

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 100

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 100

Church Orders, the Early Councils and the Apostolic
Constitutions I–IV

c. AD 215 – 475

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 100: Church Orders, the Early Councils and the Apostolic Constitutions I–IV

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundredth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. The first volumes of the series follow the writers in order of date; this volume belongs to the later part of the series, which gathers the church orders and the decisions of the early councils, which do not belong to any one author. This volume holds the earliest church orders, the canons of the councils from Ancyra in AD 314 to Laodicea, and the first four books of the Apostolic Constitutions.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. All the works in this volume are printed in older public-domain translations. The Didascalia, the Testament of Our Lord and Maclean's handbook were read by machine from scans and have not been proofread against the printed books, so a misreading may remain. Greek words that the editors of the councils quote in their notes are given in Latin letters.

In this volume

The church orders are handbooks of rules and prayers for the life of a local church: how a bishop is chosen and ordained, how converts are baptized, how the Eucharist is celebrated, what the widows and the deacons are to do. This volume prints the Apostolic Tradition, which is attributed to Hippolytus of

Rome, the Didascalia Apostolorum, the Testament of Our Lord, and Arthur Maclean's handbook that explains how the orders are related to one another.

The second part of the volume gathers the canons and decrees of the councils of the fourth century, from the council of Ancyra in AD 314 to the council of Laodicea: Ancyra and Neocaesarea, the first ecumenical council at Nicaea, Gangra, Antioch, Sardica and Laodicea. The councils are printed in the translations of the nineteenth-century series, with the ancient epitomes of the canons and the notes of the editors. The volume closes with the first four books of the Apostolic Constitutions, the large collection of church law and worship that was put together in Syria about AD 380 and that rewrites the Didascalia and the other earlier orders.

Dates and authorship

The dates of the councils are those given in the sources. The dates of the church orders and of the Apostolic Constitutions are approximate and are debated by scholars. Each work begins with a short introduction that says what is known and what is uncertain.

PART ONE

The Early Church Orders

Rules for the life and worship of the church, from the Apostolic Tradition to the Testament of Our Lord, with Maclean's handbook on them.

The Apostolic Tradition (Easton translation)

ATTRIBUTED TO HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME

c. AD 215

The earliest church order that gives a eucharistic prayer in full, and the oldest known prayers for ordaining a bishop, a presbyter and a deacon, the order of baptism, and the Christian's hours of prayer. It is traditionally ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome and dated about AD 215, though scholars now debate who wrote it, where, and whether it is one man's work. The Greek original is lost. Easton's English, made in 1934, is a composite from the Latin translation of the Verona palimpsest (about AD 500), the Sahidic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions, and the parallel passages in the later church orders.

INTRODUCTION

§1. Introduction: from the gifts to the tradition

1We have duly completed what needed to be said about "Gifts", describing those gifts which God by His own counsel has bestowed on men, in offering to Himself His image which had gone astray. 2But now, moved by His love to all His saints, we pass on to our most important theme, "The Tradition", our teacher. 3And we address the churches, so that they who have been well trained, may, by our instruction, hold fast that tradition which has continued up to now and, knowing it well, may be strengthened. 4This is needful, because of that lapse or error which recently occurred through ignorance, and because of ignorant men. 5And [the] Holy Spirit will supply perfect grace to those who believe aright, that they may know how all things should be transmitted and kept by them who rule the church.

PART I: THE ORDINATION OF THE CLERGY, WITH THE BISHOP'S
OFFERING AND THANKSGIVING

§2. The choosing and laying on of hands of a bishop

1Let the bishop be ordained after he has been chosen by all the people. 2When he has been named and shall please all, let him, with the presbytery and such bishops as may be present, assemble with the people on a Sunday. 3While all give their consent, the bishops shall lay their hands upon him, and the presbytery shall stand by in silence. 4All indeed shall keep silent, praying in their heart for the descent of the Spirit. 5Then one of the bishops who are present shall, at the request of all, lay his hand on him who is ordained bishop, and shall pray as follows, saying:

§3. The prayer of ordination of a bishop

1God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who dwellest on high yet hast respect to the lowly, who knowest all things before they come to pass. 2Thou hast appointed the borders of thy church by the word of thy grace, predestinating from the beginning the righteous race of Abraham. 3And making them princes and priests, and leaving not thy sanctuary without a ministry, thou hast from the beginning of the world been well pleased to be glorified among those whom thou hast chosen. 4Pour forth now that power, which is thine, of thy royal Spirit, which LAThou gavest to thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ, which he bestowed on his holy apostles, who established the church in every place, the church which thou hast sanctified unto unceasing glory and praise of thy name. 5Thou who knowest the hearts of all, grant to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to be bishop, [to feed thy holy flock] and to serve as thy high priest without blame, ministering night and day, to propitiate thy countenance without ceasing and to offer thee the gifts of thy holy church. 6And by the Spirit of high-priesthood to have authority to remit sins according to thy commandment, to assign the lots according to thy precept, to loose every bond according to the authority which thou gavest to thy apostles, and to please thee in meekness and purity of heart, offering to thee an odour of sweet savour. 7Through thy Servant Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, might, honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in [the] holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.

§4. The offering and the thanksgiving over it (the eucharistic prayer)

41And when he is made bishop, all shall offer him the kiss of peace, for he has been made worthy. 2To him then the deacons shall bring the offering, and he, laying his hand upon it, with all the presbytery, shall say as the thanksgiving:3The Lord be with you.And all shall sayAnd with thy spirit.Lift up your hearts.We lift them up unto the Lord.Let us give thanks to the Lord.It is meet and right.And then he shall proceed immediately:4We give thee thanks, O God, through thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ, whom at the end of time thou didst send to us a Saviour and Redeemer and the Messenger of thy counsel. 5Who is thy Word, inseparable from thee; through whom thou didst make all things and in whom thou art well pleased. 6Whom thou didst send from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, and who, dwelling within her, was made flesh, and was manifested as thy Son, being born of [the] Holy Spirit and the Virgin. 7Who, fulfilling thy will, and winning for himself a holy people, spread out his hands when he came to suffer, that by his death he might set free them who believed on thee. 8Who, when he was betrayed to his willing death, that he might bring to nought death, and break the bonds of the devil, and tread hell under foot, and give light to the righteous, and set up a boundary post, and manifest his resurrection, taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: 9Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you. 10As often as ye perform this, perform my memorial.11Having in memory, therefore, his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup, yielding thee thanks, because thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and to minister to thee.12And we pray thee that thou wouldest send thy Holy Spirit upon the offerings of thy holy church; that thou, gathering them into one, wouldest grant to all thy saints who partake to be filled with [the] Holy Spirit, that their faith may be confirmed in truth, that we may praise and glorify thee. 13Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.

§5. Thanksgiving over oil

51If anyone offers oil, he shall give thanks as at the offering of the bread and wine, though not with the same words but in the same general manner, saying:2That sanctifying this oil, O God, wherewith thou didst anoint kings,

priests and prophets, thou wouldest grant health to them who use it and partake of it, so that it may bestow comfort on all who taste it and health on all who use it.

§6. Thanksgiving over cheese and olives

¶1Likewise, if anyone offers cheese and olives, let him say thus:2Sanctify this milk that has been united into one mass, and unite us to thy love. 3Let thy loving kindness ever rest upon this fruit of the olive, which is a type of thy bounty, which thou didst cause to flow from the tree unto life for them who hope on thee.4But at every blessing shall be said:Glory be to thee, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. [Amen.]

§8. The ordination of a presbyter

¶1But when a presbyter is ordained, the bishop shall lay his hand upon his head, while the presbyters touch him, and he shall say according to those things that were said above, as we have prescribed above concerning the bishop, praying and saying:2God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look upon this thy servant, and grant to him the Spirit of grace and counsel of a presbyter, that he may sustain and govern thy people with a pure heart; 3as thou didst look upon thy chosen people and didst command Moses that he should choose presbyters, whom thou didst fill with thy Spirit, which thou gavest to thy servant. 4And now, O Lord, grant that there may be unfailingly preserved amongst us the Spirit of thy grace, and make us worthy that, believing, we may minister to thee in simplicity of heart, praising thee. 5Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.

§9. The ordination of a deacon

¶1But the deacon, when he is ordained, is chosen according to those things that were said above, the bishop alone in like manner laying his hands upon him, as we have prescribed. 2When the deacon is ordained, this is the reason why the bishop alone shall lay his hands upon him: he is not ordained to the priesthood but to serve the bishop and to carry out the bishop's commands. 3He does not take part in the council of the clergy; he is to attend to his own duties and to make known to the bishop such things as are needful. 4He does not receive that Spirit that is possessed by the presbytery, in which the pres-

byters share; he receives only what is confided in him under the bishop's authority.⁵For this cause the bishop alone shall make a deacon. ⁶But on a presbyter, however, the presbyters shall lay their hands because of the common and like Spirit of the clergy. ⁷Yet the presbyter has only the power to receive; but he has no power to give. ⁸For this reason a presbyter does not ordain the clergy; but at the ordination of a presbyter he seals while the bishop ordains. ⁹Over a deacon, then, he shall say as follows:¹⁰ O God, who hast created all things and hast ordered them by thy Word, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom thou didst send to minister thy will and to manifest to us thy desire; ¹¹grant [the] Holy Spirit of grace and care and diligence to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to serve the church and to offer in thy holy sanctuary the gifts that are offered to thee by thine appointed high priests, so that serving without blame and with a pure heart he may be counted worthy of this exalted office, by thy goodwill, praising thee continually. ¹²Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit, in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.

§10. Confessors; the freedom of the bishop's words

¹⁰ ¹On a confessor, if he has been in bonds for the name of the Lord, hands shall not be laid for the diaconate or the presbyterate, for he has the honour of the presbyterate by his confession. But if he is to be ordained bishop, hands shall be laid upon him.²But if he is a confessor who was not brought before the authorities nor was punished with bonds nor was shut up in prison, but was insulted (?) casually or privately for the name of the Lord, even though he confessed, hands are to be laid upon him for every office of which he is worthy.³The bishop shall give thanks [in all ordinations] as we have prescribed. ⁴It is not, to be sure, necessary for anyone to recite the exact words that we have prescribed, by learning to say them by heart in his thanksgiving to God; but let each one pray according to his ability. ⁵If, indeed, he is able to pray competently with an elevated prayer, it is well. ⁶But even if he is only moderately able to pray and give praise, no one may forbid him; only let him pray sound in the faith.

§11. Widows

¹¹ ¹When a widow is appointed, she shall not be ordained but she shall be appointed by the name. ²If her husband has been long dead, she may be ap-

pointed [without delay]. 3But if her husband has died recently, she shall not be trusted; even if she is aged she must be tested by time, for often the passions grow old in those who yield to them.4The widow shall be appointed by the word alone, and [so] she shall be associated with the other widows; hands shall not be laid upon her because she does not offer the oblation nor has she a sacred ministry. 5Ordination is for the clergy on account of their ministry, but the widow is appointed for prayer, and prayer is the duty of all.

§12. The reader

121The reader is appointed by the bishop's giving him the book, for he is not ordained.

§13. Virgins

131Hands shall not be laid upon a virgin, for it is her purpose alone that makes her a virgin.

§14. The subdeacon

14Hands shall not be laid upon a subdeacon, but his name shall be mentioned that he may serve the deacon.

§15. The gift of healing

15If anyone says, "I have received the gift of healing", hands shall not be laid upon him: the deed shall make manifest if he speaks the truth.

PART II: THE ADMISSION OF CONVERTS, BAPTISM AND THE FIRST
COMMUNION

§16. The examination of new converts and of their trades

161New converts to the faith, who are to be admitted as hearers of the word, shall first be brought to the teachers before the people assemble. 2And they shall be examined as to their reason for embracing the faith, and they who bring them shall testify that they are competent to hear the word. 3Inquiry shall then be made as to the nature of their life; whether a man has a wife or is a slave. 4If he is the slave of a believer and he has his master's permission, then let him be received; but if his master does not give him a good character, let him be rejected. 5If his master is a heathen, let the slave be taught to please his master, that the word be not blasphemed. 6If a man has a wife or a woman a husband, let the man be instructed to content himself with his wife and the woman to content herself with her husband. 7But if a man is unmarried, let him be instructed to abstain from impurity, either by law-

fully marrying a wife or else by remaining as he is. 8But if any man is possessed with demons, he shall not be admitted as a bearer until he is cleansed. 9Inquiry shall likewise be made about the professions and trades of those who are brought to be admitted to the faith. 10If a man is a pander, he must desist or be rejected. 11If a man is a sculptor or painter, he must be charged not to make idols; if he does not desist he must be rejected. 12If a man is an actor or pantomimist, he must desist or be rejected. 13A teacher of young children had best desist, but if he has no other occupation, he may be permitted to continue. 14A charioteer, likewise, who races or frequents races, must desist or be rejected. 15A gladiator or a trainer of gladiators, or a huntsman [in the wild-beast shows], or anyone connected with these shows, or a public official in charge of gladiatorial exhibitions must desist or be rejected. 16A heathen priest or anyone who tends idols must desist or be rejected. 17A soldier of the civil authority must be taught not to kill men and to refuse to do so if he is commanded, and to refuse to take an oath; if he is unwilling to comply, he must be rejected. 18A military commander or civic magistrate that wears the purple must resign or be rejected. 19If a catechumen or a believer seeks to become a soldier, they must be rejected, for they have despised God. 20A harlot or licentious man or one who has castrated himself, or any other who does things not to be named, must be rejected, for they are defiled. 21A magician must not [even] be brought for examination. 22An enchanter, an astrologer, a diviner, a soothsayer, a user of magic verses, a juggler, a mountebank, an amulet-maker must desist or be rejected. 23A concubine, who is a slave and has reared her children and has been faithful to her master alone, may become a hearer; but if she has failed in these matters she must be rejected. 24If a man has a concubine, he must desist and marry legally; if he is unwilling, he must be rejected. 25If, now, we have omitted anything (any trade?), the facts [as they occur] will instruct your mind; for we all have the Spirit of God.

§17. The length of the catechumenate

17 1Let catechumens spend three years as hearers of the word. 2But if a man is zealous and perseveres well in the work, it is not the time but his character that is decisive.

§18. The prayer of the catechumens

¹⁸1When the teacher finishes his instruction, the catechumens shall pray by themselves, apart from the believers. 2And [all] women, whether believers or catechumens, shall stand for their prayers by themselves in a separate part of the church.3And when [the catechumens] finish their prayers, they must not give the kiss of peace, for their kiss is not yet pure. 4Only believers shall salute one another, but men with men and women with women; a man shall not salute a woman.5And let all the women have their heads covered with an opaque cloth, not with a veil of thin linen, for this is not a true covering.

§19. The laying on of hands on catechumens

¹⁹1At the close of their prayer, when their instructor lays his hand upon the catechumens, he shall pray and dismiss them; whoever gives the instruction is to do this, whether a cleric or a layman.2If a catechumen should be arrested for the name of the Lord, let him not hesitate about bearing his testimony; for if it should happen that they treat him shamefully and kill him, he will be justified, for he has been baptized in his own blood.

§20. The choosing of the candidates for baptism

²⁰1They who are to be set apart for baptism shall be chosen after their lives have been examined: whether they have lived soberly, whether they have honoured the widows, whether they have visited the sick, whether they have been active in well-doing. 2When their sponsors have testified that they have done these things, then let them hear the Gospel. 3Then from the time that they are separated from the other catechumens, hands shall be laid upon them daily in exorcism and, as the day of their baptism draws near, the bishop himself shall exorcise each one of them that he may be personally assured of their purity. 4Then, if there is any of them who is not good or pure, he shall be put aside as not having heard the word in faith; for it is never possible for the alien to be concealed.5Then those who are set apart for baptism shall be instructed to bathe and free themselves from impurity and wash themselves on Thursday. 6If a woman is menstruous, she shall be set aside and baptized on some other day.7They who are to be baptized shall fast on Friday, and on Saturday the bishop shall assemble them and command them to kneel in prayer. 8And, laying his hand upon them, he shall exorcise all evil spirits to flee away and never to return; when he has done this he shall breathe in their faces, seal their foreheads, ears and noses, and then raise

them up. 9They shall spend all that night in vigil, listening to reading and instruction.10They who are to be baptized shall bring with them no other vessels than the one each will bring for the eucharist; for it is fitting that he who is counted worthy of baptism should bring his offering at that time.

§21. Baptism

211At cockcrow prayer shall be made over the water. 2The stream shall flow through the baptismal tank or pour into it from above when there is no scarcity of water; but if there is a scarcity, whether constant or sudden, then use whatever water you can find.3They shall remove their clothing. 4And first baptize the little ones; if they can speak for themselves, they shall do so; if not, their parents or other relatives shall speak for them. 5Then baptize the men, and last of all the women; they must first loosen their hair and put aside any gold or silver ornaments that they were wearing; let no one take any alien thing down to the water with them.6At the hour set for the baptism the bishop shall give thanks over oil and put it into a vessel: this is called the “oil of thanksgiving”. 7And he shall take other oil and exorcise it: this is called “the oil of exorcism”. [The anointing is performed by a presbyter.] 8A deacon shall bring the oil of exorcism, and shall stand at the presbyter’s left hand; and another deacon shall take the oil of thanksgiving, and shall stand at the presbyter’s right hand. 9Then the presbyter, taking hold of each of those about to be baptized, shall command him to renounce, saying:I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy servants and all thy works.10And when he has renounced all these, the presbyter shall anoint him with the oil of exorcism, saying:Let all spirits depart far from thee.11Then, after these things, let him give him over to the presbyter who baptizes, and let the candidates stand in the water, naked, a deacon going with them likewise. 12And when he who is being baptized goes down into the water, he who baptizes him, putting his hand on him, shall say thus:Dost thou believe in God, the Father Almighty?13And he who is being baptized shall say:I believe.14Then holding his hand placed on his head, he shall baptize him once. 15And then he shall say:Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was dead and buried, and rose again the third day, alive from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick and the dead? 16And when he says:I believe,he is baptized again. 17And again he shall say:Dost thou believe in [the] Holy Ghost, and

the holy church, and the resurrection of the flesh?¹⁸He who is being baptized shall say accordingly:I believe,and so he is baptized a third time.¹⁹And afterward, when he has come up [out of the water], he is anointed by the presbyter with the oil of thanksgiving, the presbyter saying:I anoint thee with holy oil in the name of Jesus Christ.²⁰And so each one, after drying himself, is immediately clothed, and then is brought into the church.

§22. The prayer and the anointing after baptism

²²1Then the bishop, laying his hand upon them, shall pray, saying:O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for thine is the glory, to the Father and the Son, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and world without end. Amen.²Then, pouring the oil of thanksgiving from his hand and putting it on his forehead, he shall say:I anoint thee with holy oil in the Lord, the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus and [the] Holy Ghost.³And signing them on the forehead he shall say:The Lord be with thee;and he who is signed shall say:And with thy spirit.⁴And so he shall do to each one.⁵And immediately thereafter they shall join in prayer with all the people, but they shall not pray with the faithful until all these things are completed. ⁶And at the close of their prayer they shall give the kiss of peace.

§23. The first communion of the baptized: bread, cup, water, and milk and honey

²³1And then the offering is immediately brought by the deacons to the bishop, and by thanksgiving he shall make the bread into an image of the body of Christ, and the cup of wine mixed with water according to the likeness of the blood, which is shed for all who believe in him. ²And milk and honey mixed together for the fulfilment of the promise to the fathers, which spoke of a land flowing with milk and honey; namely, Christ's flesh which he gave, by which they who believe are nourished like babes, he making sweet the bitter things of the heart by the gentleness of his word. ³And the water into an offering in a token of the laver, in order that the inner part of man, which is a living soul, may receive the same as the body.⁴The bishop shall explain the reason of all these things to those who partake. ⁵And when he breaks the bread and distributes the fragments he shall say:The heavenly bread in Christ Jesus.⁶And the recipient shall say, Amen.⁷And the presbyters—or if there are not enough presbyters, the deacons—shall hold the cups,

and shall stand by with reverence and modesty; first he who holds the water, then the milk, thirdly the wine. 8And the recipients shall taste of each three times, he who gives the cup saying: In God the Father Almighty; and the recipient shall say, Amen. 9Then: In the Lord Jesus Christ; [and he shall say, Amen. 10Then: In] [the] Holy Ghost and the holy church; and he shall say, Amen. 11So it shall be done to each. 12And when these things are completed, let each one hasten to do good works, and to please God and to live aright, devoting himself to the church, practising the things he has learned, advancing in the service of God. 13Now we have briefly delivered to you these things concerning the holy baptism and the holy oblation, for you have already been instructed concerning the resurrection of the flesh and all other things as taught in Scripture. 14Yet if there is any other thing that ought to be told [to converts], let the bishop impart it to them privately after their baptism; let not unbelievers know it, until they are baptized: this is the white stone of which John said: “There is upon it a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth the stone”.

PART III: FASTS, MEALS, FIRST-FRUITS AND THE DUTIES OF THE
CHURCH

§25. *Fasting*

251Widows and virgins shall fast frequently and shall pray for the church; presbyters, if they wish, and laymen may fast likewise. 2But the bishop may fast only when all the people fast.

§26. *The suppers of the church*

261For it constantly happens that some one wishes to make an offering—and such a one must not be denied—and then the bishop, after breaking the bread, must in every case taste and eat it with the other believers. 2[At such an offering] each shall take from the bishop’s hand a piece of [this] bread before breaking his own bread. [This service has a special ceremonial] for it is “a Blessing”, not “a Thanksgiving”, as is [the service of] the Body of the Lord. 3But before drinking, each one, as many of you as are present, must take a cup and give thanks over it, and so go to your meal. 4But to the catechumens is given exorcised bread, and each of them must offer the cup. 5No catechumen shall sit at the Lord’s Supper. 6But at each act of offering, the offerer must remember his host, for he was invited to the latter’s home for that very purpose. 7But when you eat and drink, do so in an orderly manner and

not so that anyone may mock, or your host be saddened by your unruliness, but behave so that he may pray to be made worthy that the saints may enter his dwelling: “for ye”, it is said, “are the salt of the earth”.⁸If the offering should be one made to all the guests jointly, take your portion from your host [and depart].⁹But if all are to eat then and there, do not eat to excess, so that your host may likewise send some of what the saints leave to whomsoever he will and [so] may rejoice in the faith.¹⁰But while the guests are eating, let them eat silently, not arguing, [attending to] such things as the bishop may teach, but if he should ask any question, let an answer be given him; and when he says anything, everyone in modest praise shall keep silence until he asks again.¹¹And even if the bishop should be absent when the faithful meet at a supper, if a presbyter or a deacon is present they shall eat in a similar orderly fashion, and each shall be careful to take the blessed bread from the presbyter’s or deacon’s hand; and in the same way the catechumens shall take the same exorcised bread.¹²But if [only] laymen meet, let them not act presumptuously, for a layman cannot bless the blessed bread.¹³Let each one eat in the name of the Lord; for this is pleasing to the Lord that we should be jealous [of our good name] even among the heathen, all sober alike.

§27. A meal for widows

²⁷ 1If anyone wishes to give a meal to widows of mature years, let him dismiss them before evening. 2But if, on account of existing conditions, he cannot [feed them in his house], let him send them away, and they may eat of his food at their homes in any way they please.

§28. First-fruits

²⁸ 1As soon as first-fruits appear, all shall hasten to offer them to the bishop. 2And he shall offer them, shall give thanks and shall name him who offered them, saying:³We give thee thanks, O God, and we offer thee the first-fruits; which thou hast given us to enjoy, nourishing them through thy word, commanding the earth to bring forth her fruits for the gladness and the food of men and all beasts. 4For all these things we praise thee, O God, and for all things wherewith thou hast blessed us, who for us adornest every creature with divers fruits. 5Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, world without end. Amen.⁶Only certain fruits may be blessed, namely grapes, the fig, the pomegranate, the olive, the pear, the apple, the mulberry, the peach, the cherry, the almond, the plum. 7Not the

pumpkin, nor the melon, nor the cucumber, nor the onion nor garlic nor anything else having an odour.⁸But sometimes flowers too are offered; here the rose and the lily may be offered, but no other.⁹But for everything that is eaten shall they [who eat it] give thanks to the Holy God, eating unto His glory.

§29. The paschal fast

²⁹1Let no one at the paschal season eat before the offering is made, otherwise he shall not be credited with the fast. 2But if any woman is with child, or if anyone is sick and cannot fast for two days, let such a one, on account of his need, [at least] fast on Saturday, contenting himself with bread and water. 3But if anyone on a voyage or for any other necessary cause should not know the day, when he has learned the truth he shall postpone his fast until after Pentecost. 4For the ancient type has passed away, and so the [postponed] fast [of Numbers 9. 11] in the second month has ceased, and each one ought to fast in accord with his knowledge of the truth.

§30. The care of the sick

³⁰1Each of the deacons, with the subdeacons, shall be alert on the bishop's behalf, for the bishop must be informed if any are sick so that, if he pleases, he may visit them; for a sick man is greatly comforted when the high priest is mindful of him.

§33. The daily meeting of the clergy

³³1Let the deacons and the presbyters assemble daily at the place which the bishop may appoint; let the deacons [in particular] never fail to assemble unless prevented by sickness. 2When all have met they shall instruct those who are in the church, and then, after prayer, each shall go to his appointed duties.

§34. The cemetery

³⁴1No exorbitant charge shall be made for burial in the cemetery, for it belongs to all the poor; only the hire of the grave-digger and the cost of the tile [for closing the niche in the catacombs] shall be asked. 2The wages of the caretakers are to be paid by the bishop, lest any of those who go to that place be burdened [with a charge].

PART IV: DAILY PRAYER AND CONCLUSION

§35. Morning prayer and instruction

³⁵1Let all the faithful, whether men or women, when early in the morning they rise from their sleep and before they undertake any tasks, wash their hands and pray to God; and so they may go to their duties. 2But if any instruction in God's word is held [that day], everyone ought to attend it willingly, recollecting that he will hear God speaking through the instructor and that prayer in the church enables him to avoid the day's evil; any godly man ought to count it a great loss if he does not attend the place of instruction, especially if he can read.3If a [specially gifted] teacher should come, let none of you delay to attend the place where the instruction is given, for grace will be given to the speaker to utter things profitable to all, and thou wilt hear new things, and thou wilt be profited by what the Holy Spirit will give thee through the instructor; so thy faith will be strengthened by what thou hearest, and in that place thou wilt learn thy duties at home; therefore let everyone be zealous to go to the church, the place where the Holy Spirit abounds.

§36. Prayer at the hours of the day and night

³⁶1But if on any day there is no instruction, let everyone at home take the Bible and read sufficiently in passages that he finds profitable.2If at the third hour thou art at home, pray then and give thanks to God; but if thou chance to be abroad at that hour, make thy prayer to God in thy heart. 3For at that hour Christ was nailed to the tree; therefore in the old [covenant] the law commanded the showbread to be offered continually for a type of the body and blood of Christ, and commanded the sacrifice of the dumb lamb, which was a type of the perfect Lamb; for Christ is the Shepherd, and he is also the Bread that came down from heaven.4At the sixth hour likewise pray also, for, after Christ was nailed to the wood of the cross, the day was divided and there was a great darkness; wherefore let [the faithful] pray at that hour with an effectual prayer, likening themselves to the voice of him who prayed [and] caused all creation to become dark for the unbelieving Jews.5And at the ninth hour let a great prayer and a great thanksgiving be made, such as made the souls of the righteous ones, blessing the Lord, the God who does not lie, who was mindful of his saints and sent forth his Word to enlighten them. 6At that hour, therefore, Christ poured forth from his pierced side water and

blood, and brought the rest of the time of that day with light to evening; so, when he fell asleep, by making the beginning of another day he completed the pattern of his resurrection.⁷ Pray again before thy body rests on thy bed. ⁸At midnight arise, wash thy hands with water and pray. ⁹And if thy wife is with thee, pray ye both together; but if she is not yet a believer, go into another room and pray, and again return to thy bed; be not slothful in prayer. ¹⁰He who has used the marriage bed is not defiled; for they who are bathed have no need to wash again, for they are clean. ¹¹By signing thyself with thy moist breath, and so spreading spittle on thy body with thy hand, thou art sanctified to thy feet; for the gift of the Spirit and the sprinkling with water, when it is brought with a believing heart as it were from a fountain, sanctifies him who believes.¹² It is needful to pray at this hour; for those very elders who gave us the tradition taught us that at this hour all creation rests for a certain moment, that all creatures may praise the Lord: stars and trees and waters stand still with one accord, and all the angelic host does service to God by praising Him, together with the souls of the righteous. ¹³For this cause believers should be zealous to pray at this hour; for the Lord, testifying to this, says: "Behold at midnight is a cry, Behold the Bridegroom cometh! Rise up to meet him!"; and he adds insistently: "Watch ye therefore, for ye know not at what hour he cometh".¹⁴ And at cockcrow rise up and pray likewise, for at that hour of cockcrow the children of Israel denied Christ, whom we have known by faith; by which faith, in the hope of eternal life at the resurrection of the dead, we look for his Day.¹⁵ And so, all ye faithful, if ye thus act, and are mindful of these things, and teach them to one another, and cause the catechumens to be zealous, ye can neither be tempted nor can ye perish, since ye have Christ always in your minds.

§37. The sign of the cross

³⁷ ¹But imitate him always, by signing thy forehead sincerely; for this is the sign of his Passion, manifest and approved against the devil if so thou makest it from faith; not that thou mayest appear to men, but knowingly offering it as a shield. ²For the adversary, seeing its power coming from the heart, that a man displays the publicly formed image of baptism, is put to flight; not because thou spittest, but because the Spirit in thee breathes him away. ³When Moses formed it by putting the blood of the Paschal lamb that was slain on the lintel and anointing the side-posts, he signified the faith which now we have in the perfect Lamb.

§38. *Conclusion*

38 1And so, if these things are accepted with thanksgiving and right faith, they give edification in the church and eternal life to believers. 2I counsel that these things be kept by all who know aright; for over all who hear the apostolic tra[dition] and keep it, no heretics or any other man will prevail to lead them astray. 3For the many heresies have increased because their leaders would not learn the purpose of the apostles but acted according to their own wills, following their lusts and not what was right. 4Now, beloved, if we have omitted anything, God will reveal it to those who are worthy, guiding the holy church to its mooring in [God's] quiet haven.

LATER ADDITIONS (FROM THE ETHIOPIC AND LATIN VERSIONS)

§24. *Bread on Saturday and Sunday*

§24 † 1On Saturday and Sunday the bishop shall whenever possible give the people the bread with his own hand, while the deacons break it. 2The presbyters too shall break the bread to be delivered; and whenever a deacon approaches a presbyter he shall hold out his robe, and the presbyter shall take the bread and deliver it to the people with his hand. 3On other days they shall give the bread as the bishop determines. Easton's note: On this section compare p. 31. It may be further observed that section 2 is pretty clearly an addition.

§26. *The deacon and the blessed bread; the evening thanksgiving over the lamp*
(sections 14–32)

§26 † 14In time of need the deacon shall be diligent in giving the blessed bread to the sick. 15If there is no presbyter to give out what is to be distributed, the deacon shall pronounce the thanksgiving and shall supervise those who carry it away, to make sure that they attend to their duty and [properly] distribute the blessed food; the distributors must give it to the widows and the sick. 16Whoever is entrusted with the duty by the church must distribute it on the same day; if he does not, he must [at least] do so on the next day with the addition of what is then given him. 17For [it is not his own property]; it is given him only [in trust] as bread for the poor. 18When evening has come and the bishop is present, the deacon shall bring in a lamp. 19Then the bishop, standing in the midst of the believers, before giving thanks shall first give the salutation: The Lord be with you all. 20And the people shall say: [And] with thy spirit. 21And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the

Lord. 22 And the people shall say: It is meet and right: Majesty, exaltation and glory are due to Him. 23 But they shall not say "Lift up your hearts", for that belongs to the oblation. 24 And he prays thus, saying: We give thee thanks, O God, because thou hast enlightened us by revealing the incorruptible light. 25 So we, having finished the length of a day, and being come to the beginning of the night, satisfied with the light of the day that thou hast created for our satisfaction; and now, since by thy grace we lack not a light for the evening, we sanctify thee and we glorify thee. 26 Through thine only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee with him glory and might and honour with [the] Holy Spirit, now, etc. 27 And they shall all say: Amen. 28 Then, rising up after supper, the children and virgins having prayed, they shall sing psalms. 29 Then the deacon, holding the mixed cup of the offering, shall say a Hallelujah Psalm. 30 Then, the presbyter having commanded, "And also such-and-such Psalms", after the bishop has offered the cup with the proper thanksgiving, all shall say "Hallelujah" as the Psalms are sung. 31 And they shall say: We praise Him who is God most high; Glorified and praised is He, Who founded the world with a single word. 32 Then, when the Psalm is completed, he shall give thanks over the bread, and shall give the fragments to all the believers. Easton's note: On these sections compare p. 31. An evening service, that included bringing in the lamp, is widespread in early Christianity and is eventually derived from Judaism; the particular service described here is a prelude to a congregational agape. There is nothing in sections 18-32 that necessarily implies a date later than Hippolytus, but the ceremony is badly placed between the private agapes and the equally private meals for the widows, and it is followed by a duplication of 26. 2, 10-12.

§31. Morning prayer and instruction (a shorter form)

§31 † 1 The faithful, early in the morning, as soon as they have awaked and arisen, before they undertake their tasks shall pray to God and so may then go to their duties. 2 But if any instruction in the word is held, let each give first place to that, that he may attend and hear the word of God, to his soul's comfort; so let each one hasten to the church, where the Spirit abounds.

§32. Receiving the eucharist before other food

§32 † 1 But let each of the faithful be zealous, before he eats anything else, to receive the eucharist; for if anyone receives it with faith, after such a recep-

tion he cannot be harmed even if a deadly poison should be given him. 2But let each one take care that no unbeliever taste the eucharist, nor a mouse nor any other animal, and that nothing of it fall or be lost; for the body of Christ is to be eaten by believers and must not be despised. 3The cup, when thou hast given thanks in the name of the Lord, thou hast accepted as the image of the blood of Christ. 4Therefore let none of it be spilled, so that no alien spirit may lick it up, as if thou didst despise it; thou shalt be guilty of the blood, as if thou didst scorn the price with which thou hast been bought. Easton's note: In the Oriental versions the position of chapters 31-32 between chapters 30 and 33 is impossible. Chapter 30 addresses the church's officers, chapters 31-32 individuals, chapters 33-34 the officers, and chapter 35 individuals again; chapter 31, in addition, is only a condensation of 35. 1-3. But the Hauler manuscript clears up the difficulty. In it chapter 32 is followed immediately by the Latin A form of 37. 1-38. 2a, breaking off at the end of a leaf with "apo" (for "apostolic"). The next leaf begins with "God" in the middle of 36. 5, and the text continues through 36, gives the Latin B form of 37. 1-38. 2a and breaks off this time with "tra" for "tradition". So two versions of the work were current with different endings; in one chapter 30 was followed by 31-32 and the A conclusion, in the other it was followed by 33-35 and the B conclusion. In the Hauler manuscript both endings were reproduced, although the leaves containing the last two sentences of the first and a considerable part of the second have been lost. In the Oriental versions—or the Greek codex underlying them—the glaring duplication caused by the ending after 32 was suppressed, although the doubling of 35. 1-3 in 31 remained. Since chapter 34 is unmistakably Roman and consequently Hippolytean, the longer ending is original; chapter 33, moreover, is perfectly in place after chapter 30. So Schwartz and Jungklaus are correct in holding that chapter 32 is not by Hippolytus; the only alternative would be to assume that he issued two versions of his book with different endings—a difficult supposition that would leave unexplained why the very important practice stressed in chapter 32 is omitted in the longer version. On the other hand it is true, as Connolly argues, that the rules of chapter 32 are truly third-century. The custom according to which each Christian kept the consecrated eucharist in his house and received it each morning is attested in Tertullian's *To his Wife* II, 5, and the reason given (Mark 16. 18) for receiving fasting is not that of the later church (compare on chapter 29); Connolly observes further that the

home reservation of consecrated wine as well as consecrated bread is unknown elsewhere. Very curious, too, is the phrase “when thou hast given thanks” in section 3, for the section as a whole is addressed to the laity. Is there here some reminiscence of earlier corporately celebrated eucharists, like the agapes in chapter 26? Or are 3-4 a later addition, addressed to the clergy? Or is there textual confusion?

Didascalia Apostolorum (Gibson translation)

3rd century

A Syrian church order of the early third century, put under the name of the twelve apostles. It teaches bishops, presbyters, deacons, widows and laity how to live and govern the church, and deals with penance, the care of the poor, fasting, persecution and the Passover. It is the oldest of the church orders on which the Apostolic Constitutions were later built.

PROLOGUE

¹In the name of the Father Almighty, and of the Eternal Word and only Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one true God. We begin to write the Book Didascalia, as the holy Apostles of our Lord appointed to us, with regard to the presiding officers of the Holy Church, and the Canons and the Laws for believers as they commanded in it. ²We, then, twelve Apostles of the only Son, the Everlasting Word of God, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus the Christ, being assembled with one accord in Jerusalem the city of the great King, and with us our brother Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and James the Bishop of the above-mentioned city, have established this Didascalia, in which are included the Confession and the Creed, and we have named all the Ordinances, as the ordinances of the heavenly bodies, and thus again the Ordinances of the Holy Church. We assert that every one shall stand and confess and believe in what has been allotted to him by God; that is to say, the Bishop as a shepherd; the Elders as teachers; the Deacons as ministers; the Subdeacons as helpers; the Lectors as readers; the Singers as psalmists with intelligence and with constancy; and that the rest of the populace should be hearers of the words of the Gospel according to discipline. When we had completed and confirmed these Canons, we established them in the Church. And now we have written this other Book of doctrine which will enlighten all the habitable earth, and we have sent it by the hands of Clement our comrade. This which ye hear, O Christian Nazarenes, who are beneath the

sun [is] that ye may learn with diligence and care. He who hears and keeps these commandments which are written in this Didascalia, will have everlasting life, and great boldness before the judgment-seat of our Lord Jesus the Christ the Son of God, He who taught us about His great mystery. And he who is contentious, and doth not keep them, they shall put him out as an opposer and quarreller, as it is written that those who do evil things shall go to everlasting torment, and those who do good things shall inherit everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven.

3 In it there are twenty-seven chapters.

CHAPTER 1

1 Teaches all men in general about the simple and natural law, that what is hateful to thyself thou shouldst not do to thy neighbour 2 The planting of God, and the holy Vine of His Catholic Church, the chosen people who trust in the simplicity of the fear of the Lord, those who by their faith inherit the eternal kingdom, those who have received the power and communion of the Holy Ghost, with which they are armed and confirmed in His worship, those who have been partakers in the sprinkling of the pure and precious blood of the great God, Jesus the Christ; those who have received boldness to call God the Almighty 'Father,' as heirs and partakers with His Son [and] His Beloved; hear the Teaching of God, ye who hope for and expect His promises, according as it was written by order of our Saviour, and is in accordance with His glorious commandments! Take care, ye sons of God, and do everything so as to obey God, and in all things be pleasing to the Lord our God. If any man run after iniquity, and oppose the will of God, he shall be counted by God as an heathen and an evildoer. Flee therefore and get far from all avarice and iniquity, that ye may covet nothing from any one, for it is written in the Law, "Thou shalt not covet anything from thy neighbour, neither his field nor his house nor his servant nor his maidservant nor his ox nor his ass nor any of his goods, for all these desires are of the Evil One.

3 For he that coveteth his neighbour's wife or his servant or his maidservant is already a thief and an adulterer. He is guilty of abomination, like a Sodomite, from our Lord and Teacher Jesus the Christ, to whom be glory and honour for ever and ever, Amen. As also in the Gospel He reneweth and confirmeth and completeth the Ten Commandments of the Law. For it is written in the Law, Thou shalt not commit adultery. But this I say unto you, as He who spoke in the Law of Moses, thus in person I myself say unto you,

that every one who looketh at the wife of his friend to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart. Thus he that lusteth is guilty as an adulterer. Also he that coveteth the ox or the ass of his neighbour is likely to steal it and to lead it away. Again, he that coveteth the field of his neighbour, behold, doth he not wish to narrow it at the border, and to contrive to buy it to himself for nothing? Wherefore because of this, murders and deaths and condemnations come upon them from God. But to those men who are obedient to God there is one simple and valid law, and I say that thou shalt not make questions to Christians, this, that whatever thou hatest should happen to thyself from another, thou shalt not do to another.

4 Thou dost not wish that any one should look at thy wife in an evil manner, for her corruption? do not thou also look at the wife of thy neighbour with an evil mind. Thou dost not wish that any one should take from thee thy garment? do not thou also take the garment of others. Thou dost not wish to be cursed or beaten? also do not thou do either of these things to others; but if any one curseth thee, thou shalt surely bless him, for it is written in the book of 'the Psalms', "He that blesseth shall be blessed, and he that curseth shall be cursed," and again also in the Gospel it is written, "Bless those that curse you, and do not evil to those that do evil to you; do good to those that hate you"; be long-suffering and patient, for the Scripture saith, "Do not say, I will repay to mine enemy evil as he has done to me, but be long-suffering, and the Lord will be a helper to thee, and will bring retribution on him that hath done thee evil. Again He saith in the Gospel, "Love them that hate you, pray for them that curse you, and no one shall be an enemy to you. Let us look therefore, O beloved, and understand these commandments, and keep them, so that we may be the children of light.

CHAPTER 2

1 Teaches every man that he should please his wife alone, and should not adorn himself and be a stumbling-block to women; that he should not love idleness; that he should study the Scriptures of life, and keep away from the scriptures of paganism and from the bonds which are in Deuteronomy; and that in the baths he wash not with women, and let him not give his soul to the wickedness of harlots. 2 Let us be patient with one another, O servants and sons of God! Let not a man despise his wife, nor behave contemptuously and haughtily towards her, but let him be compassionate, and let his hand

be liberal in giving. Let him please his wife alone, and soothe her with honour; let him study to be loved by her alone, and not by any other. Do not adorn thyself so as to be seen by a strange woman and that she should desire thee. If thou, for instance, art constrained by her, and sinnest with her, death by fire shall come upon thee by decree from God, even that which is everlasting in the cruel and bitter fire. Thou shalt know and understand when thou art cruelly tormented. But, if thou doest not this abomination, but removest her from thee, and refuseth her, in this alone thou hast sinned, that by means of thine adornment thou hast caused a woman to be held by desire of thee; for thou hast done this to her so that it has happened thus to her because of thee, and that by means of her desire she committeth adultery. But thou art not so much under sin, because thou hast not lusted after her. Mercy from the Lord shall be upon thee because thou hast not delivered thy soul unto her, and hast not been persuaded by her when she sent unto thee; not even in thy mind hast thou turned to this woman, who was held by desire of thee;

³ but she suddenly met with thee, she was wounded in her mind, and she sent unto thee, but thou like a God-fearing man didst refuse her and remove thyself from her and hast not sinned with her. She in truth was struck in her heart because thou art a youth, beautiful and good, and thou didst adorn thyself and make her desire thee. And thou art found guilty, that she hath sinned in regard to thee; for because of thine adornment it hath thus happened to her. But seek from the Lord God, that no sin may be written against thee on her account. If thou wishest to please God, and not men, and hopest for life and everlasting rest, do not adorn the beauty of thy nature which hath been given to thee by God, but with the humility of neglect, make it poor before man. Thus again also let not the hair of thy head grow, nor comb it nor dress it; but shave it, and anoint it not, that it may not attract to thee such women as snare or are snared by lust. Also wear no beautiful garments nor even put on shoes of lustful and contemptible workmanship, nor set signet-rings encased in gold upon thy fingers, because that all these things are works of harlotry, and everything that thou doest which is beyond nature.

⁴ For to thee, a man who believes in God, it is not allowed to let the hair on thy head grow, to comb it and make it even, which is this voluptuousness of desire, and thou must not put it in order and dress it, nor arrange it so as

to be beautiful; nor must thou destroy the hairs of thy beard, nor the likeness of the nature of thy face, nor change it to something outside of what God has created, because thou wishest to please men. If thou doest these things, thou deprives thyself of life, and thou art rejected from the presence of the Lord God. As a man therefore who wishes to please God, be watchful and do nothing like these things, keep away from everything which the Lord hates, and do not be wandering and turning vainly about in marketplaces, seeing the inane spectacles of those who behave themselves in an evil manner, but in thy craft and work be constant and watchful, and wishful to do those things that are pleasing to God. Meditate constantly in the words of the Lord. If then thou art rich and requirest not to work for thy livelihood, be not wandering and turning inanely about, but be constant at all times, and have intercourse with believers and those like-minded with thyself, and be instructed along with them in the words of life.

5 But if not, then stay at home, and read in the Law, and in the Book of the Kings and in the Prophets and in the Gospel [which is] the fulness of these things. Keep far then from all the books of the heathen. For what hast thou to do with foreign words or with false laws or prophecies, which also easily cause young people to wander from the Faith? What then is wanting to thee in the Word of God that thou throwest thyself upon these myths of the heathen? If thou wishest to read the tales of the fathers, thou hast the Book of the Kings, or of wise men and philosophers, thou hast the Prophets, amongst whom thou wilt find more wisdom and scripture than [amongst] the wise men and the philosophers because they are the words of God, of one only wise God; if thou desirest songs, thou hast the Psalms of David; or if the beginning of the world, thou hast the Genesis of great Moses; if law and commandments, thou hast the Book of Exodus of the Lord our God. Therefore keep entirely away from all these foreign things which are contrary to them. But nevertheless what thou readest in the law of Deuteronomy, be heedful, that in reading thou readest only in it with simplicity. From the precepts and admonitions which are in it keep well away, lest thou lead thyself astray, and bind thyself with indissoluble heavy chains of burdens.

6 For this reason therefore even if thou read in Deuteronomy, in this alone be intelligent to know, and glorify God, who has delivered us from all these chains. Let this also be put before thine eyes, that thou mayest distinguish and know what is the Law, and what are the chains that are in Deuter-

onomy; that after the Law had been given to those that were in the Law, on account of Deuteronomy they sinned all these sins in the wilderness. For the Law is in the first place that which the Lord God spake, before the people made the calf and offered the sacrifices of idols, which is the ten Commandments and Statutes; and after they had worshipped idols He justly put upon them chains as they deserved. Thou therefore do not put them on thy heart, for our Saviour came for nothing else but to fulfil the Law, and to loosen us from the chains of Deuteronomy; for He loosened from these chains, and He called thus to those who believe in Him, and said, "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Thou therefore without the weight of these burdens read the simple Law which agrees with the Gospel, and again in the Gospel and in the Prophets, also in the Book of the Kings, that thou mayest know how many kings were righteous, and were made famous by the Lord God in this world, and rested also in the promises of everlasting life.

7 But those kings who turned aside from God, and worshipped idols, justly perished cruelly by a decreed judgment, and were cut off from the kingdom of God, and instead of rest they were tormented. When therefore thou readest these things, thou shalt grow more in the faith and be increased. After these things rise and go out to the market-place, and wash in the baths for men, and not in those for women, lest, when thou hast stripped and shewn the bareness and nakedness of thy body, thou wilt either be hunted for or thou wilt constrain to fall and be hunted by thee; therefore be watchful against these things and live for God. Learn therefore what the Holy Word saith in Wisdom, "My son, keep my words, and hide my commandments within thee. My son, honour the Lord and be strong, and fear no other but Him; keep my commandments, and live well, and my law as the apples of thine-eyes, bind them on thy fingers, and write them on the tables of thine heart. Say to Wisdom, Thou art my sister, and with understanding make thyself acquainted; that she may keep thee from the strange woman, and the adulteress whose words are flattering;

8 for from the window of her house and her lattice she looketh out into the street, and at every young man whom she seeth, those who are childish and void of understanding, who pass in the streets by the side of the corners of the paths of her house, and who talk in the dark, in the evening and in the thick darkness of the silence of the night; then the woman goeth out,

and in the garb of a harlot she meeteth the young man, and she causeth the hearts of the youths to fly away. She is rebellious and insolent and prodigal. Her feet rest not in her house but she is now wandering out, and now in ambush in the street and in the corners. She catcheth him who is likeminded and kisseth him and maketh her face bold and saith unto him, 'I have peace-offerings with me, this day I have paid my vows; therefore I have come out to meet thee, expecting to see thee, and I have found thee. With a carpet have I spread my bed, and with Egyptian tapestries have I covered it; I have sprinkled saffron upon my bed, and in my house there is cinnamon. Come, let us enjoy ourselves with love till the morning, and embrace each other with desire. For my lord is not at home, he has gone a long way off.

9 He has taken a bag of silver in his hand, and he will come to his house after many days.' She causeth him to err by the multitude of her words, by the flattery of her lips and by a vile wink of her eyes she draweth him unto her. He goeth after her like an infant, and like an ox that goeth to the slaughter, and like a dog to the chain, and like a stag which 'an arrow pierces and he fleeth, like a bird into the snare, and he knoweth not that he is gone to the death of his soul. Wherefore hearken unto me, my son, and give ear to the words of my mouth. Incline not thy heart to her ways, and come not near to the door of her house; do not wander in her paths; for she hath cast down a multitude of slain, her victims are innumerable. The ways of her house are the ways of Sheol, which go down to the chambers of death. My son, give ear to my wisdom, and incline thy mind to my understanding, that my counsel may keep thee, and the knowledge of my lips, which I command thee, because that the lips of an adulteress distil honey, and with her flatteries she sweeteneth the palate; yet the latter end of them is bitterer than wormwood, and sharper than a two-edged-sword;

10 for the feet of the foolish woman bring down to the chambers of Sheol those who adhere to her, for there is nothing which goeth before her heels; she walks not into the land of life, for her paths are in error, and are not known. Therefore, my son, hearken unto me, and decline not from the words of my mouth; remove thy way from her, and come not near the door of her house, that thou give not thy life to others, and thy years to those that have no mercy; lest strangers be satisfied with thy substance, and thy merchandise [pass] to the houses of others; and in thine old age thou repent thyself, when the flesh of thy body faileth, and thou shalt say, Why did I hate

my correction and my heart reject reproof, and I did not hearken to the voice of my teachers, nor incline my ears to my monitors? I was very nearly in all evil things. But let us not prolong and extend the admonition of our doctrine; if we omit anything, you, like wise men, choose from what pleaseth you in the holy books, and from the Gospel of God, so that ye may be confirmed, and all these evil things may be removed and cast away from you, and ye may be found blameless in everlasting life with God.

CHAPTER 3

¹ The doctrine about women, that they please and honour their husbands only, actively and wisely, attending with diligence to the works of their houses, and that they wash not with the men nor adorn themselves, and become a cause of offence to men nor hunt after them; that they be chaste and quiet and not quarrel with their husbands. ² Again, let the woman be submissive to her husband, because the head of the woman is the man, and the head of the man who walks in the way of righteousness is the Christ, after the Lord Almighty our God and the Father of the worlds, of this one which exists and of that which is to come, Lord of all breathing things and of all powers, and His living and Holy Spirit, to Whom be glory and honour for ever and ever. Amen. O woman! fear thy husband, and revere him, and please him alone; be ready for his service; stretch out thy hands to wool, and let thy mind be on the spindle, as it is said in Wisdom, "Who can find a virtuous woman? she is more precious than fine stones, which are of great value. The heart of her husband doth trust in her, and treasure is not wanting to her; she is a helper of her husband in all things; there is nothing wanting to him in his dwelling. She worketh wool and linen with her clever hands; she furnisheth good things; like a merchant ship which gathereth all her riches from afar. She riseth by night, and giveth covering to her household and work to her handmaids. She looketh to her field, and also buyeth it, and from the fruit of her hands she planteth a possession. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She tasteth that it is good to labour; her candle goeth not out all the night.

³ She stretcheth out her arms with activity, and her hands to the spindle; she extendeth her right hand to the poor, from her fruits she giveth to the needy. The master of the house is not anxious, because that all his household is clothed with wool above their raiment. She maketh for her husband garments of fine linen and purple. Her husband is known in the gates, when he

sitteth in the seat of the elders. She maketh linen in her house, and selleth girdles to the merchants. Strength and glory are her raiment, she shall rejoice on the last day. She openeth her mouth in wisdom. Her tongue speaketh firmly with intelligence and order; the ways of her house are strict, she eateth not bread in idleness. She openeth her mouth according to wisdom; the law of mercy is upon her tongue; her children shall arise and grow rich, and praise her; she shall rejoice in them in the latter days; also her husband shall call her blessed. The multitude of her daughters possess great riches. She doeth great things and is exalted above all women, for the woman who feareth the Lord shall be blessed. The fear of the Lord is (her) glory. Give her of her fruits that are worthy of her lips. She shall be honoured in the gates, and in every place her husband shall be honoured. Again, a virtuous woman is a crown to her husband.

4 Ye have learnt therefore what praises a chaste woman who loveth her husband receiveth from the Lord God, she who is found faithful and desirous of pleasing God. Therefore, thou, O chaste woman, do not adorn thyself so as to please other men, and do not plait the plaits of harlotry, nor wear the garments of lasciviousness, nor put on golden shoes, that thou mayest be like those that are such, that thou attract not to thyself those that are captivated by such things. Even if thou sinnest not by this act of abomination, nevertheless in this thou sinnest, that thou obligest and makest him to lust after thee; and if thou sinnest, thou also hast destroyed thy life from God, and thou art guilty also concerning the soul of that [man]. For again, as thou hast sinned with one, thou hast enervated thy soul, and thou wilt be going also after another, as it is said in Wisdom, "When the wicked hath gone into the depths of evil, he despiseth and enervateth his soul; ignominy and disgrace shall come upon him. She therefore that is thus, whose soul is completely wounded and is possessed by lust, taketh captive the souls of those who are void of understanding. But let us learn also about these things as the Holy Word unfolds them in Wisdom, for it speaks thus: "As a ring of gold in a swine's snout, so is beauty to a woman who doeth evil": and again, "As a worm in wood, so an evil woman destroyeth a man":

5 and again, "A woman void of understanding and boastful shall be in want of bread and shall not know shame. For she sitteth in the marketplace, at the door of her house on a high seat, and she calleth to those who pass on the road and to those who walk in her ways, and saith, Whoso

among you is simple, let him come near to me, and he who is void of understanding, and she saith to him, Come near lovingly to hidden bread and to stolen waters which are sweet; and he knoweth not that strong men have perished with her and have been brought to the depths of Sheol. But flee, and tarry not in that place; do not lift thine eyes to look at her. And again, "It is better to sit upon a turret of the roof rather than to dwell with a woman who is garrulous and quarrelsome in the middle of the house. Thou therefore who art a Christian, do not be like such women, but if thou wishest to be faithful, please thy husband only, and when thou walkest in the market-place, cover thy head with thy garment, that by thy veil the greatness of thy beauty may be covered; do not adorn the face of thine eyes, but look down and walk veiled; be watchful, not to wash in the baths with men. When there are baths for women in the city or in the district, a believing woman will not wash in the baths with men;

6 for if thou veilest thy face from strange men by a covering of chastity, how then goest thou with strange men to the baths? But if there are no baths for women, and thou art compelled to wash in the baths for men and women, this at the least is necessary, that thou wash with chastity and modesty and bashfulness and moderation; not at every time nor every day; nor at noon, but let the time for thee to wash be known to thee, at ten o'clock; for it is required of thee, O believing woman, that by every means thou shalt flee from the multitude of vain sights of the pride of eye which is in the bath. But thy quarrel with every one, especially that with thy husband, cut short and prevent like a believing woman, lest thy husband, if he be a heathen, should be offended because of thee, and blaspheme God, and thou shouldst receive a woe from Him, for woe to those through whom the name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles. Again, if thy husband be a believer, he is constrained as one who knows the Scriptures, and he will say to thee the word from Wisdom, that "it is better to dwell on a turret of the roof rather than to dwell with a garrulous and quarrelsome woman in the middle of the house.

7 For it is required of women that by a covering of modesty and humility they show the fear of God, for the conversion and growth of the faith of those who are without, of the men and of the women. If we have a little admonished and instructed you, our sisters and daughters, our members, ye like wise women, seek and choose for yourselves those things which are excellent and honoured and without rebuke in the dwelling of the world; learn

and know such things by which ye can get to the kingdom of our Lord and have rest, having already been pleasing to Him by good works. ⁸ About the ordination of Bishops. Let a Bishop be ordained having already been chosen by all the people, according to the will of the Holy Ghost, being blameless, chaste, quiet, humble, not anxious, watchful, not loving money, without accusation, not quarrelsome, clement, who does not talk excessively, a lover of good things, a lover of the poor, expert in the mysteries, not distraught nor wandering together with the world; who is peaceable and a fulfiller of all good things, like one who is entrusted with the order and place of God. It is better that he should be and remain without a wife, and if not, that he be husband of one wife only, that he may sympathize with the infirmity of the widows. Let him be of middle age, let him be ordained when he is not a boy. Being like this, on the Sunday let him receive the imposition of hands, all of them taking part in his ordination, and bearing witness about him with all the Elders and with all the Bishops who are near.

⁹ About the election of Elders. Let an Elder be ordained when he has the witness of all the people, like what was said before about the Bishop, wise in reading, humble, gentle, poor, not a lover of money, who has laboured much in the services of the weak, who has been proved, and is pure without a stain; if he have been a father to the orphans; if he have served the poor; if he have not stayed away from church; who in everything excels in piety; as he has been, let him be worthy in all things that have been revealed to us by God, those that are useful and those that are suitable, as those [men] are also worthy of the gifts of healing. ¹⁰ How it is proper for the Elder to teach, also whom, and with experience. Let then the teaching of the Elder be suitable and apt, gentle and temperate, mingled with reverence and fear, in the likeness also of that of the Bishop, and in the teaching let them not talk vain things, but let the hearers when they have heard all keep all, that the Elder may say, that all the things which he has taught they remember; for in the day of the Lord the word will be required which he will testify to the people, so that those may be reproved who have not obeyed; that he may rise up before the glory of the Father. Again, when he speaks the things that he is teaching, thus therefore let him teach, so that he may not perish. Let him pray for those who hear, that the Lord may give them the sense of the Spirit of the knowledge of the truth, that he may not vainly throw pearls before swine, but may prove that they are worthy who have heard and laboured, lest

when the word has not brought forth fruit in them, but has perished, he may give account of its perishing.

11 About the election of Deacons. Let the Deacon be ordained; when he has been elected according to what has been already said, if he be of good behaviour, if he be pure, if he have been elected on account of his purity, and because of his exemption from distractions; if not thus, even if he be in wedlock with one wife; one who is witnessed of by all the believers, who is not entangled in the merchandise of the world, who does not know a diabolical craft, who has no riches and no sons; and if he have sons, it is also fitting that they should cultivate the beauty of piety and that they be pure, that they may be of those who adorn the Church and the canon of service. Let the Church be careful about them so that some of them may abide permanently in the law and in the care of the service; should he not then fulfil in the church the things that are suitable? Let then the service be like this: first, those things that are commanded by the Bishop, so that they only may be done at the ministration, and of all the clergy he may be the Counsellor and secret of the Church. He who ministers to the sick, he who ministers to the strangers, who helps the widows, and goes round all the houses of those who are in want; lest there should be any one in distress or sickness or in misery he goes round to the houses.

12 About Catechumens. How he is to confirm those that are in doubt, and instruct those that are ignorant. Men who are dead he is to clothe, having adorned them, burying strangers, leading them from their dwellings, wayfarers or exiles. For the help of those who are in want let him have much care and let him inform the Church. How it is fitting that the children of the Church should be. Let twelve Elders be known in the Church, seven Deacons, and fourteen Subdeacons; and let those Widows who sit first be thirteen. Let the Deacon who is considered among them to be the one who is most diligent and most judicious; let him be chosen to be the receiver of strangers in the house which is the inn of the Church; let him be at all times clad in white garments, having only a stole upon his shoulder. In everything he is as the eye of the Church. With reverence let him make known what is to be the type of the people of piety.

13 The teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Behold ye sons and daughters of the Church, in the name of our Lord Jesus the Christ, John, Matthew, Peter, and Philip, and Andrew, and Simeon, and James, and Jude the son of James;

with Nathanael, and Thomas and Bartholomew and Matthia, all of us gathered together by command of our Lord Jesus the Christ our Saviour, according as He commanded us, that before ye are ready to divide anything by lot, for eparchies, ye shall count the places of the numbers, the authorities of the Bishops, the seats of the Elders, the continual offerings of the Deacons, the admonitions of the Readers, the blamelessnesses of the Widows, and all the things that are fitting to the foundation and confirmation of the Church, according as they already know the type of heavenly things. Let them take care and keep themselves from all error, knowing that they have an account to give in the great day of judgment concerning the things that having heard they have not kept. They commanded us to confirm His words in all places. It appeared to us therefore, about the reminding and admonition of the brethren, that as to each one of us our Lord revealed as the will of God by means of the Holy Ghost these words of remembrance, we should command you.

¹⁴ John said, Men, brethren, knowing that we are about to give account concerning those things that were commanded us, do not accept one another's persons, but if a man thinks good to say anything that is not thine, let some one speak adversely to him in opposition. It pleased them all that John should speak first. John said, There are two ways, one of life and one of death, but the differences are many between these two ways; for the way of life is this, first, that thou shalt love God, Him who has made thee, with all thy heart, and glorify Him who has redeemed thee from death, which is the first commandment. But secondly, that thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, which is the second commandment, those on which hang all the Law and the Prophets. Matthew said, All those things that thou dost not wish to happen to thee, do not thou also do to others. That therefore which thou hatest, that shalt thou not do to others. O our brother Peter, tell thou the doctrine of these words. Peter said, Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not commit fornication. Thou shalt not corrupt boys. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not be a soothsayer. Thou shalt not use enchantments. Thou shalt not kill a child at its birth, nor after he is born shalt thou kill him. Thou shalt not covet what belongs to thy neighbours. Thou shalt not transgress oaths. Thou shalt not bear false witness.

¹⁵ Thou shalt not say anything wickedly. Thou shalt not keep anger in thy heart. Thou shalt not be double-minded, nor double-tongued, for

doubleness of tongue is a snare of death. Thy word shall not be vain, nor false. Thou shalt not be avaricious nor rapacious. Thou shalt not be a respecter of persons, nor evil-minded, nor be a boaster, nor shalt thou receive evil about thy neighbour; neither shalt thou hate any one, but thou shalt reprove some, and have compassion on others, pray for some, love others more than thyself. Andrew said, My son, flee from all evil, and from all that resembles it; be not angry, for anger leads on to murder, for anger is a masculine demon. Be not jealous, but peaceful; nor quarrelsome, nor irritable; for from these things arises murder. Philip said, My son, be not licentious, for lust leadeth to fornication, and attracts men towards it, for lust is a feminine demon. One with anger, the other with mirth, they destroy those into whom they enter; for the way of an evil spirit is a sin of the soul, and when it has got a little entrance, it enlarges it as itself, and brings that soul to all evil things, and does not allow the man to look and see the truth. Let there be a measure for your wrath, rule it for a little time and repress it, lest it throw you into an evil deed.

¹⁶ For anger is an evil enjoyment, [such as] when they remain with a man for a long season, become demons, and when a man allows them, they swell up in his soul, and become greater and lead him to the works of iniquity, also they laugh at him and enjoy themselves in the destruction of the man. Simon the Zealot said, My son, be not a necromancer, for this will lead thee to the worship of idols; nor an enchanter, nor one who teaches extraneous and heathenish doctrine, nor an augur, nor even seek to know these things; from all these things comes the worship of idols. James said, My son, speak not foul and silly words, for these take one far from God, and be not haughty of eye, for every one that is haughty of eye falleth before God. Do not covet the wife of thy friend; do not love sodomy; from these things come adulteries and the wrath of God. Nathanael said, My son, be not false, for falsehood leads to theft, nor be a lover of money, nor vainglorious; from all these things come thefts. My son, be not a murmurer, for murmuring brings blasphemy, and be not proud nor arrogant, nor a contriver of evil things, for from all these things come blasphemies. Therefore be meek and humble, for the meek and humble shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven; but be long suffering and merciful, a peace-maker, pure in heart from all evil, innocent, quiet, and gentle;

17 it is good that thou shouldest attend and tremble at the words which thou hast heard. Do not exalt thyself, nor set thyself with the proud, but with the righteous, and have intercourse with the poor; and the events that happen to thee receive as good things, knowing that without God nothing happens. Thomas said, My son, he who speaks the Word of God, and is the cause of life to thee, and gives thee the seal that is in the Christ; love him as the apple of the eye; remember him then by night and by day; honour him moreover as of God, for where the Godhead is spoken of, there is the Lord. Thou shalt seek then his face daily; also the other Saints, that thou mayest be soothed by their words; for thou being joined to the Saints, art sanctified. Thou shalt honour him then as thou art able, by thy sweat and by the labour of thy hands. For if through him the Lord has honoured thee by giving thee spiritual food and the water of everlasting life, much more must thou offer him perishable and temporal food, for the labourer is worthy of his hire. The ox that grinds thou shalt not muzzle; and no one planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of its fruit. Jude the son of James said, My son, do not make schisms; calm those who are quarrelling, and judge righteously.

18 Be no respecter of persons in reproving a man who is in fault, for riches can have no power with the Lord, nor does the Lord give more honour to dignities, nor has beauty any advantage, but there is equality of all these things with Him. In thy prayer do not doubt which of them shall be yea or nay. Let it not be that thou shouldst stretch out thine hand in order to receive, whilst the hand that giveth thou contractest. If there be [aught] in thy hands, give the redemption of thy sins, and do not hesitate to give, nor when thou givest murmur and tell. Know then who is the good payer of thy reward. Turn not thy face from the needy; share with thy brother in all things, and say not that they are thine own, for if ye are sharers in immortal things how much more in those that are perishable? Bartholomew said, We then persuade you, my brethren, that while it is yet time, and whilst ye have among you some of the things by which ye work, ye should not spare yourselves in anything whatever of what ye have, for the day of the Lord is at hand in which all these things will be destroyed together with the Wicked One. For our Lord shall come, and His reward with Him. To yourselves then be lawgivers; be good counsellors of yourselves, taught of God. Keep these things that thou hast received, not adding to them, and also not diminishing from them.

19 Matthia said about the Readers. Let a Reader be appointed, having first been proved by many probations, not a talkative man, not a drunkard, not a speaker of laughable things; of good manner, of good disposition, persuadable, of good will; who in the Lord's congregations on Sundays runs first, good at hearing, and as a maker of narratives; who knows that he takes the place of an Evangelist. Peter said, Brethren, other things concerning admonition the Scriptures teach, but let us command and teach the things that we have been commanded. All of them said, Let Peter speak. Peter said, If there be and not many nearly twelve men, let them write to those Churches that are near, where there is a Church founded, so that from thence may come three chosen and tried men, to prove him who is worthy; if he be a man who has a good report from the Gentiles; if he be without sin, if he be not irascible, if he be a lover of the poor, if he be chaste, if he be not a drunkard, nor a fornicator, not avaricious, nor a calumniator, nor a respecter of persons, nor anything like these. It is a good thing if he have no wife, or if not, that he have one wife; who is a sharer in discipline, who is able to explain the Scriptures, but if he know not letters, let him be meek and humble, and in love to all men let him abound, lest he be reproved about anything by the masses, let him be a Bishop.

20 John said, Let the Bishop who is appointed, knowing the diligence and the love of God, and those who are with him, appoint two Elders, those whom he has proven. All of them objected to this, and said, Not two, but three, for there are twenty-four Elders, twelve on the right hand and twelve on the left. John said, Well do ye remember, my Brethren, for those on the right hand are those who having received from the Archangels instead of a reward, which they offer to the Lord, but those on the left rule over many angels. It is right that there should be Elders, those who formerly were for some time removed from the world, and in some way removed from intercourse with women, good at giving to the brethren, who do not accept any man's person, sons of the Mystery of the Bishop, and his assistants in gathering the people together, who act promptly with the Pastor and serve him. Let the Elders who are on the right have the care of those who labour at the altar, so that they may give honour and blame, and may reprove in what is necessary. But let the Elders who are at the left have the care of the multitude of the people, so that there be good administration without tumult, they having learnt beforehand to conduct themselves with all submission. But if a

man, having been admonished, give an answer, those who are at the altar, being of one opinion, shall judge him that is such with one mind, as he deserves, so that the others also may fear, lest they accept one another's persons, and many think evil with the evildoers, and the evil spread like a gangrene, and all be taken captive.

²¹James said (as Mathia on p. 15). He that fills the ears of him that is ignorant of what is written is considered before God. Matthew said, Let three Deacons be appointed, for it is written that in the mouth of two or three every word of the Lord shall be established. Let them be those who are proved in all their service, that they may have witness from strangers and from the congregation, that they are [but once] married, and that their children are chaste, gentle, peaceable, not grumblers, not double-tongued, not wrathful, for wrath destroyeth a wise man; not respecters of the persons of the rich, nor oppressing the poor; not using much wine, very laborious and inventive in works that are hidden and good; inciters, obliging and constraining those of the brethren who have aught to stretch out their hands to give, and let them also be good givers, and communicators, that they may be honoured by the people with all possible honour and reverence, watching carefully for those who walk disorderly, dealing tenderly with some of them, and persuading others, inciting others with reproof, and others, who show complete contempt, excommunicating, knowing that those who are quarrelsome and contemptuous, and calumniators, are depraved, opposing themselves to the Christ.

²²Cephas said, Let three Widows be appointed, two who shall be continually in prayer for all those who are in temptation and in regard to revelations and signs, for what is necessary, but one to be continually with the women who are tried by sickness, who is good at service, watchful to make known what is required to the Elders. [Let them] not be lovers of filthy lucre, not accustomed to much wine, so that they may be able to be watchful in the night services of the sick, and in any other good works that any one wishes to do, for these things are the first good treasures 'that are desirable'. Andrew said, Let Deacons, doers of good works, go round to every place by night and by day, that they may not neglect the poor, nor accept the persons of the rich; let them recognize him who is in straits, and deprive him not of the blessings. Let them constrain those who are able to lay up for themselves treasures in good works, looking forward to the words of our Teacher, that

ye saw Me hungry, and fed Me not; for those who have served Him well and blamelessly, prepare for themselves 'a large place'.

²³ Philip said, The laymen shall obey the commands for laymen, being submissive to those who serve continually at the altar. Every one in his place shall please the Lord, not shewing enmity to one another concerning those things that are appointed, every one in that wherein he has been called of God. Let not one persuade to the course of another, for the angels also, beyond what is appointed to them, do no other things. Andrew said, It would be very good, my brethren, that we should appoint women as Deaconesses. Peter said, As we have commanded and appointed all these things, and arrived at this point, let us in truth make known accurately about the offerings of the Body and Blood. John said, It has escaped you, my brethren, that when our Teacher asked for the Bread and the Cup, and blessed them saying, This is my Body and my Blood, He did not allow these to remain with us.

²⁴ Martha said about Mary, I saw her laughing between her teeth joyfully. Mary said, I did not surely laugh, but I remembered the words of our Lord, and I rejoiced, for ye know that He said to us before, when He was teaching, He that is weak shall be saved by means of the strong. Cephas said, We ought to remember the single things, for it is not fitting for women to take the communion with heads uncovered, but having covered their heads. James said, How then can we define any service for the women, except only some service of strengthening and helping those women who are in want? Philip said, Now, my brethren, let us say this to you, in regard to the participation in gifts. He that doeth good works, lays up and prepares good treasures for himself, for he who lays up for himself treasures in the kingdom shall be counted as a workman (it is written) before God.

²⁵ Peter said, These things, my brother, we do not command as necessary from the power that we have over men, but as we have a commandment from the Lord, our Lord, we persuade you to keep the commandments, not diminishing ought from them nor adding ought. In the name of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. The teaching of the Twelve holy Apostles is finished by the hands of Baltous, an odious and lazy servant of the Christ, son of George Moses of the tribe of the household of John, from the village of the fortress of the woman, which is beside the Convent of Kourkama, an (episcopal) see of Western Syria, between the city

of Mardin and the above-mentioned Convent in the year 1896 in the month of July, and to Him be glory, may His mercies be over us for ever.

²⁶ From Paul the Apostle about the Times of Prayer. Institute prayer in the morning and at the third hour, and at the sixth hour, and at the ninth hour, and in the evening, and when ye go to sleep, that for protection, and at the cockcrow: in the morning thanking God who has given us light, having made the night to pass and brought the day; at the third hour because at it our Lord suffered judgment from Pilate; in that of the sixth hour because in it the Christ was crucified, all created things were shaken, trembling at the daring deed which the wicked Jews did; He was pierced in His side by a lance, and shed forth blood and water; in that of the ninth hour because when our Lord was crucified the sun was darkened at mid-day, and the dead arose from their graves; created things could not bear to see the ignominy of our Lord; also He gave up His Spirit into the hands of His Father; in that of the evening thanking God, who gave us the night for rest from the labours of the day; in that for protection while ye now slumber the sleep of rest from work; but pray that in sleep and in rest ye leave not this world, and if that should happen, the prayer which ye have prayed will help you in the way that is everlasting; and at cockcrow, because that is the hour in which announcement is made to us of the coming of the day, and for the labour of the works of light.

Commandments from the writing of Addai the Apostle.

²⁷ (1) The Holy Apostles have therefore decreed, first, that people should pray towards the East, because, that as the lightning that flashes from the East, and is seen unto the West, thus shall be the coming of the Son of Man. By this let us know and understand when we pray, that He shall be seen from the East, and towards it we expect Him and we worship Him. (2) Again, the Apostles have decreed, that on Sunday there shall be service and reading of the Holy Scriptures, and the Eucharist, because that on Sunday the Christ rose from the dead, and on Sunday He ascended to Heaven; on Sunday again He will appear at the end with His holy Angels. (3) Again, the Apostles have decreed that on Wednesday there shall be service, that is to say, the Eucharist, because that on it our Lord revealed to His Apostles about His judgment and passion, and crucifixion, and death, and resurrection; and the disciples were in sorrow about this.

28 (4) Again, the Apostles have decreed, that also on Friday at the ninth hour there shall be service, because of what was said on Wednesday about the Passion of our Saviour; on the Friday it was accomplished, the earth quaking and all creatures crying out, and the lights in the heaven were darkened. (5) The Apostles have also decreed that there shall be Elders in the Church like the holy Priests, the sons of Aaron; and Deacons, like the Levites; and Sub-deacons, like those who carried the vessels of the court of the sanctuary of the Lord; and an Overseer who should be leader of all the people, like Aaron the High Priest, chief and leader of all the Levites and priests and of all the camp. (6) The Apostles have also decreed that they should make the day of the Epiphany of our Saviour to be the beginning of the yearly feasts, on the 6th of January (second Conun) according to the number of the months of the Greeks.

29 (7) The Apostles have also decreed that forty days before the Passion of our Saviour they should fast, and then should keep the day of His Passion and the day of His Resurrection, because that also our Lord Himself, the Lord of the feast, fasted for forty days; also Moses and Elias, who were clothed with this mystery, fasted for forty days and then were glorified. (8) The Apostles have also decreed that at the end of all the Scriptures the Gospel shall be read as the seal of all the Scriptures, the people rising to their feet to hear it; because it is the Message of the Salvation of all men. (9) The Apostles have also decreed that at the end of forty days after His Resurrection, they should make remembrance of His Ascension to His glorious Father. (10) The Apostles have also decreed that except the Old (Testament) and the Prophets, and the Gospel, and the Acts of their own triumphs, nothing should be read from the pulpit in the Church.

30 (11) The Apostles have also decreed that he who does not know the faith of the Church and the ordinances and the laws that are decreed in it, shall not be a leader and commander; and he who knows them and transgresses them, shall not again serve; because he is not true in his service, but false. (12) The Apostles have also decreed that he who swears and is untrue, or who bears false witness or goes with wizards and diviners and Chaldæans, and confirms fortunes and nativities, or anything which those who know not God hold to; as if he were a man who knows not God, let him be put out of His service, and never again serve in it. (13) The Apostles have also decreed that if there be a man who is doubtful about his service and not sure of it, he

shall never again serve, because the Lord of the service is not real to him, and he deceives men; but not God, before whom stratagems are not established.

³¹(14) The Apostles have also decreed that he who lends and takes usury, or he who uses merchandise of avarice, shall never again serve, and shall not remain in his service. (15) The Apostles have also decreed that he who loves the Jews like Judas Iscariot who loved them, or the heathen, who worship the creatures instead of the Creator, shall not enter among them nor serve; or if he be among them, they shall not allow him, but he shall be separated from them, and shall not serve with them. (16) The Apostles have also decreed that if there have come a man of the Jews or of the heathen and been mingled with them, and after he has come and has been received and mingled with them, he have turned and gone again to the sect in which he stood, and again have come and been converted to them for the second time, he shall not be received again, but as the sect in which he was at the first, thus those that know him shall regard him.

³²(17) The Apostles have also decreed that it shall not be lawful for the ruler to administer the affairs of the Church without those who serve along with him, but in the counsel of all he shall command and oversee that with which all shall be pleased, and not in any way oppressed. (18) The Apostles have also decreed that all those who go out of this world in the martyrdom of the faith of Jesus the Christ, and in tribulation for His Name's sake, of them remembrance shall be made on the day of their murders. (19) The Apostles have also decreed that whilst they stand in the service of the Church, they should recite the songs of David every day; because of this, "I will bless the Lord at all times, and at all times His songs are in my mouth," and "in the night I will meditate and say and cause my voice to be heard before Thee."

³³(20) The Apostles have also decreed that those who are void of riches and do not run after increase of silver shall be chosen and also presented for the service of government. (21) The Apostles have also decreed that the priest who binds in a hap-hazard and unjust manner shall receive punishment justly; but he who is bound shall receive the interdict as he who is reasonably bound. (22) The Apostles have also decreed that those who are accustomed to hear judgment, if it be perceived that they are respecters of persons condemning the innocent, and acquitting the guilty; they shall not again hear another judgment, and they shall also receive the reproof of their partiality.

(23) The Apostles have also decreed that those who are high-minded and lifted up in the haughtiness of pride shall not be presented for service, because of this that "he who is haughty among men is abominable before God," for it is also said, "I will repay vengeance on them that exalt themselves."

³⁴ (24) The Apostles have also decreed that the commands of the Bishop shall be upon the Elders of the Churches who are in all the villages, that he may be known to be the chief of them all, that through him they may all be judged, for Samuel also visited thus from place to place and commanded. (25) The Apostles have also decreed that those kings who shall become believers in the Christ; it shall be lawful for them to go up and stand before the altar with the Ruler of the Church, because also David and those who were like him went up and stood before the altar of the Lord. (26) The Apostles have also decreed that no man shall venture to do anything with the authority of the priesthood in unrighteousness and impropriety but in integrity without accusation of partiality. (27) The Apostles have also decreed that the bread of the Eucharist in the day in which it is cooked shall be 'laid on the altar', and not after some days, which is not lawful.

³⁵ Again, a little of the Canons of the Apostles, and the Fathers, by which the Church of the Christ is truly bound. To those who in everything agree with us in the Orthodox faith, and in the Apostolic laws; the holy Bishops, the glorious Priests, the pure Deacons; and the faithful and Christ-loving people, with the rest of all the ecclesiastical order, and the sons of the Lord; who live, that is to say, dwell as strangers in all the various provinces, keeping (themselves) continually in the Lord, Amen...Because, therefore, O beloved, we are sons and heirs of the laws, prophetic and apostolic, those which command and warn us that continually and always we shall learn the way which is straight and good, and that we should go in it; we have appointed to you twenty Canons, and they are these. Canon I. A man shall not take a wife, and his son her daughter.

³⁶ II. Nor shall a man take a girl, and his son the mother of the girl. III. Nor a man and his son two sisters, or two daughters of a paternal uncle. IV. Nor two brothers a woman and her daughter. V. Also a man shall not take a woman, and give his daughter to her son. VI. Nor a man a woman, and give his daughter to her brother. VII. Nor a man a woman, and give his daughter to her father. VIII. Nor shall a man take the sister of his wife nor the daughter of his sister. IX. Nor a man the wife of the brother of his wife. X. Nor the

wife of a brother or the wife of his son. XI. Nor (is) a man bound to the wife of his paternal uncle. XII. Nor is the wife of a mother's brother lawful. XIII. Nor let a man take the daughter of the brother of his wife.

³⁷ XIV. Nor let a man take his godmother from among men for three generations. XV. Nor the brothers of that one for two generations. XVI. Nor let a man take a (fellow-) sponsor of baptism, nor a man who is related to him in race for five generations. XVII. Nor let an Elder baptize his son according to the flesh, unless a reason of death should happen to that child and there be no stranger Elder to baptize him. XVIII. Nor let a man confirm the espousals of a woman except before the Elders and Deacons, and before free persons who are worthy to be believed. XIX. And he who espouses a spouse let him not do violence to the girl, and let him not see her face until he has fulfilled to her all (things) that are obligatory to the order of Christians, and let the girl enter his house.

³⁸ XX. It is not lawful for a Christian to give a woman to any kind of marriage with a Nestorian or with a people out of our fold, nor to a heretic, nor to those who are strange to us in faith. These things we have determined thus and appointed to you as to sons and obedient people; as therefore ye keep them and walk in them, attend also to the Canons spoken by the Spirit; by them ye shall be kept, in this world ye shall be blest, and in that which is to come ye shall be saved to the kingdom of our Lord and ye shall have rest, pleasing Him by good works.

CHAPTER 4

¹ Teaches what sort of man it is right to be chosen for the Bishopric, and what like his works should be. ² About Bishops hear thus. Of the Pastor who is appointed as a Bishop and chief in the Eldership of the Church in all the assemblies, it is required that he be without reproof, irreprehensible, that he be far from all evil things, a man who is not less than fifty years (of age) and therefore far from the vehement manners of youth, from the desires of the Enemy, and from calumny, and from the blasphemy of false brethren which they bring against many, because they do not understand the word which is spoken in the Gospel, that "every one who speaks an idle word shall give account of it to the Lord in the day of judgment, for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned. If it be possible let him be a teacher, and if he be illiterate, let him be persuasive and wise of speech: let him be advanced in years. If the assembly be small and there be

not found a man advanced in years, [one] about whom there be witnesses that he is wise and suitable to be appointed Bishop; one being found who is a youth, whose companions testify about him, and those who are with him, that he is worthy to be appointed to the Bishopric; he though yet a youth shewing the works of age in humility and meekness, if all men testify about him, being proved by all the people;

3 thus let him sit in peace, because that even King Solomon when twelve years of age, reigned over Israel, and Josiah reigned in righteousness when eight years of age; again also Joash, when seven years of age, reigned over Israel; therefore, this man even if he be a youth, yet let him be meek and reverent and gentle; because the Lord God said by Isaiah, "To whom will I look and with [whom] will I rest, but with the gentle and meek who trembleth at My words"...Also in the Gospel He saith thus, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth"; and let him be merciful, for He saith in the Gospel, "Blessed are the merciful, for on them shall be mercy"; and again, let him be a peacemaker, for it is said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. Let him be pure from all evil things, and injustice and iniquity, for it is said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Let him be watchful, and chaste, and stable, and well-regulated, and let him not be turbulent, nor trespass in wine, nor be a calumniator, nor let him be contentious, nor a lover of money, nor have a childish mind, nor let him exalt himself and fall into the condemnation of Satan; for it is said that, "every one that exalteth himself shall be abased. Thus the Bishop is required to be; a man who has taken one wife, who ruleth his house well;

4 and thus let him be proved when he receives the laying on of hands, that he may sit in the place of the Bishops, if he be chaste, and if also his wife be believing and chaste, and if he have brought up his children in the fear of God, and if he have admonished and taught them, and if they reverence and respect him at home, and if all of them be obedient to him; for if his household according to the flesh oppose him and do not obey him, how shall those who are without belong to him and submit to him? Let it also be proved that he is blameless in the affairs of the world, and in his body, for it is written; "See that there be no blemish in him who is appointed priest. Let him be also without anger, for the Lord hath said that anger destroyeth even the wise. Let him be merciful and gracious and full of love, for the Lord hath said that love shall cover a multitude of sins. Let his hand be stretched

out to give; let him love both orphans and widows. Let him love the poor, and also strangers. Let him be apt in his service, and let him be constant in service. Let him humble himself, and not be ashamed; let him know who is most worthy to receive.

5 For if there be a widow who possesses aught, or if she be able to provide for herself anything that is necessary for the nourishment of the flesh; and if there be another who is not yet a widow and is in want, either on account of sickness or the education of children, or because of the infirmity of the flesh, to this one rather let him stretch out his hand. If there be a person, who is spendthrift or drunken or lazy, and is constrained in provision for the flesh, this one is not worthy of alms nor even for the Church. Therefore let the Bishop also not be a respecter of persons, and let him not be ashamed before the rich, and let him not please them beyond what is right, and let him not despise or neglect the poor; let him not be haughty towards them. Let him be frugal and poor in his food and drink; so that he can be watchful in admonition and in discipline towards those who have no education. Let him not be very designing nor eccentric, nor be luxurious, nor let him love dainties, nor love pleasant viands, and let him not be irritable, but let him be long-suffering in his admonition. Let him be very diligent in his instruction; let him be constant in the reading of the divine books assiduously, that he may interpret and explain the Scriptures accurately.

