

## DOCUMENTS

A FRAGMENT OF AN UNKNOWN LATIN VERSION  
OF THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

(BOOK VIII 41-END: LAGARDE 274. 26-281. 9.)

FROM A MS IN THE CHAPTER LIBRARY OF VERONA

LI foll. 139 b-146 a

fol. 139 b

Fecerit uel inuitus; ac propitiu  
 et placidus factus connumeret  
 in ora piorum securitatem po  
 titis, in sinus abrah(*am et is*)aac  
 20 et iacob, cum omn(*ibz*)s qui a sae  
 culo placuerunt (*et e*)gerunt  
 uoluntatem ipsius, (*n*)bi effugit  
 dolor ac meror (*et ge*)mitus. sur  
 gamus. sese et inuicem sese per  
 25 petuo dō per uerbum quod in ini  
 tio

274. 26

πᾶν ἀμάρτημα ἐκούσιον  
 καὶ ἀκούσιον, καὶ ἰλεως καὶ  
 εὐμενῆς γενόμενος κατατάξῃ  
 εἰς χώραν εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένων,  
 5 εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ  
 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ μετὰ  
 πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐ  
 αρεστησάντων καὶ ποιησάν  
 των τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ; ἔνθα  
 10 ἀπέδρα δδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ  
 στεναγμός. ἐγειρώμεθα· ἐαυ  
 τοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ αἰδίῳ  
 θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγου

18. ora appears to be the reading of the  
 MS, or perhaps we should write oras.  
 18. 19. securitatem potitis; as though the  
 translator was rendering κατατάξῃ τοῖς  
 ἀνειμένοις.

4. ἀνειμένην γ, cf. p. 494 l. 1 5.  
 κόλπον τ 11. ἐγειρώμεθα x t: ἀνα  
 στάντες γ

[The Introduction will be found below, pp. 505-510.]

fol. 140 a

commendemus. et episcopus *dī*cat:  
 qui natura immortalis ac sine ter-  
 mine, a quo omne inmortale ad  
 que mortalem factum *est*, qui ra-  
 5 tionabile animal hominem mu-  
 di ciuem mortalem ex confecti-  
 onem promisisti, qui enoc et he-  
 liam mortis experimentum no-  
 concessisti accipere, *D*S ABRAHA-  
 10 ET *D*S ISAAC ET *D*S IACOB, NON ut MOR-  
 TUORUM SED ut UIUENTUM *D*S *es*,  
 quod omnium animae apud te ui-  
 uunt et IUSTORUM *S*F*S* IN MANU  
 tua sunt quos NON TANGANT UER-  
 15 BERA, OMNES enim *S*C*I*TIFICATI SUB-  
 TUIS MANIBUS sunt; ipse et nunc  
 inspicie in seruum tuum illum  
 quem elegisti et suscepisti in ali-  
 si quid inuitus uel uoluntate pec-  
 20 cavit, et ad angelos placidos ad-  
 siste ipsi, ac dignum ipsum facito  
 sinu patriar(*charu*)m et propheta-  
 rum et apostolorum et omniu-  
 qui a saeculo *tibi* placuerunt, ubi  
 25 non est meror adque dolor et ge-  
 mitus

9. Matt. xxii 32, Luc. xx 37, 38 13.  
 Sap. iii 1 15. Deut. xxxiii 3

6. A line has fallen out by *homoeoteleuton*: supply -one fecisti et resurrecti-  
 10. non: quorum appears to have fallen  
 out before non. 15. *s*c*i*tificati: perhaps  
 from an exemplar *s*c*i*tificati. 18. Again  
 a line of the exemplar omitted: supply  
 -am sortem et condona illi. 20. ad 1<sup>o</sup>:  
 should be omitted: possibly cancelled  
 in the MS. 21. dignum... facito: the  
 translator read *καταξίωσον* for *κατάταξον*.

275. 2

παραθώμεθα. καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος  
 λεγέτω Ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀθάνατος  
 καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, παρ' οὐ πάν  
 ἀθάνατον καὶ θνητὸν γέγονεν,  
 ὁ τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ζῶν τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον τὸν κοσμοπολίτην  
 θνητὸν ἐκ κατασκευῆς ποιήσας  
 καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἐπαγγελάμε-  
 νος, ὁ τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ τὸν  
 Ἥλιαν θανάτου πείραν μὴ  
 εἴσας λαβεῖν, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ  
 καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὃν οὐχ  
 ὡς νεκρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ζώντων  
 θεὸς εἶ (ὅτι πάντων αἱ ψυχαὶ  
 παρὰ σοὶ ζῶσιν καὶ τῶν δι-  
 καίων τὰ πνεύματα ἐν χειρί  
 σου εἰσίν, ὃν οὐ μὴ ἄψη-  
 ται βάσανος· πάντες γὰρ οἱ  
 ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς  
 σου εἰσίν)· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν  
 ἐπίδεδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου  
 τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελέξω καὶ προσ-  
 ελάβου εἰς ἑτέραν λῆξιν, καὶ  
 συγχώρησον αὐτῷ, εἴ τι ἄκων  
 ἢ ἑκὼν ἐξήμαρτεν, καὶ ἀγγέ-  
 λους εὐμενεῖς παράστησον  
 αὐτῷ· καὶ κατάταξον αὐτὸν  
 ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῶν πατριάρχων  
 καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ἀποστόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων  
 σοι, ὅπου οὐκ ἐνὶ λύτῃ καὶ  
 ὀδύνῃ καὶ στεναγμῶς,

5. τοῦτο: *om.* y t 7. ἐν κατα-  
 σκευῇ t 8. ἀνάστασιν: + αὐτῷ y  
 11. ὁ θεὸς Ἀ. ὁ θεὸς Ἰ. καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰ. t  
 18. οἱ: *om.* t 21. ἐπίδεδε: *om.* x  
 24. tr. ἑκὼν ἢ ἄκων t 31. tr. σοὶ εὐαρε-  
 στησάντων t 32. καὶ: *om.* t

fol. 140 b

*sed locus piorum securus et terra  
rectorum tibi dedicata et illoru-  
qui in ipsa uident gloriam dī et  
sp̄s, per quem tibi gloria honor  
5 et ueneratio gratiarum actio  
et adoratio in sp̄u ad saecula  
amen.*

*et diaconus dicat: inclinate et  
benedicimini. et episcopus gra  
10 tias agat pro ipsis dicens talia: SER  
ua dñe POPULUM TUUM AC BENE  
DICITO HEREDITATEM TUAM QUAM  
adquisisti SĀO SANGUINE xp̄i tui  
ET PASCE IPSOS sub tuam dextera-  
15 ac tege ipsos sub tuas PINNAS  
et da ipsis CERTAMEN complere BO  
NUM et cursum PERFICERE et fide-  
CONSERUARE inmutabiliter sine  
CULPATIONE SINE INCUSATIONE  
20 per dñm nostrum ihm xp̄m dilec  
tum filium tuum, per quem tibi  
gloria honor ac (uen)eratio in sĀo  
sp̄u ad saecula amen.*

25 **de diebus eorum qui dormierunt**  
<sup>u</sup>  
**q̄as facere conuenit**

10, 14. Ps. xxvii (xxviii) 9 11. Act.  
xx 28 15. P̄s. xc (xci) 4, lx (lxi) 5 16.  
2 Tim. iv 7 18. 1 Thess. v 23, 1 Cor. i 8  
3. dī et sp̄s: I suspect that the true  
reading was dī et xp̄i. 6. I have as-  
sumed that the Latin version (and the  
Greek from which it was translated) gave  
'in the Spirit', not 'and to the Spirit',  
compare l. 22. 9. benedicimini: per-  
haps the traces which seemed to indicate  
omnis were really the final letters of  
(benedic)imini, since omnes is absent from  
the Greek. 10. serua: the indications  
appear to belong to serua rather than to  
salua. 11, 12. The text ought obviously  
to run benedicito, but the traces appeared  
to point to gente-. 13. I should prefer  
emisti pretioso, as nearer the Greek; but  
sĀo seems clear.

