

## NOTES AND STUDIES

THE *HISTORIA MYSTAGOGICA* AND OTHER  
GREEK COMMENTARIES ON THE BYZANTINE  
LITURGY.

## I

OF older commentaries on the Liturgy of the Byzantine rite four have been printed and are more or less well known.

(1) The *Μυσταγωγία περὶ τοῦ τῶν σὺμβολα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῆς συνάξεως τελούμενα καθέστηκε* of S. Maximus († 666); being an exposition of the symbolism of the church and of the salient points, other than the *secreta*, of the Liturgy—the Little Entrance, the Lessons, Hymns and Gospel, the Expulsions, the Great Entrance, the Kiss, the Creed, the Sanctus, the Lord's Prayer, the Elevation and the Communion—from four several points of view; following one who is referred to as ὁ Γέρων, and influenced by 'Dionysius the Areopagite', with whose type of thought and language Maximus has close affinities and on whose works he commented.

(2) The *Προθεωρία κεφαλαϊώδης περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ γινομένων συμβόλων καὶ μυστηρίων* of Theodore (or Nicolas<sup>1</sup>) of Andida in Pamphylia, about whom nothing else is known.<sup>2</sup> This treatise was published by Mai, from three Vatican MSS, in *Patrum nova bibliotheca* vi (Rome 1853) and reprinted in Migne *P. G.* cxi 417 sqq. It is a commentary on the whole liturgy, mainly in relation to the Life and Passion and Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord. Theodore deliberately omits any preliminary ecclesiological exposition, because this has already been supplied by 'an interpretation written under the name of the great Basil' (c. 5).

(3) The *Λόγος περιέχων τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἅπασαν ἱστορίαν καὶ λεπτομερῆ ἀφήγησιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ἱερωργίᾳ τελουμένων*, attributed to S. Sophronius of Jerusalem († 637), of which only a fragment has been published, by Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum* iv, Rome 1840, pp. 31 sqq., reprinted in Migne *P. G.* lxxxvii cc. 3981 sqq. It consists of scholia on the church, its parts and furniture, the ornaments of the ministers,

<sup>1</sup> He is called Nicolas in the title of Cod. *Val.* 2146 and in the references in *Ambros.* E 18 sup. (ff. 113-163). On Andida see Lequien *Oriens christianus* i 1029 sq.

<sup>2</sup> He is as old as the twelfth century, since he is quoted in the Ambrosian MS mentioned in the last note.

and more extended comments on the successive points of the liturgy as far as to the Great Entrance, where the fragment ends abruptly.<sup>1</sup>

(4) The *Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυστικὴ θεωρία*, attributed to S. Germanus I of Constantinople († 733), first printed by Demetrius Ducas in *Αἱ θεῖαι λειτουργίαι* (Rome 1526), the *editio princeps* of the Byzantine liturgies, and republished by Morel in *Λειτουργίαι τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων*, Paris 1560, by Fronto Ducaeus in *Auctarium* ii, Paris 1624, and by Gallandi in *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* xiii, Venice 1779; from which last it is reprinted in Migne *P. G.* xcvi. cc. 384 sqq. It is a somewhat promiscuous and ill-arranged treatise, dealing in considerable detail with a large number of ecclesiological points and with the whole of the liturgy, sometimes in the form of scholia, sometimes in the form of extended comments.

Now it is evident on examination that, while Maximus and Theodore are original and coherent works, Sophronius and Germanus are compilations; and in particular that (1) both Sophronius and Germanus have made large use of Theodore, and this independently, since their quotations do not coincide nor is either series contained in the other; and (2) the residuum of Sophronius, when the quotations from Theodore have been subtracted, still contains matter common to it with Germanus.

What then is the origin of this second element, other than Theodore, which is common to Sophronius and Germanus?

## II

In *Iuris ecclesiastici graec. historia et monumenta* ii (Paris 1868) pp. 287 sqq., Card. Pitra announced that he had discovered a Latin version, made for Charles the Bald in 869-870 by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, of a *Historia mystica* attributed to S. Germanus of Constantinople, much shorter than the printed Greek text, while agreeing generally with it, so far as it went. He printed a few chapters of the version; but he died without being able to fulfil his promise of publishing the rest, and, as it seemed, without leaving any record of the source from which he derived the text. While preparing *Liturgies eastern and western* I made enquiries at the Vatican and of Card. Pitra's literary executor, but was unable to trace the source. Curiously enough, two years ago the complete text was twice published, by two editors independently of one another. First, Fr S. Petrides, of the Augustinians of the Assumption, noticed that in *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi parata* ii (Frascati 1884) p. 208, Pitra, while publishing another extract, had in fact indicated his sources, viz. Cod.

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be another, in some respects more complete, text in Cod. Palatin. 367 (xiii c.).

711 (ix cent.) of the Municipal Library of Cambrai, and Cod. 18556 (ix-x cent.) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Fr Petrides had no difficulty in identifying the MSS, and he published the contents of the Cambrai MS with the variants of the Paris MS in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* July and Oct. 1905. The contents of the Cambrai MS are a letter of Anastasius to Charles the Bald, tables of contents and Latin translations of *Mystagogia* 24 of S. Maximus and of the *Historia mystica* of S. Germanus, and a translation of an otherwise unknown letter of S. Nilus to Nemertius the Scholastic. The Paris MS omits the tables and the letter of S. Nilus. Secondly, the late Fr Cozza-Luzi, having searched in vain for Pitra's MS, at length, in the tenth vol. of the *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, issued by Fr A. Rocchi late in 1905, after the death of the editor, printed a copy of the *Historia mystica* which Pitra had allowed him to make from his own transcript.

The desire to recover, if possible, the Greek corresponding to Anastasius's Latin, led me to examine, so far as opportunity allowed, the MSS containing or supposed to contain the treatise of S. Germanus; with the result that, while I have so far failed to find any single Greek text exactly corresponding in scope with the Latin, I have been able by means of several documents to reconstruct the whole of Anastasius's Greek text—in general, that is, and without regard to particular readings—and have found that the documents easily fall into groups and that the source of the second element of Sophronius is plain enough.

Pitra gives a considerable list of MSS of Germanus. It has been generally stated that the MSS assign the treatise to various authors—some to S. Cyril of Jerusalem, some to S. Basil, some to S. Germanus, some to a combination of several writers.<sup>1</sup> In what sense this is true will appear afterwards. Meanwhile, Pitra classifies the MSS under the names of the authors to which the treatise is attributed in the titles. But his list, on the one hand, requires correction and weeding, since it contains mistakes as to the authors mentioned in the titles and includes several documents which are irrelevant; and on the other hand, it can be supplemented. Thus Rome *Regin.* 48 (not 46 as in Pitra), Paris *Anc. fonds* 502, 854 are not attributed as by Pitra to Germanus, but the first is anonymous, the others 'of Basil'; *Ottobon.* 408 is not anonymous, but attributed to S. Basil; Florence *Laurent.* lvii 48 is attributed to S. Cyril, not to S. Basil. Fr Petrides has pointed out that the treatises in *Ottobon.* 459 (S. Sophronius) and in *Ottobon.* 418, Paris

<sup>1</sup> See Fabricius *Biblioth. graeca*, ed. Harless, xi p. 157. S. Chrysostom is also mentioned, apparently from the title of *Coislin.* 114 where John of Constantinople is included among a number of names. But I have little doubt that the John referred to is not John Chrysostom, but John the Faster.

*Anc. fonds* 2500, Venice *Marcian. gr.* 228 (S. John the Faster) are quite other than the present treatise; and to these may be added *Vat.* 1070 (the metrical commentary of M. Psellus), 2051 (the Liturgy of the Presanctified), 2146 (a xvii cent. copy of *Vat.* 640, S. Basil, occurring elsewhere in Pitra's list), *Vallicell.* F. 70 (D. Ducas's printed text), *Palat.* 367 (obviously from the title, Sophronius), *Vat.* 339, 375, 504. *Ottobon.* 378, Vienna *Hofbibl.* 196 (which appear to represent treatises different from the present); Paris *Coislin.* 114 (which is not unrelated to the present, but is scarcely a mere variety of it); and 'Eborac. S. Petri 50' (which I cannot identify). On the other hand Fr Petrides has added a few more MSS to the list, and further additions can easily be made.

I have had no opportunity of seeing the greater number of these documents, but by means of those of them I have seen, and of entries in catalogues and further information kindly supplied by several librarians and others,<sup>1</sup> it is possible to distinguish at least three stages in the development of the text, and with some probability to assign their places to most of the documents. In the following arrangement of the MSS, I have marked with an asterisk those I have seen; as to the rest, it must be remembered that the place assigned to any one of them is provisional, being inferred only from the title, the *incipit* and *explicit* of the text, and the number of leaves it occupies.

Four types of text are easily distinguishable, generally marked by a corresponding variety of title.

I. Title: Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἐπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυσταγωγική.

\*Bodl. *Baroc.* 27 (xiv c.) ff. 103-106.

Florence *Laurent.* lxxvii 48 (xv c.) ff. 69<sup>b</sup>-71.

Jerusalem *S. Saba* 635 (xv c.) ff. 247-250<sup>b</sup>.

