless and preserve the life of our God-loving, charity (*ἀγάπη*)-loving brother, the archdeacon Shenoute, the monk of this monastery (*μοναστήριον*), the son of the late (*μακάριος*) Papnoute. For he it was did provide for this picture (*εἰκόν* ¹), in the days of our father, Abba Paul ², the archimandrite; my father Zekiël being the second ³ (in authority), Jesus (?) the Christ being king over us ⁴. Era (*χρόνος*) of the Martyrs (*μαρτύρων*) 840' = A. D. 1124.

On the opposite side of the painting, an Armenian text forms a pendant to this ⁵. It too commemorates Theodore, 'painter and scribe', native of Kesun in Armenia, and states that the work was executed in the time of Bishop Gregory, 'nephew of Gregory called Vahram'. The uncle here is the Catholicus of 1065-1105; the nephew the bishop of the then numerous Armenian colony in Egypt, mentioned by the patriarchal chronicler ⁶ and by Abû Şâlih ⁷.

A 4.

In niche β.

ατω νταει | εροτη επι[] | μοναστηριον | ενсот
 жот[т]а | чте апиелот | иепни рнѣро[апе] | таи ϣ ϣ
 ზნე | ეი . ოჲ . . | ჩაიღე ჟე | ჯათეა | შინრე ენ |
 ვეპეველა[ა] | პრეაჲა | მაღოტ | ერეც . . | შინრე |
 აჲა . | 1 line illegible.

'And I entered this . . . monastery (*μοναστήριον*) on the 24th day of the month Iepēp ⁸, in this year of the era (*χρ.*) of the Martyrs (*μαρτ.*) 953 (= A. D. 1237) . . . my fathers David, son of Hibat Allāh ⁹, the man of Samalot (?) ¹⁰, . . . son of Mina being . . .'

The year mentioned is the same as in the next.

¹ Cf. von Lemm in *Bull. de l'Acad. imp.* 1900, 57.

² Was in office twelve years earlier; v. the colophon of A. D. 1112, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 69.

³ i. e. *deuteros*.

⁴ Reading, in Turaief's copy, 14. αϣηι, 20. παιοτ ζικινηλ ω, 22. ერეც პეϣც, 23. ეგრჲი ეჟოქ. I use a photograph kindly lent by Prof. Strzygowski.

⁵ Translated by Dashian in Strzygowski's *Kleinasiem* p. 202; v. also his *Dom zu Aachen* 42.

⁶ Renaudot *Hist.* 460, 491.

⁷ Ff. 2 a note, 47 b.

⁸ This spelling is characteristic; v. No. A 2.

⁹ Perhaps here a translation of 'Theodore'.

¹⁰ Fifteen miles north of Minych; but the reading is doubtful.

A 5.

In niche β.

[ατ]ω ανταπιακαθον | [ωο]оп [ριτ]ни[ροот]ω μενениот
 παρχνεπισκο | пос абба киріλλос ереχрис[т]отоλ-
 лот | ο νεπισκοπος етπολις сіоотт ρητrome | ται
 χροκот ^{sic}μαρτοροτ ζηт ατω επ | тапmeoot ei eπт-
 таλπερχе ипаλ | καρсар етπολις сіоотт епсot ιт |
 εεπиеhot иенип ατω ατι епикоті | еп~~ме~~е тронхе
 псot ментагте εεпиеhot | иенип ατω тапастасіс
 ептроме | ет~~ме~~аотте соτ жоттагте εεпиеho[т] |
 пармеотте ατω меп[с]ос тапастасіс | соτ ψіс
 еεпармеотте ατω мепсos соτ[а] | еεпармеотте
 ατω мепсot ^{sic}жот е[мпар] | меотте ατω мепсos
 соτ тит еεпарме[отте] | ατω мепсos соτ жот[ме]
 тит еε[п]а[рмеотте] | ατω мепсos соτ ме[нт]ε[а]ωч
 [εεпармеотте] | ατω мепсos соτ ш[е]моth еεпар-
 меотте | ατω мепсos соτ жот[отте]

'And this good-work (*ἀγαθόν*) was done by the care of our father the archbishop, Abba Cyril¹, Christodulus being bishop of the city (πολ.) Siut, in this (*sic*) year of the era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μарт.) 953 (= A. D. 1237). And the water (*i.e.* the inundation) reached the lake (?)² of the . . .³ of the city of Siut on the 13th day of the month Iepêp; and it reached our little village of Tronche⁴ on the 14th day of the month Iepêp. And Easter (*ἀνάστασις*) of that year (was on) the 24th day of the month Parmoute⁵. And afterwards⁶—here follows a list of Easter dates, in successive years⁶: 9th Parmoute, 1st Parm., 20th Parm., 5th Parm., 25th [Parm.], 17th [Parm.], 8th [Parm.], 21st [Parm.].

The practical object of thus recording the dates of coming Easters is not clear.

¹ Cyril b. Laqlak, 1235-43.

² بركة preceded by ! *ini*.

³ 'Castles' قصور, whatever that may here mean; or (less likely) قياسر 'bazars', a word used by Ibn Duqmāk (v 23) in describing Siut.

⁴ Udrunkah, Doronka, about two-and-a-half miles south-west of Siut. Cf. A 9.

⁵ *i.e.* April 19, which is correct.

⁶ These correspond to Apr. 4, Mar. 27, Apr. 15, Mar. 31, Apr. 20, 12, 3, and 16, which are the correct dates for 1238 to 1245.

A 6.

On small wall S. of entrance to 'secret chamber'.

ατω ριτιπερνια [αεντα]σαпи απ
[потте] пiпантокрat[ωp ac]αορεi
[п]]те . п[]λ
]αβ[

- 5 ατ]ω παρχиmατρι[ти]с .
[αα]пи[] . i . αετeαпот · жeптоу ρ[ити]теу
спотан · асуpиpоотш итеiuto иcт[]εαу
жwк εiпβαρп · ρиисенте пскт[иn]
αиинктпн етапeткωте тшорп [ααn]
10 асужокс εβολ · ρисот нѠ αпeвот [εтeпe]
вот Ѡоотa он · асужен твеоте[i ρитиpомпe]
таi Ж ε^е [erased] ρипeрoот αпeп[iωт]
αββα αθανасiос ппатpиapхис пра[коте еpe αβ]
βα iωснѣ посiотатос о пeпископос ет[пoλic]
15 пaпос · ατω итoу пeпταρiтoоту ппeααу α[ппеснит]
ти[po]т : шaнтотcαиотот · ρипiрoот етѠоα[ε ит]
αиtepo итoтpтoс · ατω итaпaсaѠон шwпe ρит
αερ^{sic}нa проαпe пiωт αββα iωaннис εсjo παρχитoс е†
сtпaсωти таi · ατω пaи ишωpп асуpαиoпaxос ραпeαoпaс
20 тиpиoи пaпa αωтсис αииксωс αпнотте тaρ^{sic}α[εу ρи]
пeрoот αпeпiωт αββα нтpиглoс жeптоу пeпταу[ααу αп]
pесѣттерoс · ατω παρχитoс е†сtпaсωти αпeпiωт α-
п[poфитис]
αпa шпoтте · ραεтретoтaαααρ oтwαα ппeαα αп[п]
αтpe αпeαα Ѡωλп εβολ · итoу αε αипнoтe αп[и]εcп[нт ?
25 α[тa]αт икeсoп · еpeпнoтте ипe †Ѡoα пaу пс† пa[ε]
пoтaρe]
иpипиoи · псѠββiо ппeужaж[ε
]пeуpoeic εпеснит [

'And by the foresight (πρόνοια) and love (ἀγάπη) of God Almighty (παντοκ.), it seemed good to [NN, . . . , the] and archimandrite For he it was, in his zeal (σπουδή), did provide these four columns (?)¹, finishing the canopies (or ceilings²) in the two tabernacles (σκηνή³) and the chambers (κύπη⁴) that are beside them. The first he finished on the 29th day of this same (?) month Thoth; the other in this [year,] era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μαρτ.), in the days of our father, Abba Athanasius, the Patriarch (πατρ.) of Alexandria⁵, the most saintly (ἁγιώτατος) Abba Joseph being bishop of the city (πόλις) Panos (Achmīm). And he it was (sc. Joseph) assisted him with all [the brethren], till they had constructed them, in the evil (lit. perverted) days of the kingship of the Turks (τοῦργος⁶). And this good-work (ἀγαθόν) was done in the twenty-fourth year that our father Abba John was director (ἀρχηγός) of this congregation (συναγωγή)⁷. And he was first a monk in the monastery (μον.) of Apa Moses⁸. Afterwards God called him (?), in (?) the days of our father, Abba Cyril⁹; for he it was [made? him] priest (πρεσβ.) and director (ἀρχηγός) for the congregation (συν.) of our father, the prophet (προφ.), Apa Shenoute. After that the earthquake¹⁰ had swallowed the buildings (or rooms or dwellings) and [the] . . . , they found the place uncovered¹¹; and he and the fathers and the brethren did [make] them again. May the God of heaven strengthen him and give him a peaceful (εἰρηνικόν) life and subdue his enemies . . . he watch over the brethren'

¹ The fem. pronoun, if correct, forbids στήλος. Perhaps στήλη.

² A rare word; v. Ps. cxvii 27 = πυκάων, which the *Triadon* (ed. von Lemm, p. 26) translates 'the heights', الأعالى. In Zoega 618, referring to the hangings of the Tabernacle, it may be 'curtain'. The primary meaning is 'to cover'; cf. Ps. civ 2.

³ Here probably the space wherein an altar stands; cf. Abū Ṣāliḥ ff. 1 a, 27 b (dome over it), 30 b (altar in it), 31 a (north and south s.), 33 a (its threshold), 61 b (= sanctuary). In *Mission franç.* iv 458 it is the sanctuary, shut in by doors. The northern and southern apses suggest themselves, as the side-altars may have stood there, and Zoega pp. 107, 108 (lessons read in the southern σκηνή) supports this.

⁴ v. von Lemm, *Bull. de l'Ac. Imp.* xiii 159. Cf. Arab. قَبْو (also قَبْوَة), as in Abū Ṣāliḥ 2 a.

⁵ Athanasius III, 1250-61.

⁶ i.e. the Bahri Mamluks. An inscription of A.D. 1173 (*Rec. de Trav.* vii 215) refers to the Ayyūbid rule in the same words.

⁷ Cf. A 7.

⁸ At Belyanā; v. my notes on the graffiti there in M. A. Murray *The Osireion*, 1904.

⁹ The notorious Cyril b. Laqlaq, 1235-43.

¹⁰ A new word, fem. like other compounds of στωα. A great earthquake in 1112 is recorded (*Synax.* Tūt 3; Renaudot *Hist.* 490).

¹¹ Cf. Leyden MSS coptes 443 ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲗⲉⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

Assuming that A 7 is of the same year as this text, the date of John's instalment as director (? abbot) would be 1235, the first year of Cyril's patriarchate. Presumably John is also the archimandrite commemorated in the first lines here.

A 7.

Between niches α and β .

πνοῦτε ροεῖς ἐπονὺ ἀπενιωτ | παρχηματρίτης ·
 ἄββα ἰωῶ | жентоу пентаѣу рооту | ἀπνεσπнτ
 τηрот ἐπσннιωт | нѣснте псѣтнн · ἀπнсαпσωλп |
 εἰὼλ πνεψ^{sic}βαρεп · ποτ̄ ἱс Ἣс † наѣ | ποταρε πнр-
 нноп ἀπнеспнт тнрѣ | ἀμнн ποот пай ζ пашур |
 ✠ ⲁϥ 70ε,

'God, watch over the life of our father the archimandrite, Abba John. For he it was did, with all the brethren, provide for the building of the (or these) two tabernacles (σκηνή), after the uncovering of their¹ canopies (or ceilings). Lord Jesus Christ, give unto him a peaceful (εἰρηνικόν) life and (unto) all the brethren. Amen. To-day is the 7th of Emshir, era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μαρτ.) 975² (= A.D. 1259).'

Apparently records the same work as that in A 6.

A 8.

In niche δ .

ἀπннрн | с . н ешжеотатσoαпe етpeпнωрт тоу
 ἀппeαo ἀп | отатσoαe де ρωῆпe етpeтpote ἀ-
 πноῦτε | τωρ ἀптаeотнe ἀпсωαα · от[οι] пай аноп |
 жешареотweiш шoпe пашооп ап | пeсpаi пaлeотн
 εἰὼλ · птeпснx тaпω | ρнптафoc ÷ арн пaлeεт^{sic}
 пaгaпe пaиoтe | ἀппaсннт аноп пeвннн пeттeлнc |
 пeтoсoῥн ρнпcпpaзнc пaтaпшa | ἀпнpaп жepωaлe
 ααλнcтa жeα[αпωп] | a line erased | πρ̄с нт̄^oс αααи-

¹ Reading πпeт-.

² The printed sign for 900 but distantly resembles that written.

πεχρς λατων етесните | тепоѡ де еисопсп ммопн
 аѡ еѣ нети поѡшо | мметаноia шадотепс еисоп
 пајоте | мпнаснпѡ мпоѡѡн пм етпаѡш п . . | . лос
 ма[р]ѣхоос рпотаѡапе нрнт | мпоѡмееѡ епапѡѣ
 жеппе еѡе[р] | ппна пммасѣ рѣтпшлнл мпн[ѡ]т |
 етѡѡаѡ мпрофнтес апа шепѡѡте | аѡс пмман
 тртп рѡѡѡѡп жедмнн | н[а] ѣѡ еѣ[ѣ]шѡпе поѡѡ пай
 ѡѡѡ ѣ [мп] | еѡѡт епнп Ѥ [ѣ] ѣ . . | *Space.*

Then eight lines, very imperfect. The first contains οτσοφος, the third στρωме аѡрѡѡе, the fifth епстолап.

' . . . ¹ If it be impossible that fire should mix with water, so is it also impossible that the fear of God should mix with the pleasure of the body (σѡμα). Woe is me! For a time will be when I shall not be. The writing shall endure; the hands shall perish in the tombs². Remember me in kindness (ἀγάπη), my fathers and my brethren, me, the poor and vile (ἐντελής), that is feeble in his deeds (πράξις), unworthy of the name of man, much more (μάλιστα) of deacon . . . priest (πρεσβ.) of the Christ-loving city (πολ.) Latōn which is Snê (Esneh). So (δέ) now I do entreat you and make to you a thousand obeisances (μετάνοia) many times, my fathers and my brethren and every one who shall read . . . ³, that he say with kindness (ἀγ.) of heart and good thoughts: God, do thou shew Thy mercy upon him, through the prayers of our holy father the prophet (προφ.) Apa Shenoute. Say with us, all ye together: Amen 21 (times)⁴, 99 (= Amên), so be it. To-day is the 7th of the month Epêp, era (χρ.) of the Martyrs (μαρ.) 9 . . . ⁵

The date falls between 1184 and 1284.

A 9.

In niche β.

арѣ памееѡ наѡа | пе аѡѡк пѡѡѡѡ | рѡпна аѡѡ
 пѡѡѡ | маѡ рѡпѡѡѡѡ па | теѡѡѡа ммоѡѡте роѣ |

¹ This line may end a former text.

² This formula in a scribe's colophon of A.D. 1112, from this monastery, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 69; and something similar in Arabic, Hyvernat *Album* p. 16.

³ † στῦλος.

⁴ на ѡѡ ѡѡ. Cf. de Bock *Matériaux* p. 65, and Turaief *Materialie* No. 55.

1. **ж[еа]ia, . iορaννης | пшнре мпмаанариос рафанл |**
 2. **премтронп · нс нтπολις | [ci]οοττ οτοι [п]а! жеша-**
реотвейш | шопе нт[инашооп ан] шарепеср[аi] мотн
εβολ ^{sic} εντσιx таго [

‘Remember me in kindness (*ἀγάπη*), me, the poor in grace, the rich in sin, that am not worthy to be called deacon, John, son of the late (*μακάριος*) Raphael, the inhabitant of Tronpēs¹ of the city (*πολ.*) Siout. Woe is me! For a time will be when I shall not be. The writing shall endure, the hands shall perish’²

A 10.

Beside a much-begrimed painting, over the door leading to the ‘secret chamber’.

псѣ іс псѣс еѣе | рареѣ епωнѣ | [м]пптаго ера |
 тѣ · мпеміω[т] | еттаинт аѣ | ба фѣбаамон | пепресѣт-
 те | рос аѣω пмо | пахос нтели | ос пистнн[r]а | фѣтс ·
 аѣω п | сар некѣт · | пшнре ната | сарз мпар[хi] |
 аіакоп · х[анл] | пшнре мп[папа] | ѣнтѣѣр прѣѣ |
 полис ммаіхрс | шамн жентѣѣ р[м] | псѣ[м]е
 еѣотн епнѣт[те] · рѣ | аѣі роѣт[ш] · мп[і]лиамн
 м | пархнатте[лос мiханл] | ж[еѣ]есѣпс еж[|
 р̄м̄ . по [| пѣж[| еіρннн рннѣ [| [нiѣт]
 абба шепѣтте [|] тас аѣіѣн · ммаѣн[астн-
 риѣн] |] ѣѣм̄ пѣѣ · ммаѣнн [|

‘May the Lord Jesus Christ watch over the life and firm establishment of our honoured father, Abba Phaebammon, the priest (*πρεσβ.*) and perfect (*τέλειος*) monk, the writer (*συγγραφεύς*)³ and master builder⁴, the son according to the flesh (*κατὰ σάρξ*) of the archdeacon (*ἀρχιδ.*), Chaël (?), son of the papa Victor, inhabitant of the Christ-loving city

¹ Cf. A 5, Tronche. Presumably the copy here is in error.

² Cf. A 8.

³ In the Paris *scala* 44, p. 3^a b, this (= *الکاتب*) occurs among ecclesiastical officers, between *καλλιγραφος* (*الناسخ*) and *ζωγράφος*.

⁴ Cf. сар панзѣе Zoega 549, *τεχμητης* псар Rossi *Papiri di Torino* II i 70.

(πολ.) Shmin (Panopolis). For he, in his love toward God . . . , provided [this picture of] the archangel (ἀρχαγγ.) [Michael?]; that [he might?] pray for . . . [father], Abba Shenoute . . . holy (ἅγιος) monastery . . . Amen.'

A 11.

Between niches δ and ε, on a space where the upper, later plaster has fallen away.

κ̅ε μ̅η α[π]ο̅ς ρ̅υ̅ψ̅ι̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ · ο̅κ̅α
 το̅ς π̅ρο̅σο̅πο̅[τ̅] σο̅ς α̅π̅[ο]
 το̅ς α̅ο̅τ̅λο̅[τ̅] σο̅ς
 η̅ α̅ι̅τ̅λο̅ι̅ς̅μ̅ . η̅
 με̅τ̅ . ο̅τ̅αι̅

Apparently an inexact quotation from a Psalm¹.

B.

The following numbers are in the 'secret chamber'. North wall.

B 12. πε̅τρα̅ε̅τα̅ν̅τε̅ | λ̅ι̅ον̅ τε̅τε̅ρη̅ | . π̅θ̅ η̅ρο̅τι̅
 μ̅ι̅ν̅ι̅κ̅ο̅ς | π̅ι̅ρ̅τ̅η̅ π̅α̅ κ̅λα̅τ̅ε̅ | τ̅τ̅ πα̅λ̅η̅τ̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅ πα̅
 ε̅θ̅ο̅λ̅, 'the Four-gospels². Their number, -59, the small and large (together). The poor πα̅τ̅α̅ Claudius, son (υ̅ί̅ος) of Pal̅eu³; forgive me.' The first numeral is illegible. So large a number of gospels is remarkable.

B 13. ^{sic}τρα̅ε̅τα̅ν̅τε̅^{sic} λ̅ι̅ον̅ η̅ρο̅τι̅ | η̅πο̅ς η̅̅ πα̅τ̅ρο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅·ι̅,
 'The Four-gospels, the small and the large (together), 50; those without bindings (?)', 10.'

B 14. ^{sic}η̅κα̅θ̅ο̅λ̅ι̅κ̅ο̅ν̅ μ̅ι̅νη̅ε̅π̅ρα̅ξ̅ι̅ς̅ — πα̅ι̅νε̅ η̅ε̅π̅ρα̅ξ̅ι̅ς̅
^{sic}η̅α̅πο̅στο̅λο̅ς, 'The Catholic (Epistles) and the Acts—These are the Acts of the Apostles'.

East wall: B 15. κ̅λο̅κ̅ος̅ πα̅ρ̅χ̅ε̅ε̅π̅ι̅σκο̅πο̅ς̅ α̅ε̅ν̅ε̅ε̅ε̅α̅πο̅-

¹ Cf. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 9.

² Τετραεὐαγγέλιον.

³ Presumably the writer of these inscriptions or the librarian. Cf. B 20.

⁴ Generally 'sheaths'. I do not know of evidence that Coptic like Ethiopic books were ever encased in leathern slip-cases.

ε **εσπ** [*a line erased*] **[κσ]τ και εβολ**, 'The discourses (λόγος) of the archbishops and the . . . Forgive me'.

B 16. **παρχνεπισκοποτ**, '(The writings of) the Archbishops'¹.

B 17. **παρχνεπισκοπος** ^{sic} **κ̄ζ** **τνοςοτ**, 'The Archbishops'. The remainder unintelligible. Perhaps begins with figures indicating the number of volumes.

B 18. **πχωμε | ηρτσωρια | νεπιστολη | παπα φα-
ναος.**

B 19. **ηρορος | [η]ητπριανος.** By combining these two—I have no information as to their sequence on the wall—we might read, 'The Book of Ordinances (ῥος), The History of Cyprian (of Antioch), The Epistles of Apa Epiphanius (?)'.

B 20. **αρι παμετε πακαπε
πρτνε π̄πα κλαττε
]ττ παλητ
ε]ιςχιη**

Commemorates Claudius, son of Palēu, as in B 12. But here it would seem that Miskin is his grandfather. Or perhaps nothing is wanting and Miskin is (as in B 22) another name of Palēu.

West wall: B 21. On the right of B. 22. Little is legible. Lives of saints: 'Apa Paul', 'Apa Bēsa', 'Apa Shenoute' can be read.

B 22.

^{sic} **παπε η̄βιο[ς] ηη[ηε]τοταδ̄ κστ και εβο[λ] | πρτνε
ππαπα κλαττε ττ εεεεςχιη | απα η̄νσα ππατριαρ̄χ̄ς
sic
σεερος απα π̄σηνηος ιωρακηης κωλομεθος απα
παμην αρχελλι[της] απα ρτλιας απα [α]βραδα[ε]
πесѣ.ῑ παπα[] απα ζενοβ̄ιος [απ]α εεθεος
κεριλλος εεμ[] πρ̄εμ̄ωε [η]ηε[ιωτ] шенотте η
sic
апа πολλω παпостолос απα εεθ πρτνε**

'These are the Lives (βίος) of the Saints—Forgive me, the poor παπ̄α

¹ Perhaps the Festal and other Letters of the Alexandrine patriarchs.

Claudius, son (*viós*) of Miskin¹: Apa Bésa², the patriarch Severus³, Apa Pisenthius⁴, John Colobus, Apa Pamin, Archellides⁵, Apa Elias⁶, Apa Abraham⁷, the ... of Apa ..., Apa Zenobius⁸, Apa Matthew⁹, Cyril and ..., the ... our father (?) Shenoute 8 (copies), Apa Apollo¹⁰, the Apostles¹¹, Apa Matthew the Poor.¹²

A book list similar to the next. Fragments of several of them are preserved.

B 23.

ⲛⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲱ[ⲙ] ⲛ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲡ. . ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲉⲱⲉⲛⲥ ⲛ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲙⲉⲱⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲱⲧⲟⲣⲟ[ⲥ] ⲁⲡⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁⲛⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲣ[ⲥ]ⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲟⲧⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲭⲟⲩⲧⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲉ-
ⲃⲛⲧⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲛⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ[ⲛ]ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲟⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲡ-
[ⲛⲉ]ⲛⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲩⲛⲱⲧⲧⲉ

'The Lives (*biós*) of the Saints: Apa Pachôm 20 (copies), Apa Ep...¹³, Apa Marcus, Apa Moses¹⁴ 2 (copies), Apa Simon¹⁵, Apa Cyprianus¹⁶, Apa Samuel¹⁷, Apa Theodorus¹⁸, Apa Hermime¹⁹, Apa Pahôm with Horsiesius and Theodorus²⁰, The twenty-four Elders²¹,

¹ مسكين. The same scribe probably in B 20, though the father's name there is different.

² No life of B. is known.

³ Perhaps the work, complete in Ethiopic, of which there are Coptic fragments. v. this JOURNAL v 130 note.

⁴ Fragments of a Sa'id. Life, but on papyrus (Crum *Copt. Ostr.* xiii note). No parchment fragments are known.

⁵ No life as yet recognized (cf. *Synax.* 14th Tubeh).

⁶ I cannot identify this.

⁷ Abraham of Pboou.

⁸ One of Shenoute's disciples and (?) successors; Frags. Paris MS. 129¹³ ff. 9-12.

⁹ Not M. the Poor; v. below.

¹⁰ † Of Bawit. No life known.

¹¹ † Apocryphal Acts.

¹² Epime (martyr) would fill the gap. A Bohairic *Passio*, Zoega p. 22.

¹³ Of Abydos or Belyanā (v. my notes in M. A. Murray *The Osisirion*, 1904).

¹⁴ † The Canaanite, whose body was said to lie in the White Monastery (Abū Šālīḥ 82 a).

¹⁵ Of Antioch. Frags. ed. von Lem.

¹⁶ Of Kalamôn.

¹⁷ † Stratelates or Anatoleus.

¹⁸ † Herminos; v. Abū Šālīḥ 73 b note. An anchorite so named occurs in some Apophthegmata, Brit. Mus. Or. 6004.