275. 18

ἀλλὰ χώρος εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένος  
καὶ γῆ εὐθέων σοὶ ἀνακειμένη  
καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὄρωντων τὴν  
δόξαν τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, μεθ'  
οὗ σοὶ δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας,  
εὐχαριστία καὶ προσκύνησις,  
καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς  
αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω Κλῖνατε  
καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε. καὶ ὁ ἐπί-  
σκοπος εὐχαριστεῖτω ὑπὲρ  
αὐτῶν λέγων τάδε Σῶσον,  
κύριε, τὸν λαόν σου καὶ  
εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν  
σου, ἣν περιποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ  
αἵματι τοῦ χριστοῦ σου καὶ  
ποίμανον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν  
δεξιάν σου, καὶ σκέπασον  
αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγάς σου,  
καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα  
τελέσαι τὸν καλόν, τὸν δρόμον  
ἀνύσαι, τὴν πίστιν τηρῆσαι  
ἄτρεπτως ἀμέμπτως ἀνεγκλή-  
τως· διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ  
σου παιδός, μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα  
τιμὴ καὶ σέβας καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ  
πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας·  
ἀμήν.

2. σοὶ ἀνακειμένη: συνανημένη t  
4. μεθ' οὗ x y: δι' οὗ t 6. καί: om. t  
7. καὶ x y: ἐν t 9. κλῖνατε: + εαυτοὺς  
y 12. τάδε: τοιάδε t 16. καί: om.  
t 21. τελέσαι x y: ἀγωνιάσθαι t  
22. ἀνύσαι x y: τελέσαι t

fol. 141 a

facere autem tertia eorum qui dormierunt in psalmis et oratione propter eum qui post tres dies sur-rexit, et nona in admonitione 5 uiuentium et eorum qui dormierunt, et tricentesima secundum uerterem disciplinam moysē  
 populus annua  
 pro memoria illius, ac detur  
 10 ex ipsius fortunis pauperibus i-  
 admonitionem istius. sed haec de piis loquimur, de impiis enim si ea quae mundi sunt  
 pauperibus nihil prode esse  
 15 cui enim superstiti  
 inimicum, certum quod et illi si mi-  
 grauerit, NON ENIM EST iniquitas apud eum. IUSTUS ENIM dñs et iusti-  
 TIAS CURAUIT  
 20 in memorias autem eorum uocati  
 cum disciplina aepulamini ac dī ti more ut qui possitis exorare pro illis qui migrauerunt. presbyteri enim ac diacones xpī constituti  
 25 sobrii esse debetis semper et in se

7. Deut. xxxiv 8 17. Ps. xci (xcii)  
 16 18. Ps. x (xi) 7

6. I had ventured, following some slight indications of the MS, to restore tricesima to the text in accordance with the reference to Deuteronomy, against the Greek τεσσαρακοστὰ; and now Dr Spagnolo confirms my conjecture from a second inspection of the MS. 7. I am not satisfied with disciplinam for τύπον: perhaps imaginem.

276. 3

ἐπιτελείσθω δὲ τρίτα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ προσευχαῖς διὰ τὸν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγερθέντα, καὶ ἕνατα εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν περιόντων καὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον (Μωσῆν γὰρ οὕτως ὁ λαὸς ἐπένησεν), καὶ ἐνιαύσια ὑπὲρ μνείας αὐτοῦ· καὶ διδύσθω ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ πένησιν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ εὐσεβῶν λέγομεν· περὶ γὰρ ἀσεβῶν εἶναι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου δῶς πένησιν, οὐδὲν ὀνήσει αὐτόν. ᾧ γὰρ περιόντι ἐχθρὸν ἦν τὸ θεῖον, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ μεταστάντι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀδικία παρ' αὐτῷ. δίκαιος γὰρ ὁ κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἠγάπησεν· καὶ Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μνείαις αὐτῶν καλούμενοι μετὰ εὐταξίας ἐστίασθε καὶ φόβον θεοῦ, ὡς δυνάμενοι καὶ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεταστάντων. πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ καὶ διάκονοι χριστοῦ ὑπάρχοντες, νήφειν ὀφείλετε πάντοτε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς

1. δὲ: om. w 2. ψαλμοῖς w:  
 + καὶ ἀναγνώσασιν (ἀναγνώσεισι γτ) xyt  
 Lagarde 3. τὸν διὰ: om. per homoeo-  
 teleuton x 8. μωσῆν w 10. μνείας:  
 μνήμης γ 11-13. αὐτῶν . . . αὐτοῖς  
 . . . αὐτῶν w 11. διδύσθω δὲ w  
 24. μνήμης w 28. γὰρ: om. t  
 30. ὀφείλεται x

fol. 141 b

et in alios ut possitis inmoderatos  
docere. dicit autem scribtura po

TENS FERUORE CONCITANTUR : UINUM  
NE POTENT, UT NE POST QUAM UIBERINT

- 5 OBLIUSCANTUR SAPIENTIAM ET REC  
TE IUDICARE NON POSSINT. igitur et  
presbyteri ac diaconi post deum  
omnipotentem ac dilectum filiu  
ipsius potentes sunt ecclesiae.  
10 hoc enim dicimus non ut minime  
uibant (aliter enim iniuriam est  
facere dī facturae quae in *laetitia*  
est) sed ne uino uerint. non  
enim scribtura dixit minime po  
15 tare uinum sed quid ait? UINUM  
NON UIBERE IN EBRIAETATEM, *e(t) ile*  
gum SENTES PULLULANT IN MA(nu  
EBRI. hoc autem *non de cleric(is)* dī  
cimus tantum sed de omni etiam  
20 plebeio xp̄iano super quo inuoca  
tum est nomen dñi nostri ih̄u xp̄i ;  
et ipsis enim dictum est CUI UE ? CUI TU  
MULTUS? CUI TEDIUM SOLLICITUDO?  
CUIUS LIUIDI OCULI? CUI CONTRITIONES  
25 SUPERUACUE? NONNE EORUM QUI

2. Prov. xxxi 4, 5 (xxv 72, 73) 12.  
Eccclus. xxxiv 27 (xxxii 35) 15. Agg. i 6  
17. Prov. xxvi 9 22. Prov. xxiii 29, 30

4, 11, 16. uibere for bibere. 7. deum :  
it is most unusual, almost unique, to find  
this word written in full in a MS, how-  
ever early, though in inscriptions it is  
much less uncomon. 12. factura *cod.*  
22. ue : *i. e.* uae.

276. 18

καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρους, ἵνα δύνῃσθε  
τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας νοουθετεῖν.

λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφή Οἱ δυνάσται  
θυμώδεις εἰσὶν· οἶνον μὴ  
πινέτωσαν, ἵνα μὴ πίνοντες  
ἐπιλάβωνται τῆς σοφίας καὶ  
ὀρθὰ κρίνουν οὐ μὴ δύνωνται.  
οὐκοῦν καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ  
οἱ διάκονοι μετὰ θεὸν τὸν  
παντοκράτορα καὶ τὸν ἡγα-  
πημένον αὐτοῦ υἱὸν δυνάσται  
ὑπάρχουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.  
τοῦτο δὲ φαμεν οὐχ ἵνα μὴ  
πίνωσιν (ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ  
ἔστιν ὑβρίσαι τὸ ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
γενόμενον εἰς εὐφροσύνην)  
ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ παροινῶσιν. οὐ  
γὰρ εἶπεν ἡ γραφή μὴ πίνειν  
οἶνον, ἀλλὰ τί φησιν; Μὴ  
πῖνε οἶνον εἰς μέθην· καὶ  
πάλιν Ἄκανθαι φύονται ἐν  
χειρὶ μεθύσου. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ  
περὶ τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ μόνον  
φαμέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ παντὸς  
λαϊκοῦ χριστιανοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ  
ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ  
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ·  
καὶ αὐτοῖς γὰρ εἴρηται Τίνι  
οὔαι; τίνι θόρυβος; τίνι  
ἀηδία καὶ λέσχαί; τίνος  
πελιοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί; τίνι  
συντρίμματα διακενήs; οὐ

3. δὲ : γὰρ x 4. οἶνον : + δὲ t  
7. μὴ : om. w 14. πίνωσιν w ἀλλ'  
ὡs y οὐκ wy : καὶ t : om. x 20.  
πίνειν w 27. κυρίου : + τοῦ θεοῦ w  
31. πελιοὶ x : πελινοὶ w y t τίνι :  
τίνος w

fol. 142 a

TARDANT IN VINO ET EXPLORANTIUM

UBI CONIUIA FIUNT

de illis qui persecuntur et  
fugiunt propter  
fidem quod auxilium adipi-  
scantur

- 5 Persecutos propter fidem et urbe-  
ex urbem fugientes quod memo-  
ria habent dñi uerba suscipi; scien-  
tes enim quod sfs PARATUS CARO  
autem debilitate laborat, fugiunt  
10 ac rapinam substantiae propo-  
nunt ut innegatum in sese nome-  
xp̄i conseruent. ministrante igitur  
ipsis quae ad usum, mandatum do-  
minicum implentes. quod unusquis  
15 que in qua destinatus est sorte  
de  
bet contemptus ordinem custodi-  
re sed minime sapere sibi quae  
non sunt commissae. hoc autem o-  
nes communiter edicimus unum  
20 quemque contemptum esse or-  
dine sibi dato et non transire li-  
mites, non enim sunt nostri sed dñi  
sunt. QUI AUDIT ENIM UOS dñs ait  
ME AUDIT ET QUI ME AUDIT AUDIT  
25 EUM QUI ME MISIT ET QUI UOS CON-  
TENNIT

5. Cf. Matt. x 23 8. Matt. xxvi 41  
= Marc. xiv 38 23. Luc. x 16, Matt.  
x 40

2. coniuia cod\*, coniuia cod<sup>2</sup>. 7-9,  
11. Some letters are lost at the beginning  
of each of these lines; cf. fol. b. 7. sus-  
cipi: translating προσλαμβάνεσθαι not προσ-  
λαμβάνεσθε. 13, 14. do|minicum, or  
in l. 14 dñicum. 16, 20. Read of course  
contentus, contentum,

277. 7

τῶν ἐγχνονίζόντων ἐν οἴνῳ  
καὶ τῶν κατασκοπούμενων τοῦ  
πότου γίνονται;

τοὺς διωκομένους διὰ πίστιν  
καὶ πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως φεύγον-  
τας διὰ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν  
λόγων τοῦ κυρίου προσλαμ-  
βάνεσθε· ἐπιστάμενοι γὰρ  
ὅτι τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον,  
ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής, ἀποδιδρά-  
σκουσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν  
ὑπαρχόντων πρότεται, ἵνα  
ἀνεξάρνητον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς τὸ  
ὄνομα τοῦ χριστοῦ διατηρή-  
σωσιν. ἐπικουρεῖτε οὖν  
αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν, ἐντο-  
λήν κυριακὴν πληροῦντες.  
ἐκεῖνο δὲ κοινῇ πάντες παραγ-  
γέλλομεν, ἐκαστον ἐμμένειν  
τῇ τάξει τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐτῷ  
καὶ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς  
ὄρους· οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν ἡμέτεροι,  
ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ ὑμῶν γάρ,  
φησὶν ὁ κύριος, ἀκούων ἐμοῦ  
ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων  
ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με,  
καὶ ὁ ὑμᾶς ἀθετῶν

I. χρονίζόντων w 2. τῶν: om.  
w κατασκοπεύοντων w 6. τὸν  
λόγον xy 7. προσλαμβάνεσθαι  
w 11. ἀρπαγὴν y 12. προσίενται  
w 13. ἐφ' w xy: ἐν t 16. τὰ  
πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας xy 18. ἐκεῖνο:  
τοῦτο w πάντες: πᾶσι w 19.  
ἐκαστον: + μὲν x 23. ἀκούων γὰρ  
ὑμῶν w

fol. 142 b

ME CONTEMNIT QUI AUTEM ME CO-  
 TEMNIT CONTEMNIT EUM QUI ME MI-  
 SIT. si enim inanimata facta or-  
 dinem reddit, qualis est nox dies  
 5 sol luna sidera aelementa ui-  
 ces in uices menses septima-  
 nae dies orae, ac serui(u)ni usui  
 qui inpositus est secundum  
 quod dictum est DEFINITION(em)  
 10 posuisti QUAM NON TRANSEANT  
 et iterum POSUI AUTEM IPSI LIMITES  
 ET CIRCUMDEDI CLAUSTRA ET POR-  
 TAM, DIXI AUTEM IPSI USQUE HUC  
 UENIES AC NON TRANSIES; quanto  
 15 magis uos debetis nihil audere  
 transmouere de illis quae uo-  
 bis di uoluntate a nobis sunt  
 constituta? sed quoniam con-  
 temptibile multi et hoc duxerunt  
 20 esse, confundere uero ordines  
 et ordinationem quae est in uo-  
 quoque eorum transmouere  
 audent, adripientes sibi digni-  
 tates non datas et permitten-  
 25 tes sibi tyrannico more quoru-

9. Ps. ciii (civ) 9  
 10, 11

3. inanimata: perhaps inanimalia *cod.*  
 4. reddit: singular, because of the Greek  
 verb ἀποσφίξει, after the neuter plural.

