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A table of contents for the *Journal of Theological Studies* (old series) can be found here:

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pdfs are named: [Volume]_[1st page of article]

ἀγέν[ν]ητος to the Father exclusively (i. e. in the strict sense of ἀγέννητος), therefore the Son could not be called ἀγέν[ν]ητος (i. e. in the sense of ἀγέννητος). Athanasius refutes the argument, but (this is significant) not upon the ground of mis-spelling. The final decision upon the spelling of the early Arians will turn upon the question whether or no Athanasius treats the spelling of ἀγέν[ν]ητος as a matter of comparative indifference. My own conclusion is that he did so treat it, and that the opposite view involves unnecessary desertion of MS authority. But when Dr Robertson wrote the dictum quoted above, he was provisionally relying on the tenability of Lightfoot's theory that there always was a clear distinction preserved between the two senses and spellings of the word (see Robertson *Athanasius* p. 475 n. 5). In this I am convinced that Lightfoot was mistaken.

LEONARD PRESTIGE.

χειροτονία, χειροθεσία, ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν

(AND THE ACCOMPANYING VERBS).

I. *The Apostolic Constitutions and Canons.*

It is convenient to take this compilation, drawn up A. D. 350-375 in Syria, perhaps at Palestinian Caesarea, as the starting-point of the enquiry, since the words are of frequent occurrence in it, and the usage of the writer is regular and consistent and is quite certainly his own and not simply that of the documents which underlie his work. Both the *Didaschalia*, the basis of the first six books, and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, the basis of the eighth book, have in this respect, as will be shewn in the next section, a different vocabulary.

χειροτονεῖν χειροτονία are used

(a) generally, of ordaining in the wider sense of any formal appointment. By God or Christ; of secular rulers 7. 16 τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία, 5. 20. 11 τοῦτον [Xt.] Δαυὶλ λέγει . . . συντρίβοντα πολυαρχίαν τοπαρχιῶν . . . καὶ χειροτονοῦντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων μοναρχίαν: of O. T. priesthood 2. 27. 5 βλάβδος βλαστήσασα τὸν ὑπὸ θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντα ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν. By the devil, of an unworthy Christian, 2. 43. 3, causing scandal ὡς ἂν κεχειροτονημένος [but the reading varies with καὶ χειρονοημένος] ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου σκυβαλίξεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. By pagans, of their priesthoods, 3. 9. 3 τοῦτο τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀθεότητος τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν.¹

¹ χειροτονεῖν is quite regularly used of the Emperors 'appointing' colleagues: Socrates *H. E.* 1. 38 *ad fin.*, Philostorgius 3. 25, 4. 1. 4, 2, 9, 17. But also quite generally whether of God's appointment, Chrysostom *de Sacerdotio* 4 (403 E) τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονοῦντος, Serapion *Sacramentary* 14 ὁ κατὰ γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν ἐπισκόπους

(δ) technically, in the Church, of ordaining to the major orders by the bishop's imposition of hands. 3. 20. 1 (cf. *Can. Ap.* 1) ἐπίσκοπον προστάσσομεν χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τριῶν ἐπισκόπων ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἑλαττον ὑπὸ δύο. 2. 2. 3 τὴν χειροτονίαν λαμβάνων represents 'cum manus impositionis acceptit' of *Didasc-lat.* In the eighth book, with distinction of the orders which do and which do not receive χειροτονία, 8. 16. 2 πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, 17. 1 περὶ χειροτονίας διακόνων, 21. 2 ὑποδιάκονον χειροτονῶν, 23. 2 ὁμολογητῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται . . . ἐὰν δὲ χρεῖα αὐτοῦ ἦ εἰς ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον, χειροτονεῖται. 24. 2, 25. 2, 26. 2 παρθένος . . . χήρα . . . ἐπορκιστῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται. The boundary is clear: the major orders of bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, receive χειροτονία, the rest do not.

ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν (ἐπιτιθέναι χεῖρας) is not an equivalent of χειροτονία (χειροτονεῖν), but is related to it as the 'matter' or visible sign of the sacrament of which χειροτονία—εὐχῆ καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσει 8. 46. 9¹—is the whole. 8. 16. 2 πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει αὐτὸς . . . καὶ εὐχόμενος λέγε . . ., and similarly for deacon and subdeacon. But while χειροτονία is only used of these orders, hands are laid also on deaconesses 8. 19. 2, and on readers 8. 22. 2. And following the language of Acts 8^{17, 18}, though only in direct references to that passage, ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν is used of confirmation, 2. 41. 2, 6. 7. 3. In fact the phrase denotes simply the act of laying on of hands, and derives its particular meaning from its context.

χειροθεσία, on the other hand, though etymologically it is only a variation of ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν, is used in a strictly technical sense by the writer of the *Constitutions*, and is so far from being either an equivalent or an element of χειροτονία that it is sharply contrasted with it. 8. 28. 3 πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ: 8. 28. 2 ἐπίσκοπος χειροθετεῖ χειροτονεῖ (the best MS has χειροτονεῖ οὐ χειροθετεῖ, but cf. Ps. Ignatius *Heron.* 3, bishops βαπτίζουσιν, ἱεουργοῦσιν, χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν).

Thus while to the author of the *Constitutions* χειροτονία exactly = 'ordination', χειροθεσία is exclusive of ordination. Further it is distinguished on the one side from the Eucharist and Baptism, and on the other from any benediction which did not include laying on of hands, 3. 10. 1 θουσίαν ἢ βάπτισμα ἢ χειροθεσίαν ἢ εὐλογίαν.

χειροτονῶν: or man's, *Ep. Clem. ad Iac.* 2 ἵνα περὶ παντὸς οὐ ἂν χειροτονήσῃ [Clement] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδογματισμένον ἐν οὐρανοῖς: or circumstances', *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 22. 6 χειροτονεῖ βράδιος ἡμῖν πολλοὺς μὲν ἅγιος πολλοὺς δ' ἄθεός παρὰ τὸ εἶκος ὁ καιρός. Later (from unconscious emphasis on χεῖρ?) it is almost equivalent to 'make': Gregory of Antioch (s. vi) *Serm.* 2. 2 γεννηθεῖς οὐ κτισθεῖς οὐ χειροτονηθεῖς, ἰδ. 5 μὴ χειροτονήσητε δύο μονογενεῖς τὸν ἕνα μονογενῆ (M 88. 1872 c, 1877 b). But I confine myself in the text to ecclesiastical usage.

¹ So in the same words Eus. *H. E.* 2. 1. 1, of the Seven in the Acts, καθίστανται δι' εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως, summed two or three lines further on as τῇ χειροτονίᾳ.

II. *The documents which underlie the Apostolic Constitutions.*

The *Didascalia*, the late third-century groundwork of *Const. Ap.* Books I–VI, may be dismissed very briefly, since being extant only in Syriac and (partially) in Latin, it preserves no certain evidence of its Greek vocabulary. Moreover, the author of the *Constitutions*, who was a writer of a hierarchical turn of mind, uses the phraseology of *χειροτονία χειροθεσία* much more frequently than his groundwork had done. Only in one case, in fact, does the *Didascalia* provide a parallel with any *χειροτονία* of the *Constitutions*, 2. 2. 3: and its phrase there is rendered in the same way as its more numerous parallels with the *χειροθεσία* group (2. 18. 7, 2. 32. 3, 2. 41. 2, 3. 16. 3), ‘manus inpositionis’.