Printed in T. Milles *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli Hierosol. patr. opera*, Oxford 1703, pp. 325 sqq.

This text consists of short comments on the church, its parts and ornaments, praying towards the east and kneeling, the ornaments of the ministers, the prothesis and the matter of the Eucharist, the parts of the Liturgy down to the Great Entrance, the vessels, veils, fans, &c., and the monastic habit. The whole of this matter, with some verbal variation, is included in the text of the next group, and it is possible that it is an earlier tract which has formed the basis of II; but my impression is that it is only an abridgement of the latter.

This type may be referred to as K.

<sup>1</sup> I have especially to thank the Archbishop of the Jordan, Dr Mercati, and Mr Souter for information on the Jerusalem, Vatican, and Paris MSS respectively. I have since had the opportunity of seeing the Paris MSS for myself.

II. Title : Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἱστορία μυσταγωγικῆ ἐκκλησιαστικῆ (ἰστ. τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας).

\*Oxford *Magd. Coll.* 10 (xiv c.) ff. 135<sup>b</sup>-139<sup>b</sup> (fragment : capp. 1-13 : printed along with S. Cyril in Milles *S. Cyrilli Opera*, pp. 325 sqq.).

\*Paris *Anc. fonds* 502 (xii c.) ff. 174-186.

\* " " " 1259 A (xiv c.) ff. 190<sup>b</sup>-201<sup>b</sup>.

\* " " " 1555 A (xiv c.) ff. 167<sup>b</sup>-178<sup>b</sup>.

\*Milan *Ambros.* M 88 sup. (xiii c.) ff. 274-281 (attributed in the title to S. Cyril).

Rome *Regin.* 48 (xv-xvi c.) ff. 48-52 (fragment, ending ἀδαμαῖων φύ[ραμα] c. 38).

Grottaferrata *Cod.* B δ 1 (xiii c.) ff. 18-36.

Naples *Gr.* lxvii [ii c 7] (xii c.) ff. 174-183.

Jerusalem *Patr.* 39 (xii-xiii c.) ff. 161-170<sup>b</sup>.

Athos *Iver.* 16 xvii [4871].

" " 8 xviii [5026] ff. 74-89.

Sinai *Cod.* 384 (xi c.).

Abridgements :—

\*Milan *Ambros.* P 261 sup. (xiv c.) ff. 113-114<sup>b</sup> (capp. 1-20, 30, 51, 53, 31, 32 abridged, with some additions).

\*Jerusalem *S. Saba* 366 (xiii c.) ff. 24, 25 (beginning mutilated : cc. 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41-47, 49-52, 54-57, 60, 62, 63, 21[-27?], abridged).

" " 86 (xiii-xiv c.) ff. 171<sup>b</sup>-176.

Rome *Vat.* 430 (xiv c.) ff. 151-153<sup>b</sup>.

" " 640 (xiv c.) ff. 27-28<sup>b</sup>.

" " 662 (xiii c.) ff. 238-241.

" " 1151 (xiii c.) ff. 96-112.

" *Barberini gr.* 522 (xii c.) ff. 141-148.

Venice *Marcian. gr.* iii. 4, ff. 435<sup>b</sup>-437<sup>b</sup> (fragment, ending ἐμαρτύρησεν, c. 43).

Berlin *Graec.* qu. 13 (xiv c.) ff. 129-133.

This type is represented by the text printed below, from which it will be seen that the contents are comments on the church, its parts and ornaments, on prayer towards the east and kneeling, on the ornaments of the ministers and the monastic habit, on the prothesis and the elements, and on the successive parts of the Liturgy from the enarxis to the communion, including by the way an excursus on the number of the Gospels, derived from S. Irenaeus. A comparison of the text with that of the tract attributed to S. John the Faster, printed in part in Pitra *Spicilegium solesmense* iv p. 442, makes it clear that the two are not independent; but which is the source and which the derivative is not obvious.

There are considerable differences in the texts of the MSS both in respect of scope (e. g. Paris *Anc. fonds* 502 has the chapter-titles which are omitted *ib.* 1259 A, and omits chapters 21<sup>b</sup>, 24<sup>b</sup>, 25-27, 31<sup>b</sup>, 35 and 37 which are found *ib.* 1259 A) and in respect of reading (see e. g. *Ambros.* M 88 sup. as compared with the Paris MSS above).

This group may be referred to as B<sup>1</sup>.

III. Title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἱστορία μυσταγωγικὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ, ἐπίλυσις καὶ κατάστασις τῆς ἁγίας λειτουργίας.

\*Milan *Ambros.* G 8 sup. (1286) ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-55<sup>b</sup>.

\*Brescia *Quirin.* A iv 3 (xv-xvi c.) ff. 204-208 (incomplete).

Rome *Vat.* 1277 (xiv c.) ff. 7-51.

„ *Ottobon.* 408 (xv-xvi c.) ff. 48-88.

„ *Barberini gr.* 353 (xiv c.) ff. 16-60.

The text is an expansion of B<sup>1</sup>, chapters 21<sup>b</sup>, 24<sup>b</sup>, 25-27, 31<sup>b</sup>, 35 and 37 being omitted, and chapters 28 onwards being rearranged. The additions consist chiefly (1) in cc. 1-24, of a short tract on baptism inserted between cc. 1 and 2,<sup>1</sup> and of additional ecclesiastical comments, in fact of what has the appearance of being a second ecclesiastical tract dovetailed into the text; and (2) in the exposition of the Liturgy, cc. 28-63, of comments supplementing the very general treatment of the rite in B<sup>1</sup> and treating in detail of all or most of those parts of the Liturgy which are recited aloud; and among these comments are especially to be noticed those on the ferial antiphons of the enarxis taken from S. Athanasius *in Pss.* xci, xcii, xciv; the expansion of the treatment of the four Gospels (c. 44), partly by further quotation from S. Irenaeus, partly by a new and curious application of his method; the addition of the fragment of S. Hippolytus on Prov. ix 1 (*Lagarde Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia* pp. 198 sq.) to the exposition of the chalice (c. 52); and the commentary on Ps. xxv (xxvi) 6-8 at the offertory, and Ps. xxii (xxiii) 5, 6 after the communion, the first in part, the latter almost wholly, derived from S. Athanasius *in Pss.* xxv and xxii respectively.

This form of the text is referred to as B<sup>11</sup>.

IV. Title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερμανοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυστικὴ θεωρία.

\*Bodl. *Baroc.* 42 (1551) ff. 81<sup>b</sup>-134.

\*Milan *Ambros.* E 94 sup. (xiii c.) ff. 1-6 (fragment, extending from the beginning down to ἐν τῷ δειπνῷ Migne *P.G.* xcvi 397 l. 24).

Venice *Marcian. gr.* i 41 ff. 1-257.

Jerusalem *Patr.* 343 (xviii c.) ff. 69-112.

<sup>1</sup> This tract occurs at the end of B<sup>1</sup> in Paris *Anc. fonds* 502, 1555 A; and after the fragment of B<sup>1</sup> (?) in *Barberini* 522.

Abridgements :—

Rome *Vat.* 790 (xiv c.) ff 30<sup>b</sup>-41 (anonymous : *ἐξήγησις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας*).

Rome *Ottobon.* 338 (xv c.) ff. 299-312<sup>b</sup> (?).

Naples *Gr.* lxiii [ii B 29] (1526) ff. 46-53<sup>b</sup> (anonymous : *ἐξήγησις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας*).

Printed as above, p. 249 ; and also as edited by Philotheus Ballerianus and Epiphanius of Janina, Venice 1639, 1690 and 1751.<sup>1</sup>

This, the current *Mystica theoria* of S. Germanus, is an expansion of B<sup>ii</sup>. The enlargement is due (1) to the insertion of large extracts, in all forming nearly a sixth of the whole treatise, from the commentary of Theodore of Andida ; and (2) to occasional additions and expansions from other sources, forming about another sixth of the whole, largely by way of completing the exposition of the text of the Liturgy, among which may be noticed especially the admirable development of the commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

This final development of the text may be referred to as Γ.

### III

Thus (1) the origin and history of Γ is so far clear ; it was reached by successive interpolations of B<sup>i</sup>, one marked stage in the development being represented by B<sup>ii</sup>. At the same time, the character of the documents of both B<sup>i</sup> and B<sup>ii</sup>, differing as they do more or less in scope, suggests that an examination of all the documents in detail would bring to light subordinate stages of development in both groups.

(2) The origin of the element which Sophronius has in common with Germanus, apart from the quotations from Theodore, also becomes clear : it is plain on inspection that it is derived from B<sup>i</sup> with some condensation and recasting of the text. Sophronius therefore is a compilation from Basil and Theodore and some other source or sources.