¹⁹ Presumably this is the combined version of the Lives; v. Ladeuze *Pakhomē* 48; Butler *Lausiac Hist.* I 291.

²⁰ Frags. of Encomia by Proclus and (Cyril?) of Jerusalem, *Mission franç.* I 404; Clar. Press No. 42, Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 A. 93.

Apa Bēsa concerning the resurrection of the body (σῶμα), and our father Apa Shenoute¹.

Almost all these works are still partly extant among the fragments brought from the White Monastery.

B 24. On the left of B 23. Little is legible. Apparently a list of Lives or possibly Encomiums. '... the ship (?)', 'Raphael', 'Za[charias] the priest' can be read.

B 25. **ⲡⲏⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ**, 'The Lives of Apa Moses'. Does this refer to various biographies or merely to the number of copies?

B 26. **ⲁⲁⲩⲉⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲉⲛ**, 'King David, thirteen (copies)'. If this is the Psalter, it is an unusual way of designating it.

B 27. **ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩ**, 'These are the Synods'. But the word has not usually this meaning. It is often used by Shenoute for 'congregation', *συναγωγή*.

B 28. Commemorates perhaps the scribe or librarian. 'Remember me in charity (ἀγάπη), my fathers and my brethren, every one that shall read (*σις*). I, the sinful' [

B 29, 30, 31 are the protective charms, above alluded to; traces of another copy are recognizable on the south wall. The copies are intended to be identical; certain divergences in orthography may shew that they were written from dictation, by different scribes. That they are in Arabic, though in Coptic characters, is clear from the one phrase which can be transcribed and translated with certainty (ⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ &c., ll. 3, 4). In l. 1 Moses appears to be either adjured or (as often in such texts) to be the narrator, and in l. 2 perhaps his 'curse' occurs². I cannot discern against what intruders the incantation is directed; in l. 2 perhaps 'the worm' and 'die' are to be read. In l. 3 the words 'the living, who dieth not' might be an allusion to Mk. ix 48. They are followed immediately by a new sentence: 'Go forth from this house'. At the end of l. 4 the being addressed is committed to the flames. L. 5 ends perhaps with 'men and stones.' L. 6 consists of imperatives (and perhaps vocatives), bidding the unwelcome visitor be gone.

¹ Or read **ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲛⲱⲩⲥ**, 'The decease of our father &c.', which might refer to Bēsa's Life of S.

² In a colophon from the White Monastery (Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 B. 70) a remover of the volume is threatened with all the curses of Moses and the Law.

Little can be said of the system of transcription followed more as to the exact value of the words has been ascertained. The aspirates are employed, including noticeably the Bohairic ⲁ . ⲉ seems to be represented by ⲭ , as in the Cambridge fragment¹. ⲉ corresponds clearly to ⲉ ², while ⲭ , which represents it in the Cambridge frag., does not occur. ⲛ represents ⲃ as usual, and ⲉ occasionally

The text of B 29 is here given, with all variants from the α below it. The division of lines is that of B 29; the other texts differ where vertical strokes are here inserted. There are a few doubtful points in Canon Oldfield's readings, due to ambiguity in the script notably where ⲛ and ⲉ are confused.

¹ Ed. Casanova in *Bull. de l'Inst. franç.* (Cairo) I 1.

² This recalls the transcriptions in Stern's alchemistic tract (*Aeg. Z.*, 1885, which likewise came from Achmim. It will be remembered that, in the most Shenoute—or rather, of his copyists—the sound of ⲉ seems practically identical with those of ⲉ and ⲛ .

B 29. $\text{ⲁⲃⲓⲙⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩⲥⲛⲭⲉⲗⲗⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉⲩⲉⲁⲗⲉⲣⲁⲩⲟ}$

B 30. ⲗⲛ ⲙⲉ | ⲓ

B 31. ⲁⲓⲉ ⲗ ⲛ ⲁ

29. $\text{ⲧⲓ ⲙⲭⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩⲥⲣⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩⲥⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓⲉⲩⲟⲩⲧⲧ ⲟⲩ}$

30. $\text{ⲓⲛⲭ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩⲥⲛ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲩⲉⲁⲗⲉⲣⲁⲩⲟ}$

31. $\text{ⲓⲛⲭ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩⲥⲛ ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲩⲉⲁⲗⲉⲣⲁⲩⲟ}$

29. $\text{ⲡⲉⲣⲁⲁⲛⲉⲗⲉⲣⲉⲓⲉⲗⲗⲉⲣⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ}$

30. $\text{ⲛⲁⲓⲗⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ}$

31. $\text{ⲛ ⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ}$

29. $\text{ⲧⲉⲉⲗⲁⲛⲛⲉⲗⲉⲣⲉⲓⲉⲗⲗⲉⲣⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ}$

30. $\text{ⲗ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲉⲣⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ}$

31. $\text{ⲗ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲉⲣⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ}$

¹ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ . ² ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ . ³ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ . ⁴ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ . ⁵ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ . ⁶ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ . ⁷ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛ .

29. πεναρεν¹οτεισοτρεγεινη²σοτειλ . ιϛα . . . ρ

30. π | ενοττερεη τ . . ρ . σαρρ |

31. π | εισοττιρεη τεελρις ρ

29. χοτϣχιϣιτα¹μεϣχιτα²μεϣχιτ | αδροσ³αδροσ⁴αδροσ

30. χοτϣιτα¹ιτ | ιτ

31. χ¹ιϣ α . ι τ |

¹ كَفْ كَفَيْتْ . ² والى آخرك تَقُمْ بنا . ³ للناس . ⁴ وللجارية .
⁵ ! From شقذ . ⁶ اخرج .

Mr. C. R. Peers, who has made on the spot an architectural study of the White Monastery, the results of which he will shortly publish (in *Archaeological Journal*, 1904), has kindly sent me the following observations upon the two inscriptions A 6 and 7:—"The texts seem to refer to the building and not the fittings: the work is clearly something fairly large. An earthquake shook down the roof of the church—not the canopy of an altar—and a new roof had to be provided. Timber of sufficient size was probably unattainable; but bricks were always plentiful. So the new roof took the form of brick domes—the 'canopies' or 'ceilings' of the texts. And, in order to lessen the diameter of the domes, they were made to spring from piers and arches of brick, built within the lines of the old walls. The four 'columns'¹ mentioned in A 6 are probably to be identified with the four massive brick piers which carry the dome over the eastern bay of the church. The inscription in question appears to be upon the north-eastern of these piers. Whether the work finished on the 29th of Thoth was this pier or the dome over the eastern bay is not clear; it seems more likely that it was the dome². The two σκηναί would be the two bays of the church then roofed in: that is, the eastern bay and that next it to the west. These are still thus covered, and are the only part of the building still in use as a church."

W. E. CRUM.

¹ I must emphasize the uncertainty of the reading here.—[W. E. C.]

² Such a small affair as the leg of an altar-canopy would not have been worth recording.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR
PROPHETS. IV.

HAGGAI.

6 ⁶ Seminastis multa et intulistis minima
9 Haec dicit Dominus Omnipotens,
eo quod domus mea deserta est, vos autem sectamini unusquisque
o in domum suam, ¹⁰ propterea abstinebit caelum a rore et terra sub-
1 trahet procreationes suas, ¹¹ et inducam gladium super terram et super
frumentum et super vinum et super oleum et super homines et super
2 pecora et super omnes labores manuum eorum. ¹² Et adivit Zor-
babel filius Salathiel de tribu Iuda et Iesus filius Iosedech sacerdos
magnus et omnes qui superfluerunt de populo vocis Domini Dei sui
et verbum Aggaei prophetae, quoniam misit illum Dominus ad illos,
et timuit plebs a facie Dei

11.
§ et spiritus mea
instat in medio vestrum

Interroga sacerdotes, dicens:

1 6 *Spec. lix* 1 9-11 *Cypr. Ad Demat. vi; Spec. lix* 1 12 *Cyp.*
Testim. iii 20 II 5 *Spec. lii* II 11-14 *Auct. monetae Fulg. Demat. vi*

1. ἡ. Seminaſtis] *pe* ὁτι τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις (seq. ras I lit.) *A* minis
ἀγροὺς & g. Haec] *pe* ὅτι τοῦτο & Omnipotens] *sms S* eo quod] *pmpit*
quod *S* deserta est] *pe* αἰ Ν^a. 0 p val (rurs del) sectaminum] satis agilis
to. propterea abstinēbit] ideo cessavit *S* procreantes sams] fructus non-
suas] + ep vmas *L* 11. *S=C* super frumentum] *pe* *sms* *et* *ra* qd *E L R*
(*sms* 18 48) frumentum] *rurs N** (*et* *N^a* 4. u. h) super oleum] + *sms* *et*
vapores γ γγ & (*sms* Compl)
12. et locos ad fru. ann.] *sms Q** hab *Q** alius.
Item hab *am* *lpsos* . . . φασκελλας *et* *am* *H* + *Et* *et* *am* *qut* *Q* *et* *no* *no* *d*
popula] *vms* *haec* & suis] *et* *am* *Q** (*posita* *et*) 153 *et* *am* & *R* (*am* 153 *B*
volumen] + *ae* *locos* & (*vms* *largus* *Sms* *non* *largus* 24) quoniam] *alios* *G*
dominus] + *ae* *locos* *et* *am* *Dm*] *Kinos* &

11. *S. lachry*] *ejusque* 6 12. *scribitur*] + *que* 6 L. (see 42 147) 2

- 12 ¹² Si alligaverit homo carnem sanctam in summo vestimento et tetigerit summitas vestimenti aliquam creaturam panis aut vini aut olei, si sanctificatur? Et responderunt sacerdotes et dixerunt: Non.
- 13 ¹³ Et dixit Dominus: Si tetigerit inquinatus in anima horum aliquid, si inquinabitur? Et dixerunt sacerdotes: Inquinabitur. ¹⁴ Et dixit Dominus: Si et populus hic, et sic gens ista,
. omnis qui illic accesserit inquinabitur
- 21 ²¹ Ego commovebo caelum et terram, *Tyconius.*
- 22 mare et aridam ²² et
convertam currus et sessores, et descendent equi et sessores eorum
- 23 unusquisque in gladio ad fratrem suum. ²³ In illo die, dicit Dominus omnipotens, accipiam te Zorobabel, filium Salathiel servum meum, et ponam te signaculum, quoniam te elegi, dicit Dominus omnipotens.

ZECHARIAH.

I.

- 14 ¹⁴ Et ait mihi angelus qui in me loquebatur *Tertullian*
- 15 Zelatus sum Hierusalem et Sion zelo magno, ¹⁵ et ira magna ego irascor *Luc. Cal.*
super gentes quae se superponunt vobis; propter quod [*Tyconius.*]
ego quidem iratus sum mōdice, ipsi autem adiecerunt in mala. *Tyconius.*

II.

- II 14 Coll. Carth. *Gesta* cclviii II 21-23 Tycon. *Reg. Sept.*
Zechariah. I 14 Tert. *De carne Christi* xiv I 14, 15 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct.*
Athan. i 36 I 15 Tycon. *Reg. Sept.*

(*exc* 49 νομου) 12. vestimento] + αυτου *Ex* vestimenti] + αυτου *Ex* aliquam creaturam panis aut vini] *aprou* η *εψματος* η *οινου* *Ex* *aprou* η *οινου* η *εψ.* N^{o. b} (*vid*) η *εψ.* τ[ου] *οινου* Γ *vid* (*εψματος* N^{o. b}) olei] + η *παντος* βρωματος *Ex* si] *om* N! (*postea* *ruoc*) sanctificatur] *αγιασθησεται* *Ex* 13. Dominus] *Αγγαιος* *Ex* *Αγγεος* N Γ inquinatus] + *ακαθαρτος* *Ex* B L M N (*om* N^{o. b} 26 49 106) η *ακαθαρτος* A Q in anima horum aliquid] *επι* ψυχη *επι* παντος τουτων *Ex* B ψυχη *επι* ψυχη απο παντ. τουτ. A ψυχη *επι* ψυχην απο παντ. τουτ. Q sacerdotes] + *και* *ειπαν* *Ex* L M (*om* 68 87) 14. dixit Dominus] *απεκρηθη* *Αγγαιος* *Ex* (*Αγγεος* N) + *και* *ειπεν* *Ex* Si et] *ουτως* *Ex* sic et Cc hic] iste Cc et sic gens ista] Cc = F omnis . . . inquinabitur] et si illuc accesserit inquin. Cc *και* *ος* *εαν* *εγγιση* *εκει* *μανθησεται* *Ex* *και* *ος* *εαν* *εγγ.* *μανθ.* Q 21. ego] *pr* *ετι* *απαξ* L (*exc* 48 158 238) commovebo] *σειω* *Ex* B L M (*σειω* 40 42 238 310 *Compl* *σειω* N^{o. q}) terram] + *και* *Ex* 22. descendent] *αναβησονται* A Q^a (*λ'καβης.* [sic] Q^m) 22 26 51 106 (147 *ex* corr. m. rec.) 283 *καταβ.* *Ex* L (*exc* 22 51 147 238) M (*exc* 26 106) 23. meum] + *λεγει* *Κυριος* *Ex* signaculum] *ως* *σφραγιδα* *Ex* L (*exc* 147) M (*exc* 106) *eis* *σφ.* A 106 147

I. 14. Hierusalem et Sion] *tr* L M zelo magno] *om* 49 15. vobis] *om* *Ex* quidem] *om* L modice] minima L *ολιγα* *Ex* adiecerunt] composuerunt L *συνεπεθετο* *Ex*

- Speculum.* 7, 8 ⁷In Sion fugite qui conmoramini filiam Babylonis. ⁸ Quia haec dixit Dominus omnipotens: post honorem misit me super gentes quae spoliaverunt vos, quia qui tangit vos sicut qui tangit pupillam oculi ipsius; ⁹ ecce ego iniciam manum meam super eos, et erunt in praedam his qui serviunt illis, et scient quoniam Dominus omnipotens misit me
- Tyconius.* 13 ¹³ Timeat a facie Domini omnis terra quoniam exsurrexit de nubibus sanctis.
- Cyprian.* III. 1 ¹ Et ostendit mihi Dominus Iesum sacerdotem illum magnum stantem ante faciem angeli Domini, et diabolus stabat ad dexteram eius adversari ei. ² Et dixit Dominus ad diabolum: imperet in te
- Speculum.* 2 Dominus qui elegit Hierusalem . . . ³ [*Cyprian.*] Et Iesus erat indutus vestimenta sordida, et stabat ante faciem ipsius
- Cyprian.* 3 angeli. ⁴ Et respondit et ait ad eos qui stabant ante faciem eius, dicens: auferte vestimenta sordida ab eo. Et dixit ad eum: ecce
- 4 abstuli iniquitates tuas. Et induite eum poderem, ⁵ et inponite cidarim mundam super caput eius
- 8 ⁸ ecce ego adduco puerum meum,
- 9 ortus nomen ei est. ⁹ Quoniam lapis quem dedi ante faciem Iesu super lapidem ipsum unum septem oculi sunt
- IV.
- Tyconius.* 9 ⁹ Manus Zorobabel fundaverunt domum hanc et manus eius perficient eam

II 7-9 *Spec.* ii II 8 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv 35 II 13 *Tycon. Reg. Sept.*
 III 1 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 13 III 2 *Spec.* ii III 3-5 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 13
 III 8, 9 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 16 IV 9 *Tycon. Reg. Sept.*

II. 8. qui tangit *ad fin. com.*] qui tetigerit vos ac si pupillam oculi mei tangat *Tert.*
 9. ecce] *pr* διότι *Ex* *L* (exc 95 185) *Th* om *Q* (hab *Q^m*) in praedam . . . illis] *συντα*
τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς *Ex* *L* (exc 62 147 233) *συντα* τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς *Th* *A* *Q* 233
συντα τοῖς σκυλευουσιν αὐτοῖς 62 147 (αὐτοῖς) illis] *αὐτῆς* *Γ* scient] *γινώσκοντες*
Ex *γινώσκονται* *N* * (-σεσθε *N* ^{a, b}) 49 13. omnis terra] *πασα σαρξ* *Ex* sanctis] +
 αὐτῶν *Ex*

III. 1. illum] om *Ex* 2. Dominus 2^o] + διαβολὴ καὶ ἐπιτιμησαὶ Κυριοὶ *π*
 σοι *Ex* 3. erat] om 22 51 ipsius] om *Ex* angeli] + *κῦ* *Q* 4. qui
 stabant] *τον ἐστηκότα* *Q* auferte] *ἀφέλε* *Q* (-λετε *Q* ^a) abstuli] + *ἀπο σοῦ* *L*
 (exc 48 153 233) *Th* (exc 26 49 106) 5. cidarim] *πρ* *μιτραν* καὶ *L* (exc 48 153
 233) *Th* (exc 26 87 91) 8. ortus] *al* *Oriens* *C* *Ἀνατολὴν* *Ex* nomen est ei]
 om *Ex* *L* (hab 36) *Th* (hab 49) 9. ipsum] *τον* *Ex*

IV. 9. fundaverunt *ad fin. com.*] om *Q* * (hab *Q^m*) fundaverunt] *ἐθεμελίωσαν* *Ex*
ἐθεμελίωσαν *L* *Th* *N* *A* *Q^m* perficient] *ἐπιτελέσουσιν* *Ex* *ἐπιτελούνσιν* *A*

14 ¹⁴ Illi duo filii opimitatis adsistunt *Tertullian*

Domino universae terrae.

V. 1 ¹ Et conversus adlevavi oculos meos et vidi et ecce falcem *Speculum*

2 volantem ² statura cubitorum viginti et

3 latitudo cubitorum decem. ³ Et dixit mihi: hoc est maledictum

quod exiit ad maleficos qui sunt super faciem totius terrae; quia

4 omnis fur et periurus ex ea usque ad mortem punietur ⁴.

. Et proferam illam, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et introibit

in domum furis et in domum periurantis in nomine meo in mendacio,

et requiescet in media domo eius, et consummabit eum et materiam

eius et lapidem eius

.

.

VII.

9 ⁹ Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: iudicium iustum iudicate, et

10 misericordiam et pietatem facite unusquisque ad fratrem suum, ¹⁰ et

viduam et orfanum et proselytum et pauperem per potentiam nolite

obprimere et malitiam unusquisque fratris sui ne rememoremini in

11 cordibus vestris. ¹¹ [*Luc. Cal.*] Et dissuaserunt ne observarent et *Luc. Cal.*

12 dederunt dorsum stultitiae et aures suas ¹² et cor suum statuerunt

insuadibile ne oboedirent, degravaverunt ut non oboedirent legem

meam

13 ¹³ si clamabunt et non

exaudiam eos, dicit Dominus omnipotens

VIII.

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IV 14 Tert. Adv. Marc. iv 22

V 1-4 Spec. lxxiv

VII 9, 10 Spec. x

VII 9-13 Lucif. Cal. De sanct. Athan. i 37

VII 10 Tert. Adv. Marc. iv 16

14. Illi] + εἰσιν Γ 62 147

V. 1. Conversus adlevavi] ἐπιστρέψα και ηρα Ε 2. statura] μηκους Ε^B L

μηκος Η A Q Γ latitudo] πλατους Ε^B L (exc 147 283) Η (exc 49) πλατος A Q Γ

3. est] om Ε (hab 26 106) 3. ad maleficos qui sunt] al om qui sunt S om Ε

totius] al om S et periurus] om Ε 4. illam] αυτο Ε L (exc 62 147) Η

(om 87 91) αυτα A^b introibit] εισελευσομαι A furis et in domum] al om S

materiam] τα φυλα Ε lapidem] τους λιθους Ε

VII. 9. L = S 9. omnipotens] + λεγων Η Γ iudicate] κρινεται N* (κρινεται

N c. a, c. b) fratrem] πλησιον L 10. per potentiam] om Ε obprimere]

nocere L malitiam ad fin. com.] malitiam unusquisque non reminiscatur fratris

sui in corde suo L ne unusquisque malitiae fratris sui meminerit sed nec proximi

Tert rememoremini] μνησικακειτω Ε Η μνησικακειτε L in cordibus vestris]

του αδελφου αυτου Q 11. dorsum] + αυτων L et aures suas] + εβαρυναν του

μη εισακουειν Ε^B N A 12. cor suum] τας καρδιας αυτων N* (την καρδιαν αυτων

N c. a, c. b) degravaverunt ut non oboedirent] om Ε 13. si] ουτως Ε

ουτω Q^a eos] om Ε^B L (hab Η A Q Γ)

- 15 ¹⁵ animae
 16 quies(cit)ote; ¹⁶ haec sunt verba quae faciatis: loquimini veritatem
 unusquisque ad proximum suum et iudicium pacificum et iustum
 17 iudicate in portis vestris, ¹⁷ et unusquisque malitiam proximi tui nolite
 cogitare in cordibus vestris, et iusiurandum falsum nolite diligere,
 quoniam haec omnia odi, dicit Dominus omnipotens
 19 ¹⁹ pacem et veritatem diligite

IX.

Cyprian.

- 9 ⁹ Dicite filiae Sion: Ecce rex tuus venit tibi, iustus et salvans, mitis
 sedens super asinum indomitum

X.

- 11 ¹¹ Et transibunt per mare angustum et percutient in mari fluctus, et
 arefacient omnes altitudines fluminum, et confundetur omnis iniuria
 12 Assyriorum, et sceptrum Aegypti auferetur. ¹² Et confortabo eos
 in Domino Deo ipsorum, et in nomine eius gloriabuntur, dicit
 Dominus

XI.

Cyprian.

- 16 ¹⁶ Ecce ego suscito pastorem in terra qui quod aversum est non
 visitabit et carnes electorum
 manducabit, et talos illorum torquebit

XII. 10 ¹⁰

Et intuebuntur in me in

- VIII 15-17 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 37 VIII 17 Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iv 16;
Spec. xl VIII 19 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 37 IX 9 Cypr. *Testim.*
 ii 29 X 11, 12 Cypr. *Testim.* ii. 6 X 12 *Spec.* ii XI 16 Cypr. *Ad*
Novat. xiv XII 10 Cypr. *Testim.* ii 20 Tert. *De Resurrec. Carn.* xxvi;
Adv. Marc. iii 7; *Adv. Iud.* iv

VIII. 15. animae quiescitote] *θαρεστε* *Ex* 16. et iudicium] *πρ αληθειαν* *Ex*
 68 87 *πρ αληθως* 62 91 147 pacificum] *δικαιον* *A* 106 et iustum] *om* *Ex* *L*
 (exc 36) *Ex* (exc 49 68) iudicate] *κρινετε* *A Q* *κρινετε* *B* *L* 17. tui] *al* *sui*
L Tert *avrou* *Ex* 22 36 68 nolite cogitare] unusquisque ne recogitet Tert ius-
 iurandum] iuramentum *S* quoniam] quia *S* odi] *odivi* *S* 19. pacem et
 veritatem] *bis scr* *N* veritatem] *tr* *Ex*

IX. 9. Dicite filiae Sion] *χαίρε σφοδρα θυγατερ Σειων* (*Σειων* *B^b N A Q^a Γ*) *κηρυσσει*
θυγατερ *Ιερουσαλημ* *Ex* mitis sedens] *avros* *πραυς* *kai* *επιβεβηκως* *Ex* asinum
 indomitum] *υποζυγιον* *kai* *πωλον* *νεον* *Ex*

X. 11. confundetur] *αφαιρεθησεται* *Ex* *καθαιρεθησεται* *L* 12. confortabo]
 confirmabo *S*

XI. 16. Ecce] *pr* *duoti* *Ex* *om* 62 147 ego] *om* *Ex* 22 36 51 (*hab* *N^c b* [*postea*
ras] *Q*) pastorem] + *αμρον* *N^c a* (*rurs* *ras*) + *αμρον* *L* non visitabit] *ou* *μη*
επισκεψηται *Ex* torquebit] *εκτριψει* *A* *εκστρεψει* *Ex* *L*

XII. 10. Videbunt enim eum qui confixerunt *al* Tunc et cognoscent eum qui
 compugerunt *al* Et tunc cognoscent eum quem pupugerunt Tert in me] + (*l*) *eis*

quem transfixerunt

XIII. *Tertullian.*

7 ⁷ Exurge romphaea in pastores et evellite

oves, et superducam manum meam in pastores

9 ⁹ uram illos sicut

uritur argentum, et probabo illos sicut probatur aurum

XIV.

11 ¹¹ habitabit *Tyconius.*

12 in Hierusalem confidens, ¹² et haec erit strages qua caedet Dominus

populos, quotquot militaverunt adversus Hierusalem: tabescent

carnes eorum stantibus eis super pedes suos, et oculi eorum fluent

13 a foraminibus eorum, et lingua eorum tabescet in ore eorum. ¹³ Et

erit in illa die alienatio magna super illos, et adprehendet unus-

quisque manum proximi sui, et implicabitur manus eius manui

14 proximi eius. ¹⁴ Et Iudas proeliabitur in Hierusalem, et colliget

vires omnium populorum, aurum et argentum et vestem in multitu-

15 dinem nimis. ¹⁵ Et haec erit strages equorum et mulorum et

camelorum et asinorum et omnium pecorum quae sunt in castris

16 illis, secundum stragem istam. ¹⁶ Et erit quicumque relictus fuerint

ex omnibus gentibus venientibus super Hierusalem et ascendent

quotquot annis adorare regem Dominum omnipotentem, celebrare

diem festum scenopegiae

MALACHI.

I.