277. 20

ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, ὃ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν  
 ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστειλαντά με.  
 εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἀψυχα γενόμενα  
 τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποσφίξει, οἶον  
 νύξ, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος, σελήνη,  
 ἄστρα, στοιχεῖα, τροπαί,  
 μῆνες, ἑβδομάδες, ἡμέραι,  
 ὥραι, καὶ δουλεύει τῇ δια-  
 τυπωθείσῃ χρεῖα κατὰ τὸ  
 εἰρημένον Ὅριον ἔθου, ὃ οὐ  
 παρελεύσεται καὶ πάλιν περὶ  
 τῆς θαλάσσης Ἐθέμην αὐτῇ  
 ὄρια περιθεῖς κλείθρα καὶ  
 πύλας, εἶπα δὲ αὐτῇ Μέχρι  
 τούτου ἐλεύσῃ καὶ οὐχ ὑπερ-  
 βήσῃ, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς  
 οὐδὲν ὀφείλετε παρακινεῖν τῶν  
 ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ παρ'  
 ἡμῶν ὀρισθέντων; ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδὴ πάρεργον οἱ πολλοὶ  
 καὶ τοῦτο ἠγῆσαντο εἶναι,  
 συγχέειν δὲ τὰς τάξεις καὶ  
 τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστου χειροτονίαν  
 παρακινεῖν τολμῶσιν, ὑφαρπά-  
 ζοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιώματα τὰ μὴ  
 δεδομένα καὶ ἐπιτρέποντες  
 ἑαυτοῖς τυραννικῶς

1. ἐμὲ I<sup>o</sup>. . . ἀθετῶν: *om. per homoseo-  
 teleuton y* ὃ δὲ x t: καὶ ὃ w 3. εἰ  
 γὰρ: *deficit abhinc w* γὰρ x t: τοῖνον y  
 11. παρελεύσεται xy: παρελεύσονται t  
 13. κλείθρα: *praem* καὶ t 17. ὀφεί-  
 λεται y παρακινεῖν x: *praem* τολμῶν  
 y t 26. διδόμενα t

fol. 143 a

*non habent potestatem dare, et propterea dñm in iram conmouent, quemadmodum coreitae ac rex ozias dignitatem inuase*

5 runt pontificatum preter dī uoluntatem, ac facti sunt illi qui dem

*facie leprosus et stimulant quidem qui disposuit xpm et con-*  
 10 *tristant et spm scm infirmantes ipsius testimonium repente inminens periculum talia facientibus prouidentes et illam quae in sacrificia et gratiarum actiones desideriam ex eo quod ab illis qui minime deueant offerantur impie, lusum existimantes pontificalem dignitatem quae imitationem continet magni pontificis ihu xpi regis nostri, necessitatem habuimus docere. iam enim QUIDAM DE RECTO ITINERE DISCESSERUNT SECUTI propria uanitatem. dicimus autem quod*  
 15 *moyses dī cultor cui dōs coram*

7, 9. Num. xvi 35, 30      8. 2 Paral.  
 xxvi 19      22. 1 Tim. v 15      25. Exod.  
 xxxiii 11

4. ozias dignitatem : the word praeter or contra appears to have fallen out here, corresponding with the Greek παρ' αζίας. 5. preter dī uoluntatem : Greek άνευ θεου, but perhaps άνευ θελήματος θεου stood in the translator's text.

278. 8

ἀ μη̄ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν διδόναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παροργίζουσι μὲν θεόν, ὡς περ οἱ Κορείται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὀζίας παρ' ἀζίαν ἐπιθέμενοι ἄνευ θεοῦ τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ καὶ γενόμενοι οἱ μὲν πυρίφλεκτοι, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου λεπρός, παροξύνουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν χριστὸν τὸν διαταξάμενον, λυποῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, εἰκότως τὸν ἐπηρητημένον κίνδυνον τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττουσι προῖδόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἀμέλειαν ἐκ τοῦ ὑφ' ὧν μη̄ χρῆ προσαγομένης ἀσεβῶς, παιδιὰν ἡγουμένων τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν τιμὴν, ἣτις μίμησιν περιέχει τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἀνάγκην ἔσχομεν καὶ τοῦτο παραινέσαι ἥδη γάρ τινες ἐξετράπησαν ὀπίσω τῆς ἐαυτῶν ματαιότητος. λέγομεν δὲ ὡς Μωσῆς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ θεράπων, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ἐνώπιος

1. ἔχουσιν t      9. καὶ τὸν... λυποῦσι δὲ : om. t      χριστὸν x : praem ἰησοῦν y      13. ἐπηρητισμένον x      27. δὲ : om. t



fol. 143 δ

cum PRAESENTI loquebatur SI QUIS  
 AD SUUM LOQUATUR AMICUM cui di  
 cit SCIO TE SUPRA OMNES cui IN ORE  
 loquebatur ET NON PER incerta  
 5 uel per somnia uel per angelos  
 uel per pau as, iste quando in  
 ebat diuinam sanctionem  
 diuisit quae debeant quidem a po-  
 tificibus celebrari quae uero  
 10 a sacerdotibus quae autem a di  
 aconibus, et unicuique propria  
 et conuenientem ministerio  
 tribuit religionem. et quae pon  
 tifices quidem praeceptum est  
 15 celebrare, haec sacerdotes infa-  
 dum erat haec diaconi non adi  
 bant, sed unusquisque quae acce  
 pit ministeria circumscripta ser  
 bat: si quis ultra quam traditum  
 20 est adire uolebat, mors erat poe  
 na. hoc autem maxime demons  
 trabit quae fuit in saul experien  
 tia; qui sacrificasse sine prophe  
 ta ac pontifice samuel existima  
 25 tus intulit sibi peccatum execra  
 tionem

3. Exod. xxxiii 17 4-6. Num. xii 6,  
 8 22. I Reg. xiii 8 sqq.

1. loquebatur: ut has apparently  
 dropped out after -ur. 6. pauras was  
 Dr Spagnolo's first transcription, and  
 he still on second reading adheres to  
 five letters of the six. I cannot tell  
 what word, corresponding to *αἰνιγμάτων*,  
 this can stand for. 7. sanctionem;  
 or perhaps the MS has pactionem  
 'covenant'. 18, 19. ser|bat: should  
 of course be seruabat. 22. demon-  
 strabit: for demonstrauit. 25. exe-  
 crationem: et has apparently dropped  
 out before ex-.

278. 21

ἐνωπίῳ ὠμίλει ὡς εἶ τις  
 λαλήσει πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ φίλον,  
 ᾧ εἶπεν Οἰδᾶ σε παρὰ πάντας,  
 ᾧ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὠμίλει καὶ  
 οὐ δι' ἀδήλων ἢ ἐνυπνίων ἢ  
 ἀγγέλων ἢ αἰνιγμάτων, οὗτος,  
 ἡνίκα τὴν θεῖαν νομοθεσίαν  
 διετάσσετο, διείλε τίνα μὲν  
 χρῆ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐπι-  
 τελεῖσθαι, τίνα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἱερέων, τίνα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Λευι-  
 τῶν, ἐκάστῳ τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ  
 ἀνήκουσαν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ  
 θρησκείαν ἀπονείμας. καὶ  
 ἄπερ μὲν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι  
 προστέτακτο ἐπιτελεῖν, τού-  
 τοις τοὺς ἱερέας οὐ θεμιτὸν  
 ἦν προσιέναι, ἄπερ δὲ τοῖς  
 ἱερεῦσιν ὄριστο, τοῦτοις οἱ  
 Λευῖται οὐ προσήεσαν, ἀλλ'  
 ἕκαστοι ᾧ παρελήφθησαν  
 ὑπηρεσίας περιγεγραμμένας  
 ἐφύλαττον· εἰ δέ τις πέρα  
 τῆς παραδόσεως προσιέναι  
 ἐβούλετο, θάνατος ἦν τὸ  
 ἐπιτίμιον. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα  
 διέδειξε καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸν Σαοὺλ  
 πείρα, ὃς θῆναι νενομικῶς  
 δίχα τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἀρ-  
 χιερέως Σαμουὴλ ἔσπασεν  
 εἰς ἑαντὸν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ  
 κατάραν