Of the *Church Order*, or Ἀποστολική παράδοσις, of Hippolytus no part is preserved in the Greek, as such, though the versions shew us what parts of it are reproduced in Book VIII of the *Constitutions*, and so we can often be reasonably certain even of the actual words of the original. If we find in the Latin version—unfortunately only extant for part of the section on Orders—‘episcopus **ordinetur**’ ‘et qui **ordinatur** episcopus’ ‘cum autem presbyter **ordinatur** inponat manum super caput eius episcopus’ (ed. Hauler 103. 14, 25, 108. 20), and in the corresponding places in the *Constitutions* ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς, πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει (*Didasc. et Const. Ap.* ed. Funk, 472. 4, 26, 522. 2), we need not doubt that *χειροτονεῖν* had been used in these passages by Hippolytus. But the Latin is defective for all orders in the ministry after deacon. Fortunately, however, in the case of the Reader, the author of the *Epitome* or *Constitutiones per Hippolytum* (Funk ii p. 82), who had both Hippolytus and the *Apostolic Constitutions* before him, deserted the latter for the former,¹ and wrote ἀναγνώστης καθίσταται, ἐπιδόντος αὐτῷ βιβλίον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· οὐδὲ γὰρ χειροθετεῖται.² As he did not derive καθίσταται from *Const. Ap.*, it may be presumed to come direct from Hippolytus, and then Hippolytus too, like *Const. Ap.*, avoided *χειροτονεῖν* when he did not mean sacramental ordination, and used a more general term. But there is no indication that Hippolytus contrasted *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία* as is done in *Const. Ap.*: indeed this passage from the *Epitome*, if taken as I suppose straight from Hippolytus, rules out that possibility, since

¹ See Dom Connolly *Egyptian Church Order* (Texts and Studies viii 4) pp. 46–50.

² Note by contrast with Hippolytus, who refuses the Reader *χειροθεσία*, and *Const. Ap.*, which allows him *χειροθεσία* but not *χειροτονία*, that Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 38 (116. 15) speaks of a man who ἀναγνώστης κεχειροτόνηται παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείων.

χειροθετεῖν is here used, as it never is in *Const. Ap.*, in reference to the laying on of hands for major orders.

III. *Between Hippolytus and the Apostolic Constitutions.*

There is really no doubt of the meaning of *χειροτονέω*, *χειροτονία*. They are never used in connexion with any other ecclesiastical rite than ordination—neither of confirmation, nor of the reconciliation of penitent or heretic: that is to say, they never mean simply ‘laying on of hands’. There is always in the background the sense of appointment as well. Whether we can go on to say that the original sense of *χειροτονεῖν* ‘to appoint by shew of hands’ ‘to elect’ is further latent in the word, I should not like to affirm, though I am inclined to think that the word would not have come into such regular technical use in the Church if it had not been helped at one end by this sense of ‘election’—we do not generally realize how large a part fell to the choice of the laity in the appointment even of presbyters and deacons during the early ages of the Church—and perhaps at the other end by the close parallelism in form of *χειροτονία* with *χειροθεσία*, to ‘stretch out’ and to ‘lay on’ the hand.

When St Paul writes of the brother whose praise is in the Gospel as *χειροτονηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, I do not see why we should not translate, in accordance with classical usage, ‘elected by the churches’. That of course was a matter of a temporary mission. But when Eusebius writes of the choice of Fabian to succeed pope Anteros, *H. E.* 6. 29. 3 *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἕνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν συγκεκροτημένων . . . ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὼν οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦει . . .* I should certainly suppose that the idea of ‘election’ is not obscurely present to the writer’s mind.¹

Under the term *χειροτονία* are included in fact the whole of the conditions which constitute a regular ordination, and of those the two

¹ The Greek canonists of the Middle Ages, Zonaras and Balsamon, writing I suppose under the influence partly of the ecclesiastical conditions of their own day, partly of the vocabulary of classical Greek as known to them through the Lexicographers—e.g. Hesychius *χειροτονεῖν* καθιστᾶν ψηφίζεω—interpreted *χειροτονία*, wherever they could (sometimes, as in *Can. Ap.* 1, 2, it was impossible), of the election or appointment of a new bishop by the comprovincial bishops or metropolitan. So Conc. Nic. 4, three bishops at least must meet, the rest must agree and the metropolitan approve, and only so *τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιέσθαι*: Conc. Antioch. 19 *ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει*: Conc. Laod. 5 *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκρωμένων γίνεσθαι*: Conc. Carth. 419 (Greek version) 13 *πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι συναχθέντες ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονήσουσιν, εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη γένηται τρεῖς ἐπίσκοποι*. The Canonists are wrong: in all these cases the reference is quite certainly to consecration—not no doubt simply to the laying on of hands, but to the whole rite.