6 Let him compare the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel, how that the commandments of the Law and the Prophets agree with the Gospel. Before all things then let him be a good discriminator of the Law, and of Deuteronomy, so that he may distinguish and shew what is the law of believers, and what are the chains of the unbelievers; lest any man of those who are under thy hand should take the chains to be the Law, and should put heavy burdens upon his soul, and should become a son of perdition. Be therefore diligent and careful about the Word, O Bishop, if thou 'canst explain' every commandment as it is in the doctrine. 7 Let him not love heathen feasts, nor be led by vain error. Let him not be covetous, nor love money, because all these things come from the operation of demons. Then let the Bishop inquire into all these things and warn the whole world. Let him be wise and self-denying. Let him be a monitor and a teacher in his doctrine and in the discipline of God. Let his mind be clear, let him be far from all wicked designs of the heathen; let his mind be sharp to compare, that he may anti-

cipate and know the wicked, and ye may keep yourselves from them. Let him be a lover of all men, being a righteous judge. Everything that is found good among men, let these things be in the Bishop; because when the pastor is far from all evil things, he can also constrain his disciples, and encourage them by his good manners, that they may be imitators of his good works; as the Lord said in the Twelve Prophets, "let the people be like the priest"; for it is required of you that ye be an example to the people, for ye also have the example of the Christ. Therefore be ye also a good example to your people.

8 For the Lord has said in Ezekiel the Prophet, "The word of the Lord was upon me, saying, Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say unto them, The land, when I bring a sword upon it, and captivity upon the people of this land, and they appoint a man from among them and make him a watchman, and he seeth the sword coming upon the land, and he bloweth with the trumpet and warneth the people; and whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning, and the sword cometh and taketh him away, his blood shall be upon his head, because he heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning, his blood shall be upon his head, but he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul. But if the watchman see the sword coming, and blow not the trumpet, and warn not the people, and the sword come and take any soul from among them, he shall be taken away in his sins, but his blood shall be required at the watchman's hands. Therefore the sword is the judgment and the trumpet is the Gospel; the watchman is the Bishop who is appointed over the Church.

CHAPTER 5

1 Doctrine and caution for the Bishop, that he should preach about judgment and warn the people, and remove himself from the disobedient, and judge those who do wrong like God, and not spare those that are wicked, and corrupt the people. It is required of thee, therefore, O Bishop, that when thou preachest thou shouldst testify and affirm about judgment, as in the Gospel, because the Lord hath said also to thee, "Also thou, O son of man, I have set thee for a watchman unto the house of Israel, that thou mayest hear the word at My mouth, and take heed, and preach it as from Me. When I say unto the wicked, That the wicked shall surely die, and thou dost not preach and say, so that the wicked may turn from his iniquity, the wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hands. But thou, if thou warn the people from its way and it be not warned, the wicked shall die in

his iniquity, but thou shalt deliver thy soul. Therefore ye also, because upon you will fall the accusation of those who have sinned without knowing, preach and testify, and those who walk without discipline, admonish and reprove them publicly. Though we say and repeat these things often, O brethren, let us not be blamed, for by a great deal of doctrine and by much hearing it may happen that a man is made to blush, and to do good things and avoid evil things.

² For the Lord saith in the Law, "Hear, O Israel," and to this day he has not heard. Again, in the Gospel he preacheth much and saith, "Every one that hath ears to hear, let him hear," and they have not heard, even those that thought they heard, because they leaned to the evil perdition of the heresies, those on whom the sentence of condemnation will come, for we do not believe, brethren, that when a man goeth down to the water, he will again do the abominable and impure works of the heathen and the depraved; ³ for this is manifest and known to all men, that every one who doeth evil things after having received baptism, is already condemned to the Gehenna of fire. We think that even the heathen blaspheme on account of these things, because we do not mix with them, nor are we partakers with them; and by means of the falseness of the heathen, keep the more, brethren, to the truth; for He saith thus in the Gospel, "Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and shall say against you every evil word falsely for my sake; rejoice then and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven, for thus your fathers persecuted the prophets. Therefore if they blaspheme against a man falsely he is blessed, because he is tried by temptations, saith the Lord. And the Scripture saith, A man who is not tried is also not proved. For if a man be reprov'd for doing wicked works, he is not a Christian, but is false, and by hypocrisy he has adhered to the worship of God. On this account when some of these are detected and reprov'd in truth publicly, let the Bishop reject them, he who is without offence and without hypocrisy.

⁴ If then even his mind be not pure, having respect to persons on account of filthy lucre, or on account of the presents he has received, and he should spare him who has sinned wickedly [and] allow him to remain in the Church, the Bishop who is such pollutes the congregation before God, and also before men, and before many of the communicants who are young in their minds, or before the hearers; again also he destroys those that are young along with himself; for on account of the wicked lasciviousness which

they saw in him among them, they also doubt in their souls, and imitate him, and they also stumble and are taken by this passion and perish with him...But if he who sinneth see the Bishop and the Deacons, that they are free from accusation and that all the flock are pure, in the first place he will not dare to go up to the congregation because he is reprov'd by his mind; and if it should happen that he have courage, and should go to the church in his impudence, let him be reprov'd and reprimanded by the Bishop; he will look at them all, and will not find an offence in one of them, neither in the Bishop, nor in those who are with him; he will blush therefore, and with much shame he will go out quickly, weeping, and be in penitence of soul. Thus the flock will remain pure.

5 Again, when he has gone out he will repent of his sin and weep and be consoled before God, that he may have hope. Then again, all the flock, having seen his weeping and his tears, will fear, knowing and understanding that every one that sins shall perish. Because of this, therefore, O Bishop, strive to be pure in thy works, and know thy place, that thou art appointed in the semblance of God Almighty, and that thou holdest the place of God Almighty; thus sit in the Church and teach, as one who hath power to judge those that sin, in the place of Almighty God; for to you Bishops it is said in the Gospel, that what ye bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven.

CHAPTER 6

1 Also teaches the Bishop, that he judge him that sins, as God, and not spare him; that he receive in love him that repents and pardon him, and that he adhere not to the passions of the laity, and shut the door in the face of those who repent, but according to the greatness of his honour he carry the burden of all men's sins; with demonstration and threatening from Ezekiel, about Bishops who despise their flocks or about laymen who contemn the Bishop.

2 Therefore judge severely, O Bishop, like Almighty God, and receive those who repent with compassion like God; and reprove, and beseech and teach, for even the Lord God has promised with oaths pardon to those who have sinned, as Ezekiel the prophet has said, "And thou, son of man, say to them of the house of Israel; Thus ye say, our transgressions and our sins are upon us, and in them we pine away; how should we then live? Say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord God, I do not wish the death of the sinner, but that the wicked should repent of his evil way and live; repent therefore and turn from your evil deeds, and ye shall not die, ye house of Israel. Here therefore he

gives hope to those who have sinned when they repent, that they may have forgiveness in their repentance; and their hope may not be cut off, and that they may not remain in their sins, nor add to these; but that they may repent and weep for their sins, and be converted with all their heart; and those who have not sinned may remain without sins; lest these also should have need of weeping and sighings and forgiveness. How knowest thou, O man that hath sinned, how many may be the days of thy life in this world that thou mayest repent, for thou knowest not thy departure from this world;

3 lest thou shouldst die in thy sins and have no repentance, as it is said in David, "In Sheol who confesseth to Thee? Therefore every one who hath pity on himself and remaineth without sins, may remain without danger; so that the righteousness which was done by him of old may be kept for him. Thou therefore, O Bishop, judge thus, first severely, and afterwards receive with mercy and clemency [him who] has promised to repent, reprove him and make him sorry and persuade him, because of the word that was said in David thus, "Thou wilt not give up the soul of him that confesseth to Thee. Again, in Jeremiah He saith thus, about the repentance of those that sin, "He that falleth, shall he not rise; or he that turneth away [shall he] not turn back? Why hath My people turned away with a shameless turning; they are held fast in their thoughts, and do not wish to repent and be converted. Because of this therefore receive him who repenteth, not doubting in the least, and be not prevented by those who have no mercy, those who say, We must not be defiled by those. For the Lord God hath said, "The fathers shall not die for the children, nor the children for the fathers.

4 And again in Ezekiel he saith thus, "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, when a land sinneth against Me, and doeth wickedness before Me, I will stretch out My hand against it, and I will destroy from it the staff of bread, and I will send famine upon it, and I will destroy from it man and beast. Though these three men were in it, Noah, and Daniel, and Job, they should deliver their souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God. The Scripture therefore plainly sheweth that if the righteous be found with the wicked, he will not perish with him, but every man shall live by his righteousness, and if he be prevented, he is prevented by his own sins. In Wisdom again He saith, "Every man is bound with the cord of his sins. Every one of the laity therefore shall give an account of his own sin and no man will be hurt because of the foreign sins of others. Not even Judas did cause us

any loss by praying with us, but he alone perished. Noah also in the Ark and two of his sons who were saved, were blessed; but Ham, the other, was not blessed; but his seed was cursed, 'because he mocked at his father, for going out to the beasts'. We do not require you therefore to confirm those who delight in death, hate their brethren, and love quarrels, for which reason they are ready to kill;

5 but help those who are very sick, and are in danger and sin, and deliver them from death, not according to the hardness of their heart and their word and their thoughts. For it is not required of thee, O Bishop, that being the head thou shouldst listen to the tail, that is to say, to the layman, to the quarrelsome man who delights in the destruction of another; but look thou only at the command of the Lord God, and for this reason, that they may not expect to perish, nor be defiled with the sins of others. Cut away also their evil thoughts. Even in Ezekiel the Lord God saith thus, "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, why use ye this proverb in the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not use this proverb any more in Israel, because all souls are mine; the soul of the father is mine, thus also the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sinneth, it shall die.

6 If a man be righteous, and doeth judgment and righteousness, and eateth not upon the mountains, and lifteth not up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, and defileth not his neighbour's wife, and cometh not near to a woman in her separation, and hath not acted to any one with violence, and even returneth the pledge of the debtor which he hath taken, and clotheth the naked with a garment, and giveth not out his money to usury, and taketh not with avarice, and withdraweth his hand from iniquity, and judgeth true judgment between man and man, and walketh in my laws, and doeth my statutes and keepeth them; this is a righteous man, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God. If he beget an evil son who sheddeth blood and doeth murder, and walketh not in the way of his righteous father, and eateth on the mountains, and defileth his neighbour's wife, and oppresseth the poor and needy, robbeth with violence, and returneth not the pledge that he hath taken; lifteth up his eyes to the idols, doeth iniquity, giveth out his money to usury, and taketh with avarice, he shall not live, because he hath done all this iniquity, he shall surely die, and his blood shall be upon him. Now if he be-

get a son, and he seeth all these sins that his father hath done, and feareth, and doeth not like unto him;

7 and eateth not upon the mountains, and lifteth not up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, and defileth not his neighbour's wife, and oppresseth no man, and taketh no pledge, and robbeth not with violence; and giveth his bread to the hungry, and clotheth the naked with a garment, and withdraweth his hand from iniquity, and taketh not usury and avaricious gain, and doeth righteousness, and walketh in My laws, he shall not die in the iniquity of his father, but he shall surely live. But his father, because he hath grievously oppressed, and robbed with violence, and hath not done good to My people, he shall die in his iniquity. And ye say, Why is not the son punished for the iniquity of his father? because the son hath done righteousness and mercy, and hath kept all My commandments and done them, he shall surely live; and the soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not be recompensed for the sins of his father, and the father shall not be recompensed for the sins of his son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him. If the wicked man turn from all his iniquity that he hath done, and keep all My commandments, and do judgment and righteousness, he shall surely live, and shall not die, and all the iniquity that he hath done shall not be remembered unto him, but in the righteousness that he hath done shall he live;

8 because I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, saith the Lord God, but every one that turneth from his evil way shall live. And if the righteous turn away from his righteousness, and do iniquity, according to all the iniquity that the wicked man hath done, all his righteousness that he hath done shall not be remembered to him, but in the iniquity that he hath done, in the sins that he hath sinned shall he die. And ye say, His way is not good. Hear, ye house of Israel, My way is good, but your ways are not good. If the righteous man turn away from his righteousness, and do iniquity, in the iniquity that he hath done shall he die; and if the wicked man turn away from his iniquity that he hath done, and do judgment and righteousness, he shall save his soul, because he hath turned from all his iniquity, he shall surely live, and shall not die. And ye of the house of Israel say, The way of the Lord is not good. My way is good, O ye of the house of Israel, but your ways are not good. Because of this I will judge every one of you according to his

ways, saith the Lord God. Repent, and be converted from all your iniquity and wickednesses, and these shall not be an evil punishment to you.

⁹ Cast away and remove from you all the wickedness that ye have done wickedly, and make you a new heart and a new spirit, and ye shall not die, O ye of the house of Israel. For I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, saith the Lord God, wherefore turn and live. See, dear and beloved children, how many are the mercies of the Lord our God, and His goodness and clemency towards us. He requireth from those who have sinned that they repent; and in many places He speaketh about these things, and giveth no place to the opinion of those who are hard-hearted, and who wish to judge sharply and without mercy, and to cast completely away those who have sinned, as if there were no repentance for them. But God is not thus, but He calls even sinners to repentance, and gives them hope, but those that have not sinned He teaches and says to them, that they must not expect that we should bear or share in the sins of others. Simply therefore receive those that repent, not doubting. For He saith in the Prophet thus, "And thou, Son of man, say unto the children of thy people, The righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him in the day that he doeth evil, and the avarice of the wicked shall not hurt him in the day that he repenteth from his iniquity; and the righteous shall not be able to live in the day that he sinneth.

¹⁰ When I say to the righteous that he shall surely live, if he trust to his righteousness, and do iniquity, all his righteousness that he hath done shall not be remembered to him, but in the iniquity that he hath done shall he die. ¹¹ When I say to the wicked that he shall surely die, and he turneth from his sin, and doeth his righteousness; returneth the pledge which he hath taken, and payeth back that which he hath violently robbed, and walketh in the statutes and commandments of life that he may not do iniquity; he shall surely live and not die, and all the sins that he hath sinned shall not be remembered unto him; he hath done judgment and righteousness, he shall surely live. And the children of thy people say, ." ¹² It is required of you, O Bishops, according to the Scriptures, that ye judge those who sin with pity and mercy. For him that walketh on the brink of a river and falleth, if thou leave him in the river, thou pushest and throwest him down and committest murder; or when a man has fallen by the side of a river's brink, and nearly perishes, stretch out thy hand to him quickly and draw him up that he perish not: thus therefore do, that thy people may learn and be wise, and also that

he that sinneth, may not perish utterly, but that thou mayest look to him that hath sinned, be angry with him, and command them to put him out. And when he is put out, be ye not angry with him, and contend with him, but let them keep him outside of the Church, and then let them go in and make supplication for him, for even our Saviour made supplication to His Father for those that had sinned, as it is written in the Gospel, "My Father, they know not what they do, nor what they speak, yet, if it be possible, forgive them. Then thou, O Bishop, command him to come in, and thyself ask him if he repents. If he be worthy to be received into the Church, appoint him days of fasting according to his fault, two, or three, or five, or seven weeks, and thus allow him to go, saying to him all that is proper for admonition and doctrine.

¹³ Reprove him, and tell him to be humble-minded, and to pray and make supplication in the days of fasting, that he be found worthy of the forgiveness of sins, as it is written in Genesis, "Thou hast sinned, cease. Let thy repentance be with thee, and thou shalt have power over it. Look also at Miriam the sister of Moses, when she had spoken against Moses, and afterwards she repented, and was thought worthy of forgiveness, it was said by the Lord, "If her father had but spit in her face, would she not have been ashamed and separated for seven days without the camp, and then she would have come in? Thus also it is required of you to act towards those who promise to repent of their sins. Put them out of the Church as it is proper for their faults, and afterwards receive them as a merciful Father. If then the Bishop himself cause scandal, how can he rise and search for the sin of any one, or reprove for it, and command sentence by his hands? by respect of persons or gifts that they receive? either he or his deacons, whose conscience is not clear. They cannot contend in the help of the Bishop, for they fear lest they should hear as from a courageous man, this word that is written in the Gospel, "Why seest thou the straw that is in thy brother's eye, but observest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

¹⁴ Thou hypocrite, take first the beam out of thine eye, and then shalt thou explore clearly to take out the straw from thy brother's eye. Because [of this] therefore the Bishop fears the Deacons, lest they hear the word of the Lord from him that sinneth as from a courageous man. For he does not know that it is dangerous for a man to speak against the Bishop, and in all that place there will be a scandal, for he that hath sinned is wanting in reas-

on, and doth also not spare his soul. Because of this therefore for every reason for which the Bishop fears, he makes himself as one who does not know him that hath sinned, and he passes away from him, and does not reprove nor correct him; and because of this, Satan, when he finds opportunity, will rule by means of one, also of others. God forbid that this should be! and should happen thus, that the flock becomes so as it can never again be, for many sinners being found, evil becomes a force, because sinners are not corrected and reprov'd so that they may repent. In every man there is an incitement to sin, and it is fulfilled that was said, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples, but ye have made it a den of thieves.

¹⁵ If then the Bishop does not keep silence before them that sin, but re-proves and censures them, and corrects and admonishes and punishes him that hath sinned, he also throws fear on others; for it is required of the Bishop that by means of his doctrine he should be a preventer of sins unto death, and an exhorter to righteousness, and by the admonition of his doctrine a guide to good works, a glorifier and exalter of good things to come, that are promised by God in the place of eternal life; and a preacher also of future wrath by the judgment of God, by the threat of cruel fire, quenchless and unbearable. Let him know the effect of the will of God, that he may not despise any one, for our Saviour has said, "See that ye despise not any one, not one of these little ones who believe in Me. Therefore let the Bishop care for every one: for those who have not sinned that they may remain as they are without sin; also for those who have sinned, that they may repent, and let him give them pardon for their sins, as it is written in Isaiah that the Lord hath said, "Loose all the bands of wickedness, and cut all the burdens of deceit and of oppression."

¹⁶ Therefore, O Bishop, teach, and reprove, and loosen by pardon, and know that thy place is that of God Almighty, and thou hast received power to forgive sins, for it is said to you Bishops, "All that ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and all that ye shall loose shall be loosed. As therefore thou hast power to loose, know thyself and thy conduct and thy works, that in this life they may be of thy place, but there is no man among the sons of men who is without sins, for it is written, "There is no man that is pure from the uncleanness of sin, no, not one, even if he have lived only one day in this world. Because of this the conversation and the conduct of the works of the righteous, and of the first Fathers were written, that it

might be known that in each one of them was found just a little sin, that it might be known that the Lord God alone is sinless, as David said, "That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings and be clear in thy judgments. For the uncleanness of the righteous is to ourselves a comfort and a consolation and a good hope, that we, though we have also sinned a little, have an expectation of getting pardon. There is therefore no man without sin.

¹⁷ But thou, according to thy strength, be diligent that thou be not overtaken in aught, and be careful about every one, lest any man should be offended, and should perish because of thee; because the layman is careful of his own soul alone, but thou carriest the weight of every man, and it is a very great burden that thou bearest; "for he to whom the Lord hath given much, from him much will be required. Forasmuch, therefore, as thou bearest the burdens of all men, be watchful. For it is written that the Lord said to Moses, "Thou and Aaron shall bear the sins of the priesthood. For thus, as thou shalt give a sufficient answer for many, so thou shalt care for every one; that thou mayest keep those that are whole, and admonish those that sin, and correct and reprove and punish and lighten them by means of repentance and pardon; and when a sinner repents and weeps, receive him; and when the people have prayed for him, lay [thy hands] upon him, and allow him thenceforth to be in the Church. Those who sleep and are negligent restore and rouse and confirm, and pray for them and heal them, for thou knowest where is the reward to thee if thou hast done thus; so if thou neglectest it, a great danger will come upon thee. For the Lord hath said in Ezekiel about the Bishops who despise their people thus:

¹⁸ "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Woe to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves, and the shepherds do not feed My flock. Ye eat the milk, and clothe yourselves with the wool, and ye kill her that is fat, but ye feed not the flocks. Her that is sick have ye not cured; her that is weak have ye not strengthened; her that was broken have ye not bound up; her that had wandered have ye not brought back; and her that was lost have ye not found; but with violence and levity have ye ruled them; and My flock is scattered without a shepherd; it has become meat to the beasts of the field. My own flocks are wandering on all high mountains and on all the face of the earth. Thou shalt leave the ninety and nine on the mountain, and go to seek her that was lost; and when thou findest her carry

her upon thy shoulders, rejoicing, because thou hast found her that was lost; bring her and mingle her with the flock. Thus obey thou also, O Bishop; visit the one that is lost, and seek the one that has wandered, and restore the one that is far away, because thou hast power to forgive the sins of him that has fallen...for thou fillest the place of the Christ.

19 Because of this also our Saviour said to him that had sinned, "Thy sins are forgiven thee; thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace. Peace then is the Church of quiet and rest; she in whom He established those whom He loosed from their sins whole and without spot, having a good hope, and being diligent in the cultivation of works and afflictions. As a wise and sympathetic physician He cures all men, and mostly those who have wandered in their sins, for "the whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. Thou also, O Bishop, art made the physician of His Church, therefore do not restrain the medicine that thou mayest heal those that are sick in their sins, but cure them by every means and make them whole and establish them safe in the Church; that thou be not taken by this word which the Lord spake, "Ye have ruled them with violence and levity. Lead not therefore with violence; be not vehement, nor judge sharply, nor be merciless, nor deride the people who are under thy hand, nor hide from them the word of repentance, for that would be to have ruled them with violence and levity.

20 But if ye oversee my people harshly and punish them with violence, and drive them and expel them, and do not receive them that have sinned, but harshly and mercilessly hide repentance from them, thou wilt even be a helper in their conversion to evil, and in scattering the flocks to be food for the beasts of the field, that is to say, to the wicked men of this world, but not to men in truth, but to the beasts, to the heathen, to the heretics; for him who goes out of the Church they follow immediately, like evil beasts, to swallow him for food; because of thine own harshness, he then that goeth out of the Church, either goeth and entereth in unto the heathen, or plunges into heresies; he will be entirely a stranger, and be removed from the Church, and from the hope of God, and thou wilt be guilty of his ruin, because thou wert ready to put out and to cast away those who sin; and when they repented and returned, thou didst not wish to receive them. Behold, thou art fallen under the condemnation of this word which said, "Your feet hasten to evil, and are swift to shed blood; affliction and misery are in their paths, and the way of peace have they not known. The Way of Peace is our

Saviour, as He said, "Forgive the sins of those who sin, that your sins also may be forgiven;

²¹ give and it shall be given unto you," which is, "Give the pardon of sins, that you also may receive pardon. He also teaches us that we should be constant in prayers at all times, and that we should say, "Forgive us our debts and our sins, as we also forgive our debtors. For if thou forgivest not those that sin, how canst thou receive forgiveness? Behold, will not thy mouth accuse thee, and thou wilt convict thyself of having said, "I forgive" when thou hast not forgiven, but hast verily murdered; for he who puts any one out of the Church without mercy, what else does he do but murder bitterly, and shed blood without pity? For if a righteous man is unjustly killed by any one by means of the sword, he is received to rest with God; but he who puts any one out of the Church and receives him not again, kills verily evilly and bitterly for eternity; and God gives to be food to cruel fire for ever, him who puts out of the Church, and does not look at the mercy of God, and does not remember His goodness to the penitent, and does not bear the likeness of the Christ, nor pay attention to any people who repent of the multitude of their failings that they may receive pardon from him.

²² It is required of thee then, O Bishop, that the things which happened of old should be put before thine eyes, that from them thou mayest understand and be taught the cure of souls, and admonition and reproof and intercession. When thou judgest men, compare cautiously and with much investigation, and cleave to the will of God; and according as He acts, thus ought ye also to act in your judgments. Hear therefore, O Bishop, in regard to these things, an example that is congruous and helpful. It is written in the fourth Book of Kingdoms, and in the second Book of Days thus, that "in these days Manasseh reigned, being twelve years old, and for fifty years he reigned in Jerusalem; the name of his mother was Apheeba (Hephzi-bah). He did that which was evil before the Lord, like the abomination of the peoples, whom the Lord had destroyed before the children of Israel. He returned and built the high places for the sacrifices which Hezekiah his father had thrown down. He raised statues to Baal, and made abominations like as Ahab king of Israel had done. He made altars to all the army of Heaven, and worshipped all the powers of Heaven. He built an altar to demons in the house of the Lord, where the Lord had said, "In Jerusalem is My house, I will put My

name there for ever. Manasseh served the high places and said, My name shall endure for ever.

23 He built an altar to all the army of Heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord. "He caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom; he used auguries and sorceries; he made soothsayings and incantations and divinations, and wrought many evil things in the eyes of the Lord, to provoke Him to anger. He set a molten and carved image of the abomination which he had made, in the house of the Lord, where the Lord had said to David and to Solomon his son, that in this house, and in Jerusalem which I have chosen from all the tribes of Israel, I will put My name for ever. Nor will I any more restrain My feet from the land of Israel which I have given to your fathers, only if they keep all that I have commanded them, according to all the commandments which I commanded my servant Moses, and they did not hear. Manasseh caused them to err, to do evil before the Lord, according to the works of the nations whom the Lord had destroyed before the children of Israel. "The Lord spake with Manasseh, and to his people by the hand of his servants the prophets, and said, Because Manasseh king of Judah has done these abominations in Jerusalem, like as did the Amorites who were before him, and has also made Judah to sin by his idols;

24 therefore thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold I bring such evil things upon Jerusalem and upon Judah, that the two ears of every one that heareth them shall tingle. I will stretch over Jerusalem that measure of Samaria, and the weight of the house of Ahab, and I will wipe Jerusalem as one wipeth a water-vessel when he turneth it on its face. I will give the remnant of Mine inheritance to the sword, and will deliver them into the hand of their enemies, and they shall be for a prey and a spoil to all that hate them, because they have done evil before mine eyes, because they have been provoking from that day that I have brought out their fathers from Egypt until this day. Manasseh also shed much innocent blood, till he had filled Jerusalem from rim to rim with the slain, because of the sins which he committed; and he made Judah to sin in doing evil before the Lord. "And He brought against them the captains of Assyria; and they took Manasseh and bound him, and threw chains about him and carried him to Babylon in a copper star, and shut him up in prison, having completely chained and bound him in irons. Bread of husks was given to him by weight, and water

mixed with vinegar in small measure, that he might be alive and afflicted and heavily troubled.

²⁵ "When he was much afflicted he sought the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. He prayed to the Lord God, and said: ²⁶ The Prayer of Manasseh. ²⁷ Lord God of my fathers! God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, who hast made the heavens with all their array, who hast chained the sea and established it by the command of Thy word, who hast bound the abyss and hast sealed it by Thine awful and glorious name; Thou before whose power everything trembles and shakes because of the unbearable greatness of the splendour of Thy glory, and no man can bear to stand before the anger of Thy wrath against sinners; whose mercies are infinite and measureless; for Thou art a Lord who is longsuffering and merciful and very gracious, and Thou regrettest the evils of the sons of man; Thou, Lord, according to the kindness of Thy goodness, hast promised forgiveness to those who repent of their sins, and in the greatness of Thy mercies Thou hast appointed repentance for the salvation of sinners. Thou, therefore, Lord God of the righteous, didst not appoint repentance to our father Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, nor even to those who had never sinned against Thee. Yet thou hast appointed repentance to me, for I am a sinner, because my sins are more than the sand of the sea. I have not breath to lift up my head for the multitude of my iniquities. And now, Lord God, behold, I am justly afflicted, and I am grieved as I deserve. Behold, I am chained and bent by a multitude of iron chains, so that I cannot lift up my head.

²⁸ Nor am I worthy to lift up mine eyes and look and see the height of heaven because of the multitude of my wickednesses, for I have done evil things before Thee, and I have kindled Thy wrath and set up idols, and multiplied abominations. And now behold, I bend the knees of my heart before Thee, and seek Thy kindness. I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned. Because I know my sins, I supplicate before Thee, forgive me, Lord, and destroy me not in my follies. Be not angry with me for ever, nor keep my evil deeds, nor hold me guilty nor cast me down to the lower parts of the earth. For Thou, O Lord, art the God of those who repent, therefore even in me, Lord, shew Thy goodness, for though I am unworthy, save me according to Thy mercies. Therefore I will praise Thee at all times, and all the days of my life; for all the powers of Heaven praise Thee, and sing to Thee for ever and ever. And the

Lord heard the voice of Manasseh, and had mercy upon him. There came upon him a flame of fire, and all the irons with which he was chained were melted and loosened; and the Lord delivered Manasseh from his afflictions, and restored him to Jerusalem to his kingdom; and Manasseh knew the Lord, and said that He was God alone, with all his heart and with all his soul all the days of his life.

²⁹ He was counted righteous, and slept with his fathers, and Amon his son reigned after him. Ye have heard, dear children. Like as Manasseh worshipped evil idols bitterly, and killed the righteous, and when he repented, the Lord forgave him, although there is no sin worse than the worship of idols, yet a place for repentance was given. But to him who saith, Good things shall happen to me though I walk in the perverse will of my heart, thus saith the Lord, I will stretch out My hand upon him, and he shall be for a history and a proverb, because Amon son of Manasseh having taken counsel with the counsel of law-breaking said, My father from his childhood was very wicked, and good in his old age; I also will act now according to the lusts of my soul, and at the last I will repent towards the Lord. He did that which is evil before the Lord. He reigned two years only. Therefore the Lord God destroyed him from the good land. Therefore take heed, ye who have no faith, lest any of you should confirm in his heart the calculation of Amon son of Manasseh and perish quickly and swiftly. Therefore, O Bishop, keep with strength as thou canst those who have not sinned, that they may remain without sinning, and those who repent of sins heal and receive.

³⁰ For if thou receive not him who repents, because thou art merciless, thou sinnest against the Lord God, because thou dost not obey our Lord and God in acting as He acted; for even He to that woman who had sinned, her whom the elders placed before him and left it to judgment at His hands, and went away; He then who searcheth the hearts, asked her and said to her, "Have the Elders condemned thee, my daughter? She saith to him, No, Lord. And our Saviour said, Go, and return no more to do this, neither do I condemn thee. In this therefore let our Saviour and King and God be to you a sign, O Bishops! be like Him, that ye may be gentle and humble and merciful and clement, and peacemakers and without anger, teachers, and reprovers, and receivers and persuaders. Be not wrathful and be not tyrants, nor contemptuous, nor haughty, nor boasters.

CHAPTER 7

¹ Again a broad doctrine about the Bishop himself, that with much diligence he take care of his flock and admonish and encourage them, and teach them, that they may not cut off hope about themselves when they fall; and a great consolation to those who are shaken and are converted repenting, and a great condemnation upon the Bishop who receiveth not those who repent, and a command to him that he be gentle and kind towards the children of his people, and be not harsh and angry. ² "Therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord God. Forasmuch as my flock is for a prey and for meat to all the beasts of the wilderness, without a shepherd, and the shepherds have not sought my flock, but the shepherds fed themselves, and fed not my flock, therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require My flock at your hands, and cause them to cease from any more feeding My flock; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more, but I will deliver My flock from your hands, that they may not be meat for them. For thus saith the Lord God, Therefore behold I will visit my flock, and will seek them out, as a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day of storm, being amongst them, thus will I seek out my flock and gather it, from all the places where they have been scattered, in the day of cloud and darkness. And I will bring them out from the peoples, and gather them from the lands, and bring them into their own land, and I will feed them upon the mountains of Israel, and in all the waste places of the land. In a good and fat pasture I will feed them, and upon the high mountains of Israel shall be the glory of their splendour, and there they shall lie in a good fold, and in a fat pasture shall they feed in the mountains of Israel.

³ I will feed My flock, and I will establish them, saith the Lord God, I will seek that which is lost, and restore that which has wandered, and bind up that which is broken, and strengthen that which is sick, and I will keep that which is fat and strong, and will feed them with judgment. And you My flock, the flocks of My pasture, thus saith the Lord my Lord, Behold I judge between sheep and sheep, and between ram and ram. Is it a small thing unto you that ye eat up the good and fat pasture, and the rest of your pasture ye tread down with your feet, and My flock drank what is trodden down by your feet. Therefore thus saith the Lord my Lord, Behold I judge between sheep and sheep, and between those that are sick; because ye thrust with your

sides and your shoulders, and with your horns ye pierced all the sick ones, until ye scattered them out. And I will save My flock, and they shall no more be for a prey; and I will judge between sheep and sheep. And I will set up 'a shepherd over them, and David My servant shall be captain among them, I the Lord have spoken. I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land, and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the wood; and I will give them a blessing round about my hills.

4 I will send down the rain in its season and it shall be a rain of blessings. The trees of the field shall yield their fruit, and the earth shall yield her produce, and they shall dwell safely in their land; and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I have cut the nooses of their yoke, and I have delivered them from the hand of those who made them to serve. And they shall no more be for a prey, nor shall the beast of the field devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and there shall be none to make them afraid. And I will raise up for them a Plant of renown, that they may no more bear the shame of the nations; and they shall know that I the Lord their God am with them, and that they of the house of Israel are My people, saith the Lord God."

5 Hear therefore, ye Bishops, and hear, ye laymen, that as the Lord hath said, I will judge between ram and ram, and between sheep and sheep, that is to say, between Bishop and Bishop, and between layman and layman; for if the layman love the layman, let the layman also love the Bishop and honour him, and reverence him as father and lord and god after God Almighty, for it is said to the Bishop by means of the Apostles, that "all who hear you hear Me, and all that injure you injure Me, and Him that sent Me. Again, let the Bishop love the laymen as children, and nourish and inflame them with the zeal of his love, like eggs, that chickens may come from them; hatch them like chickens and nourish them as with the nourishment of winged fowls. O Bishop! teach and admonish every one. Those who are deserving of reproof reprove, and make them sorry, as for conversion and not for destruction. Admonish as for repentance, and correct them, so that thou mayest make their ways straight and smooth for them, and make stable their mode of life. Keep what is in health, that is to say, keep carefully him who is steadfast in the faith, and feed all the people in peace. That which is weak strengthen, that is to say, him who is tempted, strengthen by means of admonition. That

which is sick heal, that is to say, him who is sick with doubt of the faith heal by means of doctrine.

6 That which is broken bind up, that is to say, him who is beaten or struck or broken by his sins or halting in the way of righteousness, bind him up, that is to say, cure him by means of intercession and admonition; raise him from his fall and encourage him; shew him also that there is hope for him. Bind him up and heal him; admit him also to the Church. That which has wandered persuade, that is to say, him that is abandoned in sins, and excommunicated as for reproof, leave not without, but teach and admonish and convert, and receive him into thy flock, that is to say, him who by the multitude of his falls has cut off his hope, and has let his soul go to perdition; do not allow him to perish utterly, lest by means of temptation or much negligence he sleep, and through the heaviness of his slumber he forget his life, and be removed and turned from the flock, that is to say, from the Church, and he come to perdition; for since he has got out of the fold and is removed from the flock, a wolf will eat him as he wanders, and he will perish utterly. But do thou visit him, admonish and teach and convert him, command him and encourage him to awaken;

7 tell him that there is hope, and cut this off from their minds, that they may not say nor think that which was said of old, that "Our iniquities and sins are upon us, and by them we are corrupted; how then can we live? It is not required of us that we should say or think these things, or suppose that their hope is cut off on account of the multitude of their sins, but that they should know that the mercies of God are many, that He hath promised with oaths and good counsel, pardon to those who have sinned. If then a man sin, and know not the Scriptures, and be not persuaded of the long-suffering and pity of God, and knoweth not the boundaries of pardon and repentance, he perisheth by this, that he knoweth not. Therefore thou, O Bishop, as a shepherd, a partaker in suffering, who art full of love and tenderness, be assiduous in visiting thy flock. Count the flock. Seek that which has wandered, as said the Lord God Jesus the Christ, our Teacher and our Good Shepherd.

CHAPTER 8

1 Teaches the same Bishop that he be not luxurious and covetous about the things that come into the Church, as provision for the poor, but that he furnish them with justice to those that are in want, as a just steward of God, and that he also may supply his own want out of them without guilt; and that he

also stir up the people, that every one according to his ability take a share, and supply the need of the Church, in regard to the provision for the poor and for orphans and widows. ² Be not lovers of wine, nor drunkards, nor much puffed up, nor luxurious. Do not incur expense that is not proper from the gifts of God, as if it were not your own, but as if you were making use of your own; as those who are appointed to be good stewards of God, of Him who will in future require at your hands an account of the management of the stewardship with which you are entrusted. Let your sufficiency then be enough for you, food and raiment; make use of what is necessary and not beyond what is just from the things that come in, as from strange things, but in moderation; do not enjoy yourselves and be luxurious from the income of the Church, for to a workman his raiment and food are sufficient. Therefore as good stewards of God, do well in dispensing the things that are given and come into the Church, according to the commandment, to the orphans and widows and those who are in straits and to strangers, like men who know that ye have a God who requires at your hands an account of the stewardship which He has committed to you. Therefore distribute and give to every one who is in want, also yourselves provide and live from these things, from the things that come into the Church. Do not consume them yourselves alone, but give a share with yourselves to those who are in want. Be without offence before God;

³ because God reproves Bishops who use the income of the Church avariciously and for themselves alone, and do not give a share with them to the poor. The Lord said thus, "Ye eat the milk of the flocks, and ye clothe yourselves with the wool. For it is required of you Bishops that ye be provided for out of the income of the Church, but not that ye swallow it up; for it is written, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that grinds. Thus therefore as the ox that works in the threshing-floor without a muzzle eats food, but does not consume it all, thus also ye who labour in the threshing-floor, which is the Church of God, provide for yourselves from the Church, like the Levites who served in the Tabernacle of witness, which was the type of the Church, as its very name tells, for the Tabernacle of witness set forth the Church beforehand. Therefore the Levites who served in it were provided for without hindrance from the things that were given as the offerings of God by all the people, gifts, and oblations and first-fruits and tithes and sacrifices, and offerings and whole burnt-offerings, they and their wives and their sons and

daughters, because their work was the service of the Tabernacle alone. Therefore they received no inheritance of land among the children of Israel, for the inheritance of Levi and of his tribe was the inheritance of the people.

4 Therefore ye also to-day, O Bishops, are priests to your people, and Levites who serve in the house of God, the Holy Catholic Church, those who remain continually before the Lord God. Therefore ye are to your people priests and prophets and chiefs and governors and teachers and mediators between God and the believers, receivers of the Word, preachers of it, evangelists of it, knowers of the Scriptures and of the words of God, witnesses of His will, ye who bear the sins of all men, and who will give account concerning all men; ye who hear how that word is kindled hardly against you, if ye despise, and do not preach the will of God, ye are they who are in grave danger of perdition, if ye despise your people. Ye again are those to whom is promised by God a great reward that will not disappoint nor be snatched away, and unspeakable grace in that great glory, if ye serve well the Tabernacle of God, the Catholic Church. Therefore as ye bear the burden of all men, thus also it is required of you that ye receive from all who are with you the service of food and clothing, and other things, such as are necessary. It is required also that ye take from the gifts that are given you by the people who are under your hands, and provide for the deacons and the widows and the orphans, and those that are in want.

5 For it is required of thee, Bishop, that thou care for all men as a faithful steward, for as thou carriest the weight of all those who are under thy hands, thus, and more than all men, thou shalt receive the glory of excellency from God; for thou art the propitiator of the Christ; and as He has borne the sins of us all, thus it is required of thee that thou carry the sins of all those who are under thy hands. For thus it is written in Isaiah about our Saviour, "We have seen Him, that He had no splendour and no beauty, but His visage was more shamed and humiliated than men, and that He was a man of suffering; and knoweth [how] to understand sicknesses; for His face was changed and done despite to, and He was of no account in our eyes. He then hath carried our sins, and for us He died; and we thought Him wounded and grieved and humiliated. But He was wounded for our sins, and afflicted for our iniquities, and by His wounds we are all healed. Again he saith, that "He bore the sins of many, and was betrayed because of their iniquity."

6 And in David and in all the Prophets and also in the Gospel, our Saviour entreats on account of our sins, He who was without sins. Therefore as ye have the example of the Christ, thus also be ye an example to the people that are under your hands, that as He hath taken our sins. Do not imagine that the burden of the Bishopric is a light and easy one. Therefore as ye have received the burden of all men, thus also the fruits which ye draw from all the people, are yours for all things that are necessary to you. Provide well for those that are in want, like people who give account to an inquisitor who does not err and cannot be got over. As ye serve in the office of the bishopric, thus it is meet that from the office of the bishopric ye provide for yourselves; like priests and Levites and deacons who serve before God; as it is written in the Book of Numbers, that God spake to Aaron and said, "Thou, and thy sons, and thy father's house shall bear the sins of the holy things; and thou and thy sons shall bear the sins of the priesthood; and thy brethren the sons of thy father, the tribe of Levi, bring with thee; let them be placed beside thee and let them serve thee.

7 Thou and thy sons with thee shall serve before this Tabernacle of witness, except that the sons of Levi shall not approach the vessels of the sanctuary nor the altar, that they and ye die not; but they shall be added unto thee, and they shall keep the watches of the Tabernacle of witness for all the service of the Tabernacle, and a stranger shall not come nigh unto thee. Ye shall keep these charges of the holy things, and the charges of the altar; and there shall be no wrath upon the children of Israel. And behold, I have taken your brethren the sons of Levi from among the children of Israel, they are given as a gift to the Lord, to do the service of the Tabernacle of witness. Thou, and thy sons with thee, keep your priesthood for all the service of the altar, and of that within the Veil; do your service, as something that is given to your Priesthood; the stranger that cometh nigh shall die the death. And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and said, Behold, I have given you the charges and the firstfruits of all that is hallowed to me by the children of Israel, to thee I have given them for service, and to thy sons after thee, a law for ever.

8 This shall be thine of all the holy things that are hallowed from their fruits and from their offerings, and from all their sacrifices, from all their errors and from all their sins, all that they offer to Me of all the holy things, let it be for thee and for thy sons; eat it in the Holy place; every male shall eat

it, thou and thy sons, it shall be holy to thee. These shall be to you, the first-fruits of their gifts, from all the oblations of the children of Israel, to thee I have given them, and to thy sons and thy daughters with thee, for an everlasting law; every one that is clean in thy house shall eat them, all the first-fruits of the oil, and all the firstfruits of the wine, and the firstfruits of the wheat, all that they give to the Lord shall be thine; every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of them. All the rest that remains shall be thine, and all that openeth the matrix of all flesh, all that they bring to the Lord, of men and even of beasts shall be thine; nevertheless the firstborn of men shall surely be redeemed, and the firstborn of beasts that are not clean to be offered; and their redemption shall be from a month old and upwards; thou shalt redeem them for a price, five shekels by the shekel of the sanctuary, which is ten shekels of silver.

9 But nevertheless the firstlings of oxen, and the firstlings of sheep and goats, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy; thou shalt pour out their blood before the altar, and their fat thou shalt send up as an offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord; and their flesh shall be pure to thee, the end of the wave breast and the right forefoot shall be thine. All the heave offerings of the sanctuary, which the children of Israel destine to the Lord, to thee have I given them, to thy sons and also to thy daughters with thee, for an everlasting law: it shall be a statute for ever before the Lord, to thee and to thy seed after thee. And the Lord spake unto Aaron, and said, Thou shalt not inherit in their land, nor have any portion among them, because I am thy portion and thine inheritance among the children of Israel. And behold, to the children of Levi I have given all the tithes of the children of Israel for an inheritance, on account of their service in the Tabernacle. And the children of Israel shall not again come nigh unto the Tabernacle of witness, that they receive not the sin of death, but the Levites shall do the service of the Tabernacle of witness, and they shall bear their sins, as an everlasting law to their generations.

10 And among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance, because that the tithes of the children of Israel which they destine as heave offerings to the Lord, I have given to the Levites as an inheritance; therefore I said unto them, and to those of the house of Israel, that they shall have no inheritance for ever. The Lord spake unto Moses and said to him, Speak with the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take from the children of Israel the

tithes that I have given you from them as an inheritance, offer up from them also an heave offering to the Lord, even a tenth part of the tithes. The heave offering shall be reckoned to you as the wheat of the threshing-floor, and as the offering of the wine-press. Thus ye also shall offer a heave offering unto the Lord of all your tithes which ye receive from all the children of Israel, and ye shall give of them a heave offering to the Lord, to Aaron the priest, of all your gifts ye shall offer a heave offering to the Lord, of the firstfruits which He hath sanctified. And say unto them, When ye offer the firstfruits of them, it shall be reckoned unto the Levites as the produce of the threshing-floor, and as the produce of the wine-press;

11 they shall eat it in every place, ye and your households, because that is your reward for your service in the Tabernacle of witness, and ye shall have no sin because of it, when ye have offered the firstfruits of it; ye shall not pollute the offerings of the children of Israel, that ye die not."

CHAPTER 9

1 Exhortation to the people that they bring heave offerings of prayers and confessions to God, and that they honour the Bishop as [they honour] God, and reverence him, and that they do nothing apart from his permission, nor even give alms to those that are in need without him; but make everything known to him by means of the Deacon, and he will administer whatever is given, and that every one of the orders of the Church take its place and be honoured as befits it; condemnation and commination on those who speak wickedly to priests or despise them; that they think of them as of their kings, that they take them gifts from their labour for the supply of the need of the poor and the orphans and the widows, making no reckoning with them, as to whether they give or do not give. 2 Hear, therefore, these things, ye also, ye laymen, the Church chosen of God, because that even the first people was called the Church. Ye then, Holy and perfect Catholic Church, royal priesthood, holy assembly, people of inheritance, great Church, Bride adorned for the Lord God. As therefore was said before, hear also now, Bring heave offerings and tithes and firstfruits to the Christ, the true High Priest, also to His servants bring tithes of salvation, Him the beginning of whose name is the letter 10. Hear, thou Catholic Church, which art of God, who hast been delivered from plagues, and hast received commandments, and hast learnt the law and hast held the faith, and hast believed in a yod the beginning of a name, and art confirmed by the perfection of His glory; instead of the sacri-

fices of that time, offer now prayers and supplications and thanksgivings; then were firstfruits and tithes and oblations and gifts, to-day are offerings that are presented by means of the Bishops to the Lord God, for those are your High Priests. Priests and Levites; now Elders and Deacons, and Orphans and Widows. For the Levite and the High Priest is the Bishop. He is a servant of the Word of God and a Mediator, but to you a Teacher and your Father after God, who has begotten you by means of water. He is your Head and Governor, and he is a powerful king to you.

3 He governs in the place of the Almighty, but let him be honoured by you as God, because the Bishop sits for you in the place of Almighty God; but the Deacon stands in the place of the Christ; and ye should love him, but let the Deaconesses be honoured by you in the likeness of the Holy Ghost. Moreover, let the Elders be to you in the likeness of the Apostles, but Orphans and Widows be considered by you in the likeness of an Altar. For as it was not allowed for the stranger, that is to say for him who was not a Levite, to approach the Altar, nor to offer anything apart from the High Priest, thus do ye naught apart from the Bishop. For if any one do aught apart from the Bishop, he doeth it in vain, for it will not be counted to him as a work, because it is not fitting that any one should do aught without the High Priest. Present, therefore, your offerings to the Bishop, either ye yourselves, or by means of the Deacons; and what he receives let him deal to you justly, for the Bishop is well acquainted with those who are afflicted; for he provides for every one and gives as it becomes him; lest any one should receive many times in the day or in the week, and another should not receive even a little.

4 For to him whom the priest and steward of God knows to be much afflicted, he does good, as is required of him. And those who ask widows to agapai, her whom he knows to be much afflicted, to her let him send oftenest. And again, if any one give gifts to widows, to her who is in want let him send most. Let the portion of a shepherd be defined and known, according as the law of old is defined, and even if he be not present ye shall not cause to perish [any that belong] to God Almighty. As often then as is given to you or the widows, let double be given to each of the Deacons for the honour of the Christ; twice double to the Governor for the honour of God Almighty. If any man wish also to honour the Elders, let him give also to them as to the Deacons. For it is required for them that they be honoured as Apostles, and

as the counsellors of the Bishop, and also as the crown of the Church; for they are the directors and counsellors of the Church. And if there be also a Reader, let him also receive along with the Elders. Every office, therefore, let each of the laity as is proper to him, honour by gifts, by dignity, and the respect of the world.

5 Let them have great boldness with the Deacons, and let them not be troubling the Chief at all hours, but whatever they require, let them make it known by means of the servants, that is to say, by means of the Deacons. For not even to God Almighty can one approach save by means of the Christ. All things, therefore, that ye wish to have done, make them known to the Bishop by means of the Deacons, and then let them be done. Not even of old in the Temple of the Sanctuary was anything offered or done apart from the Priest. Again also, with the idols of the heathen, polluted and abominable and reprehensible, even to our day they imitate the Sanctuary, though in comparison the house of impurity is very far from the Holy place; but nevertheless in the work of their oversight (in another manuscript, of their folly), without their polluted priests they do not offer nor do anything; but thus they suppose that the mouth of the stones (that is to say, the idols he calls stones) is a polluted priest, and they wait for whatever he commands them to do, and in all that they contemplate doing they are counselled by their polluted priest, and they do nothing without him, for they think that this is acceptable whatever they do, honouring him and doing homage to him like their honouring of the dumb stones, those that are fixed as stones for the worship of impure and cruel demons.

6 If they, therefore, who are foolish and [have] false customs and no hope, but err by a vain expectation, watch and desire to imitate a sanctuary, and honour with every honour those who stand in the house of their ridiculous idols, why then ye to whom it is known and manifest that ye believe in the truth, and are possessed by a hope that will not be falsified, and look to the promise of eternal glory which passeth not away nor dissolveth, should not ye the more honour the Lord God, by means of those who are appointed over you? Consider, therefore, the Bishop as the mouth of God. For if Aaron, because he interpreted to Pharaoh the words that were given through Moses, was called a Prophet, as the Lord said unto Moses, "Behold, I have given thee for a god unto Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet," why, therefore, do ye also not consider as God those who are to you mediators of

the Word? Now for us ourselves, Aaron is the Deacon, and Moses the Bishop. Let him be honoured by you as God, and the Deacon as xxxii. a Prophet. Therefore for the honour of the Bishop make known to him everything that ye do. Even by means of him let everything be completed.

7 If ye know that a man is much afflicted, but the Bishop doth not know it, inform him, but without him do nothing to disgrace him that thou bring no shame upon him as upon a despiser of the poor; for he who raises an evil report against the Bishop either by word or by deed, sins against God Almighty. But again, against a Deacon if any one speak evilly by word or by deed, he offends the Christ. Therefore it is written also in the Law, "Thou shalt not revile thy gods, nor speak evil against the ruler of thy people. Let no one suppose then that the Lord was speaking about idols of stone, but He calls 'gods' those who are placed over you. Moses also said again in the Book of Numbers, when the people had murmured against him and against Aaron, "It is not against us that ye murmur, but against the Lord God. Also our Saviour said, "He that wrongeth you wrongeth Me, and Him that sent Me. For what hope is there, even a little, to him who has spoken evil things against the Bishop? or against the Deacon? For if one have called a layman a fool or vile (Raca), he shall be condemned by the Synagogue, as one of those who rise up against the Christ, because he hath called his brother vain, him in whom the Christ dwelleth, who is not vain, but filled;

8 or a fool him in whom dwelleth the Holy Spirit of God, the Perfecter in all wisdom, as if he were a fool from the Spirit that dwelleth in him! If, therefore, any one who should say one of these things to a layman be found to have fallen into all this condemnation, how much [more] if one venture to say anything against a Bishop or against a Deacon? him by whose means the Lord hath given you the Holy Ghost, and by whose means ye have learnt the Word and know God, and by whose means ye are known of God, and by whose means ye are sealed; and by whose means ye are become the sons of light; and by whose means the Lord in baptism, by the laying on of the Bishop's hand, gave witness about each of you, and caused His holy voice to be heard and said, "Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee. Therefore, O my son, love thy Bishops, those by whose hands thou art become a son of God, and 'knowest the right Hand', and cherish him who after God is thy father and thy mother; for every one who mocketh his father or his mother, let him die the death.

9 But honour ye the Bishops who are able to loose you from sins, those who have begotten you anew by means of water, those who have filled you with the Holy Ghost, those who have nourished you with the Word as with milk, those who have established you with the doctrine of life, those who have confirmed you by admonition, and made you partakers in the holy Eucharist of God, and made you sharers and heirs of God's promise. Reverence these [men], and honour them (the Bishops) with all honour, for they have received authority from God of life and death, not that they may judge those who have sinned, and condemn them to death in everlasting fire, excommunicating and sending away those who are condemned, may this never happen! but that they may receive and give life to those who are converted and repent. Let these then be your Chiefs, and let them be considered by you as kings, and by deeds give honour to them as kings, for it is required of you that ye provide for them and for those that are with them.

10 For thus it is written in the first book of the Kingdoms, that Samuel the prophet said unto the people by means of words of the Lord, to those that asked from him a king, and he said unto them, "This is the law of the king who shall reign over you; he will take your sons, and appoint them over his chariots, and make them runners before him; and will make to himself captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds; they shall reap his harvest, and gather his vintage, and shall keep in order the instruments of his chariots. Your daughters he shall take to be weavers, and servants of his house. Your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, the best, he will take and give to his servants, and to eunuchs. Your maidservants and menservants, and your oxen and your asses he shall take and tithe for the service of his work. He will take tithe of your sheep; and ye also shall be his servants. According to this likeness also the Bishop rules.

11 For if even a king who reigned over all that multitude of people, took from that people, as it is written in Hosea, that "the people of the children of Israel are many as the sand that is on the shore of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered," and according to the number of that people were also the services that were required from it, thus now also the Bishop taketh to himself from the people, those whom he considereth and knoweth to be worthy of him and of his office, and maketh them elders and counsellors, members of his session, deacons and subdeacons, all as he requireth according to the service of a house. What more can we say? for the king who wears

the crown, reigns only over the body, and binds and looses only in this world, but the Bishop reigns over both soul and body, that he may loosen on the earth, and bind in heaven, by heavenly power. For it is a great heavenly power, that of the Almighty, which is given to him. Nevertheless, love ye your Bishop as a father, reverence him as a king, and honour him as God. Present to him your fruits, and the work of your hands, that your firstfruits may be blessed. Give to him your tithes, and your vows, and your oblations; from them he will require to be nourished, and to provide also for those who are in want, to every one as it is proper for him.

12 Thus thy offering shall be acceptable to the Lord thy God, for a sweet savour in the height of heaven, before the Lord thy God, and He will bless thee, and multiply to thee the good things of His promise. For it is written in Wisdom, that "every simple soul shall be blessed," and that "blessings shall be on the head of him who giveth. Because of this be constant in work, and labour, and bring a gift; for the Lord hath lightened your burden, and loosened from you the chains of fetters, and lifted from you the heavy yoke; and made Deuteronomy pass away from you, according to the greatness of God's mercy, as it is written in Isaiah, "Say to those who are in chains, Go out," and again, "to bring out the prisoners from the prisons. And in David He said, that "He despiseth not His prisoners. And again in the Gospel He said, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and carry heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.

13 If, therefore, the Lord, in the gift of His goodness, hath loosed you and given you rest, and brought your souls to enlargement, that ye be not again bound by sacrifices and by sin-offerings, by purifications, by vows, and by gifts, by oblations, by burnt-offerings, by shewbread, and by observations of purifications, again, by tithes, and by firstfruits, and by heave offerings, and by gifts, all these things were of necessity appointed for them to give; ye then are not bound by these things, for it is required of you that ye know the word of the Lord which said, that "unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven. Thus, therefore, your righteousness is more excellent than the tithes, and firstfruits, and heave offerings of these people, when ye act as it is written, "Sell all that ye have, and give to the poor. Therefore do thus, and

keep the commandment by means of the Bishop and the priest, and thy mediator who is with the Lord God, for He has commanded thee to give. Take care that thou provide for these things, and do not exact an account from the Bishop;

¹⁴ do not watch him as to how he provides and fulfils his stewardship, or when he gives, or to whom or how, whether well or ill, or if he gives as is fitting, for it is the Lord God who is the exactor, who has committed this stewardship to his hands, and counted him worthy of the priesthood of all this office. In order, therefore, that thou observe not nor require an account from the Bishop, nor speak evil things against him, resisting God, nor offend the Lord, let there be put before thine eyes what was said to thee in Jeremiah, "Shall the clay say to the potter, Thou workest not, and thou hast no hands; as he that saith to his father and his mother, "Hast thou brought me forth? but labour with a single mind and work in the house of God. Be it always written and established in thy heart, and remember the saving voice of the renewal of the Law, as the Lord hath said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. Your strength then is the property of the world. Do not love the Lord with the lips only, like that people to whom reproving He saith, "This people honoureth Me with its lips, but its heart is far from Me. But love thou the Lord and honour Him with all thy strength; and bring thy gifts at all times, and keep not away from the Church.

¹⁵ When thou receivest the Eucharist of the sacrifice, give whatever cometh to thy hand, as thou partakest, to the strangers; for this is collected by the Bishop for the reception of all strangers. Therefore according as thou art able, put down, and keep thyself, because the Lord hath said in the Law, "Thou shalt not appear before Me empty. Therefore do good works, lay up for thyself a treasure above in Heaven where moth doth not destroy, nor thieves steal. When thou doest thus, do not judge the Bishop, nor the layman, because to you laymen it is said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged. For if thou judgest thy brother, and accusest him, thou considerest thy brother guilty, that is to say, thou accusest thyself; thou art then judged with the guilty; for the Bishop has the power to judge, as it is said to them, "Be accurate discerners. It is, therefore, required of the Bishop as a tester of silver that he should divide the evil from the good; those that are completely evil he should reject and throw out; but those who are hard and defective for any

reason, like those who are not defective, he should leave them in the crucible. The layman then is not allowed to judge his neighbour, nor even to impose upon himself a burden which is not his; for the weight of this burden belongs not to the layman, but to the Bishop.

¹⁶ Therefore thou, being a layman, do not lay snares for thyself, but leave judgment in the hands of those who will have to answer for it to the Lord. But as for thee, strive to make peace with all men, and love thy limbs the children of thy people, because the Lord hath said, "Love thy neighbour as thyself."

CHAPTER 10

¹ Admonition about false brethren, and investigation about those that are accusers, or witnesses against any one, and the decree of punishment against those who are convicted of sin; and the consolation and reception into the Church, if they shew repentance; and injunction to the Bishops that they give the hand and bind up those who have sinned if they repent; that they should not judge with partiality, and be convicted before God; and that they should convict him who accuses falsely, in punishing as was fit him who was accused. ² If then there be false brethren, [who] on account of envy or the jealousy of enemies, and of Satan, who works by them, bring a false accusation against one of the brethren, or even a true one, those shall know that every one who investigates about these things, in order to accuse or blaspheme about any one, he is the son of anger, and where anger is, God is not; for anger is of Satan, who by means of these false brethren never allows peace to be in the Church. Therefore when ye know them, those that are so far wanting in sense, first of all believe them not, and secondly, Bishops and Deacons, beware of them, how ye say ought of the things that ye have heard from them to any of the brethren. Consider about him against whom they bring an accusation, investigate wisely, compare his actions, and if he be found to merit reproof, according to the doctrine of our Lord which He hath spoken in the Gospel, reprove him between thee and him; if he repent, and be converted, save him. And if he will not be convinced, reprove him before two or three, and fulfil that which was said, that at the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established; for therefore, brethren, it is required for witness, that it stand upon the mouth of two or three witnesses, because the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost testify about the works of men;

³for where there is admonition of doctrine, there is also discipline and conversion of those who have wandered. Therefore at the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established. And if he obey not, reprove him before all the Church; if he do not hear even the Church, let him be counted unto thee as a heathen and as a publican. Because the Lord hath said unto you, O Bishops, that henceforth ye receive not that man into the Church as Christians and be not partakers with him; for not even the heathen or the wicked publicans dost thou receive into the Church, nor make thyself partaker with them, unless they first repent, promising so that they may believe, and never henceforth again do evil deeds; for therefore our Lord and Saviour gave room for repentance to those who have sinned; for even I Matthew, who am one of the twelve Apostles, who speak to you by this Didascalia, I was a publican of old, and because I believed, grace came upon me, and I repented from my former works, and I was thought worthy to become an Apostle and a preacher of the Word of God. Again also John 'the Baptist', that he might seek, preached in the Gospel to publicans, not to cut off their hope, but taught them how they should act in future. When they asked him for a reply he said to them, "Do not exact more than what is commanded and appointed for you.

⁴And also Zacchæus in repentance the Lord received, making a request of him. We do not refuse salvation even to the heathen if they repent and renounce and remove from themselves their error. Therefore let him be accounted to you as a heathen and as a publican, he who is convicted of evil works and of falsehood; and afterwards if he promise to repent as the heathen, when they wish and promise to repent and say, "We believe," we receive them into the congregation that they may hear the Word, but we do not communicate with them until they receive the seal and are confirmed. Thus also we do not communicate with these until they shew the fruits of repentance; for they can certainly come in, if they wish to hear the Word, that they may not perish utterly, but in prayer they take no part, but go outside; because that even they, when they see that they do not take part in the Church, restrain themselves, and repent of their former deeds, and become eager to be received into the Church in prayer. They also who see them and hear that they have gone out like publicans may fear, and take heed to themselves that they sin not, lest it happen thus to them also, and they go out of the Church,

being reprov'd for sin or for falsehood. Do not utterly prevent them from entering the Church, and hearing the discourse of the Bishop;

5 for even our Lord and Saviour did not completely reject and cast out the publicans and sinners, but even ate with them. Because of this also the Pharisees murmured against Him, saying, "He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners. Then our Saviour answered and said against their thoughts and murmurings, "They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. Therefore have intercourse with those who have been reprov'd for their sins, and are in a bad state, and attach them to you, and take care of their [interests], and talk ye with them and console them, keep hold of them, and cause them to be converted; and afterwards when every one of them has repented, and has shewn the fruits of repentance, thereafter receive him in prayer as [ye do] to the heathen. As therefore thou baptizest a heathen, and thereafter receivest him, so on that man also lay the hand, every one praying for him; thereafter bring him in and let him partake with the Church. Let that laying on of the hand be to him instead of baptism; for if by the laying on of the hand and by baptism they receive the communication of the Holy Ghost...therefore as a sympathetic physician sharing in suffering, heal all those who have sinned, and distribute with all wisdom, offer healing for the help of their lives;

6 and be not ready to cut off the members of the Church, but make use of the Word of remedies, also of admonitions of preparation and of the plasters of supplication; for if an ulcer goes deep, and diminishes his flesh, by means of curative medicines nourish it, and reduce it. If there be in it foulness, by a sharp medicine, that is to say by the word of reproof, purify it; and if more flesh should spring up, by a harsh medicine, that is to say, by the communication of judgment shave it off and reduce it. If there be in it gangrene, burn it with a cautery, that is to say, with the incision of a long fast, cut off the putridness of the ulcer. If the ulcer grow and get the better of the cauteries, decide about that which is corrupt, then after much consultation with other physicians cut off that member which is corrupt that it destroy not all the body. Be not ready to amputate speedily, and do not rush in a hurry and run to the saw of many teeth, but first use scalpels, and cut the ulcer, that the cause of the evil which is hidden inside it may be seen openly and be known, that the whole body may be kept from being affected. But if thou see a per-

son who does not wish to repent, but has completely cut off hope of himself, then with grief and sorrow cut him off and cast him out of the Church.

7 For if thou findest that that accusation of calumny is false, and ye pastors with the Deacons have received the falsehood as truth, because of the accepting of persons, or because of offerings which ye have received; and ye change judgments, because ye wish to do the will of the Evil one, and him who is accused, being guiltless of this accusation, ye put out and cast him from the Church, ye will give an account in the day of the Lord; for it is written, "Thou shalt not respect persons in judgment," and again the Scripture hath said, that a "bribe blindeth the eyes of seers, and perverteth righteous words. And again it hath said, "Deliver the oppressed, judge the orphans, justify the widows"; and judge righteous judgment in the gates. Take heed then that ye be not respecters of persons and be condemned by the word of the Lord, who hath spoken thus, "Woe unto those that make bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; and call light darkness, and darkness what is bright, and justify the wicked for his reward, and pass over the righteousness of the righteous. But be watchful, that ye condemn not any one iniquitously, and help the wicked, because that in condemning others ye are condemning yourselves; as the Lord hath said, that "with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and as ye condemn, ye shall be condemned. Therefore remember and apply to yourselves this word, "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned.

8 If then, your judgment, O Bishops, be without respect of persons, look at him who is the accuser of his brother, if he be a false brother, if for the sake of envy or jealousy or calumny he have brought disturbance on the Church of God, and he should kill him who is calumniated by him, being put out of the Church and delivered to the destruction of fire; thou therefore judge him severely, because he has brought an evil thing against his brother, as it were from his own imagination; if he had not found that it goes before to his hearing; he would have killed his brother in the fire; for it is written, that "every one who sheddeth man's blood, his blood shall be shed for the blood which he hath shed. When that one then is found out to be thus, put him out of the Church with a great reprimand as a murderer; and after a time, if he promise to repent, admonish him, and lay a hard discipline upon him; and thereafter put on [your] hand and receive him into the Church; and take heed and observe him that is such, lest again it happen against some

one else. And if ye see him after he has entered the Church, that again he quarrels and wishes to accuse others also, and chatters and fabricates, and casts blame upon many falsely: put him out, that he may never again disturb and trouble the Church;

9 for he that is such, even if he be within, because he is not suitable to the Church, is of no advantage to her. For we see that there are men who are born with superfluous things in their bodies, let us say fingers or any other superfluous flesh; those people then that have such things according to the flesh, it is a disgrace and a shame to them, both to the flesh and to the man, because he has too much of them. When they are taken away by a practitioner, that man receives beauty and loveliness of flesh, and nothing is wanting to it, on account of that superfluity that has been taken away from him, but he is even the more seen in his beauty for it. In like manner therefore, ye also, O pastors, conduct yourselves; because the Church is a body, the members being we who believe in God, and are in love in the fear of the Lord according to the commandment of the tradition which we have received. Therefore he that devises evil things against the Church, and troubles its members, and loves the blames and accusations of enemies, that is to say, turmoils and contentions and calumnies and murmurings and quarrels and questions and incrimination and afflictions and accusations;

10 he that loves these things and makes them, and moreover the Enemy is working in him, and he remains in the Church, is a stranger to the Church, and of the household of the Enemy, for it is him whom he serves, who works in him, and he offends and afflicts the Church; that one then if he remains within, is a disgrace to the Church because of his blasphemies. To that one therefore do as it is written in Wisdom, "Cast out the evil man from the congregation, and his contention shall go out with him"; on account of litigation and reproach, that he sit not in the congregation and disgrace them all. For that one, when he goes out for the second time from the Church, is justly cut off, and the Church is the more beautified, for there is peace in it... But if your mind be not pure, either on account of respect of persons, or on account of gifts of filthy lucre which ye have received, and ye put out of the Church those who walk correctly, and ye increase many evil, quarrelsome persons, and profligate rulers amongst you, ye bring blasphemy against the assembly of the Church, and ye bring danger of death upon yourselves, that ye be deprived of eternal life, because ye have pleased man, and turned from

the truth of God, for the sake of respecting persons, and for the sake of accepting vain gifts; and ye have scattered the Catholic Church, daughter and beloved of the Lord God.

CHAPTER 11

¹ Again, exhortation to Bishops and Deacons, that they govern justly, and that they be with one another in concord and love; that they do not receive testimony from the heathen against a believer, and that a Christian be not vexed and contend with his neighbour. If it happen that they have a lawsuit, let them not say their say before the heathen, but before the Church, and let them be pacified, even if one of them lose something according to the flesh; and let him that is hard and obstinate about peace be kept from the Church until he repent; when the two persons approach, let those judge who judge without respect of persons, with much caution, on Monday, investigating the conduct of him who brings the accusation, and his conscience, and the reason of his lawsuit and contention. And him that is accused in like manner. Let them punish justly him that is found guilty.

² Again, about those who are angry, that it is right they should forgive each other's faults, if it be that we seek forgiveness from God. ³ Strive therefore, O Bishops, with the Deacons, that ye be righteous before the Lord, because the Lord hath said, "If ye be righteous with Me, I also will be righteous with you; and if ye walk with Me frowardly, I also will walk frowardly, saith the Lord of Hosts. Be ye therefore righteous, that ye may be worthy to receive praise from the Lord. Let therefore both the Bishops and the Deacons be of one mind, and let them feed the people carefully in one opinion. For it is required of you twain that ye be one flesh, father and son, for ye are in the likeness of the Divinity. Let the Deacon make known everything to the Bishop, as the Christ doth to His Father; let the Deacon settle some of them himself that he can; the rest of the other things the Bishop must judge; but nevertheless let the Deacon be the ear of the Bishop, and his mouth and his heart, and even his soul; for when ye twain are of one mind and in one consent there is peace in the Church. This praise then becomes the Christian, that he have not an evil word with any one. But if some temptation should happen to some one from the operation of the Enemy, and he have a lawsuit, let him strive to be delivered from it, even if he lose somewhat by it.

⁴ Only let him not go to the judgment of the heathen, and do not ye receive the testimony of the heathen about any of our people, for by means of

the heathen the Enemy plots against the servants of God. Because the heathen are destined to stand on the left, he calls them the left, for our Lord hath said to us thus, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth. Let not then the heathen know anything about your lawsuits, and receive not testimony against yourselves from them. Be not judged before them, as also it is said in the Gospels, "Give to Caesar that which is Caesar's, and to God that which is God's. Be therefore willing to lose, and more zealous to make peace though losing somewhat in worldly matters for the sake of peace; before God it will be thy gain, because thou fearest God, and doest according to the commandment. But if there be brethren who have an unavoidable quarrel with one another, which God forbid! it is required of you 'that ye immediately make peace, that ye rulers may know that those who venture to act thus perform no act of brotherhood in the Lord. If then one of them be of the children of God, humble and much oppressed, that one is a son of light; but he who is hard and bold and injurious and a blasphemer, he is a hypocrite.

5 Reprove him therefore, and reprimand him, disgrace him and put him out of the Church as a rebel, and afterwards receive him that he may not perish utterly. When ye punish and rebuke those that are such, ye will not have many lawsuits. For if they do not know the word which was spoken by our Lord in the Gospel, about how many times, if my brother offend me, shall I forgive him? and they are angry with one another, teach them, and make peace between them, as it is said, "Blessed are the peacemakers. Know that it is required of the Bishop with the Elders that he judge cautiously, as our Saviour said, when they asked Him about how often, if my brother offend me, shall I forgive him? until seven times? But our Lord said, Not until seven times, but until seventy times seven seven. For thus the Lord desireth, that those who are His own in truth, should never have aught against any, and should not be angry with any one. But if there happen anything, by the operation of the Enemy, let them be judged before you; let it be on Monday, lest it happen that some one rise up against the word of your judgments; that there be opportunity for you until the Sabbath, that ye may arrange the matter, and make peace, and pacify them on the Sunday. Let the Bishops then be constant in all judgments with the Elders and Deacons, and judge ye without respect of persons;

6 the two individuals therefore coming and standing together in judgment, as the Scripture hath said, "Those who have any controversy or litigation with one another," and when ye have heard them righteously, give an answer of judgment. Strive to keep them in love, before the judgment come out against them, so that in the judgment ye may have the Christ as Associate, Counsellor, Assessor and Overseer of the Court. If there are people against whom an accusation is brought that they do not walk well in the way of the Lord, having heard the two individuals, investigate carefully, like people who decree judgment concerning eternal life, or for a harsh and bitter death; and if some one be reproved and go out of the Church, he is cast out from life and from everlasting glory...he is rejected by men, and found guilty before God., and incline a little, that ye may save, without respect of persons. But if there be a man who is innocent, and is condemned by judges from respect of persons, it will not hurt him before God but will rather advantage him the more on account of the short time that he hath been unjustly judged by men. Therefore thus shall ye receive retribution from God, and ye shall be cast out of the Catholic Church of God, and that shall be accomplished against you that by the judgment that ye have judged ye shall be judged. Therefore when ye sit to judge, let the two individuals come and stand together;

7 we do not call them brethren until there be peace betwixt them; and investigate carefully with diligence between them about those things concerning which they have a lawsuit and contention with one another. Learn first about him who accuses if there be any accusation against him, or if he have brought actions also against others, and again [if] the accusation proceed from some former enmity, or from contention or envy, and what his conduct is, and if he be humble and without anger; if he love widows, and the poor, and strangers, and doth not love filthy lucre; if he be quiet and philanthropic, a lover of all men; if he be merciful, and stretch out his hand to give; not a glutton and not greedy; not avaricious and not a drunkard; for a perverse heart that deviseth evil things disturbeth cities, even if he have not done the evil things that are in the world. If then he who accuses be free from all these things, Be careful therefore, O Bishops, that ye be not hasty in sitting down in judgment hurriedly, lest ye oppress and condemn any one; but before they come and stand in judgment, bring them together, and make peace between them; and admonish them that have the lawsuit and

strife with one another; and teach them first that no one ought to be angry; for the Lord hath said, that "every one who is angry with his brother without cause is condemned in the judgment";

8 and again, that if it happen that there is anger by the work of the Enemy, it is required of you immediately in that day that ye be reconciled and pacified, and that ye be at peace with one another; for it is written, "Let not the sun go down upon wrath against thy brother. David also said, "Be ye angry, and sin not. This is, that ye be quickly reconciled, lest anger remaining, there be a grudge with it, and it should bear sin, for it is said in the Proverbs, "The soul that keepeth a grudge shall die. Again, also our Saviour said, "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother keepeth anger against thee; leave thy gift before the altar, and go, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come, offer thy gift. But the gift of God is our prayer and our Eucharist. If it be then that thou hast some grudge against thy brother, or he against thee, thy prayer is not heard, nor thy Eucharist accepted, but thou art found void of prayer and of the Eucharist, because of the anger that thou keepest. Prayer ought to be made diligently at every season. But those who are in anger and malice with their brethren, God heareth them not. If then thou prayest three times an hour, thou hast no advantage, for thou art not heard because of the enmity towards thy brother.

9 Therefore if thou carest, and strivest to be a Christian, acquiesce in the word of the Lord which He spake, "Loose all the bonds of wickedness, cut the bonds of the yoke of avarice"; for our Saviour hath given thee this authority, to forgive thy brother who hath wronged thee, until seventy times over seven, seven, that is 490 times. How many times therefore hast thou forgiven thy brother, that thou dost not wish again to forgive him, but keepest a grudge and cherishest enmity, and desirest to go to law; thy prayer therefore is hindered, even if thou fulfil the 490 times which thou hast forgiven him, increase also for thine own sake, and in thy goodness without anger forgive thy brother. If thou doest it not for thy brother's sake, consider, and do it for thine own sake: forgive thy neighbour, that thou mayest be heard when thou prayest, and mayest bring an acceptable offering to the Lord. Because of this therefore, O ye Bishops, that your gifts and prayers may be received, when ye stand in the church to pray, let the Deacon say with a loud voice, Is there any one who is keeping any grudge against his fellow? If

there be found any people who have a lawsuit and strife with one another, persuade and make peace betwixt them; in the house as they go in and say, Peace be to this house; they are also evangelists of peace who bring peace.

¹⁰ If therefore thou preachest peace to others, it is required yet more of thee, that thou be at peace with thy brethren, as a son of light and of peace. Be to every one light and peace; and do not contend with any one, but be at rest and at peace with every one, and be a helper with God, for this is the will of the Lord God. They who love to be in enmity and quarrels, those are the enemies of God, because that the Lord from the beginning from generation to generation, by means of prophets and righteous men, calleth to repentance and to life. And we too, the Apostles, who have been found worthy to be witnesses of His revelation in the knowledge of the Divine Word, we have heard from the mouth of the Lord Jesus the Christ, we know truly and say, what is His will and the will of His Father, that no one should perish, but that all men should believe and live; for this is what He taught us, that we should say when we pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven," that as the Angels of Heaven and all the Powers praise God, thus also upon the earth should men praise God. It is His will therefore to save all men, and this is His delight, that there should be many who are saved.

¹¹ But he who is contentious, and is an enemy to his neighbour, diminishes the people of God and deprives God of the soul of a man which would have been saved, or by means of his contentiousness expels and casts himself out from the Church, and thus again he sins against God, for God our Saviour hath said thus, "Every one that is not with Me is against Me, and every one that gathereth not with Me scattereth abroad. Thou art not therefore a helper with God, to gather the people, because thou art a disturber, and a scatterer of the flock, and an adversary of God. Be not therefore constantly prone to quarrel, either by fights or by calumnies, or by enmity or by lawsuits, that thou scatter not people from the Church, because that we, by the power of the Lord God, have collected from all peoples, and from all tongues, and have brought [them] to the Church by much labour and toil, and by daily danger, that we may do the will of God, and fill the chamber with guests, that is to say, the Catholic Church, that they should be glad and rejoice and confess and praise God, Him who has called them to salvation, and ye therefore, O ye laity! be at peace with one another, and like wise

doves, strive to fill the Church, and those who are without convert and reconcile and cause to enter her (the Church).

¹² This is a great reward which is promised by God, if ye save them from the fire and bring them into the Church, confirmed and believing.

CHAPTER 12

¹ Commands Bishops to be quiet and humble, far removed from all harshness and anger, and teaches them about the Order of the House of God, and how the places in it should be distributed for standing and for sitting, to every rank as befits it. And if there come a man from another Church, let him have honour as befits him; let him be honoured with the place that suits him, and let not the Christ, who loveth strangers, be despised in him. ² Ye then, O Bishops, be not harsh nor tyrannical nor irascible; and be not wroth with the people of God whom He has given into your hands; do not destroy the House of God nor scatter His people; but convert all men, that ye may be helpers with God. Assemble the believers with much humility and long suffering, and with patience without anger; by doctrine and entreaty, as servants of the everlasting kingdom; in your assemblies, in the holy Churches, after all good patterns form your gatherings, and arrange the places for the brethren carefully with all sobriety. Let a place be reserved for the Elders in the midst of the eastern part of the House, and let the throne of the Bishop be placed amongst them; let the Elders sit with him; but also at the other eastern side of the house let the laymen sit; for thus it is required that the Elders should sit at the eastern side of the house with the Bishops, and afterwards the laymen, and next the women: that when ye stand to pray the rulers may stand first, afterwards the laymen, and then the women also, for towards the East it is required that ye should pray, as ye know that it is written, "Give praise to God, who rideth on the heavens of heavens towards the East. As for the Deacons, let one of them stand constantly over the gifts of thankfulness (the Eucharist), and let another stand outside the door and look at those who come in;

³ and afterwards when ye make offerings, let them serve together in the Church. And if a man be found sitting out of his place, let the Deacon who is within reprove him, and make him get up and sit in the place that befits him, for our Lord compared the Church to a fold. For as we see the irrational beasts, we mean oxen, sheep, and goats, lying down in herds, rising and feeding and mating, and none of them is separate from its race; and also the

beasts of the deserts go in the mountains along with those who are like them. Thus therefore it ought to be also in the Church, that those who are children should sit by themselves, if there be room; if not, let them stand upon their feet. And let those who are advanced in years sit by themselves. But let the children stay at one side, or let their fathers and mothers keep them beside them and let them stand on their feet. Again, also let those who are girls sit apart, or if there be not room let them stand on their feet behind the women. Let those who are married and young and have children stay by themselves, but the old women and widows sit by themselves, the Deacon seeing as every one enters that he goes to his place, lest any one sit in a place that is not his. Let the Deacon also notice lest any one whisper, or sleep or laugh or make signs;

4for thus it is required that [people] be attentive in the Church, with watchfulness and good manners, and with their ears open to the word of the Lord. If there come a person from another assembly, a brother or a sister, let the Deacon ask and learn if she be the wife of a man, or again if she be a believing widow, if she be a daughter of the Church, or if it be one of the heresies, and then let him lead her and put her in the place that befits her. If an Elder come from another assembly, ye Elders receive him to a share in your place, and if he be a Bishop let him sit with the Bishop, and let him give him the honour of his place like himself; and let the Bishop say to him that he preach to his people; for entreaty and admonition of strangers is of great help, especially because it is written, that "no prophet is acceptable in his country. When ye are offering the Eucharist, let him speak. If he be wise, and give thee honour and do not wish to officiate, yet over the cup let him speak.

5If while ye are sitting, there come another person, either man or woman who has honour in the world, either from the place or from another assembly, thou then, O Bishop, who speakest the word of the Lord, or hearest, or readest, do not shew respect to persons and leave off the service of thy word to appoint them a place, but remain thou quietly as thou art; do not interrupt thy word, but let the brethren receive them. If there be no room, let that one of the brethren who is full of love, and loves his brethren and would do honour, rise and give them place. Let him stand on his feet. If while the boys or the girls are sitting, he or she that is eldest rise and give up his [or her] place, look thou, O Deacon, at those who are sitting, for him who is younger than his comrades or her who is younger; make them rise, and seat

the one who rose and gave up his place. Lead the one whom thou hast made to rise and put him behind his comrades, that others also may be educated and learn to give place to those who are more honourable than they.

6 If a poor man or a poor woman come, either belonging to thine own assembly, or from another assembly, and especially if they are advanced in years, and there be no room for such, appoint a place for them with all thy heart, O Bishop, even if thou hast to sit on the floor, and be not thou like a respecter of persons, but let thy service be acceptable to God.

CHAPTER 13

1 That no Christian should neglect the assembly of the Church at the time of prayer, or of the Eucharist; not for the sake of the work of the hands, or any other work of the world; he should not go to a theatrical spectacle, to hear heathen words, dissuading his soul away from the hearing of the words of the Scriptures of life; nor to the foreign assemblies of heretics. Let those who are children in the Church hear and serve in it without laziness. Let no Christian love idleness from the work of handicraft, which is alien to the Church. When thou teachest, command and remind the people, that they be constant in the assembly of the Church; so that ye be not hindered, but that they be constantly assembled, that no one diminish the Church by not assembling, and make smaller by a member the body of Christ. For it is not about others alone that a man should think, but also about himself, hearing what our Lord hath said, that "he who gathereth not with Me scattereth abroad." As, therefore, ye are members of the Christ; scatter not yourselves from the Church by not assembling yourselves, for ye have a head, that is the Christ, as He counsels and promises, that ye are partakers with us. Therefore do not despise yourselves, and do not deprive our Saviour of His members; do not mangle and scatter His body, do not have more respect to the affairs of the world than to the word of God, but leave everything on the Lord's day and run eagerly towards your Church, for this is your glory.

2 If not, what excuse will ye have before God, for those who have not assembled on the Lord's day, to hear the Word of Life, and to be nourished with the divine food which endureth for ever? For ye strive to get the things that are for a time, for a day or an hour, but ye neglect those that are eternal; ye go on providing for bathing, for eating, for drinking, for the belly, and for other things to be nourished; but for eternal things ye do not care; ye despise your souls and do not hasten to the Church, that ye may hear and re-

ceive the Word of God. In comparison with those who err, what apology have ye? for, because the heathen, when they rise from their sleep every day, go in the morning to worship and serve their idols, before all their works and labours they go first and worship their idols, and also they do not neglect their feasts and pilgrimages, but assemble constantly, not only the natives, but also those who come from afar. They also assemble for the spectacle of their own theatre, and all of them come. Thus also those who vainly are called Jews, are idle one day for six, and assemble in their synagogue. They do not neglect their holidays, they who have deprived themselves of the strength of the Word, because they believe not, nor even of the name by which they have called themselves, i.e. Jews.

³Jew is interpreted as confession, but they are not confessors, for they do not confess to the murder of the Christ, which they have committed in transgressing the Law, that they may repent and live. If, therefore, those who are not saved strive always for the things in which there is no profit nor help to them, what excuse has he before the Lord God? he who restrains himself from the assembly of the Church, and does not even imitate the Gentiles; and because he does not assemble, neglects himself and goes afar, and does iniquities; those to whom the Lord spake by means of Jeremiah, "My laws ye have not kept; but ye have not even walked according to the laws of the Gentiles, and ye have almost excelled them in wickedness. "Have the nations changed their gods, which yet are no gods? but My people hath changed its glory for that which doth not profit. How then can he who is neglectful make excuse, he who is not zealous in the assembling of the Church of God? If a man gets an excuse on account of secular work and is prevented, let him know that the handicrafts of believers are called works of superfluity; for the sure work is the fear of God. Do your handicrafts, therefore, as a work of superfluity for your nourishment, but let your real work be the worship of God. Strive, therefore, never to be hindered from the assembling of the Church.