2 ² Iacob dilexi, *Cyprian.*

XIII 7 Tert. *De Fuga in persec.* xi

XIII 9 Tert. *De Fuga in persec.* iii

XIV 11-16 Tycon. *Reg. Quart.*

XIV 14 Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii 13; *Adv. Iud.* ix

Malachi. I 2, 3 Cyp. *De Mont. Sin. et Sion.* vi

ον ε[ξ]ε[κεντησαν] Γ 26 68 87 in quem transfixerunt] ανθ αν καταρχησαντο Ε Ξ
eis ον εξεκεντησαν Ξ

XIII. 7. pastores 1^o + μου Ε Ξ τον ποιμεναν Ν^a b τον ποιμαйна Α Q^a τον ποιμενα
Q^a Γ evellite] διασκορπισθητω Ν^a a διασκορπισθητωσαν Ν^a b Γ διασκορπισθησο] ται
Α (εκσπασατε Β) oves] + της ποιμνης Α superducam] επιστρεψω Ξ Ν^a b
(επαξω Ε Ξ) pastores 2^o] τους μικρους Β ποιμενας τους μικρους Ξ Ν^a a (improb.
postea reuoc. Νⁱ) τους ποιμενας Ξ Α Q Γ

XIV. 11. in] om Ε 11, 12. confidens . . . adversus Hierusalem] om Ν^a
(hab πεποιθotos [-τος ipse ut vid corr] . . . επι Ιλημ Ν^c b) 12. populos] pr
pantas Ε stantibus] εστηκοτες Ν^a (-των Ν^a b Ε) eis] om Β Ν Ξ (hab Α Ξ)
a] εκ Ε απο Α 13. alienatio] + Κυριου Ε (exc 106) adprehendet] επιλημ-
ψονται Ε Ξ επιληφεται Ξ επιλημφεται Α Γ 14. Et Iudas praetendit apud
Hierusalem et congregabit omnem valentiam populorum per circuitum aurum et
argentum Tert populorum] κυκλοθεν Ε nimis] pr εσται 62 147 15. Et 1^o]
om Α 16. celebrare] pr και Ε

I. 2. Iacob dilexi] tr Ε + λεγει πς Ν

6. suum] + φοβηθησεται Ξ Ν^a a (*postea*

- Luc. Cal.* 3³ Esau autem odio habui
Coll. Carth. 6⁶ Filius honorificat patrem et servus dominum suum; et si pater sum
 ego, ubi est honor meus? dicit Dominus omnipotens. [*Coll. Carth.*]
 Vos, o sacerdotes, qui profanatis nomen meum et dixistis, in quo pro-
 7 fanavimus nomen tuum? 7 Et ponentes in altari meo panes pollutos;
 et dixistis, in quo polluimus illos? In eo ut diceretis, mensa
 Domini benedicta est et quae superponebantur annullastis
Cyprian. 10¹⁰ Non est mihi voluntas
 circa vos, dicit Dominus, et sacrificium acceptum non habebō ex
 11 manibus vestris; 11 quoniam a solis ortu et usque in occasu clarifica-
 tum est nomen meum apud gentes, in omni loco odores incensi
 offeruntur nomini meo et sacrificium mundum, quoniam magnum
 est nomen meum apud gentes, dicit Dominus, et sacrificium ac-
 ceptum non habebō ex manibus vestris.
Speculum. 14¹⁴ Maledictus homo qui potens erat, et erat in grege eius masculus,
Cyprian. et votum eius super illum, et immolat inquinatum Domino; [*Cyprian.*]
 rex magnus sum ego, dicit Dominus, et nomen meum inlustre est
 apud gentes.

I 6 Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 37 I 6, 7 *Coll. Carth. Gesta* cclviii; *Spec.*
 xlvii I 10 *Spec.* xlvii I 10, 11 *Cypr. Testim.* i 16; *Tert. Adv.*
Marc. iii 22; *Adv. Iud.* v; *Coll. Carth. Gesta* lv I 14 *Spec.* lix; *Cypr.*
Testim. ii 29

ras) o] om S & profanatis] fallitis S in quo] in qua re S pro-
 fanavimus] sefellimus S 7. Et] om S & ponentes] offerentes S in
 altari meo] ad altarium meum S et dixistis] in mg. ras asterisc B! bende-
 dicta] ηλιοσημενη & B (-νην B*) & εξουθενωμενη & (exc 62 ευλογημενη) N^{c. a.} c. b. Q
 et quae superponebantur] in mg. ras asterisc B! και τα επιθενα N^{c.} (-θεμενα N^{c. a.})
 annullastis] βρωματα εξουθενωνται N^{c. b.} (postea reuoc. εξουθενωσατε) βρωματα εξουθε-
 μενα & A Q 10. circa vos] in vobis Ce omi S εν υμιν & Dominus] + om-
 nipotens Ce S + παντοκρατωρ & et sacrificium] sacrificia Tert acceptum] om
 Ce S Tert & habebō] accipiam Ce S recipiam Tert προσδεξομαι & ex] de Ce
 11. a solis ortu] ab ortu solis Ce ab oriente sole Tert et 1^o] om Ce Tert A Q
 in occasu] ad occasum Ce in occidentem (al in occasum) Tert εως δυσμων & + αυτου &
 clarificatum] glorificatum (al clarificatum) Tert apud gentes 1^o] in gentibus Ce
 in nationibus (al in omnibus gentibus) Tert + et Ce Tert (εθνεσι bis Q^a) in 1^o]
 pr et & odores incensi offeruntur] incensum offertur Ce offeruntur (al offeren-
 tur) sacrificia munda Tert θυμαμα προσαγεται & & (exc 22 51 θυμ. μοι προσαγ.) &
 θυμαμα προσαγαγετε επι A θυμαμα προσαγαγετε Q^a vid (-αγεται Q^a) nomini meo]
 om 22 51 quoniam 2^o. . . apud gentes 2^o] omi Tert apud gentes 2^o] in gen-
 tibus Ce Dominus] + omnipotens Ce + παντοκρατωρ & et sacrificium 2^o—ad
 fin. com.] al om C om Ce Tert & 14. Maledictus] pr και & homo] omi & &
 (exc 38) & (hab Compl) erat 2^o] + αυτω A 26 eius 1^o] omi A immolat]
 θνοι N (θνει &) inquinatum] διεφθαρμενα & (-μενον & &) rex] pr & omi &
 ego] om 62 147 Dominus] + Παντοκρατωρ &

II. 1, 2 ¹ Et nunc praeceptum hoc ad vos est, o sacerdotes. ² Si non *Cyprian.*
audieritis et si non posueritis in corde vestro ut detis honorem
nomini meo, dicit Dominus omnipotens, immittam in vos male-
dictionem, et maledicam benedictionem vestram

5 ³ Testamentum meum fuit cum vita et pace, et dedi illi timorem ut
6 ⁶ timeret me a facie nominis mei proficisci illum. ⁶ Lex veritatis in
ore eius, et iniustitia non est inventa in labiis eius, in pace linguae
7 corrigens ambulavit nobiscum, et multos avertit ab iniustitia. ⁷ Quo-
niam labia sacerdotis servabunt scientiam, et legem exquirent ab ore
eius, quoniam angelus Domini Omnipotentis est

10 ¹⁰ Nonne Deus unus condidit nos? Nonne pater unus est omnium
nostrum? quid utique dereliquistis unusquisque fratrem suum . . .
11 ¹¹ Derelictus est Iuda et abominatio facta est in Israel et in Hieru-
salem, quoniam profanavit Iudas sancta Domini, in quibus dilexit,
12 et affectavit deos alienos. ¹² Exterminabit Dominus hominem qui
facit haec, et humilis in tabernaculis Iacob

17 ¹⁷ Exacerbatis Deum in verbis vestris, et dixistis, in qua re exacer- *Luc. Cal.*
bavimus eum? In eo quod dicatis: omnis qui facit malum bonum
est coram Deo, et in ipsis benedicet. Et ubi est Deus iustitiae?

III. 1 ¹ Et subito venit *Speculum.*
in templo suo Dominus quem vos quaeritis, et angelus testamenti
quem vos vultis;

3 ³ Et sedit conflans et expurgans sicut aurum et argentum et emun- *Cyprian.*

II 1, 2 *Cypr. Ep.* lix 13; lxxiv 8 II 5 *Cypr. Testim.* iii 20 II 5-7
Cypr. Testim. ii 5 II 10 *Cypr. Testim.* iii 3 II 11, 12 *Cypr. Testim.* i 1
II 17 *Lucif. Cal. De sanct. Athan.* i 38 III 1 *Spec.* ii III 3 *Cypr. Testim.* iii 57

II. 1. est] *om* *Gr* o sacerdotes] *oi ierpeis* *Gr* *L* (*exc* 22 36 51 *ω ierpeis*) *W* (*exc*
106) *τους ierpeis* *Γ* 106 2. audieritis] *υπακουσητε* *A* *Γ* 36 49 106 si non 2*]
om *N* ^{a, b} (*postea ras*) posueritis] *θεσθε* *N* ^{a, c, b} in corde] *εν ταις καρδιας* *N* ^{c, b}
(*postea repositus, eis την καρδιαν*) omnipotens] *al* *om* *C* immittam] *al* immittam *C*
εξαποστελλω *N* (*-στελω* *N* ^{c, a, c, b}) 5. meum] *al* *om* *C* (*om* 311) vita] *pr* *avτου*
illi] *al* illis *C* timorem] *εν φοβω* *Gr* *W* (*om* *en* *L* *N* ^{c, b}) ut timeret] *al* timere *C*
me] *om* *B* (*hab* *B* ^{a, b} (*vid*)) a facie] *pr* *kai* *Gr* proficisci illum] *al* *om* *C*
6. in ore] *pr* *ην* *Gr* linguae] *al* *om* *C* *om* *Gr* nobiscum] *μετ* *μου* *Gr* 7. Om-
nipotentis] *al* *om* *C* 10. Nonne 1^o . . . nostrum] *ουχι* *πρ* *eis* *παντων* *υμων* *ουχι*
θς *eis* *εκτισεν* *υμας* *N* ^{c, b} nos] *υμας* *Gr* est] *om* *Gr* quid utique] *τι* *οτι* *Gr*
διotti *Γ* 11. deos] *pr* *eis* *Gr* (*om* *N* ^{c, b}) 12. et humilis] *εως* *kai* *ταπεινωθη*
Gr *W* *εως* *αν* *kai* *ταπεινωθη* *L* *N* ^{c, a} Iacob] *al* *om* *C* 17. Exacerbatis] *oi* *παρο-*
ξυνοντες *Gr* eum] *om* *A* *Γ* 26 49 106 233 *σε* 87 91 benedicet] *pr* *avτος* *Gr*

III. 1. venit] *ηκει* *Gr* suo] *εαυτου* *Gr* ^b *L* *W* *avτου* *A* *Q* ^m *Γ* *om* *Q* ^a 3. Et 1^o]

dabit filios Levi

7⁷ Revertimini ad me
et ego revertar ad vos, dicit Dominus

Speculum. 8⁸ Si subplantabit homo Dominum quia vos subplantastis me. Et
dixistis, in quo subplantavimus te? Quia decimae meae et primitiae
9 vobiscum sunt. 9 Et dissimulantes vos dissimulastis, et vos me
10 subplantastis, . . . 10 et intulistis vos pignera in thesauris vestris, et
erit rapina in domibus vestris

Luc. Cal. 13¹³ Gravastis adversum me consilia vestra dicit Dominus omnipotens,
14 et dixistis, in qua re detraximus de te? 14 quia dixistis, vanus est
omnis qui servit Deo, et quid amplius quod custodivimus praecepta
illius, et ambulavimus deprecantes ante conspectu Domini omnipo-
tentis?
15¹⁵ Et nunc nos magnificamus alienos, et renovantur omnes facientes
16 iniqua, et restiterunt Deo, et salvati sunt. 16 Haec detraxerunt qui
timent Deum unusquisque ad proximum suum, et intendit Dominus
et exaudivit, et scripsit librum memorialem coram se timentibus
17 Dominum et metuentibus nomen suum. 17 Et erit mihi, dicit
Dominus omnipotens, in die qua ego facio, in possessione, et eligam
eos quemadmodum eligit homo filium suum bene servientem sibi.
18¹⁸ Et conversi videbitis quantum sit inter iustum et iniustum, inter
servientem Deo et non servientem.

III 7 Cypr. *Ad Vig.* i; *De bono pat.* iv
Lucif. Cal. *De sanct. Athan.* i 38

III 8-10 *Spec.* lix

III 13-18

om E^B expurgans] καθαραιετε N^* (-ριζων $\text{N}^{\text{c.a.}}$, c.b) sicut aurum] αυτ αυτ το
 χρυσιον obel adpinx B^a (non b) m^g aurum et argentum] tr E argentum] pr αυ
 E^B H^A (om L exc 62 147) emundabit] καθαραι L N^* (-ρισι $\text{N}^?$) Q r Levi]
 Λει N^* (Λει E^B L H $\text{N}^{\text{c.a.}}$) Λει A Q^a 7. Revertimini] επιστραφητε A f
49 106 ego] om E et ego revertar ad vos] al om C Dominus] + Πατο
 κρατωρ E 8. Si] μητι E^B ei L H Dominum] Θεον E subplantastis]
 πτερνιζετε E επτερνιζετε Q^* (πτερν. Q^*) dixistis] επειτε E^B (ειπατε L H $\text{N}^{\text{c.}}$
 A Q^a r) meae] om E primitiae] αρχαι N^* (απαρχαι $\text{N}^{\text{c.a.}}$, c.b) 9. dis-
simulastis] + eis αυτα 22 51 62 147 + eis αυτο 95 185 vos me] tr E H 10. vos]
om E pignera] pr παντα E L (exc 62 147) H thesauris] των θησαυρων $\text{N}^{\text{c.a.}}$
(postea τους θησαυρους) vestris] om E (hab L H) erit] om $\text{N}^?$ (postea resti)
rapina] + αυτον E + αυτον $\text{N}^{\text{c.a.}}$ (postea ras) in domibus vestris] ex των οικων αυτων
 E 26 106 13. consilia] τους λογους E omnipotens] om E H 14. quia]
om E est omnis qui servit] o δουλευων E L (exc 36 pas o δουλευων) H et 2]
+ διοτι E^B L 15. omnes] om E H facientes] ποιουντες bis scr B et 3]
om L A Q r 16. Deum] τον κυριον E om iv N^* vid (hab $\text{N}^?$) intendit] idem r
17. erit] εσονται E mihi] μου N^* vid (μοι $\text{N}^?$) eligit] αισπετει Q^* αισπετει ei E
bene] om E 18. Et 1°] om N^* (hab $\text{N}^{\text{c.a.}}$) quantum sit] om E iniustum]
 pr αναμεσον E inter 2°] pr kai E non servientem] pr αναμεσον L + αυτω L r
Compl

IV. 1 ¹ Ecce dies Domini venit ardens velut clibanus, eruntque *Cyprian.*
 omnes alienigenae et omnes iniqui stipula, et succendet illos ad-
 veniens dies, dicit Dominus [*Lucif. Cal.*] et non derelinquetur ex eis *Luc. Cal.*
² radix nec vitis. ² Vobis autem timentibus meum nomen orietur sol *Cyprian.*
 iustitiae et sanitas in alis eius
 4 ⁴ Et ecce mittam vobis Helian Thesbitem *Tertullian.*

IV 1 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 28; *Ad Demet.* 22; *Lucif. Cal. De sanct. Athan.* i 38
 IV 2 *Cypr. Ad Vig.* 6; *De Pascha Computus* 19; *Tycon. Reg. Sept.* iv 4; *Tert. De Anima* v

IV. 1. Quia ecce dies venit Domini ardens sicut clibanus et uret eos et erunt
 omnes alienigenae et omnes qui faciunt scelera ut sarmenta et succendet eos dies
 Domini quae venit dicit Dominus omnipotens L Ecce] *pr* *διότι* *ἐξ* *ἡ* *pr* *οτι*
ἡ *N^a.^b* *om* *A^a* (*διότι* *ἰδοὺ* *in* *mg.* *et* *sup* *ras* *A^a* *†*) Domini] *om* *ἡ* *eruntque*
pr *καὶ* *φλέξει* *αὐτοὺς* *ἐξ* *ἡ* (*exc* 62 147) *ἡ* iniqui] *pr* *οὗτοι* *ἐκ* *ἡ* Dominus] +
Παντοκράτωρ *ἐξ* *ex*] *om* *ἡ* *N^a.^b* 2. Timentibus oritur sol iustitiae et sanitas
 in pinnis eius T Vobis . . . orietur] *καὶ* *ἀνατελεῖ* *ὑμῖν* *τοὺς* *φοβούμενους* *τὸ* *ὄνομα*
μου *ἐκ* *timetibus*] *al* *qui* *timetis* C meum nomen] *al* *nomen* *Domini* C
 orietur] *al* + *vobis* C sanitas] *al* *curatio* C alis] *al* *pinnis* C eius] *αὐτῶν*
A 106 4. Et] *om* *Γ* mittam] *pr* *ἐγὼ* *ἐκ* *ἀποστελλῶ* *Q* 22 36 49 51

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

NOTES ON THE DIDACHE.

I.

ON BAPTISM BY AFFUSION.

WHERE and when did Baptism by Affusion come to be regarded as perfectly adequate and legitimate? We need not pursue the question beyond the first five centuries.

1. Tertullian *de Cor. Mil.* 3 says 'ter mergitamar'. In several places he uses the word 'tinguo', which means 'to dip' (*Virg. Georg.* i 246 'Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingui'); or to dip cloth in vats and so 'to dye'. The word does not appear to be used of bathing. Dipping which imparts a colour or character seems to be its common sense, and hence it came to be used of Baptism.

2. In the third century Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, says that the whole of the clergy and many of the laity of that church objected to the ordination of Novatian (*Eus. H. E.* vi 43, 17) *ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα (= perfusum), ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρόν τινα γενέσθαι*. It has been thought that the ground of the

objection is to be found in the words *διὰ νόσον*, and that what the objectors really meant was that Novatian had been baptized only because he was sick, from fear and not in faith. For this reason the later canon of Neocaesarea (12) lays it down as a general rule that *clinici* ought not to be ordained. But this does not appear to be the meaning of Cornelius. Just before he says *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλῆτῃ ἢ ἐκεῖτο περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν· εἰ γὰρ χροὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι*. What he dislikes is the informality and apparent irreverence of administering Baptism by affusion to a person lying on a bed. It is to be noticed that Novatian had not delayed his Baptism (this is the offence against which the Neocaesarean canon is aimed), for his sickness and his conversion coincided in point of time. Cornelius goes on to say that Novatian had not after his recovery received the *σφραγίς*; this was another additional defect. But the fact that he had been baptized by affusion was in itself an irregularity.

3. In this Cornelius quite agrees with Magnus, an African Christian, who wrote to Cyprian to ask him whether those who had been baptized in sickness were 'legitimi christiani, eo quod aqua salutarī non loti sunt sed perfusi'. Here there can be no doubt that what Magnus objects to is the form of Affusion. Cyprian replies (*Ep.* 69) that it makes no difference 'quod adspersi vel perfundi videntur aegri'. Let us notice that he uses *adspersi* and *perfundi* as synonyms, and that he does not add, as he certainly would have done if it had been true, that he knew cases when people who were not sick had been baptized by affusion. Later on in this same Epistle he writes 'non interrogentur utrumne loti sint an perfusi, utrumne clinici sint an peripatetici', thus identifying the *peripateticus* with the *lotus*. Cyprian corresponded with the Bishops of Rome, Gaul, and Spain in the West, and with Firmilian of Cappadocia in the East, and was well acquainted with the different usages of the two divisions of the Church in respect of re-baptism. But he does not appear to be aware of any difference in the method of administration.

4. So far things appear to be quite clear. It has, however, been thought by high authorities that we have a picture of Baptism by Affusion, dating from the second century, and therefore long before Magnus wrote to Cyprian, in the Roman catacombs. Let us pave the way for its consideration by observing that in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (Achelis, p. 96) the priest is directed to keep his hand upon the head of the baptized throughout the three immersions, an attitude which would be difficult in the case of baptism by affusion, for it was the right hand. Tertullian puts the rule differently, *de Bapt.* 8 'dehinc (after immersion) manus imponitur per benedictionem advocans et invitans sacrum spiritum.' Now in the fresco in question (it is in the Chapel of the Sacrament in the Cemetery of Callistus), this appears to be the

moment selected for representation. The reader may consult the chromo-lithographs given by de Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* ii plate 16, and by Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* ii plate 27. The scene is a river with rocky bank. The Baptist, naked save for an apron round his loins, touches with outstretched right hand the head of our Lord, round which water is seen flying off in great quantities. Behind the Baptist is the Dove (not in de Rossi). The Lord is standing in the river. In Wilpert's reproduction the right foot of the Baptist is in the water, the left is raised as if he were just stepping on to the bank. In that of de Rossi both his feet are visible and he appears to have just emerged.

Wilpert gives four other pictures representing Baptism of which three are quite parallel to this, except that they do not attempt to draw the water dripping from the head (plate 39—second century, plate 58—third century, plate 228—fourth century). In all the moment chosen for representation is the same, and the priest is seen laying his hand on the head of the baptized. It appears to me that Mr Marriott (in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, article *Baptism*), de Rossi, and Wilpert are quite mistaken in supposing that what we have in the first fresco is a picture of Baptism by affusion. The moment selected by the artist is that which immediately follows the act of Baptism, and the picture does not tell either one way or the other.

5. Perpetua and some of her companions were baptized in prison: so was Donatianus (*Passio S. Montani* in Ruinart): not necessarily by affusion; there was a *labrum aquarum* in the jail. All these cases are African; in the East martyrs appear to have been taught that the baptism of blood sufficed. In the Acts of St Laurence a soldier is baptized in prison from a pitcher, but the Acts are later. Such cases were quite extraordinary.

6. Early in the fourth century we find a passing phrase in Lactantius *div. inst.* iv 15 'ut gentes baptismo, id est . . . purifici roris perfusione salvet'. We can hardly build an argument on these words. Lactantius is a stylist, whose language is largely affected by reminiscences of Virgil. Now Virgil uses *perfunco* of dipping sheep—*Georg.* iii 445 'Dulcibus idcirco fluviis pecus omne magistri Perfundunt'; cp. with this *Georg.* i 272 'Balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri'. It is not quite certain what Lactantius means, but, if he means that Baptism might in all cases be administered by *perfusio* in the strict sense of the word, he does not agree with Cornelius, Cyprian, or Magnus.

7. About the middle of the fourth century Cyril of Jerusalem appears to contemplate Baptism by immersion only. The font is the *κολυμβήθρα*, the baptized go down into the water and rise up from it (*καταδύειν, ἀναδύειν*), the immersion signifies the burial of Christ. While

under the water, the baptized see nothing, as if it were night; when they emerge they see again clearly as in the day (*C. M.* ii 4). Cp. *C.* xvii 13.

8. Basil, in Cappadocia, writes *de S. S.* 15 οἷον γὰρ ἐνθάπτεται τῇ ὕδατι τῶν βαπτιζομένων τὰ σώματα . . . τὸ ὕδωρ ὥσπερ ἐν ταφῇ τὸ σῶμα παραδεχόμενον, words which would seem to be conclusive in favour of immersion, if it were not for the next quotation.

9. For Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, *Cat. Or.* xxxv (vol. iii p. 98 D ed. Paris 1638), writes ἀντὶ γῆς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιχεάμενος καὶ ὑποὺς τὸ στοιχεῖον: again (ibid. p. 99 D) τὸ ὕδωρ τρὶς ἐπιχεάμενοι καὶ πάλω ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος: again in *Bapt. Christi* (vol. iii 372 B) εἰ γὰρ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς γῆς στοιχεῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκείνῳ ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκρίπομεν: and again (ibid. p. 376 D) ὕδατι γὰρ ἀνήφθη τὸ πῦρ τρίτον ἐπαυτλήνεται.

Gregory agrees with all the other authorities in requiring the candidate to go into the water and stand there. But the water is then apparently poured, from the hand, or rather from a vessel (ἐπιχεῖν, ἐπαντλεῖν), in considerable quantity, so that the man may be said to 'go under the element', to 'hide himself in the water'. Further, as in the phrase last quoted he is speaking of the baptism in Jordan, he regards our Lord Himself as having been baptized in this manner. In this he is followed by the Ravenna mosaics (see Marriott's article *Baptism* in *D. C. A.*; the date is said to be about 450) in which the Baptist is seen pouring water from a scallop on the Lord's head. It is just possible that the expressions of Basil, strong as they appear, are to be understood in this way. But the words of Cyril, that while under the water the man 'sees nothing as in the night', would in this case be a rather violent hyperbole.

10. About the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century we have Chrysostom—in *Ep. i ad Cor. Hom. xl* (vol. x p. 379 C, Paris 1738)—τὸ γὰρ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι εἴτα ἀνανεῖν τῆς εἰς ᾧδον καταβάσεώς ἐστι σύμβολον καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν ἀνόδου. Here again the words are most easily understood of immersion.

11. About the same period Jerome *adv. Luciferianos* (vol. ii p. 180, Venice 1767) says 'Nam et multa alia, quae per traditionem in Ecclesiis observantur, velut in lavacro ter caput mergitare'. The words are put into the mouth of the Luciferian, but as a statement of undisputed fact.

12. Later we have Theodoret, who speaks of those who are baptized by Arians as βαπτιζόμενοι μᾶλλον δὲ βυθιζόμενοι (Schultze, vol. i part 2, p. 985).

Again *Haer. Fab.* iv 35 (Schultze, vol. iv part 1, p. 356), he gives a curious description of Baptism as practised by the Eunomians. They

violate τὸν ἀνέκαθεν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδοθέντα θεσμόν. They immerse (καταδύνειν, βαπτίζειν) only once 'into the death of Christ'. 'They baptize and wet with the water only as far as the breast, and forbid the water to be applied to the other parts as unclean. For this reason, when they baptized in a font (πίελος), they made the man stand outside it, and plunged his head as far as the breast once into the water.' Another of their methods was to swathe the body from the feet to the breast in a consecrated bandage (ταινία), and then pour water (προσφέρουσι τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν κατάχυσιν) on the head and shoulders. We may gather from this that, in the belief of Theodoret, the θεσμός of Baptism required that there should be three applications of the water, that the man should not stand outside the font, that the water should lave the whole body. But further Theodoret appears to have in his mind not perfusion but immersion as the right form. Certainly βυθίζειν is a strong word.