most important were the election by the people and the laying on of hands by the bishops. Sometimes the people's share may be the prominent thought—the man 'ordained' was the real choice of the local church: much more often the emphasis is on the rite by which the gift of the Spirit is invoked with the laying on of hands. When pope Cornelius speaks (ap. Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 10) of 'having appointed successors [to two of the consecrators of Novatian] and dispatched them to the places to which the consecrators had belonged', **χειροτονήσαντες ἀπεστάλακμεν**, the local churches were not, it would seem, consulted: and when he says (*ib.* 43. 17) that Novatian was ordained priest against the protest of the whole clergy and many of the lay people, the then pope requesting that it might be allowed him **τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι**, he was obviously thinking of nothing but the bishop's part in the business. And, generally, in the numerous references where **χειροτονία** is treated as the bishop's act, it is primarily (and sometimes even exclusively) the rite of ordination that is intended.

So in Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 12 τὰς τῶν πολλῶν [*sc.* bishops] **φιλαρχίας ἀκρίτους τε καὶ ἐκθέσμους χειροτονίας**. Conc. Nic. 16 εἰ δὲ τολμήσειε τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἑτέρῳ διαφέροντα καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Basil, *ep.* 53. 1 (147 B, D), lets himself go against certain chorepiscopi for daring **παρὰ τῶν χειροτονομένων λαμβάνειν χρήματα**: their excuse was **μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, τῷ μὴ προλαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν λαμβάνειν**. So in *ep.* 138. 2 (230 B) τὰς ὑπερορίους **χειροτονίας**. So in *ep.* 188. 1 (270 B) **χειροτονεῖν** is equated with the bestowal of the Holy Spirit οὗτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἶχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι δυνάμενοι χάριν πνεύματος ἁγίου ἑτέροις παρέχειν ἢς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκασι. So in Chrysostom *Hom. in Act.* xiv (114 B) it is contrasted with election, τὸ μὲν ὀρίσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ χειροτονῆσαι αὐτῶν [the Apostles] ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐλέσθαι ἐκείνοις [the people] ἐπιτρέπουσι. So Theodore of Mopsuestia on 1 Tim. 3⁸ (Swete ii 121, 124) οἱ τὴν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, οἱ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενοι ἐπίσκοποι: on 3¹⁵ οὐδὲ νεόμισται αὐτοὺς [subdeacons and readers] πρὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὴν χειροτονίαν δέχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ αὐτῷ ὑπηρετοῦνται τῷ μυστηρίῳ: on 4¹⁴ (μετ' ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου) τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι προβολαῖς τὸ μὴ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλειόνων τὰς τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χειροτονίας πληροῦσθαι. And Palladius *de vita Chrysostomi* 5 **χειροτονεῖται διάκονος διὰ τοῦ Μελετίου**.

In the period then between A. D. 200 and 400 (450) the meaning and context of **χειροτονία** are fairly clear, and a review of some instances where it occurs in the same context with **χειροθεσία** or **χειρῶν ἐπίθεσις** will throw further light on the shades of difference between them.

Origen's ordination to the presbyterate; Eusebius *H. E.* 6. 19. 16, the Palestinian bishops asked him to expound Scripture in church at Caesarea **καίπερ τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα**, but

later on they ordained him presbyter there, 6: 23. 4 *πρεσβείου χειροθεσίαν ἀναλαμβάνει*. Here, while the words are practically interchangeable, the verb *ἀναλαμβάνειν* suggests emphasis on the act, just as *δέχσθαι* does in Chalcedon canon 15 *διάκονον [sc. deaconess] μὴ χειροτονείσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν μ' . . . εἰ δέ γε δεξαμένη τὴν χειροθεσίαν . . .* In Neocaesarea can. 9 the emphasis on the act is still more marked; *πρεσβύτερος ἂν . . . ὁμολογήσῃ ὅτι ἤμαρτεν πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας, μὴ προσφερέτω . . . τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἔφασαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν χειροθεσίαν ἀφίαναι*. In Nicaea can. 19 *χειροτονία* is the whole, *χειροθεσία* the part: Paulianist clergy *ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν*, their deaconesses, *ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν*, are necessarily among the laity. In Antioch can. 22 the distinction seems to be similarly between the whole proceeding and its crucial act, *ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει . . . ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ τινὸς . . . εἰ δὲ τολμήσειεν τις τοιοῦτο ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν χειροθεσίαν*. In Epiphanius *Haer.* 75. 3, 4 *χειροθετεῖ, φησὶν [sc. Aerius], ἐπίσκοπος, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος* (perhaps intentionally confusing *χειροθετεῖν* and *χειροτονεῖν*): Epiphanius answers *καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτερον καθιστᾶν, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν*; i. e. apparently without having received an imposition of hands conferring power to ordain.

