

arising out of jealousy : (ii) that the alternatives *ἴαν τε χρεύῃ δάν τε καὶ ἀπέρη γαμηθῆ*, are subordinate to and qualify *ἀπηλλαγμένης* : this makes it impossible to translate *ἀπηλλαγμένης* ‘dead’ as though it were the antithesis of *ζώσης*, and compels us to interpret it ‘separated’ as contrasted with *συνοικούσης* ; and the *ἀπωχία* in question will not be death but an unfortunate marriage ending in separation. We may then, perhaps, translate ‘For while she (*ἢν πρόσεγγιμεν*) is still alive, whether still living in her husband’s house or separated from him, and, if separated, not only if still living in widowhood, but even if married to a second husband; yet even so he did not regard it as seemly that a sister should step into the position held by a wife whose marriage had ended so unhappily’. But it is doubtful whether *τῆς συνοικούσης* can be so translated ; Dr Swete suggests *ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι (αὐτῆς) τῆς (εἰτε) συνοικούσης εἰτε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης*, which is very clear and would be convincing were it not possible that the whole clause only applies to the alternative of the divorced wife. Mr C. H. Turner suggests *ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι τῆς συνοικούσης, εἰ καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης*, ‘for while his first wife is still alive, even though separated’ : this applies the whole to the divorced wife and gives in a better form the same meaning as Mangey’s longer emendation *ζώσης γὰρ ἔτι τῆς (πρότερον) συνοικούσης, εἴτα καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης* : but it is doubtful whether *ἡ συνοικοῦσα* would be used for ‘the wife’ in the present tense after her separation. Dr Swete’s emendation seems the most probable ; but, whatever the exact reading may be, the conclusion is clear that Philo’s interpretation cannot be quoted as having any bearing on the question of the marriage of a deceased wife’s sister.

W. LOCK.

SOME SPANISH MSS OF THE CONSTANTINO-POLITAN CREED.

THE history of the insertion of the words *et Filio* in MSS of the Constantinopolitan Creed still needs investigation. It is generally supposed that the words were added to the Creed by the Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, when the Visigothic King Reccared renounced Arianism. But the evidence of the MSS has never been properly sifted.¹ In the following collations I have made a beginning, and am able at

¹ In my *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 115, I pointed out that two early editions of the Councils—Cologne (1530) and Paris (1535)—omit the words in the text of the Creed quoted by the Council, and D’Aguirre admits that some MSS do not contain them.

once to point out that Gonzalez is inaccurate, whom I quoted in a former article (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1900, p. 108) as shewing that Spanish MSS generally contained the interpolated words. I say advisedly 'a beginning' of the investigation, because I have no wish to overstate the evidence. My time in the Spanish Libraries last April was limited.

- A Cod. Escurial 1 D 1 *saec. x*, Cod. Aemilianus, fol. 134^v.
- B Cod. Escurial 1 D 2, *saec. x*, from Albida, fol. 86^v.
- E Cod. Escurial J C 12, *saec. x. xi*, fol. 37^v.
- [E² fol. 113 not collated omits *et filio.*]
- M¹ Cod. Matritensis P 21 (1872), *saec. x. xi*, fol. 59^r.
- M² Cod. Matritensis P 21 (1872), *saec. x. xi*, fol. 133^r.
- T¹ Cod. Matritensis 10041 (begun in the year 948) A.D. fol. 56^r.
- T² Cod. Matritensis 10041 (begun in the year 948 A.D.) fol. 129^r.

**SANCTA FIDES QUAM EXPOSUERUNT SANCTI CL PATRES CONSONA
MAGNAE NICAEAENAE SYNODO.**

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium.

5 Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula, Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine Deum uerum ex Deo uero, natum non factum, homousion Patri hoc est eiusdem cum Patre substantiae, per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos et propter nostrem salutem descendit * et incarnatus de Spiritu 10 sancto et Maria uirgine, homo factus, passus est sub Pontio Pilato sepultus, tertia die resurrexit *, ascendit in caelos, sedit ad dexteram Patris, iterum uenturus in gloria iudicare uiuos et mortuos cuius regni non erit finis :

Et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et uiuificatorem, ex Patre* 15 procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et glorificandum, qui locutus est per prophetas : in unam * catholicam et apostolicam

2 magne AM¹T² nicheni A Constantinopolitane A corr. : niceni M³: nicene T² sinodo A ; simbolum B ; simbolum eorundem sanctorum CL patrum apud constantinopolim (tatinopolim T¹) institutum ET¹; (!) centum quinquaginta sanctorum patrum M¹ 3 celi AB 4 terre AM¹ uisibilium et inuisibilium A, + conditorem ABEM²T¹T² 5 Dominum + nostrum B 6 ex: de M¹ (*bis*) 7 ex: de M¹ omousion E: homohusyon M¹, homousyon AM² corr. T¹T² 8 substantie M² sunt: + que in caelo et que in terris (terra AM¹T²) AM¹M²T² 9 incarnatus + est A II tercia E celos BET¹ 12 Patris pr̄ Dei B, in marg. corr. (!) E iterum: inde ET¹ in: cum BET¹ uibos ABM¹M²T² 13 > finis non erit ET¹ 14 om et 2² BE Patre + et Filio AB M² supr. lin sec man T² 16 loquutus A loquutus BM¹M²T² profetas B: p prophetis A unum A katholica B et: atque B, adque EM¹M²T¹T²

ecclesiam ; confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum ; expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum, uitam futuri saeculi. Amen.

Of these MSS, A is the least interesting because the Creed form is only quoted once with the words *et Filio* under the heading 'Council of Constantinople' fol. 86^v; under the heading 'Council of Toledo', at fol. 158, the reader is referred back to the earlier Council.

In M the words are omitted on fol. 59^r among the acts of the Council of Constantinople, but inserted on fol. 133^r in a later hand above the line 'under the acts of the Council of Toledo'. In T the words are similarly omitted at fol. 56^v and inserted at fol. 122^v apparently in the original hand. In another MS, Vich LXXX viii, of the twelfth century, which contains the creed under the title '*Fides CL patrum*', I noted that the words were omitted.

Very little doubt is left in my mind that these MSS shew us the gradual process at work by which copyists, influenced by the traditional belief in the Procession of the Spirit from the Son, perhaps also by the very strong words of the 3rd Canon of the Council of Toledo,¹ felt justified in adding them to the text of the Creed as quoted at Toledo, as the copyist of T has done, forgetting the purer text on the earlier page. He may have found them written between the lines of his copy as in M. The copyist of E has remained faithful to his archetype. But the text of AB shews the settled opinion about the interpolated text which took root in Spain and then spread over Europe, so that we rarely find MSS of the tenth century which do not contain it.

A. E. BURN.

17 eccl esiam A : eccl esiam B baptisma ABEM'M'T'T² remissione
ABEM'M'T'T² 18 resurrectione T² uitam pr et M'T²

¹ I will quote it from Cod. Aemilianus (A): *Quicumque spiritum sanctum non credet aut non crediderit a patre et filio procedere eumque non dixerit quocternum patri esse et filio quoessentiali anathema sit,*