7. θεῖαν: om. γ 8. διείλε x t:  
 διέστειλε γ 15. ἄπερ: ὑπερ γ  
 20. προσήεσαν γ: προσέεσαν x t 24.  
 προίέναι γ 30. ἔσπασεν: ἔστησεν γ

fol. 144 a

nullo modo abiendam ac neq'  
 ob id quod ab ipso erat litus exora-  
 tus est profeta. euidētissimo au-  
 tem actu demonstrauit d̄s secun-  
 5 dum oziam quod non in latone  
 super iniquitate poenas adiecit,  
 et qui pontificatum furiose calca-  
 uit et regno pribatus est. quae ue-  
 ro de nostris temporibus forte no-  
 10 gnoratis, scitis enim forte a no-  
 bis episcopus nominatos ac pres-  
 byteros ac diaconos ora(t)ione  
 ac manibus inpositi(s) nominum  
 diuersitatem sign(ificantes). non  
 15 enim ILLE QUI UOLEBAT aput NOS MA-  
 NUM IMPLEBAT, quemadmodum  
 in notho uitularum sub hieroboa-  
 circumcisi sacerdotii, sed UOCA-  
 TUS A DŌ. si enim non erat quidem  
 20 lex quidem et hordinum diuersi-  
 tas, sufficebat per unum nome-  
 omnia fieri; sed a xp̄o edocti seque-  
 tiam rerum, episcopis quidem ea  
 quae sunt pontificatus tribuimus  
 25 presbyteris autem ea quae sunt  
 sacerdotii

5. 2 Paralip. xxvi 16 sqq. 15. 3  
 Reg. xiii 33, xii 28 sqq. 18. Heb. v 4

2. litus: from linere 'to smear'. 5.  
 in latone m. 1, in dilatione m. 2. 10.  
 forte: read perhaps certe. 13. nomenclum:  
 after this word the words diuersitate [et]  
 rerum have apparently dropped out by  
 homoeoarcton, so that the phrase would  
 run 'nomenclum diuersitate [et] rerum diuer-  
 sitatem'. 17, 18. The translator has quite  
 misunderstood the meaning of the Greek  
 'in the case of the spurious counterfeit  
 priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam'.  
 19, 20. quidem . . . quidem cod: in the  
 second of the two places we must read  
 quaedam.

279. 7

ἀναπόβλητον, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ  
 κεχρίσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς  
 βασιλεία ἐδυσώπησε τὸν  
 προφήτην. ἐνεργεσττέρα δὲ τῆ  
 πράξει διέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς  
 κατὰ τὸν Ὀζίαν, οὐκ ἐν μελ-  
 λησμῶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῆ παρανομία  
 εἰσπραξάμενος δίκας· καὶ ὁ  
 τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καταμανεῖς  
 καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀλλότριος  
 κατέστη. τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν  
 ἴσως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε· ἴστε γὰρ  
 πάντως ἐπισκόπους τε παρ'  
 ἡμῶν ὀνομασθέντας καὶ πρε-  
 σβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους εὐχῆ  
 καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσει, τῆ δια-  
 φορᾶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν  
 διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων  
 δεικνύοντας· οὐ γὰρ ὁ βου-  
 λόμενος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπλήρου  
 τὴν χεῖρα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 κιβδήλου τῶν δαμάλεων ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ Ἱεροβοὰμ παρακεκομ-  
 μένης ἱερωσύνης, ἀλλ' ὁ  
 καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ θεσμός τις ἦν  
 καὶ τάξεων διαφορὰ, ἦρκει  
 ἂν δι' ἐνὸς ὀνόματος τὰ ὅλα  
 τελεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 κυρίου διδασθέντες ἀκολουθίαν  
 πραγμάτων, τοῖς μὲν ἐπισκό-  
 ποῖς τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης  
 ἐνείμαμεν, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέ-  
 ροῖς τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης,

5. εἰδειξεν y τοῖς x: ἐν τοῖς y t  
 8. καὶ ὁ x t: ὁ οὖν y 13. τε x: om.  
 y t 17. τὴν x: praetm καὶ y t 20.  
 παρ' ἡμῶν y ἐπλήρου x t: ἐτίθει y  
 26. εἰ μὲν γὰρ x t: εἰ τοίνυν y

fol. 144 b

diaconis uero quae ad utrosque  
 ministeria, ut pure peragantur  
 ea que ad religionem pertinent.  
 neque enim diacono offerre fas  
 5 sacrificium aut baptidiare  
 aut benedictionem paruum uel  
 magnam facere, neque presby-  
 terum ordinationes facere. non  
 enim sc̄m est ordinem euertere: NON  
 EST ENIM D̄S INCONSTANTIAE ut in  
 inferiores quae sunt superiorum  
 tyrannico more propriam noua-  
 sanctionem fingentes in malo  
 suo nescientes quod durum ipsis  
 15 ADUERSUS STIMULOS CALCARE. non  
 enim nos aut episcopos oppugnant  
 huiusmodi homines sed omni-  
 um episcopum ac patris pontifi-  
 cem x̄pm ih̄m d̄nm. a moyse quide-  
 20 dō amicissimo ac pontifice cons-  
 tituti sunt pontifices et sacerdo-  
 tes et diaconi, a saluatore nostro  
 tredecim nos apostoli, ab aposto-  
 lis autem ego clemens ego iacob  
 25 et nobiscum alii ut ne iterum om-  
 nes

9. I Cor. xiv 33 15. Act. xxvi 14

20. ac pontifice: Moses is not called  
 'high priest' in our present Greek text,  
 but cf. 145 b l. 24, which seems to shew  
 that the Latin is right here. 22. Note  
 the translation of Λευΐται, even where Old  
 Testament Levites are meant, by diaconi:  
 cf. p. 500 l. 16. 24. Note the inversion of  
 order, by which Clement precedes James  
 in the Latin text.

279. 23

τοῖς δὲ διακόνοις τὰ τῆς πρὸς  
 ἀμφοτέρους διακονίας, ἢ ἢ  
 καθαρῶς τὰ τῆς θρησκείας  
 ἐπιτελούμενα. οὔτε γὰρ δια-  
 κόνῳ προσφέρειν θυσίαν  
 θεμιτὸν ἢ βαπτίζειν ἢ εὐλογίαν  
 μικρὰν ἢ μεγάλην ποιῆσθαι,  
 οὔτε πρεσβύτερον χειροτονίας  
 ἐπιτελεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁσίων  
 ἀνεστράφθαι τὴν τάξιν. οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ἀκαταστα-  
 σίας, ἵνα οἱ ὑποβεβηκότες τὰ  
 τῶν κρειττόνων τυραννικῶς  
 σφετερίζωνται, νομοθεσίαν  
 καινὴν ἀναπλάττοντες ἐπὶ κακῶ  
 τῷ ἑαυτῶν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι  
 σκληρὸν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρὸς κέντρα  
 λακτίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τοὺς  
 ἐπισκόπους πολεμοῦσιν οἱ  
 τοιοῦτοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων  
 ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἀρχιερέα, χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν  
 κύριον ἡμῶν. ὑπὸ Μωσέως  
 μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου  
 ἀρχιερεῖς κατεστάθησαν καὶ  
 ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευΐται, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ  
 σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς οἱ δεκα-  
 τρεῖς ἀπόστολοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν  
 ἀποστόλων ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος καὶ  
 ἐγὼ Κλήμης καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν  
 ἕτεροι, ἵνα μὴ πάντας πάλιν