Finally we come to the Nicene prescriptions concerning the reception of Meletian and Novatianist schismatics: and, once we have grasped the conclusion to which the whole of the evidence here collected seems to point—namely that the distinction between *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία* (so far as they are not used interchangeably, *χειροθεσία* being the most important element in *χειροτονία*) is that the former is the whole process of which the latter is one, though the most essential, part—the interpretation of our documents becomes a simple matter. The Meletians are dealt with in the letter preserved by Socrates *H. E.* 1. 9 *ἐλείπετο τὸ κατὰ τὴν προπέθειαν Μελιτίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων . . . ἔδοξεν οὖν Μελιτίου μὲν . . . μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν μήτε χειροθετεῖν μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι . . . τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας μυστικωτέρα χειροτονία βεβαιωθέντας . . . ἔχειν . . . τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν*. The orders of Meletius, consecrated a bishop within the Church, were by special act of grace so far recognized, that he was to retain the name of bishop but neither to put forward candidates for ordination nor to ordain them. The bishops consecrated by him outside the Church, on the other hand, were no bishops at all and required to be made valid by 'a more sacramental ordination'; but, their fault being less than his, they were allowed on re-ordination to act up to a certain point as bishops. Like Meletius they might not choose the ordinands (*προχειρίζεσθαι*); unlike him, they are not deprived of the power of *χειροθεσία*. The case of the Novatians, decided in can. 8, was similar: *ἔδοξε . . . χειροθετου-*

μένους αὐτοὺς μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ . . . ἔνθα μὲν οὖν . . . αὐτοὶ μόνοι εὐρίσκοντο χειροτονηθέντες, οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι. If Novatianist clergy came over to the Church, they were regarded as having a claim for ordination, that is to say, all the preliminary parts of the process of χειροτονία, the προχείρισις of the bishops, the choice of the people, were waived: but the actual ordination, the χειροθεσία, was required. Even so, though they were now regularly in the *clerus*, they did not necessarily act in their old position. An ex-Novatianist bishop would only act as bishop if there were no Catholic bishop in the place. If there were, the convert bishop would be 'honorary bishop' or chorepiscopus or presbyter, as the real bishop might decide. This is the interpretation put on the canon by Theophilus of Alexandria in his canons (Beveridge *Synodicon* ii 174) χειροτονεῖσθαι τοὺς προσερχομένους: by most of the Latin versions (one or two are so literal as to be ambiguous, and one takes the other view¹): and, as I now believe, by Ps.-Justin *Quaest. et resp. ad orthodoxos* 14 τοῦ αἰρετικοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐρχομένου τὸ σφάλμα διορθοῦται . . . τῆς χειροτονίας τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ.

So far all citations of χειροθεσία or its cognates, outside those from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, are connected with the laying on of hands in Ordination. Clearly the usage of the *Constitutions*, by which χειροθετέω and χειροτονέω are mutually exclusive, the former being strictly confined to other rites than Ordination, is an idiosyncrasy of the compiler, an attempt, by introducing a conventional distinction, to give a new precision to the terminology of the Church. The distinction is unknown to the Canons of the Councils, as quoted above, from Neocaesarea and Nicaea to Chalcedon: it is equally unknown to St Basil, *ep.* 217 (= *ep. canonica* iii) 51 (325 C), εἴτε ἐν βαθμῷ τυγχάνοιεν εἴτε καὶ ἀχειροθέτῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ προσκαρτεροῖεν, where ἀχειροθέτος implies that the higher grades of the ministry received that χειροθεσία which the lower offices did not.