⁴But if a man forsake the assembling of the Church of God, and go to the assembly of the Gentiles, what shall he say, and what excuse will he make to God in the day of judgment? who has left the Holy Church, and the words of the living God which live and give life, and can redeem and save from the fire and give life? and hath gone to the assembly of the heathen, because he desired the spectacle of the theatre? Therefore he will be considered as one of

those who enter there because he desired to hear and receive the fables of their words, which are those of dead men, and of the spirit of Satan; for they are dead and cause death, they cause people to turn from the faith, and bring near to everlasting fire. Yet ye care for the world, and occupy yourselves with domestic concerns, and ye disdain to hasten to the Catholic Church, the beloved daughter of the Lord God Most High, that ye may receive the doctrine of God which remaineth for ever and is able to give life to those who receive the Word of Life. Be, therefore, constant in assembling with the believers who are saved in your mother the Church, her who liveth and giveth life to her children. Be watchful not to assemble yourselves as those who perish in the theatre, which is an assembly of the heathen of error and of perdition;

5 for he who enters into the assembly of the Gentiles shall be counted as one of them, and shall receive woe; for the Lord saith by means of Isaiah the Prophet to those who are such, "Woe, woe, to [those who] come from the spectacle," and again He saith, "Women who come from the spectacle, because this is a people who have no understanding. Therefore He calls the Church women, those whom He has called, and brought out, and drawn from the spectacle of the theatre, and He holds and receives them, and He has taught us not to go there any more; for He saith in Jeremiah, "Learn not the way of the nations," and again in the Gospel He hath said, "Go not in the way of the Gentiles. Here, therefore, He teaches and warns, that we remove completely from all heresies, which are the cities of the Samaritans, and that we should not enter into strange synagogues, and from their pilgrimages which are on behalf of idols. Let a believer not approach their pilgrimage, excepting to buy provision for his body and his life. Remove yourselves far from all vain spectacles of idols, and from their feasts and pilgrimages. Let then those who are children in the Church serve diligently without laziness, in all things that are required, with much modesty and chastity. All ye believers, therefore, at all times always when ye are not in the Church be constant at your labours;

6 and in all the course of your life either be constant in exhortation, or labour at your work and never be idle, because the Lord hath said, "Be like the ant, O sluggard, emulate its ways, and learn from it; for it has no office, and no one to impel it, nor is it under authority. It gathers its food in the summer, and collects much food in the harvest. And again He saith, "Go to the bee, and learn how she works, that she doeth her work with wisdom, and

from her work she offereth food to the rich and to the poor. She is beloved and honoured, and yet she hath little strength. She honoureth wisdom and she is illustrious. Until when wilt thou sleep, O sluggard, and when wilt thou arise from thy slumber? Thou wilt sleep a little and slumber a little, and sit a little, and put thy hands upon thy breast. Poverty shall come upon thee as one who runs, and want as a skilful man. If then without laziness, thy revenues shall increase and overflow like a fountain, and poverty be removed from thee. Work, therefore, at all times, for idleness is a blot for which there is no cure. "If any man among you work not, neither let him eat," for the Lord even hateth sluggards, for a sluggard cannot be a believer.

CHAPTER 14

¹ About Widows, and about the time of their order in the Church. Encomium on her who keeps the statute of her widowhood before God, and condemnation of her who tramples on her statute. Exhortation to the Bishop about the Widows and the Poor and the Needy. ² Let widows then be appointed; she who is not less than fifty years of age and over, in order that by reason of her years she may be removed from the thought of having another husband. If you appoint one who is a girl to the place of a widow, and she doth not support her widowhood because of her youth, she will take a husband, and bring disgrace upon the glory of widowhood. She will give account to God, first for having had two husbands, and next for having promised to God to be a widow; she has received as a widow and did not remain in widowhood. If there be the widow of a young man who was for a short time with her husband, and he died, or for any other reason which she receives and there be no separation, and she remain alone by herself, being in the honour of widowhood, she will be blessed by God, because she has resembled that widow who was in Zareptah of Sidon, with whom the holy messenger, the Prophet of God, found rest, or she will be as Anna, who celebrated the coming of the Christ, and there was a testimony to her, and for her goodness she receives honour from man on the earth, and inherits glory from God in Heaven.

³ Let not then young widows be appointed to the office of widows, but let them be taken care of and trained lest by reason of their indigence they seek to take a husband a second time, and this act be an undisciplined one; for ye know that she who has had one husband has had him lawfully, and beyond this it is fornication. Therefore take by the hand those who are young, that

they may remain in chastity to God. Take care of them, therefore, O Bishop, and remember also the poor; hold them by the hand, and provide for them, even if none of them be widowers or widows, and they need help on account of poverty, or of sickness, or are straitened on account of the education of their children. It is required of thee that thou care for all men, and pay attention to all men. Therefore those who bring gifts are not to give to the widows with their own hands, but are to offer to thee on their behalf, as thou art well acquainted with those who are straitened, that thou mayest distribute to them like a good steward; for God knoweth him that giveth, even when he is not present; and when thou distributest tell them the name of the giver, that they may pray for him by his name. For in all the Scriptures the Lord commandeth about the poor, even that they be partakers;

⁴and He even adds in Isaiah, and saith thus, "Break thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor man that hath no shelter into thy house; when thou seest the naked clothe him, and turn not away from thine own flesh. Therefore by every means care for the poor.

CHAPTER 15

¹How it befits Widows to conduct themselves in tranquillity and chastity, and it is not fitting that women should teach, not even those who are the Widows of the Church, nor the laity. About the dissimulation of false Widows. On the manners of chaste Widows. That it is necessary for Widows to be obedient to the Bishop and Deacons, and not to do anything without permission, and that those are guilty who act thus, or pray with those who are separated. That it is not permitted to a woman to baptize. Again, of the jealousies of false Widows amongst themselves. Reproof of those who curse by their jealousies. ²It is required, therefore, of every one who is a widow that she be humble, peaceful and quiet; and also that she be not wicked nor angry, nor a great talker, nor lift up her voice when she speaks, and that she have not a long tongue, nor love quarrels; and that when she sees or hears anything that is hateful, she be as though she saw and heard it not. Let the widow care for nothing else, but to pray for those who give, and for the whole Church. When she is asked for an explanation by any one, let her not give an answer in haste, unless it be about righteousness alone, and about the faith of God, and let her send those who wish to be instructed to the authorities. To those who ask them, let them return an answer only. But about the destruction of idols, and about there being only one God, about punishment

and about rest, and about the kingdom of the name of the Christ, and about His providence, it is not incumbent on the widow nor on the layman to talk; for if they talk without the knowledge of doctrine, they bring blasphemy against the Word; for our Lord compared the word of His Gospel to a grain of mustard; for mustard, if it be not prepared with art, is bitter and sharp to those who use it.

3 Therefore the Lord said in the Gospel to widows and to all the laity, "Do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and turn again and rend you"; for when the heathen who are instructed, hear the Word of God that it is not spoken in an orderly manner as it ought to be, for edification to eternal life, especially because it is declared to them by a woman, about how our Lord became incarnate, and about the Passion of the Christ, they will mock and joke, instead of praising as is right the word of the doctrine, and she will incur a great condemnation for the sin. Therefore it is not required nor necessary that women should be teachers, especially about the name of the Christ, and about salvation by His Passion, for women were not appointed to teach, especially not a widow, but that they should make prayer and supplication to the Lord God. For even Jesus the Christ, our Teacher, sent us the Twelve to make disciples of the people and the nations. There were with us female disciples, Mary Magdalene and another Mary, and He did not send [them] to make disciples with us of the people. For if it were required that women should teach, our Teacher would have commanded them to make disciples with us. But let the widow know that she is the Altar of God, and let her constantly sit in her house;

4 let her not wander and gad about among the houses of believers in order to receive; for the Altar of God doth not wander and gad about anywhere, but remaineth in one place. It is, therefore, not fitting that a widow should wander and gad about amongst houses; for those who are wanderers are without modesty, and do not even frequent their own houses and sit in them, because they are not widows, but blind persons, and they care for nothing else, but to be ready to receive, because they are talkative, and murmurers, insolent and inciters of quarrels, and they have no shame, for those that are such are unworthy of Him who has called them, for not even in the communion of the assembly of rest on Sunday, when they come, are they attentive who are such, the woman or the man, they either sleep soundly, or talk about something else; so that by their means others also are taken cap-

tive by Satan the enemy, and he does not allow them to be attentive to the Lord. Therefore those that are such, when they enter the Church empty, go out of the Church yet more empty, because they hear nothing that is spoken or read that they should receive it with the ears of their hearts. Those that are such are like those about whom Isaiah spoke, "Hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed, but perceive not; for the heart of this people is made fat, and with their ears they hear heavily;

5 their eyes have they closed that they may never see with their eyes, nor hear with their ears. In this same manner are closed the ears of the hearts of such widows, so that they sit not beneath the shelter of their houses in order to pray and entreat the Lord, but they hasten to run so as [to gain] some advantage, and by their talking they accomplish the lusts of the Enemy. Such a widow then is not fitted for the Altar of the Christ; for it is written in the Gospel, "That if two agree and ask about all that they wish to be, it shall be given to you; and if they say to a mountain, that it be removed and fall into the sea, yes, it shall be thus. We see, therefore, that there are widows, by whom this thing is considered a merchandise, and they receive with avidity, and instead of doing good works and giving to the Bishop as for the reception of strangers, and for the relief of the oppressed, they lend for bitter usury, they care for nothing but Mammon, those whose gods are their purses, and their glory is their bellies; for where their treasure is, there is also their heart. For she who is assiduous to gad about in order to receive does not devise good things, but only worships Mammon, and serves filthy lucre;

6 and she cannot please God, nor attend to His service, by being constant in prayer and supplication, for her soul is much held captive by diligence in avarice. When she stands up to pray, she recollects where she should go to receive something, or that she has forgotten again to say some word to her friends. While she is standing in prayer her mind is not upon the prayer, but upon the idea that has come up in her soul. The prayer of such an one will not be heard, but is quickly cut short because of the agitation of her mind, because she has not offered prayer to God with her whole heart, but she goes into the thought wrought by Satan, and she speaks with her friends about something in which there is no advantage, because she does not know how she has believed, or of what place she is deemed worthy. But the widow who wishes to please God sits within her house, and meditates in the Lord by day and by night, without ceasing, at all times offering prayer and supplication,

praying purely before the Lord, and receiving whatsoever she asketh, because all her mind is set upon this, for her soul is not greedy to receive, nor is her desire great to make great expenses, nor doth her eye wander about to see and desire anything and impede her mind. She doth not listen to wicked words to consent to them, for she goeth not out and gaddeth not without.

7 Because of this her prayer is not impeded by anything, and her peacefulness, her quietness, with her purity, are accepted before God. Whatever she asketh of God she quickly receiveth her desire, for such a widow as she is loveth not silver, nor filthy lucre, and is not greedy nor covetous, but is constant in prayer, humble, not excitable, pure and modest; who sitteth in her house and worketh with wool and flax, that she may provide something for those who are straitened, or make return to others and not receive anything from them, because she remembereth that widow to whom our Lord bare witness in the Gospel, her who came and threw into the treasury two mites, which make one dinar, her whom when our Lord and Teacher, the searcher of hearts, saw, He said unto us, O my disciples! this poor widow hath cast in more alms than all men, because they all from their abundance have cast in, but she hath cast in all the treasure that she had. It is therefore required of widows to be obedient to the Bishop, to be shamefaced and modest, to reverence the Bishop as [they reverence] God;

8 not to act according to their own will, nor to do anything except what is commanded them by the Bishop, nor talk with any one without counsel as if for conversion, nor go with any one to eat or to drink, nor should they fast with any one, nor receive aught from any one, nor put their hands upon nor pray for any one, except by the command of the Bishop; but if some one do any thing that has not been commanded let her be prevented because she has conducted herself without discipline. For whence dost thou know, O woman, from whom thou hast received, or from what service thou hast been nourished, or on account of whom thou hast fasted, or on whom thou hast put thy hand? Dost thou not know that about each of these things thou shalt give account to the Lord in the day of judgment, because thou hast been partaker of their works?

9 But thou, O widow who art without discipline, thou seest the widows thy companions, or thy brethren, in sicknesses, and thou carest not to fast and pray for thy members, to put thy hand and to visit them; but thou makest thyself as if thou wert not in health, or as if thou wert not sufficient,

and with others who are in sins or who have gone out from the Church, because they give much, thou art ready to go joyfully and to visit them. Therefore ye ought to be ashamed, ye who are such, ye who wish to be wiser and more intelligent not only than men, but also more so than the Elders and the Bishops. Know then, O sisters! that in obeying all that the Pastors command you, with the Deacons, ye are obeying God, and in all that ye take part by the order of the Bishop ye are blameless before God, as also every brother of the laity, when he obeyeth the Bishop and submitteth unto him, because they will give account on behalf of all men, but if ye obey not the mind of the Bishops and the Deacons, they will be clear from your faults, and you will give account of all that you have done of your own will, or of yours, O ye widows!

10 It is not proper to pray with one who is censured. For every one who prays or takes part with any one who has gone out of the Church, is justly reckoned with him, for these things lead to the dissolution and the destruction of souls. For if any one take part and pray with him who is censured and is put out of the Church, and doth not obey the Bishop, he obeyeth not God, and is polluted along with him. Also he alloweth him not to repent. For if a man doth not take part with him he repenteth, and weepeth, and prayeth, and imploreth to be received, and turneth from what he hath done and is saved. It is not permitted to a woman to baptize. We do not advise a woman to baptize or to be baptized by a woman, for that is a transgression of the commandments, and there is great danger to her who baptizeth and also to him who is baptized; for if it were lawful to be baptized by a woman, our Lord and Teacher would have been baptized by Mary His mother; but He was baptized by John, as also others of the people. Therefore do not bring danger on yourselves, brothers and sisters, acting beyond the law of the Gospel.

11 About the jealousy of false Widows towards one another. About jealousy, or envy, or about calumny and murmurings, and about strife and vain talking, or about contention, we have spoken to you before; it is not suitable that these things should be in a Christian; nor is it fitting that one of them should even be named among the widows. But because the Author of Evil has many devices he enters into those who are not widows, and is glorified in them. For there are some who say of themselves that they are widows, and do no works worthy of their name. For it is not for the name of widowhood that they are found worthy to enter the Kingdom; but on account of faith

and works. For if she cultivate good things, she will be honoured and praised; but if she cultivate evil things, and do the works of the Wicked One, she shall be reprov'd, and cast out from the everlasting kingdom, because she hath forsaken eternal things, and loved the things of time. For we see and hear that there are some who are called widows and there is among them jealousy of one another. For when some old woman, thy companion, has received a garment or a gift from some one, thou, O widow, when thou seest thy sister comforted, thou who art a widow of God oughtest to say, Blessed be God, who comforteth the old woman my comrade;

¹² thou wilt glorify God, and afterwards him that gave, and thou wilt say, Let his deed be received in truth. Remember him, Lord, for good in the day of Thy retribution; and also my Bishop; his conduct is good before Thee, and he dispenses alms as it is necessary. For this old woman, my comrade, was naked, and was provided for. Increase praise to him, and give him a crown of glory in the day of Revelation, the [day] of Thy coming. Again, also that widow who has received alms from the Lord shall pray for him who served, hiding his name, like a wise woman, that his righteousness may be with God, and not with men. This service is as it was said in the Gospel, "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth," lest when thou dost disclose and reveal his name in praying for him who gave, his name be exposed and come to the ears of the heathen, and the heathen, that is the men of the left hand, should know; for it might happen also that one of the believers, on hearing thee, should go out and talk. It is not suitable that such things should go forth and be revealed, or be spoken of in the Church, for he who goeth out and talketh about them obeyeth not God.

¹³ But do thou pray for him, concealing his name, and thus thou shalt fulfil that which is written, thou and the widows that are such, who are the holy Altar of the God, Jesus the Christ. We have now heard that there are widows who do not conduct themselves according to the commandment, but only care for this, that they may beg and wander and gad about. She again who has received alms from the Lord, if she be without sense, revealing what has happened, reveals and makes known the name of the giver. And she, whenever she has heard it, grumbles and blames the Bishop who made the provision, or the Elder or him that gave the gift, and says, Dost thou not know that I am nearer to thee, and I am much more destitute than she? She knoweth not that this hath not happened by the will of man, but by

the commandment of God. For if thou testifiest, and sayest, I am nearer to thee, and thou knowest that I am more destitute than she, thou oughtest to know him who has commanded, and be silent, and not blame him who has served;

¹⁴ but go into thy house, and fall on thy face, and thank God on behalf of the widow thy companion, and pray also for the giver, and for the server, and seek from the Lord that the door of compassion may be opened also to thee, and the Lord will hear thy prayer quickly which is without grudge, and will send to thee more compassion than to that widow thy comrade, from whence thou hast never hoped to be served, and the proof of thy patience shall be found. Or do ye not know that it is written in the Gospel, "When thou doest alms, do not blow a trumpet before thee, that thou mayest be seen of them, as the hypocrites do. Verily I say unto thee that they have received their reward"? ¹⁵ About the audacity of cursed Widows. ¹⁶ If therefore God command that a service be performed in secret, and he who serves has performed it thus; thou therefore who hast received in secret, why dost thou proclaim openly? or thou again, why dost thou inquire? for not only dost thou roundly blame, and grumble like a fool, and thou also givest forth curses like the heathen. Or hast thou not heard what the Scripture saith, "Everyone who blesseth shall be blessed, and every one who curseth shall be cursed"? Again in the Gospel He said, "Bless them that curse you," and again He said, "When ye go into an house, say, Peace be to this house. And if the house be worthy of your peace, it shall come upon it, but if it be not worthy, it shall return to you. If therefore peace return to those that have sent it, more therefore shall the curse be upon him who hath launched it. For if we who have sent it out in vain, because he against whom it was sent was not worthy to receive a curse, everyone who curseth anyone in vain curseth himself; for it is written in the Proverbs, "As the swallows and the birds fly, thus vain curses return. And again he said, that "those who send forth curses are void of understanding";

¹⁷ for we are compared to the likeness of the bee, as the Lord said, Go to the bee, and learn from her how she worketh, that she doeth her work with wisdom, and from her work food is offered to the rich and the poor, for she is graceful and glorious, though she hath little strength. Therefore as the bee with little strength, when she stingeth anyone leaveth her dart, is sterile and soon dieth, thus also we believers in this likeness, every evil thing that we do

to another person we are hurting ourselves. For everything that thou wouldst hate to happen to thee, do not thou to another. Therefore everyone who blesseth is blessed, and he who curseth is cursed. Admonish and reprove those who are without discipline. Admonish therefore, strengthen and increase those who act honestly. Let the widows therefore be removed from curses, for they are appointed to bless. Therefore neither let Bishop, nor Elder, nor Deacon, nor Widow send out a curse from their mouth, that they inherit not a curse, but a blessing. Let this be a care to thee, O Bishop, that not even one of the laity should send out a curse from his mouth; for thou hast the care of every man.

CHAPTER 16

¹ Of the appointment of Deacons and Deaconesses, and of how it is fitting for them to conduct themselves in their service, without indolence of the mind nor license. ² Therefore, O Bishop, appoint for thyself workers of righteousness and helpers, to help with thee to life, electing those who please thee from all the people. The man who is elected is for many oversights that are required, but a woman for the service of the women; for there are houses where thou canst not send a Deacon to the women on account of the heathen. Send a Deaconess for many things. The office of a woman Deaconess is required, first, when women go down to the water, it is necessary that they be anointed by a Deaconess, and it is not fitting that the anointing oil should be given to a woman to touch; but rather the Deaconess. For it is necessary for the Priest who baptizeth, to anoint her who is baptized; but when there is a woman, and especially a Deaconess, it is not fitting for the women that they be seen by the men, but that by the laying on of the hand the head alone be anointed, as of old time the Priests and Kings of Israel were anointed. Thou also, in like manner, by laying on [thy] hand, anoint the head of those who receive baptism, whether of men or of women, and afterwards, whether thou thyself baptize, or command the Deacon or the Elder to baptize, let it be a Deaconess, as we said before, who anoints the women. Let a man repeat over them the names of the invocation of the Godhead in the water.

³ And when she that is baptized arises from the water let the Deaconess receive her, and teach her and educate her, in order that the unbreakable seal of baptism be with purity and holiness. Therefore we affirm that the service of a woman, a Deaconess, is necessary and obligatory, because even our Lord

and Saviour was served by the hand of women deaconesses, who were Mary the Magdalene, and Mary of James, the mother of Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children, with other women. This service of Deaconesses is necessary also to thee for many things, for in the houses of the heathen, where there are believing women, a Deaconess is required, that she may go in and visit those who are sick, and serve them with whatever they need, and anoint those who are healed from sicknesses. ⁴ About Deacons. Let the Deacons in their conduct resemble the Bishop; let them however work very much more than he. Let them not love filthy lucre, but let them be diligent in service. According to the number of the congregation of the Church let there be Deacons, that they may be able to distinguish and to comfort every one, so that to the aged women who have no strength, and to the brothers and sisters who are in sicknesses, they may prepare for every one of them the service that is fitting for him. But let a woman preferably be diligent in the service of the women, and a man, a Deacon, in the service of the men. Let him be ready to hear and to obey the command of the Bishop. In every place to which he is sent to serve or to say something to any one, let him work and labour; for it is necessary that every one should know his office, and be diligent in fulfilling it; and be of one counsel, and of one mind, and of one soul dwelling in two bodies. Know what that service is, as our Lord and Saviour said in the Gospel, "Whosoever among you wishes to be chief let him be your servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His soul a ransom for many.

⁵ Thus ye ought to work also, ye Deacons, even if ye have to give your lives for your brethren, in the service that is required of you. For even our Lord and Master did not despise when He served us, as it is written in Isaiah, "To justify the righteous who doeth a good service to many. If therefore the Lord of Heaven and of earth did service to us, bore and endured everything on our account, how much more is it required of us, that we should do thus to the brethren, that we, who are His imitators, and take the place of the Christ, should be like Him? You will find also that it is written in the Gospel, how our Lord girt a towel about His loins, and poured water into the wash-bason, while we were reclining, and drew near and washed the feet of us all, and dried [them] with the towel; but He did this, that He might show us the love and affection of brethren, that we also should do likewise to one another. If therefore our Lord did thus, ye Deacons, do ye hesitate to do thus to

those who are sick and have no strength, ye who are doers of the Truth, and preserve the likeness of the Christ? Therefore serve in love, and do not grumble nor hesitate; but if not, if ye have done this service for the sake of men, and not for God, ye shall receive your reward according to your service in the day of judgment.

¶ It is therefore required of you Deacons, that ye visit all those who are in want, and make known to the Bishop those who are afflicted, that ye be his soul and his mind, and that ye labour and obey him in everything.

CHAPTER 17

1 It is right that the Bishop should take care of orphans, those who are left young, and give them to be reared; and there is a condemnation on you, on those who have aught, and are not in want, who are greedy, and take of the gifts that are given to the Church for the orphans and the poor. If one of the children of Christians be an orphan, either a boy or a girl, it is good that if there be one of the brethren who hath no children, he take the boy in place of children, and let him take a girl, every one who has a son; when her time comes let him give her to him in marriage, and fulfil his work in the service of God. If there be people who do not wish because of their riches to do thus to orphan members, such people will meet also with the same, and they shall spend parsimony in these things, and what the saints have not eaten, the Assyrians shall eat; and strangers shall devour your land before your eyes. Ye therefore, O Bishops, take up the burden of them, that they be brought up so that nothing be wanting to them, and when it is the time for the maiden, give her in marriage to one of the brethren. And let the boy when he is grown up learn a handicraft, and when he is a man let him take the wage that is meet for his craft, that he may no longer be a burden on the charity of the brethren, which they had without deceit and without hypocrisy. And truly blessed is he who is able to help himself, and does not straiten the place of the orphans and the widows and the poor.

2 Those are guilty who take alms when they are not in want. Woe unto them who possess, and who receive falsely. For every one of those who receives will give account to the Lord God in the day of judgment, of how he received, whether it was on account of childish orphanhood, or on account of the feebleness of old age, or on account of the weakness of sickness, or for the education of children that he received. Verily this man is also to be praised, he is considered as the Altar of God, therefore he shall be honoured

by God; for it was not in vain that he received, for he prayed diligently at all times without idleness for those who gave. He offered his prayer, which is his strength, in return for his receiving, for such people shall receive from God a blessing in everlasting life. But those who possess, and receive by improbity, or again, who are idle, and instead of working and giving to others, themselves receive a gift, what therefore they have received shall be required of them, because they have straitened the place of the believing poor. Every one who has property and does not give to others, nor make use of it himself, lays up for himself a treasure which perishes on the earth; and inherits the place of the serpent who sits upon the treasure, and incurs the danger of being reckoned with it.

3 For he who possesses, and receives by falsehood, does not believe in God, but in the mammon of iniquity, and because of the gains of avarice holds the Word in hypocrisy, and is filled with infidelity. He that is such, incurs the danger of being reckoned with the Infidels. But he who simply gives to every one, does well to give, and he is also pure who has received through necessity, and uses with sense what he has received; he has well received, and will be glorified by God in everlasting life and rest.

CHAPTER 18

1 Exhortation to Bishops, that they watchfully take care not to receive gifts from those who are guilty, as for the provision of orphans and widows and the poor, not even if they are constrained to be degraded by hunger, and that they are guilty if they accept; and that the prayers of the poor are not heard when they pray for them that are such, being supplied by their goods. It is fitting that they receive from the believing and the honest for the provision of the poor, and for the redemption of prisoners and the oppressed. 2 Therefore, O Bishops and Deacons, be constant in the service of Christ's Altar. For we have said about widows and orphans, that with all care and diligence ye shall observe the things that are given, what is the conduct of him or of her who gives for the provision, we say also again, of the Altar; because when widows are provided for by the work of righteousness, they bring a holy and acceptable service before the Lord by means of His beloved Son and His holy Spirit, to Whom be glory and honour to all eternity. Amen. Therefore take care and be diligent that ye serve the widows with the service of a pure mind, that what they ask for be given [to them] quickly with their prayers. If there be any Bishops who are contemptuous, and pay no attention to these things

through partiality, or for the sake of filthy lucre, or because they are careless and do not investigate, they shall give an account in no ordinary manner. For they accept what is for the service of the provision for orphans and widows, from the rich who have put people in prison, who act badly towards their servants, or who deal hardly in their cities, or who oppress the poor, or from the impure and from those who use their bodies wickedly, from those who diminish and lend with usury; or from judges who are accepters of persons; from worshippers of gold or silver or brass; from those who change weights, or from those who measure in deceit;

³ or from tavern-keepers who mix [wine] with water; or from soldiers who conduct themselves iniquitously; or from any arrogant princes who have been polluted in wars, and have shed innocent blood unjustly; or from the usurers and the covetous; those therefore that from these [persons] provide for widows and the poor, will be found guilty in the judgment of the Lord; because the Lord hath said, "Better is a dinner of herbs with love and peace than a slaughter of fatted oxen with hatred. If a widow be nourished only with food from honest work, it will be of profit to her; but if aught be given to her from abundance of iniquity, it will be a certain loss to her. If a widow be nourished by aught that is unjust, she cannot offer her service and her prayer before God; even if she be just who prays for the wicked, her prayer for them will not be heard, but only [that] for herself; for God is a trier of hearts and He receives prayers in righteousness, but if they pray for those who have sinned and repent, their prayers will also be heard; for those who are enchained in sins and do not repent, not only are they certainly unheard when they pray, but they also call their delinquencies to mind before God.

⁴ Those Bishops are culpable who take alms from the guilty. Therefore, O Bishops, flee from such services; for it is written, "Thou shalt not take up to the altar of the Lord the price of a dog nor the wages of a harlot. For if the widows in their blindness pray for adulterers and transgressors of the law, their prayers are not heard. Ye cause a blasphemy to come upon the Word by your evil administration, as if there were not a good and liberal God. Be very watchful therefore that ye serve not the Altar of God from the services of a transgressor, for there is no cause for your saying, We did not know, for ye have heard what the Scripture has said, "Remove from evil, and fear not". Say not, These are they who alone give alms, and if we do not accept from them, from whence shall the orphans and widows who are in straits be served? God

has said to you not to take from the wicked and help the Churches, it were profitable for you to be tortured by hunger, rather than to take from the wicked. Therefore investigate and prove, that ye may receive from believers, those who are in communion with the Church and conduct themselves aright, that ye may nourish those who are in straits. Do not receive from those who are put out of the Church and are blameable, until they are thought worthy to become members of the Church.

5 But if ye be in want, tell the brethren, let them work amongst you, and give; serve thus with justice. Teach and say to the people, that it is written, "Honour the Lord with honest work, and with the first of all thy fruits. Therefore with the honest work of believers nourish and clothe those who are greatly in want. Ransom slaves and captives, and those who are treated with violence, those who are condemned by the mob, and those who are in straits, let them visit every one and provide them with what they are in want of. If it should happen that ye take from the wicked, against your will, make no use of it for nourishment, unless it be just a little, expend it in wood for fire; lest a widow being in straits should buy with it some food for herself. Thus let the widows, not being polluted by evil, pray that they may receive from God all good things that they ask and seek. Also each one of them by herself, and ye also, will not be held by these sins.

CHAPTER 19

1 Exhortation to Bishops to take care of those who are persecuted or imprisoned for the name of the Christ, that they visit them, and keep away from him who is imprisoned and receives punishment from judges because of his depravity. Also exhortation to all Christians that they suffer with those who suffer for the sake of the Christ, and that out of fear they deny not or forsake them. He who denieth them, denieth Christianity and the Christ. And let him pray that he enter not into temptation. 2 Do not take your eyes off the Christian who is put in prison for the name of God, and for his faith and love, and is cast into the mines; but by your work and by the sweat of your face send him nourishment, and for the wage of the soldiers who guard him, that he may be at ease and be taken care of, but that your blessed brother be not completely afflicted. For he who is condemned for the name of God the Christ, let him be considered by you as a holy Martyr, and an Angel of God, he who is clothed spiritually with the Holy Ghost, because he has been thought worthy of an incorruptible crown. Therefore it is obligatory

that all ye believers should diligently comfort the Martyrs with your goods. But if there be a man who has nothing, let him fast, and what he would have spent for himself for that day, let him give to his brother. But if thou art rich, it is required of thee that thou serve them according to thy power, or even that thou give all thy property to redeem them from the chains of death, for they are worthy of God, and children who fulfil His will, as the Lord hath said, "Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father which is in heaven.

3 Do not be ashamed to talk with them when they are imprisoned, and in doing these things ye shall inherit everlasting life, for ye shall be partakers in their martyrdom; as we know that our Lord hath spoken thus in the Gospel, "Come unto Me, all ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom that is prepared for you before the foundation of the world. I was hungry, and ye fed Me; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger, and ye gathered Me in; I was naked, and ye clothed Me; in prison, and ye came unto Me. Then shall the righteous answer and say, 'Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, and fed Thee; or thirsty, and gave Thee to drink; or naked, and we clothed Thee; or sick, and we visited Thee; or a stranger, and we gathered Thee in; or in prison, and we came unto Thee?' And he shall answer and say unto them, 'that all that ye have done to My little brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' Then shall the righteous go unto eternal life.' But if there be a man who is called a Christian, and he should stumble, and be tempted by Satan, and be reprov'd for wicked works, either theft or murder, keep away from any that are such; lest one of you be tempted by those who belong to him. For if a heathen should lay hold of thee, and ask thee and say to thee;

4 Thou art also a Christian like that man, thou canst not deny that thou art a Christian, but thou confessest, and thou art not condemned as a Christian, but art punished as an evil-doer, for thou wast asked if thou wert like that man, and thy confession is in vain to thee; if thou deniest, thou hast denied the Lord. Therefore keep away from them, that ye may be without offence. But help with much zeal those believers, your members, who are in the bond of iniquity as evil-doers and are imprisoned, and free them from the hand of the wicked. For if some one approach those who are imprisoned for the name of the Christ our Lord, and is laid hold of along with them, blessed shall he be that he has been thought worthy of all this companionship. Receive and refresh those who are persecuted on account of the Faith,

who migrate from city to city according to the Lord's command, rejoicing that ye are partakers of their persecution; for our Lord spake about you in the Gospel, Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and upbraid you for My name"; because when a Christian is persecuted, and killed because of the Faith, he is a Martyr of God; But if he deny that he is a Christian, he will be called a [cause of] offence;

5 he will not be persecuted by men, but he will be rejected by God because of his denials, for the Lord God hath said, "Whosoever denieth Me, or is ashamed of Me and of My words, I will deny him before My Father which is in heaven, when I come to judge the quick and the dead. Again it is written, "Every one who loveth his father and mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me; and every one who taketh not up his cross, rejoicing, and cometh not after Me, is not worthy of Me. For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"; and again, "Fear not those who kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul; rather fear Me, who am able to destroy soul and body in hell. Now every one who learns a handicraft looks at his master, and sees how by means of his craft and knowledge he perfects his work; he also imitates him, and perfects the work that has been entrusted to him that he may not hear upbraiding from him, but if he come short of what has been entrusted to him, he is 'not a disciple'; but we who have a master and teacher, our Lord and Saviour, who rose incorruptible from the grave, because by His doctrine we possess incorruptible beauty, thus He came in poverty;

6 He also separated Himself from Mary, His blessed mother, and from His brethren, also from Himself, and endured persecution even unto the Cross. These things He suffered on our account, that He might save us who believe, who are of the house of Israel, from chains and condemnations, which we have mentioned before, and deliver you who are of the Gentiles from the worship of idols and from all iniquity. If therefore the Christ suffered on our account, to save us who believe in Him, why should we not resemble Him in His sufferings when He has given us patience? and these things [are] for our own sake, that we may be delivered from the Gehenna of fire. For He suffered for us; let us suffer for ourselves. Let us separate ourselves from our fathers and from our tribe, and from all that is in the world, and turn from ourselves, praying that we fall not into temptation. But if we are called to martyrdom, being questioned, let us confess; suffering, let us endure; being

oppressed, let us rejoice; being persecuted, let us not be saddened; because it is not only our own souls that we are delivering, but also those who are children in the faith, that they may live before God.

7 But if we are defaulters towards the faith in the Lord, and deny because of the weakness of the flesh, as the Lord hath said, "The spirit is ready and willing, but the flesh is weak," it is not merely ourselves whom we destroy, but also the souls of our brethren; for when they see our denials, they will think that they have been taught error of doctrines, and when they are made captive we shall have to answer for them as well as for ourselves, every one of us to the Lord in the day of judgment. But let us be diligent, my brethren, to commend our lives to the Lord God; and if a man be found worthy of martyrdom, let him receive it with joy, that he is thought worthy of this crown, and that his exit from this world should be by martyrdom; for our Saviour has said that "there is no disciple that is above his Lord, but let every one be perfect like his Lord. We therefore who are His disciples, let us be imitators of Him; for if He endured everything for our sakes how much ought not we to bear for ourselves? suffering and not hesitating, for thus He has counselled us, that if even we were to burn in coals of fire, let us believe in the Lord Jesus the Christ, and in His Father, the Lord God Almighty, and in the Holy Ghost, to whom be glory and honour for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 20

1 About the Resurrection of the dead, we are taught not only by the Holy Scriptures, but also by means of demonstrations from the books of the heathen; and by means also of these natural demonstrations let us, being diligent, like believing men who have a sure hope of the Resurrection, not excuse ourselves from martyrdom on account of the Christ, if we are called to it. 2 God the Father Almighty will raise us by means of God our Saviour, as He has promised. He will raise us from among the dead just as we are, in the likeness in which we now are; nevertheless there shall not be wanting to us the great glory of everlasting life; for even should we be thrown into the depths of the sea, or scattered by the winds like chaff, we shall always be within this world, and all this world is enclosed in the hand of God, and therefore from the interior of His hand the Lord God will raise us, as He hath said, "A hair of your head shall not perish," and "in your patience possess ye your souls." About the resurrection and about the glory of martyrs the Lord hath said in Daniel thus, that "many who sleep in the surface of the

earth shall arise in that day, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the lights of heaven, and those that are mighty in the Word as the stars of heaven." As the sun and as the moon, He hath promised to give to those who are martyrs for his Name. And it is not to believers that He hath promised resurrection, but also to all men; for He hath said thus in Ezekiel, "The hand of the Lord was upon me, and he led me out into the plain, and it was full of bones, and He caused me to pass by them round about, etc.

3. And in the Twelve Prophets they said thus, "Behold, ye wicked, and see and understand wonders, and return to corruption, for I will work a work in your days These things and more than these are said against those who do not believe in the Resurrection, and against those who deny God, that when they shall see the glory of believers they shall return to perish in the fire because they did not believe. But we have learnt and believed in His Resurrection from the dead. The Resurrection which God has promised to us is sure to us and not deceptive, because our Saviour Himself is the earnest of our resurrection, He having risen first. Confirmation about the Resurrection, even from the writings of the heathen. Also those among the Gentiles who read, read and hear, even among the heathen, about the Resurrection from the Sybil, what was said and preached to them thus, "When everything shall be dust and ashes, the Most High God shall cause the fire which He hath kindled to cease, and then God Himself shall raise the bones and ashes of men, and shall clothe them with their likeness, and raise men as they were before. And then the judgment shall take place, in which God shall judge the wicked in the future world, and the earth shall cover the impious. The just and the righteous shall live in the land of life; God will give them spirit and goodness, and thereafter they shall all see one another." It is not only, my friends, by means of the Sybil that the Resurrection was preached to the heathen, but also by means of the holy Scriptures, before the Lord preached to the Jews and to the heathen and to the Christians together, and announced the Resurrection of the dead which shall come to men.

4 Confirmation that we must not excuse ourselves from Martyrdom for the sake of the Christ. If therefore God has shown us about the Resurrection by means of an irrational animal, much more we who believe in the Resurrection of God and in the promise of God, if martyrdom come upon us as on men worthy of all this glory of God, shall receive the incorruptible crown in

eternal life, and in the glorious honour of the martyrdom of God; ⁵ let us receive it joyfully with all our hearts, and let us believe in the Lord God who will raise us in glorious light. As in the beginning, God commanded by a word, and He said, Let there be light, and night and day; and heaven and earth and seas, and birds and beasts, and creeping things of the earth and trees, and everything was established by His Word, as the Scripture hath said, thus also man who is His creature He will especially vivify and raise, and as with human seed He clothes man with a garment in the womb and makes him grow. If therefore He shall raise all men, as He hath said in Isaiah, "All flesh shall see the salvation of God," yet more will He vivify and raise believers, because to the simple disciples who believe in Him, He hath promised a glory like that of the stars; but He hath promised to give eternal glory, Let us believe in His birth from a virgin, and in His coming and in His willing Passion. Let us be convinced by means of the Holy Scriptures, as the Prophets announced beforehand everything about His coming, and were confirmed in our hearts; and we still more, we who were with Him, and saw Him with our eyes and ate with Him, and were companions and witnesses of His coming, we believe in the great unspeakable things which He will give as He hath promised. if we believe in His promises that they shall be.

⁶ Let us be called to martyrdom for His name's sake; when we go out of this world by confession, we are sanctified from all our sins in baptism to those who come from the heathen and enter the holy Church of God. Their sins are considered like Abraham and Isaac and Jacob for the Scripture saith, "Who shall boast himself and say, I am pure from sins, or who will say, I am holy? and again, "There is no man clean from pollution, even if his life should be only for a day upon the earth. Every one therefore who believeth and is baptized, his former sins are forgiven; but should he again sin after baptism, he is guilty of the sin. If then one go out of this world by martyrdom for the name of the Lord, blessed is he; for the brethren who have suffered martyrdom and have gone out of this world, in these things their sins are covered

CHAPTER 21

¹ Exhorting every Christian to keep himself from all evil and frivolous conversation, and from all bad and heathenish conduct. About the Holy Fast. About the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord. About the fourteenth [day] of the Passover of the Jews; about the Friday of the Passion, and the Sabbath

of the Annunciation and the Sunday of the Resurrection of our Saviour. About the mourning of the Sabbath-day of the nation of the Jews, and about the rejoicing of the people of the Christians. ² Therefore it is required of the Christian that he keep himself from vain work, and from lascivious and impure words, no one is allowed to say a word that belongs to sport or is foreign to the fear of God. But it is therefore required of us that we keep feasts, and that we make our rejoicing with fear and trembling, for a believing Christian ought not to recite the hymns of the heathen, nor to approach those foreign customs, 'nor to' remember the name of an idol, may this be far from believers! for the Lord rebuketh in Jeremiah and saith, "They have forsaken Me, and sworn by those that are not gods," It is not allowed to believers to swear, not by the sun nor by the moon, for the Lord God hath spoken thus by means of Moses, "My people, if ye see the sun and the moon, be not led astray by them, nor worship them; for the Lord hath given them to you for lights upon the earth. And by means of Ezekiel He hath said thus, "And He brought me into the court of the house of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, and I saw there men with their loins girt towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces opposite the East, and they were worshipping the sun. And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, is this a small thing to the house of Judah to commit these abominations here? and they have filled the land with iniquity.

³ It is therefore unlawful for the believer to swear either by the sun or by any of the signs of heaven ; either to mention the name of an idol with his mouth, or to let a curse go out of his mouth, but only blessings, especially in the day of the fast and the holy Passover, in which all believers fast, as our Lord and Teacher said, when they asked Him, Why do the disciples of John fast, and Thy disciples fast not? And He said unto them, "The children of the bridechamber cannot fast while the bridegroom is with them. Now then by means of His deeds He is with us. Therefore when ye fast, pray and implore for those who are lost, as we also did when our Lord was suffering; for while He was yet with us before He suffered, while we were eating the Passover with Him, He said to us, "This day, in this night, one of you betrayeth Me. And every one of us said to Him, "Surely it is not I, Lord? And He answered and said unto us, "He who stretcheth out his hand with Me in the dish. He signified Judas Iscariot, who was one of the twelve.

⁴But it is required of you, my brethren, that ye keep your fast with all care, because when our Lord and Teacher ate the Passover with us, after that hour He was delivered up by Judas, and immediately we began to be grieved about what we had done to Him; and the number of the moon is as our number in the numbers of the believing Hebrews. In the tenth of the moon, on Monday, came the priests and the elders to the court of Kaipha, the high priest, and took counsel to kill Him, but they feared, saying, "Not on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar of the people," because every one was attaching himself to Him and they held Him to be a Prophet, on account of the wonders that He wrought amongst them. But Jesus was in that day in the house of Simeon the leper, and we were together with Him; He also related to us about what was to happen. But Judas had gone out from among us in secret, on that Monday, hoping to deceive our Lord; and he went to the house of Kaipha, where the High-priests and elders were assembled, and he said to them, "What will ye give me, and I will deliver my Lord unto you, when I have opportunity? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And he said to them, "Get ready young men armed because of His disciples". But Judas watched when he could find opportunity to betray Him.

⁵And the priests and elders commanded that they should keep the feast with haste, that they might take Him without tumult; for the people of Jerusalem were occupied in the sacrifice and the eating of the Passover, and all the people from without had not yet come, because they deceived them [about] the days, that they might be reproved before God that they were greatly mistaken in everything. So they anticipated and kept the Passover three days earlier, in the eleventh of the moon on Tuesday; for they said, because that all the people go astray after Him, now that we have the opportunity to take Him; and then when all the people have come, we will kill Him before all men for His fault, and this will be known openly, and all the people will turn from after Him. Thus in the night Judas delivered up our Lord, but they had given the reward to Judas when he covenanted with them on Monday. Therefore it was considered by God, as if they had taken Him from Monday, and they accomplished their deed on Friday, as it was said in the Book of Exodus, "The Passover shall be kept by you from the tenth to the fourteenth, and then all Israel shall keep the Passover. Therefore from the tenth day, which is Monday, during the days of the Passover, ye shall fast, and be nourished by bread and salt and water, at the ninth hour, until

Thursday. But on Friday and on Saturday ye shall fast completely, and eat nothing;

6 but assemble yourselves, and wake and pray the whole of the night, with prayers and supplications, and with the reading of the Prophets, with the Gospel and the Psalms, with reverence and fear, and intercession, until the third hour of the night after the Sabbath, and then ye shall cease your fast, for it was thus that we also fasted, while our Lord was suffering, in testimony to the three days, and we watched and prayed and implored about the perdition of the Nation, because they went astray and did not confess our Saviour. Thus also pray ye, that the Lord may not remember to them their guilt unto the end, on account of the perfidy which they showed unto our Lord, but may give them a place for repentance, and conversion for the pardon of their iniquity; because he that was a heathen, and a stranger from the Gentiles, Pilate the judge, had no pleasure in the work of their wickedness, but took water and washed his hands and said, "I am innocent of the blood of this man"; but the people answered and said, "His blood be upon us and on our children. Herod commanded that he should be crucified, and our Saviour suffered for us on Friday. Therefore the fast of Friday is especially required of you, also the watch and vigil of Friday, the reading of the Scriptures and the Psalms, and the prayers and supplications for sinners.

7 Let that be to you an eternal law until the end of the world., as the blessed Moses has thus commanded; and it was commanded him by God, who knew what the Nation was about to do to His Son and His beloved Jesus the Christ; as they denied Moses and said to him, "Who hath made thee a chief and a judge over us? therefore he bound them beforehand in mourning at all times in separating and appointing to them the Sabbath, because they deserved to mourn, who laid their hands upon Him who gave them life, and delivered Him over to death. Therefore He appointed to them beforehand the mourning of their perdition. Let us look and see, my brethren, that most men in their mourning imitate the Sabbath; thus also those who keep the Sabbath sit in mourning; for he who is in mourning does not kindle a light, nor do the people of the Jews on account of the commandment of Moses, but they prepare it in the evening and put in order for themselves something to eat, because they have a consciousness of mourning that they were ready to lay hands on the Christ. He who is in mourning does not work nor speak, but sits in sadness; thus also do the people on the Sabbath; "Thou shalt not

lift thy foot to do any work, nor speak any word from thy mouth. Who is it therefore that testifieth that the Sabbath is a mourning to them?

8 The Scripture testifieth and saith, "Then the people shall lament, tribe by tribe; the tribe of the Levites apart, and their wives apart; the tribe of Judah apart, and their wives apart. As also after the mourning of the Christ even until now, on the ninth of the month of Ab, they read in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and assemble, and wail and lament. But the ninth is called Θ, for the Θ indicates God; therefore they lament about God, about the Christ who suffered; but nevertheless on account of the Christ our Saviour, and about themselves and their perdition. Why, my brethren, doth a man lament, unless he be in mourning? Wherefore mourn ye also for them, on the Sabbath day of the Passover, until the third hour of the following evening; and thereafter rejoice in His resurrection; be glad and rejoice on their account; cease your fast, and the remainder of your fast of six days offer to the Lord God. Let those who abound in worldly goods serve those who are poor and in want, and succour them diligently, that the reward of your fast may be received. Whenever the fourteenth day of the Passover may fall, thus observe it; for neither the month nor the day corresponds in time every year, but it varies. Therefore ye, when the people keep the Passover, fast and study to complete your vigil in the midst of their unleavened bread. On Sunday be always glad, for every one who afflicts his soul on Sunday is guilty of sin.

9 Therefore also, except at the Passover, no one is allowed to fast during these three hours of the night which is between Saturday and Sunday, because it belongs to that night of Sunday. But nevertheless in that night only fast those three hours of that night, being assembled together, ye Christians who are in the Lord.

CHAPTER 22

1 Commandment about children that they should be given to learn handicrafts, and that they should not learn bad habits of idleness, and at suitable times wives should be given to them that they fall not into sin, and their fathers be held guilty for their sins. 2 Teach your sons handicrafts which are suitable and helpful to the fear of God, lest by means of idleness they serve voluptuousness, for not being educated by their parents, they wickedly do works like the heathen. Therefore spare them not, but reprove and discipline and teach them, for by correcting them verily ye will not kill them, but rather ye will give them certain life, as also our Lord teacheth us in Wisdom

and saith thus, "Chasten thy son because there is hope for him, for thou shalt beat with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from Sheol." And again He saith, "Every one who spareth his rod hateth his son." But our rod is our Lord Jesus the Christ, as also Jeremiah saw the rod of an almond-tree. Every one who spareth to speak a word of reproof to his son hateth his son. Therefore chasten them with blows, and do not spare on account of their youth, by the word of the fear of God, and do not give them the power of rising against you, and against their parents; and let them do nothing without your advice; that they go not with those of their age to assemble and amuse themselves; because thus they learn vanity, and are laid hold of by harlotry and fall. Should this happen without their parents, they and their parents will be themselves guilty in the judgment before God. If again by your permission they are without correction, and you, their parents, sin, ye shall be held guilty on their account before God. Therefore be zealous that in their time ye take wives for them; and marry them, lest in their youth, in the fire of their adolescence, they commit fornication like the heathen, and ye shall give answer to God in the day of judgment.

CHAPTER 23

¹ About heresies and schisms; that those are condemned to the Gehenna of fire who split the Churches, like Korah and Dathan and Abiram, those who wished to split Israel. Teacheth that the Church of God is one, and that the Churches of heresies are not Churches of God. ² Before everything beware of all odious heresies, and flee from them as from a burning fire, and from those who adhere to them; for if a man in making a schism, condemneth himself to the fire with those who err after him; what shall it be if a man go to steep himself in heresies? for know this, that if any of you love preeminence or venture to make a schism, he will inherit the place of Korah and Dathan and Abiram, he and those who are with him, and also with them he will be condemned in the fire. They also of the house of Korah were Levites, and they served in the Tabernacle of witness. They loved preeminence, and coveted the high-priesthood, and began to speak evil things against that great Moses, as that he had espoused a heathen woman, because he had an Ethiopian wife, and he was defiled by her. Many others of the house of Zambri were with him who committed fornication with Midianitish women, and that the people were defiled along with him. His brother Aaron was the leader in the worship of idols, who made images and sculptures for his

people; and they spoke wicked things against Moses, him who did all these signs and wonders from God to the nation, him who had done these glorious and perfect works for their help;

³him who had brought upon Egypt ten plagues, him who had divided the Red Sea, and raised the waters like a wall on either side, and made the people pass over as in the dry wilderness; and had drowned their enemies; him who had sweetened for them the fountain of waters; and from the flinty stone had brought them out streams, and they had drunk; him who had brought down to them manna from heaven, and with the manna had given them flesh; him who had given them a pillar of light by night, and a cloud for a shade by day; and in the desert had stretched out a hand to them for the dispensation of the Law, and had given them also the Ten Commandments of God. They spoke evil things against the friend and servant of the Lord, as if to be glorified in righteousness and to boast in holiness and to exhibit purity, and in hypocrisy they showed religion. They also said thus as sober and sedate in holiness, We will not be soiled with Moses and the people who are with him, for they are polluted. Two hundred and fifty men arose, and led [them] astray in leaving that great Moses, as if they hoped for themselves that they would the better glorify God, and zealously serve Him; for in that multitude of the people it was said, for one censer of perfumes was offered to the Lord God, but those who were in the schism were two hundred and fifty with their leaders;

⁴every one of them offered a censer of perfumes to God, two hundred and fifty censers, as those who were more pure and zealous than Moses and Aaron, and than the people of the Lord; but the multitude of the service of their censers which was in schism was of no advantage to them; but a fire was kindled from before the Lord and devoured them; and these two hundred and fifty men were burnt while they were still holding the censers in their hands; and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed Dathan and Korah and Abiram, and their tents and their vessels and all that was with them, and they went down alive to Sheol. The chiefs of their error of schism were swallowed up by the earth. The Lord spared the rest of the multitude of the people, though there were many sinners amongst them; the Lord judged each one of them according to his works. The Lord spared the multitude of the people; but those who thought that they were purer and more holy and had done more service the fire devoured because they were in schism. And

the Lord said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take the censers of brass from out of the burning, and make them into thin plates, and strew them upon the altar, that the children of Israel may see, and not add to their sins by doing thus. Let us look then, beloved, at the latter end of schisms, what happened to them;

5 because if they appear to be pure and holy, their final consummation is in fire and everlasting burning. Let this therefore be a cause of fear to you, for the fire of schism is also judged by fire, that is to say, because the fire finished its work, for these people thought in their hearts that their censers were holy; for it was necessary that the fire which was taken for the service of transgression should not obey them, but should cease from its work or be quenched, and should not consume anything that was put upon it; for now it would not have done the will of the Lord, but would have obeyed schism. Therefore it was said, Pour out there also the strange fire, that is to say, that the Lord judged fire by fire; what will happen to these heresies which blaspheme against Him? but ye from the Scriptures and with the eyes of faith, seeing the plates of brass that are encrusted on the altar, be careful not to make a schism, and not to fall into judgment, but therefore, as believing and intelligent people, keep far away from schisms, and offences and divisions, as our Lord said, "Woe to that man by whose means the offence cometh; it were right for him and better for him that a millstone of an ass were hung about his neck and he were drowned in the sea.

6 But the heretics, because they oppose God, are guilty, but now we verily see, as also the Scripture hands down by means of Jeremiah, that "profanity and heresies have gone out into all the land" and to confirm our faith that the prophecies are sure; for behold they exist and have been accomplished; because of all the work of the Lord our God, the Lord has turned it from the Nation to the Church by means of us the Apostles, and He hath removed and forsaken the Nation, and Jerusalem is forsaken; and Judah is fallen, and their tongues are in iniquity, and they have obeyed not the Lord, and behold, your house is left unto you desolate.

CHAPTER 24

1 That God hath left the Synagogue of the Nation, and hath come to the Church of the Gentiles; and that Satan also hath removed from the people of the Jews, and doth not tempt them any more; and he hath also come against the Church, that he may make in it sects and divisions; and first he raised up

in it Simon Magus, afterwards the false Apostles, those from among the Jews who obliged the Christians to act as Jews. ² God therefore hath left the Nation, and hath filled the Church, and hath considered her the mount of [His] habitation, and the throne of glory, and the house of exaltation; and as David said, "The mountain of God is a mountain of fat, a mountain of arches. What think ye, ye arched mountains; this is the mountain which God hath chosen to dwell in; the Lord will tabernacle in it for ever." for one only is the Church which is the mountain of the Sanctuary of God. Isaiah also hath said, "There shall be in the latter days the mountain of the House of the Lord God of Jacob, and all nations shall flow unto it, and many peoples shall go and say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord; let us learn His way and walk in it";. Because therefore the Lord hath forsaken the nation of Israel, He hath also abandoned the temple, and taken away from it the Holy Spirit and the power of His Word, and He hath taken away all service from the Nation, and hath established it in the Church of the Gentiles. In like manner also, Satan the Tempter hath gone away from that Nation, and hath come upon the Church, and henceforth he will not tempt that Nation, because the Holy Spirit hath left it, for by their wicked works they have fallen into his hands, but he prepares to tempt the Church, and to do his works in her, and to raise against her afflictions and persecutions and heresies and schisms.

About Simon Magus.

³ The beginning of heresies was thus. Satan possessed a man, Simon, who was a magician, and who had formerly been his servant; and when we, by the gift of the Lord our God and the power of the Holy Ghost, were doing miracles of healing in Jerusalem, and by means of the laying on of hands the gift and fellowship of the Holy Spirit were being given to those who came near, then Simon offered us much silver, and wished that as he had deprived Adam of the knowledge of life by means of the eating of the tree, thus also by the gift of silver he should deprive us of God; and should get hold of our mind, so that we might exchange and give him for silver the power of the Holy Ghost; and we were all shaken about this. Then Peter looked at Satan, him who dwelt in Simon, and said to him, "Thy money go with thee to perdition; and thou shalt not have any part in this word."

⁴ About the false Apostles. But when we had divided all the world into twelve parts, and had gone out among the Gentiles to preach the Word, then

Satan wrought and excited the Nation; and they sent after us false Apostles to destroy the Word; and they sent out from the Nation one whose name was Cle[o]bius, and he adhered to Simon, but also to Theuda, and to Judah the Galilean, as well as to others after them. But Simon's people adhered to me, Peter, and came to destroy the Word. When he was in Rome, he greatly troubled the Church, and perverted many, and showed himself as if he were ready 'to ascend to Heaven'; and captivated the Gentiles, exciting them by the power of the energy of his sorceries. One day I went and saw him in the market deceiving the people; we had a dispute with each other about the Resurrection and about the life of the dead; and when he was conquered, he pretended to fly in the air, and began to give a sign to his gang to raise him. And when he had risen to a great distance, then I stood and said to him, "By the power of the name of the Christ, I cut off thy powers that they depart from thee. Then the demons departed from him, and he fell, and was broken from the heel of his foot, and he died. And many turned from him; but others, who were worthy of him, remained with him;

5 thus first his heresies were fixed. But also by means of other false Apostles the Enemy wrought. They all had one Law on the earth; and they did not recite either the Torah or the Prophets, and they blasphemed against the Father, God Almighty, nor did they believe in the Resurrection; but also in other things they taught and excited with many opinions; for many of them taught that no man should take a wife, and said that when a man did not take a wife it was Holiness. By means of holiness, and for its name, they praised the weak opinions of their heresies. Again, others of them taught that a man should not eat flesh, and they said that it is not right for a man to eat anything that has life in it. Others said that he must keep himself from swine, and that he may eat the things that the law cleanses. Others again taught otherwise, and made strifes, and troubled the Church.

CHAPTER 25

1 Teaches that the Apostles assembled and settled the disputations and confusions that were in the Church, and cured the scandals that the false Apostles had wrought in it; and freed the people of the Christ from the burden of the observances of the law of Moses; and wrote writings to all the Churches of the Gentiles about what it was necessary for them to observe; and they wrote this Didascalia. We therefore have begun to preach the Holy Word of the Catholic Church. We returned again to visit the Churches, and

found them of different opinions; some observed as holiness, thinking marriage profane, and some abstained from flesh and from wine, and some from swine's flesh; and they kept all the bonds that are in Deuteronomy. When therefore a danger arose that heresies should be in all the Church, we assembled together, the twelve Apostles, in Jerusalem, and considered about what was to be. It pleased us all with one mind, to write this Catholic Didascalia, for the assurance of you all;

²and in it we confirmed and appointed that ye should worship God Almighty, and His Son Jesus the Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and that ye should minister in the Holy Scriptures, and believe in the Resurrection of the dead, and make use of all His creatures with thankfulness, and take wives, for He said in Proverbs, that "from God the wife is betrothed to the man," and in the Gospel our Lord said, that "He that created in the beginning the male hath said that He created also the female. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh; what therefore God hath joined together let no man put asunder. But the spiritual circumcision of the heart is sufficient for believers, as it is said in Jeremiah, "Light a lamp for yourselves; sow not among thorns". About Baptism also, this one alone is sufficient, the one which has completely taken away your sins; for Isaiah did not say "Be ye washed," but "Wash yourselves once and be clean. But we had a long disputation, as men who wrestle for the sake of life; it was not among us the Apostles only, but also among the people, with James the Bishop and Saint of Jerusalem, him who according to the flesh was brother of our Lord, and the Deacons of the Church of Jerusalem.

³Because also some days before men had come down from Judæa to Antioch, and had taught the brethren, "Except ye be circumcised, and conduct yourselves according to the Law of Moses, and be cleansed from meats, ye cannot be saved. And they had much vexation. The brethren of Antioch did not know that we were all assembled and come in order to examine about these things; they sent to us believing men who were acquainted with the Scriptures, that they might learn about this question, which they had in the Church at Antioch. But some men of the doctrine of the Pharisees who believed arose and said, "Ye ought to be circumcised, and to keep the Law of Moses,". Then I Peter rose and said unto them, "Men and our brethren, ye also know that from the first days when I was among you, God chose that by

means of me the Gentiles should hear the Gospel and believe; and God, who searcheth the hearts, bare witness to them, to Cornelius the Centurion, when the Angel appeared to him, and spoke to him about me, and he sent for me. But while I was getting ready to go to him, it was revealed about the Gentiles who should believe, and about all meats; for I went up on a roof to pray;

4 and I saw the Heavens opened, and a garment bound at its four corners, and it was let down and descended to the earth, and in it were all four-footed beasts and creeping things of the earth and fowls of the heaven; and there came to me a voice saying, Simon, rise, slay and eat. And I said, Be it far from me, Lord, to eat anything that is impure. And another voice came to me the second time, saying, What God hath cleansed, call not thou common. But this was done three times, and it was lifted up from me into heaven. Then I considered and knew the word of the Lord, that as He said, Be glad, ye Gentiles, with the people. And I rose and went; and when I entered his house, I began to speak the Word of the Lord; the Holy Ghost rested upon him and upon all the Gentiles who were present there. God therefore gave them the Holy Spirit, even as unto us, and made no difference in faith between them and us, and purified their hearts. Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon their necks, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But by the goodness of our Lord Jesus the Christ, we believe that we shall be saved even as they;

5 for the Lord hath come to us, and hath loosed us from these bonds, and hath said to us, Come unto Me, all ye who are weary and carry heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am quiet and humble in My heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls, for My yoke is pleasant and My burden is light. If therefore our Lord loosed us and lightened from us, why do ye wish to put a halter on yourselves? Then all the people kept silence, and I James answered and said, "Men and our brethren, hearken unto me. Simon hath declared how God at first did say that He would choose from among the Gentiles a people for His name; and to this agree the words of the Prophets, as it is written, After this I will raise and build the tabernacle of David which is fallen; and its ruins I will build and raise; that the residue may seek the Lord, but let us send to them thus: Remove from idols and from sacrifices and from blood and from strangled things. Then it pleased us the Apostles with all the Church, to choose from

among them men and to send them with those of Barnabas and Paul, who came from thence; and we chose Judah who was called Barnaba, and Shela, men distinguished among the brethren, and we wrote these with our hands:

6 Letter of the Apostles. "The Apostles, and Elders and Brethren, to the Brethren who are of the Gentiles that are in Antioch, and in Syria, and in Cilicia, much greeting. Because we have heard that men whom we have not sent trouble you with words which corrupt your souls; it seemed good to all of us, being assembled together, to choose and send men to you with our beloved ones those with Barnaba, whom we have sent. But we have sent Judah and Shela, who also by word will speak to you about these things: for it hath pleased the Holy Ghost, and us, that no greater burden should be put upon you than that ye remove yourselves from what is necessary, and from sacrifices, and from blood, and from strangled things; from these keep yourselves and ye shall do good things, and fare ye well in our Lord." But we sent this letter, and we remained in Jerusalem many days; and we examined and we decreed together the things that were said to all the people; but further we wrote also this Catholic Didascalia.

CHAPTER 26

1 Showeth that from the first the Apostles turned to the Churches of the Gentiles, as from the beginning of preaching, and in passing among them, they fixed and confirmed them, and appointed Canons among them. The opinion therefore which we have counselled and considered about those who were formerly in error, and we have sent and decreed, is thus, that we should return again anew, and also go to the Churches a second time, as from the beginning of preaching; we should also confirm believers, that they should avoid the before-named offences, that they receive not those who come among them falsely in the name of the Apostles, and that they distinguish them by the difference between their words, and the effects of their deeds, because these are those of whom our Lord said that there shall come to you men wearing sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; and by their fruits ye shall know them. Beware of them therefore, for false Christs and lying prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many, and because of the greatness of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold; but he that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved. Those therefore that have not been deceived and those who repent of error, they shall be left in the Church;

² but those who hold fast the error and repent not, we cut off and appoint that they go out of the Church, and be separated from the believers, because they have heresies, and they should have no communion with them either by word or by prayer; for these people are the enemies of the Church; for about these our Lord hath commanded us and said unto us, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees"; and "Into the cities of the Samaritans enter not," which walk in a crooked way, "and its end leadeth lower than Sheol. These are they against whom our Lord decreed severely and bitterly, and said, "They shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come," to those who believed of the Gentiles by means of baptism, and blasphemed, He hath not given the pardon of their wicked deeds, as the Lord the Christ hath said, "Wherefore I say unto you, that all sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in that which is to come; and every one who speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; for every one that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven.

³ Those who blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, those who against God Almighty hastily and hypocritically blaspheme, and say that the Holy Ghost does not dwell in baptism, nor in the flesh and blood of the Christ. Having decreed and established and confirmed with one mind, each one of us went out and departed to his first portion, confirming the Churches, because the things that had been predicted were fulfilled, and disguised wolves had come, and false Christs and lying prophets had appeared; for this was known and manifest that when should approach may they also repent of their godless error, and by much admonition and by the word of doctrine of prayer we have cured and healed and forgiven in the Church. Those who restrain the word by the perverted word of error, and there is no cure for them, we put out, that they may not lead the holy Church astray, the pure Church of God; lest like a hateful leprosy and like a cancerous ulcer it should get to every one; but that pure and unpolluted and passionless and spotless, the Church may be sealed to the Lord God, they who are in every place and in every city, and in all the habitable part of the world. We make and testify; and we leave this Didascalia, holy and Catholic, justly and righteously to the Catholic Church, and for the assurance of believers.

The Testament of Our Lord (Cooper and Maclean translation)

5th century

A Syrian church order of the fifth century, written in the name of Clement of Rome as the words Christ spoke to the apostles after his resurrection. Book I describes the last days, the building of the church and the ordination of bishops, priests, deacons, widows and others, with the prayers for each; Book II sets out the rules for catechumens, baptism, the Eucharist and the Christian life.

PROLOGUE

The Testament, or words which our Lord, when He rose from the dead, spake to the holy Apostles, and which were written in eight books by Clement of Rome, the disciple of Peter. It came to pass, after our Lord rose from the dead, and appeared unto us, and was handled by Thomas and Matthew and John, and we were persuaded that our Master was truly risen from the dead, that falling on our faces we blessed the Father of the new world, God, Who hath saved us by Jesus Christ our Lord; and being held in very great fear, we waited prostrate as babes which speak not. But Jesus our Lord, putting His hand on each one of us separately, lifted us up, saying, Why hath your heart thus fallen, and are ye stricken with great astonishment? Know ye not that He who sent Me can do glorious things for the salvation of them that have from the heart believed on Him? Stand not then as [men] astonished, and staring, neither [be] slothful, but as the children of light, ask of My Father which is in heaven the Spirit of counsel and might, and He will fill you with the Holy Ghost and grant you to be with Me for ever.

BOOK I

BOOK I, CHAPTER 1

And we returned answer, saying, Lord, what is the Holy Ghost, and what is His power, whom Thou badest us to ask for? And our Lord said unto us, Verily I say unto you that ye shall not be the children of the light except by the Holy Ghost. And we returned answer to Him, and said, O our Lord, give us this [Spirit]. And immediately Jesus breathed on us. And after we had received the Holy Ghost, He said unto us, Verily I say unto you, that ye who have been made disciples unto the kingdom of heaven, and who have believed in Me with undoubting heart, and have cleaved unto Me, shall be with Me; and all those who through you know and do the will of My Father, who keep My words and know My sufferings, shall be made holy, and shall dwell in the habitations of My Father, and shall be delivered from the evil days that are about to come; and I will be with them, shewing them My ways in which they shall live.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 2

And Peter and John answered and said unto Him:—Tell us, O our Lord, the signs of the end, and all the deeds which shall then be [done] by them who live in this world, so that we also may make [them] known to them who believe in Thy Name in all the nations, that those generations may observe [them] and live. But Jesus answered and said:—Did I not, before I suffered for those that dwell on the earth, tell you some things about the end? We answered and said, [Yea,] O our Lord; but now we desire to know the deeds which [are] the signs of the end of this world, if our Lord hath judged that this is fitting for us to know—for us, and for those who [shall] hear.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 3

And Jesus answered and said:—In the time when I was in the world, I spoke unto you before I should be glorified, of signs that the end is near, thus:—that there shall be on earth famines and pestilences, tumults, and commotions, risings of nations against nations, and those other things whereof I have told you. But I commanded you to watch and pray. And now hear, ye children of the light; for My Father who hath sent Me to His inheritance hath predetermined in His foreknowledge, that in the last days, out of the latest generation, there should be vessels [of grace] holy, and honoured, and

elect. Wherefore I make known unto you exactly [what are] the things which are about to be, and when he shall arise, that Son of Perdition, the Enemy, the Adversary, and what he is like.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 4

There shall, then, be signs when the kingdom is approaching such as these. After the famines and pestilences and tumults among the nations, then there shall rule, and rise to power, princes who love money, who hate the truth, who kill their brethren, liars, haters of the faithful, proud, lovers of gold, allied by relationship but not allied in counsel, for they wish each to destroy the life of his fellow. But there shall be in their hosts great affliction, and flight, and bloodshed.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 5

But there shall arise also in the West a king of foreign race, a prince of great craft, godless, a homicide, a deceiver, a lover of gold, great at devices, a hater of the faithful, a persecutor; and he shall bear rule also over barbarous nations, and shall shed much blood. At that time silver shall be despised and gold be honoured; and in every city and every country there shall be spoiling and robbery, and there shall be spilling of blood.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 6

Then there shall be signs in heaven. A bow shall be seen, and a horn, and lights; and noises out of season, and sounds, and ragings of the sea and a roaring of the earth.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 7

But on the earth shall be signs; the birth of dragons from mankind, and likewise also of wild beasts; and young women newly wedded shall bring forth babes who speak perfectly and announce the last times, and pray to be put to death. And their looks shall be the looks of [men] far advanced in years; they shall be grey-headed when they are born. Also women shall bear babes with four feet: some shall bear spirits only, and some shall bear their progeny with unclean spirits. Others [there] shall [be who] practise divination in the womb, and shall speak with familiar spirits; and there shall be many other horrible signs.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 8

¹ But in the assemblies, and nations, and churches, there shall be many tumults, for there shall arise evil shepherds, unjust, slothful, avaricious, lovers of pleasures, lovers of gains, lovers of money, talkative, boastful, haughty, gluttonous, perverse, rash, given to delights, vain-glorious, opposing the ways of the Gospel and fleeing from the strait gate, removing from themselves every humiliation and not sorrowing for My humiliation, rejecting all the words of truth, and despising all the ways of piety, and not mourning for their sins. Therefore there shall be shed abroad among the nations unbelief, hatred of the brotherhood, wickedness, bitterness, slothfulness, envy, hatred, strife, theft, oppression, drunkenness, debauchery, lasciviousness, licentiousness, fornication, and all such works as are contrary to the commandments of life. For from many mourning and gentleness shall flee away, and peace and meekness, and poverty and piety, and tears, because the shepherds heard these things, and did not do them, and moreover did not shew My commandments, seeing that they [themselves] are examples of wickedness in the nation. But the time shall come when some of them will deny Me, and will stir up confusions in the earth, and put their trust in a corruptible king. But they who in My Name endure unto the end shall be saved. Then they shall ordain commandments for men, [commandments] unlike the book of commandments in which the Father is well pleased; and My elect and My holy ones shall be rejected by them, and called among them, as it were, the polluted.

² Yet these are the upright ones, pure, sad, merciful, quiet, kind, always knowing Him who is among them at all times, and they shall be called mad for My sake, who have saved them. It shall come to pass also in those days that My Father shall gather together out of that generation the pure ones, even the pure and faithful souls, those to whom I will appear, and with whom I will make My habitation, and I will send to them the understanding of knowledge and of truth, and the understanding of holiness, and they shall not cease praising and giving thanks to their God, My Father who sent Me; and they shall speak the truth at all times, and they shall teach [others] whose spirit they have tried [and have found] that they are upright and worthy, as for the kingdom, and shall instruct them in knowledge and strength and prudence. And those who suffer persecution because they live in piety shall receive the reward of their praise. And it shall be in those times

that all the kingdoms shall be disturbed, and all the world also [shall see] affliction and want; and all this world shall be reputed as nothing; and all its possessions shall be destroyed by many [destroyers], and there shall be great scarcity of crops, and the winter shall be very severe; and the princes shall be few in number and small, who have rule over gold and over silver, and are rich in all those things which are in this world;

3 and the children of this world shall hold their storerooms and barns, and shall have rule over the markets of buying and selling. Many shall be afflicted, and on that account shall call upon their God that they may be delivered. Blessed are they who are not [alive] at that time; and [blessed] they [also] who shall be [alive indeed], but [shall] endure. For when these things shall come to pass, then soon she that travaileth is near to bring forth, for the time is fulfilled.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 9

Then shall come the Son of Perdition, the Adversary, who boasteth and exalteth himself, working many signs and miracles, that he may deceive the whole earth, and overcome the innocent, My holy ones. Blessed are they who endure in those days. But woe to those who are deceived.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 10

But Syria shall be plundered, and shall weep for her sons. Cilicia shall lift up her neck until He who judgeth her shall appear. The daughter of Babylon shall arise from the throne of her glory, that she may drink that wine which is mixed for her. Cappadocia, Lycia, Lycaonia shall bow down the back, for many multitudes shall be depraved by the corruption of their wickednesses. And then shall be opened the camps of the barbarians, for many chariots shall go forth so as to cover [the face of] the earth. In all Armenia, and in Pontus, and in Bithynia the young men shall fall by the sword, and the sons and the daughters shall be captives. [The sons and the daughters] of Lycaonia shall be mingled in [their] blood. Pisidia which boasteth, and trusteth in [her] riches, shall be overthrown [even] to the ground. The sword shall pass through Phoenicia, because [her inhabitants] are children of corruption. Judaea shall clothe herself with lamentation, and shall be made ready for the day of destruction, because of her uncleanness. Then shall she gather together the abomination of desolation. The East shall be opened by him; also the ways shall be opened by him. Sword and flame [are] in his hands: he burneth

with anger and fiery indignation. This is the armour of the judgment of the corruption of them that are born in the earth; the extermination of the faithful, the way of bloodshed; for his way is in error and his power is to blaspheme, and his hand for deception, his right hand in misery, and his left hand in darkness.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 11

And these are the signs of him: his head [is] as a fiery flame: his right eye shot with blood, his left [eye] blue-black, and he hath two pupils. His eyelashes are white; and his lower lip is large; but his right thigh slender; his feet broad; his great toe is bruised and flat. This is the sickle of desolation.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 12

Therefore I say unto you, [ye] children of the light, that the time is at hand, and the harvest is ripe that sinners should be harvested in judgment. And to many the Judge shall arise as one who is kind, and shall impute to them their own works. But when He shall be at hand, a sign shall be given to the elect, who keep the law of My Father.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 13

Then those who fear My words, and do them in truth and with a faithful mind, shall watch and pray without ceasing, reckoning continual supplication as a work, in nothing wandering or going about in this world, and in nothing anxious, but with an austere soul and a mind that doubteth not, daily taking on them the cross, to do the will of My Father which is in heaven, with a meek heart. For He who is anxious about them that trust in the truth, and careth for them, is the Lord; and He sendeth to them those things which are right and fitting—those things which He knoweth, and by the hands of them whom He knoweth.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 14

I have told you these things, therefore, that wherever ye go, ye may test the souls that are holy, and tell them those things which are fitting and right, and those things which are about to be, and all those things which, before I was glorified, I gave you in commandment, so that believing [them] they may truly live. From henceforth shall be the beginning of travail, and the mystery of destruction. Turning therefore to the Church, setting right, duly ordering, and arranging, and doing all things in uprightness and holiness, speak to every man as is helpful to him, so that your Father which is in heav-

en may be glorified. Be ye wise, that ye may persuade those who are in captivity to error, and those who are sunk in ignorance, that coming to the knowledge of God, and living piously and purely, they may praise My Father and your God.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 15

Now after Jesus had spoken these words, Peter and John and Thomas and Matthew and Andrew and Matthias (?) and the rest said: O our Lord, truly Thou hast spoken to us now also words of warning and of truth, and though we are not worthy Thou hast bestowed upon us many things, and hast granted also to those of future generations who are worthy, to know Thy words and to flee from the snares of the Evil One. But, O our Lord, we beseech Thee, make Thy perfect light to shine upon us, and upon those who are fore-ordained and separated to be Thine. Because that we have many times asked Thee, we pray Thee teach us of what sort he ought to be who standeth at the head of the Church, or with what rule he should raise up and order the Church. For it is urgent that when we are sent to the nations to preach the salvation which is from Thee, it should not escape us as to how it is fitting to arrange the mysteries of the Church. Therefore from Thy mouth, O our Saviour and Perfecter, we desire to learn without omission how the Chief of the holy things ought to please Thee, and [likewise] all those who minister in Thy Church.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 16

Then Martha and Mary, and Salome, who were with us, answered and said:—Yea, O our Lord, teach us to know what we ought to do, that our souls may live unto Thee. Then Jesus answered and said unto them: I will that, persevering in supplication, ye should always serve My Gospel, and be examples of holiness, for the salvation of those who trust patiently in Me; and in all things be figures of the kingdom of heaven.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 17

But to us also Jesus said:—Because that ye also have asked Me concerning the rule ecclesiastical, I deliver and make known to you how ye ought to order and command him who standeth at the head of the Church, and to keep the perfect and just and most excellent rule, in which My Father who hath sent Me is well pleased. Verily I say unto you, that he who knoweth the power of this commandment and of this testament, and doeth according to those

things which are written therein, shall be made like unto the angels who praise My Father, and shall be holy unto God. But My Father is mediator, and all His host, that if their sins are as the sand of the sea[shore] which cannot be numbered, and any of them, understanding these words, shall do them, these sins shall be forgiven him, and he shall live in Me.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 18

¹ But because in the midst of the assembly of the people [there are], more and more, many carnal desires, and the labourers are feeble and few, only My perfect labourers shall know the multitude of My words, all also which at times I spake to you in private before I should suffer, and which ye know; ye both have them and understand them. For My mysteries are given to those who are Mine, with whom I shall rejoice and be glad with My Father. When they shall be loosed from [this] life they shall come to Me. But these remaining words, determining and appointing them, speak ye in the Churches. But from the day that My faithful ones also have the desire to know, that they may do the things of My Father, what[soever is] in this My testament, I will be with them, and will be praised among them, and I will make My habitation with them, by power informing them of the will of My Father.

² See that ye give not My holy things to the dogs, and cast not pearls before swine, as I have often commanded you. Give not My holy things to defiled and wicked men who do not bear My cross, and are not subject [to Me]; and My commandments shall be for derision among them. And it shall be to him that is embittered and doeth them not, but giveth My words without profit, for the destruction of their souls. But it shall be spoken and given to those who are firm and fixed, and do not fall away, who keep My commandments and this tradition, [to the end] that they, keeping these [things], may abide holy and upright and strong in Me, fleeing from the downfall of iniquity and the death of sin; the Holy Ghost [also] bestowing upon them His grace, that they may believe uprightly, that they may in the Spirit spiritually know the things of the Spirit, and in hope endure labour, and in joy serve My Gospel, and bear the reproach of My cross, not doubting but [rather] glorying; for verily I say unto you, that such as these [men] and such as these [women] shall, after death, dwell in the third order of My Father who hath sent Me.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 19

¹I tell you therefore how the sanctuary ought to be; then I will make known the holy rule of the priests of the Church. Let the church then be thus: let it have three entrances as a type of the Trinity. Let the diaconicum be on the right of the right hand entrance, that the eucharists, or offerings which are offered, may be seen. Let there be a fore-court, with a portico going round, to the diaconicum. Then within the fore-court let there be a place [to serve] for a baptistery, its length twenty-one cubits as a general type of the prophets, and its width twelve cubits as a type of those who have been determined to preach the Gospel, with one entrance and three exits. Let the Church have a house of the catechumens, which shall be also the house of the exorcists. Let it not be detached from the Church, but so that those who enter and are in it may hear the lections and spiritual hymns of praise and psalms.

²Let there be a throne by the altar; on the right and on the left [let there be] the places of the presbyters, so that on the right may sit those who are more exalted and honoured, and those who labour in the word; but those who are of middle age on the left hand. But that place where the throne is, let it be raised three steps, for there the altar ought to be. Let that house have two porches, on the right and on the left, for men and for women. Let all the places be lighted, both for a type, and also for reading. Let the altar have a veil of pure linen, for it is without spot. Also the baptistery likewise, let it be under a veil. Let a place be built as for commemoration, so that the priest and chief deacon sitting with the readers may write the names of those who offer the oblations, or of those for whom they have offered [them], so that when the holy things are offered by the bishop, the reader or chief deacon may name them by way of commemoration, which the priests and people offer for them with supplication. For there is this type also in heaven.

³Let the place of the presbyters be within the veil, beside that place of commemoration. Let the house of the offering and the treasury be quite beside the diaconicum. But let the place of the lection be a little outside the altar. Let the house of the bishop be beside that place which is called the fore-court. Also that of those widows who are called "those that sit in front." Also let that of the presbyters and deacons be behind the baptistery. Let the deaconesses abide beside the door of the Lord's house. Let the Church have a house for entertaining near by, where the chief deacon shall entertain strangers.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 20

Now after the house is [built] as is fitting and right, let the bishop be appointed, being chosen by all the people according to the will of the Holy Ghost, being without fault, chaste, quiet, mild, without anxiety, watchful, not a money-lover, blameless, not quarrelsome, ready to forgive, a teacher, not given to much speaking, a lover of good things, a lover of labour, a lover of widows, a lover of orphans, a lover of the poor, experienced in the mysteries, not lax and distracted in company with this world, peaceful, and in all good things perfect, as one to whom the order and place of God is entrusted. It is good indeed that he be without a wife, but at any rate that he have been the husband of one wife only, so that he may sympathise with the weakness of widows. Let him be appointed when he is of middle age, not a youth.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 21

¹ Being such as this, let him receive ordination on the first day of the week, all consenting to his appointment, and bearing witness to him, with all the neighbouring presbyters and bishops. Let those bishops lay hands on him, having first washed their hands, but let the presbyters stand beside them, not speaking, in fear, lifting up their hearts in silence. After [that], let the bishops lay hands on him, saying: We lay hands on the servant of God, who hath been chosen in the Spirit, for the true and pious disposing of the Church, which alone hath the principality, and which is not dissolved, of the invisible [and] living God, and for the delivering of true judgment and divine and holy revelations, and of divine gifts and faithful doctrines of the Trinity, by the cross, by the resurrection, by the incorruptibility, in the holy Church of God. After this, one bishop, commanded by the other bishops, shall lay hands on him, saying his calling of appointment, thus:

Prayer of Ordination of a Bishop

² O God, who hast done all things in power, and hast established them, and hast founded the inhabited world in reason, and hast adorned the crown of all these things which were made by Thee; who hast given to them to keep Thy commandments in fear; who hast bestowed upon us the understanding of the truth, and hast made known unto us that good Spirit of Thine; who didst send Thy beloved Son, the only Saviour, without spot, for our salvation; O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who in the pure heights dost dwell eternally, who art high and ad-

orable, dreadful and great; who seest all things, who knowest all things before they are, with whom all things were before they were [made]; who gavest illumination to the Church by the grace of Thy Only-begotten Son, having foreordained from the beginning those who delight in just things, and do those things that are holy, to dwell in Thy habitations; who didst choose Abraham, who pleased Thee by his faith, and didst translate holy Enoch to the treasure-house of life; who hast ordered princes and priests in Thine upper sanctuary; O Lord, who didst call [them] to praise and glorify the Name of Thee and of Thy Only-begotten in the place of Thy glory;

3 O Lord God, who before the foundation of the world didst not leave Thine upper sanctuary without a ministry, and also, since the foundation of the world, hast adorned and glorified Thy sanctuaries [on earth] with faithful princes and priests, after the pattern of Thine [own] heaven; Thou, Lord, even now also art well pleased to be praised, and hast vouchsafed that there should be princes for Thy people: Cause to shine forth and pour out understanding, and the grace which cometh from Thy princely Spirit, which Thou didst deliver to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; give wisdom, O God, [give] reasoning, strength, power, unity of spirit to do all things by Thy co-operation. Give the Spirit which is Thine, O holy God; send to Thy holy and pure Church, and to every place which singeth to Thee "Holy," Him who was given to Thy Holy One; and grant, O Lord, that this Thy servant may please Thee for doxology, and for laud without ceasing, O God, for fitting hymns of praise, and for suitable times, for acceptable prayers, for faithful asking, for an upright mind, for a meek heart, for the working of life and of meekness and of truth, for the knowledge of uprightness. O Father, who knowest the hearts, [grant] to this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen for the episcopate, to feed Thy holy flock, and to stand at the head of the priesthood without fault, ministering to Thee day and night; grant that Thy face may be seen by him;

4 vouchsafe, O Lord, that he may offer to Thee the offerings of Thy holy Church carefully [and] with all fear; bestow upon him that he may have Thy powerful Spirit to loose all bands, as Thou didst bestow [Him] on Thy apostles, to please Thee in meekness; fill him full of love, knowledge, understanding, discipline, perfectness, strength, and a pure heart, when he prayeth for the people, and when he mourneth for those who commit folly and draweth them to [receive] help; when he offereth to Thee praises and thanks-

givings and prayers for a sweet-smelling savour through Thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom [are given] to Thee praise and honour and might, with the Holy Ghost, both before the worlds, and also now, and at all times, and for ever and ever without end. Amen. ⁵ And let the people say: Amen. And then let them cry out: He is worthy, He is worthy, He is worthy. After he is [ordained], let the people keep the feast three days, according to the mystery that in three days [our Lord] rose from the dead. And let every one give him the Peace.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 22

¹ Let him be constant at the altar; in prayers let him be persistent day and night, especially at the obligatory times of night; at the first hour, at midnight, and at early twilight when the star of the dawn riseth. Then also in the morning, at the third, sixth, ninth [hours, and the] twelfth hour at the lamp [lighting]. If also at every hour he offer prayers without ceasing for the people and for himself, he doeth well. Let him abide in the house of the Church alone. If he have one or two likeminded with himself, it is good that he should be with them for united supplication in unison. For where two or three are gathered together in My Name, ye know that I have said unto you that I am in the midst of them. But if he cannot abide all night long, yet let him remain these hours that I have said. For then the angels visit the Church.

² Let him fast three days each [week] (?) all the year. But for three weeks after his appointment let him maintain the fast according to the number of the eighteen Exalted Entrances by which the Only-begotten passed when He came to the passion. But on the first day of the week only let him feed on bread with oil and honey and salt, and all fruits of trees; but let him in no wise taste wine, except only the cup of the Offering. This let him use whether ill or well. For it is good that this be for the priests only. And so after these weeks all the year, let him fast three days each [week]; and for the rest of the time let him fast according to his strength. But in no wise let him eat meat, not because if he taste or eat [meat] he is to be blamed, but because when he loveth infirmity these strong meats are not fitting, and in order that he may watch.

³ Let the Offering only be on Saturday, or on the first day of the week, and on a fast-day. On the eve let him instruct and teach these things in the manner of a mystery to those whom he hath tested as having ears to hear.

But if he be sick in body, let him quickly take care to heal himself, feeding on fish, and constantly [taking] a little wine of the Holy thing, that the Church may not also come to an end because he is lying sick; but [that] those who learn may receive joy. But when teaching in the Church, let him speak thus carefully, as a man who knoweth that he is speaking for a testimony the doctrine of all the ministry of the Father of all, that [doctrine] which is accurately written. Let him say all these things—all those which he accurately knoweth and remembereth of old. For if he knoweth what he saith, he may have hope that his hearers also [will] have known these things. And with all his labour, let him beseech the Lord, so that his word may bring forth the fruits of the Holy Spirit in them that hear.