4. διάκονον y 8. οὔτε x: οὔτε t:  
 ἢ y 30. ἡμῶν xy: ἡμῶν t 31.  
 πάντα x tr. πάλιν πάντας y

fol. 145 a

connumeremus, *conmuniter* au-  
tem a nobis omnibus *presbyteri*  
ac diaconi et *lectores*. *primus* igi-  
tur natura *pontifex unigenitus*  
5 *x̄ps*, NON SIBI HONOREM *adripiens*  
SED a patre constitutus; *qui ho-*  
*m(o f)actus propter nos* ac *sp̄rita-*  
*le (sacr)ificium offerens dō suo* ac  
*pa(tri a)nte passionem*, nobis cons-  
10 *titu(it so)l̄is HOC FACERE*, aliis quide-  
*nob(iscum) constitutis qui in ipsu-*  
*c(rediderunt, s)ed tamen non omnis*  
*q(ui credidit i)am* et sacerdos cons-  
*titutus est et pontificalem honorem*  
15 *inpetrabit*. post autem *elebati-*  
*onem ipsius nos optulimus* secun-  
*dum constitutionem ipsius SACRI-*  
*ficiu(m) purum* adque *insanguineu-*  
et *episcopos ordinauimus* ac *prae-*  
20 *byteros et diacones numero* sep-  
*tem*. ex quibus unus erat *stefanus*  
*beatus martyr* non *deficiens* a no-  
*bis eum* qui in *dñm* est *bonus sensus*  
qui *tantum dī culturam fide* oste-  
25 *derat* et ea quae *dñm* est *nostru-*

5. Heb. v 4, 5      6. Symbolum      10.  
1 Cor. xi 24, &c.      17. Mal. i 11

3. Subdeacons are omitted in the Latin text. 5. *adripiens*: I supply the word by comparison with 145 b1. 21. 14. The line is too long as it stands; but I do not see how to shorten it. 15. *inpetrabit* for *inpetrauit*. Note the term 'elevation' for the Ascension. 23. *eum*: the word *secundum* must have dropped out before *eum*. 25. *ea*: should be *eam*. *quae*: *ad* must have dropped out before *dominum*.

280. 9

καταλέγωμεν, κοινῇ δὲ ὑπὸ  
πάντων ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι  
καὶ διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι  
καὶ ἀναγνώσται. πρῶτος  
τοῦν τῇ φύσει ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ  
μονογενὴς χριστός, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ  
τὴν τιμὴν ἀρπάσας ἀλλὰ  
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κατασταθεὶς·  
ὅς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος δι'  
ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν  
θυσίαν προσφέρων τῷ θεῷ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ πρὸ τοῦ  
πάθους, ἡμῖν διετάξατο μόνους  
τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καίτοι ὄντων  
σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτέρων τῶν εἰς  
αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων· ἀλλ'  
οὐ πάντως πᾶς ὁ πιστεύσας  
ἤδη καὶ ἱερεὺς κατέστη ἢ  
ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀξίας ἔτυχε.  
μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ  
ἡμεῖς προσενεγκόντες κατὰ  
τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ θυσίαν  
καθαρὰν ἀναίμακτον, προεχει-  
ρισάμεθα ἐπισκόπους καὶ  
πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους  
ἕπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν. ὧν εἰς ἦν  
Στέφανος ὁ μακαριώτατος  
μάρτυς, οὐκ ἀπολειπόμενος  
ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐ-  
νοίαν· ὅς τοσοῦτον τὴν θεο-  
σέβειαν τῇ πίστει ἐνεδείξατο  
καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν

11. *tr.* τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεῷ γ  
17. πάντως πᾶς x: πάντων πᾶς y: πάντως  
t πιστεύων y 20. μετὰ x: + δὲ yt  
27. μακαριώτατος x: μακίριος yt

fol. 145 b

ih̄m̄ x̄pm̄ dilectionem ut pro ipso daret  
 etiam animam ab interfectoꝛib'  
 dñi lapidibus percussus iudeis :  
 sed tamen talis ac tantus uir qui  
 5 s̄p̄u FERUENS x̄pm̄ uidens IN DEXTRIS  
 dñi et caelestes portas APERTAS  
 nusquam inuenitur illis (*quae*) no-  
 ad diaconii ministeriu(m *pertine*)  
 bant usus *aut quod sacr(ifici)um*  
 10 *rettulit* aut quod man(*us a*)licui  
 inposuit sed dia(*conii ordi*)ne-  
 obseruauit usqu(*e in finem sic*)  
 enim decebat x̄p̄(*i martyri*) mo-  
 derationem reseruare. si uero  
 15 filippum diaconum et annania-  
 fidelem fratrem incusant aliq̄i  
 quod unus quidem eunuchum  
 baptizauit alter uero me paulum,  
 ignorant ipsi quod dicimus. nos  
 20 diximus eis quod NON SIBI QUIS  
 arripit sacerdotii dignitatem  
 sed uel a dño accipit, quemadmo-  
 dum melchisedech et iacob, aut  
 a pontifice, ut aaron a moysen :  
 25 igitur et philippus et annanias no-  
 se se

5. Act. xviii 25 (cf. Rom. xii 11)  
 5, 6. Act. vii 55, 56 17, 18. Act. viii.  
 38, ix 18 20. Heb. v 4

1. ispo for ipso *cod.* 20. eis: read enim.  
 23. Note Iacob in the Latin, where the  
 Greek (rightly, I suppose) has Iob.

280. 24

Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἀγάπην, ὡς  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δοῦναι καὶ τὴν  
 ψυχὴν, πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων  
 Ἰουδαίων λίθοις βληθεὶς.  
 ἀλλ' ὁμως ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ  
 τηλικούτος ἀνὴρ, ὁ τῷ πνεύ-  
 ματι ζέων, ὁ τὸν χριστὸν  
 ὁρῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
 τὰς οὐρανοὺς πύλας ἀνεωγ-  
 μένας, οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται τοῖς  
 μὴ ἀνήκουσι τῇ διακονίᾳ  
 χρησάμενος, ἢ θυσίαν ἀνευεγ-  
 κὼν ἢ χεῖρας ἐπιθείς τι, ἢ  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς διακονίας τάγμα  
 φυλάξας μέχρι τέλους· οὕτω  
 γὰρ ἔπρεπε τῷ τοῦ χριστοῦ  
 μάρτυρι τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀπο-  
 σφῆζειν. εἰ δὲ Φίλιππον τὸν  
 διάκονον ἡμῶν καὶ Ἀνανίαν  
 τὸν πιστὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτιῶν-  
 ταί τινες, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τὸν  
 εὐνοῦχον ἐβάπτισεν, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ  
 Παῦλον, ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτοὶ ὃ  
 λέγομεν ἡμεῖς. εἶπομεν γὰρ  
 ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις ἀρπάξει τὸ  
 ἱερατικὸν ἀξίωμα, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνει ὡς Μελχι-  
 σεδὲκ καὶ Ἰάβ, ἢ παρὰ  
 ἀρχιερέως ὡς Ἀαρὼν παρὰ  
 Μωσέως· οὐκοῦν καὶ Φίλιπ-  
 πος καὶ Ἀνανίας

29. ἀρχιερέων γ

fol. 146 a

protulerunt, sed a xpo promoti sunt  
pontifice di incomparabilis.

281. 7

οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς προείλοντο,  
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ προε-  
χειρίσθησαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ  
ἀσυγκρίτου θεοῦ.

1. ἑαυτοὺς: *praem* αὐτοὶ y

A. SPAGNOLO.

C. H. TURNER.

INTRODUCTION TO THE FRAGMENT PRINTED ABOVE, PP. 492-505.