13. Add Zeno Veron. (Galland, v 148) 'Vos constanter immergite . . . Balneator praecinctus . . . Nudi demergimini . . . Superfluentis amnis undae subiecti.'

The conclusions which I draw are—(1) That down to the time of Cyprian Baptism was administered by immersion, except in the case of sick people. (2) That Baptism, not by mere sprinkling but by a very copious affusion of water, came into use, at any rate in certain churches, in the fourth century. (3) That, even in this case, the candidate went into the water, and stood there during the administration of the rite. (4) That immersion continued to be the general use.

Now let us turn to the *Didache*. In chapter vii 1 it is directed that Baptism shall be administered as a rule by three immersions 'in living water'. Harnack is right, I think, in holding that by living water is meant running water. In the next section we read—'But if thou hast not living water, baptize in other water, and, if thou canst not in cold, then in warm.' Living water was not essential, see Tertullian *de Bapt.* 4 'Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an in stagno, flumine an in fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur'. But the feeling that the water ought, if possible, to be in movement was very strong. See *Canons of Hippolytus* (Achelis) p. 94 'consistant prope fluctuantem aquam maris puram paratam sacram'. Even when a font was used it was so managed that the water flowed in and out. See the Egyptian Church Order (*ibidem*). But it is noticeable that the compiler of the *Didache* introduces a new point of casuistry. In the case of invalids warm water might be used. In the third section he goes a step further. 'Εὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς ὕδωρ. 'If thou have neither hot nor cold water in sufficient quantity (I suppose that this is what he means), then it will suffice to pour water three times upon the head.' The rule may be

relaxed simply on the ground that no sufficient supply of water for the more regular mode of administration is at hand, whether the candidate is sick or whole. Bryennius thought that the compiler must have meant to restrict this indulgence to extreme cases, *ἐὰν ἀνάγκη ἐπιστῇ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*. But Schaff and Harnack do not find this proviso in the text, and indeed it is not there.

'Here', says Harnack, 'we have the oldest testimony for the lawfulness of Baptism by aspersion; it is especially important to notice that the author betrays not the slightest doubt as to its validity.' It is true that he has no doubt upon the point, and it is also true that in this he takes a very wise and liberal view. But in the middle of the third century Magnus and many others would have doubted whether a person baptized in this way, even under stress of necessity, was *legitimus christianus*, and even Cyprian and Cornelius, and probably Tertullian also, would hardly have said that the difference between immersion (or, if the reader chooses, such a perfusion as Gregory of Nyssa describes) and the pouring of a small quantity of water on the head of a sick person lying on a bed, or of a whole person standing on the ground, made 'nulla distinctio'.

To us moderns the teaching of the *Didache* on this point seems quite unobjectionable. But this is not the impression which it would have produced in the ante-Nicene church. It struck the editor of the *Constitutiones apostolicæ* as novel and risky; hence, when he came, probably after no great lapse of time, to work over this passage of the *Didache*, he refused to consider the possibility of an insufficient supply of water. 'First,' he says, 'thou shalt anoint with holy oil, then thou shalt baptize with water, and lastly thou shalt seal with ointment . . . But if there be neither oil nor ointment, the water is sufficient' (*Const. Apost.* vii 22).

II.

ON CERTAIN POINTS IN THE FIRST CHAPTER.

The *Didache* is of course a compilation, like the *Apostolical Church Order*, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Egyptian Church Order*, the *Didascalia*, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the *Testamentum Domini*. All such collections contain materials of very different dates, some of great antiquity. In this they all resemble our own Book of Common Prayer. The date at which the collection was made is fixed not by the earliest material but by the latest. Thus the date of any edition of our Common Prayer is ascertained not by the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but by the name of the sovereign.

One comparatively modern feature of the *Didache* is Baptism by Affusion. Others may be detected in the first chapter. I may be pardoned for writing out at some length familiar passages upon which the argument turns.

Hermas, 'Εντολή Β': Ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου, ὣν ὁ Θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι, πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς. πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. ὁ οὖν δίδους ἀθῶός ἐστιν· ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν, μὴθὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ διακονία αὕτη ἀπλῶς τελεσθεῖσα ἐνδοξος παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἀπλῶς διακονῶν τῷ Θεῷ ζήσεται. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην, ὥς σοι λελάληκα.

The reader will observe here (1) that there are no Biblical quotations, (2) that the ἐντολή is the Mandate of the Angel of Repentance, (3) that great stress is laid upon the repeated word ἀπλῶς. Almsgiving is an absolute duty; the giver is to ask no questions, the responsibility lies entirely upon the recipient.

Didascalia (*Verona Fragments*, Hauler, no. xxxvii p. 53): 'Vae autem his qui habent et cum dolo accipiunt aut qui possunt sibi iuuare et accipiunt. Unusquisque uero de accipientibus dabit rationem domino Deo in die iudicii, quare acceperit. Si enim in orfanitate constitutus est aut in paupertate aut per senectutis defectionem aut propter aegritudinis infirmitatem aut propter filiorum, quia multi sunt, nutrimenta accipit, qui talis, inquit, est et laudabitur: altar is enim Dei deputatus est et honorabitur, quoniam sine dubitatione pro his qui dant illi frequenter orat. . . . Qui habent autem et in hypocrisi accipiunt, aut iterum cum sint pigri et cum debeant operari et iuuare sibi et aliis, ipsi accipientes praestabunt rationem. . . . Qui ergo dat simpliciter omnibus, bene dat, sicut est illi, et est innocens. Qui autem propter tribulationem accipit, se pascet scitus et bene accipit et a Deo in uita aeterna constitutus glorificabitur.'

Compare Mrs Gibson's translation of the Syriac text, p. 80.

Probably it will not be disputed that the author of the *Didascalia* is here amplifying what Hermas had said. It will be observed that he has both the ἀπλῶς (*simpliciter*) and the ἀθῶος (*innocens*) of Hermas, not to dwell upon other points. The new features which he introduces are (1) the *Woe*, (2) the Day of Judgement, (3) the Widows and Orphans, (4) who are the Altar of God (Heb. xiii 10; Polycarp. *Phil.* 4; Tert. *ad Ux.* i 7), (5) the recipient will pray for the giver. I do not understand qui talis, *inquit*, est et laudabitur. The word *inquit* is not found in the Syriac, nor in the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* (iv 3), where the

Didascalía is very closely reproduced. But it will be observed that the *Didascalía* still holds that Almsgiving is an absolute duty.

The *Constitutiones Apostolicae* again expands the *Didascalía*. The most important change is to be found in the beginning of the parallel passage (iv 3), ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν δίδοντα ἥπερ τὸν λαμβάνοντα. καὶ γὰρ εἰρήται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις· ἐκάτερος γὰρ ἀποδώσει λόγον κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. Here we have first a quotation from Acts xx 35, and then the compiler goes on to quote the *Didascalía* verbally as scripture. But still Almsgiving is enforced without restriction.

But where did the *Woe* and the prayers of the recipient come from? From Clement of Alexandria. See the Fragment (Dindorf vol. iii p. 492; Zahn *Forschungen* iii pp. 49, 50; Resch *Agrapha* p. 99). We have two quotations of the same passage of Clement, one in Anastasius (this is given only by Zahn) and another in the Catena of Nicetas on Matt. v 42. Let us take the latter first. Πουητέον ἐλεημοσύνας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἵνα εὐρωμεν ἀνταπόδομα παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου. οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις. ὁ γὰρ ἔχων καὶ δι' ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἢ ἀργίαν λαμβάνων κατακριθήσεται.

In Anastasius *Quaest.* 14 the passage runs thus: 'Ελεημοσύνας δεῖ ποιεῖν ὁ λόγος (Matt. v 42) φησί, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς σπείρει οὐκ εἰς ἀπλῶς γῆν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ὅτι αὐτῷ καρποφορήσῃ, οὕτω δεῖ σπείρειν τὴν εὐποιαν εἰς εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πνευματικούς, ἵνα τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐκαρπίας διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ἐπιτύχῃς. γέγραπται γὰρ εὐποίησον εὐσεβεῖς καὶ εὐρήσεις ἀνταπόδομα, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ ὑψίστῳ (Sir. xii 2). Nicetas appears to have omitted several clauses and to have carried on the quotation a little farther. In Clement, then, we find for the first time the prayers of the recipient (this is his reason for giving only to people whose prayers are likely to be heard), and the phrase Οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, which, having been borrowed from him by the *Didascalía*, is quoted from that book as scripture by the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*. Clement no doubt was thinking of Hermas, an author with whom he was familiar, though the only phrase which he has borrowed is ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνειν.

Resch (*Agrapha* p. 146) thought that the editor of the *Constitutiones* in this place (iv 3) made use of three sources, the *Didache*, the *Didascalía*, and an extra-canonical gospel. For the admission of the last-named source he gives two reasons: (1) that the *Woe* is given in the *Constitutiones* in fuller form than in the *Didascalía* (this, however, is an error due to the fact that Resch did not employ the full text of the latter document); (2) that in the *Constitutiones* the *Woe* is introduced

by the words καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (that is to say, by the Lord). Except for this fact there is no reason for thinking that the editor of the *Constitutiones* had here in his mind more than one book, and that one the *Didascalia*. The εἴρηται is probably nothing more than a hasty inference, suggested by a loose recollection of the Woes in St Luke's Gospel. How easily such a slip might occur will appear from the insertion of the *inquit* in the text of the *Verona Fragments*.

We may now pass on to the *Didache* (i 5, 6): Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδωσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ δίδους κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἁθῶς γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἁθῶς ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἑσχατὸν κοδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.

In this last sentence the emendation of Bryennius (*ιδρωσάτω* for *ιδρωάτω*) has been confirmed by a passage of Cassiodorus, to which Professor Loofs first directed attention. It will be found in the *Expositio in Psal. xl* and runs thus: 'Omni petenti te tribue. Scriptum est etiam Desudet eleemosyna in manu tua donec inuenias iustum cui eam tradas. Sed si omnes iustos quaerimus, imperatam constringimus largitatem. . . Sufficit nobis ut nos dare aliquid malis artibus nesciamus. . . Qui sic dederit, etsi iustis non det, iuste tamen omnibus erogabit.' Resch is probably right in thinking (*Agrapha* p. 288) that the way in which Cassiodorus insists upon the word *iustum* shews that he is quoting not from the *Didache*, but from some common source. This however is immaterial; in the *Didache* itself the precept is given as a quotation, and the book from which it is drawn can hardly be of the first antiquity, for it contains a criticism and a limitation of our Lord's command, which had not occurred to 2 Clement (see chap. 16).

We have then in this passage of the *Didache* (1) a quotation from St Luke (vi 30), (2) close verbal resemblances to Heras, including in particular the uncommon word ἁθῶς, which in the *Didache* is doubled, (3) the *Woe* (Clem. Alex., *Didascalia*, *Const. App.*) in a shortened form, (4) a quotation from St Matthew (v 26), (5) a quotation probably from some extra-canonical Gospel of latish date.

Three of these phrases are manifestly quotations, and the last can hardly be older than the second century. The *Woe* may be older than Clement, but there is no good reason for thinking that it is; and as to Heras, it is only necessary to point out that his simple πᾶσιν δίδου is in the *Didache* changed into a definite quotation from the Gospel. But it may also be suspected that the κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, which in the

Didache is made to refer to Luke vi 30, was suggested by the *φύλασσε τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην* of Hermas.

It is worth adding that the curious variation on Luke vi 27, which occurs in *Didache* i 3, *ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔχετε ἐχθρόν*, is found also in the *Didascalía*; see Mrs Gibson's Translation p. 3; *Verona Fragments* p. 4 'diligite odientes uos et orate pro male-dicentibus uos et inimicum nullum habebitis'. Here it might be supposed that the *Didascalía* is following the *Didache*. But just above, in the same verse, we have a very remarkable perversion of Scripture in the words *ἡσθεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς*. For the explanation of this precept we must turn to chap. xxi of the *Didascalía*; see especially the words 'Therefore know, brethren, that our fast which we keep in the Passover because our brethren have not obeyed, ye shall keep even if they hate you', but the whole of this chapter underlies the audacious change which the *Didache* has made in the Sermon on the Mount. The Wednesday and Friday fasts, and the fast of Holy Week are all to be kept on behalf of the Jews. This is not to be regarded as a mark of sympathy with the Jews. The author of the *Didache* has a strong dislike of the Jews whom he calls 'hypocrites'; see viii 'Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth'. He condemns Quartodecimanism, and for a parallel to his language we must turn to the words of the Emperor Constantine (Socrates i 9) 'Let there be nothing in common between you and the most hateful mob of the Jews'. Such things were not said in the first century (not even by Barnabas), nor even in the second. Even the *Didascalía* (see Mrs Gibson's Translation p. 96) is not as fierce as the *Didache*; it speaks of the Jews as 'brethren', and adds 'It is required of us therefore to have pity upon them, and to believe, and to fast and pray for them'. Here, again, it might be replied that the *Didascalía* is expanding the hint given in the *Didache*. But the opposite presumption is exceedingly strong, and in any case the corruption of the text of the Sermon on the Mount cannot be earlier than the insertion of *ἡσθεύειν* in Matt. xvii 21, Mark ix 29, Acts x 30. It is surely later; otherwise it would have left some traces in the Apparatus Criticus.

Attention may here be directed to another point. In *Didache* 9 the Eucharistic Cup is called 'the Holy Vine of David'. It is an expression which causes some surprise, for there is reason for thinking that the compiler agreed with Barnabas (xii 10, 11), Tatian (Theod. *Haer. Fab.* i 20), and the Monophysites (Theod. *Inconfusus*, Schultze vol. iv part 1 p. 96) in believing that our Lord was not the Son of David according to the flesh. At any rate he speaks of Him as 'God of David' (ch. 10; see Harnack's note). But commentators have asked why Vine

of David? because there is nothing in the Hebrew psalms from which such a phrase could easily be formed. The answer to this question is supplied by Origen (*in Lib. Iud.* Hom. vi 2, Lomm. xi 258) 'antequam verae vitis, quae ascendit de radice David, sanguine inebriemur'. Origen is clearly referring to the Greek psalm xxii (xxiii) 5 τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον ὡς κράτιστον.

Clement has the same phrase (Q. D. S. 29), οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβὶδ ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς, ὃ τὸ ἐκ σπλάγχνων πατὴρ εἰσιον προσενεγκὼν καὶ ἐπιδαιψιευόμενος. Clement is here speaking of the Lord as the Physician and allegorizing the parable of the Good Samaritan. He may, of course, have seen the *Didache* prayer or one like it—the prayer is in all probability older than the *Didache* as a whole. But, on the other hand, the phrase may have been taken up from Clement into the prayer, and this seems to me the more probable view. We have seen that there is some substantial reason for thinking that the words 'Woe to him that receiveth' were borrowed by the *Didache* from Clement, and traces of Alexandrine influence upon the Liturgy (in the emphasis laid upon 'knowledge' and in the comparative neglect of the Atonement) may be found in *Didache* 9, 10, or in the *Sacramentary* of Sarapion of Thmuis (see de Faye *Clément d'Alexandrie* p. 252; F. E. Brightman, *J. T. S.* vol. i). But we greatly want a critical examination of the *Didache* in its liturgical relations.

C. BIGG.

STROPHICAL STRUCTURE IN ST JUDE'S EPISTLE.

IN 1896 Prof. David Henry Müller of Vienna published a book on the original structure of the Prophets¹, shewing how far poetical forms predominated in ancient Semitic literature, from the Cuneiform inscriptions down to the Suras of the Koran. A great many publications have appeared since, treating biblical books from the same point of view. Special mention must be made of the work of the Rev. F. K. Zenner, S.J.², who, independently of Prof. Müller's discovery, had noticed the same fundamental principle of *responsio* in the Book of Psalms. In England it was chiefly R. G. Moulton who, by his various writings³, called attention to the literary aspect of the different books embodied in Holy Scripture.

¹ *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form* (Holder), 1896.

² *Die Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen* Freiburg (Herder), 1896.

³ *The Literary Study of the Bible* London (Isbister), 1896, 2nd ed. 1899; and *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible*, 1901.

As Prof. Müller's enquiries extended over the whole of the Semitic literature (with the apparent exception of Syriac), it was but natural that he should have looked to the New Testament, in order to find a connecting link between the Hymns of Babel and Assur and the Prophets on one side, and the Prophet of Islam on the other. Thus he pointed out several passages from the Gospels, especially from the *Sermon on the Mount*, as shewing a parallel and somewhat strophical structure. But there seem to be better instances of this, which comprise entire *books* of the New Covenant. Quite recently Prof. Blass, after a preliminary study of the rhythmical system in the Epistle to the Hebrews¹, has given us the whole text of it, shewing its rhythms². Since Mr J. B. Mayor's excellent edition of *The Epistle of St James*³ all New Testament scholars are aware of the many traits of literary art contained throughout this notable document from the pen of this 'brother of the Lord'.

It is well known to all that a bond of literary parentage, as it were, connects the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Catholic Epistles*, except St John's; a fact which made Deissmann distinguish them, by the common name of *epistles*, from St Paul's *letters*, properly so called⁴. I have tried, in two articles in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*⁵, to expound the whole poetical structure of the Epistle of St James. In this paper I intend to do the same for the pastoral writing of his brother St Jude. The analogy between the two is, in fact, a very strong one, although there are differences, such as we should expect to find in different authors belonging to the same literary *school*.

That an answer to a question of history may not rest solely on a more or less hypothetical view, let us first lay before the reader what positive tradition has to say on the point in question. Having arranged the whole of James and Jude, and provisionally also 1 Peter, in *στίχοι*, verses and stanzas, I went on to compare the editions of our oldest biblical MSS, and found, chiefly in *A*, nearly all the divisions of verses marked by separating points, and the greater divisions by the kind of *alinea* which those codices employ. To a lesser extent the same is to be seen in *B* and *C*; least of all, but not wanting altogether, in *N*.

I am well aware that this punctuation, often in a very general way, is said to have been added by a later hand. With regard to the Gospel text, which has been the object of far more discussion than the rest

¹ *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1902, p. 420 ff.

² (*Barnabas*-) *Brief an die Hebräer* Halle, 1903.

³ London (Macmillan), 1892, 2nd ed. 1897.

⁴ *Bibelstudien* p. 190 ff, Engl. transl. Edinburgh (Clark), 1901; p. 3 ff. Cf.

⁵ 'Epistolary Literature' in *Encycl. Bibl.*

⁶ Innsbruck (Rauch), 1904, pp. 37-57, 295-330.

of the New Testament, this alleged deficiency of original punctuation may hold its ground; in the Epistles, and partly already in Acts, these divisions are much more numerous and, as it seems to me, in the main due to the very scribes of our codices, who took them over from the texts they copied. At all events the spaces left vacant¹ cannot but bear a first-hand origin, even if the dots should have been added later. I am referring first of all to *A*, for which I have compared Woide's edition with the Facsimile edited by the British Museum for the whole text of James; for Jude I had Woide only. In a few instances in St James Woide has left out a point, clearly visible in the photographic reproduction, and, on the other hand, there are a few points in Woide, where the Facsimile has only a space. In *N*, for which we must rely upon Tischendorf's edition, there are very few points. In *B* they seem to be due to the same hand which retouched the whole writing²; nevertheless, here also there are small spaces left vacant by the first hand.

Thus the codex Alexandrinus directly shews certain divisions of our text of St Jude as well as of St James's Epistle to have been in existence at least in the fifth century; and the Vaticanus seems to lead us back as far as the fourth century. But since traces of these divisions recur in MSS presenting an independent text, there is an *a priori* probability that they come down from a much earlier time, in fact finally from a common original. This probability is strengthened by the very accidental character presented by the distribution of these dividing points, if each MS is taken by itself. No reason can be given for putting one in one place and leaving it out in so many other places where the same conditions appear to demand a point. Moreover, if we compare the points taken from the different codices, they fit in with one another admirably, and therefore seem to be the remains of a system, of which each MS has preserved more or less numerous traces.

Our vellum MSS are the successors of papyrus-rolls, and seem to have superseded the classical book-material in the course of the third century. Now, according to Mr F. Kenyon, 'aids to the reader, such as accents, breathings, and punctuation, are not so wholly wanting in papyri as they are in the vellum manuscripts of the uncial period . . . several literary papyri have a rudimentary system of punctuation'.³

¹ For *B* they were already noticed by Tischendorf.

² Probably; so E. Maunde Thompson *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* London (Trübner), 1893, p. 150. C. R. Gregory *Prolegomena to the Novum Testamentum Graece by Tischendorf*, 8th ed. Leipzig (Hinrichs), 1894, p. 359, assigns this to saec. x or xi.

³ *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* London (Macmillan), 1901, p. 22. Cf. id. *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1899, p. 27 f. And Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 69 f.

As a matter of fact, the use of the *paragraphos*, still to be found in *B*, seems no longer to be understood by the scribe of *A*¹. All probabilities therefore seem to point back to the papyrus period of the New Testament textual tradition as acquainted with a system of dividing points in the Catholic Epistles.

Although these divisions very frequently coincide with the syntactical clauses of the sentences, they nevertheless seem rather to be employed for other than for grammatical purposes. As we know from St Jerome², it was the custom, for the sake of delivery in the schools of rhetoric, to divide the classical orators into cola and commata, and St Jerome himself applied the system to the Prophets, without intending to make them poetry or verses. The Prophets have turned out to be written in verses. As for the New Testament epistles the traditional sections are believed to be marks for public reading, and therefore of a secondary origin. The names of Euthalius and Ammonius tell us what they generally are considered to be. They may be reading marks, but are they nothing more than that? The isolated divisions are indeed unable to teach us anything more about their nature. But may they not do so if taken as a system? The *points* may have been introduced for that purpose; but if we view them in conjunction with the original composition of the writings, the *divisions*, indicated by these points, appear to have their origin in the author's mind.

Taking the sections according to their meaning as a basis we get fifty-four (fifty-five) lines or verses in St Jude. Of these ten are not indicated by a point in *A*; but in one place (v. 24^a) there is a lacuna in the text; in one (6^a) there is a space without a point; in four cases (vv. 5^a, 7^a, 15^a, 17^b) there is the end of a line; and in three places only (vv. 3^b, 7^b, 17^a, 24^b) we are altogether left without any sign of division in this codex. In thirty-four places *B* confirms the division found in *A*, whereas *N* has a mark in seven places only.

There are, however, other points in *A*, and even seven in *B*, which do not fit in with the end of a *verse*. Thus *A* frequently, though not regularly, puts a point before *καί*. The same is to be found in the text of James. Deducting these cases, fourteen points remain, falling within a line or verse. Most of these separate either single words, as vv. 12^c and 19, the co-ordinate adjectives, or short clauses, e. g. 4^a after *προγεγραμμένοι*, 6^c after *αἰδίους*, 8^b after *ἀθετούσιν*, 10^b after *ἐπίσταται*, &c. For the points which appear in v. 5^a, after *ἄπαξ*, and 11^b, after *Βαλαάμ*, no reason, it would seem, can be given. For 11^b see below³. In 12^c the two *a*'s succeeding one another immediately account for the point.

¹ Thompson, *ibid.* p. 69.

² Praef. in libr. Isaiae, Migne *P. L.* xxviii, 771 B.

³ Division of *στίχοι*.

The result is, I think, that we may safely take the sections in *A* as giving in the main the verses upon which the stanzas are constructed—provided that there are such things as stanzas in the epistle. It is again the codex Alexandrinus that has preserved traces of the strophical system, but only imperfectly. Besides the points dividing verses, there are the *alíneas* coinciding with the strophical divisions, as indicated by the meaning and the style. In eleven cases (out of fifteen) they are as we should expect to find them, in four cases the *alínea* is wanting (before vv. 7, ii, 16, 20), and in two cases there is one evidently redundant (vv. 12^a and 13^a).

After consideration of these data in the oldest MSS, the more hypothetical *a priori* view of our thesis becomes a question of interpreting an established fact of positive tradition.

Sections and lines have been preserved in sufficient completeness to restore the whole system by filling up the gaps according to the analogy of those directly preserved. If we do this, we find a regular sequence of lines (*verses*) within the sections as well as of the sections themselves. But there is another element, and this a fundamental one of all Hebrew poetry—the parallelism of *στίχοι* within the lines. The external evidence for this, it is true, is very scarce. Out of the twenty-four points in *A* not marking the end of a line, 19 (20) may and should be taken as dividing the *στίχοι*, four (five) only remaining for which the verse-system gives no account. It follows that those divisions will contain to some extent a hypothetical and subjective element. Possibly even a stichos-point may in one case or another have been taken for a verse-point; but this *a priori* uncertainty cannot affect the whole arrangement in any way, and in most cases the internal reasons amply supply what is wanting to the external proof. Again, the parallelism of *στίχοι*, we must allow, is comparatively seldom of the strictest kind, Lowth's *synonymous* parallelism, or even the *antithetic*, but, as in other didactic writers, e. g. many passages of Ecclesiasticus, and very generally in the *Psalterium Salomonis*, the *synthetic* prevails, although the other kinds are not altogether wanting. Thus vv. 1 and 2 themselves are fair examples of the *parallelismus membrorum*. The change of distichs and tristichs in the verse increases the difficulty of reconstruction. The final decision as to whether St Jude's Epistle is to range with the poetical writings of Hebrew literature in Greek dress lies with the inner criteria of the text. This I take from Westcott-Hort's edition.

That there are abrupt transitions, and therefore sections intended by the author, nobody reading the epistle can fail to notice, even if the question as to the nature of the preserved points and *alíneas* were dismissed altogether. At once we may detach the *address* (vv.