4 Let him do everything in order, and with knowledge. Let him dismiss the catechumens after he hath admonished them with meditations and admonitions of the Prophets and Apostles, with instructive words, so that they may know Him whom they confess. But let him teach the faithful after the manner of a mystery, having first dismissed the catechumens; and after the instruction in the mysteries let him offer, so that knowing in what mystery they are taking part, they may offer with fear.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 23

1 Let him offer on Saturday three loaves for a complete symbol of the Trinity; but on the first day of the week let him offer four loaves for a complete symbol of the Gospel. Because that the ancient people erred, when he offereth let the veil in front of the door be closed, and within it let him offer with the presbyters and deacons and the canonical widows, and subdeacons and deaconesses and readers [and] those who have gifts. But let the bishop stand first in the middle, and the presbyters immediately behind him on either side, and the widows immediately behind the presbyters on the left side, and the deacons also behind the presbyters on the right hand side; the readers behind them, and the subdeacons behind the readers, and the deaconesses behind the subdeacons. Let the bishop then place his hand on those loaves which have been set on the altar, and let the presbyters place their hands together with him, and let the rest stand only.

2 Let not the loaf of catechumens be received; not even if he have a believing son or wife and wish to offer on their behalf; let it not be offered unless he is baptized. Before the bishop or presbyter offereth, let the people give

the Peace to one another. Then, a great silence being made, let the deacon say thus:

Admonition of the Deacon on the Eucharist

³[Lift up] your hearts to heaven. If any man have wrath against his companion, let him be reconciled. If any man have a conscience without faith, let him confess [it]. If any man have a thought foreign to the commandments, let him depart. If any man have fallen into sin, let him not hide himself: he may not hide himself. If any man have a disordered reason, let him not draw near. If any man be defiled, if any man be not firm, let him give place. If any man be a stranger to the commandments of Jesus, let him depart. If any man despise the prophets, let him separate himself: from the wrath of the Only-begotten let him deliver himself. Let us not despise the cross. Let us flee from threatening. We have our Lord as onlooker, the Father of Lights with the Son, [and] the angels who visit [us].

⁴See to yourselves that ye be not in anger against your neighbours. See that no man be in wrath: God seeth. [Lift] up your hearts to offer for the salvation of life and of holiness. In the wisdom of God let us receive the grace which hath been bestowed upon us. Then let the bishop say, giving and rendering thanks with an avved voice: Our Lord [be] with you. And let the people say: And with thy spirit. Let the bishop say: [Lift] up your hearts. Let the people say: They are [lifted up] unto the Lord. Let the bishop say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And let all the people say: It is meet and right. And let the bishop cry: Holy things in holy [persons]. And let the people call out: In heaven and on earth without ceasing.

Eucharist or Thanksgiving Over the Offering

⁵Let the bishop immediately say: We render thanks to Thee, O God, the Holy One, Confirmer of our souls, and Giver of our life, the Treasure of incorruptibility, and Father of the Only-begotten, our Saviour, whom in the latter times Thou didst send to us as a Saviour and Proclaimer of Thy purpose. For it is Thy purpose that we should be saved in Thee. Our heart giveth thanks unto Thee, O Lord, [our] mind, [our] soul, with all [its] thinking, that Thy grace may come upon us, O Lord, so that we may continually praise Thee, and Thy Only-begotten Son, and Thy Holy Ghost, now and alway, and for ever and ever. Amen. O Thou Power of the Father, the Grace of the nations, Knowledge, true Wisdom, the Exaltation of the meek, the Medicine

of souls, the Confidence of us who believe, for Thou art the Strength of the righteous, the Hope of the persecuted, the Haven of those who are buffeted, the Illuminator of the perfect, the Son of the living God, make to arise on us, out of Thy gift which cannot be searched into, courage, might, reliance, wisdom, strength, unlapsing faith, unshaken hope, the knowledge of Thy Spirit, meekness [and] uprightness, so that alway, O Lord, we Thy servants, and all the people, may praise Thee purely, may bless Thee, may give thanks unto Thee, Lord, at all times, and may beseech Thee.

6 And also let the bishop say: Thou, Lord, the Founder of the heights, and King of the treasuries of light, Visitor of the heavenly Sion, King of the orders of archangels, of Dominions, Praises, Thrones, Raiments, Lights, Joys, Delights, the Father of kings, who holdest all in Thy hand, and suppliest [all] by Thy reason, through Thine Only-begotten Son who was crucified for our sins: Thou, Lord, didst send Thy Word, who is of Thy counsel and covenant, by whom Thou madest all things, being well pleased with Him, into a virgin womb; who, when He was conceived, [and] made flesh, was shown to be Thy Son, being born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin; who, fulfilling Thy will, and preparing a holy people, stretched forth His hands to suffering, that He might loose from sufferings and corruption and death those who have hoped in thee; who when He was betrayed to voluntary suffering that He might raise up those who had slipped, and find those who were lost, and give life to the dead, and loose [the pains of] death, and rend the bonds of the Devil, and fulfil the counsel of the Father, and tread down Sheol, and open the way of life, and guide the righteous to light, and fix the boundary, and lighten the darkness, and nurture the babes, and reveal the resurrection; taking bread, gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My Body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins. When ye shall do this, ye make My resurrection. Also the cup of wine which He mixed He gave for a type of the Blood which he shed for us.

7 And also let him say: Remembering therefore Thy death and resurrection, we offer to Thee bread and the cup, giving thanks to Thee who alone art God for ever, and our Saviour, since Thou hast promised to us to stand before Thee and to serve Thee in priesthood. Therefore we render thanks to Thee, we Thy servants, O Lord. And let the people say likewise. And also let [the bishop] say: 8 We offer to Thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father before whom all creation and every

nature trembleth fleeing into itself, O Lord the Holy Ghost; we have brought this drink and this food of Thy Holiness [to Thee]; Cause that it may be to us not for condemnation, not for reproach, not for destruction, but for the medicine and support of our spirit. Yea, O God, grant us that by Thy Name every thought of things displeasing to Thee may flee away. Grant, O God, that every proud conception may be driven away from us by Thy Name which is written within the veils of Thy sanctuaries, those high ones—a Name which, when Sheol heareth [it], it is amazed, the depth is rent, the spirits are driven away, the dragon is bruised, unbelief is cast out, disobedience is subdued, anger is appeased, envy worketh not, pride is reprov'd, avarice rooted out, boasting taken away, arrogance humbled, [and] every root of bitterness destroyed. Grant therefore, O Lord, to our innermost eyes to see Thee, praising Thee and glorifying Thee, commemorating Thee [and] serving Thee, having a portion in Thee alone, O Son and Word of God, who subduest all things. Sustain unto the end those who have gifts of revelations. Confirm those who have a gift of healing. Make those courageous who have the power of tongues. Keep those who have the word of doctrine upright. Care for those who do Thy will alway. Visit the widows. Help the orphans.

9 Remember those who have fallen asleep in the faith. And grant us an inheritance with Thy saints, and bestow [upon us] the power to please Thee as they also pleased Thee. Feed the people in uprightness: sanctify us all, O God; but grant that all those who partake and receive of Thy Holy Things may be made one with Thee, so that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost, for the confirmation of the faith in truth, that they may lift up always a doxology to Thee, and to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom praise and might [be] unto Thee, with Thy Holy Spirit for ever and ever. 10 Let the people say: Amen. The deacon: Earnestly let us beseech our Lord and our God that He may bestow upon us concord of spirit. The bishop: Give us concord in the Holy Spirit, and heal our souls by this offering, that we may live in Thee in all the ages of ages. The people: Amen. Let the people also pray in the same [words]. After these things the seal of thanksgiving thus: Let the Name of the Lord be blessed for ever. The people: Amen. The priest: Blessed is He that hath come in the Name of the Lord. Blessed [is] the Name of His praise. And let all the people say: So be it, so be it. Let the bishop say: Send the grace of the Spirit upon us. If the bishop be polluted, let him not offer, but let a presbyter offer. Also let him not receive of the mystery, not as though he were

defiled, but because of the honour of the altar. But after he hath fasted and bathed in pure water, let him approach and minister. Similarly also a presbyter. And if also a widow be menstruous, let her not approach. Similarly if a woman or a layman or any of the company [of the clergy be polluted], let him not approach, for the honour [of the altar] except after fasting and bathing.

¹¹ Let the priests first receive, thus: the bishops, presbyters, deacons, widows, readers, subdeacons. After these those that have gifts, those newly baptized, babes. The people thus: old men, virgins, and the rest. The women [thus]: deaconesses, and after that the rest. Let each one when he receiveth the thanksgiving say before he partaketh: Amen. After that let him pray thus; after that he receiveth the Eucharist let him say: Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity ineffable, grant me to receive unto life this Body, [and] not unto condemnation. And grant me to bring forth the fruits that are pleasing to Thee, so that when I shall be shown to be pleasing to Thee I may live in Thee, doing Thy commandments; and [that] with boldness I may call Thee Father, when I call for Thy kingdom and Thy will [to come] to me. May Thy Name be hallowed in me, O Lord; for Thou art mighty and [to be] praised, and to Thee be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

¹² After the prayer let him receive. When he taketh of the Cup, let him say twice Amen, for a complete symbol of the Body and Blood. After all receive, let them pray, giving and rendering thanks for the reception, the deacon saying: Let us give thanks unto the Lord, receiving His Holy Things, so that the reception [of them] may be for the life and salvation of our souls. Let us beg and beseech [His grace], raising a doxology to the Lord our God. After that let the bishop [say]: O Lord, Giver of light eternal, the Helmsman of souls, the Guide of saints; Give us understanding eyes which always look to Thee, and ears which hear Thee only, so that our soul may be filled with grace. Create in us a clean heart, O God; so that we may always comprehend Thy greatness. O God, Wonderful, who lovest man, make our souls better, and, by this Eucharist which we, Thy servants, who fail in much, have [now] received, form our thoughts so that they shall not swerve: for Thy kingdom is blessed, O Lord God, [who art] glorified and praised in Father and in Son and in Holy Ghost, both before the worlds, and now, and alway, and for the ages and for ever and ever without end.

¹³ The people: Amen.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 24

¹ If the priest consecrate oil for the healing of those who suffer, let him say thus, quietly, placing the vessel before the altar: O Lord God, who hast bestowed upon us the Spirit, the Paraclete, the Lord, the saving and unshaken Name, which is hidden from the foolish but revealed unto the wise; O Christ, who didst sanctify us, and by Thy mercies dost make the servants whom Thou choosest wise with the wisdom that is Thine, who didst send the knowledge of Thy Spirit to us sinners by the holiness which is Thine, bestowing on us the power of the Spirit; who art the Healer of every sickness and of every suffering; who didst give the gift of healing to those who were counted worthy of this by Thee; send on this oil, which is the type of Thy fatness, the delivering [power] of Thy good compassion, that it may deliver those who labour and heal those who are sick, and sanctify those who return, when they approach to Thy faith; for Thou art mighty and [to be] praised for ever and ever.

² The people: Amen. Chapter 25. Likewise, the same also over water.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 26

¹ At early dawn let the bishop assemble the people, so that the service may be finished before the rising of the sun. When he saith the First Hymn of Praise, of the Dawn, the presbyters and deacons and the rest, the faithful also, [standing] close by, let him say thus: Praise to the Lord. And let the people say: It is meet and right.

Hymn of Praise for the Dawn

² The bishop: It is meet and right that we should praise and laud and give thanks to Thee, who didst make all, ineffable God. Stretching forth our souls upward, we raise to Thee, O Lord, a hymn of praise for the morning,—to Thee who art all-wise, powerful, great in mercies, O God, the Confirmer and Raiser-up of our souls; we praise Thee, the Word who before the worlds wast begotten of the Father, and retest alone with Thy saints, who art praised with the hymns of the archangels,—Thee the Maker, who wast not made with hands, and who makest known holy things which are invisible, pure, and spotless,—Thee who hast made known to us the hidden mysteries of wisdom, and didst promise to us immortal light; we lift up praise to Thee in pure holiness, we Thy servants, O Lord. And let the people say: We praise

Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord; and we beseech Thee, O our God.

³ Also [let] the bishop say: O God, the Begetter of light, the Principle of life, the Giver of knowledge, the Gift of grace, the Maker of souls, who makest things [that are] beautiful, the Giver of the Holy Ghost, the Treasure of Wisdom, and the Maker of good things, the Lord, the Teacher of holiness, who rulest the worlds by Thy will, the Receiver of pure prayers; we praise Thee, the Only-begotten Son, the First-born and Word of the Father, who didst bestow all Thy grace on us who call upon Thee, the Helper, and upon the Father who begat Thee; who hast an essence that cannot be injured, where neither moth nor worm doth corrupt; who givest to all that with all their heart trust in Thee those things which the angels have desired to behold; who art the Guardian of light eternal and [of] treasures incorruptible; who hast by the will of Thy Father shed light on the darkness which [is] in us; who from the depth hast raised us up to light; who hast given us life out of death, and bestowed upon us freedom out of slavery; who by the cross hast made us of the household of Thy Father, and by Thy gospel hast guided us to the heights of heaven, and hast comforted us by Thy prophets; who in Thine own Person hast made us of the household of God the Father of lights; grant us, O Lord, that we may praise Thee, our God, so that always with unceasing thanksgiving we may speak praises to Thee, we Thy servants, O Lord.

⁴ The people: We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, we beseech Thee, O our God. ⁵ Let the bishop also say: We sing to Thee with our mouths this triple hymn of praise as a figure of Thy kingdom, O Son of God, who [art] by eternity; who [art] above all, with the Father; whom all creation praiseth, trembling with fear of Thy Spirit; at whom all nature trembleth in fear and [whom] every soul of the righteous blesseth; with whom all we have taken refuge; who hast made confusion, storms, [and] wind to cease from us; who hast been to us an haven of rest, and a place to flee unto from corruption; in whom we have hope of eternal salvation; who makest the peacefulness of fine weather for those who are buffeted on the seas and with the tempests; who in sicknesses art entreated and healest without price; who art with those that are shut up in prison; who hast loosed us from the bonds of death; [who art] the Comforter of the poor, and of those who mourn, and of those who have laboured and wearied themselves with the cross; who turnest away from us every menace; who for us hast reprov'd the craft of Satan; who

drivest away his menaces, and givest us courage; who thrustest away all error from those that trust in Thee; whom the prophets and apostles praised secretly: we praise Thee, O Lord, we lift up to Thee a doxology, so that, having known Thee, we may rest in the habitations of life, doing Thy will alway. And grant to us, O Lord, to walk according to Thy commandments, and in mercy visit us all, both small and great, the prince and his people, the shepherd and his flock; for Thou, O Lord, art our God, and blessed and praised [is] Thy kingdom—[the kingdom] of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, both before the worlds, and now and always, and for the ages, and for ever and ever without end.

6 And let the people say: Amen. Let them sing psalms and four hymns of praise; one by Moses, and of Solomon, and of the other prophets. Thus: little singing-boys; two virgins; three deacons; three presbyters. And so let the hymn of praise be said by the bishop, or by one of the presbyters. Let it be said thus: The grace of our Lord [be] with you all. And let the people say: And with thy spirit. And let the priest say: Also let us praise our Lord. And let the people say: Meetly and rightly. Let the priest say: Let your hearts be fixed. And let the people say: We have [them fixed] with the Lord.

Hymn of Praise of the Seal

7 O Lord, the Father, the Giver of light, the Author of all power and of all spirits, the Sealer of eternal light, and the Guide of life, the Maker of felicity and immortality, who hast made us to pass through material darkness, and hast bestowed upon us immaterial light; who hast loosed the bonds of disobedience and crowned us with the faith which is Thine; who dost not keep far off from Thy servants, but art in them always; who dost not neglect those [souls] which with labour and in Thy fear beseech Thee; who knowest all things before they are thought, and searchest out all things before they are considered, and givest what Thou wilt give before we ask Thee; who art well pleased to hear those who with heart undoubting serve Thee, O King of the highest lights and the soldiery of heaven, who hearest the archangels when they praise Thee, and art pleased in them; Answer us, O Lord, we beseech Thee. Grant us with boldness [with] unceasing voice to praise Thee, to laud Thee, to lift up to Thee a doxology; so that being guarded by Thee and guided in light, we Thy servants, O Lord, may constantly praise Thee.

8 The people: We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord; and we beseech Thee, O our God. The priest: O Lord Jesus, hear us, O

Holy One, who wast the Voice of the dumb and the irrational, the Strength of the paralysed, the Giver of light to the blind, the Guide of the lame, the Cleanser of the lepers, the Curer of material fluxes, the Healer of the deaf and dumb, the Reprover of death, the Tormentor of darkness, the Ray of light, and the Lamp that is not quenched, the Sun that is not darkened [and] resteth [not]; but who always givest light unto Thy saints; who hast established all things together for the good likeness of comeliness; who art the well-tempered Reason; who hast plainly given light to all; who art the Saviour of the sons of men, and the Converter of souls; who art the Provider of all things as is right, the Maker of the angels, who adornest all; the Thought of the Father; who didst found the worlds in prudence and wisdom, and didst establish them together; and wast sent from Thy eternal Father unto us; the Intelligence of the Spirit who may not be apprehended or understood, the Maker-known of things invisible; Thou art glorious, and Thy Name is Wonderful. Therefore we also, Thy servants, O Lord, give praise to Thee.

9 The people: We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord; we beseech Thee, O our Lord. The priest: We sing, O holy Lord, this threefold hymn of praise to Thee, who didst give us a faith in Thee which cannot be loosed, whereby Thou didst make us to conquer the bonds of death; who didst create upright minds in them that trust in Thee, that they might be gods; who by the Spirit didst give unto us to tread under foot all the power of the enemy that we may not profane those things which may not be profaned; who by Thy mediation hast made friendship for us with Thy Father. Answer us Thy servants, O Lord, [Thou] whom without ceasing we entreat, who at our supplication givest [us] power against the adversary; whom alway we ask, as [it were], for the overthrow of the Evil one; Hear us, O King Eternal; comfort the widows, help the orphans; pity and cleanse those who are possessed with unclean spirits, give wisdom to the unwise; convert those who go astray; deliver those who are in prison; guard us all, for Thou, O Lord, art our God; blessed and glorious is Thy kingdom.

10 The people: Amen.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 27

After this let the prayer be completed, and let the reader then read the Prophets and the rest; let the presbyter or deacon read the Gospel; and then let the bishop or presbyter teach those things which are convenient and prof-

itable. After that let there be a prayer, and let the catechumens receive a laying on of the hand.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 28

¹ After that let the bishop teach the mysteries to the people. But if he be not present, let a presbyter speak so that the faithful may know to whom they are approaching and who is their God and Father. Then let the teaching of the mysteries be said thus:

Mystagogia or] Initiation Into the Mysteries which is Said Before the Offering to the Faithful

² [We confess] Him who is pre-existent, and was present, and is, and cometh; who suffered and was buried, and rose, and was glorified by the Father; who loosed our cords from death, who rose from the dead; who is not only Man but therewith also God; who by the Holy Ghost restored the flesh of Adam with [his] soul to immortality, because He preserved Adam by the Spirit; who clothed Himself with dead Adam and made him to live; who ascended into heaven; under whom, after the cross, Death fell, and was conquered, when its bonds, whereby the Devil sometimes waxed strong and prevailed against us, were dissolved; [and] through whose passion [Death] was manifested useless and weak when [Jesus] cut his cords and his power, when his snares were cut, and He struck him on his face, [even Death] who was filled with darkness and was shaken, and feared, beholding the Only-begotten Son; who in His [human] soul descended in the Godhead into Sheol; who descended from the pure heights above the heavens; Him [we confess] the indivisible Thought who is from the Father, and [is] of one will with Him; Him the Maker, with His Father, of heaven; who is the Angels' Crown, the Archangels' Strength, the Raiment of the Hosts and the Spirit of the Dominions; Him, the Ruler of the everlasting Kingdom, and Prince of the Saints, the unfathomable Intelligence of the Father; Him who is the Wisdom, the Power, the Lord, the Thought, Intelligence, Hand, Arm of the Father.

³ As we believe, we confess Him who is our Light, Salvation, Saviour, Protector, Helper, Teacher, Deliverer, Rewarder, Assister, Strength, Wall; our Shepherd, Entrance, Door, Way, Life, Medicine, Provision, Drink, [and] Judge. We confess Him passible [yet] not passible, Son [yet] not created, dead [yet] alive, the Son of the Father, incomprehensible [yet] comprehensible; who, [Himself] sinless, hath borne our sins when He left the Father's heaven;

whose Body being broken becometh our salvation, and [His] Blood and Spirit [our] life and holiness, and the water our cleansing; who giveth light to the hearts of those who fear Him, being with them in all things; who hath made us strangers to the whole way of the Devil; the Renewer of souls, in whom we all have put our trust. He, being God, and before the worlds with the Father, eternal God, when He saw the world perishing in the bonds of sin, and trodden down by the power of a crafty wild beast, and made subject to death through ignorance and error, determining to heal the race of mankind, came to a virgin womb, though hidden from all the camps of the heavenly ones, and cast into ignorance [the] opposing hosts. But when [He], the Incorruptible, clothed Himself with corruptible flesh, making flesh which was under death to be incorruptible, He thus showed in the flesh of dead Adam, wherewith He clothed Himself, an example of incorruptibility, by which example the things of corruption were abolished.

⁴ He delivered indeed holy commandments through the Gospel, which is the fore-proclaiming of the kingdom; by which Gospel as a figure of the kingdom we learned to live; through which Gospel the bonds of the Devil have been cut, so that we may attain immortality instead of death, and instead of ignorance may receive [the grace] of watchfulness. He, then, having become Man, the Son of God, the Lord, who took [on Him] the dead race of Adam in all its kinds, by emptying [Himself], He who is the First, came to birth, as Man, though He is God; He who was foreknown by the prophets, and preached by the apostles, and lauded by angels, and glorified by the Father of all. He was crucified for us; and His cross is our life, our strength, [our] salvation, for it is the hidden mystery, the ineffable joy, and through it the whole nature of mankind, always bearing it, is made inseparable from God, for it is the virtue benign and inseparable from God, that cannot be spoken as is meet by these lips, [and] that was hidden from the beginning; but now the mystery which is revealed, which is for the faithful, shall be, not as it seemeth to be, but as it is.

⁵ This cross in which we boast, so that we may be glorified, [and] the bearers whereof, the faithful and perfect, separate their souls from everything that can be felt, from everything that is seen, as from a thing which is not true, —by this ask for yourselves, O ye who quit you like men; make deaf your visible ears; make blind your bodily eyes; so that ye may know the will of Christ and all the mystery of your salvation. Holy men and

women, whose property it is to make your boast in the Lord, listen to the inward man. 6 Our Lord, when He taught us and appointed to us a covenant, and made us of [His] household, and came, after His passion, into Sheol, made captive all the earth—He who made the nature of death captive to life, and Death when it saw Him descending in His soul to Sheol, was deceived, and hoped that He was food for him, as was his custom. But when he saw in Him the beauty of the Godhead, he cried out with [his] voice, saying: Who is this that hath clothed Himself with Man who [was] under me, and hath conquered me? Who is this that snatcheth from destruction flesh which was bound by me? Who is this that hath clothed Himself with earth but [Himself] is heaven? Who is this that was born in corruptibility, but suffereth no corruption? Who is this [that is] a stranger to my laws? Who is this that maketh captive those that are mine? Who is this that striveth with the power of burning Death, and conquereth darkness? What is this new glory which [is] in this vision that preventeth me from doing the things which I would? Who is this new dead One without sin? Who is this that by the abundance of light extinguisheth darkness, and doth not allow me to have rule over those that are mine, but draweth to heaven the souls which were given unto me? What is this glory which preventeth the body from being corruptible? Who is this whom I cannot touch? What is this glory unsearchable to its surroundings? Woe is me! I am put to flight by Him and by those things which are His, for I cannot injure them.

7 He, being the Christ, who was crucified, by whom the [things] that were on the left hand were [placed] on the right hand, and those which were beneath [were] as those which [were] above, and those which [were] behind as those which [were] before, when He rose from the dead, and trod down Sheol, and by death slew Death; after He rose on the third day He gave thanks to the Father, saying: I give thanks to Thee, O My Father, not with these lips which are fixed together, nor yet with a corporeal tongue through which truth and lying go out, nor with this created and material word; but I give thanks to Thee, the King, with that Voice which through Thee understandeth all [things], which cometh not by a bodily organ, which falleth not on carnal ears, which is not in the world and is not left on earth, but with this Voice, the Spirit who is in Us, only speaking to Thee, O Father, loving Thee, praising Thee, through whom also the whole choir of perfect saints calleth Thee beloved, [calleth] Thee Father, [calleth] Thee Sustainer, [calleth]

Thee Helper; for Thou art all, and all [are] in Thee; for whatever is, is Thine and not another's, but is Thine alone, who art for ever and ever. Amen:

8 Let the shepherd know the mysteries of all nature. After I have prayed to the Father, as ye know and see, I am taken up, saith Jesus. Therefore it is right that the shepherd should speak the teaching of the Initiation into the mysteries, so that they may know of whom in the holy things they are partaking, and what memorial they are making through the Eucharist. And at the end, after this, let him say thus: As then we also have taken refuge in Him, and have learnt that it is in Him alone to give, let us beg from Him those things which He said that He would give us, which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and [which] have not entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him, as Moses and some of the saints have said. As then we have hoped in Him, let us give to Him praise; and to Him be glory and might for ever and ever. Amen.

9 Let the people say: Amen. After the people are taught the Initiation into the mysteries, let the Eucharist be offered; but let not the Initiation into the mysteries be said each time, but only at Pascha, on Saturday, and on the first day of the week, and on the days of the Epiphany and of Pentecost.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 29: : OF WHAT SORT A PRESBYTER OUGHT TO BE

Let a presbyter be ordained, being testified to by all the people, according to what has been said before; skilled in reading, meek, poor, not money-loving, having laboured much in ministrations among the weak, proved to be pure, without blame; if he have been as a father to the orphans, if he have ministered to the poor; if he have not grown cold [in his love] for the Church; if in all things he be pious, quiet, so that being [thus] he may in all respects be worthy to have those things that are fitting and suitable revealed to him by God, and also may be counted worthy of the gift of healing.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 30

1 Then let the appointment of the presbyter be thus. All the priestly company conducting him, the bishop laying his hand on his head, the presbyters touching him and holding him, let the bishop begin, and say thus: O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Ineffable One, the Light, who hast neither beginning nor ending, the Lord, who hast ordered all things, and set bounds to [them], and by reason hast defined the order of all things by Thee created; Hear us, and look upon this Thy servant, and make him par-

taker of, and grant unto him, the Spirit of grace and of reason and of strength, the Spirit of the presbyterate who doth not grow old, and is indissoluble, homogeneous, loving the faithful, rebuking, that he may help and govern Thy people by labour, by fear, by a pure heart, by holiness, by excellency, by wisdom, and by the working of the Holy Spirit, through Thy care, O Lord. In like manner as when Thou didst look upon Thy People, the Chosen, Thou didst command Moses to ask for the elders, and filling [them] with Thy Spirit didst bestow Him on Thy minister, so now, O Lord, bestow on [this man] abundantly Thy Spirit, whom Thou didst give to those who by Thyselves were made disciples, and to all those who through them truly believed in Thee. And make him worthy, being filled with Thy wisdom and Thy hidden mysteries, to feed Thy people in holiness of heart; pure, and true; praising, blessing, lauding, giving thanks, offering a doxology alway, day and night, to Thy holy and glorious Name; labouring with cheerfulness and patience to be a vessel of Thy Holy Spirit; having and bearing alway the cross of Thy Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom [be] praise and might to Thee with the Holy Ghost for ever and ever.

²Let the people say: Amen. Let both the priests and people give him the Peace, with an holy kiss.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 31

¹After he is [ordained] let him be constant at the altar, making prayers laboriously without ceasing. But sometimes alone in some house let him take a rest from the things which belong to the house of the Lord; but not ceasing, or diminishing [one] hour, from prayers. Let him fast three days each [week?] all the year, [on the] one [hand] that he may be perfected in intelligence; and moreover [let him fast] according to his strength, not wandering about and going hither and thither with every spirit, but doing everything with energy. If it be revealed to a presbyter or bishop to speak, let him speak; but if not, let him not neglect and despise his work. If it be revealed to a presbyter to visit his parishes, and speak the word, let him go; but if not, let him entreat God with supplication; and if it be revealed to him to speak to them, let him speak to them, always taking the burden and load of Him who was crucified for him, and praying for all the people.

²Let not a presbyter or bishop be anxious about food or raiment. God taketh thought and careth for His own in the [things] which He knoweth. But if, when he receiveth from any one food or clothing, it be said to him

that he should receive also from another, let it suffice him to receive from [the first] alone, and that [only] in so far as is fitting, and as he needeth, and not to excess. In respect of firmness of faith, let a presbyter always be unchangeable; for it is such as these that God desireth; and let him prove the heart of each one; lest evil, kept and buried within, make him a stranger to the grace of God. ³ Let him not allow tares to grow in the good wheat, but let him take them away from it, and cut off, those who bring [them] into it. Let not darkness cover his light. Let him teach all the faithful at all times that they accomplish their course, as it were, in the day; because the children of light walk not in darkness. Let the teaching of the presbyter be fitting, and quiet and moderate, coupled with fear and trembling; and that of the bishop also in like manner. And in teaching let them not speak vain things; but let him say such things as the hearers when they hear may keep [in memory]. Let the presbyter be mindful of all the things that he teacheth. For in the day of the Lord the Word, it will be demanded [of him] that he should testify to the people the things which he spake, so that those who did not hear may be reprov'd. For he must stand before the glory of God, speaking those things which he hath taught. Thus, then, let him teach, that he perish not. Let him pray for those who hear, that the Lord may give them understanding of the Spirit, of knowledge, of truth; and let him not vainly cast pearls before swine; but let him search out [those] who are worthy, those who have heard and have performed; lest if the Word have not brought forth fruit in them, but have perished, he himself should prove the cause of its perishing. Let him not give the holy things to dogs. Let him discern the signs of those who hear the word and bring forth good fruits. But in all things let him, without anxiety, keep [the matter] for the bishop.

⁴ Let him not neglect nor despise those who do good works through teaching. But let him watch for signs in them; [and] of those [signs appearing] in them let him judge spiritually by [their] sighs, weeping, earnest conversations, silence, sadness, patience, humble bowing of the head. But that which best traineth and causeth suffering is weeping and groaning. But the work [these do] is watching, continence, fasting, quietness, unceasing prayer, meditation, faith, meekness, philanthropy, labour, weariness, love, subjection, goodness, gravity, and every [work of] light. [On the other hand], the signs of those who do not bring forth the fruits of life are [these]:—sloth, love of pleasure, eyes wandering in all directions, disobedience, complaining,

restlessness, a laziness that will not move, wandering about. But the work [these do] is gluttony, debauchery, anger, unbelief, idle and unseasonable laughter, confusion, neglect, error, disturbance, wantonness, love of gains, love of money, envy, contention, drunkenness, high-mindedness, vain talking, love of praise, and every [work of] darkness.

5 Let him recognise products such as these, and let him speak to those who are worthy. But let him not waste time upon those who do not receive [his teaching]. For those who sow on earth without fruits shall reap miseries. Let the presbyter, as is right and fitting, go about to the houses of those who are sick with the deacon, and visit them; let him consider and say to them those things that are fitting and proper, especially to the faithful. Let him exhort that the sick who are poor be helped by the Church, so that they also who do [deeds] of kindness may enter into the joy of their Lord. Let him confirm those who have newly become catechumens with prophetic and evangelical utterances, with the word of teaching. Let him not neglect his prayers, for he is the figure of the archangels: but let him know that God did not spare the angels who sinned.

6 Let him fast; and if it is proper, let him receive of the cup. Let wine suffice him, as much as, in his judgment, profiteth and helpeth him, lest that drink which was for [his] healing he receive to [his] loss. In sickness, let him eat herbs and fish, and also that he may have care for his work. In everything let the priest be an example to the faithful of the work of holiness. Let the presbyter praise and give thanks in the same way as the bishop.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 32

1 Let them say the daily hymn of praise in the Church, each of them at his own time, thus:

Daily Hymn of Praise

2 The grace of our Lord [be] with you all. The people: And with thy spirit. The priest: Praise ye the Lord. The people: It is meet and right. The priest: Thee, O Father of incorruptibility, Deliverer of our souls, Confirmer of the thoughts, and Guardian of our hearts, who hast illumined our hearts and hast brought to an end the darkness of our intelligence, by the knowledge which is in Thee; who hast by the cross of Thy Only - begotten brought back anew to incorruptibility the old man which was given over to corruption; who hast brought error to an end, and by Thy commandments hast made

man to pass to immortality; who didst seek that which was lost, we [Thy] servants [and] also [Thy] people praise. The people: We praise Thee, and the rest. The priest: We praise Thee, O Lord, whom continually the unceasing doxologies of the Archangels singing praise, and the hymns of praise of Glories, and chants of Dominions praise. We praise Thee, O Lord, who didst send Thy Thought, Thy Word, Thy Wisdom, Thy Energy, [namely] Him who [is] of old, and was with Thee before the worlds, the uncreated Word of the Uncreated one, but appeared, incarnate, in the end of times, for the salvation of created man, Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, who made us free from the yoke of slavery. Therefore we also, as we are accustomed, [we] Thy servants, O Lord [and] also [thy] people, praise Thee.

3 The people: We praise Thee, and the rest. The priest: We sing to Thee a triple hymn of praise from our hearts, O Lord who givest life, to Thee who dost visit the souls of the poor, and neglectest not the spirits of those who are afflicted, the Assister of those who are persecuted, the Helper of those who are tossed on the sea, the Deliverer of those who are buffeted, the Provider for those who are hungry, who takest vengeance for those who are wronged, the Lover of the faithful, the Companion of the saints, the Habitation of the pure, the Dwelling-place of those who call on Thee in truth, the Protector of widows, the Liberator of orphans, who givest to Thy Church a right government, and hast founded in it love-feasts, ministrations, receptions of the faithful, the partaking of the Spirit, gifts of grace and powers. We praise Thee; we cease not alway in our hearts picturing the image of Thy kingdom in ourselves, for Thy sake [and] also [for the sake] of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom [be] praise and might to Thee with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, Amen.

4 And let the people say: Amen. But if also any one saith prophetic words, let him say [them]; he hath a reward. But at midnight let the sons of priestly service, and those of the people who are more perfect, give praise by themselves. For also in that hour our Lord, rising, praised His Father. See, O Children of the light; he who believeth the words of the Lord, walketh as He walked in this world, that where He is, there he may be also.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 33: : OF DEACONS

The deacon is appointed, chosen like the things which have before been spoken of. If he be of good conduct, if he be pure, if he have been chosen for purity and for abstinence from distractions; if not, yet [if he] be the husband

of one wife, borne witness to by all the faithful, not entangled in the businesses of the world, not knowing a handicraft, without riches, without children. But if he be married or have children, let his children be taught to work piety and to be pure, so that they may be approved by the Church, according to the rule of the ministry. But let the Church take care for them, so that they may persevere in the law and in the work of the ministry.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 34

¹ But let him accomplish in the Church those things which are right. Let [his] ministry be thus. First, let him do only those things which are commanded by the bishop as for proclamation; and let him be the counsellor of the whole clergy, and the mystery of the Church; who ministereth to the sick, who ministereth to the strangers, who helpeth the widows, who is the father of the orphans, who goeth about all the houses of those that are in need, lest any be in affliction or sickness or misery. Let him go about in the houses of the catechumens, so that he may confirm those who are doubting and teach those who are unlearned. Let him clothe those men who have departed, adorning [them]; burying the strangers; guiding those who pass from their dwelling, or go into captivity. For the help of those who are in need let him notify the Church; let him not trouble the bishop; but only on the first day of the week let him make mention about everything, so that he may know.

² Let him be watchful at the hour of the assembly, going about in the church, and let him see that no one be [there who is] proud, or a buffoon, or a spy, or one who speaketh idle [words]. Let him rebuke [such], every one seeing and hearing, and let him thrust out him whom he hath condemned to receive punishment, so that the others also may fear. And if [the offender] persuade him to permit him to partake, let him give him comfort. But if the man persist in his transgression or disorderliness, let him take [word] about him up to the bishop, and let him be separated seven days, and then called; so that he be not taken captive. But if when he cometh he still continue and persist in his folly, let him be cut off until he, repenting truly, come to himself, beseeching [to be received back].

³ If he be in a city on the seashore, let him go quickly about the places on the seashore, lest there be any one dead in the sea; let him clothe him and bury him. Similarly also let him search out the guest house, lest there be any one who is staying in the place sick or in need or dead; and let him make [it]

known to the Church, so that it may provide what is right for each one. Let him cause the palsied and infirm to bathe as is right, so that they may have a breathing space from their pains. Let him give through the Church to each one what is right. In the Church let twelve presbyters, seven deacons, fourteen subdeacons, thirteen widows who sit in front, be known. But of the deacons let him who is considered among them to be most earnest, and best in governing, be chosen to be the receiver of strangers. Let him alway be in the place of the guest house which is in the church, clothed in white garments, a stole only on his shoulder.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 35

¹ Let him be in everything as the eye of the Church, with fear admonishing, so that he may be an example to the people of piety Let him admonish thus:

Admonition of the Deacon

² Let us arise. Let every one know his place. Let the catechumens depart. See [that] no one polluted, no one slothful [remain]. [Lift] up the eyes of your hearts. The angels are looking on. See [that] he who trusteth not, withdraw. Let us beseech in concord. Let no fornicator, no wrathful man [remain]; if one who is a servant of evil be [here], let him withdraw. See, as children of the light, let us beg [and] beseech our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. When the presbyter or bishop beginneth the prayer, let the people pray and kneel. Then let the deacon say thus: For the peace which is from heaven let us beseech, that the Lord in His mercy may give us peace. For our faith let us beseech, that the Lord may grant unto us to keep truly unto the end the faith which is in Him.

³ For harmony and concord let us beseech, that the Lord may keep us together in concord of the Spirit. For patience let us beseech, that the Lord may bestow [upon us] patience unto the end in all afflictions. For the Apostles let us beseech, that the Lord may grant to us to please Him, as they also pleased Him, and may make us worthy of their inheritance. For the holy prophets let us beseech, that the Lord may number us with them. For the holy confessors let us beseech, that the Lord God may grant us to fulfil [our course] with the same mind [as they]. For the bishop let us beseech, that our Lord may grant him to us for length of days in faith, rightly dividing the word of truth, and standing at the head of the Church purely and without blame. For the presbyterate let us beseech, that the Lord may not take away

from them the spirit of the presbyterate, but bestow on them earnestness and piety until the end.

⁴For the deacons let us beseech, that the Lord may grant unto them to run a perfect course, and to perfect holiness, and that He may remember their work and their love. For the presbyteresses let us beseech, that the Lord may hear their supplications and keep their hearts perfectly in the grace of the Spirit and help their work. For the subdeacons, readers, deaconesses let us beseech, that the Lord may grant to them to receive a reward in patience. For the faithful laymen let us beseech, that the Lord may grant unto them to keep the faith perfectly. For the catechumens let us beseech, that the Lord may grant unto them to be counted worthy of the laver of forgiveness, and may sanctify them with the seal of holiness. For the kingdom let us beseech, that the Lord may bestow upon it tranquillity. For the exalted powers let us beseech, that the Lord may grant to them prudence and the fear of Him.

⁵For all the world let us beseech, that the Lord may provide for each one such things as are meet. For those who travel by sea, and those who go on journeys let us beseech, that the Lord may guide them with the right hand of mercy. For those who are persecuted let us beseech, that the Lord may grant to them patience and knowledge, and may bestow on them also a completed labour. For those who have fallen asleep from the Church let us beseech, that the Lord may bestow upon them a place of rest. For those who have fallen let us beseech, that the Lord may not remember their follies unto them, but moderate [His] threats unto them. And let us all also, who need prayer, beseech that the Lord may protect and keep us with the peaceful Spirit. Let us persuade and beseech the Lord, that He may receive our prayers.

⁶After the deacon commemorateth, let the bishop make a sign with his hand. Let the deacon say: Let us arise in the Holy Ghost, that, being made wise, we may grow in His grace, boasting in His Name; being built on the foundation of the Apostles, let us beg [and] beseech the Lord that, being persuaded, He may receive our prayers. Then let the bishop complete [the prayer]. And let the people say: Amen.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 36

¹Let the deacon be such as this, so that he may appear with fear and modesty and reverence. With regard to fervour of spirit, let him have a perfect manner of life. Let him observe and look at those who come into the house of the sanctuary. Let him investigate who they are, so that he may know if they

are lambs or wolves. And when he asketh, let him bring in him that is worthy, lest, if a spy enter, the liberty of the Church be searched out, and his sin be on his head. If any one come late to the [service of] praise, either when that of the dawn is being said or when the Offering is being offered, whoever he be, let him remain outside, and let not the deacon bring him in,—for it is a type of the day of judgment which is to come,—lest by the noise of the entrance there be distraction to those who are praying. But when he cometh and findeth that the door is shut, let him not knock, because of what hath been said already.

2 But after the hymn of praise which is placed first is finished, let the faithful man or faithful woman enter. Let the deacon say, either, Over the offering: or, For the hymn of praise, let us beseech that the Lord may write our supplication in the book of life, and [that] God who [is] for ever may remember us in His holy habitations of light. For [this] brother who is late, let us beseech that the Lord may give him earnestness and labour, and turn away from him every bond of this world, and give him the will of affection and love and hope. Similarly also for a sister or for a deaconess, for those who are late or remain outside, let him admonish that all the people may beseech for them. For thus when a deacon mentioneth and admonisheth about them, earnestness is strengthened and the bond of love is fulfilled, and the despiser and the slothful is disciplined.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 37

If any woman whatsoever suffer violence from a man, let the deacon accurately investigate if she be faithful and have truly suffered violence; if he who treated her with violence was not her lover. And if she be accurately thus, and if she that suffered mourn about the violence that happened to her, let him take it up to the hearing of the bishop, that she may be shewn to be in all things in communion with the Church. If he who treated her with violence be faithful, let not the deacon bring him into the church for partaking, even if he repent. But if he be a catechumen and repent, let him be baptized and partake. Let the deacon catechise those who repent and bring them to the presbyters or to the bishop that they may be catechised and taught knowledge. But if [his] power suffice to accomplish perfectly the office of the diaconate, let him abide only in prayer; and let him consider supplication and meditation, love, the way, mourning, and [to have] fear before his eyes, as a work; and he shall be called a son of the light.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 38

¹ Let the appointment of a deacon be thus. Let the bishop alone lay a hand on him, because he is not appointed to the priesthood, but for the service of attendance on the bishop and the Church. Over the deacon then, let the bishop say thus:

Prayer of Ordination of a Deacon

² O God, who didst create all things, and didst adorn [them] by the Word; who dost rest in the pure ages; who didst minister to us eternal life by Thy prophets; who didst enlighten us with the light of knowledge; O God, who doest great things, and [art] the Maker of all glory, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom Thou didst send to minister to Thy will, that all the race of mankind might be saved, and didst make known to us and didst reveal Thy Thought, Thy Wisdom, Thine Energy, Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, the Lord of light, the Prince of princes, and God of gods; give the spirit of grace and earnestness to this Thy servant, that there may be given to him earnestness, quiet, strength, power to please Thee; give him, O Lord, as a worker in the law without shame, kind, a lover of orphans, a lover of the pious, a lover of widows, fervent in spirit, a lover of good things ; and enlighten, O Lord, him whom Thou hast loved and chosen to minister to Thy Church, offering in holiness to Thy holy place those things which are offered to Thee from the inheritance of Thy high priesthood; so that ministering without blame and purely and holily and with a pure conscience, he may be counted worthy of this high and exalted office, by Thy good will, praising Thee continually through Thy Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, by whom [be] praise and might to Thee for ever and ever.

³ The people: Amen.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 39: : OF CONFESSORS

If [one] be borne witness to and confess that he was in bonds and in imprisonment and in afflictions for the Name of God, a hand is not therefore laid on him for the diaconate. Similarly not for the presbyterate. For he hath the honour of the clergy, having been protected by the hand of God, by [his] confessorship. But if he be appointed bishop, he is also counted worthy of laying on of the hand. And [even] if he be a confessor who hath not been judged before the power, and hath not been buffeted in bonds, but only hath confessed, he is counted worthy of laying on of the hand. For he receiveth

the prayer of the clergy. But let him not pray over him repeating all these words; but when the shepherd advanceth, he will receive the effect.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 40: : OF WIDOWS

¹ Let a widow be appointed, being chosen, if for a long time past she have abided without a husband; if though often pressed by men to be married, because of the faith she have not been married. But if not, it is not yet right that she should be chosen; but let her be proved for a time, if she be pious, if having children she have brought them up in holiness, if she have not taught them worldly wisdom, if she have made them examples of the holy law and of the Church, if she have loved and honoured strangers, if she have been constant in prayers, if she have lived meekly, if she have cheerfully aided those who are afflicted, if it have been revealed to the saints about her, if she have not neglected the saints, if she have ministered with all her power, if she be fit to bear and endure the burden, being one who prayeth without ceasing, being perfect in all things, being fervent in spirit, having the eyes of her heart opened in everything, being alway kind, loving innocency, not possessing anything in this world, but alway taking and bearing about the cross, crucifying all evil, by night and by day abiding by the altar, working cheerfully and secretly. If she have one or two or three likeminded in my Name, I am among them. But let her be perfect in the Lord, as one who is visited by the Spirit.

² Let her do the things which are made known to her with fear and earnestness. Let her instruct those women who do not obey; let her teach those [women] who have not learnt; let her convert those who are foolish; let her instruct them to be grave; let her prove the deaconesses; let her make those who enter to know of what sort and who they are; also let her instruct them that they abide. To those who hear let her patiently counsel those things which are proper. To those who are disobedient after three instructions let her not speak. Let her love those who desire to be in virginity or in purity; those who oppose themselves let her correct modestly and quietly. With every one let her be peaceful. Let her privately shut the mouth of those who talk much and idly; but if they do not hear, let her take with her an aged woman, or let her take [it] up to the hearing of the bishop. But in the church let her be silent. In prayer let her be persistent. Let her visit those [women] who are sick; on each first day of the week let her take with her one deacon or two and help them. If she have any possession let her give it for the poor

and the faithful. But if she have nothing, let her be helped by the Church. Let her do no secular work, as it were for a trial. But let her have these works of the Spirit;

3 let her continue in prayers and fasts; let her ask for nothing deep; let her receive those things which the Lord giveth; let her not be anxious for [her] children; let her deliver them to the Church, so that they living in the house of God may be fit for the service of the priesthood. Her requests to God will be acceptable; they are the sacrifice and altar of God. For those who have ministered well shall be praised by the archangels. But as for them who are dissolute and raging and drunken, and babblers and curious and evil, that is, those who love pleasures much, the figures of their souls, which stand before the Father of light, perish and are carried to darkness to dwell. For their deeds which are visible, going up before the most High, drag them easily to the pit, so that after this world is changed and passeth away the figures of their souls may stand against them as witnesses, not allowing them to look up. For the figure and type of every soul standeth before God from the foundation of the world. Therefore let her be chosen who can go to meet the holy phials. Of them are the twelve presbyters who praise My Father who is in heaven. These who receive the prayers of every holy soul, offer [them] to the most High [as] a sweet savour.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 41

1 Let the appointment be thus. As she prayeth at the entrance of the altar, and looketh down, let the bishop say quietly, so that the priests may hear, thus:

Prayer of the Institution of Widows who Sit in Front

2 O God, the Holy One, the Most High, who seest the [things] that are humble, who hast chosen the weak and the mighty; the Honoured One who hast created also those [things] which are despised; give, O Lord, the spirit of power to this Thine handmaid, and strengthen her with Thy truth, so that doing Thy commandment and serving in the house of Thy sanctuary, she may be an honoured vessel unto Thee, and may glorify [Thee] in the day when Thou wilt glorify Thy poor, O Lord. And grant to her power cheerfully to accomplish Thy teachings which Thou hast determined for a rule for Thine handmaid. Grant to her, O Lord, the spirit of meekness and of power and of patience and of kindness, so that, bearing with ineffable joy Thy bur-

den, she may endure labours. Yea, O Lord God, who knowest our weakness, perfect Thine handmaid for the praise of Thine house; strengthen her for edification and a good example, sanctify [her], make [her] wise; comfort [her] O God; for blessed and glorious is Thy kingdom, O God the Father. And to Thee [be] praise, and to Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost [who is] good and adorable and the Maker of life, and of equal essence with Thee, now and before all the worlds and for the ages and for ever and ever.

3 The people: Amen.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 42

After she is [appointed] thus, let her not be anxious about anything, but let her remain solitary and having leisure for supplications of piety. For the foundation of holiness and life for a widow such as this is solitude. For she hath loved none other but the God of gods, the Father which is in heaven. But at fixed times let her give praise by herself, in the night [and] at dawn. If she be menstruous let her abide in the temple and not approach the altar, not that she is as it were polluted, but that the altar may have honour. Afterwards, when she fasteth and batheth, let her be assiduous [at the altar]. In the days of Pentecost, let her not fast. In the feast of Pascha, let her give of those things which she hath to the poor, and let her bathe, and so let her pray. But when she giveth thanks or praise, if she have friends like-minded, virgins, it is well that they pray with her for the sake of the Amen. But if not, [let her pray] alone by herself, both in the church and in the house, especially at midnight. The times in which she should give praise are: Saturday, the first day of the week, either Pascha or Epiphany or Pentecost. At other time[s] let her give thanks meekly with psalms, with hymns of praise, with meditations; and thus let her labour. For the Most High will sanctify them and will forgive all [their] sins, those which were before written against them, and their error; My Father, the Heavenly One, shall strengthen them and enlighten their faces as the faces of My sanctuaries; they shall shine in My glory in the day of recompense.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 43

1 Let her hymns of praise be said thus quietly:

Night Hymn of Praise of Widows

² Holy, holy, without spot, who hast Thy dwelling in the light, God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, God of Enoch and David, of Elijah, of Elisha, of Moses, of Joshua, and of the prophets and of the others who in truth preached Thy Name, God of the Apostles, the God who hast guided all things by Thy reason and hast blest them who lovingly trust in Thee; my soul praiseth Thee with the power of the spirit of my power, my heart praiseth Thee, O Lord, and Thy might, alway. Let all my power praise Thee, O Lord, for if Thou wilt, I am Thine, O God, the God of the poor; for Thou art the Helper of them that lack, and Thou art He that looketh on the meek, and the Assister of the weak; assist me, O Lord, because by Thy grace Thou wast well pleased in me that I should be Thine handmaid, for Thou hast bestowed upon me a great name, that I should be called a Christian. Thou who hast freed me from servitude that I may serve a servitude to God, the Mighty One who [art] for ever, who seest all, that I may praise Thee uncondemned. Yea, O Lord God, confirm my heart in Thee until it is perfected in the Holy Ghost. Rejuvenate us for the edification of Thy holy Church, Son and Word and Thought of the Father, the Christ who camest for the salvation of the race of man, who didst suffer and wast buried, and didst rise, [and] also wast glorified by Him who sent Thee, turn, help, O Lord, set upright our thoughts by the strong faith of the Spirit. Glorify Thy Name in us.

³ For in Thy Father and in Thee and in the Holy Ghost is our hope for ever and ever. With those who are with her let her say: Amen. But let her say the hymn of praise at dawn thus:

Hymns of Praise at Dawn of Widows who Sit in Front

⁴ O Eternal God, Guide of our souls, Maker of light, Treasure of life, who retest in the praises and prayers of the holy ones, Lover of compassion, merciful, kind, King of all, and God, our Lord, my spirit praiseth [Thee], sending [up] to Thee the unceasing voices of Thine handmaid, O Lord, who beseecheth Thee that Thou mayest perfect in Thine handmaid the spirit of reason and of piety and of right knowledge. I praise Thee, O Lord, who didst take away from our poverty all disturbance and confusion (?), wrath and all contention and evil habit, who didst prepare [and] change the feelings of my understanding that I might serve Thee only, O God; who hast adorned Thy holy Church with various ministries, who drivest away from Thine hand-

maid all doubtfulness, fear, weakness; and holdest the thoughts of those who rightly serve Thee; I praise Thee, O God, who hast enlightened me with the light of Thy knowledge, through Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom [be] praise and might to Thee for ever and ever. Amen.

5 And with those who are with her let her say: Amen.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 44: : OF SUBDEACONS

Similarly let a subdeacon be appointed who is chaste, the bishop praying over him. Let the bishop say over him on the first day of the week, in the hearing of all the people, thus: Thou, O N., minister and hear the Gospel in the fear of God. Cultivate holily the knowledge of thy soul; keep pureness; discipline thyself; observe and obey and hear meekly; neglect not prayers and fasts, so that the Lord may give thee rest and make thee worthy of a higher degree. And let all the priests say: So be it, so be it, so be it.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 45: : OF THE READER

A reader is instituted [who is] pure, quiet, meek, wise, with much experience, learned and of much learning, with a good memory, vigilant, so that he may deserve a higher degree. First let the book be given him in the sight of the people, on the first day of the week. But a hand is not laid on him. But he heareth from the bishop [the following]: Thou, O N., whom Christ hath called to be a minister of His words, be careful, and strive that thou mayest appear approved both in this rule and in a higher degree, even by our Lord Jesus Christ; so that He in His everlasting habitations may pay thee a good reward for these things. And let the priests say: So be it, so be it, so be it.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 46: : OF MALE AND FEMALE VIRGINS

1 A male or female virgin is not instituted or appointed by man, but is voluntarily separated and named [a virgin]. 2 But a hand is not laid on him, as for virginity. For this division is of [their] own free will. But it is right for virgins that they be fixed and bound in the suffering of a sound body, that they be constant in fasts and in prayers, in weeping and in mourning daily; but that they always expect a departure from the flesh, and strive as at the departure. Let them not serve raging or debauchery or drunkenness or vain talking, or [be engaged] in worldly work or in distraction, but they are as one who is on the cross; let their hearts be [lifted] up, with all meekness of thought and comeliness, with meditation on the Holy Scriptures, with faithful thoughts, with kind consolations, so that when they pray they may be

answered concerning those things which they ask for the faithful who wish to provide for them. Let them not despise [these things (?)], so that through them also a portion of life may be divided to those. Let them be confirmed in love and kindness and in true and perfect grace. Let them be constant in consolation, consoling their neighbours, catechising and teaching those who have lately been made faithful, in understanding and in knowledge and in kindness, inciting those who are very young, being examples of holiness among them in all good things. Similarly also let the females do. But in order and in grace and in knowledge let them speak and work, that they may truly be the salt of the earth as it is called. But let females who are virgins have their heads covered in the church, and let them hide only their hair; but let them be counted worthy of honour from every one, in order that the rest [of the women] who desire, may emulate them.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 47: : OF A GIFT

If any one appear in the people to have a gift of healing or of knowledge or of tongues, a hand is not laid on him, for the work is manifest. But let them have honour. The First Book of Clement is ended.

BOOK II

BOOK II, CHAPTER 1: OF LAYMEN THUS

1 Commandments and rules and a definition which our Lord Jesus Christ laid down for the order of those who are baptized. Let those who first come to hear the Word, before they enter among all the people, first come to teachers at home, and let them be examined as to all the cause [of their coming] with all accuracy, so that their teachers may know for what they have come, or with what will. And if they have come with a good will and love, let them be diligently taught. But let those who bring them be such as are well on in years, faithful who are known by the Church; and let them bear witness about them, if they are able to hear [the word]. Also let their life and conversation be asked about: if they be not contentious, if quiet, if meek, not speaking vain things or despisers or foul speakers, or buffoons or leaders astray, or ridicule mongers. Also if any of them have a wife or not; and if of his own free will he have not [a wife], let him be instructed carefully and diligently and persuaded with all kindness to amend his failings. And let the bishop provide for him in the Lord with prophetic instructions which lead

him to purity; and if he maketh progress, also with apostolic doctrines and then with Gospel [doctrines] and with the perfect word of doctrine; and if he be worthy, let him be baptized. And if thus he be worthy of the hidden things, let him hear [them] by himself, and also make progress in that which is hidden.

² Let there be no obstacle at all to him who desireth to marry, so that he be not caught by the Evil One with fornication. But let him marry a Christian, a faithful [woman] of the race of the Christians, who is able to keep her husband in the faith; at the bidding of the bishop, he thus providing for him. And also let him who cometh be asked if he be a slave or free; and if the slave of one who is faithful, and if also his master permit him, let him hear. But if his master be not faithful and do not permit him, let him be persuaded to permit him. And if [his master] say truly about him that he wisheth to become a Christian because he hateth his masters, let him be cast out. But if no cause be shewn of hatred of servitude, but [if] he [really] wish to be a Christian, let him hear. But if his master be faithful and do not bear witness to him, let him be cast out. Similarly if [a woman] be the wife of a man, let the woman be taught to please her husband in the fear of God. But if both of them desire to serve purity in piety, they have a reward.

³ Let him who is unmarried not commit fornication, but let him marry in the law. But if he desire to persevere thus, let him abide in the Lord. If any one be tormented with a devil, let him not hear the Word from a teacher until he be cleansed. For the intelligence, when consumed with a material spirit, doth not receive the immaterial and holy Word. But if he be cleansed, let him be instructed in the Word.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 2

¹ If a fornicatress, or brothel keeper, or a drunkard, or a maker of idols, or a painter, or one engaged in shows, or a charioteer, or a wrestler, or one who goeth to the contest, or a combatant [in the games], or one who teacheth wrestling, or a public huntsman, or a priest of idols, or a keeper of them, be [among those that come], let him not be received. If any such desire to become faithful, let him cease from these [things]; and being in deed faithful, and being baptized, let him be received and let him partake. And if he do not cease, let him be rejected. If any one be a teacher of boys in worldly wisdom, it is well if he cease. But if he have no other craft by which to live, let him be excused. If any one be a soldier or in authority, let him be taught not

to oppress or to kill or to rob, or to be angry or to rage and afflict any one. But let those rations suffice him which are given to him. But if they wish to be baptized in the Lord, let them cease from military service or from the [post of] authority, and if not let them not be received.

² Let a catechumen or a believer of the people, if he desire to be a soldier, either cease from his intention, or if not let him be rejected. For he hath despised God by his thought, and leaving the things of the Spirit, he hath perfected himself in the flesh, and hath treated the faith with contempt. If a fornicatress or a dissolute man or a drunkard do not [these things], and desire, believing, to become catechumens, they may [be admitted]. And if they make progress, let them be baptized; but if not let them be rejected. If a concubine of a man be a servant, and desire to be faithful, if she educate those who are born [of her] and she separate from her master, or be joined to him alone in marriage, let her hear; and being baptized let her partake in the Offering, but if not let her be rejected.

³ He who doeth things which may not be spoken of, or a diviner or a magician or a necromancer, these are defiled and do not come to judgment. Let a charmer, or an astrologer, or an interpreter of dreams, or a sorcerer, or one who gathereth together the people, or a star-gazer, or a diviner by idols, either cease, and when he ceaseth let him be exorcised and baptized; or if not let him be rejected. If a man have a concubine, let him divorce her and marry in the law and hear the word of instruction.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 3

Let him who is instructed with all care and heareth the perfectness of the Gospel, be instructed not less than three years, and if he, loving, strive to be baptized, let him [then] be baptized. But if he be quiet and meek and earnest, and persevering and abiding with him who teacheth him, with labour, with watching, with confession, with subjection, and with prayers, and [if] he desire to be baptized sooner, let him be baptized. For it is not the time that is considered, but the will of faith.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 4

Let those who are instructed, after the teacher ceaseth, pray apart from the faithful and go out, so that the faithful may learn, when the presbyter or deacon readeth the New [Testament] or Gospels. Let the faithful women stand in the church by themselves and the female catechumens by them-

selves apart from the faithful [women]. But all the [women] apart from the men; the girls also apart, each according to her order. The men on the right and the women on the left; the faithful virgins first, and the [women] who are being instructed to virginity behind them. After the prayer let the female catechumens give the Peace to one another; also men to men; also women to women. Let every woman cover her head with her hair also. Let the women becomingly and decorously show their modesty in their adornment, and let them not be adorned with plaited hair or with [precious] stones, lest the young men who are in the church be caught, but with modesty and knowledge. But if not, let them be instructed by the widows who sit in front. But if they rebelliously resist, let the bishop reprove them.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 5

¹ After the catechumens pray, let the bishop or presbyter, laying on them a hand, say the prayer of the laying on of the hand of catechumens:

Prayer of Catechumens

² O God, who dost send thunderings and preparest lightnings; who hast founded the heaven and established the earth, and enlightenest the faithful and convertest them that err; who hast quickened those who were dead and hast given hope to those who [were] without hope, and hast freed the universe from error by the coming down of Thy Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; hear us, O Lord, and give to these souls intelligence, perfectness, undoubting faith, knowledge of the truth, that they may be in a degree higher than this, through the holy Name of Thee and of Thy beloved Son Jesus, our Lord, through whom [be] praise and might to Thee with the Holy Ghost, both now and alway and for ever and ever. Amen. After this let them be dismissed. If any one, being a catechumen, be apprehended for My Name and be judged with tortures, and hasten and press forward to receive the laver, let not the shepherd hesitate, but let him give [it] to him. But if he suffer violence and be killed, not having received the laver, let him not be anxious. For, having been baptized in his own blood, [he is] justified.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 6

¹ But if they are severally chosen to receive the laver, let them be proved and investigated first, how they have lived while catechumens, if they have honoured widows, if they have visited the sick, if they have walked in all meekness and love, if they were earnest in good works. But let them be borne wit-

ness to by those who bring them. And when they hear the Gospel, let a hand be laid on them daily. Let them be exorcised from that day when they are chosen. And let them be baptized in the days of Pascha. And when the days approach, let the bishop exorcise each one of them separately by himself, so that he may be persuaded that he is pure. For if there be one that is not pure, or in whom is an unclean spirit, let him be reproved by that unclean spirit. If then any one is found under any such imagination, let him be removed from the midst [of them], and let him be reproved and reproached that he hath not heard the word of the commandments and of instruction faithfully, because the evil and strange spirit abided in him.

² Let those who are about to receive the laver be taught on the fifth day of the last week only, to wash and bathe their heads. But if any woman then be in the customary flux, let her also take in addition another day, washing and bathing beforehand. Let them fast both [on] the Friday and [on] the Saturday.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 7

¹ On the Saturday let the bishop assemble them who receive the laver, and let him bid them to kneel while the deacon proclaimeth. And when there is silence let him exorcise [them], laying a hand on them, and saying:

Exorcism Before the Laver

² O God of heaven, God of the lights, God of the archangels who are under Thy power, God of the angels who are under Thy might, King of glories and of dominions, God of saints, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; who hast loosed the souls that were bound by death; who hast enlightened him that was bound in darkness and fixed firm, by the firm-fixing of the suffering of Thy Only-begotten; who hast loosed our cords and hast loosed every weight from [off] us; who hast repelled from us every attack of the Evil One; O Son and Word of God, who hast made us immortal by Thy death; who hast glorified us with Thy glory; who hast loosed all the bands of our sins by Thy passion; who hast borne the curse of our sins by Thy cross, and by Thy resurrection hast taught [mankind] to pass from [being] sons of men to become gods; who hast taken on Thee our humiliation; who hast trodden the way to heaven for us; who hast changed us from corruption to incorruptibility; hear me, O Lord, who cry to Thee in pain and fear, O Lord God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, before Him before whom stand the holy hosts of

archangels and of cherubim and armies without number, of princes and of seraphim; whose veil [is] the light, and before whose face [is] fire; the throne of whose glory is ineffable;

³ the habitations of whose delights, which Thou hast prepared for Thy saints, are ineffable, the raiments and treasures of which are visible to Thee alone and to Thy holy angels; before whom all things tremble, giving praise; whose glance measureth the mountains, and whose Name, when uttered, cleaveth the depths; whom the heavens which are shut up by Thy hand, hide from view; before whom the earth and the depths together tremble; before whom the sea and the dragons that [are] in it quake; of whom the wild beasts, trembling, stand in awe; through whom the mountains and the firmament of the earth melt with fear; at whose power the tempest of the winter quaketh and trembleth, and the raging whirlwind keepeth its limits; because of whom the fire of vengeance doth not overpass that which hath been prescribed to it, but abideth when reproved by Thy commandment; because of whom the whole creation travaileth, groaning with groans, being bidden to tarry till its time; from whom all nature and creation that opposeth itself fleeth; because of whom the whole army of the adversary is subdued, and the Devil is fallen, and the serpent is trodden down, and the dragon is killed; because of whom the nations which have confessed Thee are enlightened and strengthened in Thee, O Lord; because of whom life is revealed and hope confirmed, and faith strengthened and the Gospel preached; because of whom corruption is brought to naught and incorruptibility waxeth strong;

⁴ through whom man was fashioned from the earth, but having believed in Thee he is no longer earth; O Lord God Almighty, I exorcise these in the Name of Thee and of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ. ⁵ Drive away from the souls of these Thy servants every disease and illness, and every stumbling block and all unbelief, all doubt and all contempt, every unclean spirit that worketh, that is a witch, that killeth, that is under the earth, that is fiery, dark, evil-smelling, given to witchcraft, lascivious, loving gold, uplifted, money loving, wrathful. Yea, O Lord God, overthrow from these Thy servants who have been named in Thee the weapons of the Devil, all magic, witchcraft, fear of idols, divination, astrology, necromancy, observation of the stars, astronomy, pleasure of the passions, love of disgraceful things, sadness, love of money, drunkenness, fornication, adultery, lasciviousness, contumacy, contentiousness, wrath, confusion, wickedness, evil suspicion. Yea,

O Lord God, hear me, and breathe on these Thy servants the spirit of tranquillity, that, being guarded by Thee, they may bring forth in Thee fruits of faith, of virtue, of wisdom, of purity, of self-discipline, of patience, of hope, of concord, of modesty, of praise. For by Thee they have been called as servants, in the Name of Jesus Christ, being baptized in the Trinity, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the angels, glories, dominions, all the heavenly army being witnesses. O Lord, the real-essence of our life and theirs, guard their hearts, O God, for Thou art mighty and glorious for ever and ever.

⁶ And let all the people, also the priests, say: Amen, So be it, so be it, so be it. If any one be in the endurance of any thing, rise suddenly while the bishop is saying [these words], and weep or cry out, or foam [at the mouth] or gnash with his teeth, or stare or be much uplifted or altogether run away, being quickly carried off, let such an one be put aside by the deacons, so that there be no disturbance while the bishop is speaking, and let such an one be exorcised by the priests until he be cleansed, and so let him be baptized. After the priest exorciseth those who have drawn near, or him who is found unclean, let the priest breathe on them and seal them between their eyes, on the nose, on the heart, on the ears; and so let him raise them up.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 8

¹ In the forty days of Pascha, let the people abide in the temple, keeping vigil and praying, hearing the Scriptures and hymns of praise and the books of doctrine. But on the last Saturday let them rise early in the night, and when the catechumens are being exorcised till the Saturday midnight. Let those who are about to be baptized not bring anything else with them except one loaf for the Eucharist. But let them be baptized thus. When they come to the water, let the water be pure and flowing. First the babes, then the men, then the women. But if any one desire to approach as it were to virginity, let him first be baptized by the hand of the bishop. Let the women, when they are baptized, loose their hair. Let all the boys who can answer in baptism make the responses and answer after the priest. But if they cannot, let their parents make the responses for them, or some one of their households.

² But when they who are being baptized go down [to the water], after they make the responses and say [the answers], let the bishop see if there be any of them—either a man having a ring of gold, or a woman having on her gold; for no one should have with him any strange thing in the water, but

let him deliver it to those who are near him. But when they are about to receive the oil for anointing, let the bishop pray over it and give thanks, and let him exorcise another [oil] with an exorcism, the same as in the case of catechumens. And let the deacon bear that which is exorcised, and let the presbyter stand by him. Let him then who standeth by that [oil] on which a giving of thanks over the oil [is said] be on the right hand; but him who standeth by that which is exorcised, on the left.

3 And when he taketh hold of each one, let him ask—he that is being baptized turning to the West—and let him say: Say, I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service, and thy shows, and thy pleasures, and all thy works. And when he hath said these things and confessed, let him be anointed with that oil which was exorcised, he who anointeth him saying thus: I anoint [thee] with this oil of exorcism for a deliverance from every evil and unclean spirit, and for a deliverance from every evil. And also, turning him to the East, let him say: [Say,] I submit to Thee, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, before whom all nature trembleth and is moved. Grant me to do all Thy will without blame. 4 Then after these things let him give him over to the presbyter who baptizeth. And let them stand in the water naked. But let the deacon descend with him similarly. But when he who is being baptized goeth down into the water, let him that baptizeth him say, putting his hand on him, thus: Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? Let him that is being baptized say: I believe. Let him immediately baptize him once. Let the priest also say: Dost thou believe also in Christ Jesus the Son of God, who came from the Father, who is of old with the Father, who was born of Mary the Virgin by the Holy Ghost, who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died and rose the third day, [who] came to life from the dead, and ascended into heaven and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and cometh to judge the quick and the dead? But when he saith: I believe, let him baptize him the second time. And also let him say: Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost, in the holy Church? And let him who is being baptized say: I believe; and thus let him baptize him the third time.

5 Then when he cometh up let him be anointed by the presbyter with oil over which the giving of thanks has been said, [the presbyter] saying over him: I anoint thee with oil in the Name of Jesus Christ. But let women be anointed by widows who sit in front, the presbyter saying over them [the words]. And let those widows in baptism also beneath a veil receive them by a

veil, the bishop saying those Confessions, and so those whom they cause them to renounce.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 9

¹ Then let them be together in the Church, and let the bishop lay a hand on them after baptism, saying and invoking over them thus:

Invocation of the Holy Ghost

² O Lord God, who by Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ didst fill Thy holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and by the Spirit didst permit Thy blessed prophets to speak; who didst count these Thy servants worthy to be counted worthy in Thy Christ of forgiveness of sins through the laver of the second birth, and hast cleansed them of all the mist of error and darkness of unbelief; make them worthy to be filled with Thy Holy Spirit, by Thy love of man, bestowing upon them Thy grace, so that they may serve Thee according to Thy will, truly, O God, and may do Thy commandments in holiness, and cultivating alway those things which are of Thy will, may enter into Thine eternal tabernacles, through Thee and through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom [be] to Thee praise and might with the Holy Ghost for ever and ever.

³ Similarly, pouring the oil, placing a hand on his head, let him say: Anointing I anoint [thee] in God Almighty, and in Jesus Christ and in the Holy Ghost, that thou mayest be His soldier, having a perfect faith, and a vessel pleasing to Him. And sealing him on his forehead, let him give him the Peace, and say: The Lord God of the meek be with thee. And let him who has been sealed answer and say: And with thy spirit. And so each one severally.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 10

¹ Thenceforward let them pray together with all the people. Let the oblation be offered by the deacon. And so let the shepherd give thanks. But the bread is offered for a type of My body. Let the cup be mixed with wine,—mixed with wine and water, for it is a sign of blood and of the laver; so that also the inner man, that is to say, that which is of the soul, may be counted worthy of those things which are like [them], that is to say, those things of the body also. And let all the people, according to what hath been said before, receive with Amen of the Eucharist which is offered. Let the deacons hover over [them], as hath before been said. Let him who giveth [the sacrament] say:

The Body of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, for the healing of soul and body. And let him who receiveth say: Amen.

² He who spillesh of the cup gathereth up judgment to himself. Similarly also he who seeth and is silent and doth not reprove him, whoever he may be. Let those who take the Offering be exhorted by the priests to be careful to do good works, to love strangers, to labour in fasting, and in every good work to engage in servitude. And let them be taught also about the resurrection of the body; before any one receiveth baptism let no one know the word about the resurrection, for this is the new decree, which hath a new name that none knoweth but he who receiveth [it]. The deacon doth not give the Offering to a presbyter. Let him open the disc or paten, and let the presbyter receive. Let the deacon give [the Eucharist] to the people in their hands. Let the deacon, when the presbyter is not present, of necessity baptize.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 11

If any one receive any service to carry to a widow or poor woman or any one constantly engaged in a Church work, let him give it the same day; and if not, on the morrow, let him add something to it from his own [property] and so give it. For the bread of the poor hath been kept back in his possession. But in the last week of Pascha, on the fifth day of the week, let the bread and the cup be offered. And he who suffered for that which he hath offered, he [it is] who draweth near. Let the lamp be offered in the temple by the deacon, saying: The grace of our Lord [be] with you all. And let all the people say: And with Thy spirit. And let the little boys say spiritual psalms and hymns of praise by the light of the lamp. Let all the people respond Hallelujah to the psalm and to the chant sung together, with one accord, with voices in harmony; and let no one kneel until he who speaketh cease. Similarly also when a lection is read or the word of doctrine is spoken. If then the Name of the Lord be spoken, and the rest, as hath sufficiently been made known, let no one bow, having come creeping in.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 12

Let the end of Pascha be after the Saturday, at midnight. [At] Pentecost let no one fast or kneel. For these are days of rest and joy. Let those who bear the burdens of labour refresh themselves a little in the days of Pentecost, and on every first day of the week. Let the bishop, before he offereth the Offering,

say what is fitting for the Offering, while those who are clothed in white receive from one another and say [to one another] Hallelujah.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 13: : THE AGAPÉ

¹ In the supper or feast, let those who have come together receive [a portion?] thus from the shepherd, as for a blessing. But let not a catechumen receive. If any one be of the household of, or related to, one who is a teacher of heathenism, let him not accord with him and give praise with him, also let him not eat with him because of relationship or for concord, lest he deliver ineffable things to a wolf and he receive judgment. Let those who are called with the bishop to the house of one who is faithful, eat with gravity and knowledge, not with drunkenness or to debauchery, and not so that he who is present may laugh, or so as to annoy the household of him that called him; but so let them enter that he who called [them] may pray that the saints may enter into his house. For ye are the salt of the earth, [as] ye have heard.

² Because when they eat, let them eat abundantly, [but] so that there may be left over both for you [and] also for those to whom he that called you wisheth [to] send, so that he may have them as foods left over by the saints, and that he may rejoice at that which remaineth over. Let those who come to a feast, being called, not stretch out a hand before them that are elder. But let the last eat when the first shall have done. Let not those who eat strive in speech, but let them eat in silence; but if any one desire, or the bishop or presbyter ask [a question], let him return answer. But when the bishop saith a word, let every one quietly, praising [him], choose silence for himself, until he also be asked [a question].

BOOK II, CHAPTER 14: : FIRST FRUITS

If any one bring forward fruits or the first produce of crops as first fruits, let him offer [them] to the bishop.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 15: : PROPERTY

If any one depart from the world, either a faithful man or a faithful woman, having children, let them give their possessions to the Church, so that the Church may provide for their children, and [that] from the things which they have the poor may be given rest, that God may give mercy to their children and rest to those who have left [them] behind. But if a man have no children, let him have not much possessions, but let him give much of his possessions to the poor and to the prisoners, and only keep what is right and

sufficient for him[self]. If a man have children, and he desire to discipline himself in virginity, let him give all his possessions to the poor, and discipline himself and abide in the church, being constant in prayers and thanksgivings.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 16: : FIRST FRUITS

The fruits which are offered to the bishop let him bless thus: O God, we give thanks to Thee alway, and also in this day when we offer to Thee the first fruits of the fruits which Thou hast given us for food, having ripened them by Thy power and by Thy Word, having commanded from the beginning of the creation of the worlds that the earth should bring forth different fruits for the joy and delight of man and of all beasts. We praise Thee, O Lord, for all these things with which Thou hast benefited us, adorning for us all the earth with various fruits. Bless also this Thy servant N., and receive his earnestness and his love, through Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, through whom [be] praise and honour and might to Thee with the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen. Vegetables are not blessed, but fruits of trees, flowers, and the rose and the lily.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 17: : OF ALL THE FAITHFUL WHO RECEIVE AND EAT

Let them give and return thanks and not eat with offence or scandal. Let no one taste that which is strangled or sacrificed to idols.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 18: : PASCHAL SOLEMNITIES

On the days of Pascha, especially in the last days, on Friday and on Saturday, by night and by day, let the prayers be according to the number of the hymns of praise. But let the word be interpreted at length, and let thelections [be] various and continuous. And let the vigils and anticipations of the night be in good order.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 19: : OF THE DEACONS WHO GO AND PASS AMONG
WOMEN, LEST THERE BE DISORDERLY YOUNG CHILDREN

¹Let the readers assist them. Similarly also the sub-deacons. Let them not allow them to sleep. For that night is a figure of the kingdom, and especially that of the Saturday. Those who labour and work, let them work till midnight. Let the catechumens first be dismissed, having received blessings from the bread which is broken. When the faithful are dismissed, let them go in order and knowledge to their houses. In their feasts let them not forget the prayers. Let the priests not abbreviate their ministrations. Let the women go,

each one cleaving to her husband. Let the widows stay till dawn in the temple, having food there. Let the virgins abide together in the temple, and let the bishop help and provide for them, and let the deacons minister to them. Let the presbyteresses stay with the bishop till dawn, praying and resting. Similarly also those who were lately baptized.

²Let virgins who are ready for marriage go, cleaving to their mothers. This is thus fitting.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 20

Let the bishop command that they proclaim that no one taste anything until the Offering is completed. And the whole body of the Church shall receive a new food. Then in the evening let those who are to be baptized be baptized, after one lection. But if any one before he approacheth and receiveth of the Eucharist eat something else, he sinneth and his fast is not reckoned to him. When the catechumens are dismissed, let a hand be laid on them. If a faithful because of sickness remain [away], let the deacon carry the Offering to him. If any one be a presbyter who cannot come, let a presbyter carry [it] to him. Similarly if a woman be pregnant [and] sick, and cannot fast these two days, let her fast that one day, taking on the first [day] bread and water. And if she cannot come, let a deaconess carry [the Offering] to her.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 21: : OF THOSE WHO ARE SICK

Let them take [it] up to the hearing of the bishop, so that if it seem good to the bishop he may visit them; for the sick [man] is much comforted when the high priest remembereth him, and especially when he is faithful.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 22: : THE PSALMS

In answer to him who singeth the psalms in the church, let the virgins and boys respond and sing. But if they sing the psalms in a house privately, if they be two or three, let them respond to one another, singing the psalms. Similarly the men.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 23: : BURIALS

If a poor man die, let those who provide for each one, provide for his clothing. If any one who is a stranger die and he have no place to be buried, let those who have a place give [it]. But if the Church hath [a place] let it give [it]. And if he have no covering, let the Church similarly give it. But if he have not grave clothes, let him be shrouded. But if a man be found to have

possessions, and do not leave them to the Church, let them be kept for a time; and after a year let not the Church appropriate them, but let them be given to the poor for his soul. But if he desire to be embalmed, let the deacons provide for this, a presbyter standing by. If the Church have a graveyard, and there be one who abideth there and keepeth it, let the bishop provide for him from the Church, so that he be no burden to those who come there.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 24: : HOURS OF PRAYER

¹ Let the people always take care about the early dawn, that arising and washing their hands they immediately pray. And so let each one go to the work which he willeth. Let all take care to pray at the third hour with mourning and labour, either in the church, or in the house because they cannot go (to the church). For this is the hour of the fixing of the Only-begotten on the cross. But at the sixth hour similarly let there be prayer with sorrow. For then the daylight was divided by the darkness. Let there be then that voice which is like to the prophets, and to creation mourning. At the ninth hour also let prayer be protracted, as with a hymn of praise that is like to the souls of those who give praise to God that lieth not, as one who hath remembered His saints, and hath sent His Word and Wisdom to enlighten them. For in that hour life was opened to the faithful, and blood and water were shed from the side of our Lord.

² But at evening, when it is the beginning of another day, shewing an image of the resurrection, He hath caused us to give praise. But at midnight let them arise praising and lauding because of the resurrection. But at dawn [let them arise] praising with psalms, because after He rose He glorified the Father while they were singing psalms. But if any have a consort or wife [not] faithful, let the husband who is faithful go and pray at these times without fail. Let those who are chaste not lessen [them]. For the adornments of heaven give praise, the lights, the sun, the moon, the stars, the lightnings, the thunders, the clouds, the angels, the archangels, the glories, the dominions, the whole [heavenly] army, the depths, the sea, the rivers, the wells, fire, dew, and all nature that produceth rain. All the saints also give praise and all the souls of the righteous. These, then, who pray are numbered together in the remembrance of God.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 25: : CONCLUSION

When ye the faithful accomplish these things, teach and instruct one another, causing the catechumens to make progress, as loving all men; ye do not perish, but will be in Me and I will be among you. But alway let the faithful take care that before he eat he partake of the Eucharist, that he may be incapable of receiving injury. When ye teach these things and keep [them], ye shall be saved, and evil heresy shall not prevail against you. Lo, then, I have taught you now all [things] that ye desire; and those things which I have spoken with you [of] from the beginning, and have taught and commanded you before I should suffer, ye know.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 26

And thou especially John, and Andrew and Peter, even now ye know all [the things] which I have spoken to you while I am with you, as also that which [is] in this Testament, in order that when ye deliver [them] to the nations the will of My Father may alway be accomplished, abiding firm in carefulness, so that there may be good fruits in them that hear. Ye know that I have spoken with you that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit. All [things], then, that I have commanded you openly and secretly, do. And the God of tranquillity be with you.

BOOK II, CHAPTER 27

And falling down we worshipped Him, saying, Glory to Thee, O Jesus, Name of light, who didst give us the teaching of Thy commandments, so that we may be like unto Thee, we and all those who hear Thee. And when He spoke to us and taught and commanded us, and showed many loosings and miracles, He was taken up from us, giving us tranquillity. John and Peter and Matthew wrote this Testament, and sent [it] in copies from Jerusalem by Dositheus and Silas and Magnus and Aquila, whom they chose to send [them] to all dioceses. Amen. The Second Book of Clement is ended, translated from the Greek to the Syrian language by James the poor, in the year 998 of the Greeks.

The Ancient Church Orders (Maclean)

ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN

2nd–5th century

A handbook by Arthur Maclean, a bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, on the early church orders and the picture they give of the church's life: its buildings and worship, ministers and their ordination, baptism and confirmation, doctrine, fasts and festivals, and a chapter on how the orders are related and when they were written. It quotes them at length in English.

CHAPTER I: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LITERATURE

1. The object of the present book is to give a description of certain early Christian manuals of instruction and worship which are conveniently called Church Orders. Many of them have been unknown, at least in modern times, until quite lately. Others have been known, but strangely neglected. We are now, however, in a position to estimate the value of the attempts which were made in early ages to provide the clergy and the faithful with liturgical and hortatory manuals, before the era of the Great Liturgies began. While considerable doubt exists as to the exact date and the relation to one another of several of the documents, yet we know enough to make for ourselves a general picture of the worship of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Church Orders which, so far, are known to us, may be divided into several classes. Those of the first class are descended from one original, agreeing together largely, not only in topics treated, but even

2 M. in the order of treatment and in the wording and phraseology; yet exhibiting the greatest freedom in the handling of material. The same may be said of the second and fourth classes. The Church Orders treated of in this volume are the following: (a) Canons of Hippolytus. Egyptian Church Order*. Ethiopic Church Order*. Hauler's Verona Latin Fragments, part 3*. Testament of our Lord. Apostolic Constitutions viii. 3—46. Constitutions through Hippolytus. Appendix to Arabic (and Ethiopic?) Didascalia. Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons 64—78. Syriac Octateuch, books iv.—vii. Ethiopic

Statutes 53—72. (b) *Didache*, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Apostolic Church Order. Apostolic Constitutions vii. 1—32. (c) Apostolic Constitutions vii. 33—viii. 2. (d) *Didascalia*, early forms (Syriac, Latin). Apostolic Constitutions i.—vi. Ethiopic *Didascalia*. Arabic *Didascalia*. We shall also have occasion to examine the Sacramentary of Sarapion (or Serapion), and some other illustrative literature. * These three works are joined together by Funk under the name 'Egyptian Church Order.' But as they exhibit considerable differences in detail it will be convenient to keep them separate.

3 It is proposed in the following pages to describe the contents of these manuals, and then to derive from them sketches of various features of Church life; the Church buildings, the daily prayers, the eucharistic liturgy, the Agape, the ministry and ordination, the baptismal customs, the fasts and festivals; also to consider the doctrinal complexion of the various books; and so to arrive at a determination of their date. 2. It will be well, however, first to mention some general characteristics of the literature, as these characteristics greatly affect our estimate of its value. We are at once struck, in most of these manuals, with their pseudonymous form. Many of them profess to have been written, or handed down, by the Twelve Apostles. In the earliest of them, the *Didache*, this fiction only extends to the title: 'The teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles.' Others are much more thorough-going. In *ApCO* the pretence runs all through the book. The Apostles are enumerated, and the precepts are ascribed each to one Apostle by name. All forms of *Didasc* keep up the fiction (e.g. *H*¹ pp. 19, 59 f., 63, 72). So does *AC* in all its books (e.g. ii. 39—cf. || *Didasc*, *EthD*; iv. 7—cf. || *EthD*, not *Didasc*; vii. 2, 11, 22, not || *D*); in bk. viii. it divides the precepts among the Apostles, including Paul and James the Lord's brother, whom it names as being present with the Twelve, together with 'the rest of the presbyters and the seven deacons' (viii. 4). Indeed in *AC* the pretence is emphasised. It is

41—2 found in *EdCan*, which is called in one MS 'The doctrine of the Apostles through Addai' and which has a subscription mentioning Addai. In *EgCO*, *EthCO*, *H*¹, the fiction is only found in a bare reference to the 'apostolic tradition' (*H* p. 121), unless the title of *EgCO* found in *SEC* (Egyptian Heptateuch) is part of this manual, and is not rather due to the compiler of the Heptateuch. In this title the work is said to have been given 'by the hands of Clement.' The reference to Clement is found elsewhere (*AC* title and viii. 46, *ApCan* 85, Test titles and subscriptions to both books, *ArD* pre-

face, *EthD* preface). Clement is also mentioned, but not as part of the fictitious setting, in *AC* vi. 9, 18, vii. 46, viii. 10. In *Test* the pretence is pushed to its utmost limit. This manual professes to be the legacy left by our Saviour to his Apostles before the Ascension, and to give his own words and commands as to the government of the Church through Thomas, Matthew and John (*i.* preface) and Clement (title etc.). The ascription to our Lord is removed in the derived *ArD*-app. The only manual which may be thought to be quite free from the pseudonymous form is *CH*, and even there it seems probable that the title is an instance of it.