(3) The Latin of Anastasius represents the B<sup>i</sup> text, in its longer form, i. e. in the form including cc. 21<sup>b</sup>, 24<sup>b</sup>, 25-27, 31<sup>b</sup>, 35 and 37. But as compared with any complete Greek text that I have examined, it is modified in two respects : (a) to supply comments on the kiss of peace, the closing of the doors, and the creed, which are otherwise unnoticed in B<sup>i</sup> and B<sup>ii</sup>, it inserts cc. 17, 15, 18 of the *Mystagogia* of S. Maximus ; and (b) for the commentary on the Liturgy from the post-sanctus to the communion inclusive, it substitutes *Mystagogia* 20, 21 and S. Isidore of Pelusium *Epp.* i 228. Though, as I have said, I have found no complete Greek text with these characteristics in full, yet *Ambros.* M 83 sup. has *Mystagogia* 17, 15 in the corresponding place ; while the fragmentary abridgement contained in *S. Saba* 366 was evidently made from a text

<sup>1</sup> See *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* July 1905, p. 294.

such as Anastasius used, since it represents both these series of quotations and has nothing to represent that part of the text of B<sup>1</sup> for which the latter series is substituted. Another characteristic of the text of Anastasius is that it is attributed in the title to S. Germanus, which is not the case with any other B-text that I have met with. It may be that this particular variety of the B-text was, rightly or wrongly, attributed to Germanus; but this cannot be verified as yet, since *S. Saba* 366, the only other witness at hand, is mutilated and the title lost. It is to be noticed that Anastasius has some doubt as to the authorship; he only says 'ut Graeci ferunt' and 'ut fertur' of the authorship of Germanus. It is possible to suggest a reason why such a treatise should come to be attributed to Germanus. He was the 'first coryphaeus' of the opposition to the iconoclastic measures of Leo the Isaurian. In the iconoclastic struggle it was natural and customary for orthodox writers to point to the reverence offered to the Church, the Cross, the Gospels, and so on,<sup>1</sup> a reverence which the iconoclasts did not call in question. And it is likely that the struggle would give an impulse to the multiplication and elaboration of works like the present, which, by developing the symbolism of the whole liturgical apparatus, would serve to justify the reverence with which it is regarded. And in fact the words of S. Theodore the Studite in this reference recall the scholia of such commentaries: οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὸ θείον μύρον εἰς Χριστοῦ τύπον εἰληφθαι; τὴν θείαν τράπεζαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ τάφου; τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ συνδόνα ἀνθ' ἧς καὶ ἐν ᾗ εἰληθεῖς ἐτάφη; τὴν ἱερατικὴν λόγχην ἀνθ' ἧς καὶ ἐν ᾗ τὴν θεόσωμον πλευρὰν ἐνύγη; τὸν σπόγγον ἀνθ' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ πῶν ἐχολώθη; τὸ σταυρικὸν ἔκμαγιόν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ ξύλου.<sup>2</sup> It was not unnatural therefore that the name of a protagonist in the struggle should come to be associated with such a work as the *Ἱστορία μυσταγωγική*. Lastly, the version of Anastasius shews that B<sup>1</sup> is at least as old as the ninth century and is therefore probably the oldest commentary which treats of the Byzantine Liturgy in so great a degree of detail. The text with which it deals must be approximately that of the oldest monuments of the rite, viz. the Liturgies, supplemented by the rubrics of the Ordinations, of Cod. *Barberini* iii 55 of about A.D. 795, and the S. Basil of Goar's *Pyromalus* MS and that of Morel's *vetustus codex latinae tralationis*.<sup>3</sup> But among other details not contained in these authorities, it has two features of particular interest: (a) the Prothesis (c. 31), an obsolete form which has disappeared from some texts of B<sup>1</sup> itself, is more highly developed than

<sup>1</sup> S. John of Damascus *pro Imaginibus* iii 35; and the *adv. Constant. Caball.* 9, among the works of John.

<sup>2</sup> S. Theodore the Studite *adv. Iconom.* i (Migne *P. G.* xcix 489 B).

<sup>3</sup> See *Liturgies eastern and western* pp. lxxxiv, lxxxviii sq.; 309 sqq.; *Assemani Codex liturgicus* xii.



any of those I was able to collect in *Liturgies eastern and western* Appendix Q of date earlier than the twelfth century; and (b) the salutation before the *Sursum corda* (c. 58), 'Ἡ χάρις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν, in place of the adaptation of 2 Cor. xiii 14, is, so far as I know, unique.

(4) Among the MSS which I have had occasion to notice in this connexion, there are several which contain other commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy, some of them evidently related to the present series.

(a) *Vat.* 1070 (1291) ff. 3-8; *Barberini gr.* 353 (xiv c.): Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς θείας λειτουργίας: in verse, anonymous in the former MS, attributed to Michael Psellus in the latter. *Incipit* Ἀναγκαῖον καθέστηκε: *explicit* τῆς προσευχῆς σφραγίσις.

(b) *Vat.* 339 (xi c.) ff. 335<sup>b</sup> sqq.: Περὶ τοῦ τίνων καθεστήκασι σύμβολα ἡ ἁγία ἐκκλησία καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ συνάξει τελούμενα ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τῶν ἁγίων Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἁρεσπαγίτου. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία ὁ τε θεῖος οἶκος (mutilated at the end). Cp. the title of S. Maximus *Mystagogia*, above p. 248.

(c) *Vat.* 504 (A.D. 1105) ff. 3<sup>b</sup> sqq.: Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Incipit* Χρῆ γινώσκειν ὅτι ὁ ἱερεὺς: *explicit* καὶ λέγει ὁ λαὸς εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.

(d) \*Milan *Ambrós.* E 18 sup. (xii c.) ff. 113-163: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπ. Καισαρείας τῆς Καπ. ἱστορίας μυσταγωγικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπίλυσις καὶ κατάστασις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία πολλὰ σημαίνει: *explicit* ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ προσκυνήσις τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. A compilation from B<sup>ii</sup>, Dionysius Areop., Cyril, Jo. Damasc., Nicolas (i. e. Theodore of Andida), M. Psellus.

(e) \*Paris *Anc. fonds* 854 (xiii c.) ff. 26<sup>b</sup>-34<sup>b</sup>: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγ. πατρὸς ἡμ. Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπ. Καισαρείας Κυπ. ἱστορία μυσταγωγικῆ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ. A compilation from B and Theodore. (I have not examined this except very cursorily.)

(f) \*Paris *Coislin.* 114 (xv c.) ff. 330-340: Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικῆ καὶ ἐξήγησις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας . . . πρὸς θεωρίαν συντεθεῖσα παρὰ τε Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου, παρὰ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ παρὰ Ἀναστασίον καὶ Κυρίλλου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (i. e. no doubt the Liturgy of S. James, B, Anastasius of Sinai, Cyril Al., and John the Faster). *Incipit* Τὸ σήμαντρον αἰνίττεται. (I have not examined this in detail.)

(g) Jerusalem *S. Saba* 414 (xii c.) ff. 57-67<sup>b</sup>: Ἱστορία τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας συγγραφείσα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου καὶ ἑτέρων ἁγίων πατέρων. *Incipit* Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ: *explicit* καθάπερ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ (B<sup>i</sup> cap. 51). Apparently a compilation from B<sup>i</sup> and other sources.

In the apparatus to the text following, P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup> = Paris *Anc. fonds*

502 and 1259 A respectively; M<sup>1</sup> and M<sup>2</sup> = Milan *Ambros.* M 88 sup. and P 261 sup. respectively; Γ and K the printed texts of 'S. Germanus' and 'S. Cyril' respectively.

The text itself, apart from what is enclosed in pointed brackets, is that of P<sup>1</sup>. Pointed brackets indicate additional matter represented in the Latin and found in the Greek source noted in the margin; square brackets indicate matter wanting in the Latin and in the Greek source, if any, which is noted in the margin. Variants from P<sup>1</sup> implied in the Latin are given in the margin along with any Greek authority which supports them; and when the relation of the Latin to the Greek is ambiguous, the Latin is noted; as are also the Latin renderings of certain technical words or phrases. P<sup>1</sup> is very carelessly written, especially in certain passages: I have corrected obvious mistakes, without burdening the apparatus by noticing them. The Latin titles, which Anastasius places, not in the text, but in a table prefixed, are given in the margin in cases where they do not exactly reproduce the Greek. The numbering of the chapters is that of the Latin.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας Ἱστορία μυσταγωγικῆ  
ἐκκλησιαστικῆ.

1. Τί ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐκκλησία.