1, 2), and the *conclusion* (vv. 24, 25), from the main body of the letter; the *address* itself being divided into three, the *conclusion* into four, or possibly five, verses. Again, there is an *introduction* (vv. 3, 4), giving the reason for which the letter is written, divided into twice three verses. Another mark of division is v. 11, where the apostle, after an objective exposition, directly attacks those who have provoked his warnings, directing against them 'the only Vae! pronounced by an apostle'. Here again we have three verses.

Turning first to what precedes v. 11, we find four facts mentioned: two instances of Divine judgement on human sin, the sin of unbelief and the sin of immorality (vv. 5 and 7); two facts again connected with the sin and punishment of the angels (vv. 6 and 9), facts also which apparently are concerned with immorality and unbelief. Three lines here are dedicated to each of the four facts; but the two latter (vv. 7 and 9) are followed each by two lines (vv. 8 and 10) comparing, in clearly parallel forms, the present sinners, against whom St Jude warns the faithful, with those who have been chastised so severely by Divine justice.

What follows after v. 11 is partly a double reproach against these enemies of Christ, of five verses each (vv. 12, 13 and 14, 15), and two verses resuming the whole (v. 16), and pointing back to v. 12 by a marked anaphora, forming thus a transition to the next group. After this there remain two sets of admonitions directed to the faithful, formed, like the two reproaches, by 2 x 5 verses (vv. 17-19 and 20-23).

Having traced out the lines on which the whole epistle is constructed, we may arrange the text itself, after what has been stated, in the following manner:

NB. ^a marks the points, A the alineas in the codex Alexandrinus ed. Woide.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ἰούδας
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος,
τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγαπημένοις | ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου, ^a
καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις
κλητοῖς, ^a |
| 2 | ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ^a | καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη. A |
| 3 | Ἀγαπητοί,
πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος
γράφειν ὑμῖν
ἀνάγκην ἔσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν
τῇ ᾧπαξ παραδοθείσῃ | περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. ^a
παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι
τοῖς ἀγίοις πίστει. A |
| 4 | Παρεισεδύσαν γὰρ τινες ἄν-
θρωποι, | οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι ^a
εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα, ἀσεβεῖς, ^a |

- τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριτα παρατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν^a
καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην^a καὶ κύ- Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι. Ἀ
ριον ἡμῶν
-
- 5 Ὑπομνήσαι δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, εἰδότες ἀπαξ^a πάντα¹,^a
ὅτι κύριος λαὸν^a ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σώσας
τὸ δεύτερον τοὺς μὴ πιστεύ- ἀπώλεσεν. Ἀ
σαντας
- 6 Ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν^(a)
ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον^a
εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις^a
ὑπὸ ζοφὸν τετήρηκεν.^a
-
- 7 Ὡς Σόδομα^a καὶ Γόμορρα^a καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις,
τὸν ὁμοιον τρόπον τούτοις ἐκπορ- καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐτέρας,
νεύσασαι^a πρὸς αἰωνίου
πρόκεινται δεῖγμα δίκην ὑπέχουσαι. Ἀ
ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι
8 Ὅμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι κυριότητα δὲ ἀθετοῦσιν,^a
σάρκα μὲν μαίνουσιν,^a δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν. Ἀ
- 9 Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος
οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος,^a
ἀλλὰ εἶπεν· κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας,^a
ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι κύριος. Ἀ
- 10 Οὗτοι δὲ ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἶδασιν βλασφημοῦσιν,^a
ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα ἐπίστανται,^a
ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.^a
-
- 11 Οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Καὶν ἐπορεύθησαν,^a
καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ^a μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν,^a
καὶ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορὲ ἀπώλοντο. Ἀ
-
- 12 Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις σπιλάδες συνευωχούμενοι,
ὑμῶν ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, Ἀ
νεφέλαι ἄνδρῳ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμεναι,^a
δένδρα φθινοπωρινὰ^a ἄκαρπα^a δις ἀποθανόντα ἐκριζωθέντα,^a

¹ Al. εἰδ. ὑμᾶς πάντα—εἰδ. ὑμ. τοῦτο cf. Tischendorf, i. h. l.

^a Al. ὅτι κύριος ἀπαξ λαὸν cf. Tischendorf; ὅτι ὁ λαὸς . . . σώσας cf. Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, i. h. l.

- 13 κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης ἐπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχίνας,¹
ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότου
εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται. Α
- 14 Ἐπροφῆτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων¹
ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ,²
15 ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων³ καὶ ἐλέγξαι πάντας
τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς
περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας ὧν ἡσέβησαν⁴
αὐτῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ⁵
καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.⁶
- 16 Οὗτοί εἰσιν γογγυσταί, μεμψί- κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι.⁷
μοιροι,⁸ θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὠφελίας χάριν. Α
- 17 Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί, μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων⁹
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν προειρημένων
18 ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου¹⁰
κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευό- ἔσονται ἐμπαίκεται¹¹
μενοι τῶν ἀσεβεῶν.¹²
- 19 οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποδιρίζοντες ψυχικοί,¹³
πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες.¹⁴
- 20 Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί, ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς
τῇ ἀγνωτᾷ ὑμῶν πίστει,¹⁵
21 ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ προσευχόμενοι, ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ τηρήσατε¹⁶
προσδεχόμενοι τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυ- Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ¹⁷
ρίου ἡμῶν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.¹⁸
- 22 καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε¹ διακρίνο- σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες,¹⁹
μένους²
- 23 οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ,³ μισοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς
ἐπιλωμένον χιτῶνα. Α
- 24 Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ φυλάξαι ὑμᾶς καὶ στήσαι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης
ἀπατάστους⁴ αὐτοῦ⁵

¹ Cf. Hort, *Select Readings*. There is no need to take either the first οἷς as relative or the first ἐλεᾶτε as indicative; ἐλεᾶτε . . . σώζετε is a simple asyndeton.

<p>25 μόνῃ θεῷ σωτῇρι ἡμῶν δόξα¹ μεγαλοσύνη πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος² καὶ νῦν,²</p>	<p>ἀμώμους ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κράτος καὶ ἐξουσία² καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.</p>
<p>ΟΓ: πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος² καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.</p>	<p>καὶ νῦν² ἀμήν.</p>

The *address* (v. 12) determines as the recipients of the letter those who not only have been *called*, but also *preserved in Jesus Christ*, this being the distinctive epithet.

Then follows an *introduction* (vv. 3, 4), giving the reason why the apostle is about to write his epistle: seducers have crept in who (1) turn the grace of God into lasciviousness and who (2) deny our only Lord Jesus Christ. These are the two points to be treated.

The first part (vv. 5-10) is the *objective exposition*, proving by examples how dangerous these two sins are. In the two cases given first nothing is done but to put the sin and its punishment before the readers. The order, however, in which the facts are mentioned is opposite to the order of the enumeration in the introduction: there immorality is pointed out first and the unbelief and blasphemy follow; here the first is an example of unbelief (the Israelites), the second of self-degradation (the angels). Of the other instances (vv. 7 and 9) an explicit application is made, comparing the seducers' sin with the examples proposed. Again there is an inversion of order: here the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah precedes, and the unbelieving blasphemy is stigmatized by an *illustratio a contrario* (St Michael), which is all the more effective. As the first application (v. 8) includes a transition to the second example, so the second (v. 10) concludes this passage by pointing back to its preceding section. Here we have, therefore, a good example of *concatenatio* between the two sections as well as of *inclusio*, two features so familiar to Semitic poetry.

Verse 11 concludes this *demonstrative* part by a vehement denouncement of Divine vengeance, maintaining, however, the objective colouring by alluding to three further examples of sin and punishment: Cain, Balaam, and Core. As Mangold² points out (after Ritschl), what is common to all of these three is the connexion of their sin with Divine worship; so the seducers appear to have been religious leaders and teachers, not only members of the Christian brotherhood, seducing others by their bad example. The same seems to be indicated elsewhere.

¹ AL δόξα καὶ μεγαλοσύνη.

² F. Bleek *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* 4th ed. Berlin (Reimer), 1886, p. 722 f, note.

Before analysing the second part of the epistle, the *admonitions*, it may be noticed that hitherto a stanza of three lines is predominant, represented by six instances; and in the two other cases the five lines are grouped into three and two. It is also noteworthy that the same two sins are mentioned at least three times, the order being every time inverted¹.

Passing on to the *admonitions*, in the first part (vv. 12, 13), the author first describes the desolate condition of those against whom he warns his readers, heaping up similes from nature, repeating again their twofold sin in the last two lines. Then he goes on to announce the judgement to come upon them, touching again, in the two last lines out of the five, upon the double crime. And a further repetition, that these are the sins of the false prophets he is fighting against, separates these two stanzas of five verses from the other couple which contain his advice to the 'beloved'. In the former there was a somewhat obscure anaphora (*responsio*): (v. 12) οὗτοί εἰσιν, (v. 14) ἐπροφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις and (v. 16) οὗτοί εἰσιν; here it is quite clear: (v. 17) ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀγαπητοί and again (v. 20) ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀγαπητοί. The first five lines here also are against immorality and concupiscence of the flesh, the latter insist on faith and worship of God, in fact of the whole Blessed Trinity (v. 21); and the last line, turning back to the defilement of the flesh, forms an even clearer *inclusio* than the mere formal anaphora in vv. 12 and 16 of the preceding stanzas.

Verses 24 and 25 are the epilogue, into which, even to the end, the two things needful to the brethren, steadfastness in *faith before God's glory* and *unspottedness* in joy, the opposite to the often mentioned twofold sin, are introduced for the last time, thus pervading the whole writing from the *introduction* (vv. 3, 4), in which we may find the first trace of it, down to the very last sentence, the concluding doxology (vv. 24, 25).

After the foregoing analysis, we think no serious difficulty can be brought to disprove the existence and main lines of the strophical structure.

A few remarks may be added comparing St Jude's epistle with St James, in which I first observed the same fundamental rules of artistic composition as have been just shown in Jude. Both epistles begin with a *demonstrative part* (Jas. ii 1-iv 12; and Jude 5-11), followed by a series of admonitions (Jas. iv 13-v 18; and Jude 12-23). In both cases the *admonitions* are grouped into two pairs, the former two being directed against those who imperil the 'brethren' (Jas. iv 13-17; v 1-6; Jude 12, 13; 14, 15), and the latter to the 'brethren'

¹ Only by Mangold, *op. cit.* 722 note, has attention been called to this fact, and there only to a part of it.

themselves (Jas. v 7-12; 13-18; Jude 17-19; 20-23). Again, in both epistles an *introduction* precedes the treatise, in which the particular propositions are slightly indicated (Jas. i 2-8; Jude 3, 4). An *address* (Jas. i 1; Jude 1, 2), and a *conclusion* (Jas. v 19, 20; Jude 24, 25), are added to both of them. Further, there is in both the same inversion of order of the parts between the *enuntiatio* and the treatise itself, which in each case goes over the questions under discussion twice (Jas. ii 1-iii 14, and iii 15-iv, 8^a; Jude 5, 6, and 7-10), the second time being in chiasmic position in comparison with the first. *Concatenatio* and *inclusio* are found in both epistles, more frequently in James. The same abrupt transitions strike the reader in both letters. In fact, the fundamental laws are the same.

But there are differences as well as likenesses. St James's writing is more than four times as long as St Jude's (108 vv. : 25), and is in consequence more complicated. The subjects treated by St James in his *demonstrative part* are three (ii 1-11; ii 12-26; iii 1-14—again, iii 15-18; iv 1-3; iv 4-8^a). St Jude has only two (v. 5; 6; again, 7, 8; 9, 10). The greatest difference, however, if the composition is considered as a whole, consists in the insertion of a *preparatory part* (i 8-25) in James, between the *introduction* and the treatment of his proper subject, leading up to the *enuntiatio partium*. This is given, not as in Jude (v. 4^b °), at the end of the *introduction*, but separated from the other parts (i 26, 27), in the same way as the resuming lines after the second treatment of the main questions (Jas. iv 8^b-12; Jude v 11). On the other hand St Jude has inserted two lines between the reproaches against the enemies and the exhortations to his readers (v. 16), whereas in James (v 6) at this part the formula of transition belongs to the second reproach itself. This comparison of the arrangement shews that the two epistles throughout run parallel to one another; how far, may be gathered from the following comparative scheme :

<i>Address,</i>	Jas. i 1.	Jude 1, 2
<i>Introduction,</i>	„ i 2-8	„ 3, 4
<i>Preparatory Part,</i>	„ i 9-25	—
<i>Announcement,</i>	„ i 26, 27	—
<i>First Treatment,</i>	„ ii 1-11; 12-16; iii 1-14	„ 5, 6
<i>Second Treatment,</i>	„ iii 15-18; iv 1-3; 4-8 ^a	„ 7, 8; 9, 10
<i>Resuming Admonition,</i>	„ iv 8 ^b -12	„ 11
<i>Reproaches,</i>	„ iv 13-17; v 1-6	„ 12, 13; 14, 15
<i>Transition,</i>	„ —	„ 16
<i>Exhortations,</i>	„ v 7-12, 13-18	„ 17-19; 20-23
<i>Conclusion,</i>	„ v 19, 20	„ 24, 25

The difference in the arrangement of the logical parts, is greater than

the difference in the internal structure of these parts themselves; those of St Jude being nearly all built up by one or two single and simple stanzas, while in James they are most of them groups of stanzas, united by an artificial order; and again in most cases the stanzas are of a more complicated construction, by which the greater number of lines coalesce into a strophical unit.

Except the *address*, the two *resuming parts* (vv. 11 and 16), and the *conclusion*, all parts in Jude are couples of two parallel stanzas; the *introduction*, the *first* and again the *second treatment*, the *reproaches* and the *exhortations*. In James the *introduction* has three stanzas, the *preparatory part* five, the *treatment of the first point* three, the *treatment of the second and third points* five stanzas each; in the *second treatment* the three points join together to form *one part* of three stanzas corresponding to the *first treatment of the first point*. The two *reproaches* as well as the two *exhortations* are composed of two stanzas (together eight stanzas). Generally those of an odd number, except to some extent those of the *third point* in the *first treatment*, are symmetrically disposed round a central stanza; and only in the arrangement of the *reproaches* and *exhortations* in pairs do we find parallelism as the leading principle.

When we consider the construction of the stanzas themselves from the lines, we find in St Jude's Epistle that all stanzas are simple, except the two composite ones in the *second treatment* (vv. 7, 8; 9, 10). The three lines scarcely admit of any subdivision; much less the two verses (v. 16); the four verses of the conclusion might be divided into 2+2; and among the six instances of five lines forming a stanza, four times, viz. in each of the two *reproaches* and *exhortations*, there is no subdivision possible. Only the two cases above mentioned (vv. 7, 8; 9, 10) are composed after the formula 3+2. This is quite different from what we find in James. There the stanzas consisting of five verses are far more numerous; and they exhibit nearly all possible structures: 1+3+1, 2+1+2, 1+2+2, 2+2+1. In the same way all stanzas of four lines may be, and most of them must be, subdivided into 2+2. This complication of the strophical structure of course affords a very important means of verifying the existence of stanzas in the epistle, and increases certainty in dividing them one against the other¹.

A few words must yet be devoted to the formation of the verses and their components, the *στίχοι*. In this matter James supplies us with help that is wanting in Jude. Besides the *concatenation* connecting the stanzas, there is another, not all through the epistle, but through

¹ For particulars I must refer to the articles mentioned in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1904.

a number of stanzas, by which the *στίχοι* are bound together: the repetition of the same word, or a word representing the same idea. The best example of this is furnished by the opening verses of the *introduction*, i 2 ff. By *χαράν* this part is connected with the concluding *χαίρειν* of the address; then follows *πειρασμοῖς-δοκίμιον, ὑπομονήν-ὑπομονή, τέλειον-τέλειον, λειπόμενον-λείπεται*, &c. Another example is to be seen in i 13, 14.

The distribution of distichs and tristichs, although not irregular, does not seem to follow a strict rule throughout. Tristichs are found in the two opening lines of the *address*; again in the first line of the *introduction*; in the last of the first *treatment*; and in the second *treatment*, stanza i in the third and fifth, stanza ii in the first and fifth lines. In the two *reproaches* the lines 1, 3, and 5 are made up out of tristichs, the lines between them, 2 and 4, are distichs. The *transition* consists of one distich and one tristich. The *exhortations* are built upon the same principle. In the *conclusion*, whether we divide it into four or five verses, there is a tristich in the first line only. It must be borne in mind that the division into *στίχοι* rests on a subjective element to a larger extent than any other part of this essay.

A most striking feature in St Jude's verses is that they sometimes seem to form a *στίχος* out of one word. Thus in the very first two lines:

Ἰούδας | Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος | ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου
τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγαπημένοις | καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις | κλη-
τοῖς . . .

Strange as this sounds, both Prof. Müller and Mr Moulton in their verse-divisions maintained the same.

The division of the *στίχοι* is, as has been said, nearly throughout unsupported by external evidence. But nobody, reading the lines as they have been divided in the text above, will fail to notice the powerful rhythm, which most markedly solemnizes the threatening thunders as of a prophet of old, pervading this short epistle.

What conclusions may be inferred from the facts revealed by this study is a question outside the purpose of the present article. Certainly St Jude's Epistle has not lost anything of its worth and weight by the recognition of the artistic skill which has guided the writer in its composition.

H. J. CLADDER, S.J.

ST MATTHEW'S PARALLEL NARRATIVES.

IN the search for a clue to the divergences of Mt. viii and ix from the other synoptists, a comparison of the paragraphs of St Matthew's gospel has yielded a curious series of coincidences—in subject-matter and in phraseology—between two sections of the gospel; one near the beginning (parts of Mt. viii and ix), the other at the end (part of Mt. xxvii and xxviii). Those two portions of the gospel may, for convenience, be termed respectively the 'Earlier' and the 'Later' sections.

The following is a table of contents of *either* section :

A centurion's faith	Mt. viii 5-13 ; xxvii 54
Woman's Ministry	„ viii 14, 15 ; xxvii 55, 56
Evening scene. Fulfilment of Isa. liii, followed by 'The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head' and The dead burying the dead	„ viii 16-22 ; xxvii 57-66
μέγας σεισμός	„ viii 23-27 ; xxviii 1-8
Jesus meeting two coming from the tombs. Report carried into the city	„ viii 28-34 ; xxviii 9-15
The power of the Son of Man	„ ix 1-8 ; xxviii 16-20

One's first impulse is to look upon the coincidences as a strange freak of chance, and upon the above table of contents as partly the result of choosing from among many possible headings for each paragraph one that also suited its companion. But a comparison of the corresponding narratives with one another, and with the parallel passages in Mark and Luke, makes it difficult to dismiss the coincidences as accidental. They are more satisfactorily explained by the theory that the author of the first gospel, in composing these two sections, so chose his subject-matter and worded his narrative as to make each paragraph in the one section a companion picture to the corresponding paragraph in the other section. From the following notes on each couple of paragraphs, it will be seen that where Matthew contains matter not found in Mark or Luke, or where Matthew differs from Mark and Luke in the order or in the details of incidents found in these gospels, the foregoing theory is generally the key to his peculiarities.

It is not taken for granted in these notes that either Mark or Luke was among Matthew's sources. But, inasmuch as the features that make Matthew's sections 'parallel' are for the most part absent from Mark and Luke, Mark and Luke may, for the purposes of this

investigation, be looked upon as containing a more primitive form of the narrative.

MT. viii 5-13; xxvii 54.

For the 'Earlier' section Matthew had to find an incident that would make a companion picture to xxvii 54, and his choice naturally fell on the account of a centurion's faith, recorded also in Luke.

Matthew recast the story, leaving out the Jewish intercessors, and making the Gentile come himself to Jesus; thus concentrating attention upon the *faith* of the centurion.

Again, while, according to Luke, the centurion at the cross declared 'Certainly this was a righteous man'; according to Matthew the crucified One drew from the centurion the lofty confession of faith, 'Truly this was the Son of God'.

Once more, Matthew, differing from Luke, makes the faith of the centurion in the 'Earlier' section prophetic of the final ingathering of the Gentiles; and, as if to shew that on Calvary that prophecy was already being fulfilled, Matthew tells how not only the centurion, but his companions with him, declared their faith in the Son of God.

MT. viii 14, 15; xxvii 55, 56.

In all three Synoptists, the watch of the ministering women follows the paragraph relating to the centurion at the cross. For a companion subject in the 'Earlier' section Matthew chose the cure and ministry of Peter's wife's mother. Only two adjustments by Matthew fall to be noted. The first is *αὐτῇ* at the end of viii 15 (that being now the accepted reading), where Mark and Luke have 'ministered unto *them*'. The other adjustment is in the 'Later' section. Luke does not refer to the women on Calvary as 'ministering'. Mark names three of them as having ministered to Jesus in Galilee. Matthew speaks of 'many women . . . which followed Jesus from Galilee ministering unto Him'. The result of these changes is that in Matthew we have one woman ministering to Jesus at Capernaum; while on Calvary many women wait ready to minister to the crucified Christ.

MT. viii 16-22; xxvii 57-66.

In all three Synoptic Gospels, the mention of the women watching the crucifixion is followed by the account of the burial; in all three the story of the cure of Peter's wife's mother is followed by the healing of many on the evening of the same day.

Matthew had not here to search among the incidents of the early ministry for a companion subject to the corresponding paragraph in the 'Later' section. He accepted the historical sequence, and proceeded

to adapt his materials to his purpose. Beginning each paragraph with *ὅψας δὲ γενομένης*, he shewed the two contrasted scenes to be alike in one striking feature. He made Jesus in His acts of healing at Capernaum fulfil Isa. liii 4. This is a striking application of these Old Testament words. In 1 Peter ii 24 we find the same words applied to Jesus on the cross; and that is now, and probably was at the date of the composition of Matthew, the common application of the words. Matthew, boldly applying this prophecy to the cure of disease, depicted Jesus in Capernaum—as on Calvary—‘bearing our griefs and carrying our sorrows’. After this Old Testament quotation, Matthew introduced two incidents recorded by Luke in a different connexion. The first of these closes with our Lord’s declaration ‘The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head’. The companion paragraph tells of Jesus being carried from the cross to Joseph’s tomb, Matthew alone stating who the owner was. Thus Matthew, by inserting viii 18–20, makes Jesus at Capernaum point forward to the day when His body would be laid in a tomb that was not His own.

In the ‘Earlier’ section we next find the incident that leads up to our Lord’s command ‘Follow Me, and let the dead bury their dead’. It was fitting that Matthew should introduce some mention of burial into this paragraph, which is set over against the burial of Jesus. But he did more than that; he inserted as a conclusion to the burial paragraph in the ‘Later’ section an incident not recorded by the other evangelists. The chief priests and Pharisees, after calling Jesus a deceiver, and speaking of His disciples as capable of gross deceit, do their best to make the sepulchre sure. The ‘Earlier’ paragraph, where the disciple is commanded to ‘let the dead bury their dead’, tells of a latent opposition to Jesus and His followers—latent, but realized by our Lord. In the ‘Later’ paragraph, the ‘dead’ religious leaders help with the burial of Jesus, the latent opposition having developed into bitter hostility and open malice.

Thus in each of the evening scenes, we have our Lord sharing our infirmities, and fulfilling the Messianic prophecies in the midst of poverty and opposition.

MT. viii 23–27; xxviii 1–8.

Matthew, following the usual order in the ‘Later’ section, chose for the ‘Earlier’ section the stilling of the storm as a companion subject to the resurrection. Comparing Matthew’s account of the resurrection with Mark and Luke, we find that the chief peculiarity of Matthew is at xxviii 2 *καὶ ἰδοὺ, σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας*. This ‘great earthquake’ is mentioned only by Matthew, and he does not record any results produced by the ‘earthquake’, for it was the angel, as is expressly

stated, that rolled away the stone. But Matthew uses the same phrase at viii 24 in describing the storm on the lake καὶ ἰδοὺ, σεισμός μέγας ἐγένετο (a few MSS including F have ἐγένετο μέγας). Mark and Luke have λαίλαψ, not σεισμός. Matthew has thus changed the name for the storm on the lake, and has introduced 'a great earthquake' at the resurrection in order to adjust these two paragraphs to his purpose and make them companion pictures.

It seems at first sight somewhat bold to account for Matthew's 'earthquake' by his peculiar method of composition, and to suggest that, but for the mention of a σεισμός at viii 24, we should have had no σεισμός at xxviii 2. But has Matthew recorded the occurrence of a 'great earthquake' at the tomb? In all probability he has not; for Matthew himself defines clearly what kind of σεισμός took place before the resurrection:—

xxviii 2 And behold there was a great agitation (σεισμός)

xxviii 2 For the angel of the Lord descended . . .

xxviii 4 And for fear of him the keepers were agitated (ἐσεισθήσαν);

or σεισμός and ἐσεισθήσαν might be translated respectively 'shaking' and 'shook', or 'storm' and 'were storm-tossed'.

Whatever English noun is used for σεισμός, we should use a verb from the same English root for ἐσεισθήσαν.

Matthew had set over against one another in his parallel narratives two events—the stilling of the storm and the resurrection—and he had to bring out the points of resemblance. He had spoken of the commotion on the lake: and when he comes to the resurrection he points out that there was a commotion here too, but he goes on to explain that the storm which our Lord calmed by His victory over death was the storm in the breasts of 'the keepers' (the two Marys, &c.).

In the 'Earlier' section, Jesus lies fast asleep during the storm, with His disciples in mortal terror around Him: then He *rises* and by His power over winds and sea makes a great calm. In the 'Later' section He is wrapped in the deeper sleep of death, with those around Him panic-stricken; again He rises, and His victory over death makes a great joy succeed the panic.

MT. viii 28–34; xxviii 9–15.