5 It is of some importance for us to consider the meaning of this pretence, and the closely related question of antiquarianisms. If the intention of the authors was to pass the manuals off as being several hundred years older than they really were, they would naturally try to introduce as many antiquarianisms as possible, and thus the books would give us no true picture of the times of the writers. But three considerations make us pause before taking this view. (a) One is the extraordinarily widespread prevalence of the habit. Besides the literature in question we find a large number of Jewish and Christian works affected by it. This would lead us to consider the ascription of books to older writers as a fashion of the day—it extended over a long period—and as a dramatic fiction, rather than as what we understand in the present day by the phrase 'a literary forgery.' Instances of such a 'dramatic fiction' will at once occur to us, in the canonical books of the Bible (e.g. *Deuteronomy* and *Ecclesiastes*), in the *Apocrypha* (e.g. the *Wisdom of Solomon*), in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, or among the Gnostic sects (e.g. the *Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies*). The fashion has even remained to the present day when we speak of the 'Apostles' Creed,' or when we read in the eighth Anglican Article of Religion of 'Athanasius's Creed.' (b) Another consideration is the want of motive. These Church Orders were not literary bombshells bursting from a supposed antiquity on a circle of learned men; but by their very nature were intended for the use of the people themselves. Anything obviously out of date would defeat the object of the book. And though the individual writers have, as we shall see, each their own doctrinal standpoint, yet there is no very clear 'tendency' discernible in at any rate the great majority of the books.

6(c) The thinness of the disguise is another reason for doubting whether a serious forgery was intended. In some cases the merest tyro could detect

cases of anachronism. No serious forger would be so careless. (See e.g. for Test, Cooper-Maclean, p. 27.) With the moral right or wrong of this custom we need not concern ourselves. But the arguments given above will lead us to discard the idea that the authors introduced antique features for the sake of deception. ⁷ This however does not exhaust the question of antiquarianisms in the literature under consideration. The various writers used, it is clear, older material, belonging to an age in some cases considerably earlier than their own. In the older material many customs would be described which had become obsolete when the original was adapted. Did the adapters leave these features of the older material, though they did not apply to their own time? The answer seems to be that old features were allowed to remain, provided that they did not contradict the usage of the compilers' own time. An old phrase would be left, but perhaps given another turn or another meaning. If however the old features were so contradictory of present usage that they would only produce confusion in the reader, then they were modified or omitted. The best way of considering the method of treatment of old material is to compare (as in Funk *DidCA* vol. i.) D and AC vii. 1—32, or *Didasc* and AC i.—vi., when the above remarks will, it is believed, be fully justified. As a concrete example, we may consider the references to persecution. Few will doubt that at least the greater part of the literature is post-Nicene; yet we find many such references, both in the liturgical forms and in the canonical rules and exhortations. These passages in the post-Nicene books have been taken from ante-Nicene sources, but are retained and might be applied by the reader either to persecutions from other Christians, or to a possible recrudescence of heathen opposition. But it must be said that the language used rather points to an era when the time of persecution had not been very long a thing of the past (see also below, pp. 28, 31 f.).

§3. Another preliminary remark may be made, on the experimental nature of the liturgical forms in these Church Orders. Liturgies were only just beginning to crystallise into fixed shapes. The writers of these manuals saw no harm in dealing with the works of their predecessors very freely. For Eucharist, Baptism, Ordination one general outline runs through them all and was well established. But the words with which the outline was clothed were still in a fluid condition. The forms were in their nature experimental; some of them did not stand the test of usage; some contained not quite advisable phraseology; all were on their probation; and their chief interest lies

in their exhibiting to us the steps by which the Great Liturgies, their successors, were gradually built up. 4. Before we proceed to consider the Church Orders in detail, it will be desirable to mention the compilations in which some of them are embedded, and to explain where they may be found. We will later on consider the question whether any or all of these works are mere compilations, or whether their authors were also the authors of any of the Church Orders contained in them. The compilations are as follows:

9 SAHIDIC ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS, or EGYPTIAN HEP-TATEUCH (bk. i. [§§ 1—30] = ApCO; bk. ii. [§§ 31—62] = EgCO; bks. iii. [63], iv. [64—71a], v. [71b—73, 75b—78], vi. [74, 75a], parallel to AC viii.; bk. vii. = ApCan). The books are here given as in the Bohairic (Tattam), the sections as in the Sahidic (Horner); the Bohairic sections are not quite the same as the Sahidic. SYRIAN OCTATEUCH (bks. i., ii. = Test; bk. iii. = ApCO; bks. iv.—vii., parallel to AC viii.; bk. viii. = ApCan). ETHIOPIC STATUTES (1—21 = ApCO; 22—48 = EthCO; 49—72, parallel to AC viii.). HAULER'S VERONA LATIN FRAGMENTS (i.—lxiv. [part 1, H^j] = fragments of Didasc; lxv.—lxvii. a [part 2, H^k] = fragments of ApCO; lxvii. b—lxxx. [part 3, H^l] = fragments of a Church Order very like EthCO). APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (bks. i.—vi. = Didasc largely interpolated; vii. 1—32 = D interpolated; vii. 33—end, liturgical matter, source uncertain; viii. 1, 2 a tract 'Of Charismata'; viii. 3—end, a Church Order parallel to CH. In some MSS, ApCan follows, almost as a ninth book [in Funk's edition = AC viii. 47 f.]).

10 Some of these compilations have only become known in modern times; but AC has been known since the Reformation. An epitome in Latin was published in 1546 by Carolus Capellus, and the full Greek text in 1563 by Turrianus (DCA i. 119). Many modern editions of the Greek have appeared; especially we may notice those of Ueltzen 1853, Lagarde 1862, and Funk (DidCA) 1905. This last contains also D, ApCan, Didasc (in a Latin translation), ConstH, ArD-app, a conflation of EgCO, EthCO, and H^l, also Sar, and some minor matter. We need not adhere to Funk's theory of the dates of the documents to benefit by the admirable way in which the materials are displayed. An English translation of AC is somewhat anachronistically included in ANCL. The eighty-five Apostolic Canons may also be seen in Hefele's Councils vol. i.—Of other manuals, SEC was published, in Bohairic with English translation, by Tattam in 1848; the Sahidic and Arabic texts of

it, with English translations, have lately been published (1904) by Horner in the same volume as *EthS*, which we are now fortunate enough to have entire with full Ethiopic text and English translation. Hitherto we had only known the Ethiopic in part, through a book by Job Ludolf (Leutholf), entitled *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam commentarius* (1691). Lagarde gives SEC in *Aegyptiaca*.—Of the Syrian *Octateuch* only three books have been published. The first two (*Test*) were first published by Rahmani in 1899. The third book (*ApCO*) was published in Syriac and English by Arendzen in 1901 (*JThSt* iii. 59 ff.); this is the most convenient form of *ApCO*, though it may also be seen elsewhere (see below). As it has been preserved in several languages, it has often been edited, first by Bickell in Greek from a MS at Vienna, 1843. Bickell invented the useful name 'Apostolic Church Order.' The Verona fragments have been published, from a palimpsest at Verona, by Hauler in 1900.

¹¹ It will be convenient to mention here the books in which the individual Church Orders may most conveniently be seen. The *Didache* was discovered at Constantinople by Bryennius and first published by him in 1883. It may be conveniently read in Lightfoot and Harmer's *Apost. Fathers*, compendious edition, in Greek and English. For CH we have several editions. These canons were first published in Arabic with a Latin translation by De Haneberg (1870); they may most conveniently be seen in Latin, with parallels from other manuals, and commentary, in Achelis' edition published in 1891, *Die Canones Hippolyti* ('*Texte und Untersuch.*' vi. 4). Riedel published a German version in 1900. For *EdCan* see *ANCL* vol. xx. ('*Syriac Documents*,' p. 35 ff.). For *Test* in Syriac and Latin see Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini nostri*, 1899, and for an English version Cooper-Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, 1902. For *EgCO* in Bohairic and English see Tattam, *The Apost. Const...in Coptic*, 1848, p. 31; translation* of the Sahidic, Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, 1904, p. 306; in Arabic and English, Horner, pp. 95, 244. For *EthCO* in Ethiopic and English see Horner, pp. 10, 138. For *Didasc* in a Latin translation see Funk, *DidCA* i. (in parallel columns with *AC* i.—vi.); in Syriac and English, Mrs Gibson, *Horae Semiticae* i, ii; in Latin (fragments), Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Veron. Lat.* 1900, pp. 1—90. For *H*¹ see Hauler, pp. 101—121 (Latin fragments). For *ApCO* in Syriac and English see Arendzen as above; in Bohairic and English, Tattam, p. 1; in Ethiopic and English, Horner, pp. 1, 127; translation* of Sahidic, *ib.* p. 295; in Arabic and English, *ib.* pp. 89, 233; in Latin (fragments), Hauler, pp. 92—

106; in Greek, Lagarde, *Reliquiae juris ecclesiae antiquissimae*, 1856. For ConstH see Funk, *DidCA* ii. 72—96. For AC see above. For ArD (appendix, etc.) see Funk, *DidCA* ii. 120—136. EthD was first published (in Ethiopic and English) by Platt in 1834, from an Ethiopic MS found at

12* For the Sahidic text see Lagarde's *Aegyptiaca*. Jerusalem. Sarapion's sacramentary was discovered in the Laura Monastery of Mount Athos, and first published by Wobbermin at Leipzig in 1899. The Greek text, with notes by Brightman, may be conveniently seen in *JThSt* i. 88 ff., 247 ff.; an English translation with Introduction has been edited by Bp J. Wordsworth (S.P.C.K., 1899). The student may also consult discussions on one or other of these Church Orders in Brightman LEW (which gives the liturgical part of AC with an elaborate discussion of problems of authorship), Funk TUH, and Wordsworth MG. The Pilgrimage of 'Silvia' or of 'Etheria,' which was discovered at Arezzo in Italy by Dr Gamurrini in 1884, and first published by him in 1887-88, may be most conveniently read (in Latin) in the Appendix to Duchesne's *Origines du culte chrétien* (Eng. tr. *Christian Worship; its origin and evolution*, S.P.C.K., 1903).

CHAPTER II: CONTENTS OF THE CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS AND COGNATE
CHURCH ORDERS

1 Taking a general view of the whole of this series of books we may summarise the contents thus. Rules are given for the election and ordination of a bishop, and for the first Liturgy celebrated by him, with or without forms of prayer; for the ordination of presbyters and deacons, for the appointment of minor orders, widows and deaconesses, and with regard to confessors and gifts of healing; for the reception of converts, and their preparation, baptism, confirmation and first communion; for the Agape; for hours of prayer, for feasts and fasts, and for various minor Church observances. 2 It will probably bring the scope of the books most conveniently before the reader if the contents of seven of them are set forth in tabular form. The arrangement of EgCO has been adopted as a basis, as being most in accordance with that of other manuals. Achelis has rearranged CH on this basis, on the supposition that in course of time and of translation into Eastern languages, the order of the sections has become dislocated. We must notice that except in one or two minor points (notably in the sections about widows, subdeacons, and readers) the order in the first five Church Orders here given is the same up to the Communion of the neophytes. After this EgCO, EthCO and H¹ agree in

arrangement, and that of Test is nearly the same; but the order of CH is quite different. The sections on fasting, almsgiving, the Agape, firstfruits, etc. (xxxii—xxxvi) come in CH at the end, much later than in the parallels; while those on the Hours of prayer, etc. (xxv b—xxvii) come earlier. It is difficult to conceive, with Achelis, that this disarrangement is entirely due to later translators or scribes. It seems much more probable that the Compiler, who added several new sections to his source—in particular those dealing with married and travelling presbyters, married women, fasts, the Paschal Vigil, the computation of Easter, and vestures—at the same time altered the order of his source with regard to the minor regulations in the latter part of the book.

³ In this table the contents of CH are given as we have them; the numbers in the first column are those of Haneberg; the question of interpolations in CH will be considered later. The numbers in the second column are the sections of SEC-sah; those of EthS being added in brackets. CH. i. Preface, independent. ii, iii a. Election and Consecration of bishop (form given). Liturgy celebrated by new bishop referred to, but only opening of Anaphora (Salutation and Sursum Corda) given. iii b. Blessing of oil and first-fruits (no form given), ending with Gloria Patri. iv. Ordination of presbyter with same form as for bishops, except in the name of the episcopate and enthronement. Bishops and presbyters equal except in power of ordaining and the name of the cathedra. v. Ordination of deacon (form given, independent). His duties; he does not belong to the presbyterate. vi. Honorary presbyterate of Confessors (confused).

⁴ vii a. Appointment of reader and subdeacon, without laying on of hands. No form given.

Egco, Ethco, H.

⁵ [In H^k Preface, see p. 162.] 31 (22). Election and Consecration of bishop; form given in EthCO, H, not EgCO. Liturgy in EthCO, H (Anaphora), but H has not the latter part; in EgCO as CH. In EthCO, H (not EgCO) form for blessing oil for healing (and in H cheese and olives), in Liturgy after Epi-clesis. In H Gloria Patri. 32 (23). Ord. of presbyter by bishop, the presbyters touching him. Same form (not given) as for bishops in EgCO; in EthCO, H simple but separate form. 33 (24). Ord. of deacon by bishop alone (reason stated and caution added). Form given in EthCO, H, not in EgCO. 34 (25). Honorary presbyterate of Confessors (confused). [Lacuna in H until baptism.]

35, 36 (27 a, c). Reader and subdeacons as CH. I. 1-18. Apocalyptic prelude. 19. Church buildings. 20, 21, 23. Election and Consecration of bishop, form given (long). Liturgy much developed, with some peculiar features.

6 22. Rules for bishops; days for Eucharist. 24, 25. Blessing of oil for healing and water (form independent). 26-28. Pro-anaphoral prayers, Lections, Mystagogia. 29. Qualification of presbyters. 30-32. Ord. of presbyter by bishop, the presbyters touching him. Separate form, based on EthCO, but much developed. Duties and daily prayers of presbyters. 33-37. Qualifications and duties of deacons. The Ectene (independent). 38. Ord. of deacon by bishop alone (reason and caution). Form given, developed from EthCO or H. 39. Honorary presbyterate of Confessors (confused). 44, 45. Subdeacons and reader (note order) appointed without laying on of hands. Short forms given.

AC viii, CONSTH.

7 3. Preface (not ConstH). 4-15. Election, Consecration and Enthronement of bishop (in ConstH short form like CH, in AC much developed). In AC (not ConstH) very full Liturgy, with Deacon's Ectene and forms for dismissal of Catechumens. 29. Blessing of water and oil for healing by bishop or by presbyter in his absence; form independent. [Not in ConstH.] 16. Ord. of presbyter by bishop in presence of the presbytery and of the deacons. Separate form (independent except one sentence). ConstH a little shorter. 17, 18. Ord. of deacon by bishop in presence of the whole presbytery and the deacons. Form given, independent. 23. A Confessor to be honoured; if occasion arises, he is to be ordained bishop, priest, or deacon (note development). 21, 22. Ord. of subdeacons and readers (note order). In AC with laying on of hands; form given [and so ConstH of subdeacons; about Reader only one sentence, and no laying on of hands].

8 CH. ix b. Honour due to widows (one sentence). vii b. Of Virgins, male and female. vii c. Position of subdeacons and readers at prayer. viii a. Gifts of healing. viii b, ix a. Married and travelling presbyters. x. Enquirers after the faith. xi-xvi. Forbidden trades, etc. xvii a, c. Duties of married women. Catechumens (length not fixed). Rules for women after (?) childbirth; women pray apart; women's veils. xvii b, xviii, xix a. Dismissal of catechumens. Women after childbirth. Martyred catechumens. xix b. The Competentes; their bathing, fasting, exorcism (no form given), vigil. xix d. BAPTISM. Blessing of two oils (no form given). Form of Renunciation (after which first anointing) and of Submission to God. Creed (Roman) in 3 parts, one at each im-

mersion. Formula of baptism (repeated thrice). Anointing by presbyter after baptism.

Egco, Ethco, H .

9 37 (26). Appointment of widows. (Note change of order in EthCO.) Not to be ordained. 38 (27 b). Of Virgins, female. 39 (27 d). Gifts of healing. 40 (28 a). Enquirers ('new men'). 41 (28 b-30). Forbidden trades, etc. 42, 43 (31, 32). Catechumenate (3 yrs.); catechumens' prayers; kiss of peace; women pray apart; women's veils. 44 (33). Dismissal of catechumens (no prayer given). Martyred and persecuted catechumens. 45 (34). The Competentes; their bathing, fasting, exorcism (no form given), and in EgCO, their vigil. 46 (35). BAPTISM. Blessing of water and two oils (no form). Form of Renunciation (after which first anointing) and of Submission to God, latter repeated at each immersion. Creed (not Roman in EgCO, EthCO) after immersion. EthCO adds clause on Resurrection to Creed. [H fragment begins in middle of (Roman) Creed, in 3 parts, one at each immersion.] No formula of baptism given. Anointing by presbyter after baptism.

10 TEST. 40-43. Appointment of widows and of presbyteresses or 'widows *προκαθημεαι*.' Form given. Their duties and prayers (at great length). 46. Of Virgins, male and female (long). 47. [Charismatic] gifts. 11. 1. Enquirers. 2. Forbidden trades, etc. 3, 4. Catechumenate (3 yrs.); catechumens' prayers; kiss of peace; women pray apart; women's veils. 5. Prayer at dismissal of catechumens. Martyred and persecuted catechumens. 6-8a. The Competentes, their bathing, fasting, exorcism (long form given), vigil. 8b. BAPTISM. Blessing of two oils, one with form already given (in ii 7). Form of Renunciation (after which first anointing) and of Submission to God. Creed (Roman) in 3 parts, one at each immersion. No formula of baptism given. Anointing by presbyter after baptism. AC viii, CONSTH. 25. Of widows. Not to be ordained. 19, 20. Ordination of deaconesses with laying on of hands (form given). 24. Of Virgins. 26. Exorcists not to be ordained. 27, 28. Functions of the clergy, etc.

11 32^d. Enquirers. 32^d. Forbidden trades, etc. 32^d. Catechumenate (3 yrs.). Instruction of the faithful. Duty to servants. M. xix e. CONFIRMATION by bishop (form given) with laying on of hands, kiss of peace, but no third anointing. xix f. COMMUNION (words of administration in both kinds given). Milk and honey partaken of. xix g, xx, xxxii-xxxv. Fast before first Communion. Fasts on Wed. Fri. and the Forty Days. Of fasting and alms to

the poor. Agape on Sunday. Commemoration of departed. Catechumens not to be at Agape; bread given them. Supper for widows. xxxvi. Firstfruits (independent form, chiefly prayer for the Offerer). xxxviii. Paschal Vigil. xxii. Holy week fast. Easter computed with Jews. xxiii. Exhortation. xxiv a. Bishop visiting sick. xxviii, xxix a. Fast before Communion. Only the faithful to receive. Care for Eucharistic elements. Reverence in the Sanctuary.

Egco, Ethco, H.

¹² CONFIRMATION by bishop (form given) with laying on of hands, anointing and kiss of peace. COMMUNION (words of adm. in both kinds [in H only of Bread]). Milk and honey mixed. Three cups in EthCO (honey, milk, wine) and H (water, milk, wine). Teaching of the Resurrection only after baptism (?). H has a lacuna before this. 47-52 (36-39). Of Fasting [H deest]. Agape (called The Lord's Supper in EgCO, H, not EthCO). Catechumens not at Agape; bread and a cup given them. (H; bread given them and each to offer a cup.) [EthCO adds: Gifts to the sick; public prayers at the lamplighting (form given), psalm singing, offering of a cup (cf. H); fragments given to the faithful as eulogiae.] Supper for widows. 53, 54 (40 B). Firstfruits, form given. [For interpolation in EthCO see p. 21.] 55 (41). Two days absolute fast before Easter. 56 (42). Bishop visiting sick.

¹³ 57 (43). Private prayers on waking; instructions in Church. 58-60 a (44, 45). Fast before Communion. Only the faithful to receive. Care for Eucharistic elements. 9. CONFIRMATION by bishop (form given, developed from EgCO) with laying on of hands, anointing and kiss of peace. 10 a. COMMUNION (words of adm. of Bread). No milk and honey. Reference to water in chalice (cf. H). Caution as to care of the Eucharistic elements (see below). Teaching of the Resurrection only after baptism. 11-13. Alms to a widow or poor woman. Rules for Pascha, 'the lamplighting,' Pentecost. The Agape (catechumens not to receive). The faithful not to consort with heathen. 14-17. Firstfruits (form almost as EgCO, with short prayer for Offerer added). Property. Things strangled or sacrificed not to be eaten*. 18, 19. Paschal Vigil (independent). 20. Two days absolute fast before Easter. 21. Bishop visiting sick. 22. Singing the psalms. 25 b. Fast before Communion; see also ii. 10 above.

¹⁴ * So AC vi. 12 and || Didasc. Cf. ApCan 63 and Ac. xv. 20, 29. AC viii, CONSTH. 41-44. Commemorations of the departed and memorial feasts. 30, 31, 40. Firstfruits (independent form), tithes and eulogiae for the clergy.

CH. xxx, xxxi. Distribution of 'oblations'; communicating sick presbyters. xxi. Clergy's daily prayer meeting, with the people. xxiv b, xxv a. Burials. xxv b-xxvii, xxix b. Hours of private prayer; duty of going to church when there is a meeting 'for the word of God.' Coming of the Bridegroom. At cockcrow prayer in the church. Sign of the cross, like the sprinkling of the blood of the Paschal Lamb. xxxvii. Vestments at the Eucharist. EoCO, EtnCO, H¹. 60b (46). Clergy's daily prayer meeting (H deest). 61 (47). Burials (H deest). 62 (48). Hours of private prayer (at great length); duty of going to church if there is an 'exhortation.' [H fragment begins here.] Coming of the Bridegroom. At cockcrow private prayer. Sign of the cross etc. as CH. [In H this paragraph is given twice with slight variations.]

¹⁵ TEST. 10 b. Communicating sick presbyters; deacon baptises if presbyter absent. See i. 32 above. 23. Burials. 24, 25 a. Hours of private prayer either in the church or in the house. Christians and catechumens exhorted. [25 c-27, Conclusion.] AC viii, CONSTH. 33. Festivals, etc. 35-39. Public prayers for all men twice daily (form given). Not in ConstH. 34. Hours of private prayer either in the church or in the house. 45, 46. Hospitality for the persecuted. Long exhortation to good order (εὐταξία). Note 1. There is an interpolation in EthCO as given by Horner (pp. 162-178). Statute 40 (on first-fruits), here called 40 B, is preceded by another Statute 40, here called 40 A, which is no part of EthCO. The interpolation begins with another version of the prologue to H¹ (see below, p. 162), and proceeds to give a description of baptism, with a large number of forms for consecrating oil, the font, etc. In some particulars this description is inconsistent with what had been said before, in Statute 35, and it is a repetition in fuller terms of that Statute.

¹⁶ Note 2. AC viii. and ConstH consist of five tracts: (1) Of gifts, *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, §§ 1, 2; (2) Constitutions of the holy Apostles about ordination through Hippolytus, §§ 4-31; (3) Constitutions of Paul the holy Apostle about ecclesiastical canons, § 32; (4) Constitutions of Peter and Paul the holy Apostles, §§ 33-45; (5) Teaching about good order (εὐταξία), of all the holy Apostles, § 46. The last five chapters of this work (35—39) consist of part of a Church Order closely akin to Test. The contents are: description of the buildings (=Test i. 19 very nearly); ordination of bishops, with ordination prayer (=Test i. 20, 21 very nearly); times of prayer of bishops and presbyters (=Test i. 22 a, but there presbyters are not mentioned); bishops' fasts (=Test i. 22 b); description (only) of the Liturgy, corresponding to Test i. 26, 27, 23;

Mystagogia (rather shorter than, but closely resembling Test i. 28). This is expressly said to be the end of the book.

¹⁷ Funk (DidCA ii. 122) gives a duplicate of § 38, with some omissions, as 23. The repetition of this chapter may perhaps show that the Appendix was added to ArD by a later hand. Funk also publishes (ii. 120) the preface to ArD, which is prefixed to the older (Syriac) Didasc in Mrs Gibson's MS as an interpolation, and which is also almost the same as that of EthD (below, p. 32). Funk gives four sections of the first chapter, but no other part of this work is published. It is probable that a portion of the ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA (§§ 25—30), of which we only know the headings, through Wansleb and Ludolf (Platt, p. xv f.), is also closely akin to Test. The headings are: (25) De structura Templi et ejusdem Heikel (ܬܝܚܝܬܐ); (26) lacuna; (27) De ordinatione episcoporum; (28) De oratione episcoporum cum ecclesiasticis; (29) De jejuniis episcopi; (30) continet Mystagogiam seu doctrinam occultam quam apostoli docuerunt.

¹⁸ The *Mystagogia* in these works and in *Test* is an instruction on the Christian religion given to the faithful on certain festivals at the Eucharist, after the dismissal of the catechumens; see below, p. 168.

iii. SAHIDIC ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS 63—78 (EGYPTIAN HEPTATEUCH
iii.—vi.)

19 These sections are a reproduction of AC viii. with several omissions and variations. The ascription of various sections to the different Apostles is not retained. Similarly AC viii. 4 (the account of those said to be present) is omitted. There are no ordination prayers, and no Liturgy, but a description of the latter and a few of the shorter formulas are given, and a rubric is added at the end with reference to the consumption of the elements that remain. It is expressly said, in opposition to AC and ConstH, that none of the minor orders are to be ordained (below, p. 78 f.). There are no benedictions of oil and water; no daily public prayers are given. In the Bohairic (Tattam), but not in the Sahidic (Horner), the rules about newcomers and forbidden trades (= AC viii. 32 a) are postponed till after the Exhortation to Good Order. This work is either an excerpt from our AC viii., the writer altering what he had before him to suit his own Egyptian customs, or else an excerpt from an earlier form of AC. The statement that the minor orders are not to be ordained may perhaps incline us to the latter supposition.

²⁰ Four of the books of the SYRIAN OCTATEUCH (iv.—vii.), which have not been published, appear to correspond closely with SEC 63—78. The table of contents is published in Lagarde's *Reliquiae jur. can.* p. xvii. The ETHIOPIA STATUTES 49—72 are almost the same as SEC 63—78 (see Horner, pp. 186—232). There are some slight variations; there is a long passage about resting on Saturday and on Sunday; and at the end several prayers for various occasions are given.

CHAPTER III: CONTENTS OF THE OTHER CHURCH ORDERS

1. The Didache is so well known that it requires but little notice here. It begins (1—5) with a Tract on the Two Ways (of life and death). Then after a connecting sentence it gives various rules for Christian life and worship, for meats (6), for baptism, with a formula (7), for fasts on Wednesday and Friday, and for the use thrice a day of the Lord's Prayer (8); it provides two prayers before and one after the 'Eucharistic thanksgiving' (9, 10), see below, p. 62; it gives injunctions as to an itinerant ministry of 'apostles and prophets,' and as to firstfruits given to them (11—13), as to Sunday services (14) and the appointment of a local ministry of 'bishops and deacons' (15); and concludes with an exhortation to watchfulness (16). Its primitive character is seen by the arrangements for the ministry, and it is probably divided in time by a very considerable interval from all the other Church Orders mentioned in this volume. Yet it is of great importance for our purpose, because it has been, in whole or in part, incorporated into the works next mentioned. The name 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' is given in MSS to several other works, e.g. to ApCO-syr and EdCan.

2. The Apostolic Church Order. This manual, to which, as we have seen, some MSS give the name 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' is also called 'The Canons of the Apostles,' but it must not be confused with the much later and much better known work of the same name, called in this volume the 'Apostolic Canons.' ApCO considerably develops the apostolic fiction found in the title of D, naming the Twelve in the prelude in a curious manner. Thus it makes Cephas and Nathanael different from Peter and Bartholomew, and it omits Matthew. Only one James is mentioned; perhaps the son of Zebedee is omitted, as *ex hypothesi* he was dead at the supposed time of writing. The sections are ascribed to different Apostles, as was afterwards done in AC. John begins the speaking, and is named first in the list, though

Peter is the chief speaker. The preeminence of John leads us to think of Asia Minor as the home of this Church Order.

After a prelude which reechoes a phrase from the Epistle of Barnabas ('Rejoice O sons and daughters in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ'), and which prescribes the appointment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers and widows (no other minor order is mentioned), the Tract on the Two Ways is reproduced (4—13* = D 1—4 a with some interpolations, and slight omissions in the first part); but the end of the Tract as given in D, including the 'Way of Death,' is altogether omitted, though the latter is referred to in ApCO 4. It is probable therefore that the Compiler had before him a mutilated copy of D, or of the Tract. The rest of D finds no place in ApCO, but instead, after two sections (14, 15) inserted to bridge over a gap, we have a series of regulations for the Christian ministry. The qualifications of a bishop are based on the Pastoral Epistles. Three presbyters are to be appointed by the bishop, and an elaborate reference is introduced to the elders of the Apocalypse (Rev. iv. 4), and to the position of the presbyters on either side of the bishop; those on the right are to regulate the service of the altar, those on the left to regulate the people; the presbyters are 'sharers in the mysteries' with the bishop, who is the 'shepherd' (see below, p. 68). The appointment of a reader, curiously enough, comes next. The deacons are three in number (so syr); their qualifications are based on the Pastoral Epistles. We have also sections dealing with good order among laymen and the ministry of women, including a curious side-remark about Martha and Mary, and an ἀγγραφὸν of our Lord: 'The weak shall be saved through the strong.' Women must approach the Eucharist with heads covered (so rightly syr, see below, p. 42; other versions have 'must not pray standing,' apparently

* The sections in the Ethiopic and Arabic versions (Horner) are numbered differently. reading προσεύχεσθαι for προσέρχεσθαι, a very ancient corruption of the text), and must only minister to women (see below, pp. 83 f., 105 f.). This Church Order has no liturgical forms. 3. AC vii. 1—32. In these chapters the whole of D is reproduced, with many interpolations and with alterations made in order to bring the material into harmony with the age of the interpolator. It is instructive to note the manner of treatment. The interpolator has in several places introduced the apostolic fiction (above, p. 3 f.); also an allusion to the Emperor (§ 16), whose appointment (χειροτονία) is of the Lord, and to whose rulers tribute must willingly be paid. The regula-

tions of D about apostles and prophets are omitted or reduced to an injunction to receive a strange teacher if he be tested, but to reject a false teacher (§ 28). First-fruits and tithes are to be paid to the priests (ἱερεῦσι), orphans, and poor, not as D to the prophets or to the poor (§ 29). Bishops, presbyters, and deacons are to be ordained (§ 31). A protest against Judaic distinctions of meats is introduced, but those offered to idols are to be avoided (§ 20 f.), as in D. In Baptism anointing before and after the act of immersion is introduced (§ 22). The injunction of D that the candidate is to fast—the interpolator does not, like D, add the baptizer and others—is accounted for by the fact that our Lord fasted (see below, p. 137). The weekly fasts are to be either Wednesday and Friday, as D, or 'the five days,' i.e. Monday to Friday;

but every Saturday is to be kept as a festival except that on which our Lord was in the grave, the Creator under the earth (§ 23). One instance of a change of phraseology may be given. D (§ 4) has a rather difficult phrase about the duty of Christians to one who speaks the word of God. He is to be remembered 'night and day,' for 'whence the κυριότης is spoken, there is ὁ κύριος' (so ApCO-syr [JThSt iii. 65], with 'where' for 'whence'). The interpolator (§ 9) says that he is to be remembered 'day and night...for where the teaching about God is, there God is present.' Thus a difficult phrase is simplified, as indeed is also the case in ApCO-boh where the paronomasia is altogether removed.

ii. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS vii. 33—viii. 2

1. The latter part of the Seventh Book consists of liturgical and other matter of which the source is unknown. We have first a long and diffuse prayer or meditation to be said by Christians in private (§§ 33—38); then a description of the instruction of catechumens and of the baptismal ceremonies, with prayers, etc. (§§ 39—45, see p. 96 ff. below). A list of early bishops of different sees is somewhat unexpectedly added (§ 46). And our present copies end with a text of the hymn Gloria in excelsis and with the Nunc Dimittis, both with additional clauses at the end, as is the case with the Te Deum as sung to-day (§§ 47—49). It may however be doubted if these last three chapters are not a later addition; they have no connexion with the rest of the book, and § 46 seems to be the more natural conclusion.— The presence in this book of the baptismal regulations explains their omission in bk. viii., where the parallel Church Orders have them (above, p. 16 ff.).

2. The first two chapters of bk. viii. (also found with some variations in ConstH, SEC, EthS, and Syrian Octateuch) are a diffuse tract *Of Charismata* (spiritual gifts), *περὶ χαρισμάτων*. This tract is thought to be based on a treatise of that name by Hippolytus, now lost; but it is certainly largely interpolated by the AC compiler.

iii. THE DIDASCALIA AND ITS COGNATES

1. The older Didascalia, now existing in Syriac and (in fragments) in a Latin version, itself probably interpolated, was doubtless originally written in Greek. It is a diffuse and loosely connected manual of instruction, with references to Church organisations and customs. It begins with moral precepts (= AC i.), which are followed by a long series of sections on the qualifications and duties of bishops and clergy, with a description of a church (= AC ii.); it gives directions about widows and the ministration of women (= AC iii.), about orphans and almsgiving (= AC iv.), about confessors and martyrs, with sections on the Resurrection, on the Paschal fast, and on the training of children (= AC v.). The work concludes with remarks on heresies and schisms (AC vi.). Those who study this manual in Mrs Gibson's edition should note that the manuscript used by her has a very long post-Nestorian interpolation not found in Codex Sangermanensis, which Lagarde used. This interpolation consists of passages from Test, ApCO, and elsewhere. It must be later than Jacob of Edessa, the translator of Test into Syriac (seventh century), as the Syriac of the interpolation is almost verbatim the same as that of Jacob.

2. AC i.—vi. The older Didasc has been freely treated by the compiler of AC. He has omitted some passages, but on the whole has enlarged his source by several interpolations. He has also altered many passages. We may notice some instances which illustrate his method. Didasc shows great fondness for Biblical quotations; but AC goes much further, and has profuse quotations, unlike Test, which, true to its pretence of authorship, is sparing of direct citations of the NT, though it constantly refers to it. Of alterations due to changed circumstances we note AC ii. 59, where the lay people are bidden to assemble for public worship twice daily, whereas Didasc only mentions the Lord's day; in AC v. 13 an elaborate festal cycle is introduced (below, p. 129); in AC vi. 17 directions about the marriage of the clergy in all grades are added. An unbalanced statement in Didasc on sin after baptism is modified in AC ii. 7 (below, p. 94). One other change of phrase may be mentioned. In Didasc we read (in the passage || AC ii. 26): 'These (the bishops) are your high

priests; the priests and levites, who then were, are now deacons, presbyters, widows and orphans.' Here AC has: 'These are your high priests; but your priests (ἱερείς) are the presbyters, and your levites are the present deacons and your readers and singers and doorkeepers, your deaconesses and widows and virgins, and your orphans' (see p. 67 n. below). The interpolations, which are extremely numerous, are in the marked style of the AC Compiler (Brightman LEW p. xxiv f.).

3. The Ethiopic Didascalia is apparently derived from AC. The preface is nearly the same as that of ArD (p. 22). It begins with a sentence from AC viii. 4, enumerating those present (the Twelve, Paul, James) at the putting forth of the Teaching. This is followed by a passage which recalls ApCO 1, names the ranks of the clergy—bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, 'nipilobânos' (= παρθένους?), but deaconesses are omitted—and introduces the reference to Clement. In the middle of a sentence we reach the beginning of the older Didasc, and the first four books of AC are then followed, with some considerable alterations and omissions. At a point parallel to the end of AC iv. 12 Platt's MS comes to an abrupt end. It is divided into 22 chapters. We have, however, the table of contents of another MS. It is given by Platt (p. xv) from Ludolf, who borrowed it from Wansleb's *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*. In the Table the first 16 chapters appear to agree with Platt's, except that it omits the preface. The remaining six of Platt's chapters appear in the Table as 31, 32, 17, 33 (and 34), 18, 35; that is, the order of AC is departed from, for Platt's order is that of AC. The additional chapters in the Table are: (19) Of Virgins' vows, = AC iv. 14?; (20) Of Festivals and Pascha, = v. 13 ff.; (21) Of martyrs, = v. 1 ff.; (22) Of avoiding scandals, = v. 10; (23) Of swearing by idols, = v. 11; (24) Of the computation of Pascha, which must be in the week in which the fourteenth day of the moon falls, = v. 17 ff.; (25—30) chapters corresponding to ArD-app (see p. 22); (36) Of the resurrection of all men, = AC v. 7?; (37) Of keeping festivals joyfully, = v. 20?; (38) Of observing burials with hymns and prayers.

4. For the Arabic Didascalia, see above, p. 22.

iv. OTHER ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE

1. The Sacramentary of Sarapion, Bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta (so §§ 1, 15) and a friend of Athanasius, c. A.D. 350, is a set of prayers for the use of a bishop. It contains the Eucharistic Anaphora, with benedictions of water and oil for healing (1—6), baptismal prayers (7—11), ordination prayers for

deacons, presbyters and bishops (12—14; there are none for minor orders), benedictions of oils for baptism and confirmation, and for sickness, see below, p. 43 (15—17), a funeral prayer (18), and pro-anaphoral prayers (19—30). Only the bishop's part is given. 2. The Pilgrimage of 'Silvia' or of 'Etheria' is an anonymous account of the travels in the East of a lady of Gaul or Spain at the end of the fourth century. She appears to have been the head of a religious community in her own land. She describes the services at Jerusalem; and to her we are indebted for a large amount of information about

M. the liturgical customs of that time. The name of the authoress is unknown; 'Silvia' and 'Etheria' are mere conjectures. The bishop of Jerusalem mentioned was probably St Cyril's successor. 3. The Catechetical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem (CL) were delivered at Jerusalem A.D. 348, while St Cyril was still a presbyter. They give us a detailed description of the baptismal and Eucharistic usages of his time at Jerusalem. 4. The Eighty-five Apostolic Canons, often attached to AC, and perhaps by the same author, illustrate the ecclesiastical customs current in Syria at the end of the fourth century. They will be frequently referred to in these pages. They received canonical authority from the Trullan Council, A.D. 692. They are also to be found in SEC, as the seventh book of the Egyptian Heptateuch (Tattam, p. 174 ff.), but there are several variations; the order frequently differs, and the canon of Scripture in § 85 is not quite the same as in the Greek. These canons also form the eighth book of the Syrian Octateuch, but this part is not published.

5. The Edessene Canons appear to have been composed in Syriac. In addition to the canons there is an account of the preaching of the Apostles.

CHAPTER IV: CHURCH BUILDINGS AND WORSHIP

1. Church Buildings. The earliest account of Church buildings is given in Didasc, which mentions 'holy churches,' presbyters' seats 'in the part of the house which is turned to the East,' the bishop's throne in the midst of them, the laymen also sitting 'in another part turned to the East' behind the presbyters, the women behind them, so that when they stand to pray the rulers (*praepositi*) rise first and after them the laymen, and then the women. All pray towards the East (so || AC ii. 57, 57, EdCan 1, Tertullian Apol. 16). One deacon attends to the Eucharistic offerings, another guards the door outside; later in the service both serve together inside the church. The deacon arranges the congregation and keeps order, the aged and the young sitting in separate parts of the church (Funk DidCA i. 158 ff., Gibson p. 65 f.; Hⁱ is

wanting here). The corresponding part of AC (ii. 57) adds several particulars. There are porticoes or chambers (τὰ παστοφόρια or παστοφορεῖα) 'towards the East' (cf. Test below); these may be sacristies, for in viii. 13 the deacons carry into them what remains of the Eucharistic elements after the communion of the people. The church, which is oblong, and turned to the East, is like a ship, with the bishop as helmsman*, the deacons in trim garments as sailors and head-rowers (τοῖχαρχοί), the laymen ('the brethren') as passengers. The reader stands in the middle on a raised place (EthD 10 is similar). The idea of the ship is also found in the 'Clementine' Epistle to James (§ 14), but there the Church referred to is the Christian society, not the building. God is the ship-master, Christ the pilot, the bishop the man in the prow (πρωρεύς), the deacons the sailors, the catechists the midshipmen, the laity the passengers.

² In Test and ArD we have a much fuller account. In Test i. 19 we read of the bishop's throne, raised three steps, on the East (?), with the presbyters right and left, the altar, which is on the raised steps, veiled (cf. CH xxix. 210, xxxvi. 188, both bracketed by Achelis), as is also the baptistery. There are two porches (στοαί) on right and left, apparently near the altar, for the men and the women. All the places are to be lighted, both for a type, and for reading. The lectern is outside the 'altar' (sanctuary). There is a courtyard with various buildings—a diaconicum or deacons' chamber, an oblong baptistery, a building for catechumens and for exorcists, a building for receiving the oblations, a place for the presbyters, a house of 'offering' and the treasury, houses for the bishop, presbyters, deacons, widows, deaconesses, and a guest house (see below, p. 65). There are three

³* In Test i. 23 (last prayer) God is called 'the Helmsman of souls.' entrances (to the courtyard?) 'as a type of the Trinity.' The description of ArD 35 is very similar. The dimensions of the baptistery, called here 'photisterium' (φωτιστήριον) are slightly different (24 × 12 instead of 21 × 12 cubits), and the phrase about lights is expanded thus: 'Let them be lighted with many lights as a figure of heavenly things, especially in the reading of the pericopae of the sacred books.' This is a clear sign of the dependence of ArD on Test and not vice versa. The completeness of the description shows that neither of these works can be ante-Nicene. In the foregoing descriptions of the seats of the clergy there is some ambiguity. Is the meaning that there was an apse at the East end, with the bishop and presbyters seated in a semicircle round the East wall looking West, the holy table at the chord of the apse? The Church

Orders are far from clear on this point. But in any case all prayed looking East. This is seen in the above accounts, and also in the description of the Liturgy in Test i. 23, where the bishop stands to celebrate it in the middle, the presbyters immediately behind him on either side, the deacons and widows behind them on the right and left respectively, the readers, subdeacons and deaconesses in turn behind them, and all within the veil. Thus, if the semicircular arrangement of seats is meant, the bishop and presbyters must have left their seats and have stood on the West of the holy table, facing East*.

4* We read of some exceptions to the rule of churches facing East; e.g. at Antioch (Socrates, HE v. 22). In Didasc we read of the clergy and people rising for prayer; so in AC ii. 57; and so Cyprian de Orat. Dom. 31, Origen, in Num. hom. xx. 5, etc. Standing was the normal attitude (cf. Mk. xi. 25, Lk. xviii. 11, 13); kneeling or genuflexion was practised as a sign of special penitence, but was forbidden on Sundays and between Easter and Pentecost (Nicaea can. 20; cf. Test ii. 12, Tertullian de Cor. Mil. 3, Augustine Ep. lv. 32 (Ben.) ad Januarium, Cassian Inst. ii. 18). We find, however, kneeling in Hermas Vis. ii. 1 and in NT (Ac. vii. 60, ix. 40, xx. 36, xxi. 5, Eph. iii. 14). 52. The Eucharist. Four of the Church Orders give, more or less fully, the Eucharistic Liturgy; several others give some slight description of the same. From this material we may get some idea of the service. It would appear that the structure of the Liturgy was allowed to remain in a more or less fluid condition till the fourth century. The first part to be crystallised into a written form was probably from the Sursum Corda to the end of the Invocation or Epiclesis. In other portions, such as the deacon's Ectene or Litany, the pro-anaphoral prayers, the Intercession for the Church, the prayers at the dismissal of the catechumens, and the Communion of the people, this process followed a little later. That the Communion was not put into a fixed form quite so soon as the Eucharistic Thanksgiving is made probable by the following fact. The Liturgy in H¹, as far as it goes, is almost identical with that in EthCO, and is closely connected with that of Test (see below). But it stops short at the end of the Blessing of Oil etc., which immediately follows the Epiclesis. The part which in EthCO follows this is not only absent from H, but, so far as the wording of its prayers etc. is concerned, is quite independent of Test and AC. The conclusion is that all which follows the Blessing of the Oil in EthCO is a later addition (see also below, p. 53).

6 But the general scheme of the service is the same in all the authorities, and seems to be much more ancient than the set forms. We may conjecture from our materials that even before (perhaps long before) the fourth century the Eucharistic service consisted of (1) prayers and psalmody, (2) lections and instructions, (3) dismissal of catechumens and perhaps a 'fencing of the tables,' (4) requests for prayer and a litany-like series of petitions, (5) kiss of peace and offertory, (6) salutation and *Sursum Corda*, with Eucharistic Thanksgiving commemorating creation (?) and redemption and describing the Last Supper, and containing the Oblation and Invocation, (7) blessing of oil for healing (?), (8) communion of clergy and people, (9) thanksgiving and dismissal. This scheme is somewhat fuller than, but is consistent with, the well-known accounts in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65, 67) and Cyril of Jerusalem (*CL* xxiii.), and agrees with the detached references to the Liturgy in St Chrysostom's Antiochene writings, which have been collected by Brightman (*LEW* p. 470 ff.).

7 The details of the Liturgy in the four Church Orders will best be seen by the following Table. [*Eth. Stat.* 22; *Hauler* lxix.-lxxi.] Offertory. Salutation and *Sursum Corda*. Eucharistic thanksgiving (short) with commemoration of Redemption (one sentence refers to creation, no reference to Angels, no *Sanctus*), Words of our Lord, Oblation ('Remembering therefore') and Invocation (implicit, asking for the Holy Ghost).

TEST i.

8 [The order of 26-28, 35 is uncertain.] 26, 27 a. Prayers and psalmody (not daily). 27 b. Lections and instruction. 27 c. Catechumens dismissed (no form given) with laying on of hands. 35. Deacon's *Ectene* (independent); the bishop 'concluding the prayer' (no form given). 28. *Mystagogia* on festivals. 23 a. Kiss of peace, Offertory, Deacon's short admonition. 23 b. Salutation and *Sursum Corda*. 23 c. *Sancta sanctis*. 23 d. Euch. thanksg. from *EthCO* with long preamble and with interpolations, reference to Angels but no *Sanctus*; only half of our Lord's Words given; Oblation from *EthCO* closely (said by the people with the bishop), Invocation (implicit, addressed to Holy Trinity, not explicitly asking for the Holy Ghost). 23 e. Prayer for communicants and very short Intercession for Church.

AC viii.

935-39. Public morning prayer (daily). 5. Lections and instruction. 6-9. Long dismissals of catechumens, penitents, etc. 10-11. Deacon's Ectene (independent), the bishop concluding the prayer (form given). 11-12. Kiss of peace, Lavabo, Deacon's short admonition, Offertory. 12., Salutation and Sursum Corda. 12^d. Eucharistic thanksg. with very long commemoration of Creation, reference to Angels and Sanctus, commemoration of Redemption, Words of our Lord, Oblation and explicit Invocation, asking for the Holy Ghost. 12^d. Intercession for Church (long). (ETHCO AND H3 — TEST i — AC viii) Blessing of oil [and cheese and olives, H], short form given. — — — —; [The rest not in H.]; Prayers for communicants. — — — 131-11. Benediction, deacon's shorter Ectene, bishop's prayer.; Sancta sanctis. — [see above] — 1312,13. Sancta sanctis, Gloria in excelsis (one sentence), Hosanna, Benedictus qui venit.; Benediction and Communion with hymn of praise. — 23 f. Benedictus qui venit. 23 g. Communion and rubrics as to who is not to receive. — 1314-17. Communion, with psalms.; Thanksgiving after Reception. — 23 h. Thanksgiving after Reception, prefaced by deacon's exhortation similar to AC but independent. — 14, 151-6. Thanksgiving after Reception, prefaced by deacon's exhortation 'Having partaken.; Benediction by presbyter, Prayer for congregation and benediction by bishop. — — — 157-9. Prayer for the congregation.; Dismissal by deacon. — — — 15. Dismissal by deacon.; [see above] — 24, 25. Benediction of oil and water (form given, independent). — 29. Benediction of water and oil (form given, independent).

¹⁰Note 1. In the above Table, by an 'explicit Invocation' is meant one which prays that the elements may become or be made the body and blood of Christ to the end that the communicants may be blessed; by an 'implicit Invocation' one which omits the express reference to the change in the elements. Note 2. The order of communicating is suggestive. After bishops, presbyters and deacons, come in Test, widows, readers, subdeacons, those that have gifts, neophytes, babes, old men, virgins (male), other laymen, deaconesses, laywomen; in AC, subdeacons, readers, singers, ascetics, deaconesses, virgins (female), widows, children, all the lay people in order. Each communicant replies Amen, and in Test also says a prayer for himself. In Ap-Can 8, 9, all the faithful, clergy and laity, who attend, are expected to com-

municate except for good cause. Women communicate veiled; see ApCO-syr 27, AC ii. 57 (not || Didasc), EthD 10; cf. Test ii. 4.

¹¹ Note 3. In EdCan 10 the 'OT' and Prophets and Gospel and Acts are the only lections allowed; the Epistles seem to be excluded. Standing for the Gospel is prescribed in EdCan 8, AC ii. 57, EthD 10 (cf. Sozomen HE vii. 19). Note 4. The *Sursum Corda* is mentioned in Cyprian de Orat. Dom. 31, and Cyril of Jerusalem, CL xxiii. 4 f. Note 5. The Lord's Prayer comes before *Sancta Sanctis* and Communion in Cyr. Jer. CL xxiii. 11—18, and St Augustine says that it was used 'daily in the Church before the altar of God' in his day (Serm. lviii. 12 Ben., aliter xlii.), and that 'almost the whole Church concludes the [Eucharistic] petition with the Lord's Prayer' (Ep. cxlix. 16, ad Paulinum). But it is not found in the Liturgies of our Church Orders; it is not in EthCO, though this is the part which seems to be the later addition, nor in Test nor in AC. Nor do we find it in Sar, though Brightman sees traces of it both there and in EthCO (JThSt i. 97); but this is far from obvious. The witness of St Chrysostom is doubtful but rather points to its use (LEW p. 480, note 28). The private use of the Lord's Prayer is prescribed in AC iii. 18 and (thrice daily) in D 8 and || AC vii. 24. St Cyprian (de Orat. Dom. 2 f.) urges its private use, but though he refers to the Eucharist more than once in the treatise (e.g. 4, 31), he does not expressly say that the Prayer was in public use as part of the Liturgy.

¹² Note 6. There is a prayer in Sar 17 over oil or bread or water, and another (5 f.) for oils and waters that are being offered, with a benediction; in Test and AC there are prayers over oil and water, in EthCO over oil. All these seem to be for the healing of the sick. But this can hardly be the case with the blessing of cheese and olives in H¹ p. 108. ¹³ The descriptions in CH and EgCO are meagre, only giving the Salutation and *Sursum Corda*; but CH alludes to the benediction of oil and firstfruits, which is to end with the *Gloria Patri* in this form: 'Glory to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever, Amen' (see below, p. 125). There is also a description of a Liturgy (clearly founded on AC viii. in SEC 64 f.; a few of the deacon's proclamations are given (including that before the Thanksgiving after reception); the words of administration are given in full ('This is the body of Christ'; 'This is the blood of Christ, this is the cup of life'); and the Invocation described is an explicit one: 'Let the High Priest pray over the oblation, that the Holy Ghost may descend on it, making the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the

blood of Christ.' EthS 53 has almost identically the same description of the Liturgy, but it mentions Church gates, and says of the Epiclesis: 'The High Priest shall pray over the same that the Holy Ghost may descend and dwell upon them, upon the bread that it may become the body of Christ, and upon the cup that it may become the blood of Christ; and then the bishop shall say the Coming of the Holy Spirit.' To the first formula of administration is prefixed: 'This is the bread which came down from the heavens' (Horner p. 200).

¹⁴ The description in SEC-arab adds incense* at the time of the ordination of a bishop, and in the Epiclesis agrees with EthS 53 (Horner p. 274 ff.). That in ArD 38 (Funk DidCA ii. 132, Brightman LEW 510) begins with a prayer of Thanksgiving, followed by instruction and psalmody; the presbyter (not the deacon) brings in the elements; there is a procession with incense; lections are read; a long prayer is made for the Church (i.e. the deacon's Ectene), and the Anaphora is said, the veil being let down, and the clergy (including subdeacons, a reader [or readers], 'widows who are deaconesses' and those with gifts) being inside the veil; the deacons wave fans (so AC viii. 12, and || SEC-sah-arab 65, EthS 53, and perhaps Test ii. 10). Apparently ArD and Test are the only manuals which allow women inside the veil. ¹⁵ The Epiclesis in Test is a remarkable one, as not expressly asking for the Holy Ghost. The words of our Lord 'Do this in remembrance of me' are omitted in the Recital of the Last Supper, and yet the Invocation begins with 'Remembering therefore.' This would prove (since the rationale of these words is to take up our Lord's command) that 'Do this' was in the source of Test. According to the most probable reading the Epiclesis runs as follows: 'Remembering therefore thy death and resurrection, we offer to thee bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee who alone art God for ever and our Saviour, since thou hast promised us to stand before thee and to * So in EthD 14, 16 incense is added to the || AC iii. 10, 20. serve thee in priesthood. Therefore we render thanks to thee, we thy servants O Lord [the people repeat this, with (?) the bishop]. We offer to thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father ...O Lord the Holy Ghost; we have brought this drink and this food to thy holiness [so the derived 'Anaphora of our Lord']; cause that it may be to us not for condemnation...but for the medicine and support of our spirit.' We notice the confusion of Persons, so characteristic of this writer (see below, p. 119); the Father had been addressed in the immedi-

ately preceding paragraph. The writer seems deliberately to have omitted a prayer for the Holy Ghost which was in his source; and this is surprising in one who had such a clear conception of the personality of the Third Person (below, p. 119).

¹⁶ Reference may here be made to two later forms of the Test liturgy; the Arabic translation of it (made through the Coptic) which is referred to in Rahmani's notes but is not published; and the Ethiopic 'Anaphora of our Lord' derived from Test (for an English version see Cooper-Maclean p. 245 ff.). Test-arab alters the sentences of the deacon's admonition at the Offertory, and omits some of them, adds the Sanctus, and has an Epiclesis addressed to the Holy Ghost (so Rahmani p. 39); inserts long diptychs and, before the Communion, the Lord's prayer. The 'Anaphora of our Lord' begins with the Eucharistic thanksgiving, into which it interpolates diptychs as in the later Egyptian rite; in the Commemoration of the Last Supper, like AC but unlike Test, EthCO, H, occurs the phrase 'In that night in which they betrayed him'; as in Test our Lord's words over the cup are omitted; an explicit Epiclesis is added to and precedes the implicit one of Test; the latter remains with slight alterations, one correcting the order of the Three Persons; the Intercession for the Church follows as in Test, but unlike the modern Egyptian and Ethiopic rites. All that follows the Intercession in Test is omitted in the 'Anaphora of our Lord' as given by Ludolf, except that the post-Communion prayer is added.

¹⁷ The above is the Liturgy when a bishop is consecrated, the new bishop himself being the celebrant. But many of the Church Orders have also, as in Justin Martyr, a second but shorter description of the Eucharist, in connexion with the first communion of the newly baptized. Similarly, though this baptismal Eucharist is wanting in AC viii. (see above, p. 19), we have a description of the Liturgy in AC ii. 57, where it is interpolated into Didasc.—This second description supplies us with one or two details in the Communion of the people which are wanting in the first description, such as the words of administration; and speaks of the custom of giving milk and honey to the neophytes. This custom is mentioned by Tertullian (de Cor. 3, adv. Marc. i. 14), Clement of Alexandria (Paedag. i. 6), and at the third Council of Carthage (can. 24, some MSS); it seems to have been originally Egyptian and African only, for it is not found in Test or AC.

¹⁸ The Church Orders differ in the directions for administering Holy Communion. The older custom seems to have been for the deacons to administer in both kinds (cf. Justin Apol. i. 65), and so perhaps Test ii. 10. But the custom varied, the bishop sometimes administering in both kinds, as in CH xix. 146 f. (but in xxxi. 216 the bishop or presbyter may allow deacons to administer 'oblations'—whether that means the Eucharist or the eulogiae), ArD 38? (so LEW 511, but not Funk), cf. Tertull. de Cor. 3? ('nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium sumimus'); in some cases (EgCO 46, EthCO 35, H¹ p. 112) the bishop administers the bread, the presbyters (or if there are not enough presbyters, the deacons) the cups (see above, p. 18); and so in AC viii. 13, SEC 66, EthS 53 (where there is no milk and honey), the bishop administers the bread, the deacon the cup.

¹⁹ Deacons are forbidden to communicate presbyters in Test ii. 10, Nicaea can. 18, and probably in EthCO 35 and CH xxx. 215. The two last are unintelligible without the hint given in Test :— Test. The deacon does not give the oblation to a presbyter. Let him open the disc or paten, and let the presbyter receive (i.e. communicate himself). EthCO. Whenever the deacon approaches the presbyter, he shall hold out his robe, and the presbyter himself shall take (the bread) and deliver to the people with his hand. [The last clause seems to have been added by EthCO to its source.] There is no parallel to this in EgCO. CH. If the presbyter is sick, let the deacon carry the mysteries to him, and let the presbyter alone accept them. In EdCan 27 it is prescribed that the 'bread of the oblation' is to be used in the Eucharist on the day on which it is baked. This is still the East Syrian (Nestorian) custom.

²⁰ In several Church Orders reference is made to 'eulogiae,' or bread such as that used for the Eucharist, but not consecrated; it was given to the people much in the same way as the pain bénit is given in French churches at the present day. It seems to have been the same as the 'bread of exorcism' or 'bread of blessing' given to catechumens who were not allowed to be present at Eucharist or Agape. For this custom see CH xx. 171, xxxiii. 170, EgCO 47 f. ('this is a blessing [εὐλογία] and is not an Eucharist like the body of the Lord'), EthCO 36 f., H¹ p. 113, Test ii. 19. In AC viii. 31 and || SEC 73, EthS 61, that which remains over from the Eucharist but is not consecrated (so expressly SEC, EthS) is called eulogiae, and is to be distributed among the clergy, including the minor orders and deaconesses.—The name is also used

for the consecrated bread sent from one church to another as a proof of intercommunion, or to absent sick persons (DCA i. 629).

²¹ The usual word in the Church Orders for celebrating the Eucharist is 'to offer' (προσφέρειν, offerre), or 'to offer the oblation*'. In AC ii. 25 we read of the bishops being priests, levites, to their people, ministering (λειτουργοῦντες) in the holy tabernacle, the holy catholic Church, and standing at the altar of the Lord our God and bringing to him the reasonable and bloodless sacrifices through Jesus the great High priest (|| EthD 5 similar, but with 'offer unto Jesus Christ'), where the phrase 'reasonable and bloodless sacrifices' is not in || Didasc. This method of expression is even more emphatically repeated in AC vi. 23, viii. 5 (ordination prayer for bishops), 46; it is found in Sar 1. We must however notice that in Test ii. 10 the phrase 'to offer the oblation' is used of deacons bringing in the elements to the bishop at the Offertory; and || CH xix. 142 (bracketed by Achelis) has: 'Deinde diaconus incipit sacrificare,' i.e. probably, προσφέρειν. [This corresponds to iii. 20: 'Diaconus

²² * Cf. Tertullian de Exhort. Cast. 7: 'Offers et tinguis,' i.e. 'thou celebratest the Eucharist and baptisest.' autem afferat oblationes.] But this sense is unusual; H¹ p. 112 has: 'Let the oblation be offered by the deacons to the bishop,' and so EgCO 46, EthCO 35, with 'bring' for 'offer.' In the sense of celebrating the Eucharist deacons are said to be unable 'to offer' in AC viii. 28, and so at Arles (can. 15*) and Nicaea (can. 18). Indeed the verb 'to offer' used absolutely seems almost always to have this sense. 3. Relationship of the Liturgies. We may now consider how the Eucharistic Liturgies given in the Table on p. 40 f. are connected with one another. It seems clear that the Test compiler had before him, for the portion from the Offertory to the end of the Invocation, a liturgy almost if not quite identical with that of H¹. He has treated his materials very freely; having, for example, added a long preamble to the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (as he added a preamble to the bishop's ordination prayer, p. 77), and having inserted many phrases in it, all in his own style. His Epiclesis is addressed to the Holy Trinity, see above, p. 44 f. There is an interesting development in the brief Intercession for the Church after the Eucharistic Thanksgiving; the Intercession is wholly wanting in H¹ and EthCO. There can be no doubt that the Test liturgy is later than both these.

²³ There are no signs of direct connexion between the Test and AC liturgies. But AC throughout shows by far the greater development. Except in the

prayer said in Test by the communicant at * This canon says that many deacons actually did attempt to celebrate the Eucharist. In the fourth century deacons were pressing their claims. M. the time of reception (which seems to have been entirely the invention of the compiler of that work), every detail in Test is less developed than the corresponding one of AC. The question of the relation of the liturgies in EthCO (H¹) and AC is raised by Funk (DidCA ii. p. xxi, TUH 140 ff.). He assigns the priority to AC, which he believes to be the parent of EthCO and the grandparent of Test. He takes the shortness of the liturgy in EthCO as compared with AC to be due to omission. Let us therefore compare these liturgies.

²⁴ In EthCO and H¹ we go straight from the ordination of a bishop to the Offertory. AC interposes a large mass of material with set forms, which doubtless represent in outline preexisting practice, but which seem to be emerging in AC from a fluid or oral to a more fixed condition. The Sursum Corda in EthCO is prefaced by the salutation 'The Lord be with you all,' almost exactly as CH, Test, H¹, and the later Egyptian and the Roman liturgies; while in AC it is prefaced by 2 Co. xiii. 14 as in St Chrysostom's Antiochene writings, and in the later Antiochene, East Syrian, and Byzantine liturgies, and in the Mozarabic (for details see Cooper-Maclean p. 169). The Eucharistic Thanksgiving in EthCO and H¹ is very short; it goes straight to the passage which speaks of the sending of the Son by the Father; AC prefixes a very long preamble in its own style, referring copiously to OT and to the angels, and gives the Sanctus. There is apparently no literary connexion, other than the use of a common Christian vocabulary and a common knowledge of the Gospels, between the two forms down to the end of the account of the Last Supper. Funk has placed extracts in parallel columns (TUH 144) which show how unlike they are. Note also that EthCO and H do not introduce 1 Co. xi. 26 as part of our Lord's words, whereas AC does so*.

²⁵ In the Epiclesis, however, there is a certain relation. The forms are: ETHCO (Horner p. 140). Remembering therefore thy death and thy resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee. We pray to thee Lord, and we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of the Church, that in joining (them) together thou mayest grant to them, to all of them, to them who take of it, that it may be to them for holiness and for filling (them) with the Holy Spirit, and for

strengthening of faith in truth, that thee they may glorify and praise through thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be glory and might in the holy Church AC viii. 12. Remembering therefore his passion and death and resurrection from the dead and return into heaven and his future second parousia when he cometh with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead and to give to each one according to his works, we offer to thee, King and God, according to his command this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee through him because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee. And we beseech thee to look graciously on these gifts lying before thee, thou, O God, who needest naught, and to be well pleased with them to the honour of thy Christ, and to send down thy Holy Spirit the

26* So (in different ways) do Test and many later liturgies. Cf. also the North-Italian de Sacramentis iv. 5, 6 (c. A.D. 400); and Maximus of Turin (c. A.D. 450): 'Sicut ipse [sc. Dominus] ait: Quotiescunque hoc feceritis, mortem meam annuntiabitis donec veniam' (Migne Patr. Lat. lvii. 690). For the Ambrosian and Mozarabic forms see Duchesne *Christian Worship* p. 216 (Eng. tr.); and for others Cooper-Maclean p. 172. now and always and for ever and ever. Amen. [The H^k Epiclesis is almost identical.] Note. There is apparently an Invocation of the Holy Spirit in Didase, but the form is not given (Hⁱ p. 80, cf. p. 85). witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus upon this sacrifice that he may constitute (or declare, ἀποφῆσθαι) this bread the body of thy Christ and this cup the blood of thy Christ, that they who partake of it may be strengthened in godliness, may receive forgiveness of sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Spirit, may become worthy of thy Christ, may receive eternal life, thou being reconciled to them, O Master Almighty.

27 Here AC shows by far the greater development. The compiler seems to have taken the EthCO form (or one very like it but lacking the doxology) and to have practically incorporated it entire in his form, adding characteristic phrases of his own. Of these phrases we may note: (1) 'O God who needest naught...well pleased with them,' cf. vi. 20; (2) 'witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus,' cf. v. 1; (3) 'may receive (τῷ ἁμαρτίας) forgiveness of sins,' cf. ii. 18; (4) 'may become worthy of thy Christ, may receive eternal life'; these are found in the Compiler's writings elsewhere than in the Epiclesis; the second, a most striking phrase, being also found in another context in Pseudo-Igna-

tius Rom. 2, and the fourth (both clauses) in substance in Philad. 3 (cf. Smyrn. 6); see LEW p. xli f.; for Pseudo-Ignatius see below, p. 124. Side by side with this development of the Epiclesis we may put the greatly developed Intercession for the Church which immediately follows in AC. As we have seen, this feature is wholly wanting in EthCO.

²⁸ There is however one point adduced by Funk (TUH p. 58) which quite possibly indicates priority in AC. The answer to the Sancta Sanctis (i.e. 'Holy things to holy persons') in AC is 'One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father thou art blessed for ever, Amen' (viii. 13), while in EthCO 22 it is 'One holy Father, one holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit.' Funk says that the former is the earlier phraseology. The question is much the same as in the case of the doxologies to the prayers (below, p. 124 ff.). But we need not consider it here, for we have already (p. 39) seen reason to believe that this portion of the Liturgy is a later addition to EthCO. The probable deduction from the evidence, in the opinion of the present writer, is that neither of the two compilers had the other's work before him, but that the AC compiler used a liturgy very like EthCO for the Epiclesis. Or a still more probable hypothesis may be hazarded. Considering that so many of the descriptions of the Liturgies have rather full details about the Invocation (e.g. SEC 65, EthS 53, Cyr. Jer. CL xxiii. 7, Chrys. de Sacerd. iii. 4, § 179 etc.) it is not impossible that this was one of the very first parts of the service that were written down. If the common rubrical scheme which underlies the Liturgies of the Church Orders was a document rather than an oral tradition, it is quite probable that it had a written Epiclesis, even though that Epiclesis was not regarded as being so authoritative that it could not be changed.

²⁹ Whether the AC compiler had any source before him other than such a rubrical scheme it is difficult to say. For theories of Probst and others see Brightman LEW p. xliii ff. 4. The Liturgy in Sarapion. In this sacramentary we have several pro-anaphoral prayers: the 'first prayer of the Lord's day' (19); prayers after the sermon, for the people and the catechumens (20 f.); and a benediction of the catechumens (28). There is no mention of any dismissal of penitents (cf. Test) as in AC. The prayers of the faithful follow; a litany was probably said (not given), and the bishop would 'complete the prayer' (cf. Test) with several collects: for the people, for the sick, for fruitfulness, for the Church, for the bishop and clergy, for solitaries and virgins, for the married, for children, etc. (22—27, 29 f.). The list of clergy includes subdeacons,

readers and interpreters. ³⁰ Then would doubtless come the Kiss of peace, the Offertory, and Sursum Corda, which are not mentioned. But we have the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (1—4, εὐχὴ προσφόρου Σαραπίωνος ἐπισκόπου). This begins with 'It is meet and right to praise, hymn, and glorify thee, the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ.' It refers to the angelic hierarchy, and introduces the Sanctus; then mention is made of the 'bloodless oblation' to God (cf. p. 48 above), and the narrative of the Last Supper is given, the oblation being joined with it. The command 'Do this' is omitted, and so consequently are the words 'Remembering therefore.' The Invocation of the Logos follows, praying the Father that the Word may come upon (ἐπιδημησάτω*) the bread 'that it may become body of the Word,' and upon the cup 'that it may become blood of the Truth'; and that all who partake may receive a medicine of life etc. The Epiclesis ends: 'We have invoked thee, the Uncreated, through the Only-begotten in Holy Spirit' (ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι). An intercession for the living and departed (including a recitation or ὑποβολή of the names of the departed) and for those who have made offerings follows the Epiclesis. The last sentence (ascribed by Brightman to the people) is: 'As it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.' Then the fraction is mentioned, and in connexion with it a prayer for the communicants is given; and after the communion of the clergy we have a benediction (χειροθεσία) of the laity, and after the communion of the laity a thanksgiving prayer. A prayer or blessing of oil and water (5) follows, and a 'benediction (χειροθεσία) of the people after the blessing (εὐλογία) of water and oil' (6). Except for the headings of the prayers, there are no rubrics, and only the bishop's part is given. The wording of the prayers seems to be quite independent of the Church Orders.

³¹ 5. Days for the Eucharist. Sunday, in the earlier period covered by our literature, seems to have been the only day for the liturgy, as in D 14, Didasc ii. 59 (Hj p. 44), ApCO 19, and apparently in * ἐπιδημία is used in Sar for the Incarnation. ³² EthS 15 alters the phrase to: 'who is quick to go every day to the church.' EdCan 2 (which mentions the Sunday Eucharist expressly, whereas the assembly on Wednesdays and Fridays seems to have been only for prayer). Brightman (JThSt i. 92) thinks that this appropriation of the Eucharist to Sunday is implied by the title of Sar 19, 'The first prayer of the Lord's day.' So also in Justin Martyr (Apol. i. 67), and Pliny (Ep. 96; his 'fixed day' was doubtless Sunday); and even Athanasius (Apol. c. Arian. 11) speaks of

a certain event happening on a day which 'was not the Lord's day' and 'did not require the use of' the sacred office—language which may perhaps exclude the celebration of the Eucharist on a week day, at any rate as a general rule (cf. Acts xx. 7). We have evidence, however, even at an early date, of a more extended use of the Eucharist. Tertullian expressly mentions a Eucharist on Wednesdays and Fridays, 'station days' (de Orat. 19). Cyprian alludes to a daily Eucharist in Africa (Ep. lvii. [liii.] 3: 'we, as priests who daily celebrate the sacrifices of God') and advocates daily reception (de Orat. Dom. 18). In CH xxxvii. 201 the bishop may celebrate the Eucharist when he pleases. One caution in reviewing the witness of Christian antiquity on this subject must be borne in mind. As reservation of the sacrament was commonly practised, especially in Egypt (cf. Tertull. de Orat. 19, ad Uxor. ii. 5, Ambrose Orat. de excessu fratris Satyri i. 43, Basil, Ep. xciii. ad Caesariam, etc.), the mention of reception on certain days does not necessarily mean that there were Eucharists on those days. Thus Basil (loc. cit.)

³³ says that he communicated four times a week (or oftener if a Saint's day fell in the week), though some communicated daily; Test ii. 25 (though elsewhere, in i. 22, it forbids a daily Eucharist) advises the Christian believer to 'take care that before he eat he partake of the Eucharist, that he may be incapable of receiving injury.' The || EgCO 58, EthCO 44 only deal with days when there is an Eucharist. ³⁴ In the fourth century and later Saturday and Sunday were special days for the Eucharist. In Test i. 22 the Liturgy is to be celebrated only on Saturday and [the text has 'or' but this seems to be a corruption] Sunday and on a fast day. So ArD 38 says 'Saturday and Sunday...and on festivals which fall in the week'; but if a festival fall on the two fast days, Wednesday and Friday, they are to pray and receive the holy mysteries, but not to break the fast till the ninth hour. Saturday and Sunday Eucharists are hinted at in AC ii. 59, which provides for daily public services, but says that these two days are to be specially observed; Saturday is a festival as the commemoration of the Creation, Sunday as that of the Resurrection (vii. 23). EthD 10 develops the former passage by calling Saturday 'the Jewish sabbath' and the Lord's day 'the Christian sabbath.' In these manuals the provision for a Saturday Eucharist betrays a post-Nicene date. Socrates (HE v. 22) says that in his time (c. A.D. 440) Saturday Eucharists were almost universal except at Alexandria and Rome where, 'on account of some ancient tradition' they had ceased. He adds that some other Egyptians celebrated the Eucharist

on Saturdays, apparently after an Agape (see further DCG i. 254 f., ERE i. 172). Yet in A.D. 380 there was a Saturday Eucharist at Alexandria (Timoth. Alex. Resp. Can. in Migne, P. G. xxxiii. 1306). Cassian (Inst. iii. 2) speaks of it in Egypt;

³⁵and the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia, as far as Lent is concerned. This council (c. A.D. 380) forbids Christians to Judaize and abstain from work on Saturday (can. 29; AC viii. 33 says the exact opposite). In Lent, however, Saturday and Sunday are the only liturgical days, and no feasts of martyrs are to be observed in Lent except on these two days (can. 49, 51; so Trullan Council can. 52). Pseudo-Pionius in his fourth-century Life of Polycarp 23 (Lightfoot Ignatius iii. 455) speaks of the Eucharist 'on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day.' In the Acts of Pionius, which are probably genuine (A.D. 250), the real Pionius tastes the holy bread and water on the day of his martyrdom, a Saturday, but this was probably an Agape (§ 3, Ruinart Acta Sincera, ed. 2, p. 140). St Augustine says that in his day some celebrated the Eucharist daily, some on Saturday and Sunday only, and some on Sunday only (Ep. liv. Ben. ad Januarium, 2). Pseudo-Hippolytus in Prov. ix. 1 speaks of a daily Eucharist; but the date and authorship of this work are uncertain (DCB iii. 103).

³⁶Maundy Thursday Eucharists are first found in the latter half of the fourth century; in Test ii. 11 and 'Silvia' (both apparently in the evening), and at the third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397 (can. 29). Augustine (Ep. liv. 9) speaks of the Eucharist on this day (see further DCG i. 260). No religious rites at marriages are mentioned in the Church Orders; Tertullian mentions the 'Oblation' and the 'Benediction' at a Christian marriage (ad Uxor. ii. 8). A Benediction seems to be implied in Ignatius Polyc. 5. 6. Daily prayers. Daily public service for all men was a comparatively late development; it did not immediately follow even when persecution ceased. In D, Didasc, ApCO (above, p. 55) Sunday is the only day mentioned for the Christian assembly. In EgCO 60, EthCO 46 we find a morning daily prayer assembly for the clergy who meet the bishop to talk over the day's work; perhaps a phrase about 'giving information to' (Eg) or 'instructing' (Eth) those who are in the church points to some of the laity being present; so more plainly EgCO-arab (Horner p. 262). The || CH xxi. 217 f. turns this into a public daily prayer meeting at cockcrow for 'presbyters and sub-deacons [see below, p. 82] and readers and all the people'; but xxvi. 231 has an older flavour, speaking of the

duty of going to church 'on all days when there are prayers.' Test (i. 32) does not go quite so far as EgCO, for though it provides fixed daily prayers for the presbyters, no hour is stated for them, but each presbyter says them 'at his own time,' though he is evidently meant to get some of the faithful to respond. The same thing is true with regard to the prayers appointed for use by the 'widows who sit in front' (i. 42 f.; see below, p. 83 f.).

³⁷ At midnight the clergy and 'those of the people who are more perfect' give praise by themselves (i. 32). A public service 'at the lamplighting' is spoken of in Test ii. 11, but this appears to refer only to Pascha. The daily service is greatly developed in AC. The laity are very expressly bidden to attend prayers with the clergy twice daily, at dawn and in the evening (the 'lamplighting'), and Ps. lxii. is appointed for the former, Ps. cxl. for the latter service (ii. 59, interpolated into || Didasc). In AC viii. 35—39 we have an order of service with fixed prayers; canticles are given in vii. 47—49 (but see p. 29 above). EdCan 19 implies public service at least once daily. St Basil seems to refer to a daily prayer meeting at the 'lamplighting' (de Spir. S. xxix. [73]). Socrates (HE v. 22) speaks of expositions of Scripture at the 'lamplighting' in some places. With the rise of religious communities daily service developed. In the treatise de Virginitate (c. A.D. 390?)* we find fixed psalms, Nunc Dimittis, Benedicite. 'Silvia' describes daily public services at Jerusalem during her visit, with psalms, hymns, litanies, and prayers, but no lections. Later, c. A.D. 420, Cassian gives an elaborate account of the monastic 'hours of prayer' (Inst. ii., iii.).

³⁸ Although the Church Orders show a somewhat slow development in this respect, most of them prescribe private prayers at fixed hours. We find seven such hours of prayer in EgCO 62, EthCO 48, H¹ p. 119 * The Athanasian authorship is defended by Von der Goltz in *Texte und Untersuchungen* xiv. 2 a. He suggests the date 320—340. ³⁹ (probably, but this is a fragment), Test ii. 24; on rising, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, before going to bed, at midnight, and at cockcrow (Test by error has 'dawn' a second time instead of 'cockcrow'). In connexion with the midnight prayer we have a reference to the Benedicite in EthCO and H, and it is developed in Test, though there not specially associated with the midnight prayer. Probably this canticle was used at that hour. CH xxv. ff. 223—5, 233—245 has the same hours of prayer (and the reference to the Benedicite) but apparently adds an eighth. It has 'at sunset...then at the lamp lighting' for the fifth hour of pray-

er. Achelis looks on the last five words as an interpolation, as the lamp-lighting and sunset prayer would be the same; but Funk denies this. It may be suspected that the words are genuine, but that 'then' is a mistake which has arisen in the course of the various translations through which we know CH; probably the 'lamp-lighting' is an explanation of 'sunset,' and does not involve an additional hour of prayer. It is noteworthy that AC viii. 34 has six hours of prayer only; it omits the midnight hour and the reference to the Benedicite. Funk (TUH p. 55 f. marks this as a sign of priority in AC, as hours of prayer showed a tendency to increase. Cyprian (de Orat. Dom. 34 ff. mentions six hours (not five, as Funk):

40 morning, the third, sixth, and ninth hours, 'at the sunsetting and at the decline of day' (cf. CH), and 'even during the night.' The last is perhaps only expected of the more earnest. There does not here seem to be any sign of priority in AC, as compared with EgCO etc. Is the omission of the difficult midnight hour due to the less ascetic tone of AC? It would be a compensation for the addition of the two public daily prayer meetings which it makes binding on the laity. 41 These private prayers might take place either in the home (when they would usually take the form of family worship), or in the church. AC viii. 34 speaks of the possibility of Christians not being able to go to church 'because of the unbelievers.' So || SEC 75, which bids the Bishop 'make the synaxes' (sah) or 'celebrate the Eucharist' (arab) in his house in such a case; and so EthS 69, which however does not refer to the Eucharist (Horner, pp. 215, 286, 355). 7. The Agape and Funeral Commemorations. The Church Orders do not add much to our knowledge on this head. In D the Agape and Holy Communion were apparently united under one name 'Eucharist*.' The prayers given are probably 'graces' before and after the Agape, and the Eucharistic thanksgiving is not given, the prophets being allowed 'to give thanks as much as they desire'; that is, the Eucharistic worship was in the main extemporaneous. But this conclusion is much disputed; and for the various opinions reference may be made to the article 'Agape' in ERE i. 168 by the present writer, and to DCB iv. 807 (Salmon).

42* The verb εὐχαριστεῖν was often used of grace before meals; it clearly underlies the 'gave thanks' of Clementine Recogn. i. 19; cf. Mk. viii. 6, Jn. vi. 11, Ac. xxvii. 35, Ro. xiv. 6, etc. In the later Church Orders the Agape and Eucharist are entirely distinct. The Agape in Didasc (and || AC ii. 28, EthD 6) is a feast given to old women (the poor and widows and orphans EthD); a

portion is to be given to the bishop and the other clergy (see below, p. 86). In CH xxxiii. f. 169—179 and the parallel manuals (EgCO 48—52, EthCO 37—39, H¹ p. 113 f., Test ii. 13) we read of the Agape as an institution quite distinct from the Eucharist; in neither Agape nor Eucharist may the catechumens, still less the heathen, share*. The bishop presides and exhorts, and gluttony and drunkenness are strictly forbidden. In EgCO and H (not EthCO) the Agape is called 'the Lord's supper.' EthCO speaks of 'the Lord's table.' In these manuals there is mention made of the supper to widows as a separate thing.

⁴³ Further, there is some connexion between the custom of the Agape and the commemoration of the faithful departed. The passage in AC (viii. 44) which corresponds to those just given refers only to these commemorative feasts; a prayer for the departed immediately precedes (§ 41). And CH xxxiii. 169 f. has this direction: 'If there is a memorial of the departed, before they sit (at meat) let them par- * So in D 9 only the baptized may partake of the 'Eucharist'; and in Clem. Recogn. i. 19, ii. 71, Peter expressly excludes all unbaptized persons, even Clement, from eating with him, because they are 'not free from an unclean spirit.' For the exclusion of catechumens and heathen from the Eucharist, see e.g. Athanasius Apol. c. Arian. 11. The exclusion is doubtless based on Ex. xii. 45. ⁴⁴ take of the mysteries, though not on the first day of the week. After the oblation let the bread of exorcism (above, p. 18) be distributed to them before they sit down.' This precedes the regulations for the Sunday Agape. Offerings for the dead are mentioned in Tertulian de Cor. 3. And at funerals hymns and prayers were used (EthD 38 in Ludolf's table of contents, above, p. 33; AC vi. 30), but the only form given is in Sar 18 which is a prayer 'for one who is dead and is being carried forth' (ἐκκομιζομένου); it seems to have been said in the house. Commemorative Eucharists are referred to in AC vi. 30 and in || Didasc (Funk DidCA i. 376, H¹ p. 85). AC viii. 42 gives directions for observing the 'third day of the departed' with psalms and lections and prayers, also the ninth and fortieth [one MS 'thirtieth'] days and the anniversary; alms are to be given to the poor from the goods of the deceased as a memorial of him. So || SEC 76 but with 'seventh' for 'ninth' and with 'a month' for the 'fortieth day.' EthS 70 agrees with SEC but gives both 'a month' and 'the fortieth day' and adds a commemoration after six months. For martyrs' anniversaries see below, p. 129 f.

⁴⁵ 8. Clerical Vestments. These are referred to in CH xxxvii. 201—3. The presbyters and deacons are to wear 'white vestments more beautiful than all the people, very splendid' when the bishop celebrates the Eucharist. Even the readers are to wear festal garments. In Test i. 34 the deacon who is in charge of the guest-house is to be 'clothed in white garments, a stole only on his shoulder'; but this is not in church—the vestments are a badge of office. This is probably the first mention of a stole (the word used is ὠράριον, orarium, transliterated into Syriac); the other early reference to it is c. A.D. 380 at Laodicea (can. 22 f.) where the subdeacon (ὑπηρέτης) is forbidden to wear it and to leave his place at the door, and the readers and singers are also forbidden to wear it or to read and sing with it on. At Laodicea the reference is to the stole used in service by a large number of people. In Test it is, apparently, restricted to one of the deacons; and this is an indication that that Church Order is of an earlier date than the Council. On the stole see further in DCA ii. 1934 ff.

⁴⁶ NOTE. It is interesting to compare the liturgies of the Church Orders with the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai lately published by Dom Connolly ('Texts and Studies' viii. 1). These belong to the latter half of the fifth century. One of the homilies describes the Eucharist, but it is not too much to say that it breathes an atmosphere widely removed from that of the Church Orders. The ceremonial and liturgical development is great. Much is made of the vestments of the clergy (including stoles), of lights, incense, fans, bowings and genuflexions (which are forbidden after the Epiclesis); the Creed is introduced into the service, and this is one of the very first instances of the introduction. We find in Narsai the same general scheme as in the present East Syrian liturgies, in which the Narrative of the Last Supper is followed by the Intercession (in Narsai a very long one, expressly said to be fashioned on 'Mar Nestorius,' i.e., probably, on the original of the East Syrian liturgy so named),

⁴⁷ M. and the Intercession by the Invocation, which is of the explicit form and appears (though this may be doubtful) to be addressed to the Holy Ghost, instead of to the Father. On the other hand no sanctuary veil and no litany are mentioned. The description probably presupposes the existence, at least in an early form, of the three present East Syrian liturgies ('Addai and Mari,' 'Theodore,' 'Nestorius'). All this points to the conclusion that the Church Orders belong to a time considerably before Narsai.

CHAPTER V: THE MINISTRY AND ORDINATION

1. Bishops, presbyters, deacons. In D the organisation of the ministry closely resembles that of NT. There is a local ministry of bishops and deacons (§ 15), chosen by the people especially for Sunday worship ('On the Lord's own day assemble...Appoint for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons'); presbyters are not mentioned. In addition, there is an itinerant ministry of 'apostles' and 'prophets' (§ 11). This is a decisive argument for the very early date of this manual. The possibility of the prophet settling in the place is contemplated*; this is perhaps a step towards a localised (monarchical) episcopate (§ 13). The prophets instruct; they are 'your high priests'; they 'speak in the Spirit'; at the Eucharist they 'give thanks as much as they * If there is no prophet, D says that firstfruits are to be given to the poor. In *Hermas* the prophets have apparently become subordinate to the presbyters (e.g. *Vis.* iii. 1).