Lagarde's text of the *Apostolic Constitutions* rested on four MSS, w (Petersburg gr. 254; A. D. 1111), x (Vienna hist. gr. 46; saec. xiv), y (Vienna hist. gr. 47; saec. xvi), and z (Paris gr. 931; saec. xvi); but of these z is wholly, and w partially, defective for the part corresponding to the Verona fragment. Besides his MSS he wisely employed the *editio princeps* of Fr. Turrianus (Venice, A. D. 1563) as an additional witness, under the symbol t; for Turrianus used three MSS, and these were all of them older at least than y and z, since they could already in the sixteenth century be described respectively as πάνυ ἀρχαίων—this one was from the monastery of Patira at Rossano in Calabria—another καὶ αὐτὸ ἀρχαίων from Sicily, and a third, ἔτι παλαιότερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον, from Crete; it was this Cretan MS which, as the oldest and most correctly written, he had (he tells us in his preface) followed almost exclusively. Lagarde does not rate his predecessor's work very highly; and it is true that, for instance, either Turrianus's MSS or Turrianus himself corrected the paraphrase of 2 Tim. iv 7 in the bishop's thanksgiving (p. 494 ll. 16, 17 above) into accord with the New Testament text. But on the other hand, Turrianus agrees with our Latin fragment against Lagarde in readings that are certainly original, especially in the doxologies.

In order to facilitate comparison with the Greek, I have printed Lagarde's text and a selection from his apparatus<sup>1</sup> parallel with the Latin; but the reader should note that on one occasion, p. 495 l. 2, the Greek text ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ προσευχαῖς is (accidentally) not Lagarde's but that of the Greek MS which appears to agree with the Latin. The Latin does not side systematically with any one of the Greek authorities; but it does side definitely against the peculiar readings of y, e.g. 492. 23 surgamus with ἐγειρόμεθα t x, ἀναστάντες y: 497. 10 rapinam with ἀρπαγήν

<sup>1</sup> I have added, however, several more biblical references than are marked in his text.

t w x, ἀπαρχήν y : 498. 3 and 501. 19 si enim with εἰ γάρ t x, εἰ τοῖνυν y : 500. 20 adire with προσίεσαι t x, προίεσαι y : 501. 7 et qui with καὶ ὁ t x, ὁ οὖν y ; 501. 16 implebat with ἐπλήρου t x, ἐτίθει y : 503. 8 deo suo ac patri with τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ t x, τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεῷ y : 504. 24 a pontifice with παρὰ ἀρχιερέως t x, παρὰ ἀρχιερέων y : 504. 25 non sese with οὐχ ἑαυτοῦς t x, οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῦς y. Therefore, if Lagarde is right that w x represent one family of text<sup>1</sup> and y z another, it is clear that the Latin goes with the first of the two, and (since Lagarde followed that family) with Lagarde; but if our fragment is any fair sample of the whole, Lagarde must have exaggerated either the extent to which Turrianus followed the inferior family, or the extent to which that family is inferior, for the combination t y against x (w x) Lat. is hardly ever found, and the combination t y Lat. against x appears to be invariably right—493. 4 rationabile animal with τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον t y, τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ζῷον x : 493. 17 inspice with ἐπίδε t y, om. x : 498. 15 audere transmouere with τολμᾶν παρακινεῖν t y, om. τολμᾶν x : 502. 25 omnes with πάντας t y, πάντα x : 503. 15 post autem elebationem with μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάληψιν t y, om. δὲ x : 503. 22 beatus martyr with ὁ μακάριος μάρτυς t y, ὁ μακαριώτατος μάρτυς x.

So far we have found the Latin to be averse from siding with one Greek authority against the rest; it goes with t x against y, and with t y against x. But where t is against x y, the Latin sometimes sides with the one against the two; 493. 9 deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob, where t alone repeats θεός, while the others give ὁ θεός Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, though the force of the argument in this case is diminished by the agreement of t Lat. with the biblical texts which may have affected them independently of one another; 493. 24 tibi placuerunt Lat. σοὶ εὐαρεστησάντων t, εὐαρεστησάντων σοι x y ; 494. 4 per quem Lat. δι' οὗ t, μεθ' οὗ x y ; 494. 10 dicens talia Lat. λέγων τοιάδε t, λέγων τάδε x y ; 497. 11 in sese Lat. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς t, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς w x y —but it is not quite certain that ἐπὶ might not here have been translated 'in'.

Of these agreements one is crucial and of far-reaching significance, namely the form of doxology with διὰ instead of μετὰ. It is well known how in the fourth century the doxology in the Eastern churches became a sort of theological test. Nicene churchmen preferred the form δόξα τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι (ultimately, as we know from the form familiar to ourselves, it was 'et Filio et Spiritui sancto'), the Arian or Arianizing parties saw in that phrase an implication of the doctrine of the co-essential and co-equal Trinity, and preferred the more archaic and more indefinite form δόξα τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> w is not extant in the chapters covered by our fragment except for the passage 495.1-498.3, and here the combination xy against w is much more common than the combination wx against y.

ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. We are told that the cautious old Arian, Leontius, when intruded into the see of Antioch, only raised his voice, when saying the Gloria, at the words 'world without end', and was indistinctly heard for all the earlier part of the formula. St Basil's use of the more archaic form at Caesarea gave occasion to suspicions of his orthodoxy and so indirectly to the composition of his best known work, the *de Spiritu sancto*. As St Basil demonstrated, both forms are in themselves perfectly orthodox and legitimate, and we must not assume that only Arians used the διὰ . . . ἐν, though it is safe to assume that only Catholics used μετὰ . . . σὺν. Therefore, if the text of the *Constitutions* employed a μετὰ form of doxology, we could hardly place the date of their composition before the very end of the fourth century, since they are certainly Antiochene, and it is quite unlikely that the Nicene doxology should have come into use at Antioch before the time of the emperor Theodosius—if indeed as soon as that. Now the MSS (at least in the eighth book) do not hold consistently to either form; five times at least—I take my data from Lagarde's text and apparatus—they agree on the formula δι' οὐ σοὶ . . . ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, 241. 8, 242. 11, 243. 1, 244. 24, 247. 23; more than twice as often they agree on the alternative type, μεθ' οὐ σοὶ . . . καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι; twice they approach the still more definite Western statement, 258. 6 τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, and 261. 20 σοὶ . . . καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδί . . . καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. In four cases the MSS differ among themselves; in these four cases t always gives the type δι' οὐ σοὶ . . . ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, in two of them, 274. 18, 275. 20, both x y have the μετὰ . . . καὶ type, in the other two, 239. 1, 272. 16, y goes with t, while x gives the unique forms μεθ' οὐ καὶ δι' οὐ . . . ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, δι' οὐ σοὶ . . . σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. Lagarde consistently follows x: but I have no doubt at all that where t, or yt, give the form διὰ . . . ἐν their reading ought to be accepted. And more than that, the Latin version supplies good ground for suspecting that the μετὰ . . . καὶ type, often as it occurs in all our Greek MSS, is due to revision; for in 276. 2 t x y have μετὰ . . . καί, while the Latin (p. 494 l. 21) has nevertheless 'per quem . . . in sancto spiritu'. The only alternative to accepting the Latin evidence as decisive—the Latin MS, we know, is many centuries earlier than any of our Greek MSS—would be to suppose that the Latin translator wrote from a definitely Arian point of view, and refused to use the Nicene doxology.