Matthew here followed the historical sequence in the 'Earlier' section, with the result that in the 'Later' section he had to introduce material not found in Mark or Luke ('Mark' xvi 9 merely mentions that Jesus 'appeared first to Mary Magdalene out of whom He had cast seven devils'). Though Mark and Luke do not record the conversation of

Jesus with the women, yet they mention the presence of women at the tomb. Matthew alone has *two* women. Corresponding with this number, Matthew tells of *two* demoniacs at viii 28, while Mark and Luke mention only one.

By these adjustments Matthew, both in viii 28 and xxviii 9, shews us Jesus meeting two coming from the place of tombs.

Comparing the three accounts of the casting out of the devils, we find that Matthew differs from Mark and Luke in not describing the condition of the possessed after the devils had gone out. It is from Mark and Luke we learn that the cured demoniac sat clothed and in his right mind at the feet of Jesus; that the report of his having been 'healed' was carried into the city; and that he made a request of Jesus and received from Jesus a commission, which both go to prove that perfect sanity succeeded the expulsion. Matthew, however, abruptly breaks off the history of his demoniacs at the point where the legion went out of them. The reason for the seeming incompleteness of his narrative is that he devotes two paragraphs, one at the beginning, the other at the end of his gospel, to the subject of Christ's cure of those possessed with many devils.

In the 'Earlier' paragraph, he lays stress on the malignity of the disease, holding over for his 'Later' paragraph (α) the marks of submission which the presence of the Healer elicited (Mark v 6 προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, Luke viii 28 προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ), (β) the description of the changed mental condition, and (γ) the commission given by Jesus after the cure (Mark v 19 ὑπάγε . . . πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς καὶ ἀπαγγεILON . . .). When Matthew in the 'Later' paragraph (xxviii 9, 10) comes to tell of Jesus meeting the two women (one at least of whom had been delivered by Him from many devils), he depicts *them* holding their risen Lord by the feet and worshipping Him (ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ) and receiving the commission (ὑπάγετε ἀπαγγεΙlate τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου . . .). Matthew's method of parallel narratives thus enabled him to prove the completeness, and especially the *permanence*, of Christ's demonic cures.

In all three gospels we have an addendum to the demonic cure in the shape of a report carried into the neighbouring city. Matthew takes advantage of this report of the swine-herds and its results to insert a corresponding report in his 'Later' section. Very similar phrases in viii 33 (ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα) and xxviii 11 (ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήγγειλαν . . . [ἀ]παντα) introduce us to two groups of men who receive the news of our Lord's manifestations of power in much the same spirit; and Christ's influence upon men of the type represented by the Gergesenes and the high priests is tellingly contrasted with His influence over the demoniacs He has healed,

MT. ix 1-8; xxviii 16-20.

Matthew's gospel ends with a report of our Lord's address to the eleven disciples in Galilee. The leading thought in the address is our Lord's *authority*. The opening words are: 'All authority is given unto Me in heaven and in earth': and *because* of Christ's authority, the disciples were to evangelize all nations.

For the 'Earlier' section, Matthew chose as a parallel subject the cure of the palsied man; Jesus having expressly stated, to some who doubted His authority, the object for which He wrought this miracle: 'that ye may know that the Son of Man hath *authority on earth* to forgive sins'. And Matthew, diverging from Mark and Luke, tells of the multitudes who witnessed what had been done 'glorifying God, which had given such *authority* unto men'. Thus the evangelist is enabled by his parallel narratives to lay stress on the truth that the authority by which the paralytic was cured and pardoned in the early Galilean ministry is the same divine authority which is with us 'always, even unto the end of the world'.

MT. viii 2-4; xxvii 51-53.

The parallel narratives have been traced from viii 5 and xxvii 54 on to ix 8 and xxviii 20. Can they be traced backward from viii 5 and xxvii 54?

The cure of the leper seems to fall naturally into the same section as the incidents recorded in viii 5 to ix 8. But if the cure of the leper is to be included in the 'Earlier' section, then the 'Later' section must include a paragraph before xxvii 54; and xxvii 51—immediately after our Lord's death—is a probable starting-point for a new section of the gospel. Now do the paragraphs viii 2-4 and xxvii 51-53—telling respectively of the cure of the leper and the rending of the temple veil, &c.—illustrate each other? Is the second the complement of the first?

A writer on the vexed problem of the arrangement of materials in Mt viii, ix shews that Matthew gave the leper story the place of honour 'because of the illustration of the respectful attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic law which is supplied by the reference to the priesthood'.

But if Matthew was at one with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews as to the final relation of Jesus towards the Mosaic law, the teaching of the leper incident, taken alone, must have seemed to Matthew himself incomplete and misleading. In Mt. xxvii 51-53, accordingly, we see the Mosaic system waxed old and vanishing away, and our high priest entered not into the holy places made with hands, but into heaven itself. The rending of the veil of the temple would

suggest to Jewish Christians that the temple sacrifices and atonements had been rendered useless by the death of Jesus; and the resurrection of many bodies of the saints and their appearance in the *holy* city would be looked on as the firstfruits of the high priesthood of Christ, and as a proof of the cleansing life-giving power of His atoning sacrifice.

The parallel narratives are thus traceable back to καὶ ἰδοὺ (viii 2 and xxvii 51), a phrase often employed to mark an important off-start; and the following entry falls to be inserted at the beginning of the Table of Contents:—Relation of Jesus to the priesthood, Mt. viii 2-4; xxvii 51-3.

By a selection of incidents from the earlier part of Christ's ministry paralleled with the incidents in the narrative of the Resurrection the evangelist has shewn that the ministry of our Lord before death and His ministry after death were harmonious parts of one great work; and that Jesus the miracle worker of Galilee was already preparing the way for the final victory of the Christ. In each of the companion pictures where Jesus is the central figure His nimbus is brighter in the 'Later' than in the 'Earlier' section. Matthew was not content merely to place over against one another paragraphs having a common subject; he worked up his materials—in both sections—so as to bring out clearly the greater power and increased influence of the *risen* Lord.

THOMAS MILNE.

REASONS FOR REGARDING HILARIUS (AMBROSI- ASTER) AS THE AUTHOR OF THE MERCATI- TURNER ANECDOTON.

In reading over the anonymous commentary on part of St Matthew published by Mr C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January, 1904¹, and by Dr G. Mercati in *Studi e Testi* (Rome, 1903)², I was struck by the numerous resemblances which the language of the document bears to the commentaries and *Quaestiones* of Ambrosiaster, to the style of which I have had occasion to give attention for some time past.

¹ An 'Exegetical Fragment of the Third Century' (pp. 218-41). I have to thank the author for a copy of the article.

² No. 11 (= *Varia Sacra*, Fasc. 1). Of the two appended treatises, I am very doubtful about the *de tribus mensuris*, but the *de Petro Apostolo* may very well emanate from the same author.

Being disposed at first to attribute my observation of these resemblances to the prolonged study I had given to Ambrosiaster, I wrote a paper to prove that Ambrosiaster, who once mentions Victorinus (of Pettau), was a very close student of that author; and this opinion I still hold, believing that it best explains some phenomena noted below. Thinking it advisable, before going to press, to make some acquaintance with the already existing works of Victorinus, I read through the *De Fabrica Mundi*, which has been preserved to us in a solitary Lambeth manuscript. I was astonished to find that the numerous points of contact I had found between the new document and the works of Ambrosiaster were not shared by the tract on Creation in the slightest degree. The same result was arrived at from a perusal of the concluding part of his commentary on the Apocalypse, published by Dr Haussleiter in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of 1895. It would have been premature to extend the examination to the commentaries on the Apocalypse itself, though I have examined the Hieronymian revision even in MSS. We must first have Dr Haussleiter's Vienna edition before us. But enough remains in the *De Fabrica Mundi* and the last part of the commentary to shew that the style of the real Victorinus is all that Jerome called it. Notwithstanding the fact that the new work is a running commentary, and is therefore at a disadvantage when compared with a formal treatise like that on Creation, I claim that its style is far too good for Victorinus, whose training was more Greek than Latin, that it is in fact the work of Hilary (the Ambrosiaster), one of the truest Romans of the fourth century, a writer in whose elevation to his rightful position I hope to take some part.

Mr Turner's arguments in support of a date in the late third, or the early fourth century, lack neither learning nor ingenuity, but cannot, I am afraid, be allowed to stand. The explanation of Apoc. xiv 9 ADORAVIT QVIS BESTIAM ET SIGNVM EIVS ACCEPIT IN FRONTE AVT IN MANV SVA given in ch. xix l. 8 does not necessarily prove that the document 'emanates from the age of persecutions'. If it does, I should attribute it to the later years of Julian, being quite willing to regard it as earlier in time than either the Pauline commentaries or the *Quaestiones*. But surely this is unnecessary. The recollection of persecutions must have been vivid enough to the Christians for long after they had ceased, as were the sufferings of the Scottish Covenanters to their descendants. Further, Ambrosiaster's comment on 2 Thess. i 6-9 speaks as if persecutors were alive even at the time of writing. This is what he says: 'quid tam iustum quam ut hi, qui in saeculo deprimunt bonos et extorres eos faciunt persecutionibus, in futuro eadem patiantur quae faciunt . . . cum coeperit (dominus) uenire . . . ad dandam uindictam in paganos' cet. See also on verse 7 the reference to Julian:

'qui arte quadam et subtilitate coeptam persecutionem implere non potuit'. The division of humanity into 'iusti', 'peccatores', and 'impii' is shewn below to be found in the *Quaestiones*¹, and I quite admit that 'this prominence of the heathen as a separate class in the eschatological conception of the writer points us back to the time when heathenism was still dominant', if for 'dominant' some milder word be substituted. Heathenism was still a great force in Ambrosiaster's day². Witness his two most powerful writings, the *Contra Paganos* (Qu. cxiv) and the *De Fato* (Qu. cxv), and the letters of Symmachus. A further argument is drawn by Mr Turner from the fact that 'Chiliasm is still an absorbing topic of interest'. The passages printed below destroy this argument completely, as we find that about the year 380 chiliasm expressed itself in almost the identical words of the new tract.

I have no hesitation whatever in regarding the new document as a Latin original, not a translation from the Greek. I think it most probable that the author used Victorinus of Pettau himself, and the parallels produced below will at least prove that, if this document is not a Latin original, then neither are the commentaries on the Pauline epistles, nor the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, in spite of the hostility shewn to Greeks by their author and the notoriously Roman characteristics of his works.

The argument drawn from the character of the biblical text would lose its force if it could be shewn that in Rome in the latter part of the fourth century a form of text was employed which is much closer to that of the third century than is generally supposed. There is need of a systematic examination, based on carefully collected manuscript evidence, of the biblical quotations in all the Roman writers between the times of Novatian and Jerome. The result of such an examination would, I think, go to shew that this text is in many ways nearer to that used by Cyprian than it is, say, to that of Lucifer. I have been much struck with this fact in working on the text of the Pauline epistles. It is unfortunate that the gospel quotations in the commentaries and *Quaestiones* are brief, and that only three are available for our present purpose. Those which do occur shew striking agreements with the text presented by the Ambrosian MS, and point to a biblical text at least as ancient as it shews. Where the two differ, it is by no means certain that the Ambrosian MS is right, and my MSS of the commentaries and *Quaestiones* wrong. The MS, in spite of its early date, is very carelessly written. The text I print below is that of the

¹ Dom Morin informs me it is not uncommon in Latin Christian authors.

² See especially Prof. F. Cumont in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* viii (1903), 417 ff.

Ambrosian MS. In the critical notes, which owe much to Mr Turner's collections, appear all differences between Ambrosiaster's text and that of the Ambrosian MS. The other symbols in the notes explain themselves.

Math. xxiv 20

orate autem ne fiat fuga uestra hieme uel sabbato
autem *om* Cypr. Ambrst.

Math. xxiv 23

ecce hic est Christus aut illic ne credatis

est *om. a b d* Cypr. Auct. rebapt. Ambrst. aut ecce illic *a* Cypr.
Ambrst. nolite credere *a b d e* Cypr. Auct. rebapt. Ambrst.

Math. xxiv 43

uigilate itaque¹ quia nescitis qua hora uel die dominus
uester uenturus est

ergo *a b ff*₁ uel die *om. a b ff*₁ Ambrst.

Let me now set side by side several passages from the known works of Ambrosiaster and the *anecdota*. These will convince every person who reads them attentively that they all come from the same author. I would in particular direct attention to the passage from *Quaestio* cvi, where the numerous readings recovered from the old MSS shew at once the great liberties which the first editor took with the text, and also a much closer approximation to the *anecdota* than does the printed text.

in Math. c. 12 pr.

saluator ergo inpleto sexto
millesimo anno uenturus est,
ut septimum millesimum an-
num hic regnet. cuius sabba-
tum habet figuram, id est
requiei imaginem, ut quantum
distat umbra a ueritate tantum
distet et requies a requie et
uita a uita, quia illa aeterna
erit haec temporalis est. ideo
requies illa totius mundani
operis cessatio est. nam con-
siderandum quia unus dies

Ambrst. *Quaest.* cvi. DE LIBRO GENESIS
(ante finem)

praeterea quia sex diebus opus con-
summatum est, totius mundi aetatem
in se continet, ut sex dierum opera sex
miliū annorum haberent figuram . . .
ut autem ante hominem pecora fierent 5
. . . sexto autem die homo fieret, haec
res fecit, quia sexto millesimo anno
aduentus Christi hominem fecit ne
morti esset obnoxius. . . illud uero
quod septimo die requieuit ab operibus 10

1 que *Migne* 2 *om* est *Migne* 7 in
sexto millenario annorum *Migne*

¹ This precious *itaque*, which is not in the printed text (2 qu. N. T. 62 Migne *P. L.* xxxv 2410), I have recovered from MS Paris *B. N. lat.* 12223, which is a splendid MS, though of the twelfth century. The same verse ap. 1 Th. 5, 1 is different, being there a quotation from memory.

mille annorum figura est : tantum ergo intererit inter requiem *et requiem*. haec utique requies in saeculo data est ad momentum uel diem, illa requies in regno Christi aeterno aeterna.

c. 13, 7.

sex enim dies sex milia annorum habent figuram quibus agitur mundus. septimus uero, id est sabbatum, septimi millesimi umbra est, qui cessationem mundanis operibus futuram septimo millesimo anno incipiente significat.

in Math. c. 14, 14 seq.

(cf. p. 220).

post mille annos resurgent quidem, . . . non tamen uno in loco PECCATORES et IMPII erunt DONEC CONSUMMENTVR
 5 MILLE ANNI (ps. i 1, 5) . . . non enim potest ut PECCATORES RESVRGANT IN CONSILIO IVSTORVM, quia iusti resurgent ut mille annis regnent cum
 10 salbatore : ideo IN hoc CONSILIO PECCATORES esse non possunt. aut si IMPII simul resurgent cum sanctis, quanto magis peccatores ? . . . ideo
 15 nec PECCATORES RESVRGENT cum iustis, quia post mille annos iudicium erit omnium mortuorum, ut impii pereant, peccatores autem pro modo
 20 delictorum poenas expendant.

c. 19, 5

nunc enim tria genera hominum sunt, impiorum, peccatorum, sanctorum.

suis, hoc significavit, quia impleto millesimo anno in septimo millesimo requiesceret, cessante iam mundo in omni opere saeculari.

11 significat *Migne* 12 millenario a
Migne millenario requiescet *Migne*

Quaest. cxv. DE FATO

certe hoc factum a mundi confectione est numquam, nisi in Scytia tanquam ne forte dicerent quia cum mundus innouatur post annos mille quingentos sexaginta sic haec euangelium quippe cum mundus iam sexto millesimo anno agatur.

Ambrst. *Quaest. cx. DE PSALMO 1*

Migne xxxv p. 2330, 8 seq.

BEATVS VIR QVI IN VIA PECCAT NON STETIT. si autem 'steterit' iam 'beatus', sed reus dignus ad emendationem aliquam enim datur habere spem, quia non in statu sed 'peccator' est. si autem fuerit qui NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORVM, ET IN VIA PECCAT NON stat, duplici genere beatus nec enim potest esse beatus, in consilio peccatorum non eat, et in statu peccatorum stet : quia si non in statu, poenae tamen obnoxius dehinc adiecit ET IN CATHEDRA TRISTITIAE NON SEDIT. hanc beatitudinem esse, quae his triplicibus gradibus constat, et triplici ratione munitur : id est, ut neque in consilio impiorum eatur, neque in statu peccatorum stet, neque in cathedra tristitiae sedeatur. sed cum genera tantum habeantur impiorum

4 enim aliquam *Migne* 9 stetit
 11 consilium *Migne* 18 consilium

peccatorum in reprehensione, quae supra memorata sunt, hoc tertium cui adscribi uoluit quod adiecit dicens ET 25
IN CATHEDRA PESTILENTIAE NON SEDIT :
impiorum aut peccatorum ?

Migne p. 2332, 19.

in hoc psalmo tria genera hominum significat, impiorum et peccatorum et iustorum ¹. 30

23 comprehensione eorum *Migne* 24 cui]
+ generi *Migne* 27 -ne an *Migne* 28
psalmista ante in *Migne* trium hominum
genera *Migne* 29 om pr et *Migne*

in Math. c. 1.

ORATE AVTEM NE FIAT FUGA VESTRA HIEME VEL SABBATO, id est ne cum fuga fit impedimentum patiamini. ORARE autem est semper sollicitum esse et auxilium dei implorare, ne impedimentis constrictus tempore quo fugiendum est terrenis nexibus obligetur. semper autem impedimenta fugienda sunt : idcirco sic nos constituere debemus ut cum fugae dies uenerit liberi et ad fugam apti inueniamur. HIEME autem et SABBATO cum dicit, quid aliud significat quam tempus quo fugere non potest, id est ne cum fuga fit impedimenta et hiemis et sabbati in nobis inueniantur, quibus impediti fugere non possumus ? hiems autem ad fugiendum uel latendum intuta et minus utilis est : sabbatum uero ultra iter facere quam lex iubet secundum Iudaeos

2 Qu. N. T. 19 (*Migne P. L.*

xxxv 2396).

QVARE SALVATOR ORATE AIT NE FIAT FUGA VESTRA HIEME VEL SABBATO, CVM TEMPVS PERSECVTIONIS HVIVS DIFFERRI NON POSSIT, DICENTE APOSTOLO QVI REVELABITVR IN SVO TEMPORE, ET IN ACTIS APOSTOLORVM DEFINIENS INQVIT TEMPORA ET TERMINOS HABITATIONIS EORVM, ET CVR HIEME FUGIENDVM VEL SABBATO EXIRE NON LICEAT SIGNIFICAT ?

Hieme tuta fuga non est : frigora enim sunt, imbres assidui, nunguit, gelat, flumina exeunt : ideoque fugientibus pergraue est. latere enim in siluis non possunt neque in montibus neque in speluncis. sabbato autem iuxta Iudaeos longius a ciuitate exire non licet, nec altum ascendere, ac per hoc fugere sabbato non potest. quo modo autem haec tempora fugam tutam non faciunt propter impedimenta supra dicta ; ita et fuga nostra tuta non erit, si nos obligatos impedimentis carnalibus inuenerit praedicta persecutio. detinent enim homines quasi compedes desideria saecu-

¹ All these passages are edited from the MSS. I have not thought it necessary to give Migne's readings in the case of 2 qu. N. T. 19.

non sinit. non ergo sabbati lege uti nos praecipit, quod iam solutum est, sed ne actus nostri cum fuga fit hiemi et sabbato conparentur, sicut PRAEGNANTIVM ET NVTRIEN- TIVM. potest et sic intellegi, quia 'nouissima persecutio est' in HIEME VEL SABBATO significata sit: sabbatum enim nouissimus dies est et hiems nouissimum tempus est.

laria et facultates mundanae, nec seductionem diaboli possunt effugere. ideo ergo orandum est ne tempore quo fugiendum est hiemis et sabbati in nobis ratio inueniatur, sed ut liberos nos ab his impedimentis dei praestet auxilium, ut non sit quod nos desiderio sui captos mancipet mundo. quoniam ergo de nouissima persecutione loquebatur saluator, quae futura est tempore antichristi, ideo hiemem posuit, quia nouissimum tempus est, et sabbatum similiter, quia postremus dies est, ut sicut his temporibus aspera et difficilis fuga est, ita significaret illo tempore tam graues futuras persecutiones et pressuras, ut uix aliquis eas possit effugere.

in Math. c. 8, ll. 17 ff.
(cf. c. 2, ll. 11-13).

qui raptō (Mercati's *raptu* is confirmed by the other passage) ipso terrore mortem sicut soporem patientur †cum portati dum† ad dominum perueniunt reuiuiscetes resurgentes. pseudoprofetae autem cum principe suo antichristo et qui sponte adorauerunt eum olim perfidi iussu domini capti, hoc est SPIRITV ORIS EIVS, cui se putauerunt posse RESISTERE, VIVI MISSI SVNT IN STAGNV M IGNIS ARDENTIS. ceteri uero, qui seducti ab eis fuerant, GLADIO domini QVI EX ORE EIVS PROCEdit confodientur, id est uerbo domini sine uoluntate morientur per ignem, animabus eorum receptis in tartarum. iustus enim dominus eos qui non sunt

in 1 Cor. 15, 53.

in aduentu tamen domini et sancti resurgent, et qui uiui fuerint inuenti, OBVIAM RAPIENTVR domino in aera (*an legendum aere?*), mortem quasi soporem passuri; in ipso enim raptu et mortem et resurrectionem habebunt, sicut ad Thessalonicenses idem apostolus scribit. tempore enim antichristi aut apostatae erunt, aut rei, aut in latibulis aut in poena positi ceteri gentiles, quos dominus Iesus cum duce ipsorum antichristo in aduentu suo interficiet SPIRITV ORIS SVI id est iussu eius igni exurentur per angelos uirtutis eius.

in 1 Thess. 4, 14-17.

'resurgentibus' ergo 'primis qui in Christo mortui sunt, deinde nos qui uiuimus rapiemur una cum illis,' baiulis nubibus, 'obuiam Christo in aera', ut cum domino omnes ueniant ad proelium, et quos occiderat uideat uiuos; quia, sicut domino famulatae sunt

seducti sed olim eiusdem uoluntatis fuerunt, uehementius poenas perpeti facit.

in Math. c. 14, l. 20.

uiui enim quasi soporem mortem passi statim reuiuiscunt, et hoc erit resurrexisse.

nubes, ita et his quos fratres suos dignatus est appellare. 'et sic semper cum domino erimus.' in ipso enim raptu mors proueniet et quasi per soporem, ut egressa anima in momento reddatur cet.

Let me now deal with the language of the document. The method adopted is to go through it from beginning to end, selecting expressions in the order of their occurrence, and illustrating them from the works of Ambrosiaster. Where the same expression occurs more than once, the additional occurrences are given under the first instance. Interspersed are some notes on the text. In two cases proposed emendations are shewn to be unnecessary, in a third the text is successfully defended from the suspicion of corruption. I have little doubt that the instances could be increased, but I have no wish to crowd too many pages. If, however, my conclusions are not accepted, I am prepared, for example, to investigate the uses of particles fully, for, as Wölfflin says, 'aus diesen sogen. unschuldigen und sich massenhaft wiederholenden Wörtlein die Identität eines Autors zu beweisen gewohnt ist'¹. I have confined myself here to the occurrence of *qui* (adv.), *quippe cum*, *si quo minus, quanto magis, quid est ut ?*, *porro autem, quo modo ergo, ac per hoc, simili modo, aliquando*—*aliquando, numquid ?*, all of which were selected by me years ago as expressions specially characteristic of Ambrosiaster.

impedimentis constrictus : 1, 3 : I have not noted it with *impedimentis*, but with similar words it occurs 69 B, 81 D, 230 B, 236 B, 489 B^a; qu. 59, 112 &c.

actus (not *acta*) : 1, 12 : in Ambrosiaster *actus* is, I think, invariable, except sometimes in the abl. of the title of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

humana fragilitas : 2. 2 : fragilitatis humanae qu. 108 &c.; fragilitatem humani generis qu. 102; fragile genus humanum 302 A; qu. 102; 126.

iugis pressura : 2, 7; *iugis* and *pressura* both occur, perhaps not in combination.

diabolus— *malignitatis suae apostasiam* : 3, 5; *Lucifer casum et apostasiam significans* 157 B; (*diabolus*) *participes apostasiae suae uolens efficere homines* 454 A; *adsentientes apostasiae eius* (i. e. diaboli) 506 C;

¹ *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* xi (1900) p. 577.