2 The name 'high priest' for bishops is common, e.g. AC ii. 26 (and || *Didasc* and *EthD* 6), vii. 42 (some MSS), viii. 11, 12, etc. (cf. viii. 5 and || *Const H*, ἀρχιερατεύειν, in bishop's ordination prayer); CH xxiv. 200; *EgCO* 56; *SEC* 65; *EthCO* 42; *Test* ii. 21; *H*¹ p. 105. Cf. *Test* i. 21 (ordination prayer), *EthS* 53. 5—2 will, i.e. their utterance is unrestrained (§ 10)*. The functions of the 'apostle' are not defined. Perhaps the word is used in the sense of a delegate or messenger from other churches as in 2 *Co.* viii. 23, *Ph.* ii. 25.—The primitive features of D are removed in the parallel portions of AC vii. The other Church Orders have bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The Bishop is the ruler—in *EdCan* 5, 17 he is called 'the Guide' (*Dûqâ* = *dux*); he is the shepherd of the sheep; he is the normal president of Christian worship, and celebrates the Eucharist when he is present, though the presbyter is expressly recognised as being capable of celebrating it (*AC* iii. 20, vii. 26 [where 'presbyter' takes the place of the 'prophet' of ||D 10], *EthD* 16, *Test* i. 31); he confirms, and he alone ordains, a presbyter being forbidden to ordain even the minor orders (*AC* iii. 11, 20, *EthD* 14, CH iv. 32).

3 The deacon, on the other hand, is 'ordained not to the priesthood, but to minister to the bishop and the Church' (*Test* i. 38, cf. *EgCO* 33, *EthCO* 24, *H*^k p. 109). The Council of Nicaea says that he is the ὑπηρέτης of the bishop (*can.* 18). CH v. 33 f. says that he does not belong to the presbyterate, but that he is to minister to the bishop and presbyters and to the sick. * So in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), after the Offertory the president 'offers prayers and thanksgivings' (i.e. the Eucharistic Thanksgiving) 'as far as he is

able' (ὁση δύνανται αὐτῶ). The name 'shepherd' used absolutely as a title for the bishop (apart from the metaphor of the flock) is not common, but is found in ApCO 18 (cf. 22 syr, lat), AC ii. 1 28 42 43 (the first and two last also in || Didasc) and frequently in Test.

⁴ So in AC ii. 26, 30 ff., iii. 19 f. and || Didasc iii. 13, EthD 16. The 'Gallican Statutes' (§ 4; Wordsworth, MG p. 166) say that the deacon is not consecrated to the sacerdotium, but for ministerium. In AC viii. 46 he is expressly forbidden to celebrate the Eucharist. The Church Orders show that deacons were pressing their claims; almost all (except Test which is enthusiastic about both deacons* and widows) have regulations intended to repress their claims. There are some interesting indications of the relative positions of presbyters and bishops in the Church Orders. In all of them (after D) the bishop is supreme; the presbyters are his counsellors and sit in judgment with him (AC ii. 28, and || Didasc, H¹ p. 39 f.; cf. Ignatius passim). Yet in some of these manuals there are traces of a closer relation. In CH iv. 30—32 the presbyter is to be ordained with the same prayer as a bishop except that the words 'bishop,' 'episcopate,' are to be altered to 'presbyter,' 'presbyterate,' and enthronisation is to be omitted. 'The bishop in all things is to be put on an equality with the presbyter except in the name of the chair (cathedrae) and in ordination, for the power of ordaining is not given to him' (the presbyter). With this we may compare the direction in CH ii. 10 that 'one of the bishops and presbyters (unus ex episcopis et presbyteris) is to lay hands on a bishop-

⁵ * Contrast Test i. 34, which calls the deacon the 'counsellor of the whole clergy,' with EgCO 33, EthCO 24, H¹ p. 109, which say the exact opposite. 'elect and to say the prayer over him.' The meaning seems to be: 'one of those who have both the episcopate and the presbyterate'; for in CH iv. 32 a presbyter is said not to have power to ordain. The earlier section therefore cannot contemplate the case of a simple presbyter ordaining a bishop-elect. There is hardly enough here to prove that CH belongs to the time of Hippolytus or earlier, for Jerome has almost the same expression: 'What does a bishop that a presbyter does not, except ordination?' (Ep. cxlvi. ad Evangelium 1). But, without entering on the disputed question of the origin of the episcopate, we may remark that there is little doubt that the direction to use the same prayer for bishop and presbyter is an archaic feature, and goes a long way to prove the priority of those manuals which have it to those which have

it not. It would be extremely unlikely that a compiler who found two separate prayers in his sources would go out of his way to suppress one of them. The direction in EgCO-sah 32 for the ordination of presbyters is: 'Let him [the bishop] pray over him according to the form which we said for the bishop.' The Arabic translation has: 'He prays over him according to the pattern which we have said concerning the bishop' (Horner, pp. 307, 245). This would seem to mean the same thing as CH, that the same form was to be used for bishop and presbyter. But Funk (TUH p. 45) disputes this.

⁷ EthCO 23 (the parallel passage) has: 'In the form which we said before he shall pray, saying...', and gives a separate ordination prayer for the presbyter; so H¹ (p. 108) has: 'et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum, orans et dicens,' and adds the separate prayer. From this Funk deduces the conclusion that EgCO (which contains no ordination prayers at all) does not exclude, but rather implies, the use of a separate prayer for presbyters. But this view is made very improbable by the phrase used. It is much more likely that EthCO (which perhaps was the first to make the change) took over the reference to bishops from the older form in its source, and then rather awkwardly added a separate prayer to it. ⁸ The ordination prayer for presbyters in EthCO and H (which closely agree) is very simple, and refers to Moses' elders. The only function of a presbyter which is mentioned is ruling. Separate prayers are also found in Test i. 30 (developed from H¹), AC viii. 16 and ConstH 6 (mentioning priestly duties, *ἱερουργίας*, on behalf of the people), Sar 13 (referring to the function of reconciliation).—In EgCO, EthCO, H¹, Test, the presbyters also lay hands on, or touch, the candidate; but this is not mentioned in AC, which only says that the presbyters and deacons are present. Ordination prayers for deacons are given in CH v. 39—42, EthCO 24, H¹ p. 110 (a fragment), Test i. 38, AC viii. 17, Sar 12. Those in EthCO and H¹ are practically the same (as far as H goes); that in Test is clearly derived from them. Those in CH, AC, Sar, seem to be quite independent of them and of one another, except that CH and AC both refer to Stephen, while Sar refers to the seven 'deacons' of Acts vi.

⁹ Archdeacons (*ἀρχιδιάκονοι*) are not heard of by name till the end of the fourth century, when we find them in 'Silvia.' The name there, however, does not seem to denote a separate office, but is given to the deacon whose duty it is to call people to prayer. So in Test i. 19, 34 there is a 'chief deacon,' not one of a separate order, but selected from the other deacons to be guest-master

and to help the priest to write the names of those who make offerings. ArD does not mention the chief deacon in the parallel passage. It is not probable that the word ἀρχιδιάκονος was used in the Greek original of Test, for Jacob of Edessa in translating the book into Syriac does not use the usual Syriac transliteration of the word, but translates by the phrase 'chief of the deacons.' Chorepiscopi are not mentioned in the Church Orders. But EdCan 24 apparently alludes to them in the injunction that a Ruler is to be appointed as head over village presbyters.

¹⁰ Metropolitans also are not found in them. Although the neighbouring bishops are said to attend at an episcopal election, there is not much trace of the existence of ecclesiastical provinces (for ApCO see below p. 171). This is natural enough in the fourth century, when provincial organisation was only just beginning; but it would be difficult to explain at a later date. We may, as it is, perhaps make the deduction that none of these manuals came from great centres like Alexandria and Antioch. The name 'metropolitan' is found at Nicaea (can. 6), and Laodicea (can. 12); cf. Antioch in Encaen. (can. 19). There is just a trace of a primacy in ArD 36 where the 'first bishop among them' says the ordination prayer (cf. AC viii. 4, 'one of the first bishops'). A similar but fainter trace in EgCO-boh 31 (Tattam p. 32) is shown by the Sahidic and Arabic versions to be a mistake. 'They request (axiou = ἀξιῶσι) one of the bishops' [to lay on hands and pray] has become in the Bohairic 'He who is worthy (ἀξιός) out of the bishops,' etc.

¹¹ 2. Ordination of a bishop. The ordination or consecration to the episcopate (there is no difference of nomenclature at this early period) takes a very simple form in these manuals. A prayer is said by one or more bishops, with laying on of hands; the new bishop, being then placed in his throne, receives from all the kiss of peace, and himself proceeds to celebrate the Eucharist. At least three bishops must attend; see AC iii. 20 ('or at least two') EthD 16, ApCan 1 ('two or three'), Nicaea can. 4. AC viii. 27 says that if because of persecution or any similar cause only one bishop may be had, he must have authority from several bishops. The real significance of the attendance of these bishops is that they come to assent to the election; probably the idea of securing validity for the ordination in case of any defect in one of the consecrators had not arisen at this date. The bishops assist in the ceremony, but as a rule only one, chosen by the others, says the prayer (so CH ii. 10, where only one lays on a hand; EgCO 31 and H¹ p. 103, where all

have previously laid on hands and then one again does so alone). But in EthCO 22 all lay on hands and all say the prayer. In Test i. 21 they all lay on hands and say a declaration, and then one bishop lays on hands and says the prayer; ArD 36 is similar.

¹² In AC viii. 4 one of the principal bishops standing near the altar with two others, says the prayer, the other bishops and the presbyters praying in silence, and the deacons holding the Gospels over the new bishop's head. But it is not certain what the three bishops do. Laying on of hands is not expressly mentioned. Yet from the analogy of the other Church Orders and from the other ordinations of AC, all of which mention imposition of hands, it is probable that the three bishops lay on hands; and from the fact that the other bishops are expressly told to keep silence, it is not unlikely that all three join in saying the prayer. As Sarapion gives us hardly any rubrical directions the usage in his diocese is uncertain. ¹³ The ordination prayer for a bishop is very nearly the same in CH, EthCO, H¹, and ConstH. It is short and simple. The functions mentioned are, visiting and feeding the people, offering the gifts of the congregation (the Eucharist), absolution, exorcising and healing (CH), and 'reconciling' God's face (ConstH, H¹). The prayer is given below, the words in italics being found in only one of the four authorities. [The form in H and EthCO is nearly the same as in ConstH, all but quite insignificant differences being given in the notes.]

CH

¹⁴ O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who dwellest in the heights and lookest on humble things, who knowest all things before they are made; thou who hast constituted the bounds of the Church, by whose power it is that from Adam there should remain a just race in the manner of this bishop who is great Abraham (? *ratione hujus episcopi qui est magnus A.*), who hast constituted prelaties and principalities; look on N. thy servant, giving thy power and effectual Spirit, whom thou gavest through our Lord Jesus Christ thy only Son to thy holy Apostles who founded the Church in every place to the honour and glory of thy holy Name. Forasmuch as thou knowest (*cognovisti*) the

CONSTH

¹⁵ O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God* of all comfort, who dwellest in the heights and lookest on humble things, who

knowest all things before they are made; thou who hast given the bounds of the Church through the word of thy grace, who hast preordained the just race from the beginning from Abraham‡, who hast constituted rulers§ and priests, and hast not left thy sanctuary without a ministry, who from the foundation of the world wast well pleased to be glorified|| in those whom thou hast chosen, even now pour out the power proceeding from thee of thy ruling¶ Spirit whom thou gavest through thy beloved son Jesus Christ to thy holy Apostles who * Eth: Lord. Eth: an ordinance to. ‡ H: the race of the just, Abraham. § Eth: judges. H: princes. || H: preached (?). ¶ ἡγεμονικόν, from Ps. li. 12 LXX. Eth: holy.

16 H: gavest to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which he bestowed on the holy Apostles [Test, AC similar, ArD like ConstH]. Eth: gavest to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which thou grantest to us the holy Apostles thy helpers in thy Church (working) with the plough of thy cross, and in the place of thy sanctuary—to thee be glory, and praise unceasingly to thy Name. hearts of each one, grant to him that without sin he may see thy people, that he may be worthy to feed thy great and holy flock. Cause also that his life (mores) may be an example (superiores) to all the people without any falling away, and that he may be envied by all for his excellency; and receive his prayers and offerings which he shall offer to thee day and night, and may they be to thee a sweet savour. Give also to him, O Lord, the episcopate, and a mild spirit, and power to forgive sins; and give him ability to loose all bonds of iniquity of demons, and to heal all diseases, and bruise Satan under his feet shortly, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom be glory to thee with him and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

CONSTH

17 founded the Church in the place of thy sanctuary* to the unending glory and praise of thy Name. O thou who knowest the hearts of all, grant‡ to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to thy holy episcopate, even§ to serve the highpriesthood to thee, without blame ministering night and day||, and unceasingly to reconcile¶ thy face and to offer to thee the gifts of thy holy Church, and to have in the high-priestly spirit power to forgive sins according to thy command, to give lots according to thy ordinance, and to loose every bond according to the power which thou gavest to the Apostles, and to please thee in mildness and a pure heart, offering to thee a sweet savour, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord‡‡, with§§ whom be glory, might and

honour to thee with the Holy Ghost|||, now and for ever and ever. Amen. This short prayer is expanded in Test and AC.

¹⁸ * H: in every place, even thy sanctuary. H inserts: Father. ‡ Eth inserts: the Holy Ghost. § Eth, H insert: to feed thy [holy, H] flock and. || Eth: day and night. ¶ Eth: supplicating worthily to see. Eth: to give the ordination of thy ordinance. Eth inserts: of iniquity. ‡‡ Eth, H omit: our Lord. §§ Eth, H: through. |||| Eth: to Father, Son and Holy Ghost. H: to Father and Son with the Holy Ghost. Eth inserts: in thy holy Church. ¹⁹ Each has a long preamble before 'O God and Father,' quite independent of the other, and each in its own style; and each has several additional sentences, also independent, and also each in its own style, in the text of the prayer itself. Funk supposes that AC is the original of all the Orders, and that Test is derived from one of the EthCO type. This would mean, first, that a compiler of the EthCO type freely treated AC by omitting the preamble and long passages—those which are specially in the style of AC; then that other compilers followed suit, agreeing together in one short type of prayer, though not in exact verbal concurrence with one another; then that the Test compiler inserted into the resultant short form another preamble and long interpolations, both in his own style. All this is most improbable*. Speaking generally, we may notice that in liturgical forms interpolation is a priori more likely than omission. They grew rather than diminished in length; and it may confidently be said, that the earlier the form, the simpler it is. In this particular case we must come to the conclusion that the simpler ordination prayer given above represents the original much better than the more complex forms of Test or AC, which are produced by enlargement and interpolation. Indeed we may (though very tentatively) reconstruct the original prayer by omitting all phrases in the form given above which are not common to all. And we may also probably conclude that in the Original,

²⁰ * Similarly the ordination prayer for a presbyter is shorter in ConstH than in AC. the prayer for presbyters and for bishops was the same. 3. Minor Orders. There was a tendency to supplement the organisation of the ministry by offices which are additional, and (with one possible exception) inferior, to those of bishop, presbyter, and deacon. Most of the Church Orders draw a distinction between those offices that have, and those that have not, laying on of hands (*χειροθεσία*), which is commonly used only in the ordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. But ConstH extends it to deaconesses and

subdeacons, and AC also to readers (see the Table, p. 15). Similarly St Basil (Ep. can. tertia ccxvii. 51) makes a clear distinction on these lines, A.D. 375. He says that lapsed clergy are ejected from the ministry, 'whether they be in orders (ἐν βαθμῷ, cf. ApCan 82), or remain in the ministry which is conferred without imposition of hands.' And in A.D. 341 the Council of Antioch in Encaeniis (can. 10) expressly uses χειροτονεῖν* (though this word need not necessarily imply laying on of hands) of presbyters and deacons, but καθιστᾶν of readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, though the latter word may be used of any order from bishops downwards (e.g. AC iii. 20, vi. 17, viii. 17, ApCO-æh 17, 20 f., EgCO 33, 35, 37; Sar 14 has χειροθεσία καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπου, and so for presbyters and deacons, § 12 f.: Sarapion has no benedictions of minor orders; for other instances see Brightman JThSt i. 273 f.). Epiphanius includes

²¹ * For the meaning of χειροτονία, χειροθεσία in AC see below p. 153 ff. the subdeacons in the ἱερωσύνη, but not readers: 'The reader is not a priest (ἱερεὺς), but as it were a scribe (γραμματεὺς) of the word' (Expos. Fid. 21, ed. Petavius, i. 1104). At Laodicea, c. A.D. 380, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons are apparently placed in a class by themselves as ἱερατικοί; the rest are κληρικοί (can. 27, 30, etc.). But in AC iii. 15 the minor orders are included in the ἱερατικοί (so ApCan 63). The natural conclusion from this is that at first these minor orders were not ordained with laying on of hands, but that ConstH made some advance in the case of subdeacons and deaconesses, and that AC went still further and added readers to those who were so ordained. But Funk (DidCA ii. p. xv, TUH 41, 52 f., 192 ff.) thinks that the process was the reverse; that laying on of hands for the minor orders was dropped, first partially by ConstH (which he regards as later than AC) and then wholly by the rest. He says that the Monophysites do not use laying on of hands for this purpose, while the Nestorians use it (Denzinger Ritus Orientalium ii. p. 228) for a reader [apparently not for a subdeacon, ib. p. 229]. Thus the older sect follows the usage of AC, the younger that of EgCO; and he deduces from this the priority of AC over EgCO. It is difficult to see the force of this argument. In the first place, though the Monophysites do not use the ordinary laying on of hands, the ordainer touches the temples of the reader or subdeacon (for the Copts see Denzinger ii. 3, 5; for the Syrian Jacobites see ii. 66 f.). And even if it were not so the deduction would not follow.

²² The Nestorians have more affinity to AC, the Monophysites to Test (which here follows the EgCO custom) for doctrinal reasons; and therefore no chronological deductions can be made one way or the other*. 4. Divisions of the Minor Orders. Readers and 'widows' (with whom we may class deaconesses) seem to be the oldest of the minor orders. Subdeacons, singers, interpreters, doorkeepers, acolytes, exorcists, virgins (or ascetics, or solitaries), 'those with gifts' (charismata), appear in various parts of the world. But the last three are not properly orders at all, as is expressly said in several of the Church Orders; though exorcists are on the border line (they are 'appointed,' like readers and subdeacons, at Antioch in Encaen. can. 10; but the Church Orders look on them as charismatic, e.g. AC viii. 26). Acolytes only appear in the West. Cornelius in his letter to Fabius of Antioch (Eusebius HE vi. 43) says that there were then (A.D. 251) forty-two in Rome.

²³ Subdeacons are also first mentioned at the same time and place. Cornelius (loc. cit.) mentions seven. Cyprian (Ep. xxxiv. [xxvii.] 4) and Didasc ii. 34* * For the question whether the text of ConstH about a reader shows signs of being an alteration of AC, see below, p. 153 f. In Cornelius' list there are '36 (or 46) presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers and doorkeepers, and over 1500 widows and persons in distress.' Test (i. 34) has 12 (DidCA i. p. 116, H¹ p. 40, Gibson p. 51) also mention subdeacons; and they are the only minor order mentioned at Elvira in Spain, c. A.D. 305 (can. 30). The reference in Didasc is perhaps an interpolation, for otherwise they are not found in the East till the fourth century. They are not mentioned in ApCO, and Eusebius apparently does not recognise them as existing in the persecution of his own time in the East (HE viii. 6). At Neocaesarea in Cappadocia (c. A.D. 320?) a subdeacon is called a 'minister,' ὑπηρέτης (can. 10); an offending deacon is to be degraded to the rank of a 'minister.' This name is also found at Laodicea (can. 20 ff.), and in AC (iii. 11., vi. 17, viii. 28, cf. ὑπηρεσία viii. 10; in ii. 28 and apparently in || Didasc it is used of deacons). The name ὑποδιάκονος is found at Antioch in Encaen. (can. 10), in Sar 25, and in Athanasius Hist. Arian. 'ad monachos,' § 60 (ὑποδιάκονον...ὑπηρετοῦντα). Subdeacons are found in EgCO, EthCO, H¹ (p. 116), Test, ConstH, AC; and also in EdCan 5, where in an apparently exhaustive list no other minor order is mentioned. They are found in our present text of CH, but Achelis thinks they are interpolated. In

²⁴presbyters, 7 deacons, 14 subdeacons, 13 widows 'who sit in front.' ApCO (18 ff.) has 3 presbyters, 3 deacons (so syr), 3 widows; the number of readers is not mentioned, probably only one. Harnack (SApC p. 95) suggests that as there were 14 regions in Rome, and as Pope Fabian, c. A.D. 236, had divided the regions among the deacons (Catal. Liberianus), 7 subdeacons were added in his time to the 7 deacons, so as to have one deacon or subdeacon for each region, while the 42 acolytes would provide three for each region. M. xxi. 217 Achelis suggests that we should alter 'presbyters and subdeacons and readers' into 'presbyters and deacons and readers' as otherwise deacons would be omitted; Funk, on the other hand, thinks that the omission of deacons is merely due to a scribe, and is a clerical error (TUH 227). Singers (ψαλται, ὠδοί, ψαλτωδοί) are not found as a separate class or order in Test, EgCO, EthCO, H, CH; but they have become such in AC (iii. 11, vi. 17), at Laodicea (can. 23), in ApCan 43, 69, and in Test-arab, which alters the Test enumeration given above to 'four subdeacons and readers, three widows and singers,' and which adds to Test i. 45 a chapter about the appointment of a singer.

²⁵Interpreters would only exist in bilingual countries. They are found in Egypt (Sar 25) and in Syria and Palestine (Epiphanius, Expos. Fid. 21; and in 'Silvia,' where however the presbyter interprets for the bishop, vii. 5). They are not found in the Church Orders. For this office in later times see Brightman LEW 578. Doorkeepers (πυλωροί) as an order are mentioned in Cornelius' list, and in AC ii. 57, iii. 11, EthD 10, etc.; not in Test, EgCO, EthCO, H¹. Their function seems at first to have been performed by deacons, who as they grew in importance gave up their more menial offices to subdeacons and doorkeepers. But the direction for deacons to watch the doors is preserved in almost all the Church Orders, even in AC, which makes a separate order of door-keepers. ²⁶5. Widows and deaconesses are frequently mentioned in early Christian literature in connexion with the ministry to women as well as with the receipt of alms. The Pastoral Epistles and the reference in Ignatius to 'the virgins who are called widows' (Smyrn. 13) prepare us for a considerable development. In ApCO there is a trace of a struggle between those who desired to push women's work, and those who wished to minimise it, the latter position being evidently taken by the writer; but three widows are to be appointed, two to pray and (strange to say) to receive spiritual revelations (so ApCO-syr 21 and H^k p. 95), the third to visit the sick. There is not

much said of 'widows' in most of the manuals parallel to CH. But in Test there is a great extension of their position, and this is one of the marked characteristics of the writer. Corresponding to presbyters there are 'presbyteresses' or 'widows who sit first' (προκαθήμεναι) to whom is given almost all the women's ministry. But deaconesses are also incidentally mentioned, as corresponding to the deacons; nothing, however, is said about their appointment, nor yet of the functions they are to perform, except that they are to carry the Eucharist to a sick woman just as deacons carry it to a sick man (ii. 20 for deacons and deaconesses; for the former cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 65). 'Widows' in Test take the part in the baptism of women usually assigned to deaconesses.

²⁷ Both widows and deaconesses are allowed to stand within the veil at the Eucharist (so ArD); but in the rubric about the communion widows are included in the 'priesthood,' while deaconesses are excluded from it (i. 23). ArD shows traces of some confusion: it talks of 'widows who are deaconesses' (§ 38). In Test widows are not to be ordained with laying on of hands, though a form of prayer is given, to be used at their appointment (κατάστασις). They are bidden to be silent in church* (i. 40). In AC the deaconess (ἡ διάκονος or διακόνισσα) takes the place assigned in Test to 'widows who sit first' (see on baptism below, p. 105 f.), and widows are subject to deaconesses (iii. 8; so EthD 12). Widows are, however, mentioned frequently in AC, chiefly as receiving alms and as praying for the donors. They must be not less than sixty years of age, and monogamous (iii. 1; so EthD 12, cf. 1 Ti. v. 9). Presbyteresses (πρεσβύτιδες) are identified with 'those who sit in front' (προκαθήμεναι) at Laodicea (can. 11), where their appointment for the future is forbidden. The same council forbids women to 'approach near the altar' (can. 44), apparently referring to the custom approved in Test and ArD. Presbyteresses are also found in Didasc ii. 28 (DidCA i. 108, H¹ p. 38); its 'presbyterae' appear as πρεσβύτιδες in || AC. In AC iii. 5 this word again occurs, but it is not in || Didasc;

²⁸ in AC ii. 57 αἱ χῆραι καὶ αἱ πρεσβύτιδες = 'anus ac viduae' of || Didasc. The ²⁹* So AC iii. 6, EthD 12; the || Didasc forbids them to teach at all (cf. 1 Ti. ii. 12). 'presbyteresses' and 'widows' seem to be the same persons, both in Didasc and in AC. The name πρεσβύτις was not liked by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxix. 4), except as a designation of an elder widow. There are no deaconesses in CH, EgCO, EthCO, H¹. In AC ii. 58, EthD 10 they arrange the places of

the women in church, as deacons do those of the men. They may do nothing without the authority of the deacon; and are the intermediaries when any women have business to transact with the deacon or bishop (AC ii. 26; cf. EthD 6*). 6. Readers. There is some evidence that the reader once occupied a very high position, though we see by Cornelius' list that in the third century he had sunk to a low one in Rome. In Test i. 35, 44 f. and AC viii. 21 f. he comes after the subdeacon, in EgCO 35 f., EthCO 27, CH vii. 48 f. and at Antioch in Encaen. (can. 10) before him; but Test is inconsistent, for in i. 23 (twice) the reader comes first. There is also an indication that Test has deliberately altered in i. 44 f. the order of his source, for he begins about the appointment of a subdeacon with the word 'similarly' which is inappropriate as it stands, but would be very appropriate if the chapter about the reader had preceded. AC also is inconsistent; in iii. 11 the reader comes first, in vi. 17 the subdeacon; but in these passages the order of offices is vague. CH also is inconsistent;

30* SEC-arab 53 (corresponding to SEC-sah 66) and EthS 54, which are parallel to AC viii., speak of subdeaconesses and female readers. But SEC-boh, sah has 'subdeacons and readers.' see xxi. 217, where the subdeacon comes first. In ApCO 19 f. the reader comes before the deacon, and Harnack sees here a very old arrangement dating from the second century, in which the office of reader (like that of the exorcist) was charismatic, and he was not included among the clergy; whereas early in the third century, in Rome, he came to be reckoned among the clergy. He points out that in Didasc the reader was to receive a double portion at the Agape like the presbyters and deacons, while in || AC ii. 28 this is reduced to a single portion (SApC p. 71 f.). We remember what an important position the reader takes in Justin's account of the Eucharist (Apol. i. 67).

31 There are other traces of the old position of the reader, even after that position had been lost. For example, ApCO 19 insists that the reader must be able to instruct or narrate (διηγητικός)—he 'fills the place of an Evangelist*'—though the same manual does not insist that a bishop should be so ('if he knows not letters, he shall be meek' etc. § 16). So in Test (i. 45) the reader must have had 'much experience' and be 'learned and of much learning, with a good memory.' At one time, it would appear, the reader expounded as well as read; when his function was limited to the mechanical reading of the Scrip- * The Bohairic has altered this (Tattam p. 22). The possibility of an

unlearned (ἀναλφάβητος or ἀγράμματος) bishop is often recognised: e.g. AC ii. 1 and Didasc, EthD 3. Some manuals however will not tolerate an ignorant bishop: cf. Test i. 20, AC viii. 2 (another inconsistency), SEC 63 (Horner, p. 338).

³² tures his position fell. In the Clementine Epistle to James 13 there are catechists who are to instruct and must be learned. In Cyprian (Ep. xxxviii. [xxxii.] 2), though the reader is inferior to the subdeacon, he reads the Gospel in the Liturgy; and in CH vii. 48 the Book of the Gospels is given him at his appointment. In Test (i. 45) this becomes 'a book' only; and (i. 27) the reader reads 'the Prophets and the rest' (i.e. the Apostle). In ConstH he receives a book, in EgCO 35 the 'book of the Apostle' (the Pauline Epistles; EgCO-arab 26 has simply 'the book,' and so EthCO 27 'the Scripture'). AC viii. 22 merely refers to his reading the Scriptures. In Sarapion the office is mentioned, but we learn nothing about it. Another probable trace of older custom is that in Test i. 19 the reader is allowed to say the 'commemoration' (probably the suffrages of the Ectene) as an alternative to the chief deacon. Harnack goes so far as to say (SApC p. 69) that the ordination prayer for a reader in AC viii. 22 points back to the time when readers were regarded as having a charisma. But those who had a charisma in old times were not ordained. Doubtless, however, AC, like Test, contains relics of a bygone point of view. Another thing that points in the same direction is the comparative scarcity of readers. AC ii. 28 and || Didasc say: 'if there be a reader.' ApCO 19 apparently only provided for one reader in each church (Harnack, SApC p. 15, proposes to insert εἷς). See also above, pp. 14 f., 81 n.

³³ 7. Confessors. Those who in times of persecution had confessed the faith, even though they had not been martyred, received for the rest of their lives great reverence. A sort of honorary presbyterate was extended to them all as a class, and this is provided for in CH vi. 43-47, EgCO 34, EthCO 25, Test i. 39 [H¹ is wanting]. Achelis (Die Can. Hipp. p. 221 ff.) has adduced some evidence that in the third century confessors were held as qualified to be among the clergy. But there is no evidence that they were allowed to perform ministerial functions without ordination. The section in CH and its cognates is much confused, and we can only arrive at the sense by comparing one with another. That in EgCO runs as follows :— ³⁴ If a confessor has been in chains for the Name of the Lord, they shall not lay hand upon him for the diaconate (or ministry) or presbyterate, for he has the honour of the

presbyterate by his confession. But if he is to be appointed bishop, then there shall be laying on of hands on him. But if he is a confessor who was not brought before an authority, nor was punished with chains, nor shut up in prison, nor condemned with any sentence, but in a casual way he was only insulted for the Name of our Lord, and he was punished in the house (privately?), though he confessed, hand is to be laid on him for every office of which he is worthy. Now the bishop shall give thanks according as we have said before. It is not altogether necessary for him to recite the same words which we said before, as if learning to say them by heart in his thanksgiving to God; but according to the ability of each one he is to pray. If indeed he can pray sufficiently well with a grand prayer, then it is good. But if also he should pray and recite a prayer in (due) measure, no one may forbid him, only let him pray being sound in orthodoxy (slightly altered from Horner, p. 308 f.).

³⁵ EthCO is still more confused, and Test, in which the passage is shorter, scarcely less so. But the general sense is clear. A confessor is to rank with presbyters; if he is required for the episcopate he is to be ordained with laying on of hands. This is intelligible. Apart from the question of the bishop having the sole right of ordination of others, it would be difficult to have honorary bishops, as there was only one bishop for each diocese; while it would be easy to have honorary presbyters, as there were so many ordinary presbyters. The rest of the section deals with another class of confessors, who are worthy of ordination by their confession; and with the permission to deviate from the fixed prayer of ordination. The || AC viii. 23 is quite plain. Its object is to repress the undue claims of confessors to minister, and it is a simplification of what was an ambiguous chapter in its source. It says that a confessor is not ordained, for it (confessorship) is of his own will (γνώμη) and endurance; but he is to be honoured, and if wanted for a bishop or presbyter or deacon he is to be ordained. A self-asserting confessor is to be cast out. Here is a clear instance of the posteriority of AC (see below, p. 145).

³⁶ 8. Promotion. The promotion of readers is mentioned in AC viii. 22, Test i. 45, but not in EgCO, EthCO; that of subdeacons in Test i. 44. St Basil forbids the advancement of an offending reader or minister (subdeacon) in Ep. canon. tert. ccxvii. 69, and implies that ordinarily they would be promoted. In Cyprian Ep. xxxix. (xxxiii.) 5 some readers are mentioned as about to become presbyters directly, because they had been confessors; this has a

bearing on what was said about confessors above. The promotion of deacons is referred to in the ordination prayers in AC viii. 17, EthCO 24 and probably Test i. 38 (this is made likely by || EthCO 24, now newly published); H¹ breaks off before this sentence in the prayer is reached. In the fourth-century Life of Polycarp by Pseudo-Pionius (Lightfoot, Ignatius, iii. 433 ff.), Polycarp is made to be successively deacon, presbyter, and bishop (§§ 11, 17, 23); and so the Council of Sardica (c. A.D. 347) says (can. 10) that a bishop must have been reader, deacon, and presbyter in succession and for a considerable time; but the genuineness of these canons is disputed. ApCO-syr 22 (so H^k p. 97) refers to the promotion of the deacons to the episcopate (ποιμενικὸς τόπος), a comment on 1 Ti. iii. 13; it is not said that they can become presbyters.

³⁷ 9. Marriage of the clergy. The Church Orders do not all take quite the same line on this question. CH, EgCO, EthCO, H¹ say nothing about it. ApCO-syr 16 shows a somewhat ascetic tendency. A bishop is better as a celibate or if 'from one wife,' i.e., probably, a widower. This is softened in ApCO-boh, sah; a married bishop 'having children' (παίδων μέτοχος for παιδείας μ. 'one who can impart discipline' which is undoubtedly the original) is to abide with his wife (H^k is wanting here; ApCO-arab, eth read 'before he becomes bishop' for 'having children'). ApCO suggests that presbyters should not marry (§ 18), but deacons are expressly allowed to do so once; they must be 'monogamous' (a different expression from that used of bishops) and 'educating their children' (τεκνοτρόφοι, § 20). Test says nothing of presbyters' marriage, but evidently would wish bishops and deacons to be celibates or widowers, though it actually prescribes a less strict rule (i. 20, 33). AC ii. 2 and || Didasc (H¹ p. 16), and ApCan 5, 40, 51, on the other hand, rather favour married bishops than otherwise, as also apparently do the Clementine Homilies* (iii. 68). Thus also ArD 36 is less ascetic than || Test, and makes no suggestion that the bishop should be a widower; it prefers a celibate, but a bishop may be married. EthD 3 seems to insist that a bishop must be married.

³⁸ Funk (TUH 63) remarks that while in the time of Clement of Alexandria presbyters might marry, a stricter discipline came in during the fourth century, as Epiphanius witnesses. He argues that AC, which is more lax on this subject, must therefore be earlier than Test, which is more strict. The history of opinion does not justify this view. The tendency in the fourth cen-

tury is undoubted; but it was far from universal, and there were differences of opinion between men of opposite schools of thought then as * The date of the 'Clementine' literature is uncertain: it used to be thought to belong to the second or to the third century; but the latest writers on the subject attribute it to the fourth (Dom Butler in *JThSt* x. 457; cf. Hort, *Clementine Recognitions*, London 1901, p. 130). now. Test and AC represent such opposite schools; ApCan, as we should expect, favours the AC view. The councils of Antioch in Encaeniis and of Gangra (c. A.D. 370?) do the same. The former (can. 25) assumes as a probable state of things that a bishop will have a 'household' and 'sons.' Funk's argument, then, would require us to put, not only Test, but ApCO into the fifth century, which is impossible. His deduction that Test insists on presbyters being celibates or widowers is not warranted by the text, which says nothing about it, but only that they must be 'pure, without blame' (i. 29), almost the same phraseology as is used about subdeacons and readers (i. 44 f.).

³⁹ Those Church Orders which mention the subject of clerical marriage at all insist at least on monogamy; the clergy must not have married again after their first wife's death, for this was the interpretation which they put on the injunction of the Pastoral Epistles; see e.g. AC vi. 17, which expressly extends the injunction of monogamy to the minor orders. In ApCan 17—19 no one who has married twice after baptism, or who has married a widow or a divorced or an unworthy woman, or two sisters, or a niece, may enter even the minor orders. It may be remarked that even the less austere Church Orders show a great dislike of second marriages. They are to be avoided by laymen also, though not forbidden to them. But third or fourth marriages are abominated. Thus EthD 12 says: 'A first marriage is pure before the Lord, but they who marry a second time are transgressors of the Law...And they who marry a third time are not to be numbered with the flock of Christ. But as to those who marry a fourth time, their lasciviousness is yet more evident, and they shall find reproach and dishonour. For in the first creation the Lord gave one woman to one man and for this cause they two became one flesh.' The remarriage of widows is in question; the writer goes on, however, to allow (though grudgingly) a second marriage. The || AC iii. 2 is similar, but not quite so strong. St Basil says that digamists and trigamists were subject to penance; trigamy, indeed, was no longer described as marriage at all (Ep. canon. prim. clxxxviii. 4; cf. also Ep. canon. sec. cxcix. 50).

⁴⁰ Marriage after ordination is forbidden in AC vi. 17 (not in || *Didasc*) to bishops, presbyters, deacons, but not to subdeacons, singers, readers and doorkeepers; in *ApCan* 26, to all clergy except readers and singers. And this was the general rule, though post-ordination marriage was only forbidden by civil law under Justinian, A.D. 528. The council of Neocaesarea (c. A.D. 320?) forbids it to presbyters (can. 1), and a few years earlier that of Ancyra also to deacons, unless they have given notice of marriage before they are ordained (can. 10). ⁴¹ It is a matter of some surprise that the Church Orders do not show an elaborate system of discipline, such as the canons of some of the Councils would lead us to expect. Grades of penitents* are found in several fourth century writers, e.g. Basil (Ep. canon. sec. cxcix. 22, tert. ccxvii. 56 ff., 80 f.). But it would seem that the division of penitents into 'stations' was never a universal thing in all countries. In the canons of Elvira in Spain they are not divided into 'stations,' but are punished according to the nature of their offences, in no very methodical manner. In the AC liturgy we find divisions of penitents, but not elsewhere. The discipline of the laity is exercised by the bishop and presbyters through the deacons (*Test* i. 36 f., AC ii. 16., *EthD* 4, not || *Didasc*). AC and *EthD* speak of quite short periods of penitence, from two to seven weeks; they make a protest (as does *Didasc*) against too great severity, e.g. AC ii. 13 f., *EthD* 3; cf. *ApCan* 52. A rather unguarded statement of *Didasc* (so *EthD* 3) that one who sins after baptism is condemned in hell, is qualified in || AC ii. 7 by the addition of the words 'unless he repent and cease from his transgression.' Later phrases in *Didasc* and *EthD* show that this is the meaning there also. In CH xv. 79 (not in || *EgCO*, *EthCO*) it is said that those who fall into great sin after baptism are to be expelled until they repent with weeping, fasting, and works of mercy; but this manual has no specially ascetic tone. A stricter tendency is found in *Test*, due probably to the Montanistic influence at work in it (see below, p. 118). In i. 37 the deacon is forbidden to bring into the church 'for partaking' one who, having been baptized, has committed violence on a woman 'even

⁴² * Traces of them are found in Tertullian (e.g. especially de *Poenit.* 6 where 'auditor' probably = a penitent) and in Cyprian. if he repent.' It would, however, be a mistake to build too much on this. The meaning probably is that the matter is taken out of the hands of the deacon, who in this Church Order is otherwise given a very large discretion; nothing is said further. The extremely rigorist line taken by the Council of Elvira (c. A.D. 305) is not im-

itated, so far as we can judge, by any of the Church Orders. In all this literature the catechumens are dismissed before the more solemn part of the Liturgy, the *Missa Fidelium* as it was afterwards called, begins. For the subject of 'Penitential Discipline in the First Three Centuries' reference may be made to an article by Dr Swete in *JThSt* iv. 321 ff.

CHAPTER VI: BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION

¹ The following description is taken from six of the Church Orders (CH xix. 101—153, EgCO 45 f., EthCO 34 f., H¹ p. 110 ff., Test ii. 6—10, AC vii. 22, 40—45). In the first five the passages are parallel; but the fragment of H¹ begins in the middle of the baptismal creed. The description in AC is independent (see above, p. 28 ff.). 1. Baptismal ceremonies. The time for baptism is Easter Day at cockcrow (Test 'after midnight'). But CH xix. 107 and Test ii. 6 contemplate in some cases the baptism being postponed to another day; AC does not mention any season. None of these manuals speak of 'Pentecost' as a time for baptism, as Tertullian does; he says that Pascha and Pentecost were the usual seasons (de Bapt. 19), but by the latter term he means the fifty days before Whitsunday (below, p. 133). And this long continued to be the general rule; for baptism at Epiphany and on other days in some places see DCA i. 165.

² These Church Orders (including AC viii. 32 and || ConstH 22 and SEC 75, EthS 63) give strict directions as to the care to be taken in the selection of the candidates, as to trades and occupations which are forbidden to Christians, and as to the reception of concubines. Military service is forbidden in most of these books; CH xiii. 71 f. is slightly less strict, and AC viii. 32, ConstH 22 soften down the prohibition into a direction that a soldier is to be taught to carry out the Baptist's rules (Lk. iii. 14; so || SEC 75, EthS 63). The prohibition, however impossible in practice, argues the relative antiquity of EgCO, EthCO, Test (H¹ has a lacuna here). ApCan 83 only forbids bishops, presbyters, and deacons to be soldiers. (See further below, p. 145 f.) The selected candidates or 'competentes' were set apart for instruction. The selection was made at the beginning of the 'forty days of Pascha' (Lent). The 45th canon of Laodicea says that none are to be received after the second week in Lent. As the time for baptism comes on, the competentes have the Gospel read over them; on Maundy Thursday they bathe (so also Augustine Epp. liv. 10, lv. 33 Ben., ad Januarium); on the Friday they fast (see below, p. 137); on the Saturday they are exorcised by the bishop after the deacon's litany (so ex-

plicitly Test ii. 7, the rest implicitly), and receive the sign of the cross, or seal (see below, p. 108 f.). They keep vigil till cockcrow on Easter Day and then 'come to the water' (the baptistery). Two oils are consecrated by the bishop, one called the 'oil of exorcism,' the other the 'oil of thanksgiving' (CH, EgCO, EthCO; Test similar; cf. Cyr. Jer. CL xx. 3 'exorcised oil').

³ M. Sar 15 f. has two prayers of consecration over the oil (ἄλειμμα) and chrism (χρίσμα); but Brightman (JThSt i. 264 f.) treats the former as being said when the candidates are anointed the first time, and the second at the Confirmation. The water is hallowed (so expressly EgCO, EthCO, AC); this is implied in the epithet 'sacram' in CH xix. 112, but it is not mentioned in Test; it is spoken of in Cyprian Ep. lxx. (lxxix.) 1, Sar 7, Cyril of Jerusalem CL iii. 3, Basil de Spir. S. xxvii. (66) (which also mentions the blessing of the chrism), and elsewhere. The interpolated EthS 40 A (see above, p. 21) gives prayers for hallowing the water. ⁴ The candidate makes a renunciation of the devil, turning (CH, Test, Cyr. Jer.) to the West. The renunciation is universal, at any rate from Tertullian's time onwards. He gives the form as: 'I renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels' (de Cor. 3, de Spect. 4; cf. de Idol. 6) and it is practically the same in the Church Orders, though, except in CH, the word 'pomp' loses its neutral sense of 'retinue' and is used (often in the plural, as it is in the Book of Common Prayer, though there coupled with the singular 'vanity') in the bad sense of 'display,' 'pride' (so Cyr. Jer. CL xix. 6 expressly; see further art. 'Abrenuntio' in ERE i. 38 ff.). The renunciation is sometimes put interrogatively, with the answer 'I renounce'; and in the case of infants, sponsors, that is, the 'parents or relations,' make the replies (Test, CH, EgCO, EthCO; for the sponsors cf. Tertullian, de Bapt. 18). The sponsors are said to take up (suscipere) the baptized from the font (cf. Tertullian, de Cor. 3; so ἀναληφθεῖς, Socrates HE vii. 4), and are therefore called 'susceptores,' ἀνάδοχοι. Infant baptism is expressly prescribed in AC vi. 15, the preceding chapter having forbidden circumcision; these are interpolations into Didasc by the AC writer. So in Test ii. 8 'babes' are baptized before the adults, just as in i. 23 (and AC viii. 13) they are communicated before them.

⁵ The first anointing, by the presbyter, follows the Renunciations. The 'oil of exorcism' is used, and the presbyter says: 'Let every spirit depart from thee' (Test develops this a little). This anointing is in all these manuals. In AC vii. 22 it is interpolated into || D 7, which does not mention anointing at

all; but AC says that if there is neither oil (έλαιον) nor unguent (μύρον), water suffices. So there is an anointing with consecrated oil before baptism in Clementine Recognitions iii. 67, Sar 15, Cyr. Jer. CL xx. 3. This pre-baptismal anointing seems to be the only one in Didasc (iii. 12; the || AC iii. 16 interpolates another after the immersion, see DidCA i. 210 f.), and this also was apparently the custom in the Syriac-speaking Church in the earliest ages. Dom Connolly ('Texts and Studies' VIII. p. xlii) cites the Acts of Judas Thomas (in five places), the Acts of John the Son of Zebedee (in two places), the Life of Rabbula, a Syriac account of the baptism of Constantine, and the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai (fifth century). On the other hand post-baptismal anointing only is mentioned in Tertullian (adv. Marc. i. 14 ['water—oil—honey and milk—sacramental bread'], de Resurr. Carn. 8

67—2 ['the flesh is washed, anointed, signed, shadowed with laying on of hands, it feeds on the body and blood of Christ'], de Bapt. 7), and apparently in Cyprian (Ep. lxx. [lxix.] 2) and Origen (in Rom. v. 8). 2. The Baptismal Creed and the Immersions. In CH and Test the candidate turns to the East and makes his act of submission to God*, saying (CH): 'I believe and bow myself before thee and all thy pomp, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' He then goes down to the water, led by the deacon or (CH) the presbyter 'performing the office of a deacon.' The act of submission to God in the other Church Orders takes the form of a recital of a Creed or a profession of faith at the time of baptizing; this is also found as an addition in CH, Test. This is the 'redditio symboli,' as the teaching of the Creed during the catechumenate is the 'traditio symboli.' [At Laodicea (can. 46) the competentes recite the Creed on Maundy Thursday.] The Creed is given in most of the manuals interrogatively; in CH, H¹, Test it is divided into three parts, one for each immersion, but in EgCO, EthCO the whole of the first form of Creed (p. 101) is said thrice‡.

7 In CH, H¹, Test, the Creed is of the Roman form, and is as follows, the italicised passages being only found in one of these three manuals:— * συντάσσομαι is the usual word, as opposed to ἀντιτάσσομαι 'I renounce'; so AC vii. 41Ω Athanasius Or. c. Arian. ii. 43. The substantive ἀποταγή is used in Sar 9 and AC vii. 41Ω Here 'pomp' = 'retinue,' as above, p. 98. ‡ A reminiscence of a Creed is found in Didasc (DidCA i. 382, H¹ p. 89), and is preserved in ^φ AC vi. 30Ω but baptism is not being spoken of. There is no mention of a creed in D. Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? [H fragment be-

gins here]. Dost thou believe also (Test) in Christ Jesus [CH: Jesus Christ] the Son of God, who came from the Father, who is of old with the Father (Test), who was born of Mary the Virgin [CH: whom Mary the Virgin bore] of the Holy Ghost, who came to save the human race (CH), who was crucified for us (CH) under [Test: in the days of] Pontius Pilate, and died and was buried (H) and rose the third day, coming to life (not CH) from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat down (CH: sitteth) at the right hand of the Father, and shall come [Test: cometh] to judge the quick and the dead? Dost thou believe also (Test) in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, proceeding from the Father and the Son* (CH) and in the holy Church (not CH), and the resurrection of the flesh? (H).

§ The Creed or form of submission in EgCO and EthCO is a double one; the second part rather strangely has no clause about God the Father. Both parts are said in the water, the former at each immersion, thrice in all; the latter after immersion. In what follows, the three versions of EgCO, the Sahidic and Arabic given by Horner, and the Bohairic given by Tattam, are collated, as well as EthCO. I. I believe [arab: Dost thou believe] in the one true (Eth omits) God, the Father Almighty, and in his only Son our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his [boh, Eth: the] Holy Spirit, Giver of life to the universe [arab, Eth: all creation; boh omits], the Trinity of the same substance (ὑμωούσιον), one Godhead [arab, Eth: the Trinity equal in Godhead], one Lordship [Eth: Lord], one kingdom, one faith, one baptism, in the catholic apostolic [arab, Eth omit] holy Church, and life eternal. Amen. Answer: I believe this.

§* The Filioque is probably an interpolation; see below, pp. 116, 158. 11. Dost thou believe [sah: Thou believest] in the Name of (Eth) our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father, that he became man for our sake (sah, boh) by a miracle in an incomprehensible unity [arab, Eth: in an incomprehensible miracle; boh: in a wonderful manner] in his [arab: from the; Eth: by the] Holy Spirit, from [Eth: and by] our lady (Eth) Mary the holy (sah, boh) Virgin without seed of man, and that he was crucified for us (boh, sah) in the time of Pontius Pilate and died voluntarily for our salvation; that he rose from the dead (Eth, arab) on the third day; that he released the captives [boh: bonds], ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of his good [arab, Eth: the] Father on high (sah, boh); and that he cometh [arab, Eth: shall come] to judge the quick and the dead at [sah: according to]

his appearing and his kingdom? And dost thou believe [sah: thou believest] in the holy, good, and life-giving [arab, Eth: sanctifying] Spirit, purifying the universe (sah, boh), in the holy Church; and dost thou believe the resurrection of the body which shall happen to all men, and the kingdom of heaven and eternal judgment? (arab, Eth; boh omits; sah has a lacuna after 'Church'). Answer: I believe.

¹⁰ It is very noteworthy that H¹ has departed from EgCO and EthCO, and has the Roman form of Creed. The submission to God and the baptismal Creed in AC vii. 41 come immediately after the Renunciation and before the first anointing. So in Cyril CL xix. 9 the candidate before the anointing makes his submission, saying: 'I believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance'; but in this account there is another, interrogatory, profession at the immersion (see below). The form in AC is as follows:— ¹¹ And I associate myself (συντάσσομαι) with Christ, and believe and am baptized into one unbegotten only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; and into the Lord Jesus the Christ his only begotten Son, the First-born of all creation, who before the ages was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father, not created, by whom all things were made, which are in heaven and on earth, both visible and invisible, who in the last days descended from heaven and took flesh and was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and did live (πολιτευσάμενον) holily according to the laws of his God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after his passion on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and again cometh at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent both to the Apostles by the Father according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ, and after the Apostles to all those that believe in the holy catholic and apostolic Church; into the resurrection of the flesh and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven and into the life of the world to come.

¹² In Cyril (CL xx. 4) there is, in addition to the formula of submission already mentioned, an interrogation at the water. The candidates are asked if they believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; they descend three times

into the water and ascend again. And in the North Italian *de Sacramentis* (ii. 7; c. A.D. 400) there is a short interrogatory Creed, one clause being said at each immersion: 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and in his cross? Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost?' ¹³ The act of baptizing is performed by the presbyter. The formula of baptism is given in D 7, CH xix. 133, AC iii. 16, vii. 22, 44; cf. Ap-Can 50. In CH it is: 'I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, who is equal.' The formula is not given in Test, but it is implied in ii. 7, in the long prayer of exorcism said over the competentes. Trine immersion is the usage (cf. Tertullian *de Cor.* 3, in *Prax.* 26, ApCan 50), though it is disputed whether this means actual dipping (total immersion). The water must be flowing according to D 7 (ἐν ῥέματι ζῶντι, omitted in || AC vii. 22), CH, EgCO, EthCO; that is, as explained in the two last, it must flow into the font. D, EgCO, EthCO make an exception in case of scarcity of water. D says: 'If thou hast not running water, then baptize in other water; if thou art not able in cold (water), then in warm; but if thou hast neither, then pour water on the head thrice in (els) the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' CH mentions the water of a stream (xix. 112), not of the sea, as Achelis; see Burkitt in *JThSt* i. 279. [So in xxix. 213 the dust swept up from the church (*loco sacro*) is to be cast into a stream.]

¹⁴ 3. Confirmation. After the baptized come up from the water, the second anointing by the presbyter takes place. The 'oil of thanksgiving' is used, and the presbyter says: 'I anoint thee with oil in the Name of Jesus Christ' (so Test, H¹, EgCO; but EthCO and EgCO-arab omit the last six words; CH substitutes: 'in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'). The neophyte is then clothed (in white, Test ii. 12; and so often in Christian antiquity, see DCA i. 163, but the other Church Orders merely mention the clothing), and brought from the baptistery into the church. In the anointing of women the services of deaconesses (AC iii. 16) or of 'widows who sit first' (Test ii. 8) are employed, but the presbyter says the words of anointing (Test). Similarly in baptism, the bishop says the renunciations and submissions, but the widows 'beneath a veil receive' women 'by a veil' (ib.). In AC iii. 16 the deacon anoints 'the forehead of the women with the holy oil' and 'after him the deaconess' anoints them; so 'in the laying on of hands' (χειροθεσία) the bishop anoints the head. The writer goes on (iii. 16) to

say that the bishop anoints the head of those who are being baptized, whether men or women, with the holy oil (that is, the first anointing).

15 Then the bishop or presbyter baptizes them, and a deacon receives the men and a deaconess the women, so that the 'seal' may be given solemnly (σεμνοπρεπῶς), and then the bishop anoints the baptized with μύρον. In || Didasc (DidCA i. p. 210) a deaconess or another woman, if there is one, anoints women before baptism. In the laying on of hands the bishop is to anoint the head only, whether of men or women, and afterwards when he (or the deacon or presbyter at his command) baptizes, a deaconess is to anoint the women. But a man is to repeat the baptismal formula. Then a deaconess receives the newly baptized ascending from the water, so that the seal may be given 'in purity and holiness.' Both AC and Didasc are a little confused. In || EthD 16 the deaconess anoints the women before baptism and clothes them again afterwards, and the bishop anoints both the men and women on the forehead, and so on, as before.

16 When the newly baptized are brought into the church, the bishop lays a hand on them and invokes for them the Holy Ghost, or the grace of God. The prayer is as follows :— EgCO 46 (sah, boh, arab), ETHCO 35 Lord (Eg) God, as thou hast made these worthy of receiving (Eg) the laver of the new birth and of (arab, Eth) forgiveness of sins unto the future life (sah, boh), make them worthy to be filled with thy (sah, boh) Holy Spirit, and speed forth (Eth) and send down (Eg) upon them thy grace [Eth : the grace of the Holy Spirit], that they may serve thee according to (Eg) thy will, for thine is the glory [Eth : Glory to], Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the holy Church, now and always and for ever and ever. H¹ p. 111 Lord God who hast made these worthy to obtain forgiveness of sins by the washing of regeneration of the Holy Spirit, send upon them thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will, for thine is the glory, Father, and Son, with the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.

17 We bless thee, Almighty Lord God, that thou hast made these worthy to be born again, and pourest on them thy Holy Spirit, that they may be joined to the body of the Church, never to be separated by heathen (alienis) works. Give rather to those to whom thou hast given forgiveness of sins, a pledge of thy kingdom through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and the Holy Ghost be glory for ever and ever. Amen. The forms in EgCO, EthCO, H¹* are mere variants; that in CH does not directly

invoke, though it refers to, the gift of the Spirit, but it is not independent of the others, as we see by the common use of phrases and the identity of the drift of the prayers. These forms, then, all seem to depend on a common original. The prayer in Test is longer, being derived from the original, directly or indirectly, by interpolation. It is very similar to H, but like EgCO and EthCO has: 'make them worthy to be filled with the Holy Spirit.' The form in AC vii. 44 is quite independent. It is a prayer for the efficacy of the anointing.

¹⁸ There is at this point in EgCO, EthCO, H¹, Test, a third anointing, by the bishop (but in EthCO by the presbyter), with the 'oil of thanksgiving,' on the head. The bishop says: 'I anoint thee with the holy anointing oil from (or in,' or 'in the Name of') God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ [Christ * The scribe of H seems to have made a slip in connecting 'Spiritus sancti' with 'regenerationis' instead of with 'gratiam.' In Sar the bishop blesses the oil and no more is said; perhaps the presbyter did the rest. Jesus] (the only Son) and the Holy Ghost [Test amplifies]. He then 'seals' him on the forehead, gives him the kiss of peace, saying: 'The Lord [God of the meek, Test] be with thee' and each one answers separately 'And with thy spirit.' In CH there is no third anointing, but the sign of the cross and salutation follow the laying on of hands and its prayer immediately. In AC also (vii. 43 f.) only one anointing after baptism is spoken of, and the laying on of hands is only referred to incidentally (vii. 44)*; after the anointing and laying on of hands the neophyte stands up, as a sign that he is raised with Christ, and says the Lord's prayer and another.—For the laying on of hands in Confirmation and the invocation of the Holy Ghost see Tertullian de Bapt. 8 (cf. de Resurr. Carn. 8), Cyprian Epp. lxxii. (lxxi.) 1; lxxiii. (lxxii.) 9. Tertullian mentions the anointing in both treatises. Cyril of Jerusalem (CL xxi.) speaks of the anointing, but not of the laying on of hands. Athanasius (ad Serap. Orat. i. 6) says that by the laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given to those who were being regenerated (so Origen de Princip. i. 3).

¹⁹ A word may be added about the 'seal,' which has several meanings. (1) It is used for baptism, in the Ancient Homily, 'Pseudo-Clement 2 ad Cor.' 7 f. and * It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that AC also apparently takes the laying on of hands for granted in the ordination of a bishop; but there it is not even referred to (see above, p. 74). In AC ii. 32, iii. 16 the laying on of hands by the bishop in confirmation is explicitly mentioned, and probably

also in iii. 10. On the question of the presbyter confirming in AC see p. 155. Hermas Sim. viii. 6; for other second century references see Lightfoot Clement ii. p. 226; perhaps also in ApCO 12 (not in || D). (2) It denotes the sign of the cross, at any time, Cyril CL xiii. 36; so the competentes are 'sealed' before baptism (see above). But especially (3) it denotes the sign of the cross in Confirmation, and so Confirmation itself, or the anointing at Confirmation, as above, and AC iii. 17 (not in || Didasc), vii. 22 (expressly, as distinguished from the immersion), Cyril CL iii. 3. (4) It is used for the action of presbyters at the ordination of presbyters, H¹ p. 110 (not in || EthCO 24); or (5) for the conclusion of a service, Test i. 26, where perhaps a final blessing is meant, the word being used in this sense among the Nestorians to this day; or (6) for the Eucharistic bread, Brightman LEW p. 587. In EdCan 8 the liturgical gospel is called the 'sealer' of the lections; and in Tertullian (de Orat. 18) the kiss of peace is called the 'seal' (signaculum) of prayer.

²⁰ 4. The Baptismal Eucharist follows immediately after the Confirmation; for this see above, p. 46. The newly-baptized communicate in Test (i. 23) directly after the clergy and those that have charismata, and just before the infants and the rest of the laity. One feature may be mentioned. In EgCO 45, EthCO 34, Test ii. 8, the candidates for baptism are forbidden to bring anything with them (EgCO specifies 'any other vessel': EthCO has 'any ornament of gold, or ring or gem of any kind') except an offering for the Eucharist. Funk objects (TUH p. 54) that the custom of communicants bringing golden or other vessels to the Eucharist, to receive the sacrament in them, was forbidden A.D. 692 by the Trullan Synod (can. 101) and was not known before, its non-existence being implied by the silence of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom; and that therefore these manuals cannot be of the fourth century. The argument from silence, however, is usually insecure; and in this case, even if the custom condemned by the Trullan Synod is the same as that referred to in the Church Orders, and even if it did not obtain in the fourth century at Jerusalem and at Antioch, there is no reason why it should not have existed in Egypt.

²¹ Note 1. Baptism by deacons in case of necessity is allowed in Test ii. 10, and, if permitted by the bishop, in Didasc iii. 12 (DidCA i. 210, Gibson, p. 78, not || AC iii. 16)*. It is prohibited in AC viii. 28, 46 expressly, and by implication in AC iii. 11 and EthD 14, which forbid readers, singers, doorkeepers [and subdeacons, AC] to baptize and only allow the deacons to assist. Wo-

men are forbidden to baptize in AC iii. 9 and || Didasc, EthD 13; the language used shows that it was not an uncommon custom. The same prohibition is found in Tertullian de Bapt. 17 (he allows deacons, and even laymen, to baptize in case of necessity), and in the 100th canon of the so-called Fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (Hefele ii. 417). But, at any rate in the last two instances, the case of necessity is not specially referred to.

²² Note 2. In Test ii. 10, there is a curious provision that no one is to learn about the Resurrection before baptism. This may have been in the original Church Order of this series, for there is a difficult phrase in the corresponding place of EgCO 46 (sah, boh, arab) and EthCO * In Canon 7 of the Roman Synod of A.D. 402 a presbyter and a deacon (i.e. acting together) may baptize in Eastertide; at other times, in cases of necessity, only a presbyter, not a deacon (Hefele ii. 429). 35 (H¹ breaks off just before this) about instruction in the resurrection of the flesh, a phrase which has no appropriateness as it stands, but which may have been a corruption of a prohibition like that of Test. In the baptismal creed of Test and EgCO (sah, boh) there is no clause about the resurrection, but it has been introduced into those of H¹, EgCO-arab, EthCO. Teaching about the resurrection is however given to catechumens before baptism in 'Silvia,' in Cyril of Jerusalem (CL iv. 30, xiv. etc.) and perhaps it is implied in AC vii. 39.

CHAPTER VII: DOCTRINE

In this chapter it is proposed to glance at the doctrinal pre-suppositions of the Church Orders, as the determination of them will be a help in ascertaining the dates when the various books were written. In two of them, AC and Test, the dogmatic position is clearly marked. 1. The Didache has but few doctrinal indications. Its tone is slightly ascetic, and the reference to the prophets has led Hilgenfeld and Bigg to treat it as having a Montanistic tendency. But this view is generally rejected. There is in D no trace of the Montanistic idea that true prophecy consisted in the prophet being a passive and self-abandoning channel of the Spirit. The Christological indications are negative. There is no clear assertion of our Lord's divinity, except that the Trinitarian formula is prescribed for baptism. There is no prominence given to our Lord's death*. Thus it is * Prof. Lake has lately (*Guardian*, Feb. 17, 1909) called attention to the fact that we find the same thing in the *Apology of Aristides*, and suggests that perhaps both it and D represent a point of view

little influenced by St Paul's teaching. Certainly D does not seem to refer to the Pauline Epistles anywhere.

thought that D, which was intended (as the title shows) for the Gentiles, emanated from some not very well instructed Christian, probably from one who lived in a secluded community. 2. The Apostolic Church Order has no decided dogmatic tone. It shows some Montanistic leanings, as in the remark about the two widows who are to expect revelations (21); it shows a desire that bishops and presbyters should be celibates or widowers (16, 18; see above, p. 90 f.). But it is more concerned with moral precepts and canonical provisions than with doctrine. Both ApCO and D advocate liberality and almsgiving 'as a redemption for sins' (ApCO 13 = D 4). 3. The Didascalia also shows no strong doctrinal leanings. The chief indications of the writer's position may be seen in the sections on heresies and schisms corresponding to AC vi. (DidCA i. 302—384, Hⁱ pp. 60—90, Gibson, pp. 102—112; but the MS used by Mrs Gibson ends with the passage corresponding to AC vi. 18). Simon Magus and Cleobius are the only heretics named (Hⁱ p. 61); and the chief heresy ascribed to Simon (who is spoken of as meeting St Peter in Rome and as pretending to fly in the air, as in the Clementines) is the denial of the resurrection of the flesh. The Judaistic tradition ('secundatio' = Mishna) regarding the distinction between clean and unclean things is attacked. Bp Wordsworth (MG p. 38) sees an anti-

M. Montanistic aversion to austerity in Didasc, Harnack a polemic against Novatianism. At any rate the tendency of the book is such that we can understand why the AC compiler, who exhibits the same trend of thought, adopted and amplified it in his own work. 4. The Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders and the canonical part of the Verona fragments (Hⁱ) may for this purpose be taken together. The first, however, yields but little result, as it has hardly any liturgical forms. Taking EthCO and Hⁱ, we find emphasis laid on the work of the Holy Spirit, though no technical or controversial terms are introduced which would lead us to think that the Macedonian controversy had begun; nor is anything said about the personality of the Third Person. Prayer is offered that he may descend on bishops and presbyters at their ordination; in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving his work in the Incarnation is spoken of (so in the baptismal Creed), and he is prayed for by name that he may cause the Eucharistic oblation to convey holiness to the communicants, and that they may be filled with him; in the baptismal

Creed he is the Sanctifier (Eth) or Lifegiver (Eg); he is prayed for in the Confirmation prayer (for H¹ see above, p. 106 f.); he is in the Church (EgCO 57, 62 = EthCO 43, 48).—The Eucharistic Thanksgiving also touches on the voluntary death of Jesus (cf. CH xxv. 233) who 'spread out his hands for suffering,' and the harrowing of hell—points much emphasised also in Test i. 23, 28; it speaks of our Lord as the Son, the Word, the Instrument in Creation, and as sent by the Father from heaven into the Virgin's womb. Trinitarian doctrine is taught by some of the doxologies to the prayers (see below, p. 124 f.); by the answer to the Sancta Sanctis in the EthCO Liturgy (but for this see above, p. 39); and by the emphatic phrase 'consubstantial Trinity' (EgCO-sah, boh) or 'Trinity equal in Godhead' (EgCO-arab, EthCO) in the baptismal Creed. H¹ shares with EthCO all the above indications except those in the baptismal Creed, and such as are indicated above.

The word 'trinity' (τριάς, trinitas) is as old as Theophilus of Antioch (c. A.D. 180) who says (ad Autol. ii. 15) that the three first days of creation 'are types of the trinity, God, and his Word, and his Wisdom'; but perhaps it is not here a technical term. It is also found in Hippolytus (c. Noet. 14: 'through this Trinity the Father is glorified; for the Father willed, the Son did, the Spirit manifested') and Tertullian (de Pudic. 21: 'the Trinity of the one Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit'; and adv. Prax. 2). But the emphasis on the consubstantiality and equality of the Trinity betokens a time after the Arian troubles had begun. 5. The Canons of Hippolytus have the same doctrinal tone as the manuals just mentioned, if we accept as part of the book the sections which Achelis brackets and rejects. Let us first take the supposition of their genuineness. There is not the same scope in CH for an examination of doctrine as in EthCO and H¹, since there are but few liturgical forms. The opening canon, however, speaks of our Lord as Son of the living God; the Word is the Son of God, who (the antecedent is uncertain) is Creator of every creature, visible and invisible (i. 1, 3); the Trinity is altogether equal in honour and glory and without beginning and end (i. 2). The Trinitarian equality is seen in the baptismal formula (xix. 133): 'I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, who is equal'; in the doxology over oil etc. (see below, p. 125); and in the direction, not in the other Church Orders, to teachers of heathen subjects, who are received into the Church, to say to their people: 'There is no God but Father, Son, and Holy Ghost' (xii. 69). The Holy Spirit is prayed for in the ordination prayers

of bishops (iii. 13) and deacons (v. 39). In the Baptismal Creed the Holy Ghost is called 'the Paraclete, proceeding from the Father and the Son'; but it is difficult to suppose that the Filioque at least is not an interpolation. If, on the other hand, with Achelis we regard all that speaks of the 'equal Trinity' as interpolated, there is nothing doctrinal in CH which is inconsistent with the time of Hippolytus. For the alleged interpolations, see p. 158. There is no specially ascetic tone in this Church Order; see above, p. 94.

6. Sarapion does not exhibit any very decided theological characteristics. He is anti-Arian, as is shown by the phrase at the beginning of the Eucharistic thanksgiving 'We praise thee who art known of thy Son...We praise thee who knowest the Son,' where the Arian idea that the Son was ignorant of the Father and of his own essence is attacked (see Brightman, JThSt i. 91); he has a special fondness for the name 'Only-begotten' (Wordsworth counts 50 instances; it is frequent also in Test, etc.). Other favourite phrases are, (God's) 'love of mankind' (φιλανθρωπία, with φιλόανθρωπος, so often Test); 'living' or 'life'; and 'uncreated' (ἀγένητος), of the Father. For other characteristic phrases see Wordsworth's Sarapion, p. 28 f. He has a special fondness for the name 'The Word' for our Lord, and in the Epiclesis at the Eucharist the Word is prayed for instead of the Holy Spirit (above, p. 54 f.); he uses ἐπιδημία, ἐπιδημεῖν of the Incarnation, or of the coming of the Logos in the Eucharist, or of the Spirit in ordination. He has not a very strong hold on the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit; he generally uses the phrase πνεῦμα ἄγιον without the article, only twice with it. Generally, it may be said that Sarapion was a follower of Athanasius, but that he had not grasped the faith as fully as Athanasius; and that his doctrinal tendency indicates the period before the Macedonian controversy had arisen. For the doxologies see below, p. 124 f.

7. The Testament of our Lord shows a much more marked theological tendency. We may first notice the influence of Montanism on the book. The expectation of revelations and of charismatic gifts, the continuance of the prophets, the frequent references to the Apocalypse, the mention (once only, i. 24) of the 'Paraclete' (but this is common in AC and is often found in fourth century literature), the frequent references to works of the Spirit, to bearing the cross, and to 'children of the light,' together with some non-doctrinal characteristics, such as presbyteresses, and the college of clergy, might lead us to suppose that the author was a Montanist (see Cooper-

Maclean, p. 15). The ascetic tone of Test has also been alleged in this connexion, but while it is more ascetic than AC with regard to celibacy, it is less so in regard to fasting; for the treatment of post-baptismal sin see above, p. 94 f. There are several non-Montanistic features; there are no prophetesses, and the widows (presbyteresses) are to be silent in the church (above, p. 84); so that while there is a Montanistic influence at work in this Church Order, it is not itself Montanistic.—The chief characteristic of the book is a strong dislike of Arianism and of anything like an exaggerated subordinationism. Thus, the Son is named before the Father and the Holy Ghost in the Eucharistic Epiclesis (i. 23), as in 2 Co. xiii. 14, Ignatius Magn. 13 and ConstH 1° (see p. 153 below). Several prayers to the Son are found, as in the middle of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving and in the Epiclesis and Intercession* (i. 23), in five of the six pro-anaphoral prayers (i. 26), and in the night prayer of widows (i. 43), all being apparently the work of the compiler. There is, moreover, in

* The Council of Hippo, A.D. 393, forbade prayer to be addressed to the Son instead of the Father, or the Father instead of the Son, except at the altar, when prayer shall always be addressed to the Father (can. 21; Hefele ii. 398). several of the prayers much confusion of the Persons addressed (i. 23 twice, 30, 43, ii. 7). The writer emphasises the truths that Christ dwells in Christians (i. pref., 1, 8, 17, 18, 22, 40, ii. 25), and that he clothed himself with 'man,' i.e. humanity (i. 28); he personifies Power, Thought, Wisdom, as names of our Lord, and is especially fond of using 'the Word' as a title (i. 23, 26 often, 28, 30, 32, 38, 43, ii. 7, 16, 24). The Word is the Creator (i. 26, first prayer). The writer has a strong hold on the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost (i. 24, 26 twice, 28, 41, ii. 9, 10 [see Cooper-Maclean's note, p. 223]), but does not attack Macedonianism. The Holy Ghost is 'the Lord,' and the 'Maker of life' (ζωοποιός, i. 24, 41) and consubstantial with the Father (i. 41). Nothing is said about the procession of the Holy Spirit. The dogmatic bias of the writer makes it strange that the Holy Ghost is not prayed for in the Eucharistic Epiclesis, as almost certainly would have been the case in an author of his tone if he had written after the rise of the Macedonian heresy. The name Trinity is used (i. 19, 21, 23 thrice, ii. 7), and there are two prayers addressed to the Holy Trinity in i. 23. For other characteristics see Cooper-Maclean, p. 16 ff.

We have to consider some other tendencies which have been found in Test. Bp J. Wordsworth (*Church Qu. Rev.* Jan., Mar. 1900, *Revue internat. de théol.* 1900, vol. 31) has suggested that this Church Order arose in the school of the heretic Apollinarius, who seceded from the Church A.D. 375. There are certainly some phrases in Test, especially in the *Mystagogia* (i. 28), which are found in works written by, or ascribed to, Apollinarius. But there is no Apollinarian heresy in Test; and it seems unlikely that the writer should have used phrases common in the circle of Apollinarius without advocating his errors, if he had been of his school and had lived after his secession. The more probable conclusion is that Test used phrases common in extreme anti-Arian circles before the outbreak of Apollinarianism. It is noteworthy that || ArD has removed the quasi-Apollinarian phrases in the *Mystagogia*. This is an indication that ArD is later than the rise of that heresy.

Can we trace Aphtharto-doceticism in Test? This Church Order dwells much on the thought of the incorruptibility of Jesus and of ourselves in him (i. 26, 28 twice), of God (i. 21) who is the Treasure of incorruptibility (i. 23), and of incorruptibility as attained by us through the Eucharist (ii. 25, cf. || EgCO 58, EthCO 44, H¹ p. 117; compare also the prayer at the lamplighting in EthCO 37 which speaks of God revealing the incorruptible light). Harnack sees traces of Aphtharto-doceticism in i. 26: 'the only-begotten Son, the Firstborn, and Word of the Father...who hast an essence that cannot be injured, where neither moth nor worm doth corrupt.' This is thought to betray the teaching of that section of the Monophysites who in the sixth century upheld the incorruptibility of our Lord's body before the resurrection, as opposed to the Severians who only allowed it to be incorruptible after the resurrection (DCB i. 128).

Funk, who denies this idea (TUH p. 301), sees in Test language directed against Nestorianism (ib. p. 299 f.). In the Eucharistic Thanksgiving these words are used (i. 23):—'Thou, Lord, didst send thy Word who is of thy counsel and covenant, by whom thou madest all things, being well pleased with him, into a virgin womb; who, when he was conceived (and) made flesh, was shown to be thy Son, being born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin.' This, in a slightly shorter form, is also found in EthCO and in H¹ (see above, p. 50). It is not paralleled by anything in Sar, except that in this connexion (§1) Sar quotes Jn xvii. 3 'him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ'; but in AC viii. 12f. we have a similar phrase, though the wording is quite differ-

ent: 'Holy is also thine only-begotten Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who...was himself pleased, according to thy will, the Creator to become man ...being born (γενόμενος) of a Virgin, being born in the flesh, God the Word, the Beloved Son, the Firstborn of all Creation,...he who fashioneth all that are begotten was born of a virgin womb, the Fleshless became flesh, and he that was begotten before time was born in time.' But no one would suspect AC of being an anti-Nestorian polemic. A similar sentence occurs in the presbyter's daily prayer of Test (i. 32, apparently the compiler's own words): 'We praise thee, O Lord, who didst send thy Thought, thy Word, thy Wisdom, thy Energy, him who is of old and was with thee before the worlds, the uncreated Word of the Uncreated one (cf. Sar), but appeared incarnate in the end of times for the salvation of created man, thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ.'

Both these two ideas may probably be dismissed. There is nothing in these passages which a fourth century writer might not fitly use; and those cited in the last paragraph, if possible in the mouth of the AC writer before A.D. 400, are equally so in that of the Test writer in the same century. 8. The Apostolic Constitutions have also a clearly marked doctrinal tendency, though perhaps not so emphatic as that of Test, of whose dogmatic standpoint we find here almost the exact opposite. There is in AC a somewhat definite subordinationism. Thus: 'As Christ does nothing without the Father, so neither does a deacon do anything without his bishop, and as the Son without the Father is nothing, so..., and as the Son is subject to the Father, so..., and as the Son is messenger and prophet of the Father, so' etc. (ii. 30). 'Let the deacon refer all things to the bishop as Christ does to the Father..., receiving power from the bishop, as the Lord [Christ] did from the Father the power [of creation and] of providence'* (ii. 44). These sentences, except the italicised clause which is in || Didasc, are the work of the AC compiler. So in the sentence in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (viii. 12): 'who in all things ministered to thee his God and Father.' So where Didasc says (DidCA i. 104): 'The deacon stands as a type of Christ; therefore let him be loved by you. But let the deaconess be honoured by you as a type of the Holy Ghost,' the || AC ii. 26 has: 'Let the deacon serve him (the bishop) as Christ serves the Father (some MSS omit the last phrase, or read: as the powers do to God,' orthodox corrections), and let him minister to him in all things without blame, as Christ, doing nothing of himself, ever does that which pleases the Father. Let also the deaconess be honoured by you as a type of the Holy Ghost, and

not do or say anything without the deacon, as neither does the Paraclete do or say anything of himself, but, glorifying Christ, waits for his will.' Though the AC writer calls Jesus 'this Saviour, our King and God' (ii. 24), taking the phrase

* The || EthD 8 modifies this a little, and adds: 'There is one will of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' from || Didasc*, yet he avoids the use of Θεός absolutely for our Lord. These are a few out of a large number of instances.—The author never attributes a human soul to our Lord, and in one passage (vi. 26) is thought to deny it. 'Some...imagine the Lord to be a mere (ψιλόν) man, supposing him to consist of a soul and body; but others of them think that Jesus himself is the God over all, and glorify him as his own Father, and (think of him) as both Son and Paraclete. What can be more detestable than these (doctrines)?' Generally speaking, he inclines to semi-Arianism without being actually heretical. It will be remembered that the Arians put the Logos in the place of the human soul of our Lord. There is little probability in the idea of Funk, rejected by Lightfoot (Ignatius i. 271 f.), that the AC writer was an Apollinarian. His tendency is rather the opposite one.—We may notice also the stress that he lays on our being baptized into the death of Christ; e.g. ii. 7 (so || EthD 3), iii. 17, v. 7, vi. 15, 23, vii. 22, 25, 43, (not in || D or Didasc). For other doctrinal characteristics see Brightman LEW p. xxv f.; such as the emphasis on the title 'First begotten of all creation,' and on the high priesthood of Christ, on the frequent use of the name 'Paraclete' for the Holy Ghost, and on his witness (e.g. in the phrase in the Eucharistic Epiclesis [viii. 12] adopted by the Nonjurors' Liturgy of 1718: 'the witness of the

* But it omits the phrase of Didasc a few lines before 'Ye did not believe our Saviour God' which, as the context shows, refers to our Lord. sufferings of the Lord Jesus'; cf. Jn xv. 26, 1 Pet. v. 1). For the doxologies, see below. If we could be sure that the interpolator of the Ignatian Epistles was the same as the AC writer,—an identity which Brightman (LEW p. xxvii f.), Lagarde, Funk, Ussher, and Harnack affirm, but Lightfoot (Ignatius i. 265 ff., ed. 2) denies,—we could speak much more positively on the doctrinal standpoint, as the indications in the passages interpolated into the Ignatian epistles are more definite than those in AC. The interpolator certainly denied our Lord's human soul (Philipp. 5, Philad. 6), but also certainly was not an Arian, though his leanings were in that direction. See the matter treated fully in

Lightfoot loc. cit. It has already been said (p. 91) that AC is not ascetic on clerical marriage. In vi. 26 he takes over from Didasc and extends a passage condemning those who 'abstain from meats and forbid to marry'; and generally he is against severity in dealing with penitents (p. 94).

9. Doxologies to the prayers, etc. The doxologies have been reserved to the end of this chapter, as we must consider all the Church Orders together with regard to them. The doxologies used may be thought to give indications of theological tendencies. The prayers usually end with an ascription of praise and glory to God in one of four ways: (a) through Christ to the Father, in or with the Holy Ghost; this is the most common form, and is found in CH three times, in EthCO six times (excluding the interpolated statute 40 A, where it is the regular form, occurring fourteen times, but including the latter part of the Liturgy which is probably an addition; see above p. 39), in Test seven times, in AC vii., viii. seven times, in ConstH five times, in Sar most frequently; also in Pseudo-Pionius Life of Polycarp, § 23 (Lightfoot, Ignatius iii. 455); cf. Basil de Spir. S., as below; (β) through Christ to the Father, as in EthCO once (once also in statute 40 A), Test twice, AC four times, Sar several times; (γ) 'to thee [the Father], to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' or 'glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost' (or similar phrase), as in CH for 'every single prayer said over oil, firstfruits, etc.,' (iii. 29, but see below), EthCO twice, H¹ twice, EgCO once (the only occasion where a doxology occurs in this manual), AC twice* (viii. 12, 15), Test five times; also with: 'through whom be glory...to thee, Father and Son with the Holy Ghost', twice in EthCO, thrice in H¹ and once in CH (xxxviii. 26); (δ) 'with Christ to the Father and to the Holy Ghost,' AC fourteen times (Funk's revised text). Besides this, CH (xxxvi. 193) has a doxology in a prayer over firstfruits 'through Christ and the Holy Ghost.' In AC some prayers end without a doxology, or with 'thine is

* Cf. also in the Gloria in excelsis: 'God the Father Almighty, Lord, Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and Holy Ghost' (AC vii. 47; so also in Codex Alex. [OT in Greek, ed. Swete, iii. 833]). But this may be an addition to AC (see above, p. 29), and the text is uncertain (see Funk DidCA i. 456). So AC vii. 48. the glory and power for ever' (vii. 27, cf. vii. 33), or merely 'through Jesus Christ' (vii. 34). H¹ (p. 115) has once merely: 'through whom be glory to thee'; EthS 40 A has once 'to Son and to Father,' and once 'to the Father with the Holy Ghost.' These facts have a considerable doctrinal signi-

ficance. Mr Brightman says (JThSt i. 92) that α was perhaps the usual form, at least in some Churches; γ is said by Philostorgius (HE iii. 13) to have been first used by Flavian of Antioch, c. A.D. 350; 'but this is the prejudiced statement of an Arian, which is sufficiently refuted by St Basil de Spiritu Sancto.' This work of St Basil may be called a treatise on the doxology. The author says that he himself used in doxologies the form 'to the Father, with ($\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$) the Son, together with ($\sigma\upsilon\nu$) the Holy Ghost,' or 'to...through ($\delta\iota\alpha$)... in' (for the latter he quotes Eusebius of Caesarea and others), and affirms that they are both the same thing as saying 'to Father and Son and Holy Ghost,' joining the Three together as our Lord does [Mt xxviii. 19], and Clement of Rome [Cor. 58] and other fathers, or as in the ancient form in the thanksgiving at the Lamplighting: 'We praise Father, Son, and God's Holy Spirit'; there is (he adds) no one written form (see esp. §§ i., iv., xxv., xxix.).—The form α , which is the most common one in the Church Orders—we may class β with it—was probably the usual doxology in the first half or first three quarters of the fourth century. But the Arians and Macedonians took it up warmly as implying the inferiority of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and this caused it to decline in favour.

Sozomen (HE iii. 20) says that in the doxologies at the end of the antiphonal odes 'some offered praise to the Father and the Son,' regarding them as coequal in glory, and that others glorified 'the Father in the Son.' He is speaking of the times of Athanasius. But we find that in Egypt, c. A.D. 370, Didymus (de Trin. i. 32, 34, iii. 23) treats the form α as heretical, though Athanasius had sometimes used it. Its presence then in so many Church Orders is a mark of antiquity. Funk (TUH 53 f., 156 f., 235 f. holds that the predominance of α in AC and of γ in EthCO and H¹ is a sure proof of the priority of the first over the other two. This, however, is a very uncertain test, even if the facts were as stated. Much depends on the place of writing and on the tone of thought of the writer. In Egypt, in anti-Arian circles, the common form α soon sank into disfavour. We are not therefore surprised to find γ in CH, EgCO, EthCO, H¹. But elsewhere the change was much slower, as St Basil shows. The semi-Arian tendency of AC amply accounts for the occurrence in that work of the older form α , even though the writer lived in the last quarter of the fourth century (see below, p. 149 f.; he doubtless wrote in Syria). Yet the form γ is found twice (or once) in AC vii., viii., and the half-way form δ no less than fourteen times.

What is much more noteworthy is that in *Test*, a strongly anti-Arian work, the form α or β is used nine out of fourteen times. This points to that manual having been written before the controversy on the doxology became acute in the writer's country.

CHAPTER VIII: FESTIVALS, FASTS, AND SEASONS

1. The Festal Cycle. The development of festivals in the early ages of Christianity was very gradual; and the Church Orders bear witness to this fact. In some places, towards the end of the fourth century, for example in Syria and at Jerusalem, it was more rapid than elsewhere; and we see traces in some authorities of a desire to increase the number of festivals. No festival is mentioned in *D* and *ApCO*; in *Didasc* only Easter; in *CH*, *EgCO*, *EthCO*, *H¹*, Pentecost also. *Test*, which gives elaborate rules for Easter, and one or two for Pentecost, adds also Epiphany (the commemoration of the Nativity), though it only just mentions it; it would almost seem that it had only recently been introduced. It is rather curious that *EdCan* calls Epiphany (on January 6, expressly) the chief of the festivals of the Church (can. 6). Now neither Epiphany (January 6) * Reference may be made to the author's article on 'The Christian Calendar' in *DCG* i. 251 ff., where the subject of this chapter is treated in greater detail.