5 Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ, τέμενος ἅγιον, οἶκος προσεγγῆς, συνάθροισμα  
λαοῦ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, [νύμφη Χριστοῦ,] τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ βαπτίσματος  
αὐτοῦ καθαρισθεῖσα καὶ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ βεραντισμένη (καὶ νυμφικῶς ἐστολι-  
σμένη καὶ τῷ χρίσματι τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐσφραγισμένη) κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν  
10 λόγον Μύρον ἐκκενωθέν ὄνομά σου καὶ εἰς ὁσμήν μύρου σου δραμοῦμαι, ὅτι  
ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ πώγωνα, [τὸν πώγωνα] τὸν Ἀαρῶν.  
Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανὸς ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἐπουράνιος Θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ καὶ ἐμπερι-  
πατεῖ, ἀντιτυπούσα τὴν σταύρωσιν καὶ τὴν ταφήν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ,  
δεδοξασμένη ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου Μωϋσέως, ἐν ἣ τὸ ἰλαστήριον καὶ  
τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, ἐν πατριάρχειαι προτυπωθεῖσα καὶ ἐν προφῆταις προκηρυ-

5. 1 Cor. iii 16; 1s. lvi 7      6. 1 Cor. xii 27; Apos. xxi 9      7. Eph. v 26;  
cp. 1 Pet. i 1      8. 1 Io. ii 20; Eph. i 13; 2 Cor. i 21, 22      9. Cant. i 3, 4  
10. Ps. cxxxii 2      11. Lev. xxvi 11; 2 Cor. vi 16      13. Ex. xxvii 21      14.  
3 Reg. viii 6

1-3. Capitula historiae mysticae, ut fertur, Germani episcopi constantinopolitani  
3. ἐκκλησιαστικῆ] τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας P<sup>2</sup>      5. ναὸς . . . τέμενος] sacrarium . . .  
templum      6. τῷ ὕδατι] P<sup>2</sup>: aqua : τοῦ διὰ P<sup>1</sup>      7. καὶ νυμφικῶς ἐστολι-  
σμένη] P<sup>2</sup>: et nuptiali more stola circumamicta      8. καὶ τῷ . . . ἐσφραγισμένη] Γ:  
et sancti spiritus unctione signata      9. ὄνομά σου] ὄνομά σοι P<sup>2</sup> (Cant. i 3 A):  
nomen tibi      μύρου . . . δραμοῦμαι] μύρον . . . δραμοῦμεν P<sup>2</sup> (Cant. i 4): unguen-  
torum . . . curremus      ὅτι ὡς] καὶ ὡς P<sup>2</sup>: et sicut      11. ἐν ᾧ] ἐν ᾧ P<sup>2</sup>: in qua

χθείσα, ἐν ἀποστόλοις θεμελιωθεῖσα, (ἐν μάρτυσι τελειωθεῖσα) καὶ ἐν ἱεράρχαις κατακοσμηθεῖσα.

2. Ἡ Κόγχη [τῆς ἐκκλησίας].

Ἡ κόγχη ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ σπήλαιον ὅπου ἐγενήθη ὁ Χριστός, καὶ κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὅπου ἐτάφη, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὅτι ἦν σπήλαιον 5  
λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐθήκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

3. Ἡ ἀγία Τράπεζα.

Ἡ ἀγία τράπεζα ἐστὶν ἐνθα ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ ταφῇ αὐτοῦ ὁ Χριστός, ἐν ἣ  
πρόκειται ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ οὐράνιος ἄρτος (ὁ Χριστός), ἡ μυστικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος  
θυσία, ζωοθυτούμενος (ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ) τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ εἰς 10  
βρῶσιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου προέθηκε τοῖς πιστοῖς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θρόνος Θεοῦ ἐν ᾧ  
ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χεροῦν ἐποχοῦμενος Θεὸς [σωματωθεὶς] ἐπαυκαύσατο. καθ' ἣν  
τράπεζαν καὶ ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ (αὐτοῦ) δαίηνω μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστόλων  
καθίσας καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον καὶ ὄνον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Λάβετε φάγετε καὶ πίετε ἐξ  
αὐτοῦ· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ αἷμά μου. προετυπώθη δὲ ἐν τῇ νομικῇ 15  
τραπέζῃ ἐνθα ἦν τὸ μάννα ὃ ἐστὶ Χριστός ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.

4. Τί ἐστὶ Κιβούριον.

Τὸ κιβούριον ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐνθα ἐσταγρῶθη ὁ Χριστός· ἐγγὺς  
γὰρ ἦν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὑπόβαθρος ὅπου ἐτάφη· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐν συντομίᾳ  
φέρεσθαι τὴν σταύρωσιν καὶ τὴν ταφήν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ 20  
ἐκκλησίᾳ τέτακται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου  
ἐν ἣ λέγεται ἅγια ἀγίων καὶ ἁγίασμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν ἣ προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι  
λόγῳ χεροῦν ἐκατέρωθεν τορνευτά· τὸ γὰρ κίβ ἐστὶ κιβωτός, τὸ δὲ οὐρον  
φωτισμὸς [Θεοῦ] ἢ φῶς Κυρίου.

5. Περὶ τοῦ Θυσιαστήριον.

Θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον μῆμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ᾧ θυσίαν ἐλάτῳ ὁ  
Χριστὸς προσήγαγε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ  
ὡς ἀμνὸς θύομενος καὶ ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου προσφέρων καὶ  
προσφερόμενος, εἰς μυστικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν καὶ λογικὴν λατρείαν  
τοῖς πιστοῖς ἱεροθυόμενος· δι' ἧς μέτοχοι γεγόναμεν αἰωνίου ζωῆς καὶ ἀθανά- 30

1. Cp. Eph. ii 20; Apoc. xxi 14      5. S. Mc. xv 46; S. Io. xix 42      9. S. Io. vi 32  
12. Ps. lxxix 1      14. S. Mt. xxvi 26-28      16. S. Io. vi 50  
18. S. Io. xix 41 sq.      21. Num. x 33      23. Ex. xxv 17      26. Eph. v 2  
27. Heb. x 10      28. Lit. Byz. (Litt. E. & W. 318)      29. Rom. xii 1

1. ἐν μάρτυσι τελειωθεῖσα] P<sup>2</sup>: in martyribus consummata      3. quid concha  
5. φησὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὅτι] euangelistae innuunt asserentes  
7. quid sancta mensa      8. ἐτάφη] ἐτέθη M<sup>1</sup>Γ: positus est      9. ὁ Χριστός] P<sup>2</sup>: Christus ἡ μυστ. . . . θυσία] τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ ἀναίμακτῃ θυσίᾳ P<sup>2</sup>: mystico et  
incruento sacrificio      10. ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ] P<sup>2</sup>: ut homo qui et      13. αὐτοῦ] P<sup>2</sup>: sua  
16. Χριστός] Christus panis (S. Io. vi 50)      18. τοῦ τόπου] κρανίου δρους P<sup>2</sup>: Caluariae monte      19. ὑπόβαθρος] procliuis siue sub diuo  
(ὑπαίθριος)      20. φέρεσθαι] ἐμφέρεισθαι P<sup>2</sup>: designatur      25. quid altare  
26. τοῦ Χριστοῦ] Christi domini      30. ἀθανάτου] immortales

του. ὄνερ καὶ ἀμὸν προετίπωσεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Μωϋσῆς πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀλοθρευτὴν ἀγγελὸν ἀπέστρεψε τοῦ θανατῶσαι τὸν λαόν· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέραν σημαίνει ὅτι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐσφαγιάσθη ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἀμνὸς καὶ τοῖς κόσμῳ αἵρων ἁμαρτίας ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ ὁ Χριστός·  
 5 καὶ (γάρ) τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτέθη Χριστός.

[Διατί λέγεται Θυσιαστήριον].

Θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τὸ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερὸν θυσιαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἀντιτυποῦσι τὰς νοεράς καὶ λογικὰς ἱεραρχίας τῶν ἀύλων καὶ αἰῶν δυνάμεων καὶ οἱ ἐπίγειοι καὶ ἐνυλοὶ ἱερεῖς, παρεστῶτες καὶ λατρεύοντες τῷ  
 10 Κυρίῳ διαπαντός· ὥστε καὶ τοιοῦτους δεῖ εἶναι ὡς πῦρ φλέγον· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπιγείων διατάξιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κριτικὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἐνομοθέτησεν.

6. Διατί λέγεται Βῆμα.

Βῆμά ἐστὶν ὑπόβαθρος τόπος καὶ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ παμβασιλεὺς Χριστὸς  
 15 προκάθηται μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων, ὡς λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι καθίσετε ἐπὶ θρόνον κρινόντες [τὸν Ἰσραὴλ]· ὑποδεικνύων δὲ καὶ τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν καθ' ἣν ἔλθῃ καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνον ἐνδόξου εἰς τὸ κρίναι τὸν κόσμον, ὡς λέγει ὁ προφήτης ὅτι (ἐκεῖ) ἐκάθισαν θρόνοι εἰς κρίσιν ἐπὶ οἶκον Δαβὶδ.

7. Διατί λέγεται Κοσμίτης.

Κοσμίτης ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ κοσμικὸν καὶ ἅγιον κόσμον, ἐμφαίνων τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ [ἡμῶν] τὸ ἐκσφράγισμα διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ κοσμοῦ-  
 20 μενον.

8. Διατί λέγονται Κάγκελλα.

Κάγκελλά εἰσι τὸν τῆς προσευχῆς τόπον δηλοῦντα ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει τὴν μὲν  
 25 ἔσωθεν τοῦ λαοῦ εἴσοδον, τὴν δὲ ἔσωθεν τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἀγίων ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ μόνους τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἴσαν εὐεπίβατον. ἐστὶ δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Μῆμα κάγκελλα χαλκᾶ διὰ τὸ μηδένα εἰσεῖναι ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἐτυχεν.

9. Τίνος εἰκόνα ἔχει ὁ Ἄμβων.