² The numbers refer to the columns of Migne *P. L.* xvii (comm.) and xxxv (Quaest.).

diaboli apostasiam qu. 2; diabolus apostasiae suae auctorem non habet qu. 98.

multos uult socios perditioni adquirere: 3, 9 (cf. 3, 28) (*diabolus*) *h* solacium aestimauit si perditioni suae acquireret plurimos socios qu. 110 (the new Padova portion, to be published in the next number): *granditer homines (diabolus) suadet peccare, magnum ex eo quarens solacium, dum criminis sui socios multos ostendit leuem poenam aestimant ac si grauis sit, si secum multos uideat in gehenna cet.* qu. 127 (p. 2380). Gaudentius serm. 18 (Migne xx 978 A) has imitated our author: *magnum siquidem supplicii sui diabolus putat hoc esse remedium, si poenarum socios multos adquirat.*

contrariam (absolutely: *sibi* must not be added) *ut rem quam contrariam scit non praetermittat* 3, 15; *negans quod si non negat sciat contrariam* 2 qu. N. T. 62, and often.

propositum: 3, 16; ll. 21-22: very often in both commentaries and *Quaestiones*; I have noted fifteen examples in the former, and four in the latter. Ambrosiaster never has the plural. There is a close parallel to this passage in qu. 115 (p. 2348) *ut mali propositi impleant uoluntatem.*

compressus (perhaps suggested by Eph. 6, 16): 3, 17; *sciens (anti-christus) uenturum dominum ad se comprimendum* 482 A; *omnium aduersariorum comprimit tela* qu. 92; *ad comprimendos eos quibus cet.* 469 C; qu. 113 *ter*; 115 *ter*.

in eadem uoluntate perdurat: 3, 17: *in opere sibi decreto perdurant* 60 A; *in coepto malo perdurant* 145 D; *in fide eius perdurat* 371 C; *in (sententia) perdurantes* qu. 65, &c.

hi qui in latibulis degunt: 3, 26: *aut in latibulis aut in poena positi ceteri gentiles* 286 C.

oculata fide: 4, 3: I am glad to be able to confirm Mr Turner's conjecture by appeal to Ambrosiaster, qu. 68 (b) pr.: *apocalypsis cum futura mala et tribulationes . . . testaretur, exemplare etiam poenarum unius cuiusque peccati oculata fide demonstrans.*

spiritali uigore: 4, 12; cf. 5, 2; *intellectum nostrum spiritali erigentes uigore* qu. 107; *infirmans spiritalern suum uigorem* 219 C; *potentia spiritali uigentes* qu. 20.

officium, of the sun or moon: 6, 1; 9, 2: *lux quae in officio dies est* qu. 3; 106 (p. 2319) &c.

apertum est . . . quia: 6, 5; 140 A; 157 C; 214 A; 266 A; 296 C; 350 B; 352 D; 356 B; 361 A; qu. 44 (col. 2242).

nulli dubium (est) (Hier. Aug.): 6, 6; 12, 11; with *quia* 81 D; otherwise 58 A; 86 A; qu. 120 and often.

qui enim fieri potest ut . . . decidat: 6, 9: the MS reads *quin*, as my MSS of the *Quaestiones* also do almost invariably, while the elder Bodleian MS of the *Commentaries* has *qui* at least once. There are

two alternatives: either *quin* had so changed its meaning, that it now meant practically the opposite of what it used to mean, or the scribes were ignorant of the old instrumental abl. *qui*, common in classical authors = 'how', and supposed it an error. It is safer to hold the latter view, especially as the same expression occurs as late as Boetius (e. g. *Cons. Phil.* IIII 7 pr. v 3 (Peiper)). Examples of this use are:—*qui enim fieri potest ut . . . sit* 509 D; *qui fieri potest ut . . . non habeat* qu. 102 (p. 2306); *qui enim fieri potest ut . . . sit* qu. 84.

quippe cum sciant: 6, 11; *quippe cum—sit* 17, 15; so forty-five times in the Commentaries, and thirty-three times in the *Quaestiones*; also in Hier.

cessare: 6, 11; 9, 3; 9, 9; 9, 14, &c. This is one of the most frequent words in Ambrosiaster. Examples are 49 B; 55 D; 67 B; 85 B; C *quater*; qu. 44 *passim*; 50 *bis*; 69 *bis*.

si quominus: 6, 22; 10, 36. This expression has hitherto been produced only from the Old Latin of the Bible. It occurs, however, fifteen times in the Commentaries, and four times in the *Quaestiones*.

inanitur fides: 6, 22. Ambrosiaster is specially fond of *inanio* (metaph.): examples are:—*ne gratiae beneficium inanire uideamur* 113 B; *hic inanit fatum* qu. 115 (p. 2356); *ut gloriam diaboli inaniret* 103 D (codd.) cet.

dominus . . . cui famulantur caelorum nubes: 7, 3; *sicut domino famulatae sunt nubes* 475 C; *post crucem enim manifestata persona et uirtute sua saluator palam, famulantibus nubibus, ascendit gloriosus in caelos* 498 D.

supra memuratis: 7, 7; 16, 12; 144 D; 287 D; 444 C; 471 D; qu. 95 pm.; 102 am, and with extraordinary frequency, while *supra dictus* is almost entirely absent.

subreptor: 7, 9; *subreptionem* 9, 20; *commonet eos ne aliqua subreptione ad illicita deducantur* 473 D; *potest aditum habere subreptio* qu. 113; cf. *de eis in quibus subreptum est illis ut delinquerent* qu. 111; *quo modo subreptum est fatis ut . . . decreuerit* qu. 115 (p. 2356).

morti gehennae adiudicetur (certainly right): 8, 9; *non utique sine corpore adiudicabitur bono aut malo* 311 C; cf. 98 A; qu. 34; 127 pm.; 2 qu. mixt. 6.

(On 1 Thess. iv 16–17) *id est a ministris nubibus*: 8, 11; (*Christum cum carne adsumptum in caelos ministra nube* 468 B (in 1 Thess. ii 9–10).

inter cetera (before a scripture quotation): 9, 1; 10, 14; 11, 2. This use, found sporadically in other authors, is almost wearisome by its constant recurrence in Ambrosiaster: examples are 65 A; 76 A; 129 C; qu. 91 *quater*; qu. 97 *septiens*.

contuendum est: 9, 1; *contuendum est unum esse sensum* 102 A;

contuendum itaque est quia non a Pilato . . . crucifixus est qu. 65; contuendum etenim est quo modo dictum sit qu. 125 (p. 2375).

quanto magis: 9, 11; 10, 13; 14, 24; 17, 14; 60 C; 67 A; 90 A; 94 C; 96 A bis; qu. 27; 38; 45; 46; 91; 97 *quater*, and very frequently. I have thirty-one examples from the *Quaestiones*: there must be about fifty, at least, in the Commentaries.

gloriosos: 9, 18; Rom. 8, 21 ap. 12, 12; there are a number of instances in combination with *apparere*, as well as others, e.g.: *gloriosi uidentur et honorati* 68 C; *hoc est uere diuitem fieri et gloriosum* qu. 81.

quid ergo est ut . . . uideatur . . . cum constet Moysen . . . non esurisse 10, 1 (cf. 10, 4). The build of this sentence is like that of the titles of various *Quaestiones*, e.g. 37 *quid est ut missa mors in Iacob uenerit in Israhel, cum Iacob ipse dictus sit Israhel*, 57 *quid est ut cum in Malachia scriptum sit, Marcus hoc . . . scriptum adserat*, 85 *quid est ut cum constet . . . euangelista quattuordecim dicat. si in lege nemo iustificatur, quid est ut maledicatur*, cet. 374 B; cf. 213 B; 306 A; 363 A; 366 C; qu. 61 (tit.); 112 ex.; 115 (p. 2354): *cum constet* occurs altogether eleven times in the Commentaries, fourteen times in the *Quaestiones*.

quibusdam uideatur: 10, 1; *sicut quibusdam uidetur* 16, 8; *quod quibusdam impossibile uidetur* 16, 11 (cf. 91 B; 205 C; qu. 6; 97); *quibusdam iterum uidetur quia qui fornicatur* cet. 227 B; *quibusdam tamen uidetur* qu. 106, cet. This is our author's way of referring to those from whom he differs.

corpore morti obnoxio: 10, 11; cf. 11, 25 (the whole of this line is reproduced in Ambrst., but I cannot find the exact reference); *factum obnoxium morti inferni* 108 B (codd.); (*homo iam obnoxius erat morti infernae* 493 C; *hominem fecit ne morti esset obnoxius* qu. 106 ex.

porro autem (Cypr., Boet. *Cons. Phil.* III 11 p. 79, 74 Peiper): 10, 20; four times in the Commentaries, twelve times in the *Quaestiones*.

auidi . . . ad bona terrae edenda: Ambrst. has *auarus ad bonum*.

cum domino certe futuri sunt eius praesentia inlustrati: 10, 27-28: (Christus) *non solum praesentia sua inlustrauit eas (nuptias) uerum etiam* cet. qu. 127 (p. 2379); *mundus . . . signis ac prodigiis inlustratus* qu. 117; literally qu. 97 (p. 2291); cf. *asperio enim hyssopi inlustratio quaedam est* qu. 112.

examen: 10, 21; 17, 7; *ut examen circa se iudicis mitiget* qu. 112; also 67 B, 151 A, 166 B, 193 B; 257 B &c., generally of the judgement to come; *omnia dicta examinari et sic iudicari* 478 A; *cum coeperit ante tribunal (Christi) examinatio singulos adprobare* 473 B. These are judicial terms.

passioni et infirmitati subiacere: 10, 31; *uitiis et peccatis subiacebamus* 112 C (*cum ipse . . . periculis cottidie et morti subiaceat* 291 A); *iniuriis subiacent* qu. 176 cet.

dignum deo: 10, 33; 75 B; 208 C; qu. 46; 77; 112; 117.

rationi ipsi congruum: 10, 34; congruum . . . *creaturae* 71 C; *perfidiae suae* congruas poenas exsoluant qu. 126; congruum est . . . *deuotissime dei sacerdotem* . . . *exhortari populum* qu. 120 cet.

exclusa est edendi ratio: 10, 37; *exclusa est ergo Nouatiani impie composita adsertio* qu. 102 (p. 2304, 26); *exclusa est adseueratio tua* qu. 102 (p. 2307); *ratio fatorum* . . . *exclusa est* qu. 115 (p. 2357); cf. 88 B; 104 C; 221 B; 229 A; qu. 100; 122; 127 cet.

quo modo ergo . . . *habebunt* . . . *cum constet*: 11, 6; *quo modo idem Salomon* . . . *inquit* . . . , *cum alio loco dicat* qu. 34 tit.; cf. qu. 43 tit., 49 tit., 58 tit., 61 tit., 63 tit., 67 tit. cet.

nullius egere: 11, 11; twice at least of God: *inaestimabilis, infinitus, perfectus, nullius egens, aeternus* cet. qu. 1 (p. 2215); *deus certe perfectio est et nullius egens* qu. 48 tit.: so also 127 D; 163 A; 400 D; qu. 81; 92; 123 &c., where indic. and subj. occur.

ac per hoc: 11, 27; this expression, which Hier., Aug. and others use occasionally, is very characteristic of Ambrosiaster, as Dom Morin pointed out in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* for 1899 p. 102. The fact that it occurs once only in this document need be no bar to the acceptance of my theory of authorship: the phrase does not occur once between 205 B and 217 C, a part which I turned up at random as a test.

usibus humanis proficiunt in corruptelam 12, 18; *quae usibus omnium concessit communiter* 417 C; *ut ad eius iniuriam proficiant, ab eis, quae usibus nostris instituit*, abstinentum docent 499 C; *annua munera quae elementorum ministerio humanis usibus exhiberi decreuit* qu. 83; *omnia semina usibus necessaria, nisi dissoluta fuerint, renasci rursus non poterunt* qu. 114 (p. 2345, 37-38): *proficere* used of a down-grade course is specially characteristic, e. g. in *peius*, *ad iniuriam*, *in iniuriam*, *ad exitium*, *ad perditionem*, *ad detrimentum*, *in interitum*, cet. all occur in Ambrst.

diabolo . . . *se commouente*: 13, 3; *cum se commouerit lex* qu. 115 (p. 2354).

meliorabuntur 13, 4; 95 B; 282 C *bis*; 527 B; 440 B; qu. 1 *bis*; 12; 60; 116; 123 *bis*; 127 *septiens*. It is used intransitively in 422 D, a use unknown to any lexicon, and comparable to the same author's use of *corrigere*, *deteriorare*, *emendare*, and *reformare*. For details on such matters, I must refer to chapter iii of my forthcoming *Study of Ambrosiaster*.

ut omnia ad pristinum statum . . . *redderentur* 13, 15; *ad pristinum redditus statum* qu. 123 pr.; *ut reddamur ad pristinum statum Adae* qu. 127 m; *ad pristinum statum redditus est* qu. 102. So also with *redire*, *reformare*, *reparare*, *reuocare*.

unum enim diem fecit dens ex quo ceteri curricula sortirentur 13, 17;

unum enim (eum *Migne*) diem fecit ex quo ceteri curricula sortirentur qu. 95 (p. 2289, 31-32); *dominus dies . . . semper in se conuersus per curricula impleta septimana primus est* qu. 107 pr; *iuxta numerum et curricula dierum septem* qu. 29; *effectus curriculum eius (i. e. lunae)* qu. 84; *tempora unius hebdomadae curriculum numerantur* qu. 84; *post curricula dierum septem* qu. 95; *Curculis* in qu. 106 (p. 2319, 2) should be *titulis*.

simili modo (beginning a clause): 14, 8; 99 A; 102 C; 104 A; 127 B; 141 B; 163 A cet.; qu. 7; 20; 37; 52; 91; 97; 102 cet.

uerbis nudis credentes 14, 15: *cum nudis uerbis credidimus aut cum rebus* qu. 114 (p. 2344); *hi non uerbis nudis, sed uirtute operum spiritalium dignos se ostenderent ab apostolo uisitari* 218 C; *nudis uerbis* also 201 C; qu. 3 (p. 2218); 111 (p. 2335); 114 (p. 2342) (p. 2344).

ut finiatur malum illorum in gehenna quae est mors secunda: 14, 35; *est et alia mors quae secunda dicitur in gehenna* 97 B & c.

uas electionis (as a substitute for *apostolus Paulus* in introducing quotations) 14, 36; 419 C; qu. 2; 106; 115 (p. 2348) cet. This is found at least once in Augustine, and oftener in Ambrose.

congruum est (followed by the accusative and infinitive) 15, 7; *congruum est . . . dei sacerdotem exhortari populum* qu. 120, and doubtless oftener.

sub nomine dei et patris: 15, 9; cf. 15, 10; 15, 11; this author uses *sub nomine* regularly; never, or hardly ever, *nomine* simply.

sollicitos semper et uigilantes 17, 6; *solliciti et parati* 19, 33; the word *sollicitus* is commonly strengthened by another adjective, e. g. *sollicitos et uigilantes* 2 qu. N. T. 62; *sollicitis et deuotis* qu. 95; *sollicitus et fidelis* qu. 111; *diligentes et sollicitos* qu. 102.

aliquando—aliquando 17, 10; 50 A; 126 A, B; 194 D cet.; qu. 1; 66; 80; 97; 99 cet.

de eius accipit 17, 11: also in Ambrst.

numquid 17, 15. Ambrosiaster never has *num* or *numquidnam*, but always *numquid*. It is unnecessary to give examples, in the face of this rule.

pigros et segnes 18, 2. Such combinations, especially with adjectives expressing praise or blame, are a feature of our author. I have three pages of examples.

diligentes et studiosos 18, 2; *diligentibus ac sedulis* qu. 10; *diligentes et sollicitos* qu. 102.

unius fuerant professionis 19, 13; *cum sint unius professionis* 191 A; *mundis hic diuersae professionis continet homines* qu. 102 (p. 2310), *ut . . . alterius essent et professionis et conuersationis* qu. 108, etc.

ut nemo sibi de hoc blandiretur 19, 20; *physica ratione de qua sibi blanditur* 282 B; *ne sibi uel de eo ipso blandiatur iniquitas* qu. 97.

ut meritum conlocetur 19, 23 (there is nothing wrong with the text here): *sic meritum quis conlocat, dum in tribulationibus patiens inuenitur* 133 A; *non quia mala sunt, sed quia parua sunt ad meritum conlocandum* 440 A; *uti maius meritum conlocares* 2 qu. mixt. 6. There are in Ambrosiaster twelve other examples of this phrase, most of which are in the full form *meritum sibi conlocare apud deum* (e. g. 98 B; 150 B; 168 A). The phrase is unknown to any dictionary, like many others of the usages here alluded to. It means to 'pile up (deposit) credit for ourself with God (by doing good deeds)', and suggests the Roman trader.

A. SOUTER.

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST ABOUT DIVORCE.

THE object of this paper is to determine (1) the difference in sense in *μοιχεία* (and the allied words) in the New Testament and 'adultery' in our English modern use of the word. (2) How far modern ecclesiastical legislation is based on Christ's teaching. (3) Whether any light is thrown by these verses on the composition of the Sermon.

In order to appreciate the difficulty of seizing the meaning of Christ's teaching on this subject it is advisable to range the versions of the principal sentence side by side¹ (R. V.)—

Mt. v 32. A.	Mt. xix 9. B.	Mk. x 11, 12. C.	Lk. xvi 18. D.
But I say unto you that everyone that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress; and whosoever shall marry her when she is put away committeth adultery.	And I say unto you whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her when she is put away committeth adultery.	Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if she herself shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery.	Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery; and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

¹ I have thought it best to leave questions of textual criticism on one side, for the reason that where the principal MSS differ the main drift of the teaching is not seriously modified: e. g. when B omits the words of the T. R. in Mt. xix 9 *καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην*, Dr. Gore is surely right in saying (*Sermon on the Mount* p. 216) that the sense remains the same. There remains however the kind of criticism which would delete the important excepting-clause in the two Matthew passages,

It is plain from the wording of all four passages that there are certain important aspects of the subject of marriage with which our Lord is not dealing. He says nothing about the obligation to strict fidelity as it is technically called, nor of the general principles of conduct which should be observed by married people towards each other. The theme of His teaching is the permissibility or not of divorce *a vinculo*: i.e. not mere separation, but separation so complete that the marriage contract is wholly null and void, and both parties are free to marry again. And the general sense to be gathered from all four passages is that Christ in the main reverts to the stricter view of this question which 'hath been from the beginning', viz. that the marriage contract can never be as if it had not been, nor can the parties to it look upon themselves as wholly absolved from its obligation, except in the case when the wife has been guilty of infidelity, when it is implied that the husband is free. This exception is given by A and B, not hinted at by C and D.

The phraseology of A requires close attention. At first sight it seems to contain more than one impossible statement. Apparently a woman is made an adulteress not by the commission of the sin of fornication after marriage but by being put away for trivial reasons: and the questions force themselves on the reader (1) is she any the less an adulteress if she is divorced for the grave reason? (2) if she is divorced for a trivial reason, why is the guilt hers and not her husband's?

The explanation depends partly on the modern restricted use of the word 'adultery' compared with the Greek word which it renders in the Gospels. In all the four passages given above *μοιχεύω* (or the kindred forms of the verb) means to violate the marriage bond without any

A and B, on grounds of unsuitability. One of the most recent critics, Prof. Bacon (*The Sermon on the Mount* p. 177), says the words are 'certainly a gloss', and appeals to the authority of Luke and to the general principle that Jesus 'refuses to occupy the seat of the law-giver or magistrate in the imperfect conditions of the world': and that 'the exception *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας* transforms the principle' (i.e. of an ideal standard) 'into a rule, and involves Jesus in the rabbinic debate between the schools of Shammai and Hillel'. The grounds of this distinction are not clear. In laying down the unqualified principle of the indissolubility of marriage, Jesus repealed and abrogated human divorce laws, and what is that but legislating? Again, the exception is, I admit, a piece of legislation: but it is also the affirmation of a principle, viz. that the divine ordinance of matrimony is only abrogated by one particular sin. Even if this last remark be disputed it remains that those who wish to divest our Lord's teaching of all legislative element must cut out vv. 31, 32 and parallels altogether.

In the same page Prof. Bacon approves of Wendt's substitution of the Lucan reading *μοιχεύει* (in xvi 18) for *πορεύεται* *μοιχευθήναι*, on the ground that it is simpler. Certainly it is: but in the absence of any textual reason to the contrary, the more difficult reading is to be preferred.

reference to the definite act of post-nuptial fornication, which is denoted in A and B by *πορνεία*. But our word 'adultery' is restricted to the one way of violating the bond, which in A and B is called fornication, and hence the English rendering is very confusing. As a matter of fact excluding John viii 3 there is no passage in the New Testament where the words *μοιχεία*, *μοιχός*, and *μοιχεύω* necessarily refer at all to the sinful act (*πορνεία*) except strangely enough verse 28 of this chapter, just before our passage¹. In A, B, C, D the meaning of adultery is simply such ignoring of the bond as a man is guilty of who formally puts away his wife and regards himself as unconnected with her by any contract. B, C and D state hypothetical cases in which the man manifests this view of the situation by marrying again: and the sin of adultery consists in his treating the original contract as null and void when it is not. The word for 'to put away' does not mean simply to send out of the house to live apart, but to divorce formally under the impression that the first contract is thereby wholly dissolved. Therefore when in A

¹ This statement, as far as I can determine, is strictly accurate. If John viii 3 is included in the writings of the Evangelists, the word adultery (the noun and the verb) must be taken in its modern *compound* sense of sin against marriage consummated in a particular act. In classical Greek the verb and noun are used occasionally as synonyms of *πορνείω* and *πορνεία* (cf. Ar. *Pax* 958). But for the most part the usages of these words seem to apply indifferently to *πορνεία* and what we term adultery (so Liddell & Scott). May not the sense given in the New Testament, which *always* covers the breaking of the marriage bond, be an indication of the reverence felt for marriage? The exact difference between the three uses I would mark thus:

Μοιχεία (class. Gk.), the sin of the flesh: properly by one married.

Adultery (mod. Eng.), the sin of the flesh: certainly by one married.

Μοιχεία (N. T.), violation of the marriage bond by the sin of the flesh or otherwise.

But it is important to remark further that in all the *Gospel* uses of the words *μοιχαλís*, *μοιχᾶσθαι*, *μοιχεία*, *μοιχεύειν*, except two, the idea of the sin of the flesh is not necessarily included, the meaning being simply that of violation of the bond. The two passages are John viii 3 (4), and Mt. v 28. The former has been dealt with. In the latter the word *μοιχεύω* either = *πορνείω*, or the modern 'adultery', and the question depends on whether the woman spoken of is supposed to be another's wife (so Zahn emphatically p. 233; B. Weiss p. 114; Stier p. 128, vol. i, but dubiously in a qualified and confused note followed by Alford). This is hardly doubtful. The whole passage is on the sin of adultery, not fornication, and though ethical precepts against the latter may be gathered from the passage (see Stier) by inference, the meaning of the word *μοιχεύω* is to be settled by the plain sense with which v. 27 begins. Also there is the whole difference as regards the truth of the prohibition in the one case and the other. Human love is necessarily complex, and the animal element cannot be wholly excluded from the lawful passion of a man for a maid. But if *γυνῆκα* here is taken for 'another's wife', the sense is perfectly distinct and logical. The word therefore is used here only in the Gospels (exc. John viii 3 and 4) as 'adultery' in modern English.

nothing is said about the husband marrying again, the meaning of the text is unaltered. It is implied that a husband who goes through the formality of divorce with the intention of putting an end to the contract thereby is guilty of that special behaviour towards the contract which is called adultery¹. If he marries again he only translates this false view of his position into action.

Further, in A, B and D, Christ says that if a third party similarly takes the false view of the contract, and shews that he does so by marrying the divorced wife, he too is guilty of adultery. In C the guiltiness of the wife who so behaves is stated. If she takes the active part and divorces her husband—no reason being here given as sufficient—and marries again, she is an adulteress.

So far the meaning is fairly plain. But a very difficult expression is used in A. The husband who thus lightly thinks to dissolve the marriage contract by divorcing his wife is not said simply to commit adultery, but to 'make her commit adultery'. Now this expression which is in any case obscure, is quite unintelligible unless the above restricted view of adultery is adhered to, and the modern associations of the word put on one side. The woman is made an adulteress not because she has been unfaithful to the contract; *that supposition is expressly barred*—but because she is placed in a position of being different in the eye of the law from what she is in fact: or different in the view of man from what she is in God's sight. According to the one she is a freed woman, not a wife: according to the other she is still a wife, still bound to her husband.

The glaring contradiction between truth and appearance constitutes a false or adulterous position. The woman is not said to *become* an adulteress voluntarily and deliberately, but to be *made one*: so that the expression would cover the case of a wife who has done nothing but fail to retain her husband's love, and then has been quite unwillingly 'put away'. She is made an adulteress, or, more strictly, to commit adultery. It is as if the mere fact of her existence, apart from any wrong thoughts she may have harboured in her mind, is an offence against the divine law; she is made in her person to embody the revolt of society against the purity and completeness of the marriage union. For in the 'hardness of their hearts' men have ordained the legal instrument of divorce and attached to it a meaning forbidden by God. They have construed it as though the cumbrous formalities of the *Gesetz* obliterated wholly the Sacred bond which preceded it: and when a husband wantonly and in obedience to his own whim declares before the whole world that his life partner is wholly sundered from him and is free for re-marriage, he declares a lie, and she, however much in her

¹ In C it is called 'adultery against her', the wife.

heart she may dissent from this, is made in virtue of her false position to share in the community's disloyalty to God's decree. The wife may in her own private capacity disown her husband's action by refusing to marry again, but nothing can alter the fact that the legal position into which her husband has forced her is that by which society has formally and deliberately uttered its refusal to fall in with the divine requirements as to marriage¹.

An important corollary from this interpretation remains to be drawn. In all civilized societies the question of the re-marriage of divorced persons is a burning one. As is well known there is a difference in the law of the Eastern and Western Church on the point. In the former the re-marriage of the 'innocent party' is allowed, and though not permitted by the canons of the Western Church it has been recognized by the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1888. But whatever there is to be said for this concession it ought not to be based on the teaching of Christ as recorded for us. According to C and D nothing can dissolve the marriage bond: according to A and B the one sin, called fornication after marriage, can do so. But there is not a word to imply that after divorce consequent on this sin, the re-marriage of the guilty party is forbidden any more than that of the innocent². It is not said anywhere that to marry the guilty divorced woman is to commit

¹ There is only one other conceivable sense of *ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι*: that is, 'causeth her to commit adultery' by making it practically certain that she will marry again. But this is not practically certain. Moreover it ignores the meaning of *ἀπόλυσις*. The guilt of *ἀπόλυσις* consists in a formal assertion of a freedom which God has declared to be non-existent: and this particular guilt is unaffected by any sequel. By adultery Christ means the attempt to dissolve the indissoluble: what we mean is the act which really does dissolve it.

² In Dr Gore's *Sermon on the Mount* (Appendix iii p. 216) the following passages occur: 'What has happened since then (the time of the post-Reformation canons) is that the opinion of a great number of the best English divines and commentators on St Matthew has been expressed in favour of allowing the re-marriage of the "innocent party" after divorce for adultery.' And on p. 218: 'Our Lord appears on this matter to be legislating rather than laying down a principle... He appears to be sanctioning in the case of an innocent and deeply aggrieved person a dispensation which violates the logic of the marriage tie on grounds of equity: but this carries with it no necessary consequence of a similar dispensation in favour of the chief offender.'