With w, which is by two centuries the oldest of Lagarde's MSS, the Latin has, in the brief space where both are extant, not less than five or six agreements against x y, with t sometimes on one side sometimes on the other: 496. 16 bibere with w πίνειν, against πίνε t x y; 497. 7 verba with t w τῶν λόγων, against τὸν λόγον x y; 497. 7 suscipi with w προσλαμβάνεσθαι, against προσλαμβάνεσθε t x y; 497. 13 usum with t w χρείαν,



against *χρείας* xy; 497. 18 hoc autem with w *τοῦτο* δέ, against *ἐκείνο* δέ t xy. To these we ought to add 495. 2, where w has *ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ προσευχαῖς*, the rest *ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ἀναγνώσεσιν (ἀναγνώσμασιν) καὶ προσευχαῖς*, while the Latin, as Dr Spagnolo has now been able to decipher it, gives only 'psalms and prayer'.

Of course both t and w have their own idiosyncrasies and blunders not shared by the Latin version; but speaking generally the Latin, as between the Greek witnesses, agrees with the older and better of them. We have now to ask what is the value of the Latin as against the whole of the extant Greek evidence, and we have already had reason, in connexion with the form of doxology, to suppose that the Latin, even when standing alone, may sometimes outweigh all the rest.

Much the most important difference between the Latin version and Lagarde's edition is that in the version the *Constitutions* are immediately followed by the *Canons*. But Lagarde himself (p. 284) explains that, though absent from xy, the *Canons* had a place in w as well as in the edition of Turrianus; and probably the real reason why Lagarde included the *Constitutions* alone in his edition was that he had already published the text of the Apostolic Canons on pp. 20-35 of his *Reliquiae*, so that he is content to give (pp. 285-287) a collation of the differences of these two witnesses from his earlier text. Unfortunately the text of the *Canons* is very difficult, in some places impossible, to decipher in our MS, and I do not attempt to print the transcription in the JOURNAL, as it will find a more appropriate place in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*. I may, however, state here that, whereas Dionysius Exiguus only translated the first fifty canons (*Ecc. Occ. Mon. Iur. Ant. i 1-32*), the whole number are present in the Verona MS, and it is in the last canon, the list of Scriptural books, that the Latin version makes its most interesting contribution to the critical apparatus of the *Canons*. The text of this list will be found on pp. 511-514 of the present number of the JOURNAL, as the fourth of my series of 'Latin lists of the Canonical Books'.

Another characteristic feature which distinguishes our version from Lagarde's edition is probably again more apparent than real. At 494. 25, 497. 3, 497. 14, the reader will find chapter-headings in the Latin (distinguished for his convenience by heavy type) to which there is nothing in the parallel text from Lagarde to correspond. But if he looks up Lagarde's preface (p. vi *ad fin.*) he will discover that that illustrious but self-willed scholar found chapter-headings in his MSS, but, in the conviction that they were not original, declined to put them in the text or even to record them in the apparatus; 'capita mea eadem sunt ac Turriani . . . capitum titulos a monachis profectos edere necessarium non videbatur.' A more modest procedure would have been

triumphantly justified by the Latin ; for the three chapter-headings it preserves coincide with the commencement of chapters 42 (42 43 44 are closely connected in subject matter, and form as it were only a single section), 45, and 46 in Lagarde, and I have little doubt that they are faithfully rendered from the Greek. I do not indeed see any *prima facie* reason why they should be attributed to 'monks' rather than to the compiler of the *Constitutions* himself.

These more general considerations may be fitly followed by a briefer notice of individual features (*a*) in the Greek readings underlying the text, (*b*) in the Latinity of the translation.

*a.* At p. 495 l. 6 I had ventured to restore 'tricesima' to the text ; I could not make the indications of the MS reading square with quadragesima, and the 'ancient type' to which appeal is made, the mourning for Moses, lasted not forty but thirty days, hence I conjectured that the compiler wrote *τριακοστά*, and that the Latin alone now bore witness to the original reading. On a second inspection of the MS Dr Spagnolo is able to make out nearly the whole of the word 'tricensima'. At p. 502 l. 24 the Latin has 'ego Clemens ego Iacob' for the Greek *ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος καὶ ἐγὼ Κλήμης* : and we have to balance the respective probabilities that a Latin translator altered his model in order to do honour to Clement of Rome, and that Greek scribes altered their exemplars to do honour to James of Jerusalem. On the whole I think there is more to be said this time for the Greek texts. At p. 503 l. 2 the orders enumerated are in the Latin 'presbyters, deacons, and readers', in the Greek 'presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and readers'. It would be interesting to suppose the Latin text right ; but subdeacons are recognized elsewhere in the *Constitutions*, and probably the true explanation is either that it is a mere omission, by translator or scribe, through *homoeoteleuton* (*διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι*, *diaconi et subdiaconi*), or that the Latin translator was not acquainted in his own region with the order of subdeacons, and simply omitted the name and thing. At Rome and Carthage subdeacons, hypodiaconi, were a part of the *clerus* as early as the middle of the third century ; but none of the bishops who subscribed at the council of Arles in 314 brought any attendants other than presbyters or deacons or exorcists or readers, and the canons of Sardica enumerate only the orders of bishop, presbyter, deacon, and reader. If our translator wrote about A. D. 400, and in north-eastern Italy, he may perhaps have been equally unfamiliar with the subdiaconate.

*b.* In the Latinity of the translation there is entire absence of any trace of influence of the Vulgate ; but it is fair to add that there is hardly more evidence of Old Latin renderings. The translator must have worked at his task with the single preoccupation of representing

the Greek original by Latin equivalents of his own; no other explanation will account for the strange 'spiritus paratus caro autem debilitate laborat' (497. 8) where the old biblical version 'spiritus promptus caro autem infirma' was left untouched by Jerome, just as 'the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak' survives unaltered in the Revised Version of 1881. The representation of *Λεῖται* by 'diaconi', 500. 16, excludes a date earlier than the end of the fourth century, but then the date of the Greek *Constitutions* themselves gives a similar *terminus a quo*; and in view of the tendency in writers like Ambrosiaster to identify the three orders in the Jewish hierarchy with the three orders of the Christian ministry, I should not like to say that 'diaconus' for *Λεῖτης* is necessarily later than 400. The converse use of 'levita' for deacon occurs already in pope Damasus and St Ambrose. But the most primitive sounding term employed by our translator is 'Elevatio' (503. 15) for the Ascension, Greek *ἀνάληψις*. Unless this is a pure coinage out of his own head—on the same lines as his 'debilitate laborat'—it suggests a very archaic terminology for the Christian festivals. It does not seem to be paralleled at all elsewhere: 'ascension' (in one or other form of the word) is the universal Latin term. 'Pontifex' for *ἀρχιερεὺς* (p. 504 ll. 24, 27) may also suggest an early date; after the end of the fourth century 'summus sacerdos' or 'princeps sacerdotum' became the fashionable ways to render 'high priest' as opposed to 'priest'.

Of the manuscript in which the fragment is contained I spoke in the October number of the JOURNAL (pp. 19–28 of the present volume), and I need only add that the exemplar of this part of the MS must have been written in lines of about twenty-one or twenty-two letters—rather shorter, that is, than in our MS, which averages some twenty-five or twenty-six letters—as is indicated by the two omissions on p. 493 ll. 6, 18. The pages here transcribed and printed are at places extraordinarily difficult to read, and the italic type represents the best reconstruction I could make out of the data supplied by Dr Spagnolo, to whom scholars are again indebted for the time and zeal which he has devoted to the work of decipherment. Angular brackets < > denote that in those passages the MS is not only worn but worn or torn away, so that the supplements are necessarily conjectural.

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