30 Ὁ Ἄμβων ἐστὶν ἐμφαίνων τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἁγίου μνήματος ὃν ὁ

- |                 |                   |                |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Ex. xii 6    | 4. S. Io. i 29    | 5. 1 Cor. v 7  | 10. Ps. ciii 4    |
| 12. Heb. xii 23 | 16. S. Mt. xix 28 | 18. Ps. cxxi 5 | 25. 3 Reg. viii 6 |

- |  |                                   |   |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| 5. γάρ] P <sup>1</sup> : etenim                                      | 7. νοερὸν] inuisibile             | 8. ἀντιτυποῦσι . . . ἱεραρχίας] exprimuntur spiritalis et administratoriae [= λειτουργικαί] hierarchiae |
| λαοσυγκράσις P <sup>2</sup>  | 10. κατὰ γάρ] etenim              | 12. κριτικῆς] ποιητής P <sup>2</sup> : factor   |
| 13. quid tribunal  | 14. ὑπόβαθρος] concauus           | 16. θρόνον] δώδεκα θρόνον P <sup>2</sup> (S. Mt. xix 28): sedes   |
| 17. ἔλθῃ καθίσει.] ἐλευσεται καθίσει] E: ueniet sessurus             | 18. ἐκεῖ] P <sup>1</sup> M: illic | 20. κοσμικόν] νομικόν P <sup>2</sup> : legale   |
| 21. κοσμοῦμενον] κοσμοῦμενος M <sup>2</sup> : ornatus (sc. cosmitis) | 22. quid cancelli                 | 23. ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἐτυχεν] passim et pro libitu proprio   |
| 24. εὐεπίβατον] existentia . . . accessibilia                        | 25. ὑπάρχουσαν                    | 29. quid indicet ambo   |

ἄγγελος ἀποκρίσας ἐκ τῆς θύρας ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνήματος ἀναβοῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ταῖς μυροφόροις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα Ἐπ' ὄρους πεδινόφ' ἄρατε σημεῖον, ἀλάβηθι ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος καὶ ἴψωσον φωνήν' ὄρος γάρ ἐστιν (ὁ ἄμβων) εἰς τόπον πεδινὸν καὶ ὁμαλὸν κείμενος.

10. Διατί εὐχόμεθα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς.

(Τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς) εὐχεσθαι παραδεδομένον ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων· καὶ ἐστὶν οὕτως διὰ τὸ τὸν νοητὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φανῆναι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ 10 καὶ πάλιν Προσκυνήσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότῳ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ Προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν Στήσονται οἱ πόδες τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλίων κατὰ ἀνατολὰς· ταῦτά φασιν οἱ προφῆται διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀποκαρδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ πάλιν τὸν ἐν Ἐδέμ παράδεισον τὸν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν καὶ ὡς 15 ἐκδεχομένους τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς φωτοφανεῖας τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ (πάλιν) παρουσίας.

11. Διατί οὐ κλίνομεν γόνυ τῇ κυριακῇ.

(Καὶ) τὸ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἀναστασίμῳ σημαίνει τὴν τῆς καταπτώσεως ἡμῶν γενομένην ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τῆς τριημέρου τοῦ Χριστοῦ 20 ἀναστάσεως.

12. Τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ ἐστὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα ἐπαπλουμένης κρατεῖν· τὸ ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ τεσσαρακονταενέα καὶ ἡ κυριακῇ πεντηκοστή.

13. Τίνος χάριν περὶ τρίχα κειρόμεθα.

Ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερέως περικείμενος διπλοῦς (στέφανος ἐκ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν σημειώσεως) εἰκονίζει τὴν τοῦ κορυφαίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου κάραν τιμίαν ἦνπερ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλικῷ κηρύγματι ἀποσταλεῖς καὶ ἀποκαρθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπειθογήτων τῷ λόφῳ ὡς ἐμπαιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ταύτην ὁ

1. S. Mt. xxviii 2      3. Is. xiii 2, xl 9      8. Mal. iv 2      10. Zach. vi 12  
11. Ps. lxxvii 33      12. Ps. cxxxii 7      13. Zach. xiv 2      15. Gen. ii 8  
19. Apoc. i 10      29. 1 Pet. ii 8

2. ἀναβοῶν] exclamans et denuntians      4. ὁ ἄμβων] M<sup>1</sup>: ambo      7. τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς] P<sup>2</sup>: ad orientem autem      12. προσκυνήσωμεν] adorabimus  
14. διὰ τὸ . . . πάλιν] καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀποκαρδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς πάλιν P<sup>2</sup>: et pro eo quod speremus nos iterum      16. τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς φωτοφανεῖας] τὴν φωτοφάνειαν P<sup>2</sup>: lucis apparitionem      17. πάλιν] P<sup>2</sup>: gursus      19. καὶ] P<sup>2</sup>: praeterea      τῇ κυριακῇ . . . ἀναστασίμῳ] τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἡμέρας τῆς κυριακῆς τῶν ἡμερῶν P<sup>1</sup>: die resurrectionis quae est dierum omnium domina      22. τί. quare non flectamus genu diebus pentecostes      23. ἐπτάκις] M<sup>1</sup> Γ: ἐπτάκις P<sup>1</sup>: ἐπτάκις P<sup>2</sup>      24. ἡ κυριακῇ πεντηκοστή] dominico addito quinquagesimus consummatur      25. quare sacerdotes tondentur in speciem crucis      26. στέφανος . . . σημειώσεως] P<sup>2</sup>: corona . . . per capillorum significationem      ἐκ] διὰ K: per      28. διδασκαλικῷ] καὶ διδασκάλου P<sup>2</sup>: et magistri      καὶ ἀποκαρθεῖς] ἐκάρη K: tonsus est

διδάσκαλος Χριστὸς εὐλόγησε, καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ἀτιμίαν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν χλεύην εἰς δόξαν, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον οὐκ ἐκ λίθων τιμίων ἀλλὰ τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμπουσιν ὑπὲρ χρυσίου καὶ τοπάζιον καὶ λίθους τιμίους· κορυφὴ γὰρ καὶ καλλώπισμα (καὶ) στέφανος 5 τοῦ δωδεκαλίθου, οἵτινες εἰσὶν ἀπόστολοι, Πέτρος ὁ παναγιώτατος ὑπάρχει ἱεράρχης [Χριστοῦ].

14. [Περὶ τῆς Στολῆς τοῦ ἱερέως.]

Ἡ στολὴ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν πολὴρὴν Ἄαρῶν, τουτέστιν ἱμάτιον ὃ ἐστὶν ἱερατικὸν τὸ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἔνδυμα τὸ τιμώτερον.

10 Διατὶ ἐστὶν πυροειδὴς ἡ στολὴ τοῦ ἱερέως.

Ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶ πυροειδὴς κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ ἢ φέρον καὶ πάλιν τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγενομένος ἐξ Ἐδῶμ; Ἐδῶμ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται γῆνος ἐκλεκτὸς κόκκινος· εἶτα ἐπάγει Ἐρήθημα ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἐκ Βοσῶρ· διατὶ σοὺ ἐρυθρὰ τὰ 15 ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σοὺ ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ; ἐμφαίνοντες τὴν βαφεύσαν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ στολὴν ἐν αἵμασιν ἐν τῷ ἀχράντῳ σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ· πάλιν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ κοκκίνην χλαμύδα ἣν ἐφόρεσεν ἐν τῷ πάθει ὁ Χριστὸς· ἐμφαίνοντες τοὺς ἱερεῖς ποίου ἀρχιερέως εἰσὶν ὑπασπισταί.

15. Τὸ δὲ ἀπέψωμένους τοὺς ἱερεῖς περιπατεῖν δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπερχόμενος ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ οὕτως ἦν βαστάζων τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ.

16. Πόσοι Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἄνω τάξεως.

Ἐν ταῖς ἄνω λαμπρότησι τῶν νοερῶν οὐρανίων λειτουργῶν καὶ ἱεραρχῶν εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες καὶ διάκονοι ἑπτὰ. Οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν σεραφικῶν δυνάμεων εἰσὶ, ταῖς μὲν στολαῖς δικτὴν 25 πτερύγων κατακεκαλυμμένοι, ταῖς δὲ δακί ἤγουν πτέρυξι τῶν χειλέων τὸν ὕμνον βοῶντες, καὶ κατέχοντες τὸν θεῖον καὶ νοητὸν ἄνορακα Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ θγιαστηρίῳ τῇ λαβίδι τῆς χειρὸς [φανερῶς] φέροντες.

[Οἱ Διάκονοι τίνος τύπον ἔχουσι.]

Οἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τύπον τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων ταῖς λεπταῖς τῶν λινῶν

2. Ps. xx 3      3. Ps. cxviii 127      8. Ex. xxviii 27      11. Ps. ciii 4  
13. Is. lxiii 1 sq.      17. S. Mt. xxvii 28      20. S. Io. xix 17      22. Ps. cix 3  
23. Apoc. iv 8, viii 2      25. Is. vi 2, 6

3. ὑπὲρ] ὡς περ P<sup>2</sup>: sicut      4. καὶ] P<sup>2</sup>: atque      5. ἀπόστολοι] οἱ ἀπόστολοι P<sup>2</sup>  
6. ἱεράρχης] et sacratissimus princeps (om. sacratissimus cod. Paris.)      8. του-  
τίσιν . . . τιμώτερον] τὸ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἱερατικὸν ἔνδυμα τιμώτερον P<sup>2</sup>: usque ad  
pedes sacerdotale indumentum quod est honorabilius      10. πυροειδὴς] coccinea  
11. δι δὲ ἐστὶ] ἐστὶ δὲ πυροειδὴς M<sup>1</sup> Γ: habet autem speciem ignis      13. γὰρ]  
M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup>: uero      17. ἐστὶ καὶ . . . ἐφόρεσεν] ἐστὶ καὶ κοκκίνην χλαμύδα ἐφόρεσεν P<sup>2</sup>:  
quia et coccineam chlamyda portavit      18. ἐμφαίνοντες] indicat. ὑπασπισταί]  
προσπισταί M: propugnatores      19. τίτ. quare disincti sint sacerdotes  
21. de nigriti quattuor presbyteris et septem diaconibus      22. ἱεραρχῶν]  
ἱεραρχῶν Γ: sacerdotum      26. Χριστὸν] Christum hunc      27. τῇ λαβίδι]  
forcipis (leg. forcipe)      χειρὸς] χάριτος M<sup>1</sup>: gratiae      φανερῶς] om. P<sup>2</sup>

ἄραρίων πτέρυξιν ὡς λειτουργικά πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα περιτρέχουσι.

17. Τὰ Λωρία τοῦ στιχαρίου εἰσὶ, τὰ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἄσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα καὶ τὸν Πιλάτον.

5

18. Τὰ Λωρία τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια τί δηλοῦσιν.

Τὰ λωρία τοῦ στιχαρίου εἰσὶ, τὰ εἰς τὰ πλάγια, κατὰ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ρέουσα ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ).

19. Τὸ Ἐπιτραχήλιον τίνος ἔχει τύπον.

Τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιόν ἐστι τὸ φακιδίλιον μεθ' οὗ ἐπεφέρετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἰο δεδεμένος ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ συρόμενος ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ ἀπερχόμενος.

20. Τὸ Ὠμοφόριον τίνος ἔχει τύπον.

Τὸ ὠμοφόριόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Ἁλῶν· ὁ (καὶ) ἐφόρουσιν καὶ οἱ ἐν νόμῳ ἀρχιερεῖς σουδαριοὶ μακροῖς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ὡμῶν περιτιθέμενοι. (τὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὠμοφόριον ἐξ ἐρίου θν καὶ οὐ λινοῦ τὴν τοῦ προβάτου δορὰν σημαίνει ὅπερ πλανηθὲν ὁ Κύριος εὐρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν [ἴδιον] ὄμον ἀνέλαβεν.)

21. Περὶ Μοναχῶν.

Τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ ἐρημοπολίτου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὅτι ἦν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τριχῶν καμήλοιο καὶ ζώων λευκῶν τίνη περὶ τὴν ὄσφιν αὐτοῦ. (ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πενθικὸν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ κατηφὲς καὶ ἐπίπονον καὶ πρῶον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἦθος τῶν τὸν μονήρῃ βίον ἐπανηρημένων· πάντες γὰρ οἱ πενθοῦντες μέλανα περιβέβληται καταδοκούντες ἀπολήψεσθαι τὴν λευκὴν καὶ θείαν στολὴν τῆς δόξης τε καὶ παρακλήσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.)

25

22. Τίνος χάριν κείρονται τὴν κόμην.

1. Heb. i 14      4. S. Io. xviii 13, 24; S. Mt. xxvii 2      14. Ex. xxviii 4  
15-17. S. Isid. Pel. *Err.* i 136      20. S. Mt. iii 4      24. *Ecclus.* xlv 7;  
Phil. ii 1

2. περιτρέχουσι] + ἡ λεπτή δόνη τοῦ διακόνου ὁ ἐστὶν ἄραριον τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπομνησκει ταπεινώσειν ἐκμάζαντος λευτῆς τοῖς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν P<sup>2</sup>: nota subtile linteamen diaconi quod est orarium, quia Christi commonet humilitatem quod extersit linteo pedes discipulorum, *cod. Camer.* in marg. (cp. *Isid. Err.* i 136)  
3. αἱ, quid significant lora tunicae τὰ ἐν . . . δεσμῶν] quae circa manus apparent, uinacula      4. δῆσαντες γὰρ αὐτόν] φῆσαντες αὐτόν M<sup>1</sup>: quibus uinctum eum  
6. de loris quae in lateribus tunicae sunt      7. τὰ λωρία . . . πλάγια] τὰ λωρία τὰ ἐκ πλαγίας τοῦ στιχαρίου P<sup>1</sup>: lora in lateribus tunicae      8. ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ] P<sup>2</sup>: in cruce  
9. de supercollari      10. μεθ' οὗ . . . ἐπίπροσθεν] quod (*leg.* quo) ducebatur Christus ad pontificem collo uinctus et tractus ante se      13. de superhumerali  
14. καὶ] P<sup>1</sup>: et ἐν νόμῳ] ueteris legis      15. περιτιθέμενοι] ἐπιτιθέμενοι P<sup>2</sup>: imponentes      15-17. τὸ τοῦ . . . ἀνέλαβεν] P<sup>2</sup>: uel iterum superhumerali episcopi . . . eleuauit  
18. de monachico schemate      21-25. ἔπατα καὶ . . . τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν] P<sup>2</sup>: deinde et . . . domino nostro      24. τῆς δόξης] caelestis claritatis      26. quare tondeatur coma capitis

Τὸ δὲ κείρεσθαι τὴν κάραν ὀλοτελῶς κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθεοῦ καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

23. Τὰ <δὲ> Ἀναβόλαιά εἰσι κατὰ τὰ ἀναβόλαια ἅπερ ἐφόρουσιν ἱμάτια  
5 (οἱ θεῖοι ἀπόστολοι).

24. Τὰ Κουκούλλια κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα ἀπόστολον ὅτι ἐσταύρωταί μοι ὁ  
κόσμος κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ (δὲ ὁ καὶ πορφυροῖς καὶ λευκοῖς λωρίοις καὶ σταυροῖς  
κεκόσμηται διὰ τὸ ῥυεῖν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Κυρίου αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ὁμοῦ,)  
ἐμφαίνοντα διὰ τῆς τοῦ ματιῦ ἀπολαυμένης ἀπλώσεως τὴν πτερωτικὴν τῆς  
10 τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμήσεως καθ' ὅτι ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα λέγεται.

25. Ὁ . . . Ἀνάλαβος . . . δηλοῖ . . . τὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τῇ  
πίστει κεκοσμημένον ἐνισχύεσθαι περιφέροντα τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως ἐν ᾧ  
δηνησεται πάντα τὰ βέλη τὰ πεπρωμένα τοῦ πονηροῦ σβέσαι, καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν  
τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθαι καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὅστις ῥῆμα Θεοῦ.

15 26. Τὸ δὲ ζώνουσθαι τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ σώματος δηλοῖ τοῦ τὴν σωφροσύνην  
περιφέροντος, περιεζώσθαι τὴν ὁσφὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμις ἀληθείας.

27. Τὸ δὲ τοῖς Σανδαλίοις ἐπιβαίνειν αὐτὸν τῇ ὀδῷ τῆς σωτηρίας δηλοῖ τὸ  
ὅπως γένηται φοβερός τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις καὶ ἀνάλωτος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὑποδε-  
μένος τοῖς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εἰσαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης.)

20 28. Ὁ Ἄρτος τί δηλοῖ.

Ὁ ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως λέγεται ἦγον ἀποκαθαίρομενος, [καὶ] ἐμφαίνει  
τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον τῆς χρηστότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ἄνθρωπος γέγονε καὶ ἐαγίτῃ [ἐκένωσε, καὶ] προέθηκε προσφοράν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἀντιλήτρον καὶ ἐξίλασμα ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς ἀναλαβὸν μὲν τὸ  
25 φύραμα ὅλον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, προσενεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπαρχὴ

6. Gal. v 14      11. S. Mt. xvi 24      12. Eph. vi 16 sq.      16. Eph. vi 14  
17. Act. xvi 6      18. Eph. vi 15      22. Eph. ii 7; Rom. ii 4      23. Phil. ii 7  
24. 1 Tim. ii 6; S. Io. vi 51      25. Heb. iv 15