I think, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the Matthew texts give exactly equal right to both the innocent and guilty parties to marry again, in so far as the re-marriage of either the one or the other is not what our Lord in these words is defining to be adultery. Of course there may be principles which He has enunciated elsewhere which justify a distinction; but no such principle is to be found here.

It would be equally true to say that the right to re-marry is withheld equally from the innocent and the guilty party. All I contend for is that inequality, in this respect, between the two cannot be justified from these verses.

adultery: but it is said, in A and B, that to marry an innocent divorced woman is adultery. Accordingly, though there may be much to be said for the relaxation above referred to; though the social conscience may be perfectly right in drawing a distinction between the guilty and the innocent party, there is no warrant whatever for it in these passages which give all our Lord's teaching on the subject. That teaching declares the re-marriage of either party following on unjustifiable divorce to be adultery: perhaps we may infer that re-marriage of *either* party following on justifiable divorce is not adultery. If a third party chooses to marry one who has made havoc of one marriage contract and has snapped it by the commission of the great sin, he takes upon himself the responsibility of union with a criminal. The guiltiness of doing this must depend on whether the divorced person is repentant or not. But whatever the guiltiness may be, nothing whatever is said about it in the two passages in St Matthew¹.

Let us now take notice what exactly the Church has done in drawing a distinction between the innocent and guilty party in respect of the legitimizing re-marriage. She has relied on the C and D passages as far as the guilty party is concerned and on A and B in regard to the innocent party. A and B imply that divorce consequent on conjugal infidelity is the human pronouncement of a dissolution already effected, which leaves *both parties* free to marry again. C and D if taken separately from A and B forbid any re-marriage to both parties. The Roman Church has taken up the intelligible position that all re-marriage in the life-time of the divorced partner is forbidden. This, however, ignores A and B. The Eastern and the English Churches have not ignored A and B but have gone only half-way in recognizing the words. And yet though not based on the Gospel teaching this position is defensible. The principle on which we act is to recognize that the Gospel teaching only deals with a restricted portion of the subject, viz. the defining of the scope of the word adultery: but that there is the great crime of snapping the marriage-tie, the punishment of which is not here specified, though its heinousness is strongly stated: and which has to be dealt with by the Church. Though Christ excludes it from His definition of adultery, He implies that it is a crime of the first magnitude; and the punishment inflicted by the Church is to deprive

¹ The particular sin of adultery which Christ is defining is committed in three ways: (1) by the man or woman who divorces the marriage partner on the assumption of freedom, when nothing serious enough has occurred to warrant it; (2) by the third party who marries the divorced person; (3) by the partner who is wrongly divorced. Nothing is said about *nopeia* being adultery in the sense indicated, nor about the guilt of it generally: nor is it stated that the man guilty of *nopeia* should be treated in the same way as the woman.

the sinner of that liberty of re-marriage to which on a narrow reading of Christ's teaching he would be legally entitled.

The critical questions which have arisen in connexion with these verses have been mainly concerned with the excepting clause in A and B. But there is another question to which less attention has been given, that is whether vv. 31, 32 are not wrongly placed here. An argument in favour of an affirmative answer is to be found in the sharp difference of meaning of *μοιχεία* in vv. 28 and 32. A paraphrase of v. 28 would be 'Ye have heard . . . thou shalt not commit the sin which breaks the marriage bond: But I say that this sin which you call adultery is committed when anything is purposely done to stimulate desire, even if the desire be not translated into action.' Here we notice *μοιχεία* is expanded in one direction: it is made to include antecedent actions likely to cause the commission of the sin itself, and certain to produce a corrupt state of feeling; the inference being that man must curb his thoughts, not only his actions. Christ might have chosen another word than 'adultery'. But it was His method to employ familiar old commandments rather than to invent new categories of sins.

But when we come to v. 32 we are dealing with a subject only faintly connected with that of v. 28. The word *μοιχεία* is expanded in an opposite direction. Instead of bringing out further the idea of individual guilt and the relation of sinful thought and action, Christ exposes the disloyal behaviour of mankind in trying to separate those whom God had joined: and in so doing He revives the early Scriptural idea of the permanence of wedlock. The share taken by different parties to the contract in the abortive attempt to annul it is indicated; and the only point of contact with v. 28 is in the implication of that verse that fornication (i.e. the modern 'adultery') alone can sever the bond which has been knit by divine operation and hallowed by divine decree. The sin which in v. 28 was analysed in respect of the comparative guilt of evil thought and action, is only glanced at in v. 32 in its relation to the ordinance of matrimony. This change in the meaning of *μοιχεία* seems to point to a dislocation of vv. 31 and 32.

It would be tempting to some to go further and say that if vv. 31, 32 do not belong to this context they are merely a version of C, and hence the *παρεκτός* clause is an interpolation. But for this there is no evidence. It is very probable that in regard to different versions of apparently the same words, the disciples asked their Lord for an explanation of some saying, as we know they did on more than one occasion (Mk. iv 10; Mt. xiii 26). Indeed in Mk. x 24 an unspoken question draws from Him just such a modification of His original saying as we find in two parallel versions. I would suggest that we have in this passage the

genesis of many a diverse report. It is not unlikely that the hard saying and the modification were subsequently both preserved in writing, and some of the phenomena of the Synoptic Gospels would thus be explained.

E. LYTTLETON.

ST MARK AND DIVORCE.

ALL three Synoptic Gospels report a saying of Jesus to the effect that whoever puts away his wife and marries another commits adultery, but the saying is given with characteristic differences. Matthew and Mark give the saying in connexion with a question asked of our Lord by adversaries when He was the other side of Jordan on the way to Jerusalem (Mark x 11, 12 = Matt. xix 9); with some change of wording it had been already given by Matthew as part of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v 31, 32), while Luke gives it only in a detached form practically without context (Luke xvi 18). It is a natural preliminary inference that the saying had a place in both the chief sources of our Gospels, viz. in the lost document commonly called the 'Logia', as well as in Mark (or *Ur-Marcus*). Moreover Matthew inserts in both places an exception *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, or equivalent words: it is evident that the stringent rule given by Mark, or his source, needed some modification when regarded as the basis for the law of a Christian society.

According to Mark the woman who divorces her husband is declared to have committed adultery as well as the man who divorces his wife. This condemnation of the woman is not found in the other Gospels and is pretty generally assumed to be a secondary addition, 'based on Roman Law', says Dr Schmiedel in *Ency. Biblica*, 1851. It is supposed to have been monstrous and unheard of that a Jewess should divorce her husband.

Monstrous it was, no doubt, but not quite unheard of. I venture to think that to appreciate the historical meaning of the passage we must apply the familiar maxim *cherchez la femme*. Not that we have to look very far: we know the woman and her history—her name was Herodias. Her husband, whom she left in order to live with Antipas, was the man whom Mark calls 'Philip' but Josephus only knew as 'Herod'. Antipas also was guilty: he had put away the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas to take up with Herodias his half-brother's wife, she herself being his half-niece.

A curious side-light can be thrown on the public actions of our Lord from this point of view. In the estimation of many the Galilaean

Prophet was first and foremost the successor of John the Baptist, who had lost his life in protesting against the loose pagan morals of Antipas and Herodias. On the news of the murder of John our Lord had retired at once to 'a desert place' (Mark vi 31), and soon afterwards we find Him and His disciples taking a quite extended journey to the north away from the dominions of Antipas (Mark vii 24 ff). Scarcely is He back than we find Him again on a journey in the district of Caesarea Philippi, i. e. the NE. district of Herod the Great's realm, outside Antipas's tetrarchy (Mark viii 27-ix 29). After a stay there, important indeed for the inner circle of disciples but short in time, He passes through Galilee on His way to Jerusalem, 'and He would not that any man should know it' (Mark ix 30). This policy of concealment lasts until He comes 'into the borders of Judaea'. There He is outside the jurisdiction of Antipas: 'multitudes come together unto Him again and, as He was wont, He taught them again' (Mark x 1).

It was no part of our Lord's plan to get embroiled with the civil power, especially just before this Passover, but for that very reason questions about Divorce might be used to entangle Him into inconvenient pronouncements. He was now once more teaching publicly, and some of those who heard—Matthew calls them Pharisees—took this occasion to ask whether it were lawful for a man to put away his wife. Probably neither legal curiosity nor scruples of conscience prompted the questioners, but no doubt it seemed an excellent test question. The answer can scarcely have pleased. It offered no palliation for the loose Roman manners of the Herods, but the course of conduct commanded was based on the natural constitution of man as opposed to the Mosaic Law, and the teaching which reads most like a special condemnation of Herodias was reserved for the circle of disciples indoors. Here as elsewhere our Lord had as little taste for the leaven of the Pharisees as for the leaven of Herod.

While treating of this subject I should like to say a word in conclusion on Mark viii 15. A few weeks before the utterance on Divorce which we have been considering, just before Jesus started from Bethsaida to go to the villages of Caesarea Philippi, the disciples had come in the boat to the place called Dalmanutha or Magadan, an unknown spot not so very far from Tiberias. They were met by 'Pharisees' who ask for a 'sign', which is refused (Mark viii 10-12). When they have hurriedly re-embarked to go to the border town of Bethsaida on the north of the Sea of Galilee, Jesus bids the disciples beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod (Mark viii 15). Why Herod? The sudden move to Bethsaida, so sudden that they forget to provision the boat, suggests a flight from imminent danger. May we not combine this narrative of Mark with the detached anecdote

Luke xiii 31-33? According to this passage the Pharisees say 'Get thee out and go hence, for Herod would fain kill thee'. The answer gives the reason for the actual course taken by our Lord. He accepts the warning and leaves the territory of Antipas, concealing Himself and keeping quiet when it was necessary to pass through Galilee, because He was determined that the inevitable crisis should come at Jerusalem and nowhere else. If this general view be accepted, it affords a fresh and welcome proof that the Gospel according to St Mark is a document in touch with the facts of history, and not merely concerned with the ethical needs of some Christian community of later times.

F. C. BURKITT.

READINGS SEEMINGLY CONFLATE IN THE MSS OF THE LAUSIAC HISTORY.

THERE is no need to dwell on the importance of the rôle played by Conflate Readings in textual work in general, and in the textual criticism of the New Testament in particular. That Conflation is a corruption of frequent occurrence is unquestionable, and the deductions drawn from it, when it is detected, are in general valid. This Note is intended only to serve as a warning of the circumspection that is necessary in the employment of one of the textual critic's best instruments.

In the passages to be discussed all the references are to the recent edition of the *Historia Lausiaca* (Cambridge *Texts and Studies* VI 2), and the nomenclature is that which is there employed. In order fully to understand and control what follows, it would be necessary to examine the full apparatus to the various passages, and to master the discussions in the *Introduction* on the character and relations of the MSS and versions; but I hope to be able here to supply information which will roughly but sufficiently indicate the textual facts, and make intelligible the line of argument in each case. The terms 'best MS' and 'second best MS' are of course relative, and vary in denotation according to the MSS extant for each passage.

(1) P. 41, 14.

τῶν ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὸ εὐξασθαι ἐξερχομένων

best MS (W, p. 173) and all the versions (two Latin, two Syriac).

τῶν ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ἐξερχομένων

second best MS (P).

τῶν ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν εὐξαμένων καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξιόντων

inferior MSS (B).

There can be no doubt that the reading of W and the versions is the true one. The variant *ἐπίσκειν* has come from l. 12, where we read: *ἐπιτηρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπισκόπων ἀγίων ἐπίσκειν*. Now the corrupt or metaphrastic form of the text found in the 'inferior MSS'—the vast majority—and called B, was already formed certainly in the sixth century, and almost certainly in the fifth. On the other hand, W and P are closely akin, having in common a number of corruptions found nowhere else and clearly of a relatively late origin; some of them indeed are due to contamination from a B text, so that the proximate archetype of WP is posterior in date to the archetype of B. Hence it follows that any divergence of P from W in the way of corruption is later than the formation of the B text. And therefore the *ἐπίσκειν* in the B MSS cannot have been derived from P, nor was the B reading conflated out of those of W and P. The B reading is made up, after the manner characteristic of the metaphrastic reviser, out of the true reading (preserved in W) and the *ἐπίσκειν* of l. 12. The reading of P either is due to the influence of B, a phenomenon whereof clear traces are to be found elsewhere in P; or else, as seems more probable, *ἐπίσκειν* has come in from l. 12, so that its presence in P and in B is a case of mere coincidence in error.

It is certain that we are not here in the presence of a Conflate Reading in B.

(2) P. 89, 3, 4.

τὰ ἄτονα τοῖς ἀτονωτέροις ἐγχείριζε ἔργα

best MS (P) and Ethiopic version (apparently).

τὰ ἄτονα τοῖς ἀσκητικωτέροις ἐγχείριζε ἔργα

second best MSS (TO 47) and Sozomen (*τὰ δὲ εὐχαρῇ τοῖς ἀσκουμένοις*).

τὰ ἄτονα τοῖς { *ἀτονωτέροις καὶ ἀσκητικωτέροις ἐγχείριζε ἔργα*
 ἀσθενεστέροις

inferior MSS (B) and Latin and Syriac versions.

Here *ἀτονωτέροις*, being supported by P and a good independent witness, must be accepted as belonging to the text; and the attestation of *ἀσκητικωτέροις*—the three next best MSS (which are unrelated to each other), and Sozomen, the earliest witness to the text—compels us to accept it also as belonging to the text. The support given to the double reading by the two versions is strong; and I think it is reasonable to suppose that Sozomen also had the double reading before him, in view of his treatment of a similar sentence a little lower down:

p. 91, 1-3: *καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀπλουστέροις καὶ ἀκεραιότεροις ἐπιθήσει τὸ ἰῶτα,*
Soz. *ἀπλουστέρους μὲν* *ἰῶτα ἀποκαλοῦντας,*
τοῖς δὲ δυσχερεστέροις καὶ σκολιωτέροις προσάξει τὸ ξί.
Soz. *σκολιοὺς δὲ ζήξ.*

Besides Sozomen only a pair of Greek MSS and the Ethiopic omit ἀκραυσίτοις, so that its authenticity cannot be doubted. *δοσχευσίτοις* is in every single authority for the text, except S. On the other hand, *σκαλισίτοις*, which is attested by Sozomen and an array of witnesses that place it beyond suspicion, is omitted in the Ethiopic version (also the Syriac and some of the B Greek MSS) so that this passage, where the two pairs of double readings are authentic, seems to present a perfectly analogous situation to the passage under consideration.

Thus the double reading which is found in the inferior Greek MSS but also in two versions, is seen not to be conflated, but the reading, which has fallen asunder into its two halves in the Greek MSS.

(3) P. 116, 5.

τελευτᾷ -- ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ῥώμῃ ταφεῖς

five best MSS (P T A V C) and Syriac version.

τελευτᾷ -- ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταφεῖς

inferior MSS (B) and Latin version.

τελευτᾷ -- ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων κηδευθεῖς

one sub-group of the inferior MSS (14-18).

τελευτᾷ -- ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων κηδευθεῖς καὶ ταφεῖς

one sub-group of the inferior MSS (12, 13).

In this case the apparent conflation has arisen in certain sub-groups of the inferior (B) MSS and has no claim to represent even the normal B text. The sub-groups of B represented by MSS 12, 13 and 14-18 are closely related, and are the common offspring of a single ancestor, having a number of corruptions in common. In the case of MSS 12, 13 I at first thought that the reading of 12, 13 was evidently conflated from the normal B reading *ταφεῖς*, and the reading of 14-18 *ἀγίων κηδευθεῖς*. But fuller examination of the text of 14-18 shows it to be an abridged redaction, rewritten on the principle of leaving away superfluous words and clauses; and I have no doubt that also the text of 14-18 has been formed from that of 12, 13 by dropping out *καὶ ταφεῖς*.

(4) P. 132, 2.

ἡ γὰρ ἀπέδωκε ---- τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ

best and third best MSS (P and A), some of the inferior MSS (B) and a Latin version (l).

ἡ γὰρ ἀπέδωκε ---- τῇ αὐτοῦ μετᾴ

some of the inferior MSS (B+) and a Latin version (12).

ἔγιγ' ἀπέδωκε ---- τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ

second best MS (T), some of the inferior MSS (B+), and the Syriac version.

The agreement of T and the Syriac version shews that the double reading existed in the sixth, probably in the fifth century. There can be no doubt that it is the original reading of the B text; so that the absence of one or other clause in certain B MSS is due to omission, doubtless on account of the extreme harshness of the full text. To the same cause must, I think, be attributed the absence of either clause in P and A and the two Latin versions. Here, therefore, again there seems little doubt that the double reading is not conflate but original, and has been broken up into its parts.

(5) P. 152, 10-12.

ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ κτήνος γίνεται ἢ δαίμων· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγε κτηνώδη, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη
the two best MSS (W and P).

ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ ἐννοίας περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμίᾳ· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγε κτηνώδη, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη
the third best MS (T), and the fourth (A, but with a slight variant), and the Syriac version (but om. τὸν δὲ θ. δαιμ.).

ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ ἐννοίας ἢ δαίμων γίνεται ἢ κτήνος. ἡμῶν δὲ φιλοπευστοῦντων τὸν τρόπον ὃν εἶπεν, ἔλεγεν οὕτως ὅτι Νοῦς ἀποστὰς θεοῦ (ἐννοίας) ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιπίπτει ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἢ θυμῷ· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι κτηνώδη, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δαιμονιώδη
inferior MSS (B) and Latin version.

The passage before us has perplexed me not a little. In the first draft of the text I adopted the double reading—which is not precisely that of the metaphrastic text (B), but a reconstruction of that of the MS used by the metaphrastic reviser for his rewriting of the text: this was in the fifth century (see *Introduction* pp. lxii, xxxiii-xxxiv, xliii, xlv). Next, on discovering W and finding that it agreed with P, I preferred the reading of W and P, and that is the one that stands in the text. Later on, when reviewing the evidence as a whole in the *Introduction*, I reverted to the double reading, regarding the other two as due to its breaking asunder on account of the repetition: and so in the List of Alterations and Corrections (p. 180), I direct its adoption. Now I find myself wavering again; for the longer reading may well be an explanatory expansion of the reading of W and P, intended to bring out more definitely the nexus between the two clauses of WP.

Be that as it may, it is hardly conceivable that the reading of T A s could have originated independently and have so well fitted in with

So far my defence is half-hearted. Not so with the rest. What follows in Mr. Watson's paper is based on a misapprehension of my meaning and of the facts.

St Cyprian wrote to the Roman confessors, as soon as he heard of their secession from Novatian, a letter of congratulation (Ep. 54), to which he appended copies of the *De Lapsis* and the *De Unitate*. 'It was in this copy that Dom Chapman holds the change was made by the author. . . . The first point to strike a student is the importance and the publicity of the transaction.' I am afraid it must be my fault if the student's first impression of my meaning is something I never meant. I tried to shew that the change made by the author in c. 19 made that chapter apply to confessors and only to confessors. It is inconceivable that the person who altered the passage, whether St Cyprian or an anonymous forger, should have wished to publish the passage in this form after the return of the confessors to unity. Still less would the confessors themselves have wished it. My contention was that St Cyprian made the alterations simply to meet the case of Maximus and his companions in a single copy which he sent to them.

But Mr. Watson takes a different view, perhaps forgetting c. 19. 'It was to the credit of the confessors [?] and to the obvious advantage of Cornelius that this budget from Carthage should be circulated as widely as possible.' But Ep. 54 was not sent under cover to Cornelius, as Ep. 46 had been, and he probably never saw the copy of *De Unitate*. 'This authoritative antidote would surely be disseminated by all the means which the world-wide connexions of the Roman Church put at Cornelius's disposal. And we should expect, if the earlier version remained in existence, to find that it had escaped oblivion as narrowly as the African type of the Old Latin Bible has done.' Let us suppose that St Cyprian really meant the correction as 'an authoritative antidote to Novatianism' (though this is not in the least my view); how can Mr. Watson know that corrected copies were not disseminated everywhere by Cornelius? It is certain, let me remind him, that all our very numerous MSS of the treatise on Unity simply go back to the first collection of St Cyprian's writings, which was known to Pontius, and which must have been made in Africa just after (or even just before) St Cyprian's death¹. The treatises contained in this collection must

¹ This edition contained i, iv, vi, v, vii, x, viii, xi, xii, xiii, 6, 10, 28, 37, 11, 38, 39; I am glad to see that Hans von Soden has independently arrived at the same conclusion, *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung*, 1904, pp. 52-5. I may mention that this industrious young author considers my thesis as to the interpolations as 'ausreichend begründet' (p. 21, note, and p. 202). Cp. Harnack *Chronol.* ii p. 334.

have had a large circulation before they were thus collected, but we know absolutely nothing about this. The circulation of a 'Roman edition' of the *De Unitate*, such as Mr. Watson supposes, might have been the largest in the world, and yet have left no trace. Pontius, Lucifer, the Cheltenham list, all testify only to the original African collection handed down in our MSS. It would surely be nothing wonderful if this Carthaginian edition had contained the original Carthaginian form of the *De Unitate*, even had a rival form been far more common in the rest of the world. This simple consideration destroys the whole of Mr. Watson's elaborate objection to a conjecture which was, after all, never made by any one.

'Is it not more reasonable to acquiesce in the old-fashioned view that there has really been an interpolation?' I think not, until some reason has been given, some circumstances suggested, for such an ingenious performance. The interpolation in c. 4 is not simply in favour of Papalism; it is against the Novatians or (just conceivably, if it can be so late) the Donatists. But the changes in c. 19 have to be accounted for, and how would Mr. Watson propose to account for them?

JOHN CHAPMAN.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE HYMNS OF HILARY.

SINCE my paper on the Hymns of Hilary appeared in the last number of the JOURNAL, I have received a very careful collation of the text of the Arezzo MS from Mr A. S. Walpole, who is preparing a volume on the earliest Latin hymns. I subjoin the principal passages in which Mr Walpole corrects Signor Gamurrini's reading of the MS.

The MS has

- I 32 transformans se, ut est, uiuam in imaginem
- 42 Deusque uerus substitit ex Deo
- 54 alter quae cum sit mixtus in altero
- 57 paret sed genitus Patri
- 63 condensque primum saecula
- II 11 fefellit saeuam Verbum factum te caro
- 13 gaudens pendentem carnis ligno cum crucis
- III 1 Adae carnis gloriam et caduci corporis
- 22 inter turbas, quae frequentes mergebantur, accipit
- 29 quaerit audax tempus quod sit.

A. J. MASON.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, April 1904 (Vol. lviii, No. 115 : Spottiswoode & Co.). William Ewart Gladstone—Christian Socialism in France—The Church and Dissent in Wales during the Nineteenth Century—Robert Campbell Moberly—The Silesian Horseherd—The People and the Puritan Movement—The Yezidis : a Strange Survival—The Popish Plot—The British and Foreign Bible Society—The Abbé Loisy : Criticism and Catholicism—Japan and Western Ideas—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1904 (Vol. ii, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). H. JONES The Moral Aspect of the Fiscal Question—OLIVER LODGE Suggestions towards the Re-interpretation of Christian Doctrine—HENSLEY HENSON The Resurrection of Jesus Christ—W. BOYD CARPENTER Gladstone as a Moral and Religious Personality—ANDREW LANG Mr Myers's Theory of 'the Subliminal Self'—C. J. KEYSER The Axiom of Infinity : a New Presupposition of Thought—W. JETHRO BROWN The Passing of Conviction—H. WINCKLER North Arabia and the Bible : a Defence—Discussions—Reviews.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April 1904 (Vol. xvi, No. 63 : Macmillan & Co.). S. SCHECHTER Genizah Fragments—M. N. ADLER The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela—A. COWLEY Samaritana—D. PHILIPSON The Reform Movement in Judaism, III—W. BACHER Zur jüdisch-persischen Litteratur.—F. C. BURKITT The Nash Papyrus : a new photograph—E. N. ADLER A letter of Menasseh Ben Israel—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge, V—Critical Notices—Notes.

The Expositor, April 1904 (Sixth Series, No. 52 : Hodder & Stoughton). W. M. RAMSAY The Letters to the Seven Churches—J. CHAPMAN The Seven Churches of Asia—N. J. D. WHITE The Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy—S. I. CURTISS Some Religious Usages of the Dhiâb and Ruala Arabs, and their Old Testament Parallels—W. L. DAVIDSON The Bible Story of Creation :—a Phase of the Theistic Argument—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St Mark—J. H. MOULTON Characteristics of New Testament Greek.

May 1904 (Sixth Series, No. 53). W. M. RAMSAY The Letter to Smyrna—W. E. BARNES Psalm lxix—E. E. KELLETT St. Paul the Poet—T. H. WEIR The Koran and the 'Books of Moses'—J. H. MOULTON Characteristics of New Testament Greek—T. BARNES The Catholic Epistles of Themison—S. R. DRIVER Translations from the Prophets : Jeremiah xxv.

June 1904 (Sixth Series, No. 54). W. M. RAMSAY The Letter to the Church in Pergamum—J. H. BERNARD The Death of Judas—G. MILLIGAN The Authenticity of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians—J. B. MAYOR Notes on the Text of the Epistle of Jude—J. H. MOULTON Characteristics of New Testament Greek.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, April 1904 (Vol. viii, No. 2: Chicago University Press). G. A. COE The Philosophy of the Movement for Religious Education—W. DEWAR What is a Miracle?—A. H. SAYCE The Legal Code of Babylonia—S. H. BISHOP A Point of View for the Study of Religion—H. A. REDPATH A New Theory as to the use of the Divine Names in the Pentateuch—C. S. PATTON Critical Note: the Place of God in Human Evolution—Recent Theological Literature.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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