2 nor Christmas (December 25) seems to have been observed as festivals before the fourth century, and it was not till the last quarter of that century that they were both observed together in the same Church. In *AC* (and || *ConstH*, also in || *SEC* 75 and *EthS* 67) we have a much more elaborate system: Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Christmas, Epiphany (commemorating the baptism of Christ), the Apostles' days (plural), 'the day of Stephen...and the rest of the holy martyrs' are given in *AC* viii. 33 (*Funk DidCA* i. 541, and *Horner*, p. 214, understand the last to mean 'the day of Stephen...and the days of the other martyrs'; for St Stephen's day cf. also *AC* v. 8, which also mentions 'James the Bishop'). In v. 13. Christmas is said to fall on the 25th day of the ninth month, and Epiphany on the 6th day of the tenth month. We see here, then, a great extension of the cycle; it must be noticed that *AC* exhibits an enthusiastic desire to extend it beyond what had been customary. —In 'Silvia' c. A.D. 385, we have Epiphany with Octaves (Christmas was not yet a separate festival at Jerusalem); Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, forty days after Epiphany, which here is the commemoration of the Nativity; Palm Sunday; Easter with Octaves*; the fortieth day after Easter, apparently

not the feast of the Ascension, which was commemorated, together with the descent of the Holy Ghost, at Pentecost; Pentecost; the Dedication

³* Easter week is also mentioned in AC viii. 33 (slaves rest from work then) and in Augustine Ep. LV. 32 Ben., ad Januarium. So EdCan 9, but the reading is doubtful; cf. Barnabas 15, M. (Holy Cross day). Perhaps also there was a martyrs' festival, but there is a lacuna in the MS after the reference to the Dedication.—Of the Cappadocian fathers, Gregory of Nyssa, in the funeral oration on his brother St Basil (In laudem fratris Basilii, ad init.), mentions the commemoration of the Apostles and Prophets after Christmas, namely Stephen, Peter, James, John, Paul (perhaps all on one day). A Syriac Martyrology c. A.D. 400 (DCG i. 263) gives St Stephen on December 26, St James and St John on December 27, St Peter and St Paul on December 28. The death-days of martyrs (called in Latin natales) are ordered to be commemorated in EdCan 18; and of this we have other instances, e.g. the letter of the Smyrnaeans on the martyrdom of Polycarp, § 18, Cyprian Ep. xxxix. (xxxiii.) 3 (he mentions the Eucharist at such commemorations), and Basil Ep. xciii.

⁴It appears from what has been said that in the fourth century there was a considerable development. The cycle of festivals in AC is the same as that of St Chrysostom (De beato Philogonio 3, A.D. 386); and this fact goes far to date and place this Church Order. The observance at Antioch of both December 25 and January 6 first took place less than ten years before 386 (Chrysostom in Diem Natal. 1); but the former festival was unknown to Epiphanius A.D. 375 where the Ascension is (perhaps) said to have taken place on a Sunday ('the eighth day,' so numbered because following the sabbath); some indeed have interpreted Barnabas as meaning that our Lord rose and ascended on the same day (so Harnack). See Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 68 f. (Haer. li. 16, 27), and, as we have just seen, at Jerusalem at a still later date. The fact that AC seems to press the separation of Epiphany and Christmas would point to a date at least as early as St Chrysostom's writings just quoted. In Alexandria we do not hear of their being separated before A.D. 432; but the division may have taken place some years before that, as Augustine tells us that in his time both days were observed (Serm. 199—204 Ben. (on the Epiphany): see especially Serm. 201; cf. DCG i. 262).

⁵2. Date of Easter. Those of our authors who mention Easter are clearly no *Quartodecimans*. Easter with them always falls on a Sunday. But they do

not all agree as to the computation of the Paschal fast and festival. CH (xxii. 195) says that the week when the Jews observe Pascha is to be carefully observed by all the people. So Didasc v. 17 (DidCA p. 286, Gibson p. 97) bids Christians keep this feast with all care 'when your brethren of the Nation keep the Passover.' And the fourth century Pseudo-Pionius (Life of Polycarp 2, Lightfoot, Ignatius iii. 434) says that Pascha is not to be kept outside the season of unleavened bread as the heretics do, especially the Phrygians [Montanists], nor yet on the other hand of necessity on the fourteenth day. But AC (v. 17, parallel to Didasc as above) enjoins independence of the Jews; the 'days of Pascha' (see below, p. 132) are to be observed exactly, and after the vernal equinox, so that

69—2 the 'memorial of the one Passion' be not kept twice in one year; Christians are not to be careful to keep the feast with the Jews, for there is no communion with them, and the Jews have erred in their calculation; the day of the Resurrection is always to be kept on a Sunday. So ApCan 7 deposes any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, who keeps Easter before the vernal equinox with the Jews (cf. can. 70). It is a little remarkable that the compilers of CH and Didasc, and Pseudo-Pionius should say what they do, for Hippolytus and others had made their careful (but, as it proved, inexact) calculations with the purpose of making the Christians independent of the Jews (DCG i. 258; Wordsworth MG 359 ff.). It appears therefore that these writers had not come under the influence of Hippolytus in this matter; whatever may be said of the CH writer, the other two, at least, lived long after Hippolytus' time. The other Church Orders do not allude to the subject.

73. 'Pascha' and 'Pentecost.' These terms in the Church Orders more frequently denote a season than a day. We read of 'the days of Pascha' or 'the forty days of Pascha,' meaning the season before the feast of the Resurrection (Test ii. 8, 18; so ApCan 69, but some MSS omit τοῦ πάσχα here). In Test i. 28, 'Pascha' is said to include the Saturday and Sunday of Easter, and in the context is joined to 'the days of Epiphany and of Pentecost.' The last week of 'Pascha' includes Maundy Thursday (ii. 11) and the 'end of Pascha' is Easter Even at midnight (ii. 12). On the other hand Test once mentions the 'feast of Pascha' (i. 42). In CH xxii. 197 Holy Week is called the 'time of Pascha.' In EgCO 55, H¹ p. 116, no one is to take anything 'in the Pascha' before [the Eucharist], where || EthCO 41 has 'during the fasts of Pascha'; while the same section of EgCO speaks of 'the day of the Pascha,' but || EthCO 41 and H¹

simply have 'the day.' In AC v. 13f. we read of 'the holy week of Pascha' and 'the fast of Pascha'; in v. 17, 18 (so || Didasc) of 'the days of Pascha.' But ApCan 7 speaks of 'the holy day of Pascha.'

§ Similarly 'Pentecost' means both the fifty days from Easter Day to Whitsunday, and also Whitsunday itself. For the former cf. 'the days of Pentecost' in Nicaea can. 20; and Test i. 28, 42, ii. 12, Tertullian de Bapt. 19 (both senses are used there), Origen c. Cels. viii. 22 (both senses), Basil De Spir. S. xxvii. (66). For the latter see Ac. ii. 1, xx. 16, 1 Co. xvi. 8, Elvira can. 43, 'Silvia' vi. and Tertullian de Cor. 3. The phrase 'after Pentecost' in CH xvii. 198, EgCO 55, EthCO 41, H¹ p. 116 (where one who could not fast in Pascha because of illness is told to carry out this duty at the later season) might fit either meaning. 4. Fasts. The germ of future fasts may perhaps be seen in D 7 f., which prescribes (a) fasts on Wednesday and Friday, in emulation of the Jews ('the hypocrites') who fasted on Monday and Thursday—so it is stated explicitly; (b) a fast of a day or two before baptism for the candidate, the baptizer, and others who are able. As Easter is not mentioned in this manual, the baptismal fast in it is very significant. The pre-baptismal fast for the candidate and others is alluded to in Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 61, Tertullian de Bapt. 20; and in the Clementine Recognitions vii. 36, where it is for one day.

¶ It will be convenient to collect the facts about the fasts from the Church Orders, and then to consider what deductions may be drawn from them. (i) Fast of Pascha. 10 (a) There is a two days' absolute fast before Easter in EgCO 55, EthCO 41, H¹ p. 116, Test ii 20, and no other Paschal fast is mentioned in these books. In Test, indeed, as stated above, the 'forty days of Pascha' are spoken of, but there is no word of fasting then (ii. 8); the people are to keep vigil and to pray in the church, hearing the Scriptures and hymns of praise and books of doctrine. Funk (TUH p. 65) thinks that the 'forty days' were probably fasts. But the evidence is the other way; the compiler is so particular in laying down rules, that if he does not do so, we are led to suppose that it is of set purpose, or else that the rules had not entered his head because they did not exist around him. It is true, as Funk says, that the injunction to fast absolutely on two days does not necessitate the absence of a partial fast on the preceding days (see below, β and ε). But the absence in these Church Orders of any direction to fast for forty days would be surprising if as a matter of fact the forty days' fast existed in their Churches. A parallel to the Test

conception of the Forty Days merely as a solemn season may be seen in the fifth canon of Nicaea where the τεσσαρακοστή is only mentioned as a season before which synods are held;

¹¹ nothing is said about fasting during the season, and it is not very likely that as early as A.D. 325 a forty days' fast was, at any rate, common. Irenaeus speaks of a variety of usage in the second century, mentioning fasts of one day, of two days, of forty hours; and shows that the variety in his time had long existed; Eusebius (HE v. 24) gives the passage. For the two days' fast see Tertullian de Jejun. 13 f. In these Church Orders sick persons who cannot fast the two days are allowed to fast on the Saturday only*. This has some bearing on the question whether the two days' fast was a Good Friday fast prolonged, or simply a fast in preparation for Easter; as a matter of fact, in the Church Orders mentioned above, the Friday before Easter is only mentioned in connexion with the preparation of candidates for baptism (see above, p. 97). It is not impossible that these compilers commemorated the Death and Resurrection of our Lord on the same day (see further, DCG i. 259); or at least that this was the case with their sources (see δ below).

¹² (β) We find a Holy Week fast, not an absolute one, in CH xxii. 195—198, where bread, salt, and water are allowed, and in Didasc v. 14 (DidCA i. 278, Gibson p. 95): 'from the Monday fast fully six days, till the * So also AC v. 18. night after the sabbath.' This at first sight seems inconsistent with a later passage, v. 18 (DidCA i. 288, Gibson p. 98), but the inconsistency seems to be due to the quotation from Ex. xii. 3—6; the meaning is that from Monday to Thursday a partial fast is kept with bread, salt, and water (cf. CH), but that on Friday and Saturday an absolute fast is prescribed*. For the Holy Week fast see Dionysius of Alexandria Ep. ad Basiliden can. 1 (where he says that some fasted absolutely the whole six days, some two, some three, some four days, but others not even one day), and Epiphanius (Haer. l. 1—3, Exp. fid. 22), who says that the Quartodecimans only observed one day's fast.

¹³ (γ) The Montanists observed 'two weeks of xerophagies' (partial fasts) in the year, Saturdays and Sundays being excepted (Tertullian de Jejun. 15). This is expressly said to be more than the fasts of the Catholics. (δ) A forty days' fast is found in EdCan 7, which speaks of fasting for the 'forty days before the day of the passion of our Saviour'; 'then' Christians are to 'celebrate the day of the passion and the day of the resurrection.' The reason given for fasting for forty days is that our Lord, Moses, and Elijah fasted for that period.

Thus the forty days included Holy Week, as in Test, or at least the greater part of it. It is possible that here also we have a relic of the observance of the Passion and the Resurrection on the same day (see above, a). * The chronology of Didasc as to the events of Holy Week is much confused.

¹⁴ (e) A forty days' fast and a Holy Week fast in addition are found in AC v. 13, 18, the last two days being kept as an absolute fast; Mk ii. 20 is quoted. So also Holy Week is an extra week of Lent in Pseudo-Ignatius Philipp. 13; the forty days are first mentioned, and then the 'week of the passion.' This makes a fast in all of nearly fifty days, and this is the custom of the Orthodox and of the East Syrians to this day. It seems to have been a common custom in the East from the latter years of the fourth century onwards, but not in Palestine or Egypt; nor did it obtain in the West (see Brightman LEW p. xxviii). In ApCan 69 it is not stated if the 'holy forty days [of Pascha]' include Holy Week or not, but they are a compulsory fast for all men; so also in CH xx. 154.

(ii) Baptismal fasts.

¹⁵ The fast before baptism is found in D 7 (as above); in CH xix 150—152 (bracketed by Achelis), for the candidates and others (cf. D. etc. as above p. 133), but the length of the fast is not stated; also in CH xix. 106 and || EgCO 45, EthCO 34 (H\$2\$ has a lacuna here) on the Friday before Easter, for the candidates; in || Test ii 6 the fast is extended to Friday and Saturday. In AC vii. 22 a fast is prescribed for the candidates—though its duration is not stated—because Jesus fasted after his baptism, and reasons are given for the difference of fasting before and after baptism.—Thus we have a double injunction to fast on these days, both as a preparation for Easter, and as a preparation for baptism. As baptism ordinarily took place early on Easter morning, this is a repetition, but doubtless an intentional repetition, since baptism might take place at another time, and moreover catechumens would hardly come under the stricter law of fasting which would be binding on the faithful. The suspicion arises that the fast before baptism is the real rationale of the fast before Easter; or at any rate that the author of the original of these parallel Church Orders considered it in that light (see further DCG i. 258 f.).

(iii) *Weekly fasts.*

¹⁶ Weekly fasts are found in most of the Church Orders. Wednesday and Friday fasts, as stated above, are found in D 8, and so in || AC vii. 23' which adds: 'or the entire five days,' i.e. from Monday to Friday inclusive (for Saturday fasting, except on Easter Eve, is forbidden in AC; see v. 20 18f., which also prescribes the Wednesday and Friday fasts). So also we find these two fasts in CH xx. 154, ArD 38, ApCan 69, Pseudo-Ignatius Philipp. 13, Tertullian de Jejun. 2, 14, Clement of Alexandria Strom. vii. 12. 75, Origen in Lev. Hom. x. 2, Peter of Alexandria Ep. canon. 15, Epiphanius Exp. Fid. 22. The mention in EdCan 3 f. of service on these two days points to their being fasts. But Test prescribes no fixed days for weekly fasts, only contemplating the contingency of a fast day happening in the week (i. 22). So Hermas (Sim. v. i)

¹⁷ does not say which were the fast days, and perhaps they were indeterminate in his time. Bp J. Wordsworth (MG p. 327) conjectures that except in Egypt the observance of the Wednesday and Friday fasts was not general, or died out, and that their restoration was due to Epiphanius. 'Silvia' speaks of the observance of Wednesday and Friday in Lent, and says that unless a festival of the martyrs fell on one of them even the catechumens fasted. Special fasts are prescribed in Test (i. 22) for bishops, first for three weeks after their ordination, and then on three days in every week for the rest of the first year, some relaxation being allowed on Sundays; but it is not stated which were the days. ArD 23, 38 has the same rule, but (§ 38) limits the three weeks' fast to the first five days of each week, and definitely excludes the season of Pentecost: also it introduces a mention of Wednesday and Friday fasts. In EgCO 47 (cf. EthCO 36; the || H¹ is wanting) widows and virgins are bidden to fast often; presbyters and laymen (Eth says 'deacons' also) are to fast 'at any time that they will'; but the bishop ought not to fast except when all the people fast.

¹⁸ We can now see what bearing these facts have upon the determination of the surroundings of the Church Orders. A forty days' Lenten fast was unknown till the fourth century*, and this at once determines that AC, EdCan, CH (unless interpolated * A reference to the forty days' fast in Rufinus' translation of Origen in Lev. Hom. x. 2 is doubtless his interpolation. here, as Achelis supposes), and Pseudo-Ignatius, are not earlier than that time. Fasting for forty days seems to have gradually grown during the fourth century. Even in the fifth century Socrates tells us (HE v. 22) that the Lenten fast var-

ied; at Rome it was three weeks, save Saturday and Sunday; in Illyria and Greece and at Alexandria it was six weeks, elsewhere seven weeks, but still called τεσσαρακοστή. This will make us suspect that the name τεσσαρακοστή in the instances given above must not be tied down to the exact number forty. And the fact that in so many places the catechumenate lasted for forty days from the final choosing of the 'competentes'* may have done much to fix forty days as the length of the fast preparatory to Easter and to the Easter baptism. But the absence of a forty days' fast in EgCO, EthCO, H¹, Test, and Didasc, points to the comparatively early date of these Church Orders.

¹⁹ Fasting was forbidden on Sundays or in Pentecost; cf. AC v. 20 (not in || Didasc). So in Test ii. 12 it is forbidden to fast or kneel (cf. above p. 38) during these fifty days, and workmen are to relax their work 'in the days of Pentecost and on every first day of the week.' * At Elvira, c. A.D. 305, it lasted for two years, and, as we have seen (p. 16 f.), in EgCO, EthCO, H¹, Test, it lasted for three years, counting all the stages of it.

CHAPTER IX: RELATIVE POSITION AND DATES OF THE CHURCH ORDERS

1. It was remarked in the first chapter of this book that several of the Church Orders agree so closely together that it is necessary to postulate a common original for them. This applies to those in the first division particularly, but also to those in two of the other divisions. The problem is not unlike that of the Synoptic Gospels. Let us then begin by taking the first division, and endeavour to place the manuals contained in it in their right order, and to fix their approximate dates. Here we shall find very considerable differences of opinion, and any result which we obtain must be considered tentative only. It is well, however, at the outset to make quite clear what the question is. Most of these Church Orders are parts of longer compilations; and it is often necessary to separate the question of the date of the Church Order from that of the date of the compilation. In the case of AC, indeed, it is common ground that the compiler of the eight books was also the compiler of the Church Order found in book viii. In the case of SEC (the Egyptian Hep-tateuch) and EthS it is very unlikely that the compilers of the whole were also the compilers of EgCO and EthCO respectively; for the same matter is gone over twice, in different ways—that is, first in EgCO (EthCO) and then in the Church Order which is nearly identical with AC viii.

² He would be a strange compiler who published in the same work a Church Order of his own and a closely parallel Church Order adapted from

AC. We must, then, be on our guard against assuming that the date of a Church Order is necessarily the date of the compilation in which it is found. On the other hand we must remember that all the writers of the first division, with, at most, a single exception, used one or more sources. And it is always possible that the Church Orders themselves have been more or less interpolated. We have then, further, to guard against the presupposition that the date of a Church Order, as a separate work, is necessarily the date of either the earliest or of the latest custom or phrase found in it. For example, the reference to persecution does not necessarily mean that AC is ante-Nicene, nor the presence of the Filioque in CH that that manual belongs to the sixth century. The question to be solved is, At what dates did these writers produce out of the materials at their hand the Church Orders, as separate books of instruction and guidance for their fellow Christians?

3 2. Hypothesis of a Lost Original. One of the Church Orders in our first division must be the source on which the rest depend, or all must depend on some lost source. The view that one of them is the source on which the rest depend is taken by Achelis (*Die Can. Hipp.*) and Funk, the former taking CH, the latter AC viii. as the original. Funk's hypothesis will be considered later; but it seems desirable to say here at once why in the present writer's opinion Achelis' view (at any rate in the form in which he has put it) cannot be accepted. Putting aside the questions of the passages marked by Achelis as interpolations (below p. 157 f.) and of the Hippolytean authorship, it is hardly credible that there should be such a large amount of material in CH which does not appear in any of the other Church Orders, if CH is the parent of them all. The preface (i. 1-6) would surely have left some trace behind it; the ordination prayer for bishops could hardly be the original of that in the other manuals, containing as it does so many phrases which have absolutely disappeared (above p. 75 f.); that for deacons (p. 71) has left no trace in the other Church Orders; the provisions about married and travelling presbyters (viii., ix. 55-58), the exhortation in xxxviii. 255-261, and the rules about vestments at the Eucharist (xxxvii. 201-204) are wholly wanting elsewhere; as also are several individual passages, for which see Cooper-Maclean p. 9, note.

4 We may conclude, then, that CH is not the original; indeed Achelis only maintains that it is so after omitting several passages which he marks as interpolations (not, however, most of those just noted). We shall see equal reasons later for rejecting Funk's hypothesis. If so, it follows that there must

have been an original which is now lost; for no one maintains that any other extant manual is the source of all the others. One indication that these Church Orders depend on a lost Original is that they contain obscure and confused passages which it is impossible to understand completely, and which could not with any probability be held to be original in any of the manuals. Take, for instance, a phrase in EthCO, H¹, and Test about the first communion of the neophytes. Each writer has treated the phrase in a different way:

ETHCO 35 (Horner)

5 He (the bishop) shall give thanks over the bread and the cup; the bread that it may become the body of our Lord Christ, and the cup, the wine mixed, that it may become the blood of our Lord Christ, this which was shed for us and for all of us indeed who believe in him...[milk and honey]...All this the bishop shall go through to those who are baptized. And the water also of the Oblation he shall show in the bread like the inward part of man, who is soul as well as body.

H p. 112

6 Gratias agat panem quidem in exemplum, quod dicit Graecus antitypum, corporis Christi; calicem uino mixtum propter antitypum, quod dicit Graecus similitudinem, sanguis quod effusum est pro omnibus qui crediderunt in eum...[milk and honey]...aquam uero in oblationem in indicium lauacri, ut et interior homo, quod est animale, similia consequantur (sic) sicut et corpus. Let the shepherd give thanks. But the bread is offered for a type of my body. Let the cup be mixed with wine—mixed with wine and water, for it is a sign of blood and of the laver; so that also the inner man, that is to say, that which is of the soul, may be counted worthy of those things which are like (them), that is to say, those things of the body also. There is nothing in any of the other Church Orders corresponding to these difficult passages about the water in the chalice. We may probably conclude that there was such a passage in the original Church Order, that it early became corrupt, and that some compilers omitted it as unintelligible, while others made the best sense they could out of it. We cannot conceive that any of the above passages is the original of the others.

7 Or, again, take as an example the treatment of the honorary presbyterate of confessors (above, p. 87 ff.). In all these Orders, with the exception of

AC (which in this instance could not possibly be the original of the rest, and which in any case has not become corrupted in the MSS) the passage is hopelessly confused, though the general sense is clear. Here again we can hardly believe that any one of them is the parent of all the others. The same thing is seen from some passages which are not confused. Take the passage about soldiers (CH xiii. f. 71—75, EgCO 41, EthCO 28 f., Test ii. 2, AC viii. 32, ConstH 22; see above, p. 97). CH says that no one who has received the power of M. 8 killing or is a soldier is to be received. Those who, being soldiers, are commanded to fight, but have abstained from evil talk and have not placed crowns on their heads, etc. (may be received); a magistrate not clothed with justice is to be excommunicated; no Christian is to become a soldier except by force, and if so he is not to shed blood. EgCO says that a soldier who is in authority is not to kill men; if commanded to do so he is not to hasten to the work, nor to swear; one who has power over the sword or a magistrate of a city who is clothed with purple, unless he leaves (his occupation), is to be rejected; no catechumen or believer is to become a soldier. EthCO says that a soldier of the prince is not to be received, and if ordered to kill he is not to do so; a soldier, whether baptized or a catechumen,...and a magistrate with the sword, or chief of prefects, and he who is clad in red is to be rejected; no catechumen or believer is to become a soldier. [H^k has a lacuna here.] Test says that a soldier or one in authority is to be taught not to oppress or kill or rob... but if they wish to be baptized they must leave (their occupation). No catechumen or believer is to become a soldier. For AC and ConstH, which remove the prohibition, see above, p. 97. In these passages the meaning is quite clear. Yet the wording is such that we can hardly conceive any one of them to be the source of the rest.

9 It does not, of course, necessarily follow that each of the extant Church Orders is independent of all the others, except in being derived from a common original. There is much evidence, for example, that the Test writer had a manual very like H^l before him when he was writing*. But it seems clear that those Orders which are now extant are not all in one line of tradition. For example, it is commonly said that Test is derived from the Church Order of the Egyptian Church, and this is very possibly true, if we take that phrase in a wide sense, as meaning some Church Order written in Egypt; but Test is certainly independent of our EgCO in some things; e.g. in the formula of submission to God at baptism and in the baptismal creed; in much of the

baptismal section (ii. 8) Test is unlike EgCO and nearer CH and H; so the passage (ii. 11) about alms for a widow is in Test and CH, not in EgCO; that quoted above about the water in the chalice is in Test, H¹, and EthCO, not in EgCO.

¹⁰ It appears, then, to be a fundamental mistake to assume that, if one of these Church Orders has earlier features than another, it must be its direct ancestor. Indeed it would not be surprising if it proved to be the case that most of the extant manuals had only an indirect relationship with one another, as cousins rather than as parents or children. At any rate it is probable that many forms of the Original Church Order were extant in widely different circles—Montanist, Catholic, anti-Arian, semi-Arian, * Similarly it is manifest that ApCO was known to, and had a great influence upon, him. Another very confused passage (see CH xxxii. 160—163, and Arendzen's translation of the Arabic in JThSt iv. 282), which illustrates the necessity of our present hypothesis of a lost Original. 10—2 perhaps Arian—and that each author dealt very freely with his materials, adapting them as he thought best for his own immediate surroundings. It is not improbable that many of the writers were bishops, drawing up rules for their own dioceses.

¹¹ It may be permissible to hazard a conjecture with regard to the 'Lost Church Order.' It is quite possible that it was the work of the great Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, and that this was the reason why two of the extant manuals (CH, ConstH) received their titles. We know that Hippolytus wrote a work called *The Apostolic Tradition* (ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις); this is mentioned on the Chair of Hippolytus at Rome* immediately after the treatise *Of Gifts* (περὶ χαρισμάτων). Perhaps these two works came together in the earliest MSS, and were read as one book, which would account for the arrangement of ConstH and AC viii (where the sections *Of Gifts* are followed immediately by the Church Order), and also for the prologue of H¹ (below, p. 162 f.). Lightfoot, indeed, regards these two phrases as one single title (περὶ χ. ἀπ. παράδοσις), but he thinks that perhaps Hippolytus drew up some canons, and that early canonists prefixed to their canons some sentences of Hippolytus from the *περὶ χαρισμάτων* (Clement, ii. 400; see also his remarks on p. 402 and his account of the chair at pp. 440 ff. 324 ff.). Either of these hypotheses would account

¹² * A marble chair, with part of a seated figure, was discovered near Rome (close to San Lorenzo) in 1551, and was proved to be that of Hippolytus

by the names of the works inscribed on the back. It is in the Lateran Museum. The date, according to Lightfoot, is c. A.D. 236. for the phenomena. —It is probable that the Lost Church Order contained at least the outline of a Liturgy, and also ordination prayers and rules for the organisation of the Christian community. ¹³ 3. Date of the Apostolic Constitutions. It will be convenient to begin with this work, as there is general agreement that it was compiled, and that the Church Order in bk. viii. was composed, by a single writer in the latter half of the fourth century. The indications of date come from the book itself, as we must dismiss the idea that Epiphanius quotes AC; he is really quoting a form of Didasc older than AC. That the book is a uniform whole, by a writer who first interpolated Didasc (i.—vi.), then D (vii. 1—32), and added some liturgical matter (vii. 33—end), a treatise On Gifts (viii. 1, 2), and a form of our Church Order (viii. 3—end), is seen by an examination of the phraseology, style, and other characteristics; see the careful summary in Brightman LEW p. xxiv ff. The date of AC is determined very closely by the festal cycle (see above, p. 129 f.). This would have merely given us a terminus a quo, but for the obvious fact that the AC writer is endeavouring to lead the way in separating Epiphany and Christmas and in developing the cycle; and therefore we are brought to a date as early in the last quarter of the century as possible, say c. A.D. 375. That the work is post-Constantinian is seen e.g. by vi. 24, which speaks of the conversion of the Roman Empire, and in which the reference to the Romans is in striking contrast to that in || Didasc (DidCA i. 364).

¹⁴ It is generally agreed that AC was written in Syria; the Syro-Macedonian calendar is used in v. 14, 17, 20, where the months Xanthicus, Dystros, Gorpiaeus are named (not in || Didasc). The fact that Holy Week is not included in the Forty Days (p. 137 above) excludes Palestine, Egypt and the West. For other indications see LEW p. xxviii. But the absence of metropolitans suggests that neither Antioch itself nor its immediate neighbourhood was the home of the writer (above, p. 72 f.). ¹⁵ The forms of Church Order in SEC 63—78 and EthS 49—72, which are no doubt derived from AC (or from an earlier draft of AC), may only date from the time of those compilations. We cannot get very near to the date, but they may have been composed at any time in the fifth century, perhaps early in the century.

4. Relation of the Constitutions through Hippolytus to the Apostolic Constitutions.

¹⁶ These two documents are very closely related, whether they are the work of the same author or not. The question arises as to which document has priority. Is ConstH the original, or an epitome, of AC? We must first notice that in both documents the sections are divided among the Apostles, and that both enumerate fourteen as being present, the Twelve, St Paul and St James (AC viii. 4, ConstH 3). But in ConstH, of the fourteen only ten have sections assigned to them, while in AC all fourteen have sections, and the four omitted in ConstH have in AC those sections assigned to them which ConstH has not got. Moreover in AC viii. 29 Matthias has assigned to him the section about oil and water (which is not in ConstH) as well as viii. 30: 'I the same...' But ConstH 20 (which corresponds to AC viii. 30) is assigned to Simon the Cananaean (to whom both works assign the sections preceding that about oil and water). It begins 'I, the same Simon the Cananaean command...' Thus it appears that ConstH is an excerpt of a work in which all fourteen Apostles had sections assigned to them. Of what work is it an excerpt?

¹⁷ The simplest solution is undoubtedly that of Funk, who holds that ConstH is an epitome of AC viii. (DidCA ii. p. xiv ff. TUH 179 ff.). Funk considers that a writer other than the AC compiler shortened that work by omitting the liturgical matter, abbreviating the bishop's and presbyter's ordination prayer, and so forth, and corrected what he did not approve of, such as the ordination of a reader with laying on of hands. He holds also that one or two phrases in ConstH show posteriority. ¹⁸ The problem, however, is far from easy. The careful attention of the reader is asked for what is said above (pp. 74-80) about the development of the ordination prayer for a bishop, and the ordination of minor orders by imposition of hands. Funk's idea of successive writers becoming more antiquarian and producing simpler forms as time went on is hardly credible. If the ConstH writer was a corrector of AC, and did not approve of what seems to have been an invention of the latter, i.e. the ordination to some of the minor orders by laying on of hands, why did he not cut it out altogether as the || SEC 66 and EthS 54 (see above p. 23) have done? Why did he only forbid it in the case of readers, and leave it for subdeacons and deaconesses? Is it not much more probable that the AC compiler was gradually feeling his way? At first he prescribes the laying on of hands in the ordination of subdeacons and deaconesses, as these offices

might be supposed to be derived from the diaconate, but he does not yet (in ConstH or its original) venture so far in the case of the old charismatic office of the reader. Then, later, he goes to the logical conclusion of ordaining readers in the same way. Funk seems to have overlooked the fact that the ordination to minor orders with imposition of hands is not found before AC, and to all appearance was the invention of the AC compiler. The invention did not find favour at first, at any rate in Egypt, as we see in SEC and EthS. The fact, then, of the ordination conditions being simpler in ConstH than in AC (and simpler still in EgCO, EthCO, H^k, and, as far as minor orders go, in Test) makes Funk's solution of the relation between ConstH and AC an improbable one.

¹⁹ Let us, however, consider the points of phraseology which are thought to indicate posteriority in ConstH. (a) In § 1 we read of believing 'through Christ our God on him and on his undefiled Father and the all holy and life-giving Spirit,' while in || AC viii. 1 we have simply through Christ on God.' The AC phrase is said to indicate a 'more ancient doctrine of the Trinity' and the same is said of the subsection which follows. It is not very easy to see the force of this. When the documents confessedly do not date from before the last quarter of the fourth century, we are not helped to decide on a question of priority by the presence in one or the other of an older phraseology on this subject. In this case the probability is rather the reverse of what Funk supposes. The AC writer, a pronounced subordinationist, probably altered the phrase which he had at first written (as we read it in ConstH) so as not to name the Son first (cf. above, p. 118); and if he is the same as Pseudo-Ignatius we must remember that his semi-Arian tendencies increased as time went on (p. 124), for the interpolated Ignatian Epistles are certainly later than AC (Lightfoot, Ignatius i. 263 f.). (b) The phrase in the bishop's ordination prayer about the Spirit given to or through Jesus and to the Apostles (above, p. 75) is thought to show the priority of AC over ConstH. This does not follow.

²⁰ And if it did follow, H¹ and Test would be, equally with AC (with which they here agree), older than ConstH; which supposition (though probably quite true) would upset Funk's theory of their relationship. (c) In the matter of the reader ConstH is said to show signs of being a correction of AC. We have already discussed whether the provision of ConstH or that of AC about the reader is likely to have been the older, and have seen reason for assigning the priority to ConstH. But Funk says that the wording itself shows

the posteriority of ConstH. That manual omits, at the section in question, the name of the Apostle who gives the command; AC inserts it; this, however, we need not consider, as we have already reached the result that ConstH is an excerpt from a work which had the full complement of Apostolic ascriptions. But whereas the preceding and following sections of ConstH use χειροτονία, χειροτονεῖν, this section has οὐδὲ γὰρ χειροθετεῖται—those about confessors, virgins, widows have οὐ χειροτονεῖται—and this may be thought to show that the ConstH section about a reader is a correction. AC itself uses χειροτονία, χειροτονεῖν in all these sections except in those about deaconesses and readers, where neither χειροτονεῖν nor χειροθετεῖν, nor their substantives, are used. The conclusion that because ConstH uses χειροθετεῖν in the section about the reader, therefore it is a correction of AC, is an insecure one. The fact is that AC uses χειροθετεῖν of laying on of hands in general;

²¹ when the laying on of hands is emphasised, χειροθετεῖν is used; when ordination as a whole rite is spoken of, AC uses χειροτονεῖν. Both ConstH and AC therefore say that an exorcist or a confessor or a virgin or a widow 'is not ordained' (οὐ χειροτονεῖται)—they are not set apart by any office which could be called ordination, because their position was still entirely a charismatic one; but a reader, like a subdeacon, is in this sense 'ordained,' though he is not in ConstH, as he is in AC, ordained with laying on of hands. Therefore ConstH uses χειροθετεῖν here. It would not be quite true, or at least it would be ambiguous and inconsistent with AC usage, to say of a reader οὐ χειροτονεῖται; it is true of him, in ConstH, to say οὐ χειροθετεῖται (see appended note below). ²² The indications, then, point in the opinion of the present writer to the priority of ConstH over AC. But as the former is certainly an excerpt from a document which named all the fourteen Apostles, the solution which perhaps is the most probable is that once propounded by Harnack, that ConstH is a shortened form of an original draft of AC viii. The word χειροθεσία (or χειροθετεῖν) is used in AC for the various impositions of hands, or even (probably) where a hand is extended over the people as in a blessing. It seems to include both Confirmation and Ordination in iii. 10: laymen are not to do 'any of the priestly works such as the sacrifice (θυσία, the Eucharist) or baptism, or laying on of hands (χειροθεσία), or blessing (εὐλογία), great or small; for no one takes this honour to himself unless he be called of God, for by the laying on of the bishop's hands (διὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου) such an office (ἄξια) is given.' It is used of

Confirmation in ii. 32, iii. 16, vii. 44, and apparently in viii. 28f. (ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ...χειροθετεῖ, χειροτονεῖ...πρεσβύτερος εὐλογεῖ...χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ); so ConstH 19, except that the first χειροθετεῖ is omitted; in the last passage a presbyter is perhaps allowed to lay on hands in Confirmation, doubtless only in the absence of the bishop, see above, p. 107 f. It is used of the dismissal of catechumens with a blessing in vii. 39; of the reception of penitents (ii. 18, 41, 43); and of blessing in general (viii. 37, 39).

²³χειροτονία (or χειροτονεῖν) is used in AC for Christian ordination to all grades; thus, in AC iii. 11 it is used of deaconess to all minor orders, including singers and doorkeepers, who in AC are not ordained with laying on of hands (cf. also iii. 20). It is also used in ii. 27 of the 'ordination' of Aaron by God; in iii. 9 of heathen appointments of priestesses; in v. 20, vii. 16 of God's 'ordaining' the Roman empire and the Roman emperor. It is true that elsewhere than in AC χειροτονεῖν is used when laying on of hands is emphasised, as in SEC-sah 66, which says that 'it is not right to ordain (khirononei) subdeacons, readers and deaconesses,' but this is not the case in AC. 4. As we have already seen (p. 78 above), κατάστασις is used of appointments to any grade of the ministry. 5. Date of the Canons of Hippolytus. It is in the case of this book that the widest difference of opinion exists. Achelis, who believes that it was written by Hippolytus himself, necessarily dates it very early, c. A.D. 220; but he considers that it has been considerably interpolated. Morin assigns it to Dionysius of Alexandria and identifies it with the 'diaconal' epistle 'sent to those in Rome through Hippolytus' (c. A.D. 250; Euseb. HE vi. 46). Funk, on the other hand, holds this Church Order to have been derived (through ConstH and EgCO) from AC viii. and takes the alleged interpolations to be part of the text. Harnack has lately given his adherence to this view, with some considerable modifications. Funk inclines to a date in the sixth century.

²⁴ There are many indications in CH of an early date (Achelis, Die Can. Hipp. p. 217 ff.). Although persecutions were not going on at the time of writing—for there are no penalties for the lapsed, and the section about teachers (xii. 69 f.; see above, p. 116) would not be possible in times of persecution—yet it was probable that persecution would revive (vi. 43—47). The traces of close relationship between bishop and presbyter (p. 69 f. betray a date earlier than that of the Church Orders which have a separate prayer for ordaining bishops and presbyters; the simple nature of the ordination prayer

(p. 75 f.), the fact that there is no fixed day but Sunday for the Eucharist (p. 55 ff.), the arrangement that Easter is to be kept at the same time as the Jews' Passover, and the simplicity of the festal cycle, all tend to show an early date. Some of Achelis' indications will hardly command assent, such as the fact that charismata are still held in the highest honour; for the other manuals have the same phraseology. Achelis is on firm ground when he points out the great similarity between CH and Tertullian in fasts, in baptismal ceremonial, in rules about virgins' veils, about soldiers, and about care for the Eucharistic elements; but this need prove no more, in view of similar regulations being found in other Church Orders, than that the customs of the lost Original closely agreed with those mentioned by Tertullian.

²⁵ Achelis thinks that Egypt is excluded as a place of writing of CH by the fact that Agape and Eucharist are already separated, each with a ceremonial of its own, whereas in Clement of Alexandria they are still joined [but it is doubtful if this was the case, see ERE i. 170]. This, however, is a two-edged argument. If the rest of CH inclines us to assign it to Egypt, then the separation of Agape and Eucharist would lead us to a date later than Clement.

²⁶ On the other hand there are indications of a later date: e.g. the passages referring to the 'equal Trinity' (i. 2, xix. 133), to subdeacons (vii. 49, 52, xxi. 217), to the forty days' fast of Lent and to the Holy Week fast (xx. 154, xxii. 195 ff.), and the Filioque* in the Baptismal Creed (xix. 131). Most * The Filioque as part of the Nicene Creed is found first at the Third Council of Toledo (A.D. 589) which introduced the Creed into the Eucharistic Liturgy of the West. But Western writers after Augustine had spoken of the procession from the Son. of these are considered by Achelis to be interpolations; Funk on the other hand considers them necessary to the text and ineradicable, and Harnack agrees (*Chronologie* ii. 507). Certainly interpolations are probable in an Arabic translation; a parallel case is the Arabic translation of Test which constantly alters and interpolates. But there is much force in Funk's argument on this head (TUH p. 224 ff.), and it is hardly satisfactory to date a document from certain features of it and then to mark all that does not agree with that date as interpolation.

²⁷ It has already been argued that CH is not the direct parent of the other Church Orders (above, p. 143). May not the truth be that we should look on the early features as survivals from the lost Original, provided we do not make CH so late that the early features have become mere antiquarianisms

put in for effect (see above, p. 6)? On the other hand, it is a fatal defect in Funk's argument for a late date that CH would be absolutely useless as a manual at the time which he suggests. It would be merely a pseudo-historic curiosity, a farrago of false antiquarianisms. The existence of the parallel Church Orders forbids such a supposition. We must therefore reject Funk's late date, while we may nevertheless incline to the idea that almost all the alleged interpolations are part of the text. Yet some passages may remain as interpolations. Such, at least, must be the Filioque in the Creed—the very place where we should expect assimilation to a later writer's own usage. This is the only phrase in the whole book which points to a date later than the middle of the fourth century. Putting together all these considerations, the first half of that century seems to be the most likely time of writing; the doctrinal position, the ordination conditions, the regulations for festivals and fasts, the existence of subdeacons, all point to a rather early year in the century. Nevertheless, it is probable that CH reproduces the lost Original more faithfully than any other of these manuals; and to this extent Achelis' theory may be held to be well founded.

²⁸ In considering the place of writing, we must dismiss pre-suppositions of Hippolytean or Dionysian authorship, and take the book as it stands, while allowing for a very few possible interpolations. The internal evidence seems to point either to Rome or to Egypt. But in reality only one feature, the presence of the Roman Creed in the baptismal service, indicates Rome; and as the same creed is found in Test and H¹ (which are certainly Eastern) the only inference that can safely be drawn from its presence in CH, is that at an early date it made its way to the East. The other arguments adduced for a Western origin (as by Wordsworth, MG p. 22 ff. apply to the Lost Church Order which is so faithfully reproduced by CH, rather than to CH itself. On the other hand, CH bears a great likeness to EgCO, EthCO, H¹; to take only two examples among many, these four manuals agree in differing from the cognate Church Orders in saying nothing about clerical marriage or about deaconesses. These resemblances would point to Egypt as the place of writing; and this indication is to some extent confirmed by the existence of the forty days' fast in a writing probably compiled before A.D. 350, for it was in Egypt that the forty days' fast seems to have been first established (Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*. Eng. tr. p. 242).

²⁹ A stronger confirmation may be found in the administration of milk and honey in CH at Baptism, a custom for which there is no evidence outside Egypt and Africa (above, p. 46). If CH had been written in Rome we should have expected to find acolytes mentioned, for even in the third century there were forty-two of these officials there (above, p. 80). The form of the salutation before the *Sursum Corda* in the Liturgy ['The Lord be with (you) all'] points either to Rome or to Egypt (Cooper-Maclean, p. 169). On the whole, while the evidence is far from being conclusive, the most probable conclusion seems to be that CH was written in Egypt, though, since no metropolitan is mentioned (above, p. 72 f.), not in Alexandria. The influence of Alexandria may perhaps be seen in the retention by the CH writer (from the *Lost Church Order*) of the very archaic ordination conditions.

³⁰ 6. Date of Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders and Verona Fragments, part 3. These manuals may for this purpose be considered together. None of them can with any probability be dated before the fourth century. The emphasis on the 'equal Trinity' and the form of the doxologies (pp. 115, 125) would make an earlier date very unlikely. But there are several indications that they are earlier in date than AC. The Liturgy in EthCO and H¹ is almost certainly more primitive than that in AC (above, p. 50 ff.); the absence of the *Sanctus* would be difficult to explain after the fourth century; the absence (unlike AC, Test) of any account of the church buildings would be natural early in that century. The ordination prayer for a bishop in AC, as well as that in Test, are almost certainly based on that in EthCO and H¹ or on something very like it (p. 77). On the other hand EgCO must probably be earlier than EthCO and H¹ if, as seems likely, it prescribes the same prayer to be used in ordaining a bishop and a presbyter (p. 70f.); and this consideration also points to its being earlier than Sar which (c. A.D. 350) has separate prayers. The doctrinal indications in all three manuals points to the first half of the fourth century (p. 114 f.). The Macedonian heresy seems not yet to have broken out. That the Arian heresy had arisen is shown by the phrases about the Holy Trinity; but the writers do not seem to have occupied themselves much with the controversy. We may probably assign these three manuals, or rather their Greek originals, to the first half of the fourth century, perhaps rather early in that period. Their home was, doubtless, Egypt.

³¹ Funk (*DidCA* ii. p. xxi, TUH 132 ff.) gives two indications of a date later than AC. (a) In the section about the appointment and ordination of a

bishop, EgCO and EthCO begin with 'as we have before said.' Funk thinks that these words are derived from AC viii. 4 and M. 32 refer to the foregoing books of AC, thus showing that EgCO and EthCO are later than AC. But this argument is not sound. The words are not in H¹; they seem therefore to have been no part of the original EgCO, but to be due to the compiler of SEC (who has been followed here, as often, by EthS), and to refer to ApCO, which immediately precedes in that compilation. If Funk's argument shows anything, it is that the compilers of SEC and EthS lived after the AC writer, which no one doubts. (b) H¹ has a prologue, i.e. a section between ApCO and the Church Order which follows it; and the prologue begins by referring to a tract Of Gifts. No such tract precedes in H, but one so named does precede AC viii. 3, which also refers to it. Funk's deduction is that H¹ is later than and derived from AC, and that its prologue is derived from AC viii. 3*. But there are other facts about the prologue which show that the problem is not nearly so simple as Funk thinks. The prologue and AC viii. 3 nearly agree in the first sentence ('we have now finished the first part of the discourse concerning gifts, whatever they be, which God has bestowed upon man according to his will,' AC). But after this sentence they are quite independent. Again, the H prologue reappears, in nearly but not quite identical terms throughout, in the interpolated EthS 40 A (p. 21) in quite another connexion. In both these two forms the paragraph is confused (especially in H¹) and neither could well have come directly from the other. In these two forms the language used has a much older flavour than that of AC viii. 3, and it is not easy to think of them as deriving their first sentence from AC and then proceeding on their own lines. Again,

33* This section is not in ConstH, but reappears in SEC 63 and EthS 52 (much altered). H: *Ea quidem quae uerba fuerunt, digne posuimus de donationibus, quanta quidem Deus a principio secundum propriam uoluntatem praestitit hominibus...* the prologue is not found in EgCO or EthCO (the interpolated EthS 40 A is no part of EthCO), and if, as Funk says, it is 'not doubtful' that it formed originally a part of the Egyptian law book, it is hard to see why all trace of it (not only of the first sentence) has vanished from EgCO and EthCO, which begin, without preface, immediately after ApCO in the compilations where they are found (SEC, EthS). The solution of this small but puzzling problem which the present writer would offer has already been hinted at. The prologues in H¹ and in EthS 40 A clearly had a common

ancestor; this seems to have become corrupted at an early date, and so it has reached us in two confused forms. One is tempted, then, to think that the Lost Church Order, which as we have already seen reason to suppose, was perhaps added on to the Hippolytean treatise *περὶ χαρισμάτων* (p. 148), had a preface, of which the prologues of H¹ and EthS 40 A are corrupt versions, and which gave the idea for AC viii. 3.

³⁴ Here the prologue has been spoken of as an original part of H¹. We must always bear in mind another possibility, that the author of the Church Order (H¹) is not the same as the compiler of the whole of the Verona fragments, and that the prologue in question is due to the compiler. In that case the prologue would give us no indication of date for H¹. 7. Date of the Testament of our Lord. Here, again, we have great difference of opinion; Rahmani, the first editor, assigned it to the time of Irenaeus; Zahn gives c. 350, Wordsworth and Harnack c. 400 (Harnack would now place it later), Funk c. 475. That this Church Order cannot be dated before the fourth century appears from the existence of subdeacons in it (for it is an Eastern manual), from the forty days of Pascha' (p. 132), the elaborate church buildings (p. 36), the appointment of Saturday for public service (p. 57), the doctrinal tone (p. 117 ff.), the elaboration of the Liturgy, and the steps taken towards a (not yet existing) daily public service for all men (p. 59). See, further, Funk (TUH p. 62 ff.), who refutes Rahmani at length. On the other hand, marks of ante-Nicene date, such as the mention of persecution, and the relics of the ancient position of the reader still found in Test, can be well accounted for as having been taken from older materials; they fulfil the conditions suggested on p. 6 as not contradicting contemporary usage, and as not being mere antiquarianisms.

³⁵ There are many positive marks of date. The doctrinal indications suggest a date before the secession of Apollinaris from the Church in A.D. 375, even before the outbreak of the Macedonian heresy (p. 119 f.); the prevalent form of doxology points to a date a good deal earlier than the end of the century, if we remember the standpoint of the writer (p. 127). The less developed prayers, especially in the Liturgy (p. 49 f.), suggest that Test is earlier than AC, as do the restriction of laying on of hands in ordination to the three highest orders (p. 78) and the festal cycle (p. 128). Funk remarks (TUH p. 82 f. that the simple festal cycle in Test only means that it and AC were not written in the same place, since we find in 'Silvia' that Christmas and

Epiphany were still one at Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century. That is so; but even making every allowance for the AC writer having desired to extend the festal cycle, it is difficult to conceive that the very simple cycle of Test (Easter, Pentecost, Epiphany) was that used in any country where the manual is likely to have been written, even at the beginning, much less at the end, of the fifth century. The absence of metropolitans would be very unlikely in that century (p. 72 f.). The supposed mention of an archdeacon has been alleged (Wordsworth, MG 32, 162 n) as forbidding us to date this Church Order before A.D. 400.

³⁶ But the Syriac suggests that the name ἀρχιδιάκονος was not used in the Greek original (p. 72), and in any case there is no mention of such an official as holding a distinct rank; the 'chief deacon' is merely one of the deacons told off for two special tasks, neither of them in the Church services. This feature really points to a date a good deal before A.D. 400. So also does the mention of a 'stole' worn by him (p. 65). Singers in Test are not yet a class or order, as in AC and at Laodicea (p. 82). The widows προκαθήμεναι are represented as being at the height of their popularity; at the time of the Laodicean council they were dying out (p. 84). The absence of monasticism and of penitential 'stations' requires some consideration. The latter gives us no certain indication (p. 94); the former points to a date before the end of the fourth century. In the latter half of the century many monastic communities were founded and were enthusiastically received. In so strict a writer as the compiler of Test we should certainly expect a reference to them if he wrote in the fifth century. The only ascetics mentioned are the 'virgins, male and female,' who are expressly described in i. 46 as individuals, helping on the work of the Church, but clearly not living in community.

³⁷ On the other hand we have seen in the preceding chapters that Test is derived, at least in part, from a Greek manual very like H¹. We shall therefore probably be approximately right if we ascribe this Church Order to a date about A.D. 350. The country of the writer had a sea coast (i. 34) and was well watered, there being no reference, as in EgCO, to scarcity of water for the font (ii. 8); there are no interpreters, no milk and honey at baptism, no stated Wednesday and Friday fasts. It was probably therefore not Egypt, though the Liturgy is derived from an Egyptian source. The great dissimilarity between Test and AC makes Syria unlikely; and perhaps, if we take into account the Montanist influence and the position of women, we are within

the bounds of probability if we fix on Asia Minor as its home. ³⁸ Note. In the foregoing nothing has been said about the apocalyptic prelude of Test (i. 2—14a), which describes the signs to be expected before the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist, because it is quite uncertain if it was composed by the compiler of Test, or if it was an already existing tract merely prefixed by him to his work. Thus a mark of early date in the prelude is not necessarily a mark of early date in Test. A mark of late date in the prelude would, however, point to a late date for Test. There is some trace of its having had once an independent existence; at any rate we have an independent Syriac translation of it (JThSt ii. 401, Arendzen). A shorter form of it exists, which ends with 'Dexius shall be the name of Antichrist,' and Harnack suggests that this is a disguise for Decius, and that the shorter form dates from the Decian persecution. Some considerations, however, point to the shorter form being an excerpt from the longer. In any case it is doubtful if the prelude is by the Test compiler; it has some of the favourite expressions of Test, but on the other hand it has some striking differences of style.

³⁹ Then there are in Test chapters introducing the prelude (i. 1) and joining it on to the Church Order (i. 14b—18), which have the appearance of having been added by a hand other than that of the writer of the prelude, and which show marked differences of style as compared with the prelude. It seems therefore probable that the Test compiler took an already existing tract on the End (from which he perhaps got the idea of ascribing his book to our Lord), and incorporated it in his manual (see, further, Cooper-Maclean p. 141 ff.). The prelude shows no sign of a post-Nicene date, certainly not of a date later than the fourth century. It has therefore no certain bearing either on the place or on the time of writing of Test.—The connecting chapter i. 16 has a mark of the influence of ApCO on Test. In the former Martha and Mary are mentioned, and some slight is thrown on the ministry of women. In Test (where the bias is all the other way) Martha and Mary and Salome are introduced, and not only is the slight removed, but the opportunity is taken to include women among 'all those who minister in' the 'Church' (i. 15).

⁴⁰ 8. Date of the Appendix to the Arabic Didascalia. It is clear that ArD-app is derived from Test, or else that Test is derived from it. But several minute points show the priority of Test. ⁴¹ Thus for example, (a) in the ordination prayer for a bishop ArD corrects the name καρδιογνώστης applied to

the Father in Test (as in || CH, H¹, EthCO, ConstH), conscious that in Acts i. 24, which is here referred to, it is applied to our Lord, as it is applied in H¹ p. 48, AC ii 24, iii. 7. The corrected phrase in ArD 36 is 'O God who triest the hearts and reins.' (b) In ArD 37 the fiction of Test i. 22 ('I have said unto you') is removed by reading 'The Lord hath said'; here also the 'presbyters' are clearly an addition of ArD (above, p. 22). (c) ArD 38 has altered a difficult allusion in Test to the 'eighteen entrances' of our Lord to the Passion, which are connected with the bishop's three weeks' fast (six days a week), not understanding the reference, and has, not very happily, substituted three 'entrances,' death, resurrection, and ascension, as connected with the bishop's fast three days a week. Here Test apparently makes an allusion to which his readers had the key, though we have not; the ArD writer did not understand it, and made the best sense he could. His insertion in this section of the Wednesday and Friday fast is another sign of his being later than Test (above, p. 138 f.). (d) ArD 38 develops the Liturgy (which it only describes) by the addition of incense; here also the presbyter, instead of the deacon, brings in the Eucharistic elements (p. 44).

⁴² (e) The Mystagogia is on the whole shorter in ArD 39 than in Test. This seems to be chiefly because the former writer has removed the quasi-'Apollinarian' phrases of the latter. On the other hand the address of Death is slightly longer in ArD. The long concluding thanksgiving in Test (spoken by our Lord) could hardly have been deduced from the short phrase in ArD: 'I thank thee, O King, with the word (sermone) with which all creation has been created by thee. This is the word (uerbum) which is in us through the Spirit, who speaks with thee only.' See also p. 37. ⁴³ These and other considerations lead us to consider these chapters of ArD as derived from Test. As Funk is of opinion that the unpublished part of ArD is derived from AC, the probability is that the ArD compiler (or a later writer) added on to his form of the Didascalia this fragmentary Church Order, adapted from Test, soon after A.D. 400. For the probability of some of these additional chapters being found in EthD, see above, p. 22. 9. Date of the Didache. The early date of this manual is seen from the undeveloped nature of the Liturgy and of the Church Organisation (above, pp. 62, 67), and also from the absence of references to Montanism (though Dr Bigg denied this last statement*). This will fix D before A.D. 157. Harnack thinks that D quotes 'Barnabas,' which he dates c. A.D. 130. But the dependence on 'Barnabas' and

the date of that epistle are alike doubtful. Other writers are inclined to place D even earlier, at the beginning of the second, or at the end of the first, century. It is probable that it is the product of some remote district, perhaps of Syria, apart from the ordinary stream of Church life.—This Church Order has been so often edited and commented on that it is here dealt with very briefly. Those who desire more information about it may be referred to the editions of C. Taylor (1886) and Harnack (1884), to Harnack's

⁴⁴* Dr Bigg stands almost alone in assigning D to the fourth century. discussion in his *Chronologie* (1897), and to Dr Salmon's article on the subject in DCB. 10. Date of the Didascalia. It is a little difficult to determine this, because it is not certain that even the oldest form of it which we possess (the Syriac) is the original. Hⁱ is probably interpolated, if only in a slight degree. We must certainly dismiss Bickell's idea that Didasc-syr is an abridgment of, and therefore later than, AC i.—vi. Parallel passages constantly show AC as describing later, never as giving earlier, customs; some examples may be seen at p. 31 f. The points which we may consider in arriving at the date are these. The arrangement of a Christian assembly is described, but not elaborate church buildings; only Sunday assemblies are mentioned. Pascha is to be determined by following the Jewish computation; a Holy Week fast is described. Harnack at one time considered that the work was anti-Novatianist (see above, p. 114), and assigned it to the last half of the third century; Wordsworth (and now Harnack also agrees with him) places it in the first half of that century (MG p. 39), but Harnack thinks that the sections about clemency to sinners are interpolated. Funk (DidCA i. p. iv f.) and Achelis agree with Harnack's earlier view. Thus, while the exact date is quite uncertain, we can only be on safe ground if we date the work some time in the third century. The Holy Week fast may perhaps incline us to the later date. Its original country is doubtful; perhaps Syria.

⁴⁵11. Date of the Apostolic Church Order. This manual has some extremely ancient features, such as the position of the reader above the deacon in § 19, though not in § 1 (see p. 86). As § 22 is to some extent a repetition of the direction of § 20 (on deacons), Harnack suggests (SAPc p. 7 ff., and in his edition of D, p. 212 ff.) that §§ 16—28 consist of two very early law books, each of the second century; these he calls 'Source A' and 'Source B.' He ascribed the Church Order itself to c. A.D. 300; but now with Funk, he is inclined to put it a little later (DidCA ii. p. xlv). In § 1 we find the word 'ep-

archy' which in the sense of an ecclesiastical province is not found before Eusebius; but there is nothing to show that the writer is referring to ecclesiastical rather than civil divisions. Subdeacons are not mentioned. This Church Order perhaps comes from Asia Minor (above, p. 26).

⁴⁶ 12. Date of the Edessene Canons. The reference in can. 25 to Christian Emperors shows that this work is post-Nicene. But it does not seem to have been written long after the conversion of the Empire, and may perhaps be ascribed to the second or third quarter of the fourth century. It came from Edessa. 13. Date of the Apostolic Canons. Several of these canons are taken from those of the Council of Antioch in Encaen., A.D. 341; this therefore is the earliest possible date. Whether compiled by the AC writer or not, they are closely connected with AC, and we may probably therefore assign them to the last quarter of the fourth century or to the beginning of the fifth, and believe that they were written in Syria.

Summary

⁴⁷ It will be convenient to sum up the results which have been tentatively reached in this volume. Reasons have been given for thinking that a large number of the Church Orders are descended from a single Original, now lost, and that this may even have been the work of Hippolytus. The extant Church Orders seem not to be all in one line of tradition. Neither the Canons of Hippolytus nor the Apostolic Constitutions can with much probability be considered as the parent of the rest. With regard to the former, a date early in the fourth century is here suggested for the work as we now have it, excepting only one or two trifling interpolations; the theory of a largely interpolated work of the era of Hippolytus now appears to the present writer to be as little tenable as that of a late composition of the sixth century. Yet the Canons probably reproduce several primitive features of the lost Original with great fidelity. It is suggested that most of the extant Church Orders here placed in the first division, or rather their Greek originals, date from the fourth century; the Canons of Hippolytus, and the three forms of the Church Order of Egypt ('Egyptian,' Ethiopic' and 'Verona fragments') having been probably compiled early in the century, the Testament of our Lord about the middle, and the Apostolic Constitutions towards the end of it. The compilations in which most of these Church Orders are found may, at least in some cases, be a good deal later.

⁴⁸ We have now come to the end of the task proposed in the first chapter of this book. The contents of the Church Orders have been considered from various points of view, and conclusions have been drawn as to their date and home. With regard to these, it will doubtless be disappointing to some that there is a certain amount of uncertainty about the results arrived at. But it is better to speak cautiously than to be over-positive, when, by the nature of the case, it can only be a question between what is more probable and what is less probable. The result of the investigation which does appear to be certain is that this whole class of literature is an important one, and cannot safely be neglected. It is hoped that the present volume may at least point out to the English student the value of the Church Orders, and the best method of studying them.

P A R T T W O

The Councils from Ancyra to Laodicea

The canons and decrees of the councils of the fourth century.

Council of Ancyra (AD 314): The Canons

Canons of a council held at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, in AD 314, soon after the persecution under Maximin came to an end. Most of them lay down how Christians who had given way under persecution were to be treated, and what penance each was to do before being received again. The editor's introduction comes first. Each canon is followed by the ancient epitome, where there is one, and by notes.

INTRODUCTION

¹Soon after the death of the Emperor Maximin, a council was held at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. Only about a dozen bishops were present, and the lists of subscriptions which are found appended to the canons are not to be depended on, being evidently in their present form of later authorship; as has been shewn by the Ballerini. If we may at all trust the lists, it would seem that nearly every part of Syria and Asia Minor was represented, and that therefore the council while small in numbers was of considerable weight. It is not certain whether Vitalis, (bishop of Antioch,) presided or Marcellus, who was at the time bishop of Ancyra. The honour is by the Libellus Synodicus assigned to the latter. The disciplinary decrees of this council possess a singular interest as being the first enacted after the ceasing of the persecution of the Christians and as providing for the proper treatment of the lapsed. Recently two papyri have been recovered, containing the official certificates granted by the Roman government to those who had lapsed and offered sacrifice. These apostates were obliged to acknowledge in public their adhesion to the national religion of the empire, and then were provided with a document certifying to this fact to keep them from further trouble. Dr. Harnack (Preussische Jahrbucher) writing of the yielding of the lapsed says:

²"The Church condemned this as lying and denial of the faith, and after the termination of the persecution, these unhappy people were partly excommunicated, partly obliged to submit to severe discipline. Who would ever suppose that the records of their shame would come doom to our time?-and yet it has actually happened. Two of these papers have been preserved, con-

trary to all likelihood, by the sands of Egypt which so carefully keep what has been entrusted to them. The first was found by Krebs in a heap of papyrus, that had come to Berlin; the other was found by Wessely in the papyrus collection of Archduke Rainer. 'I, Diogenes, have constantly sacrificed and made offerings, and have eaten in your presence the sacrificial meat, and I petition you to give me a certificate.' Who to-day, without deep emotion, can read this paper and measure the trouble and terror of heart under which the Christians of that day collapsed?"

The Canons

3 (Found in Labbe and Cossart's *Concilia*, and all Collections, in the Greek text together with several Latin versions of different dates. Also in Justellus and Beveridge. There will also be found annotations by Routh, and a reprint of the notes of Christopher Justellus and of Bp. Beveridge in Vol. IV. of the *Reliquiae Sacrae*, ed. alters, 1846.)

CANON I

With regard to those presbyters who have offered sacrifices and afterwards returned to the conflict, not with hypocrisy, but in sincerity, it has seemed good that they may retain the honour of their chair; provided they had not used management, arrangement, or persuasion, so as to appear to be subjected to the torture, when it was applied only in seeming and pretence. Nevertheless it is not lawful for them to make the oblation, nor to preach, nor in short to perform any act of sacerdotal function.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome to Canons I. And II. Presbyters and deacons who offered sacrifice and afterwards renewed the contest for the truth shall have only their seat and honour, but shall not perform any of the holy functions. Zonaras. Of those that yielded to the tyrants in the persecution, and offered sacrifice, some, after having been subjected to torture, being unable to withstand to the end its force and intensity, were conquered, and denied the faith; some, through effeminacy, before they experienced any suffering, gave way, and lest they should seem to sacrifice voluntarily they persuaded the executioners, either by bribes or entreaties, to manifest perhaps a greater degree of severity against them, and seemingly to apply the torture to them, in order that sacrificing under these circumstances they; might seem to have denied Christ, conquered by force, and not through effeminacy. Hefele. It

was quite justifiable, and in accordance with the ancient and severe discipline of the Church, when this Synod no longer allowed priests, even when sincerely penitent, to discharge priestly functions. It was for this same reason that the two Spanish bishops, Martial and Basilides, were deposed, and that the judgment given against them was confirmed in 254 by an African synod held under St. Cyprian.

The reader will notice how clearly the functions of a presbyter are set forth in this canon as they were understood at that time, they were "to offer" (*prospherein*), "to preach" (*homilein*), and "to perform any act of sacerdotal function" (*leitourgein ti ton hieratikon leitourgion*). This canon is in the *Corpus Juris Canonici. Decretum. Pars I., Dist. 1., c. xxxii.*

CANON II

IT is likewise decreed that deacons who have sacrificed and afterwards resumed the conflict, shall enjoy their other honours, but shall abstain from every sacred ministry, neither bringing forth the bread and the cup, nor making proclamations. Nevertheless, if any of the bishops shall observe in them distress of mind and meek humiliation, it shall be lawful to the bishops to grant more indulgence, or to take away [what has been granted]. For Ancient Epitome see above under Canon I. In this canon the work and office of a deacon as then understood is set forth, viz.: "to bring forth" (whatever that may mean) "bread or wine" (*arton h! poterion anapherein*) and "to act the herald" (*kerussein*). There is considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the first of these expressions. It was always the duty of the deacon to serve the priest, especially when he ministered the Holy Communion, but this phrase may refer to one of two such ministrations, either to bringing the bread and wine to the priest at the offertory, and this is the view of Van Espen, or to the distribution of the Holy Sacrament to the people. It has been urged that the deacon had ceased to administer the species of bread before the time of this council, but Hefele shews that the custom had not entirely died out. If I may be allowed to offer a suggestion, the use of the disjunctive *h!* seems rather to point to the administration of the sacrament than to the bringing of the oblations at the offertory.

The other diaconal function "to act the herald" refers to the reading of the Holy Gospel, and to the numerous proclamations made by the deacons at mass both according to the Greek and Latin Rite. This canon is in the Cor-

pus Juris Canonici united with the foregoing. Decretum., Pars I., Dist. 1., c. xxxii.

CANON III

Those who have fled and been apprehended, or have been betrayed by their servants; or those who have been otherwise despoiled of their goods, or have endured tortures, or have been imprisoned and abused, declaring themselves to be Christians; or who have been forced to receive something which their persecutors violently thrust into their hands, or meat [offered to idols], continually professing that they were Christians; and who, by their whole apparel, and demeanour, and humility of life, always give evidence of grief at what has happened; these persons, inasmuch as they are free from sin, are not to be repelled from the communion; and if, through an extreme strictness or ignorance of some things, they have been repelled, let them forthwith be readmitted. This shall hold good alike of clergy and laity. It has also been considered whether laymen who have fallen under the same compulsion may be admitted to orders, and we have decreed that, since they have in no respect been guilty, they may be ordained; provided their past course of life be found to have been upright.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon III. Those who have been subjected to torments and have suffered violence, and have eaten food offered to idols after being tyrannized over, shall not be deprived of communion. And laymen who have endured the same sufferings, since they have in no way transgressed, if they wish to be ordained, they may be, if otherwise they be blameless. In the translation the word "abused" is given as the equivalent of *perischisthentas*) which Zonaras translated, "if their clothes have been torn from their bodies," and this is quite accurate if the reading is correct, but Routh has found in the Bodleian several mss. which had *perischethentas*. Hefele adopts this reading and translates "declaring themselves to be Christians but who have subsequently been vanquished, whether their oppressors have by force put incense into their hands or have compelled them, etc." Hammond translates "and have been harassed by their persecutors forcibly putting something into their hands or who have been compelled, etc." The phrase is obscure at best with either reading isreading.

This canon is in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* united to the two previous canons, *Decretum*, Pars I., Diet. 1., c. xxxii.

CANON IV

Concerning those who have been forced to sacrifice, and who, in addition, have partaken of feasts in honour of the idols; as many as were haled away, but afterwards went up with a cheerful countenance, and wore their costliest apparel, and partook with indifference of the feast provided; it is decreed that all such be hearers for one year, and prostrators for three years, and that they communicate in prayers only for two years, and then return to full communion.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IV. Such as have been led away and have with joy gone up and eaten are to be in subjection for six years. In the Greek the word for "full communion" is to teleion ("the perfection"), an expression frequently used by early writers to denote the Holy Communion. Vide Suicer, *Thesaurus ad h. v. Bingham*. [The Holy Communion was so called as being] that sacred mystery which unites us to, Christ, and gives us the most consummate perfection that we are capable of in this world.

CANON V

As many, however, as went up in mourning attire and sat down and ate, weeping throughout the whole entertainment, if they have fulfilled the three years as prostrators, let them be received without oblation; and if they did not eat, let them be prostrators two years, and in the third year let them communicate without oblation, so that in the fourth year they may be received into full communion. But the bishops have the right, after considering the character of their conversion, either to deal with them more leniently, or to extend the time. But, first of all, let their life before and since be thoroughly examined, and let the indulgence be determined accordingly.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon V. Those who have gone up in mourning weeds, and have eaten with tears, shall be prostrators for three years; but if they basic not eaten, then. for two years. And according to their former and after life, whether good or evil, they shall find the bishop gentle or severe, Herbst and Routh have been followed by many in supposing that "oblation" (prosfora; in this canon refers to the sacrament of the altar. But this

seems to be a mistake, as the word while often used to denote the whole. act of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, is not used to mean the receiving alone of that sacrament. Suicer (*Thesaurus s. v. prosfora*;) translates "They may take part in divine worship, but not actively," that is, "they may not mingle their offerings with those of the faithful." Hefele. But as those who cannot present their offerings during the sacrifice are excluded from the communion, the complete meaning of the canon is: "They may be present at divine service, but may neither offer nor communicate with the faithful."

CANON VI

Concerning those who have yielded merely upon threat of penalties and of the confiscation of their goods, or of banishment, and have sacrificed, and who till this present time have not repented nor been converted, but who now, at the time of this synod, have approached with a purpose of conversion, it is decreed that they be received as hearers till the Great Day, and that after the Great Day they be prostrators for three years, and for two years more communicate without oblation, and then come to full communion, so as to complete the period of six full years. And if any have been admitted to penance before this synod, let the beginning of the six years be reckoned to them from that time. Nevertheless, if there should be any danger or prospect of death whether from disease or any other cause, let them be received, but under limitation.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VI. A man who yielded to threats alone, and has sacrificed, and then repented let him for five years be a prostrator. Zonaras. But should any of those debarred from communion as penitents be seized with illness or in any other way be brought nigh to death, they may be received to communion; but in accordance with this law or distinction, that if they escape death and recover their health, they shall be altogether deprived again of communion until they have finished their six years penance. Hammond. "The Great Day," that is, Easter Day. The great reverence which the Primitive Church from the earliest ages felt for the holy festival of Easter is manifested by the application of the epithet Great, to everything connected with it. The preceding Friday, i.e., Good Friday, was called the Great Preparation, the Saturday, the Great Sabbath, and the whole week, the Great Week.

CANON VII

Concerning those who have partaken at a heathen feast in a place appointed for heathens, but who have brought and eaten their own meats, it is decreed that they be received after they have been prostrators two years; but whether with oblation, every bishop must determine after he has made examination into the rest of their life.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VII. If anyone having his own food, shall eat it with heathen at their feasts, let him be a prostrator for two years. Hefele. Several Christians tried with worldly prudence, to take a middle course. On the one hand, hoping to escape persecution, they were present at the feasts of the heathen sacrifices, which were held in the buildings adjoining the temples; and on the other, in order to appease their consciences, they took their own food, and touched nothing that had been offered to the gods. These Christians forgot that St. Paul had ordered that meats sacrificed to the gods should be avoided, not because they were tainted in themselves, as the idols were nothing, but from another, and in fact a twofold reason: 1st, Because, in partaking of them, some had still the idols in their hearts, that is to say, were still attached to the worship of idols, and thereby sinned; and 2dly, Because others scandalized their brethren, and sinned in that way. To these two reasons a third may be added, namely, the hypocrisy and the duplicity of those Christians who wished to appear heathens, and nevertheless to remain Christians. The Synod punished them with two years of penance in the third degree, and gave to each bishop the right, at the expiration of this time, either to admit them to communion, or to make them remain some time longer in the fourth degree.

CANON VIII

Let those who have twice or thrice sacrificed under compulsion, be prostrators four years, and communicate without oblation two years, and the seventh year they shall be received to full communion.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VIII. Whoever has sacrificed a second or third time, but has been led thereto by force, shall be a prostrator for seven years. Van Espen. This canon shews how in the Church it was a received principle that greater penances ought to be imposed for the frequent commission of

the same crime, and consequently it was then believed that the number of times the sin had been committed should be expressed in confession, that the penance might correspond to the sin, greater or less as the case may be, and the time of probation be accordingly protracted or remitted.

CANON IX

As many as have not merely apostatized, but have risen against their brethren and forced them [to apostatize], and have been guilty of their being forced, let these for three years take the place of hearers, and for another term of six years that of prostrators, and for another year let them communicate without oblation, in order that, when they have fulfilled the space of ten years, they may partake of the communion; but during this time the rest of their life must also be enquired into.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IX. Whoever has not only sacrificed voluntarily but also has forced another to sacrifice, shall be a prostrator for ten years. [It will be noticed that this epitome does not agree with the canon, although Aristenus does not note the discrepancy.] Van Espen. From this canon we are taught that the circumstances of the sin that has been committed are to be taken into account in assigning the penance. Aristenus. When the ten years are past, he is worthy of perfection, and fit to receive the divine sacraments. Unless perchance an examination of the rest of his life demands his exclusion from the divine communion.

CANON X

They who have been made deacons, declaring when they were ordained that they must marry, because they were not able to abide so, and who afterwards have married, shall continue in their ministry, because it was conceded to them by the bishop. But if any were silent on this matter, undertaking at their ordination to abide as they were, and afterwards proceeded to marriage, these shall cease from the diaconate.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon X. Whoso is to be ordained deacon, if he has before announced to the bishop that he cannot persevere unmarried, let him marry and let him be a deacon; but if he shall have kept silence, should he take a wife afterwards let him be east out. Van Espen. The case proposed to the synod and decided in this canon was as follows: When the bishop was

willing to ordain two to the diaconate, one of them declared that he did not intend to bind himself to preserving perpetual continence, but intended to get married, because he had not the power to remain continent. The other said nothing. The bishop laid his hands on each and conferred the diaconate. After the ordination it fell out that both got married, the question propounded is, What must be done in each case? The synod ruled that he who had made protestation at his ordination should remain in his ministry, "because of the license of the bishop," that is that he might contract matrimony after the reception of the diaconate. With regard to him who kept silence the synod declares that he should cease from his ministry.

The resolution of the synod to the first question shews that there was a general law which bound the deacons to continence; but this synod judged it meet that the bishops for just cause might dispense with this law, and this license or dispensation was deemed to have been given by the bishop if he ordained him after his protestation at the time of his ordination that he intended to be married, because he could not remain as he was; giving by the act of ordination his tacit approbation. Moreover from this decision it is also evident that not only was the ordained deacon allowed to enter but also to use matrimony after his ordination ... Moreover the deacon who after this protestation entered and used matrimony, not only remained a deacon, but continued in the exercise of his ministry. On the whole subject of Clerical Celibacy in the Early Church see the Excursus devoted to that matter.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici. Decretum Pars I., Dist. xxviii, c. viii.*

CANON XI

IT is decreed that virgins who have been betrothed, and who have afterwards been carried off by others, shall be restored to those to whom they had formerly been betrothed, even though they may have suffered violence from the ravisher.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XI. If a young girl who is engaged be stolen away by force by another man, let her be restored to the former. Hefele. This canon treats only of betrothed women (of the *sponsalia de futuro*) not of those who are married (of the *sponsalia de praesenti*). In the case of the latter there could be no doubt as to the duty of restitution. The man who was betrothed

was, moreover, at liberty to receive his affianced bride who had been carried off or not. Johnson. Here Balsamon puts in a very proper caveat, viz.: If he to whom she was espoused demand her to be his wife. Compare St. Basil's twenty-second canon in his letter to Amphilochius, where it is so ruled.

CANON XII

IT is decreed that they who have offered sacrifice before their baptism, and were afterwards baptized, may be promoted to orders, inasmuch as they have been cleansed.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XII. Whoso has sacrificed before his baptism, after it shall be guiltless. Hefele. This canon does not speak generally of all those who sacrificed before baptism; for if a heathen sacrificed before having embraced Christianity, he certainly could not be reproached for it after his admission. It was quite a different case with a catechumen, who had already declared for Christianity, but who, during the persecution had lost courage, and sacrificed. In this case it might be asked whether he could still be admitted to the priesthood. The Council decided that a baptized catechumen could afterwards be promoted to holy orders.

CANON XIII

IT is not lawful for Chorepiscopi to ordain presbyters or deacons., and most assuredly not presbyters of a city, without the commission of the bishop given in writing, in another parish.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIII. A chorepiscopus is not to ordain without the consent of the bishop. Hefele. If the first part of the thirteenth canon is easy to understand, the second, on the contrary, presents a great difficulty; for a priest of a town could not in any case have the power of consecrating priests and deacons, least of all in a strange diocese. Many of the most learned men have, for this reason, supposed that the Greek text of the second half of the canon, as we have read it, is incorrect or defective. It wants, say they, poiein ti, or aliquid agere, i.e., to complete a religious function. To confirm this supposition, they have appealed to several ancient versions, especially to that of Isidore: sed nec presbyteris civitatis sine episcopi procepto amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine auctoritate literature ejus in unaquaque (some read en ekaste instead of en hetera) parochia aliquid agere. The ancient Roman

ms. of the canons, *Codex Canonum*, has the same reading, only that it has *provincia* instead of *parochia*. Fulgentius Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, who long ago made a collection of canons, translates in the same way in his *Breviatio Canonum*: *Ut presbyteri civitatis sine jussu episcopi nihil jubeant, nec in unaquaque parochia aliquid agant*. Van Espen has explained this canon in the same way.

Routh has given another interpretation. He maintained that there was not a word missing in this canon, but that at the commencement one ought to read, according to several mss. *chorepiskopois* in the dative, and further down *alla men mhde*; instead of *alla mhde*; then *presbuteros* (in the accusative) *poleos* and finally *ekaste* instead of *hetere*, and that we must therefore translate, "*Chorepiscopi* are not permitted to consecrate priests and deacons (for the country) still less (*alla men mhde*;) can they consecrate priests for the town without the consent of the bishop of the place." The Greek text, thus modified according to some mss., especially those in the Bodleian Library, certainly gives a good meaning. Still *alla men mhde*; does not mean, but still less: it means, but certainly not, which makes a considerable difference. Besides this, it can very seldom have happened that the *chorepiscopi* ordained presbyters or deacons for a town; and if so, they were already forbidden, at least implicitly, in the first part of the canon.

CANON XIV

IT is decreed that among the clergy, presbyters and deacons who abstain from flesh shall taste of it, and afterwards, if they shall so please, may abstain. But if they disdain it, and will not even eat herbs served with flesh, but disobey the canon, let them be removed from their order.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIV. A priest who is an abstainer from flesh, let him merely taste it and so let him abstain. But if he will not taste even the vegetables cooked with the meat let him be deposed (*pepaustho*). There is a serious dispute about the reading of the Greek text. I have followed Routh, who, relying on three mss. the *Collectio* of John of Antioch and the Latin versions, reads *ei de bdelusointo* instead of the *ei de boulointo* of the ordinary text, which as Bp. Beveridge had pointed out before has no meaning unless a *mh*; be introduced. Zonaras points out that the canon chiefly refers to the Love feasts. I cannot agree with Hefele in his translation of the last

clause. He makes the reference to "this present canon," I think it is clearly to the 53 52 of the so-called Canons of the Apostles, to kanoni "the well-known Canon."

CANON XV

Concerning things belonging to the church, which presbyters may have sold when there was no bishop, it is decreed that the Church property shall be reclaimed; and it shall be in the discretion of the bishop whether it is better to receive the purchase price, or not; for oftentimes the revenue of the things sold might field them the greater value.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XV. Sales of Church goods made by presbyters are null, and the matter shall rest with the bishop. Hefele. If the purchaser of ecclesiastical properties has realized more by the temporary revenue of such properties than the price of the purchase, the Synod thinks there is no occasion to restore him this price, as he has already received a sufficient indemnity from the revenue, and as, according to the rules then in force, interest drawn from the purchase money was not permitted. Besides, the purchaser had done wrong in buying ecclesiastical property during the vacancy of a see (*sede vacante*). Beveridge and Routh have shown that in the text *anakleisthai* and *prosodon* must be read.

CANON XVI

Let those who have been or who are guilty of bestial lusts, if they have sinned while under twenty years of age, be prostrators fifteen years, and afterwards communicate in prayers; then, having passed five years in this communion, let them have a share in the oblation. But let their life as prostrators be examined, and so let them receive indulgence; and if any have been insatiable in their crimes, then let their time of prostration be prolonged. And if any who have passed this age and had wives, have fallen into this sin, let them be prostrators twenty-five years, and then communicate in prayers; and, after they have been five years in the communion of prayers, let them share the oblation. And if any married men of more than fifty years of age have so sinned, let them be admitted to communion only at the point of death.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVI. Whoever shall have commerce with animals devoid of reason being younger than twenty, shall be a prostrator for fif-

teen years If he is over that age and has a wife when he falls into this wickedness he shall be a prostrator for twenty-five years. But the married man who shall do so when over fifty years of age, shall be a prostrator to his life's end. It is interesting to compare with this, as Van Espen does, the canon of the Church of England set forth in the tenth century under King Edgar, where, Part II., canon xvi., we read- "If any one twenty years of age shall defile himself with a beast, or shall commit sodomy let him fast fifteen years; and if he have a wife and be forty years of age, and shall do such a deed let him abstain now and fast all the rest of his life, neither shall he presume until he is dying to receive the Lord's body. Youths and fools who shall do any such fixing shall be soundly trounced."

CANON XVII

Defilers of themselves with beasts, being also leprous, who have infected others [with the leprosy of this crime], the holy Synod commands to pray among the hie-mantes.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVII. A leper who goes in to a beast or even to leprous women, shall pray with the hybernantes. Deprosantas is from leproo not from lepra and therefore cannot mean "have been lepers," but "have made others rough and scabby." It is only in the passive and in Alexandrian Greek that it has the meaning to become leprous. Vide Liddell and Scott. There seems but little doubt that the word is to be understood spiritually as suggested above. The last word of the canon is also a source of confusion. Both Beveridge and Routh understand by the cheimazomenoi those possessed with devils. Suicer however (*Thesaurus*) thinks that the penitents of the lowest degree are intended, who had no right to enter the church, but were exposed in the open porch to the inclemencies (*cheimon*) of the weather. But, after all it matters little, as the possessed also were forced to remain in the same place, and shared the same name.

Besides the grammatical reason for the meaning of leprosantas given above there is another argument of Hefele's, as follows: Hefele. It is clear that leprosantas cannot possibly mean "those who have been lepers"; for there is no reason to be seen why those who were cured of that malady should have to remain outside the church among the flentes. Secondly, it is clear that the words leprous ontas, etc. are added to give force to the expression alo-

geusamenoi. The preceding canon had decreed different penalties for different kinds of alogeusamenoi. But that pronounced by canon xvii. being much severer than the preceding ones, the alogeusamenoi of this canon must be greater sinners than those of the former one. This greater guilt cannot consist in the fact of a literal leprosy; for this malady was not a consequence of bestiality. But their sin was evidently greater when they tempted others to commit it. It is therefore lepra in the figurative sense that we are to understand, and our canon thus means; "Those who were spiritually leprous through this sin, and tempting others to commit it made them leprous."

CANON XVIII

IF any who have been constituted bishops, but have not been received by the parish to which they were designated, shall invade other parishes and wrong the constituted [bishops] there, stirring up seditions against them, let such persons be suspended from office and communion. But if they are willing to accept a seat among the presbyterate, where they formerly were presbyters, let them not be deprived of that honour. But if they shall act seditiously against the bishops established there, the honour of the presbyterate also shall be taken from them and themselves expelled.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVIII. If a bishop who has been duly constituted, is not received by the Church to which he was elected, but gives trouble to other bishops, let him be excommunicated. If he wishes to be numbered among the presbyters, let him be so numbered. But if he shall be at outs with the bishops duly constituted there, let him be deprived of the honour of being even a presbyter. The word I have translated "suspended from office and communion" is *aphorizesthai*. Suicer in his *Thesaurus* shews that this word does not mean only, as some have supposed, a deprivation of office and dignity (e. g., Van Espen), but also an exclusion from the communion of the Church.

CANON XIX

IF any persons who profess virginity shall disregard their profession, let them fulfil the term of digamists. And, moreover, we prohibit women who are virgins from living with men as sisters.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIX. Whoever has professed virginity and afterwards annuls it, let him be cut off for four years. And virgins shall not go to any as to brothers. Hammond. According to some of the ancient canons digamists were to be suspended from communion for one or two years, though Beveridge and others doubt whether the rule was not meant to apply to such marriages only as were contracted before a former one was dissolved. Bingham thinks that it was intended to discountenance marrying after an unlawful divorce. (Ant., Bk. xv, c. iv., 18.) Hefele. The first part of this canon regards all young persons—men as well as women—who have taken a vow of virginity, and who, having thus, so to speak, betrothed themselves to God are guilty of a quasi digamy in violating that promise. They must therefore incur the punishment of digamy (*successiva*) which, according to St. Basil the Great, consisted of one year's seclusion.

This canon is found in Gratian's *Decretum* (P. II., Causa xxvii., Q. i., c. xxiv.) as follows: "As many as have professed virginity and have broken their vow and contemned their profession shall be treated as digamists, that is as those who have contracted a second marriage."

Council of Neocaesarea (AD 315): The Canons

Canons of a council held at Neocaesarea in Pontus, soon after the council of Ancyra, about AD 315. They deal chiefly with the conduct and ordination of the clergy, with marriage and with penance. Each canon is followed by the ancient epitome, where there is one, and by notes.