1. τὸ δὲ κείρεσθαι] tondent autem      2. καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου] καὶ τοῦ  
ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου P<sup>2</sup>: sanctique Pauli aequae apostoli      4. τί. de amictibus  
84] P<sup>2</sup>: porto κατὰ τὰ ἀναβόλαια . . . [ἱμάτια] secundum amictus et uesti-  
menta quae portabant      5. οἱ θεῖοι ἀπόστολοι] P<sup>2</sup>: sacratissimi apostoli      6. τί.  
de cuculla      7. δὲ ὁ καὶ . . . ὁμοῦ] P<sup>2</sup>: propter quod et . . . simul et aqua      9. τὴν  
πτερωτικὴν . . . μιμήσεως] τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμείται πτέρωσιν P<sup>2</sup>: pennatam angelo-  
rum imitationem      10. καθ' ὅτι] διόπερ καὶ P<sup>2</sup>: unde et      11. τί. de analabo  
11-19. δ . . . ἀνάλαβος . . . τῆς εἰρήνης] P<sup>2</sup>: sane analabus . . . pacis      11. τὸν  
ἀναλαβόντα . . . περιφέροντα] eum qui suscipit . . . adornatus conualescit circum-  
ferens      15. τί. de zona      τὸ δὲ . . . περιζώσθαι] praeterea zona cin-  
gitur qui mortificationem corporis et pudicitiam circumfert circumcinctus      17. τί.  
de sandaliis      τὸ δὲ . . . φοβερός] ceterum sandalia ascendere illum uiam  
salutis ostendunt quo terribilis . . . fiat      18. ἀνάλωτος] fortis      20. de pane  
propositionis      21. λέγεται ἦγον] ἦγουν P<sup>2</sup>: id est ἀποκαθαίρομενος]  
qui comminuitur      καὶ] om. P<sup>2</sup>      22. τῆς χρηστότητος] om. P<sup>2</sup>: τῆς χάριτος  
K: gratiae      23. ἐκένωσε . . . προσφοράν] προέθηκεν καὶ προσήγαγεν θυσίαν καὶ προσ-  
φοράν P<sup>2</sup>: proposuit et obtulit sacrificium et oblationem, id est



καὶ ἐξείρετον ὀλοκάρισμα τῆ Θεῆ καὶ Πατρὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους, ὡς λέγει Ἐρῶ εἶμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὔραου καταβῆς καὶ Ὁ τρώων [μου] τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. περὶ οὗ φησὶν ὁ προφήτης Ἰερεμίας Δεῦτε (καὶ) ἐμβάλωμεν ἔγλων εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ, δευτὸς τὸ ξάλον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῆ σάρματι ἐρπαγόν. 5

29. Τίνας χάρις τῆ λόγῃ ἀποκαθαίρεται ὁ ἄρτος.

Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῆ λόγῃ ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι σημαίνει τὸ ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἦχθῃ καὶ ὡς ἀμνός ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφρονος.

31<sup>a</sup>. Περὶ τοῦ Οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος.

Ὁ δὲ οἶνος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξελεθὼν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ αἷμα καὶ ἦδωρ, καὶ καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει Ἄρτος αὐτῷ δοθήσεται καὶ (τὸ ἦδωρ) αὐτῷ πιστόν· ἀπὶ γὰρ τῆς λόγῃς τῆς κερτησίσης τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῆ σταυρῷ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ λόγῃ.

30. Ὁ ἄρτος δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἐστὶ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἐκείνου δείπνου ἐν ᾧ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ εἶπε 15 Λάβετε φάγετε καὶ πίετε πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου καὶ αἷμα μου, (δεικνύτος) ὅτι κοινωνοῦς ἡμᾶς ἐποίησε τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

31<sup>b</sup>. (Διὸ καὶ δεχόμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν κανισκίῃ παρὰ διακόνου ἢ ὑποδιακόνου τὴν προσφορὰν, λαβὼν τε τὴν λόγῃν καὶ ἀποκαθάρας αὐτήν, εἶτα σταυροειδῶς 20 χαράξας αὐτήν λέγει Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἦχθῃ καὶ ὡς ἀμνός ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφρονος. τοῦτο εἰπὼν λοκπὸν θεὸς τὴν αὐτὴν προσφορὰν ἐν τῆ ἀγίῳ δίσκῳ δακτυλοδείκτως ἐπάνω αὐτῆς φησὶν οὕτως Οὔτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν τῆ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθῃ, τὴν δὲ γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἶρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. διότι μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ταῦτα 25 λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον καὶ τοῦ διακόνου ἐπιχέοντος πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, πάλιν λέγει ὁ διάκονος Ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ αἷμα καὶ ἦδωρ καὶ ὁ ἑορακῶς μεμαρτύρηκε καὶ ἀληθινὴ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θεὸς τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον ἐν τῆ θεῖᾳ τραπέζῃ δακτυλοδεικτικῶς τε προσέχων τῷ σφαιγιασθέντι Ἄμην διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ κενωθέντι αἵματι διὰ τοῦ οἴνου, 30 πάλιν λέγει ὅτι Τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ἦδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα,

- |                     |                                      |                   |                   |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 2. S. Io. vi 51, 54 | 3. Ier. xi 19                        | 7. Is. liii 7     | 10. S. Io. xix 34 |
| 11. Is. xxiii 16    | 15. 1 Cor. xi 23, S. Mt. xxvi 26 sq. |                   | 21. Is. liii 7    |
| 24. Is. liii 8      | 27. S. Io. xix 34 sq.                | 31. 1 Io. v 7 sq. |                   |

3. καὶ] P<sup>2</sup>: et 6. de lancea 7. ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι] inciditur τό] illud quod scriptum est 9. Cap. 30 legitur post cap. 31<sup>a</sup> P<sup>2</sup> lat 11. τὸ ὕδωρ] P<sup>2</sup>: aqua αὐτῆ] P<sup>2</sup>: αὐτοῦ P<sup>1</sup>: eius (Is. xxiii 16 αὐτοῦ) 14. τίς. de pane et calice 15. οἶνον] τὸ ποτήριον P<sup>2</sup>: calice 17. δεικνύτος] P<sup>2</sup>: ostendens quod τῆς δόξης . . . αὐτοῦ] τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ P<sup>2</sup>: resurrectionis et claritatis suae 19-2 (p. 18). διὸ καὶ . . . προθέσει] P<sup>2</sup>: quocirca . . . propositionis 19. κανισκίῃ] disco 23. δακτυλοδείκτως . . . οὕτως] digito extenso super eam hanc demonstrans affatur 27. ὁ διάκονος] sacerdos αὐτοῦ] Iesu

καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἔν εἰσιν· νῦν καὶ δεῖ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. εἶτα λαβὼν τὸ θυματήριον καὶ θυμιάσας ποιῆ εὐχὴν τῆς προθέσεως.)

32. Περὶ τῶν Ἀντιφώνων.

Τὰ ἀντίφωνα τῆς θείας λειτουργίας εἰσὶ τῶν προφητῶν αἱ προρρήσεις προ-  
5 καταγγέλλουσαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου ἐπὶ γῆς,  
[βοώντων] Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη (καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναεστράφη) καὶ εἰ-  
πρέπειαν ἐνεδέξατο. ἤγουν τὴν σάρκωσιν αὐτοῦ δηλοῦντες, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἀποδεξά-  
μενοι καὶ μαθόντες διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ ἀγιοπτῶν τοῦ λόγου γενομένων τῶν  
10 ἀποστόλων λέγομεν Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων  
(καὶ καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν) καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

33. Περὶ τῆς Εἰσόδου.

Ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐμφαίνει τὴν παρουσίαν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ  
(Υἱοῦ τοῦ) Θεοῦ τὴν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὡς λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος (ἔτι) Ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ  
ἦτον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην λέγει Καὶ  
15 προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αἰθοῦ. ἔπειτα δεκνύντος τοῦ  
ἀρχιερέως διὰ τῆς στολῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ στολήν τὴν  
ἐρυθρὰν καὶ αἱματώδη, ἣν ἐφόρεσεν ὁ αἴσλος [καὶ Θεὸς] ὡς πορφύραν  
βαφείσαν ἐξ ἀχράντων αἱμάτων τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ παρθένου, καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὸ  
πλανηθὲν πρόβατον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, τὸ ἀρχαῖον κώδιον τοῦ ἀδαμαιοῦ φυρά-  
20 ματος, ὁ Ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν (νέον) Ἰσραὴλ (ἐν) τῇ ῥαβδῷ  
τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐν σπαργάνοις μὲν εἰλιχθεῖς καὶ τεθεῖς οὐκέτι ἐν φάτῃ  
ἀλόγων ἀλλ' ἐν τραπέζῃ [λογικῇ] ἀνθρώπων λογικῶν· ὃν ὕμνησαν ἀγγέλων  
στρατιαὶ λέγουσαι Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία,  
καὶ Πᾶσα ἡ γῆ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ· καὶ πάντων ἀνθυπακούοντων [περὶ  
25 τῆς εἰσόδου] Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ σώσον ἡμᾶς  
Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, καὶ κηρύττομεν τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φανερωθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐν χάριτι  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

34. Περὶ τοῦ τρισαγίου.