Nevertheless, as χειροτονία meant the whole process and χειροθεσία (χείρας ἐπιθέσθαι) only an element in it, an element common to many other rites (see below), it was usual to add some word to make the reference of χειροθεσία to ordination clear. So Cornelius ap. Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 17 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρα εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλήρον: Eusebius *H. E.* 7. 32. 21 τούτῳ . . . Θεόσκοπος χείρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιθέθει: Conc. Antioch. 10 εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἰεν ἐπισκόπων

¹ The recalcitrant version is that of Caecilian of Carthage 'inpositis manibus reconciliationis'. But if Caecilian brought the canons with him from Nicaea in Greek and they were only rendered into Latin in 418, we should expect the influence of the Augustinian view of schismatical orders to be at work in the rendering.

[as bishops] εὐληφότες: Epiphanius *Haer.* 27. 6. 4 Clement εἴτ' οὖν . . . ὑπὸ Πέτρου λαμβάνει τὴν χειροθεσίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς: Serapion *Sacramentary* 12, 13, 14 χειροθεσία καταστάσεως διακόνων . . . πρεσβυτέρων . . . ἐπισκόπων: Philostorgius 2. 11 διότι μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνάσχοιτο [Athanasius] τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν χειροθεσίαν ὑποστῆναι: *Vita Polycarpi per Pionium* 21, 22 (very interesting evidence of late fourth-century usage as to election and consecration of a bishop) οἱ οὖν διάκονοι προσήγαγον πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων . . . χειροθεσίαν.

But χειροθεσία (χειροθετεῖν, χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι) is also used of any rite in which the laying on of hands in benediction takes place:

(a) of catechumens. (Hippolytus *Church Order* [Ethiopic, Stat. 34, ed. Horner, pp. 151, 379] 'they shall lay hand upon them every day'): *Clementine Homilies* 3. 73 ὅσοι ποτὲ βαπτισθῆναι θέλετε . . . καθ' ἡμέραν χειροθετεῖσθε: Eusebius *V. C.* 4. 61 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ . . . ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν ἤξιοῦτο: Serapion *Sacramentary* 28 tit. Χειροθεσία κατηχομένων.

(b) of the confirmation of the baptized. Hippolytus (Hauler 111. 19) 'Episcopus manum illis inponens inuocet dicens . . . postea oleum sanctificatum infundens de manu et inponens in capite dicat . . .': Ath. *ad Serapionem* 1. 6 διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ἀναγεννωμένοις τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον: *Const. Ap.* 2. 32. 3 ἐν τῷ φωτισμῷ ἡμῶν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χειροθεσίᾳ, 3. 16. 3 μόνον ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς χρίσει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, 7. 44. 2: Ammonius Alex. *in Act.* III 85. 1536 A τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν βαπτισθέντων χειροθεσίας. of *Gnostic baptism*: Clem. Al. *Exc. ex Theod.* 22. 5 καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους "Εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν", ἢ ἡ βεβαπτισμένος . . .

(c) of the congregation at the Eucharist. *Acta Ioannis* 46 μετὰ τὴν ὄμιλιαν . . . καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν συνεδρευόντων: Serapion 3 μετὰ τὸ διαδοῦναι τὴν κλάσιν τοῖς κληρικοῖς χειροθεσία λαοῦ.¹

(d) of the reconciliation of penitents or heretics. Dionysius Alex. ap. Eus. *H. E.* 7. 2 τοὺς ἐξ οἴας δ' οὖν αἰρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας . . . ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μόνῃ χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῇ. *Const. Ap.* 2. 18. 7 προσκλαύσαντα . . . χειροθετήσας ἕα λοιπὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ, 2. 41. 2 τοῦτον χειροθετήσας . . . ἔσται αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ λούσματος ἡ χειροθεσία (both