Ὁ τρισάγιος ὕμνος οὕτως ἐστίν· ἐκεῖ μὲν οἱ ἄγγελοι εἶπον Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις

- 2. *Lit. Byz.* (*Litt. E. & W.* pp. 309, 360) 6. *Bar.* iii 37; *Ps.* xcii 1. 8. *S. Lc.* i 2
- 9. *Lit. Byz.* (*Litt. E. & W.* p. 365 sq.) 13. *Heb.* i 6 18. *Cr. S. Lc.* xv 15
- 20. *S. Io.* x 11; *Ps.* lxxix 1; *Apoc.* ii 27 21. *S. Lc.* ii 12 sqq. 24. *Ps.* lxx 4
- 25. *Ps.* xciv 1; *Lit. Byz. ἀντίφ. β'* (*Litt. E. & W.* p. 365) 26. *Gal.* i 6
- 29. *S. Lc.* ii 14

- 1. εἰς τὸ ἔν εἰσιν] unum sunt (*vulg.*) 4. τῆς θείας λειτουργίας] sanctae missae
- 5. γῆς] + futurum, ut illud 6. καὶ . . . συναεστράφη] P<sup>2</sup>
- 8. γενομένων] quondam τῶν] καὶ P<sup>2</sup>: et 10. καὶ . . . σωτηρίαν] et . . . salutem nostram. om. P<sup>2</sup>
- 11. de ingressu euangelii 13. υἱοῦ τοῦ] P<sup>2</sup>: filii ἔτι] P<sup>2</sup>: quia 14. ἦτον] haud dubium quin 15. αὐτοῦ] θεοῦ P<sup>2</sup> (*Heb.* i 6): Dei
- 18. θεοτόκου καὶ παρθένου] ἀειπαρθένου θεοτόκου P<sup>2</sup>: semper virginis Dei genetricis 19. ὤμων] ὀρέων P<sup>2</sup>: montibus et 20. ὁ καλὸς] ὁ μέγας τῶν προβάτων P<sup>2</sup>: magnus ouium (*Heb.* xiii 20) νέον] P<sup>2</sup>: nouum ἐν] P<sup>2</sup> (*Apoc.* ii 27): in 23. ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία] hominibus bonae uoluntatis (*vulg.*)
- 24. ἀνθυπακούοντων] audientibus περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου] ad modum titulus scriptum est 27. θεοῦ] κυρίου P<sup>2</sup>: domini 28. de trisagio hymno

Θεῶ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ (ἡμεῖς) ὡς μάγοι τὰ δῶρα προσφέροντες τῷ Χριστῷ πίστιν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀγάπην ὡς χρυσόν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν, τῶν ἀσωμάτων τὸ ἄσμα βοῶντες πιστῶς Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἦτοι ὁ Πατὴρ ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος, διότι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἰσχυρὸν διάβολον δεσμεύσας κατήργησε διὰ σταυροῦ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἔδωκε τοῦ 5 ἐπάνω ἀγτοῦ πατεῖν· ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ζωοποιῶν· δι' οὗ πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ κτίσις ζωοποιεῖται καὶ διαμένει καὶ βοᾷ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

35. (Τὸ ἐκφωνήσαι ἓνα τῶν ψαλτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβωνος προσέχοντα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν δοξάζειν μετὰ τὸν τριπλασιασμόν τοῦ Τρισαγίου καὶ λέγειν Εὐλόγησατε κύριε τὸ Δόξα πληθυντικῶς ἢ Εὐλόγησον κύριε τὸ Δόξα 10 ἐνικῶς· [τὸ μὲν πληθυντικῶς] σημαίνει τὴν τρισυπόστατον μίαν θεότητα δέεσθαι ὡς ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐλογηθῆναι παρ' αὐτῆς [κατ' ἀξίαν] καθόσον ἐφικτὸν αὐτῇ ἀνθρώπῳ οὕση καταξωθῆναι σὺν ταῖς ἀσωμάτους θείαις δυνάμεσιν τὸν χερουβικὸν καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγία Τριάδι ἀναμέλπειν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν εὐλογήσατε τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις Πατρὸς 15 Υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἐδήλωσεν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ προσθεῖναι τὸ κύριε τὴν μίαν φύσιν τῆς θεότητος ἐτράνωσεν.)

36. Περὶ τοῦ Συνθρόνου.

Τὸ δὲ ἀνελεθῆν ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ σφραγίσαι τὸν λαόν ἐστιν ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλων πληροῦν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομίαν 20 ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας ἐλόγησε τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς λέγων αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ἡμῖν· δεκνύων ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην [καὶ] εὐλογίαν ἔδωκε τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων.

37. (Τὸ δὲ Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀποκρινόμενον τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὅτι Εἰρήνην μὲν παρέσχες Κύριε τὴν ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὁμόνοιαν· εἰρήνην δὲ δὸς ἡμῖν 25 τὴν πρὸς σὲ ἀδιαιρέτον ἔνωσιν ἵνα τῷ Πνεύματι σου εἰρηνεύοντες, ὁ ἡμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δημιουργίας [σου] ἐνέθηκας, ἀχώριστοι τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης τυγχάνωμεν.)

38. Τὸ [δὲ] καθίσαι ἐστὶν ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἦν ἐφόρεσε καὶ τὸ πρόβατον ὃ ἀνέλαβεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων (ὅπερ σημαίνει τὸ ὠμοφόριον), ὃ ἐστὶ τὸ 30 ἀδαμαῖον φύραμα, ἀνεβίβασεν [αὐτὸ] ὑπὲρ ἁνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ

1. S. Mt. ii 11; 1 Cor. xiii 13 3-7. *Lit. Bys.* (*Litt. E. & W.* p. 313)  
4. S. Mt. xii 29; Heb. ii 14 5. S. Lc. x 19 6. S. Io. vi 63 21. S. Lc. xxiv 50; S. Io. xiv 27 24-27. S. Isid. Pel. *Err.* i 122 30. S. Lc. xv 5  
31. Eph. i 21

1. ἡμεῖς] P<sup>2</sup>: nos μάγοι] οἱ μάγοι P<sup>2</sup> 2. τῶν ἀσωμάτων] incorporeum angelorum  
3. βοῶντες] clamemus 5. σταυροῦ] τοῦ σταυροῦ P<sup>2</sup> [σὴν] νίκην P<sup>2</sup>: uictoriam 8. *lit.* de cantore qui exclamat in trisagio hymno 8-17. Τὸ ἐκφωνήσαι . . . ἐτράνωσεν] P<sup>2</sup>: exclamare . . . expressit 11. τὴν . . . θεότητα] hanc trium personarum unam diuinitatem 18. *lit.* de ascensu summi sacerdotis in consensum 24. *lit.* quid sit et spiritui tuo quod populus dicit 24-28. τὸ δὲ Καὶ . . . τυγχάνωμεν] P<sup>2</sup>: id sane quod . . . simus inseparabiles 29. *lit.* quae sit cathedra summi sacerdotis 30. ὅπερ . . . ὠμοφόριον] per quod significatur superhumale

εγριότητος τῶν ἀνω δυνάμεων καὶ προσήγαγεν αὐτὸ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ·  
 ἐπειδὴ [γὰρ] ὁ μὲν ἐθέωσε, ὁ δὲ ἐθεώθη, τουτέστι τὸ πρόσλημμα ὁ διὰ τὴν  
 δξίαν τοῦ <προσενέγκαντος καὶ τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ> προσεχθέντος ἐδέξατο  
 [αὐτὸ] ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ ὡς θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν εὔαρεστον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρω-  
 5 πείου γένους· πρὸς δὲ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,  
 ἤθουν ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Υἱῷ, ὅς καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν  
 τοῖς ὕψηλοῖς· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν.

1. 1 Pet. iii 18    4. Eph. v 2 ; Rom. xii 1    5. Ps. cix 1    6. Heb. viii 1, 13  
 7. S. Mt. xxvii 37 ; S. Io. xix 9 ; Heb. ix 11

2-3. διὰ τὴν . . . προσεχθέντος] M<sup>1</sup> : propter dignitatem offerentis et ob munditiam  
 eius qui oblatus est    3. τοῦ προσεχθέντος] om. P<sup>a</sup>    5. πρὸς δὲ καὶ] hinc est  
 illud    6. ἤθουν . . . Τῷ] post Κυρίῳ μου P<sup>a</sup> lat.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

[To be continued.]

## THE CREED OF APHRAATES.

DOM CONNOLLY, whose researches in Syriac Patrology are familiar to the readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, has recently published an article on 'The Early Syriac Creed'.<sup>1</sup> The documents upon which he has mainly relied for evidence, he tells us, are (1) the *Homilies of Aphraates*, (2) the *Acts of Judas Thomas*, and (3) the *Doctrine of Addai*. In the course of his article he presents us with 'tentative reconstructions' of three creeds, based on actual expressions used by the writers of whom he is treating. By far the longest and most complete of these is the Creed reconstructed from the writings of Aphraates, and it will prove of special interest to those who have studied the *Homilies* of this writer, because opinion is divided as to whether there is anything in the writings of Aphraates which betrays knowledge of a creed. On the one hand it is stated by Dr Kattenbusch<sup>2</sup> that there is no such indication; on the other hand, Dr Bert, the German translator of the *Homilies*, holds the contrary view, and in this he is followed by Dr Hahn. But Dom Connolly differs from all these authorities; he refutes Kattenbusch by presenting us with the text of Aphraates' Symbol, but he entirely disagrees with Bert and Hahn, who consider that the Creed of Aphraates is contained in the passage from the first Homily, which Hahn has included in his *Bibliothek der Symbole*. It is not my purpose in this article to criticize Dom Connolly's 'reconstruction'—it would be somewhat early to attempt

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 1906, pp. 202 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Apostolische Symbol* i p. 249.