¹ One might doubt whether here and in *Const. Ap.* 8. 37, 39 χειροθεσία means more than just a prayer of benediction with the hand outstretched: and similarly with the χειροθεσία νοσοῦντων and χ. λαοῦ in the rubrics of Serapion's *Sacramentary*. At Jerusalem indeed the lady pilgrim tells us that, after the deacons' summons to bow the head (cf. κλίνατε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ *Const. Ap.* 8. 37. 4), 'benedicet fideles episcopus et sic fit missa . . . et incipient episcopo ad manum accedere singuli' (Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien*³ p. 493): but even there the actual imposition was at a later point than the liturgical χειροθεσία.

passages come from *Didascalia*). Conc. Carth. 419 can. 43 εἰ . . . τεθρυλλημένον ἐστὶν τὸ ἔγκλημα . . . πρὸ τῆς ἀψίδος τοῦτω ἡ χεὶρ ἐπιτεθῆ, can. 57 ἀναθεματιζομένου τοῦ τῆς πλάνης ὀνόματος διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς χειρὸς ἀναδεχθῶσιν εἰς τὴν μίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

(e) of healing the sick. Irenaeus ap. Eus. *H. E.* 5. 7. 4 ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κáμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰώνται. Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 12 (35. 1) Βενιαμὶν . . . κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ἰαμάτων ὡς πάντα ᾧ ἂν χεῖρα ἐπιτίθει ἢ ἔλαιον εὐλογήσας ἐδίδου πάσης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἀρρωστίας. 'Euthalius' in *Act.* 28⁸ τὸν πατέρα Πουπλίου χειροθετήσας ἰάσατο. And Serapion 30 is entitled χειροθεσία νοσοῦντων (see p. 31 n. 1). See below under χεῖρ.

(f) in later writers, of the priest laying his hand on the Eucharist. Sophronius Hierosol. *Orat.* M 87. 3. 4004 A ὁ ἄκτιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλάσματος βουλή χειροθετεῖται.

(g) generally, of any blessing with laying on of hands. Clem. *Al. Paed.* 1. 5 (12. 3) προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ, φησί, παιδιά εἰς χειροθεσίαν εὐλογίας.

A by-form of χειροθεσία is χειρεπιθεσία, of which I know no other instance than pope Cornelius' statement about Novatian, ap. Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 9 μετὰ βίας ἠνάγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τιμῇ καὶ ματαίᾳ χειρεπιθεσίᾳ ἐπισκοπῆν αὐτῷ δοῦναι. I suspect that, to mark the abnormal character of the proceeding, the ordinary word is purposely avoided: more certainly that motive underlies St Basil's language in *ep.* 240. 3 (370 c) μὴ προληφθῆναι τινα εἰς κοινωνίαν, μηδὲ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιβολῆν [for ἐπίθεσιν] δεξαμένους.

For χεῖρ = 'laying on of hand' see Basil *ep.* 122 ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Φαῶστον ἰδίᾳ αὐθεντίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν [the church of Satala] ἀναμείνας ψῆφον. Conc. Laod. can. 19 τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ . . . προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων. Athanasius *Ep. Encycl.* 5 οἱ λαοὶ . . . αἰροῦνται μᾶλλον νοσεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἢ χεῖρα τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν. *Episc. Aegyptt.* ap. Ath. c. *Arianos* 12 ὅτι Κόλλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησε καὶ πᾶσα χεῖρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος . . . δῆλον. Cf. Serapion 3, 13, 28 τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνωμεν (ἐκτείνω τὴν χεῖρα) ἐπὶ . . .

In Serapion's prayers the visible hand of the bishop symbolizes the unseen 'hand' of God or Christ, τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ζῶσαν (28), ἡ ζῶσα καὶ καθαρὰ χεῖρ, ἡ χεῖρ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς (29), τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας χεῖρα (3), χεῖρ εὐλαβείας καὶ δυνάμεως (3) . . . : just as in Christian art the hand in the sky is a frequent symbol of the Father. So Chrysostom *Hom. in Act.* 14 (114 c) τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ χειροτονία ἐστίν· ἡ χεῖρ ἐπίκειται τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς ἐργάζεται καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ χεῖρ ἐστίν ἡ ἀπτόμενη τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου, ἐὰν ὡς δεῖ χειροτονῆται.