INTRODUCTION

¹(Zonaras and Balsamon prefix to the canons this note.) The Synod gathered together at Neocaesares, which is a city of Pontus, is next in order after that of Ancyra, and earlier in date than the rest, even than the First Ecumenical Synod at Nice. In this synod the Holy Fathers gathered together, among whom was the holy Martyr Basil, bishop of Amasea, adopted canons for the establishing of ecclesiastical order as follow-

The Canons of the Holy and Blessed Fathers Who Assembled at Neocaesarea — Which are Indeed Later in Date Than Those Made at Ancyra, But More Ancient Than the Nicene: However, the Synod of Nice Has Been Placed Before Them on Account of Its Peculiar Dignity.

²(Annotations by Routh, and reprint of the Notes of Christopher Justellus and of Bp. Beveridge will be found in Vol. iv. of the Reliquioe Sacroe.)

CANON I

IF a presbyter marry, let him be removed from his order; but if he commit fornication or adultery, let him be altogether east out [i.e. of communion] and put to penance.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon I. If a presbyter marries he shall be deposed from his order. If he commits adultery or whoredom he shall be expelled, and shall be put to penance. Aristenus. A presbyter who marries is removed from the exercise of the priesthood but retains his honour and seat. But he that commits fornication or adultery is cast forth altogether and put to penance.

Van Espen. These fathers [i.e. of NeoCaesarea] shew how much graver seemed to them the sin of the presbyter who after ordination committed fornication or adultery, than his who took a wife. For the former they declare shall simply be deposed from his order or deprived of the dignity of the Priesthood, but the latter is to "be altogether cast out, and put to penance." ... Therefore such a presbyter not only did they remove from the priestly functions, or the dignity of the priesthood, but perfectly or altogether east him out of the Church.

This canon Gratian has inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. *Decretum*. Pars I., Dist. xxviii., c. ix. Gratian has followed Isidore in adding after the word "penance" the words "among the laity" (*inter laicos*) which do not occur in the Greek, (as is noted by the Roman Correctors) nor in the version of Dionysius Exiguus; these same correctors fall however themselves into a still graver error in supposing that criminous clerks in the early days of the Church were sent out to wander over the country, as Van Espen well points out. On the whole subject of the marriage of the clergy in the Early Church see the *Excursus* devoted to that subject.

CANON II

IF a woman shall have married two brothers, let her be east out [i.e. of communion] until her death. Nevertheless, at the hour of death she may, as an act of mercy, be received to penance, provided she declare that she will break the marriage, should she recover. But if the woman in such a marriage, or the man, die, penance for the survivor shall be very difficult.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon II. A woman married to two brothers shall be expelled all her life. But if when near her death she promises that she will loose the marriage should she recover, she shall be admitted to penance. But if one of those coupled together die, only with great difficulty shall penitence be allowed to the one still living. It will be carefully observed that this canon has no provision for the case of a man marrying two sisters. It is the prohibited degree of brother's wife, not that of wife's sister which is in consideration. Of course those who hold that the affinity is the same in each case will argue from this canon by parity of reasoning, and those who do not accept that position will refuse to do so. In the Greek text of Balsamon (*Vide*

Beveridge, Synod.) after the first clause is added, "if she will not be persuaded to loose the marriage."

Van Espen. The meaning of this canon seems to be that which Balsamon sets forth, to wit, that if a woman at the point of death or in extremis promises that if she gets better she will dissolve the marriage, or make a divorce, or abstain from the sacrilegious use of matrimony, then "she may be received to penance as an act of mercy"; and surely she is immediately absolved from the excommunication inflicted upon her when she was cast out and extruded from the Church. For it is certain that according to the discipline of the Fathers he was thought to be loosed from excommunication whoever was admitted to penance, and it is of this that the canon speaks; but he did not obtain perfect reconciliation until his penance was done. To this performance of penance this woman was to be admitted if she got well and dissolved the marriage according to her promise made when she was in peril of death, as the Greek commentators note; and this too is the sense given by Isidore.

CANON III

Concerning those who fall into many marriages, the appointed time of penance is well known; but their manner of living and faith shortens the time.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon III. The time of polygamists is well known. A zeal for penance may shorten it. Hefele. As the Greek commentators have remarked, this canon speaks of those who have been married more than twice. It is not known what were the ancient ordinances of penitence which the synod here refers to. In later times digamists were condemned to one year's penance, and trigamists from two to five years. St. Basil places the trigamists for three years among the "hearers," and then for some time among the consistentes. Van Espen. "The appointed time of penance is well known." These words Zonaras notes must refer to a custom, for, says he, "before this synod no canon is found which prescribes the duration of the penance of bigamists [i.e. digamists]." It is for this reason that St. Basil says (in *Epist. ad Amphilogium*, Can. 4) in speaking of the penance of trigamists "we have received this by custom and not by canon, but from the following of precedent," hence the Fathers received many things by tradition, and observed these as having the force of law.

From the last clause of this canon we see the mind of the Fathers of this synod, which agrees with that of Ancyra and Nice, that; with regard to the granting of indulgences, for in shortening the time of penance, attention must be paid to the penitence, and conversation, or "conversation and faith" of each one separately. With this agrees Zonaras, whose remarks are worthy of consideration. On this whole subject of the commutation of the primitive penance and of the rise of the modern indulgences of the Roman Church Van Espen has written at length in his *excursus De Indulgentiis* (*Jure Eccles.*, P. I. i., Tit. vij.) in which he assigns the change to the end of the XI century, and remarks that its introduction caused the "no small collapse of penitential discipline." This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian, *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa xxxi., *Quaest. i.*, c. viij. where for "conversio," (anastrophe;) is read "conversatio," and the Greek word is used in this sense in Polybius, and frequently so in the New Testament.

CANON IV

IF any man lusting after a woman purposes to lie with her, and his design does not come to effect, it is evident that he has been saved by grace.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IV. Whoso lusteth but doth not accomplish his pleasure is preserved of God. Hefe. Instead of *epithumesai* we must read, with Beveridge and Routh, who rely upon several mss., *epithumesas*. They also replace *met autes* by *aute*. The meaning of the canon appears to me to be very obscure. Hefele refers to Van Espen and adopts his view, and Van Espen in turn has adopted Fleury's view and given him credit for it, referring to his *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Lib. X., xvij. Zonaras' and Balsamon's notes are almost identical, I translate that of the latter in full. Balsamon. In sins, the Fathers say, there are four stages, the first-motion, the struggle, the consent, and the act: the first two of these are not subject to punishment, but in the two others the case is different. For neither is the first impression nor the struggle against it to be condemned, provided that when the reason receives the impression it struggles with it and rejects the thought. But the consent thereto is subject to condemnation and accusation, and the action to punishment. If therefore anyone is assailed by the lust for a woman, and is overcome so that he would perform the act with her, he has given consent, indeed, but to the work he has not come, that is, he has not performed the act,

and it is manifest that the grace of God has preserved him; but he shall not go off with impunity. For the consent alone is worthy of punishment. And this is plain from canon lxx. of St. Basil, which says; "A deacon polluted in lips (*en cheilesi*)" or who has approached to the kiss of a woman "and confesses that he has so sinned, is to be interdicted his ministry," that is to say is to be prohibited its exercise for a time. "But he shall not be deemed unworthy to communicate in sacris with the deacons. The same is also the case with a presbyter. But if anyone shall go any further in sin than this, no matter what his grade, he shall be deposed." Some, however, interpret the pollution of the lips in another way; of this I shall speak in commenting on Canon lxx. of St. Basil.

CANON V

IF catechumen coming into the Church have taken his place in the order of catechumens, and fall into six, let him, if a kneeler, become a hearer and sin no more. But should he again sin while a hearer, let him be cast out.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon V. If a catechumen falls into a fault and if while a kneeler he sins no more, let him be among the hearers; but should he sin while among the hearers, let him be cast out altogether. Zonaras. There are two sorts of catechumens. For some have only just come in and these, as still imperfect, go out immediately after the reading of the scriptures and of the Gospels. But there are others who have been for some time in preparation and have attained some perfection; these wait after the Gospel for the prayers for the catechumens, and when they hear the words "Catechumens, bow down your heads to the Lord," they kneel down. These, as being more perfect, having tasted the good words of God, if they fall, are removed from their position; and are placed with the "hearers"; but if any happen to sin while "hearers" they are east out of the Church altogether.

CANON VI

Concerning a woman with child, it is determined that she ought to be baptized whensoever she will; for in this the woman communicates nothing to the child, since the bringing forward to profession is evidently the individual [privilege] of every single person.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VI. If a woman with child so desires, let her be baptized. For the choice of each one is judged of. Van Espen. That the reason of the canon may be understood it must be noted that in the first ages of the Church catechumens were examined concerning their faith before they were baptized, and were made publicly to confess their faith and to renounce openly the pomps of the world, as Albaspinæus (Aubespine) observes on this canon, "A short while before they were immersed they declared with a loud voice that they desired baptism and wished to be baptized. And since these confessions could not be made by those still shut up in their parent's womb, to them the thing (res) and grace of baptism could not come nor penetrate." And altogether in accord with this is the translation of Isidore- "because the free will of each one is declared in that confession," that is, in that confession he declares that he willingly desires to be baptized.

CANON VII

A Presbyter shall not be a guest at the nuptials of persons contracting a second marriage; for, since the digamist is worthy of penance, what kind of a presbyter shall he be, who, by being present at the feast, sanctioned the marriage?

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VII. A presbyter ought not to be present at the marriage of digamists. For when that one implores favour, who will deem him worthy of favour. Hefele. The meaning of the canon is as follows: "If the digamist, after contracting his second marriage, comes to the priest to be told the punishment he has to undergo, how stands the priest himself who for the sake of the feast has become his accomplice in the offence?" Van Espen. The present canon again shews that although the Church never disapproved of, nor reputed second or still later marriages illicit, nevertheless the Fathers enjoined a penance upon digamists and those repeating marriage, because by this iteration they shewed their incontinence. As he that contracted a second marriage did not sin properly speaking, and committed no fault worthy of punishment, therefore whatever was amiss was believed to be paid off by a lighter penance, and Zonaras supposes that the canons inflicted a mulct upon digamists, for saith he, "Digamists are not allowed for one year to receive the Holy Gifts."

Zonaras seems to indicate that the discipline of the canon was not in force in his time, for he says, "Although this is found in our writings, yet we ourselves have seen the Patriarch and many Metropolitans present at the feast for the second nuptials of the Emperor."

CANON VIII

IF the wife of a layman has committed adultery and been clearly convicted, such [a husband] cannot enter the ministry; and if she commit adultery after his ordination, he must put her away; but if he retain her, he can have no part in the ministry committed to him.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VIII. A layman whose wife is an adulteress cannot be a clergyman, and a cleric who keeps an adulteress shall be expelled. Van Espen. Although the Eastern Church allows the clergy to have wives, even priests, and permits to them the use of marriage after ordination, nevertheless it requires of them the highest conjugal continency, as is seen by the present canon. For here it is evident that the Fathers wished even the smallest possible kind of incontinence to be absent from men dedicated to holiness. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxxiv., c. xi.

CANON IX

A Presbyter who has been promoted after having committed carnal sin, and who shall confess that he had sinned before his ordination, shall not make the oblation, though he may remain in his other functions on account of his zeal in other respects; for the majority have affirmed that ordination blots out other kinds of sins. But if he do not confess and cannot be openly convicted, the decision shall depend upon himself.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IX. If a presbyter confess that he has sinned, let him abstain from the oblation, and from it only. For certain sins orders remit. If he neither confess nor is convicted, let him have power over himself. Van Espen. Therefore if he who before his ordination had committed a sin of the flesh with a woman, confess it after ordination, when he is already a priest, he cannot perform the priestly office, he can neither offer nor consecrate the oblations, even though after his ordination he has preserved uprightness of living and been careful to exercise virtue; as the words "zeal in

other respects" ("studious of good") Zonaras rightly interprets. And since here the consideration is of a sin committed before ordination, and also concerning a presbyter who after his ordination was of spotless life, and careful to exercise virtue, the Fathers rightly wished that he should not, against his will, be deposed from the priestly office.

It is certainly curious that this canon speaks of ordination as in the opinion of most persons taking away all sins except consummated carnal offences. And it will be noted that the *aphienai* must mean more than that they are forgiven by ordination, for they had been forgiven long ago by God upon true contrition, but that they were made to be non-existent, as if they had never been, so that flier were no hinderance to the exercise of the spiritual office. I offer no explanation of the difficulty and only venture to doubt the satisfactory character of any of the explanations given by the commentators. Moreover it is hard to grasp the logical connexion of the clauses, and what this "blotting out" of *ta loipa*; has to do with the matter I entirely fail to see. The *kai*; after *polloi*; may possibly suggest that something has dropped out. This canon and the following are together in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa xv., Quaest. viii., c. i.

CANON X

Likewise, if a deacon have fallen into the same sin, let him have the rank of a minister.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon X. A deacon found in the same crime shall remain a minister (*huperetes*). Hefe. By ministers (*huperetai*) are meant inferior officers of the Church—the so-called minor orders, often including the subdeacons. This canon is in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa xv., Quaest. viii., united with canon ix., and in the following curious form: "*Similiter et diaconus, si in eodem culpaе genere fuerit involutus, sese a ministerio cohibebit.*"

CANON XI

Let not a presbyter be ordained before he is thirty years of age, even though he be in all respects a worthy man, but let him be made to wait. For our Lord Jesus Christ was baptized and began to teach in his thirtieth year.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XI. Unless he be xxx. years of age none shall be presbyter, even should he be worthy, following the example of the baptism of our Saviour. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. lxxviii., c. iv. Gratian. (*Ut supra*, *Nota*.) This is the law, and we do not read that Christ, or John the Baptist, or Ezechiel, or some other of the Prophets prophesied or preached before that age. But Jeremiah and Daniel we read received the spirit of prophecy before they had arrived even at youth, and David and Solomon are found to have been anointed in their youth, also John the Evangelist, while still a youth, was chosen by the Lord for an Apostle, and we find that with the rest he was sent forth to preach: Paul also, as we know, while still a young man was called by the Lord, and was sent out to preach. The Church in like manner, when necessity compels, is wont to ordain some under thirty years of age.

For this reason Pope Zacharias in his Letter to Boniface the Bishop, number vi., which begins "*Benedictus Deus*" says, C. v. In case of necessity presbyters may be ordained at xxv. years of age. If men thirty years old cannot be found, and necessity so demand, Levites and priests may be ordained from twenty-five years of age upwards. Van Espen. The power of dispensing was committed to the bishop, and at length it was so frequently exercised that in the space of one century [i.e. by the end of the xiith century] the law became abrogated, which was brought about by necessity, so that it passed into law that a presbyter could be ordained at twenty-five. And from this it may appear how true it is that there is no surer way of destroying discipline and abrogating law than the allowing of dispensations and relaxations. Vide Thomassinus, *De Disc. Eccles.*, Pars. IV., Lib. I., cap. 46.

CANON XII

IF any one be baptized when he is ill, forasmuch as his [profession of] faith was not voluntary, but of necessity [i.e. though fear of death] he cannot be promoted to the presbyterate, unless on account of his subsequent [display of] zeal and faith, and because of a lack of men.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XII. One baptized on account of sickness is not to be made presbyter, unless in reward for a contest which he afterwards sustains and on account of scarcity of men. The word used in the Greek for

"baptized" is "illuminated" (photisthe), a very common expression among the ancients. Aristenus. He that is baptised by reason of illness, and, therefore come to his illumination not freely but of necessity, shall not be admitted to the priesthood unless both these conditions concur, that there are few suitable men to be found and that he has endured a hard conflict after his baptism. With this interpretation agree also Zonaras and Balsamon, the latter expressly saying, "If one of these conditions is lacking, the canon must be observed." Not only has Isidore therefore missed the meaning by changing the copulative into the disjunctive conjunction (as Van Espen points out) but Beveridge has fallen into the same error, not indeed in the canon itself, but in translating the Ancient Epitome.

Zonaras explains that the reason for this prohibition was the well-known fact that in those ages baptism was put off so as the longer to be free from the restraints which baptism was considered to impose. From this interpretation only Aubespine dissents, and Hefele points out how entirely without reason. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*., Pars. I., Dist. lvii., c. i.

CANON XIII

Country presbyters may not make the oblation in the church of the city when the bishop or presbyters of the city are present; nor may they give the Bread or the Cup with prayer. If, however, they be absent, and he [i.e., a country presbyter] alone be called to prayer, he may give them.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canons XIII. And XIV. A country presbyter shall not offer in the city temple, unless the bishop and the whole body of the presbyters are away. But if wanted he can do so while they are away. The chorepiscopi can offer as fellow ministers, as they hold the place of the Seventy. Routh reads the last clause in the plural, in this agreeing with Dionysius Exiguus and Isidore. In many mss. this canon is united with the following and the whole number given as 14. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Pars I., Diet. xcv., c. xii. And the Roman correctors have added the following notes. Roman Correctors. (Gratian ut supra.) "Nor to give the sacrificed bread and to hand the chalice;" otherwise it is read "sanctified" [sanctificatum for sacrificatum]. The Greek of the council is arton didonai en euche but Balsamon has arton eukes, that is, "the bread of the mystic prayer."

Instead of "let them only who are called for giving the prayer, etc.," read *kai eis euchen klethe monos didosin*, that is: "and only he that shall have been called to the mystic prayer, shall distribute."

CANON XIV

The chorepiscopi, however, are indeed after the pattern of the Seventy; and as fellow-servants, on account of their devotion to the poor, they have the honour of making the oblation.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIV. [Vide ante, as in many mss. the two canons are united in the Ancient Epitome.] Van Espen. The reference to the Seventy seems to intimate that the Synod did not hold the chorepiscopi to be true bishops, as such were always reputed and called successors, not of the Seventy disciples but successors of the Twelve Apostles. It is also clear that their chief ministry was thought to be the care of the poor. Zonaras and Balsamon would seem to agree in this with Van Espen. See on the whole subject the Excursus on the Chorepiscopi.

CANON XV

The deacons ought to be seven in number, according to the canon, even if the city be great. Of this you will be persuaded from the Book of the Acts.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XV. Seven Deacons according to the Acts of the Apostles should be appointed for each great city. This canon was observed in Rome and it was not until the xith century that the number of the Seven Cardinal Deacons was changed to fourteen. That Gratian received it into the Decretum (Pars. I., Dist. XCIII., c. xij.) is good evidence that he considered it part of the Roman discipline. Eusebius gives a letter of Pope Cornelius, written about the middle of the third century, which says that at that time there were at Rome forty-four priests, seven deacons, and seven subdeacons; and that the number of those in inferior orders was very great. Thomassinus says that, "no doubt in this the Roman Church intended to imitate the Apostles who only ordained seven deacons. But the other Churches did not keep themselves so scrupulously to that number." In the acts of the Council of Chalcedon it is noted that the Church of Edessa had fifteen priests and thirty-eight deacons. And Justinian, we know, appointed one hundred deacons for the Church of Constantinople. Van Espen well points out that while

this canon refers to a previous law on the subject, neither the Council itself, nor the Greek commentators Balsamon or Zonaras give the least hint as to what that Canon was.

The Fathers of NeoCaesarea base their limiting of the number of deacons to seven in one city upon the authority of Holy Scripture, but the sixteenth canon of the Quinisext Council expressly says that in doing so they showed they referred to ministers of alms, not to ministers at the divine mysteries, and that St. Stephen and the rest were not deacons at all in this latter sense. The reader is referred to this canon, where to defend the practice of Constantinople the meaning of the canon we are considering is entirely misrepresented.

Council of Nicaea (AD 325)

SHORTER WRITINGS

The shorter documents of the First Ecumenical Council, which met at Nicaea in AD 325 under the emperor Constantine to settle the dispute about Arius: the creed of the council and its ratification, the canons, the synodal letter, and the emperor's letter on the keeping of Easter, with some notes on the later forms of the creed.

ADDENDA

As Authorized at Constantinople, a.d. 381.

(a) Of heaven and earth. (b) Begotten of the Father before all worlds. (c) By the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary. (d) Was crucified also for us, under Pontius Pilate, (e) And was buried. (f) Sitteth on the right hand of the Father, (g) Whose kingdom shall have no end. (h) The Lord, the Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father; Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; Who spake by the prophets: In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. We look for the resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. Amen. This Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed was solemnly ratified by the Council of Ephesus (a.d. 431) with the decree that "No one shall be permitted to introduce, write, or compose any other faith, besides that which was defined by the holy Fathers assembled in the city of Nice, with the presence of the Holy Ghost."

ON THE KEEPING OF EASTER

¹From the Letter of the Emperor to all those not present at the Council. (Found in Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, Lib. iii., 18-20.) ²When the question relative to the sacred festival of Easter arose, it was universally thought that it would be convenient that all should keep the feast on one day; for what could be more beautiful and more desirable, than to see this festival, through which we receive the hope of immortality, celebrated by all with one accord,

and in the same manner? It was declared to be particularly unworthy for this, the holiest of all festivals, to follow the custom [the calculation] of the Jews, who had soiled their hands with the most fearful of crimes, and whose minds were blinded. In rejecting their custom, we may transmit to our descendants the legitimate mode of celebrating Easter, which we have observed from the time of the Saviour's Passion to the present day [according to the day of the week]. We ought not, therefore, to have anything in common with the Jews, for the Saviour has shown us another way; our worship follows a more legitimate and more convenient course (the order of the days of the week); and consequently, in unanimously adopting this mode, we desire, dearest brethren, to separate ourselves from the detestable company of the Jews, for it is truly shameful for us to hear them boast that without their direction we could not keep this feast. How can they be in the right, they who, after the death of the Saviour, have no longer been led by reason but by wild violence, as their delusion may urge them?

³ They do not possess the truth in this Easter question; for, in their blindness and repugnance to all improvements, they frequently celebrate two passovers in the same year. We could not imitate those who are openly in error. How, then, could we follow these Jews, who are most certainly blinded by error? for to celebrate the passover twice in one year is totally inadmissible. But even if this were not so, it would still be your duty not to tarnish your soul by communications with such wicked people [the Jews]. Besides, consider well, that in such an important matter, and on a subject of such great solemnity, there ought not to be any division. Our Saviour has left us only one festal day of our redemption, that is to say, of his holy passion, and he desired [to establish] only one Catholic Church. Think, then, how unseemly it is, that on the same day some should be fasting whilst others are seated at a banquet; and that after Easter, some should be rejoicing at feasts, whilst others are still observing a strict fast. For this reason, a Divine Providence wills that this custom should be rectified and regulated in a uniform way; and everyone, I hope, will agree upon this point. As, on the one hand, it is our duty not to have anything in common with the murderers of our Lord;

⁴ and as, on the other, the custom now followed by the Churches of the West, of the South, and of the North, and by some of those of the East, is the most acceptable, it has appeared good to all; and I have been guarantee for your consent, that you would accept it with joy, as it is followed at Rome, in

Africa, in all Italy, Egypt, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Libya, in all Achaia, and in the dioceses of Asia, of Pontus, and Cilicia. You should consider not only that the number of churches in these provinces make a majority, but also that it is right to demand what our reason approves, and that we should have nothing in common with the Jews. To sum up in few words: By the unanimous judgment of all, it has been decided that the most holy festival of Easter should be everywhere celebrated on one and the same day, and it is not seemly that in so holy a thing there should be any division. As this is the state of the case, accept joyfully the divine favour, and this truly divine command; for all which takes place in assemblies of the bishops ought to be regarded as proceeding from the will of God. Make known to your brethren what has been decreed, keep this most holy day according to the prescribed mode; we can thus celebrate this holy Easter day at the same time, if it is granted me, as I desire, to unite myself with you;

5 we can rejoice together, seeing that the divine power has made use of our instrumentality for destroying the evil designs of the devil, and thus causing faith, peace, and unity to flourish amongst us. May God graciously protect you, my beloved brethren.

THE CANONS

Canon I.

1 If any one in sickness has been subjected by physicians to a surgical operation, or if he has been castrated by barbarians, let him remain among the clergy; but, if any one in sound health has castrated himself, it behoves that such an one, if [already] enrolled among the clergy, should cease [from his ministry], and that from henceforth no such person should be promoted. But, as it is evident that this is said of those who wilfully do the thing and presume to castrate themselves, so if any have been made eunuchs by barbarians, or by their masters, and should otherwise be found worthy, such men the Canon admits to the clergy.

Notes.

2 Ancient Epitome Of Canon I. Eunuchs may be received into the number of the clergy, but those who castrate themselves shall not be received. Balsamon. The divine Apostolic Canons xxi., xxii., xxiii., and xxiv., have taught us sufficiently what ought to be done with those who castrate themselves, this canon provides as to what is to be done to these as well as to those who

deliver themselves over to others to be emasculated by them, viz., that they are not to be admitted among the clergy nor advanced to the priesthood. Daniel Butler. (Smith & Cheetham, Dict. Christ. Ant.) The feeling that one devoted to the sacred ministry should be un mutilated was strong in the Ancient Church This canon of Nice, and those in the Apostolic Canons and a later one in the Second Council of Arles (canon vii.) were aimed against that perverted notion of piety, originating in the misinterpretation of our Lord's saying (Matt. xix. 12) by which Origen, among others, was misled, and their observance was so carefully enforced in later times that not more than one or two instances of the practice which they condemn are noticed by the historian. The case was different if a man was born an eunuch or had suffered mutilation at the hands of persecutors; an instance of the former, Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch, is mentioned by Eusebius (H. E. vii., c. 32); of the latter, Tigris, presbyter of Constantinople, is referred to both by Socrates (H. E. vi. 16) and Sozomen (H. E. vi. 24) as the victim of a barbarian master.

³ Hefele. We know, by the first apology of St. Justin (Apol. c. 29) that a century before Origen, a young man had desired to be mutilated by physicians, for the purpose of completely refuting the charge of vice which the heathen brought against the worship of Christians. St. Justin neither praises nor blames this young man: he only relates that he could not obtain the permission of the civil authorities for his project, that he renounced his intention, but nevertheless remained virgo all his life. It is very probable that the Council of Nice was induced by some fresh similar cases to renew the old injunctions; it was perhaps the Arian bishop, Leontius, who was the principal cause of it. Lambert. Constantine forbade by a law the practice condemned in this canon. "If anyone shall anywhere in the Roman Empire after this decree make eunuchs, he shall be punished with death. If the owner of the place where the deed was perpetrated was aware of it and hid the fact, his goods shall be confiscated." (Const. M. Opera. Migne Patrol. vol. viii., 396.)

⁴ Beveridge. The Nicene fathers in this canon make no new enactment but only confirm by the authority of an Ecumenical synod the Apostolic Canons, and this is evident from the wording of this canon. For there can be no doubt that they had in mind some earlier canon when they said, "such men the canon admits to the clergy." Not, ou[toj] ho kanon, but ho kanon, as if they had said "the formerly set forth and well-known canon" admits such

to the clergy. But no other canon then existed in which this provision occurred except apostolical canon xxi. which therefore we are of opinion is here cited. [In this conclusion Hefele also agrees.] This law was frequently enacted by subsequent synods and is inserted in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Decretum Gratiani. Pars. I. Distinctio LV., C vij.

THE CREED

As Set Forth at Nicoea, a.d. 325.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God; Light of light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth: Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was incarnate, and was made man: He suffered, and rose again the third day: And ascended into heaven: And shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, etc.

THE NICENE CREED

¹(Found in the Acts of the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, in the Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea to his own Church, in the Epistle of St. Athanasius Ad Jovianum Imp., in the Ecclesiastical Histories of Theodoret and Socrates, and elsewhere, The variations in the text are absolutely without importance.) The Synod at Nice set forth this Creed. The Ecthesis of the Synod at Nice. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of his Father, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten (gennethenta), not made, being of one substance (homoousion, consubstantialem) with the Father. By whom all things were made, both which be in heaven and in earth. Who for us men and for our salvation came down [from heaven] and was incarnate and was made man. He suffered and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven. And he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost. And whosoever shall say that there was a time when the Son of God was not (en pote ote ouk en), or that before he was begotten he was not, or that he was made of things that were not, or that he is of a different substance or essence [from the Father] or that he is a creature,

or subject to change or conversion –all that so say, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes them.

Notes

² The Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea, which he presented to the council, and which some suppose to have suggested the creed finally adopted. (Found in his Epistle to his diocese; vide: St. Athanasius and Theodoret.) We believe in one only God, Father Almighty, Creator of things visible and invisible; and in the Lord Jesus Christ, for he is the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, life of life, his only Son, the first-born of all creatures, begotten of the Father before all time, by whom also everything was created, who became flesh for our redemption, who lived and suffered amongst men, rose again the third day, returned to the Father, and will come again one day in his glory to judge the quick and the dead. We believe also in the Holy Ghost We believe that each of these three is and subsists; the Father truly as Father, the Son truly as Son, the Holy Ghost truly as Holy Ghost; as our Lord also said, when he sent his disciples to preach: Go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

THE RATIFICATION

And those who say There was a time when He was not, or that Before He was begotten He was not, or that He was made out of nothing; or who say that The Son of God is of any other substance, or that He is changeable or unstable,–these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

THE SYNODAL LETTER

¹ (Found in Gelasius, *Historia Concilii Nicaeni*, Lib. II, cap. xxxiii. ; Socr., *H. E.*, Lib. I., cap. 6; Theodor., *H. E.*, Lib. I., cap. 9.) To the Church of Alexandria, by the grace of God, holy and great; and to our well-beloved brethren, the orthodox clergy and laity throughout Egypt, and Pentapolis, and Lybia, and every nation under heaven, the holy and great synod, the bishops assembled at Nicea, wish health in the Lord. Forasmuch as the great and holy Synod, which was assembled at Niece through the grace of Christ and our most religious Sovereign Constantine, who brought us together from our several provinces and cities, has considered matters which concern the faith of the Church, it seemed to us to be necessary that certain things should be communicated from us to you in writing, so that you might have the means

of knowing what has been mooted and investigated, and also what has been decreed and confirmed.

² First of all, then, in the presence of our most religious Sovereign Constantine, investigation was made of matters concerning the impiety and transgression of Arias and his adherents; and it was unanimously decreed that he and his impious opinion should be anathematized, together with the blasphemous words and speculations in which he indulged, blaspheming the Son of God, and saying that he is from things that are not, and that before he was begotten he was not, and that there was a time when he was not, and that the Son of God is by his free will capable of vice and virtue; saying also that he is a creature. All these things the holy Synod has anathematized, not even enduring to hear his impious doctrine and madness and blasphemous words. And of the charges against him and of the results they had, ye have either already heard or will hear the particulars, lest we should seem to be oppressing a man who has in fact received a fitting recompense for his own sin. So far indeed has his impiety prevailed, that he has even destroyed Theonas of Marmorica and Secundus of Ptolemais; for they also have received the same sentence as the rest.

³ But when the grace of God had delivered Egypt from that heresy and blasphemy, and from the persons who have dared to make disturbance and division among a people heretofore at peace, there remained the matter of the insolence of Meletius and those who have been ordained by him; and concerning this part of our work we now, beloved brethren, proceed to inform you of the decrees of the Synod. The Synod, then, being disposed to deal gently with Meletius (for in strict justice he deserved no leniency), decreed that he should remain in his own city, but have no authority either to ordain, or to administer affairs, or to make appointments; and that he should not appear in the country or in any other city for this purpose, but should enjoy the bare title of his rank; but that those who have been placed by him, after they have been confirmed by a more sacred laying on of hands, shall on these conditions be admitted to communion: that they shall both have their rank and the right to officiate, but that they shall be altogether the inferiors of all those who are enrolled in any church or parish, and have been appointed by our most honourable colleague Alexander. So that these men are to have no authority to make appointments of persons who may be pleasing to them, nor to suggest names, nor to do anything whatever,

without the consent of the bishops of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, who are serving under our most holy colleague Alexander;

4 while those who, by the grace of God and through your prayers, have been found in no schism, but on the contrary are without spot in the Catholic and Apostolic Church, are to have authority to make appointments and nominations of worthy persons among the clergy, and in short to do all things according to the law and ordinance of the Church. But, if it happen that any of the clergy who are now in the Church should die, then those who have been lately received are to succeed to the office of the deceased; always provided that they shall appear to be worthy, and that the people elect them, and that the bishop of Alexandria shall concur in the election and ratify it. This concession has been made to all the rest; but, on account of his disorderly conduct from the first, and the rashness and precipitation of his character, the same decree was not made concerning Meletius himself, but that, inasmuch as he is a man capable of committing again the same disorders, no authority nor privilege should be conceded to him.

5 These are the particulars, which are of special interest to Egypt and to the most holy Church of Alexandria; but if in the presence of our most honoured lord, our colleague and brother Alexander, anything else has been enacted by canon or other decree, he will himself convey it to you in greater detail, he having been both a guide and fellow-worker in what has been done. We further proclaim to you the good news of the agreement concerning the holy Easter, that this particular also has through your prayers been rightly settled; so that all our brethren in the East who formerly followed the custom of the Jews are henceforth to celebrate the said most sacred feast of Easter at the same time with the Romans and yourselves and all those who have observed Easter from the beginning. Wherefore, rejoicing in these wholesome results, and in our common peace and harmony, and in the cutting off of every heresy, receive ye with the greater honour and with increased love, our colleague your Bishop Alexander, who has gladdened us by his presence, and who at so great an age has undergone so great fatigue that peace might be established among you and all of us. Pray ye also for us all, that the things which have been deemed advisable may stand fast; for they have been done, as we believe, to the well-pleasing of Almighty God and of his only Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Council of Nicaea (AD 325): The Captions of the Arabic Canons Attributed to the Council

A list of headings of the Arabic canons that were attributed to the Council of Nicaea in the East. They are not the work of the council of AD 325, which made twenty canons (printed in its shorter writings), and only the captions are given here, not the canons themselves.

CANON I

Insane persons and energumens should not be ordained.

CANON II

Bond servants are not to be ordained.

CANON III

Neophytes in the faith are not to be ordained to Holy Orders before they have a knowledge of Holy Scripture. And such, if convicted after their ordination of grave sin, are to be deposed with those who ordained them.

CANON IV

The cohabitation of women with bishops, presbyters, and deacons prohibited on account of their celibacy. We decree that bishops shall not live with women; nor shall a presbyter who is a widower; neither shall they escort them; nor be familiar with them, nor gaze upon them persistently. And the same decree is made with regard to every celibate priest, and the same concerning such deacons as have no wives. And this is to be the case whether the woman be beautiful or ugly, whether a young girl or beyond the age of puberty, whether great in birth, or an orphan taken out of charity under pretext of bringing her up. For the devil with such arms slays religious, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and incites them to the fires of desire. But if she be an old woman, and of advanced age, or a sister, or mother, or aunt, or grand-

mother, it is permitted to live with these because such persons are free from all suspicion of scandal.

CANON V

Of the election of a bishop and of the confirmation of the election.

CANON VI

That those excommunicated by one bishop are not to be received by another; and that those whose excommunication has been shown to have been unjust should be absolved by the archbishop or patriarch.

CANON VII

That provincial Councils should be held twice a year, for the consideration of all things affecting the churches of the bishops of the province.

CANON VIII

Of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and of their jurisdiction.

CANON IX

Of one who solicits the episcopate when the people do not wish him; or if they do desire him, but without the consent of the archbishop.

CANON X

How the bishop of Jerusalem is to be honoured, the honour, however, of the metropolitan church of Caesarea being preserved intact, to which he is subject.

CANON XI

Of those who force themselves into the order of presbyters without election or examination.

CANON XII

Of the bishop who ordains one whom he understands has denied the faith; also of one ordained who after that he had denied it, crept into orders.

CANON XIII

Of one who of his own will goes to another church, having been chosen by it, and does not wish afterwards to stay there. Of taking pains that he be transferred from his own church to another.

CANON XIV

No one shall become a monk without the bishop's license, and why a license is required.

CANON XV

That clerics or religious who lend on usury should be cast from their grade.

CANON XVI

Of the honour to be paid to the bishop and to a presbyter by the deacons.

CANON XVII

Of the system and of the manner of receiving those who are converted from the heresy of Paul of Samosata.

CANON XVIII

Of the system and manner of receiving those who are converted from the heresy the Novatians.

CANON XIX

Of the system and manner of receiving those who return after a lapse from the faith, and of receiving the relapsed, and of those brought into peril of death by sickness before their penance is finished, and concerning such as are convalescent.

CANON XX

Of avoiding the conversation of evil workers and wizards, also of the penance of them that have not avoided such.

CANON XXI

Of incestuous marriages contrary to the law of Spiritual relationship, and of the penance of such as are in such marriages. [The time of penance fixed is twenty years, only godfather and godmother are mentioned, and nothing is said of separation.]

CANON XXII

Of sponsors in baptism. Men shall not hold females at the font, neither women males; but women females, and men males.

CANON XXIII

Of the prohibited marriages of spiritual brothers and sisters from receiving them in baptism.

CANON XXIV

Of him who has married two wives at the same time, or who through lust has added another woman to his wife; and of his punishment. Part of the canon. If he be a priest he is forbidden to sacrifice and is cut off from the communion of the faithful until he turn out of the house the second woman, and he ought to retain the first.

CANON XXV

That no one should be forbidden Holy Communion unless such as are doing penance.

CANON XXVI

Clerics are forbidden from suretyship or witness-giving in criminal causes.

CANON XXVII

Of avoiding the excommunicate, and of not receiving the oblation from them; and of the excommunication of him who does not avoid the excommunicated.

CANON XXVIII

How anger, indignation, and hatred should be avoided by the priest, especially because he has the power of excommunicating others.

CANON XXIX

Of not kneeling in prayer.

CANON XXX

Of giving [only] names of Christians in baptism, and of heretics who retain the faith in the Trinity and the perfect form of baptism; and of others not retaining it, worthy of a worse name, and of how such are to be received when they come to the faith.

CANON XXXI

Of the system and manner of receiving converts to the Orthodox faith from the heresy of Arius and of other like.

CANON XXXII

Of the system of receiving those who have kept the dogmas of the faith and the Church's laws, and yet have separated from us and afterwards come back.

CANON XXXIII

Of the place of residence of the Patriarch, and of the honour which should be given to the bishop of Jerusalem and to the bishop of Seleucia.

CANON XXXIV

Of the honour to be given to the Archbishop of Seleucia in the Synod of Greece.

CANON XXXV

Of not holding a provincial synod in the province of Persia without the authority of the patriarch of Antioch, and how the bishops of Persia are subject to the metropolitans of Antioch.

CANON XXXVI

Of the creation of a patriarch for Ethiopia, and of his power, and of the honour to be paid him in the Synod of Greece.

CANON XXXVII

Of the election of the Archbishop of Cyprus, who is subject to the patriarch of Antioch.

CANON XXXVIII

That the ordination of ministers of the Church by bishops in the dioceses of strangers is forbidden.

CANON XXXIX

Of the care and power which a Patriarch has over the bishops and archbishops of his patriarchate; and of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome over all. Let the patriarch consider what things are done by the archbishops and bishops in their provinces; and if he shall find anything done by them otherwise than it should be, let him change it, and order it, as seemeth him fit: for he is the father of all, and they are his sons. And although the archbishop be among the bishops as an elder brother, who hath the care of his brethren, and to whom they owe obedience because he is over them; yet the patriarch is to all those who are under his power, just as he who holds the seat of Rome, is the head and prince of all patriarchs; inasmuch as he is first, as was Peter, to whom power is given over all Christian princes, and over all their peoples, as he who is the Vicar of Christ our Lord over all peoples and over the whole Christian Church, and whoever shall contradict this, is excommunicated by the Synod.

[I add Canon XXXVII. of Echellensis's Nova Versio LXXXIV. Arabic. Canonum Conc. Nicoeni, that the reader may compare it with the foregoing.] Let there be only four patriarchs in the whole world as there are four writers of the Gospel, and four rivers, etc. And let there be a prince and chief over them, the lord of the see of the Divine Peter at Rome, according as the Apostles commanded. And after him the lord of the great Alexandria, which is the see of Mark. And the third is the lord of Ephesus, which is the see of John the Divine who speaks divine things. And the fourth and last is my lord of Antioch, which is another see of Peter. And let all the bishops be divided under the hands of these four patriarchs; and the bishops of the little town-which are under the dominion of the great cities let them be under the authority of these metropolitans. But let every metropolitan of these great cities appoint the bishops of his province, but let none of the bishops appoint him, for he is greater than they. Therefore let every man know his own rank, and let him not usurp the rank of another. And whosoever shall contradict this law which we have established the Fathers of the Synod subject him to anathema.

CANON XL

Of the provincial synod which should be held twice every year, and of its utility; together with the excommunication of such as oppose the decree.

CANON XLI

Of the synod of Archbishops, which meets once a year with the Patriarch, and of its utility; also of the collection to be made for the support of the patriarch throughout the provinces and places subject to the patriarch.

CANON XLII

Of a cleric or monk who when fallen into sin, and summoned once, twice, and thrice, does not present himself for trial.

CANON XLIII

What the patriarch should do in the case of a defendant set at liberty unpunished by the decision of the bishop, presbyter, or even of a deacon, as the case may be.

CANON XLIV

How an archbishop ought to give trial to one of his suffragan bishops.

CANON XLV

Of the receiving of complaints and condemnation of an archbishop against his patriarch.

CANON XLVI

How a patriarch should admit a complaint; or judgment of an Archbishop against an Archbishop.

CANON XLVII

Of those excommunicated by a certain one, when they can be and when they cannot be absolved by another.

CANON XLVIII

No bishop shall choose his own successor.

CANON XLIX

No simoniacal ordinations shall be made.

CANON L

There shall be but one bishop of one city, and one parochus of one town; also the incumbent, whether bishop or parish priest, shall not be removed in favour of a successor desired by some of the people unless he has been convicted of manifest crime.

CANON LI

Bishops shall not allow the separation of a wife from her husband on account of discord-[in American, "incompatibility of temper"].

CANON LII

Usury and the base seeking of worldly gain is forbidden to the clergy, also conversation and fellowship with Jews.

CANON LIII

Marriages with infidels to be avoided.

CANON LIV

Of the election of a chorepiscopus, and of his duties in towns, and villages, and monasteries.

CANON LV

How a chorepiscopus should visit the churches and monasteries which are under his jurisdiction.

CANON LVI

Of how the presbyters of the towns and villages should go twice a year with their chorepiscopus to salute the bishop, and how religious should do so once a year from their monasteries, and how the new abbot of a monastery should go thrice.

CANON LVII

Of the rank in sitting during the celebration of service in church by the bishop, the archdeacon and the chorepiscopus; and of the office of archdeacon, and of the honour due the archpresbyter.

CANON LVIII

Of the honour due the archdeacon and the chorepiscopus when they sit in church during the absence of the bishop, and when they go about with the bishop.

CANON LIX

How all the grades of the clergy and their duties should be publicly described and set forth.

CANON LX

Of how men are to be chosen from the diocese for holy orders, and of how they should be examined.

CANON LXI

Of the honour due to the deacons, and how the clerics must not put themselves in their way.

CANON LXII

The number of presbyters and deacons is to be adapted to the work of the church and to its means.

CANON LXIII

Of the Ecclesiastical Economist and of the others who with him care for the church's possessions.

CANON LXIV

Of the offices said in the church, the night and day offices, and of the collect for all those who rule that church.

CANON LXV

Of the order to be observed at the funeral of a bishop, of a chorepiscopus and of an archdeacon, and of the office of exequies.

CANON LXVI

Of taking a second wife, after the former one has been disowned for any cause, or even not put away, and of him who falsely accuses his wife of adultery. If any priest or deacon shall put away his wife on account of her fornication, or for other cause, as aforesaid, or cast her out of doors for external good, or that he may change her for another more beautiful, or better, or richer, or does so out of his lust which is displeasing to God; and after she has been put away for any of these causes he shall contract matrimony with another, or without having put her away shall take another, whether free or bond; and shall have both equally, they living separately and he sleeping every night with one or other of them, or else keeping both in the same house and bed, let him be deposed. If he were a layman let him be deprived of communion. But if anyone falsely defames his wife charging her with adultery, so that he turns her out of doors, the matter must be diligently examined; and if the accusation was false, he shall be deposed if a cleric, but if a layman shall be prohibited from entering the church and from the communion of the faithful; and shall be compelled to live with her whom he has defamed, even though she be deformed, and poor, and insane; and whoever shall not obey is excommunicated by the Synod.

[Note.—The reader will notice that by this canon a husband is deposed or excommunicated, as the case may be, if he marry another woman, after putting away his wife on account of her adultery. It is curious that in the parallel canon in the collection of Echellensis, which is numbered LXXI., the reading is quite different, although it is very awkward and inconsequent as given. Moreover, it should be remembered that in some codices and editions this canon is lacking altogether, one on the right of the Pope to receive appeals taking its place. As this canon is of considerable length, I only quote the interesting parts.] Whatever presbyter or deacon shall put away his wife without the offence of fornication, or for any other cause of which we have spoken above, and shall east her out of doors . . . such a person shall be east out of the clergy, if he were a clergyman; if a layman he shall be forbidden the communion of the faithful. . . But if that woman [untruly charged by

her husband with adultery], that is to say his wife, spurns his society on account of the injury he has done her and the charge he has brought against her, of which she is innocent, let her freely be put away and let a bill of repudiation be written for her, noting the false accusation which had been brought against her. And then if she should wish to marry some other faithful man, it is right for her; to do so, nor does the Church forbid it; and the same permission extends as well to men as to women, since there is equal reason for it for each. But if he shall return to better fruit which is of the same kind, and shall conciliate to himself the love and benevolence of his consort, and shall be willing to return to his pristine friendship, his fault shall be condoned to him after he has done suitable and sufficient penance. And whoever shall speak against this decree the fathers of the synod excommunicate him.

CANON LXVII

Of having two wives at the same time, and of a woman who is one of the faithful marrying an infidel; and of the form of receiving her to penance. [Her reception back is conditioned upon her leaving the infidel man.]

CANON LXVIII

Of giving in marriage to an infidel a daughter or sister without her knowledge and contrary to her wish.

CANON LXIX

Of one of the faithful who departs from the faith through lust and love of an infidel; and of the form of receiving him back, or admitting him to penance.

CANON LXX

Of the hospital to be established in every city, and of the choice of a superintendent and concerning his duties. [It is interesting to note that one of the duties of the superintendent is- "That if the goods of the hospital are not sufficient for its expenses, he ought to collect all the time and from all Christians provision according to the ability of each."]

CANON LXXI

Of the placing a bishop or archbishop in his chair after ordination, which is enthronization.

CANON LXXII

No one is allowed to transfer himself to another church [i.e., diocese] than that in which he was ordained; and what is to be done in the case of one cast out forcibly without any blame attaching to him.

CANON LXXIII

The laity shall not choose for themselves priests in the towns and villages without the authority of the chorepiscopus; nor an abbot for a monastery; and that no one should give commands as to who should be elected his successor after his death, and when this is lawful for a superior.

CANON LXXIV

How sisters, widows, and deaconesses should be made to keep their residence in their monasteries; and of the system of instructing them; and of the election of deaconesses, and of their duties and utility.

CANON LXXV

How one seeking election should not be chosen, even if of conspicuous virtue; and how the election of a layman to the aforesaid grades is not prohibited, and that those chosen should not afterward be deprived before their deaths, except on account of crime.

CANON LXXVI

Of the distinctive garb and distinctive names and conversation of monks and nuns.

CANON LXXVII

That a bishop convicted of adultery or of other similar crime should be deposed without hope of restoration to the same grade; but shall not be excommunicated.

CANON LXXVIII

Of presbyters and deacons who have fallen only once into adultery, if they have never been married; and of the same when fallen as widowers, and those who have fallen, all the while having their own wives. Also of those who return to the same sin as well widowers as those having living wives; and which of these ought not to be received to penance, and which once only, and which twice.

CANON LXXIX

Each one of the faithful while his sin is yet not public should be mended by private exhortation and admonition; if he will not profit by this, he must be excommunicated.

CANON LXXX

Of the election of a procurator of the poor, and of his duties.

Synodical Letter of the Council of Gangra

The letter in which the bishops assembled at Gangra in Paphlagonia, about AD 340, explain to their fellow bishops in Armenia why they have condemned the followers of Eustathius.

¹Eusebius, Aelian, Eugenius, Olympius, Bithynicus, Gregory, Philetus, Pappus, Eulalius, Hypatius, Proaeresius, Basil and Bassus, assembled in the holy Synod at Gangra, to our most honoured lords and fellow-ministers in Armenia wish health in the Lord. ²Forasmuch as the most Holy Synod of Bishops, assembled on account of certain necessary matters of ecclesiastical business in the Church at Gangra, on inquiring also into the matters which concern Eustathius, found that many things had been unlawfully done by these very men who are partisans of Eustathius, it was compelled to make definitions, which it has hastened to make known to all, for the removal of whatever has by him been done amiss. For, from their utter abhorrence of marriage, and from their adoption of the proposition that no one living in a state of marriage has any hope towards God, many misguided married women have forsaken their husbands, and husbands their wives: then, afterwards, not being able to contain, they have fallen into adultery; and so, through such a principle as this, have come to shame. They were found, moreover, fomenting separations from the houses of God and of the Church; treating the Church and its members with disdain, and establishing separate meetings and assemblies, and different doctrines and other things in opposition to the Churches and those things which are done in the Church; wearing strange apparel, to the destruction of the common custom of dress; making distributions, among themselves and their adherents as saints, of the first-fruits of the Church, which have, from the first, been given to the Church; slaves also leaving their masters, and, on account of their own strange apparel, acting insolently towards their masters;

3 women, too, disregarding decent custom, and, instead of womanly apparel, wearing men's clothes, thinking to be justified because of these; while many of them, under a pretext of piety, cut off the growth of hair, which is natural to woman; [and these persons were found] fasting on the Lord's Day, despising the sacredness of that free day, but disdain and eating on the fasts appointed in the Church; and certain of them abhor the eating of flesh; neither do they tolerate prayers in the houses of married persons, but, on the contrary, despise such prayers when they are made, and often refuse to partake when Oblations are offered in the houses of married persons; condemning married presbyters, and refusing to touch their ministrations; condemning the services in honour of the Martyrs and those who gather or minister therein, and the rich also who do not alienate all their wealth, as having nothing to hope from God; and many other things that no one could recount. For every one of them, when he forsook the canon of the Church, adopted laws that tended as it were to isolation; for neither was there any common judgment among all of them; but whatever any one conceived, that he propounded, to the scandal of the Church, and to his own destruction.

4 Wherefore, the Holy Synod present in Gangra was compelled, on these accounts, to condemn them, and to set forth definitions declaring them to be cast out of the Church; but that, if they should repent and anathematize every one of these false doctrines, then they should be capable of restoration. And therefore the Holy Synod has particularly set forth everything which they ought to anathematize before they are received. And if any one will not submit to the said decrees, he shall be anathematized as a heretic, and excommunicated, and cast out of the Church; and it will behove the bishops to observe a like rule in respect of all who may be found with them.

Council of Gangra: The Canons

Twenty canons of a council held at Gangra in Paphlagonia about AD 340, which condemned the teaching and the practices of the followers of Eustathius: that marriage is to be shunned, that the married cannot be saved, that meat and wine are unclean, and the like. Each canon is followed by the ancient epitome and by notes.

CANON I

IF any one shall condemn marriage, or abominate and condemn a woman who is a believer and devout, and sleeps with her own husband, as though she could not enter the Kingdom [of heaven] let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon I. Anathema to him who disregards legitimate marriage. When one considers how deeply the early church was impressed with those passages of Holy Scripture which she understood to set forth the superiority of the virgin over the married estate, it ceases to be any source of astonishment that some should have run into the error of condemning marriage as sinful. The saying of our Blessed Lord with reference to those who had become "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," and those words of St. Paul "He that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well, but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better," together with the striking passage in the Revelation of those that were "not defiled with women for they are virgins," were considered as settling the matter for the new dispensation. The earliest writers are filled with the praises of virginity. Its superiority underlies the allegories of the Hermes Pastor; St. Justin Martyr speaks of "many men and women of sixty and seventy years of age who from their childhood have been the disciples of Christ, and have kept themselves uncorrupted," and from that time on there is an ever-swelling tide of praise; the reader must be referred to SS. Cyprian, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Jerome, Augustine, etc., etc. In fact the Council of Trent (it cannot be denied) only gave expression to the view of all Christian antiquity both East and West, when it con-

demned those who denied that "it is more blessed to remain virgin or celibate than to be joined in marriage."

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Distinc. xxx., c. xii. (Isidore's version), and again Dist. xxxi., c. viii. (Dionysius's version). Gratian, however, supposes that the canon is directed against the Manichaeans and refers to the marriage of priests, but in both matters he is mistaken, as the Roman Correctors and Van Espen point out.

CANON II

IF any one shall condemn him who eats flesh, which is without blood and has not been offered to idols nor strangled, and is faithful and devout, as though the man were without hope [of salvation] because of his eating, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon II. Anathema also to him who condemns the eating of flesh, except that of a suffocated animal or that offered to idols. Hefele. This canon also, like the preceding one, is not directed against the Gnostics and Manicheans, but against an unenlightened hyper-asceticism, which certainly approaches the Gnostic-Manichean error as to matter being Satanic. We further see that, at the time of the Synod of Gangra, the rule of the Apostolic Synod with regard to blood and things strangled was still in force. With the Greeks, indeed, it continued always in force as their Eucharisties still show. Balsamon also, the well-known commentator on the canons of the Middle Ages, in his commentary on the sixty-third Apostolic Canon, expressly blames the Latins because they had ceased to observe this command. What the Latin Church, however, thought on this subject about the year 400, is shown by St. Augustine in his work *Contra Faustum*, where he states that the Apostles had given this command in order to unite the heathens and Jews in the one ark of Noah; but that then, when the barrier between Jewish and heathen converts had fallen, this command concerning things strangled and blood had lost its meaning, and was only observed by few. But still, as late as the eighth century, Pope Gregory the Third 731 forbade the eating of blood or things strangled under threat of a penance of forty days.

No one will pretend that the disciplinary enactments of any council, even though it be one of the undisputed Ecumenical Synods, can be of greater and

more unchanging force than the decree of that first council, held by the Holy Apostles at Jerusalem, and the fact that its decree has been obsolete for centuries in the West is proof that even Ecumenical canons may be of only temporary utility and may be repealed by disuser, like other laws. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XXX., c. xiii.

CANON III

IF any one shall teach a slave, under pretext of piety, to despise his master and to run away from his service, and not to serve his own master with good-will and all honour, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon III. Anathema to him who persuades a slave to leave his master under pretence of religion. Van Espen. This canon is framed in accordance with the doctrine of the Apostle, in I. Timothy, chapter six, verse 1. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." And again the same Apostle teaches his disciple Titus that he should "exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." (Titus ii. 9 and 10.) These texts are likewise cited by Balsamon and Zonaras. This Canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars. II., Causa XVII., Q. IV., c. xxxvij. in the version of Isidore, and again in c. xxxviii. from the collections of Martin Bracarenensis (so says VanEspan) and assigned to a council of Pope Martin, Canon xlvii.

CANON IV

IF any one shall maintain, concerning a married presbyter, that is not lawful to partake of the oblation when he offers it, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IV. Anathema to him who hesitates to receive communion from presbyters joined in matrimony. Hefele. As is well known, the ancient Church, as now the Greek Church, allowed those clergy who married before their ordination to continue to live in matrimony. Compare what was said above in the history of the Council of Nicaea, in connection with Paphnutius, concerning the celibacy and marriage of priests in the an-

cient Church. Accordingly this canon speaks of those clergy who have wives and live in wedlock; and Baronius, Binius, and Mitter-Muller gave themselves useless trouble in trying to interpret it as only protecting those clergy who, though married, have since their ordination ceased to cohabit with their wives. The so-called Codex Ecclesioe Romanoe published by Quesnel, which, however, as was shown by the Ballerini, is of Gallican and not Roman origin, has not this canon, and consequently it only mentions nine-teencanons of Gangra.

CANON V

IF any one shall teach that the house of God and the assemblies held therein are to be despised, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon V. Whoso styles the house of God contemptible, let him be anathema. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c.x. The commentators find nothing to say upon the canon, and in fact the despising of the worship of God's true church is and always has been so common a sin, that it hardly calls for comment; no one will forget that the Prophet Malachi complains how in his days there were those who deemed "the table of the Lord contemptible" and said of his worship "what a weariness is it." (Mal. i., 7 and 13.)

CANON VI

IF any one shall hold private assemblies outside of the Church, and, despising the canons, shall presume to perform ecclesiastical acts, the presbyter with the consent of the bishop refusing his permission, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VI. Whoso privately gathers a religious meeting let him be anathema. Hefele. Both these canons, [V. and VI.] forbid the existence of conventicles, and conventicle services. It already appears from the second article of the Synodal Letter of Gangra, that the Eustathians, through spiritual pride, separated themselves from the rest of the congregation, as being the pure and holy, avoided the public worship, and held private services of their own. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles of the Synodal Letter give us to understand that the Eustathians especially avoided the public services, when married clergy officiated. We might possibly conclude, from the words of the sixth canon: *me sunontos tou presbuperou kata*

gnomen tou episkopou, that no priest performed any part in their private services; but it is more probable that the Eustathians, who did not reject the priesthood as such, but only abhorred the married clergy, had their own unmarried clergy, and that these officiated at their separate services. And the above-mentioned words of the canon do not the least contradict this supposition, for the very addition of the words *kata gnomen tou episkopou* indicate that the sectarian priests who performed the services of the Eustathians had received no permission to do so from the bishop of the place. Thus did the Greek commentators, Balsamon, etc., and likewise Van Espen, interpret this canon.

The meaning of this canon is very obscure. The Latin reads *non conveniente presbytero, de episcopi sententia*; and Lambert translates "without the presence of a priest, with consent of the bishop." Hammond differs from this and renders thus, "without the concurrence of the presbyter and the consent of the bishop." I have translated literally and left the obscurity of the original.

CANON VII

IF any one shall presume to take the fruits offered to the Church, or to give them out of the Church, without the consent of the bishop, or of the person charged with such things, and shall refuse to act according to his judgment, let him be anathema. Ancient Epitome of Canon VII. Whoso performs church acts contrary to the will of a bishop or of a presbyter, let him be anathema.

CANON VIII

IF anyone, except the bishop or the person appointed for the stewardship of benefactions, shall either give or receive the revenue, let both the giver and the receiver be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VIII. Whoso gives or receives offered fruits, except the bishop and the economist appointed to disburse charities, both he that gives, and he that receives shall be anathema. Pope Symmachus. (In his Address to the Synod of Rome 504. Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia*, tom. iv., col. 1373.) In the canons framed by Apostolic authority [i.e., by the authority of the Apostolic See of Rome, cf. Ffoulkes, Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, art. Gangra] we find it written as follows concerning the of-

ferings of fruits which are due to the clergy of the church, and concerning those things which are offered for the use of the poor; "If anyone shall presume, etc." [Canon VII.] And again at the same council, "If anyone except the bishop, etc." [Canon VIII.] And truly it is a crime and a great sacrilege for those whose duty it is chiefly to guard it, that is for Christians and God-fearing men and above all for princes and rulers of this world, to transfer and convert to other uses the wealth which has been bestowed or left by will to the venerable Church for the remedy of their sins, or for the health and repose of their souls.

Moreover, whosoever shall have no care for these, and contrary to these canons, shall seek for, accept, or hold, or shall unjustly defend and retain the treasures given to the Church unless he quickly repent himself shall be stricken with that anathema with which an angry God smites souls; and to him that accepts, or gives, or possesses let there be anathema, and the constant accompaniment of the appointed penalty. For he can have no defence to offer before the tribunal of Christ, who nefariously without any regard to religion has scattered the substance left by pious souls for the poor.

CANON IX

IF any one shall remain virgin, or observe continence, abstaining from marriage because he abhors it, and not on account of the beauty and holiness of virginity itself, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IX. Whoso preserves virginity not on account of its beauty but because he abhors marriage, let him be anathema. The lesson taught by this canon and that which follows is that the practice of even the highest Christian virtues, such as the preservation of virginity, if it does not spring from a worthy motive is only deserving of execration. Zonaras. Virginity is most beautiful of all, and continence is likewise beautiful, but only if we follow them for their own sake and because of the sanctification which comes from them. But should anyone embrace virginity, because he detests marriage as impure, and keep himself chaste, and abstains from commerce with women and marriage, because he thinks that they are in themselves wicked, he is subjected by this canon to the penalty of anathema. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. v., and again Dist. xxxi., c. ix.

CANON X

IF any one of those who are living a virgin life for the Lord's sake shall treat arrogantly the married, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon X. Whoso treats arrogantly those joined in matrimony, let him be anathema. On this point the fathers had spoken long before, I cite two as examples. St. Clement. (Epist. I., 38, Lightfoot's translation.) So in our case let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each man be subject unto his neighbour, according as also he was appointed with his special grace. Let not the strong neglect the weak; and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich rain-later aid to the poor and let the poor give; thanks to God, because he hath given himone through whom his wants may be supplied. Let the wise display his wisdom, not in words, but in good works. He that is lowly in mind, let him not bear testimony to himself, but leave testimony to be borne to him by his neighbour. He that is pure in the flesh, let him be so, and not boast, knowing that it is Another who bestoweth his continence upon him. Let us consider, brethren, of what matter we were made; who and what manner of beings we were, when we came into the world; from what a sepulchre and what darkness he that moulded and created us brought us into his world, having prepared his benefits aforehand ere ever we were born. Seeing therefore that we have all these things from him, we ought in all things to give thanks to him, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

St. Ignatius. (Epist. ad Polyc. 5, Lightfoot's translation.) Flee evil arts, or rather hold thou discourse about these, Tell my sisters to love the Lord and to be content with their husbands in flesh and in spirit. In like manner also charge my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, as the Lord loved the Church. If anyone is able to abide in chastity to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, let him so abide without boasting. If he boast, he is lost; and if it be known beyond the bishop, he is polluted. It becometh men and women, too, when they marry to unite themselves with the consent of the bishop, that the marriage may be after the Lord and not after concupiscence. Let all things be done to the honour of God. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. XXX., c. iv.

CANON XI

IF anyone shall despise those who out of faith make love-feasts and invite the brethren in honour of the Lord, and is not willing to accept these invitations because he despises what is done, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XI. Whoso spurns those who invite to the agape, and who when invited will not communicate with these, let him be anathema. There are few subjects upon which there has been more difference of opinion than upon the history and significance of the Agape or Love-feasts of the Early Church. To cite here any writers would only mislead the reader, I shall therefore merely state the main outline of the discussion and leave every man to study the matter for himself. All agree that these feasts are referred to by St. Jude in his Epistle, and, although Dean Plumptre has denied it (Smith and Cheetham, Dict., Christ. Antiq., S.V. Agapae), most writers add St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians xi. Estius (in loc.) argues with great cogency that the expression "Lord's Supper" in Holy Scripture never means the Holy Eucharist, but the love-feast, and in this view he has been followed by many moderns, but the prevalent opinion has been the opposite.

There is also much discussion as to the order in which the Agapae and the celebrations of the Holy Sacrament were related, some holding that the love-feast preceded others that it followed the Divine Mysteries. There seems no doubt that in early times the two became separated, the Holy Sacrament being celebrated in the morning and the Agapae in the evening. All agree that these feasts were at first copies of the religious feasts common to the Jews and to the heathen world, and that soon abuses of one sort or another came in, so that they fell into ill repute and were finally prohibited at the Council in Trullo. This canon of Gangra is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. xlii., c. i. Van Espen is of opinion that the agapae of our canon have no real connexion with the religious feasts of earlier days, but were merely meals provided by the rich for the poor, and with this view Hefele agrees. But the matter is by no means plain. In fact at every point we are met with difficulties and uncertainties.

There would seem to be little doubt that the "pain beni" of the French Church, and the "Antidoron" of the Eastern Church are remains of the ancient Agapae. The meaning, however, of this canon is plain enough, to wit,

people must not despise, out of a false asceticism, feasts made for the poor by those of the faithful who are rich and liberal.

CANON XII

IF any one, under pretence of asceticism, should wear a periboloeum and, as if this gave him righteousness, shall despise those who with piety wear the berus and use other common and customary dress, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XII. Whoso despises those who wear beruses, let him be anathema. Hefele. The beroi (lacernoe) were the common upper garments worn by men over the tunic; but the peribolaia were rough mantles worn by philosophers to show their contempt for all luxury. Socrates (H. E., ii. 43) and the Synodal Letter of Gangra in its third article say that Eustathius of Sebaste wore the philosopher's mantle. But this canon in no way absolutely rejects a special dress for monks, for it is not the distinctive dress but the proud and superstitious over-estimation of its worth which the Synod here blames. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. XXX., c. XV.

CANON XIII

IF any woman, under pretence of asceticism, shall change her apparel and, instead of a woman's accustomed clothing, shall put on that of a man, let her be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIII. Whatever women wear men's clothes, anathema to them. Hefele. The synodal letter in its sixth article also speaks of this. Exchange of dress, or the adoption by one sex of the dress of the other, was forbidden in the Pentateuch (Deut. xxii., 5), and was therefore most strictly interdicted by the whole ancient Church. Such change of attire was formerly adopted mainly for theatrical purposes, or from effeminacy, wantonness, the furtherance of unchastity, or the like. The Eustathians, from quite opposite and hyper-ascetical reasons, had recommended women to assume male, that is probably monk's attire, in order to show that for them, as the holy ones, there was no longer any distinction of sex; but the Church, also from ascetical reasons, forbade this change of attire, especially when joined to superstition and puritanical pride. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. vi.

CANON XIV

IF any woman shall forsake her husband, and resolve to depart from him because she abhors marriage, let her be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIV. Women who keep away from their husbands because they abominate marriage, anathema to them. Hefele. This canon cannot in any way be employed in opposition to the practice of the Catholic Church. For though the Church allows one of a married couple, with the consent of the other, to give up matrimonial intercourse, and to enter the clerical order or the cloister, still this is not, as is the case with the Eustathians, the result of a false dogmatic theory, but takes place with a full recognition of the sanctity of marriage. Van Espen. It would seem that the Eustathians chiefly disapproved of the use of marriage, and under pretext of preserving continence induced married women to abstain from its use as from something unlawful, and to leave their husbands, separating from them so far as the bed was concerned; and so the Greek interpreters understand this canon; for the Eustathians were never accused of persuading anyone to dissolve a marriage a vinculo.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. iii., but in Isidore's version, which misses the sense by implying that a divorce a vinculo is intended. The Roman Correctors do not note this error.

CANON XV

IF anyone shall forsake his own children and shall not nurture them, nor so far as in him lies, rear them in becoming piety, but shall neglect them, under pretence of asceticism, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XV. Whosoever they be that desert their children and do not instruct them in the fear of God let them be anathema. Van Espen. The fathers of this Synod here teach that it is the office and duty of parents to provide for the bodily care of their children, and also, as far as in them lies, to mould them to the practice of piety. And this care for their children is to be preferred by parents to any private exercises of religion. In this connexion should be read the letter of St. Francis de Sales. (Ep. xxxii, Lib. 4.) It may perhaps be noted that this canon has not infrequently been

violated by those who are accepted as Saints in the Church. This canon is found, in Isidore's version, in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. xiv.

CANON XVI

IF, under any pretence of piety, any children shall forsake their parents, particularly [if the parents are] believers, and shall withhold becoming reverence from their parents, on the plea that they honour piety more than them, let them be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVI. If children leave their parents who are of the faithful let them be anathema. Zonaras notes that the use of the word "particularly" shews that the obligation is universal. The commentators all refer here to St. Matthew xv., where our Lord speaks of the subterfuge by which the Jews under pretext of piety defrauded their parents and made the law of God of none effect. Van Espen. Of the last clause this is the meaning; that according to the Eustathians "piety towards God" or "divine worship," or rather its pretence, should be preferred to the honour and reverence due to parents. This canon, in Isidore's version, is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c.i. The Roman correctors advertize the reader that the version of Dionysius Exiguus "is much nearer to the original Greek, although not altogether so."

CANON XVII

IF any woman from pretended asceticism shall cut off her hair, which God gave her as the reminder of her subjection, thus annulling as it were the ordinance of subjection, let her be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVII. Whatever women shave their hair off, pretending to do so out of reverence for God, let them be anathema. Hefele. The apostle Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 10, represents the long hair of women, which is given them as a natural veil, as a token of their subjection to man. We learn from the Synod of Gangra, that as many Eustathian women renounced this subjection, and left their husbands, so, as this canon says, they also did away with their long hair, which was the outward token of this subjection. An old proverb says: *duo si faciunt idem, non est idem*. In the Catholic Church also, when women and girls enter the

cloister, they have their hair cut off, but from quite other reasons than those of the Eustathian women. The former give up their hair, because it has gradually become the custom to consider the long hair of women as a special beauty, as their greatest ornament; but the Eustathians, like the ancient Church in general, regarded long hair as the token of subjection to the husband, and, because they renounced marriage and forsook their husbands, they cut it off.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. ij.

CANON XVIII

IF any one, under pretence of asceticism, shall fast on Sunday, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVIII. Whoso fasts on the Lord's day or on the Sabbath let him be anathema. Zonaras. Eustathius appointed the Lord's day as a fast, whereas, because Christ rose from the grave and delivered human nature from sin on that day, we should spend it in offering joyous thanks to God. But fasting carries with it the idea of grief and sorrow. For this reason those who fast on Sunday are subjected to the punishment of anathema. Balsamon. By many canons we are warned against fasting or grieving on the festal and joyous Lord's day, in remembrance of the resurrection of the Lord; but that we should celebrate it and offer thanks to God, that we be raised from the fall of sin. But this canon smites the Eustathians with anathema because they taught that the Lord's days should be fasted. Canon LXIV. of the Apostolic Canons cuts off such of the laity as shall so fast, and deposes such of the clergy. See also Canon LV. of the Council in Trullo.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. vij.

CANON XIX

IF any of the ascetics, without bodily necessity, shall behave with insolence and disregard the fasts commonly prescribed and observed by the Church, because of his perfect understanding in the matter, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIX. Whoso neglects the fasts of the Church, let him be anathema. I have followed Hefele's translation of the last clause, with

which Van Espen seems to agree, as well as Zonaras. But Hardouin and Mansi take an entirely different view and translate "if the Eustathian deliberately rejects the Church fasts." Zonaras and Balsamon both refer to the LXIX of the Apostolical Canons as being the law the Eustathians violated. Balsamon suggests that the Eustathians shared the error of the Bogomiles on the subject of fasting, but I see no reason to think that this was the case, Eustathius's action seems rather to be attributable to pride, and a desire to be different and original, "I thank thee that I am not as other men are," (as Van Espen points out). All that Socrates says (H. E. II., xliii.) is that "he commanded that the prescribed fasts should be neglected, and that the Lord's days should be fasted."

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxx., c. viii., in an imperfect translation but not that of either Isidore or Dionysius.

CANON XX

IF any one shall, from a presumptuous disposition, condemn and abhor the assemblies [in honour] of the martyrs, or the services performed there, and the commemoration of them, let him be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XX. Whoever thinks lightly of the meetings in honour of the holy martyrs, let him be anathema. Hefele. Van Espen is of opinion that the Eustathians had generally rejected the common service as only fit for the less perfect, and that the martyr chapels are only mentioned here, because in old times service was usually held there. According to this view, no especial weight need be attached to the expression. But this canon plainly speaks of a disrespect shown by the Eustathians to the martyrs. Compare the twelfth article of the Synodal Letter. Fuchs thought that, as the Eustathians resembled the Aerians, who rejected the service for the dead, the same views might probably be ascribed to the Eustathians. But, in the first place, the Aerians are to be regarded rather as opposed than related in opinion to the Eustathians, being lax in contrast to these ultra-rigorists. Besides which, Epiphanius only says that they rejected prayer for the salvation of the souls of the departed, but not that they did not honour the martyrs; and there is surely a great difference between a feast in honour of a saint, and a requiem for the good of a departed soul. Why, however, the Eustathians re-

jected the veneration of martyrs is nowhere stated; perhaps because they considered themselves as saints, *kat' exochen*, exalted above the martyrs, who were for the most part only ordinary Christians, and many of whom had lived in marriage, while according to Eustathian views no married person could be saved, or consequently could be an object of veneration.

Lastly, it must be observed that the first meaning of *sunaxis*, is an assembly for divine service, or the service itself; but here it seems to be taken to mean *sunagoge* the place of worship, so that the *sunaxeis ton marturon* seems to be identical with *martyria*, and different from the *leitourgiai* held in them, of which the latter words of the canon speak.

Council of Gangra: Epilogue

The closing statement of the council of Gangra, which says that it was not written to cut off those who wish to live an ascetic life, but those who carry asceticism into pride.

¹ These things we write, not to cut off those who wish to lead in the Church of God an ascetic life, according to the Scriptures; but those who carry the pretence of asceticism to superciliousness; both exalting themselves above those who live more simply, and introducing novelties contrary to the Scriptures and the ecclesiastical Canons. We do, assuredly, admire virginity accompanied by humility; and we have regard for continence, accompanied by godliness and gravity; and we praise the leaving of worldly occupations, [when it is made] with lowliness of mind; [but at the same time] we honour the holy companionship of marriage, and we do not condemn wealth enjoyed with uprightness and beneficence; and we commend plainness and frugality in apparel, [which is worn] only from attention, [and that] not over-fastidious, to the body; but dissolute and effeminate excess in dress we eschew; and we reverence the houses of God and embrace the assemblies held therein as holy and helpful, not confining religion within the houses, but reverencing every place built in the name of God; and we approve of gathering together in the Church itself for the common profit; and we bless the exceeding charities done by the brethren to the poor, according to the traditions of the Church; and, to sum up in a word, we wish that all things which have been delivered by the Holy Scriptures and the Apostolical traditions, may be observed in the Church.

Notes.

² This is lacking in the ancient epitome; and while it occurs after Canon XX. in the versions of Dionysius Exiguus and of Isidore Mercator, it is not numbered as a canon. Moreover in John of Antioch's Collection and in Photius's Nomocanon, the number of canons is said to be 20. Only the Greek Scholiasts number it as Canon XXI., but its genuineness is unquestioned. It is

curiously enough found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, divided into two canons! Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XXX., c. xvj., and Dist. xli., c. v. Van Espen. The Fathers of Gangra recognize not only the Holy Scriptures, but also the Apostolical traditions for the rule of morals. From this [canon] it is by no means doubtful that the fathers of this Synod considered that the Eustathians had violated some already existing ecclesiastical canons. Beveridge is of opinion that these are those commonly called the Canons of the Apostles (Synod. I. 5). Nor is this unlikely to be true, for there can be no doubt that the doctrines of the Eustathians condemned by this synod are directly opposed to those very "Canons of the Apostles"; and no small argument is drawn for the authority and antiquity of the Canons of the Apostles from the large number of Eustathian teachings found to be therein condemned, as Beveridge has pointed out and as can easily be seen by comparing the two.

Synod of Antioch (AD 341): The Synodal Letter

The short letter of the bishops assembled at Antioch, which in the Greek collections stands in front of the canons of the synod.

¹(Found in Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia*, Tom. II., col. 559. It really is no part the canons, but I have placed it here, because, as Labbe notes, "it is usually prefixed to the canons in the Greek.") The holy and most peaceful Synod which has been gathered together in Antioch from the provinces of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Isauria; to our like-minded and holy fellow Ministers in every Province, health in the Lord. The grace and truth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath regarded the holy Church of the Antiochians, and, by joining it together with unity of mind and concord and the Spirit of Peace, hath likewise bettered many other things; and in them all this betterment is wrought by the assistance of the holy and peace-giving Spirit. Wherefore, that which after much examination and investigation, was unanimously agreed upon by us bishops, who coming out of various Provinces have met together in Antioch, we have now brought to your knowledge; trusting in the grace of Christ and in the Holy Spirit of Peace, that ye also will agree with us and stand by us as far as in you lies, striving with us in prayers, and being even more united with us, following the Holy Spirit, uniting in our definitions, and decreeing the same things as we; ye, in the concord which proceedeth of the Holy Spirit, sealing and confirming what has been determined.

²Now the Canons of the Church which have been settled are hereto appended.

Synod of Antioch (AD 341): The Canons

Twenty-five canons of a synod of bishops held at Antioch about AD 341. They deal with the keeping of Easter, with the authority of bishops and metropolitans, with synods and appeals, and with the discipline of the clergy. Each canon is followed by the ancient epitome and by notes.

CANON I

Whosoever, shall presume to set aside the decree of the holy and great Synod which was assembled at Nice in the presence of the pious Emperor Constantine, beloved of God, concerning the holy and salutary feast of Easter; if they shall obstinately persist in opposing what was [then] rightly ordained, let them be excommunicated and cast out of the Church; this is said concerning the laity. But if any one of those who preside in the Church, whether he be bishop, presbyter, or deacon, shall presume, after this decree, to exercise his own private judgment to the subversion of the people and to the disturbance of the churches, by observing Easter [at the same time] with the Jews, the holy Synod decrees that he shall thenceforth be an alien from the Church, as one who not only heaps sins upon himself, but who is also the cause of destruction and subversion to many; and it deposes not only such persons themselves from their ministry, but those also who after their deposition shall presume to communicate with them. And the deposed shall be deprived even of that external honour, of which the holy Canon and God's priesthood partake.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon I. Whoso endeavours to change the lawful tradition of Easter, if he be a layman let him be excommunicated, but if a cleric let him be cast out of the Church. The connexion between these canons of Antioch and the Apostolical Canons is so evident and so intimate that I shall note it, in each case, for the convenience of the student. Zonaras and Balsamon both point out that from this first canon it is evident that the Council of Nice did take action upon the Paschal question, and in a form well

known to the Church. Van Espen. From this canon it appears that the fathers did not deem laymen deserving of excommunication who merely broke the decrees, but only those who "obstinately persist in opposing the decrees sanctioned and received by the Church; for by their refusal to obey they are attempting to overturn." And this being the case, why should such not be repelled or cast forth from the Church as rebels?

Finally this Canon proves that not only bishops and presbyters, but also deacons were reckoned among them who, "preside in the Church." An argument in favour of the opinion that the deacons of that time were entrusted with hierarchical functions. It is curious that as a matter of fact the entire clergy and people of the West fell under the anathema of this canon in 1825, when they observed Easter on the same day as the Jews. This was owing to the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, and this misfortune while that calendar is followed it is almost impossible to prevent. Compare Apostolic Canons; Canon VII.

CANON II

All who enter the church of God and hear the Holy Scriptures, but do not communicate with the people in prayers, or who turn away, by reason of some disorder, from the holy partaking of the Eucharist, are to be cast out of the Church, until, after they shall have made confession, and having brought forth the fruits of penance, and made earnest entreaty, they shall have obtained forgiveness; and it is unlawful to communicate with excommunicated persons, or to assemble in private houses and pray with those who do not pray in the Church; or to receive in one Church those who do not assemble with another Church. And, if any one of the bishops, presbyters, or deacons, or any one in the Canon shall be found communicating with excommunicated persons, let him also be excommunicated, as one who brings confusion on the order of the Church.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon II. Whoso comes to church, and attentively hears the holy Scriptures, and then despises, goes forth from, and turns his back upon the Communion, let him be cast out, until after having brought forth fruits of penance, he shall be indulged. And who-so communicates with one excommunicated, shall be excommunicated, and whoso prays with him who prays not with the Church is guilty, and even whoso receives him

who does not attend the services of the Church is not without guilt. Balsamon. In the Eighth and Ninth canons of the Apostles it is set forth how those are to be punished who will not wait for the prayers, and the holy Communion: So, too, in the Tenth canon provision is made with respect to those who communicate with the excommunicated. In pursuance of this the present canon provides that they are to be cut off who come to church and do not wait for the prayer, and through disorder [ataxian will not receive the holy Communion; for such are to be cast out until with confession they shew forth worthy penance.

Zonaras. In this canon the Fathers refer to such as go to church but will not tarry to the prayer nor receive holy Communion, held back by some perversity or license, that is to say without any just cause, but petulantly, and by reason of some disorder ataxian; these are forbidden to be expelled from the Church, that is to say cut off from the congregation of the faithful. But the Fathers call it a turning away from, not a hatred of the divine Communion, which holds them back from communion; a certain kind of flight from it, brought about perchance by reverence and lowliness of mind. Those who object to communicate by reason of hatred or disgust, such must be punished not with mere separation, but by an altogether absolute excommunication, and be cursed with anathema. It need hardly be remarked that this canon has no reference to such of the faithful as tarry to the end of the service and yet do not partake of the holy sacrament, being held back by some good reason, recognized by the Church as such. It will be remembered that the highest grade of Penitents did this habitually, and that it was looked upon as a great privilege to be allowed to be present when the Divine Mysteries were performed, even though those assisting as spectators might not be partakers of them. What this canon condemns is leaving the Church before the service of the Holy Eucharist is done; this much is clear, the difficulty is to understand just why these particular people, against whom the canon is directed, did so. This canon should be compared with the Apostolic canons viii., ix., x., xj. xij. and xiiij.

CANON III

IF any presbyter or deacon, or any one whatever belonging to the priesthood, shall forsake his own parish, and shall depart, and, having wholly changed his residence, shall set himself to remain for a long time in another parish, let him no longer officiate; especially if his own bishop shall summon and

urge him to return to his own parish and he shah disobey. And if he persist in his disorder, let him be wholly deposed from his ministry, so that no further room be left for his restoration. And if another bishop shall receive a man deposed for this cause, let him be punished by the Common Synod as one who nullifies the ecclesiastical laws.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon III. If any cleric leaves his own parish and goes off to another, travelling here and there, and stays for a long time in that other, let him not offer the sacrifice (*leitourgeito*), especially if he do not return when called by his own bishop. But if he perseveres in his insolence let him be deposed, neither afterwards let him have any flower to return. And if any bishop shall receive him thus deposed, he shall be punished by the Common Synod for breach of the ecclesiastical laws. Compare with Canons of the Apostles xv. and xvi. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa VII., *Quaest.* I., Can. xxiv.

CANON IV

IF any bishop who has been deposed by a synod, or any presbyter or deacon who has been deposed by his bishop shall presume to execute any part of the ministry, whether it be a bishop according to his former custom, or a presbyter, or a deacon, he shall no longer have any prospect of restoration in another Synod; nor any opportunity of making his defence; but they who communicate with him shall all be cast out of the Church, and particularly if they have presumed to communicate with the persons aforementioned, knowing the sentence pronounced against them.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IV. If a bishop deposed by a synod shall dare to celebrate the liturgy, let him have no chance of return. This canon derives its chief interest from the fact that it is usually considered to have been adopted at the instigation of the party opposed to St. Athanasius and that afterwards it was used against St. Chrysostom. But while such may have been the secret reason why some voted for it and others prized it, it must be remembered that its provision is identical with that of the Apostolic Canons, and that it was read at the Council of Chalcedon as Canon eighty-three. Remi Ceillier (*Histoire GenHistoire Gnoeral des Autheurs*, p. 659) tries to prove that this is not the canon which St. Chrysostom and his friends rejected, but Hefele

thinks his position "altogether untenable" (*Hist. of the Councils*, Vol. II., p. (62, n. 1), and refers to Tillemont (*Memories*, p. 329, *Sur les Ariens*, and Fuchs' *Bib. der Kirchenversammlungen*, P. II., p. 59.)

Compare Apostolic Canon xxviii. This canon is found twice in the *Juris Corpus Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa XI., *Quaest. III.*, Can. vi., and Can. vij. in the version of Martin Bracaraensis. This version is very interesting as expanding the phrase "to execute any part of the ministry" into "to make the oblation, or to perform the morning or evening sacrifice as though he were in office just as before, etc."

CANON V

IF any presbyter or deacon, despising this own bishop, has separated himself from the Church, and gathered a private assembly, and set up an altar; and if, when summoned by his bishop, he shall refuse to be persuaded and will not obey, even though he summon him a first and a second time, let such an one be wholly deposed and have no further remedy, neither be capable of regaining his rank. And if he persist in troubling and disturbing the Church, let him be corrected, as a seditious person, by the civil power.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon V. Any presbyter or deacon who spurns his bishop, and withdraws from him, and sets up another altar, if after being thrice called by the bishop, he shall persist in his arrogancy, let him be deposed and be deprived of all hope of restoration. It will be noted that the Ancient Epitome mentions three warnings, and the canon only two. The epitome in this evidently follows the Apostolical Canon, number thirty-one. It is somewhat curious that Aristenus in commenting on this canon does not note the discrepancy. Van Espen. This canon, together with the preceding was read from the Code of Canons at the Council of Chalcedon, at the Fourth Session in connexion with the ease of Carosus and Dorotheus, and of other monks who adhered to them. And a sentence in accordance with them was conceived in these words against those who would not obey the Council in the condemnation of Eutyches, "Let them know that they together with the monks who are with them, are deprived of grade, and of all dignity, and of communion, as well as he, so that they cease to preside over their monasteries: and if they attempt to escape, this holy and universal great council decrees the same punishment shall attach to them, that is to say the external

authority, according to the divine and holy laws of the Fathers, shall carry out the sentence passed against the contumacious."

This canon shews that monks and clerics who were rebellious were sometimes coerced by the Secular Power, when the ecclesiastical power was not sufficient to coerce them, and hence it was that the secular arm was called in. Compare with this Apostolic Canon XXXI. The last clause of this canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II. Causa XI., Quaest. VIII. Can. vii. (The Latin however for "by the civil power" is, as is pointed out by the Roman Correctors, *per forasticam potestatem* or *per forasticam potestatem*).

CANON VI

IF any one has been excommunicated by his own bishop, let him not be received by others until he has either been restored by his own bishop, or until, when a synod is held, he shall have appeared and made his defence, and, having convinced the synod, shall have received a different sentence. And let this decree apply to the laity, and to presbyters and deacons, and all who are enrolled in the clergy-list.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VI. The sentence of the greater synod upon a clerk excommunicated by his bishop, whether of acquittal or condemnation, shall stand. Compare Apostolic Canons numbers XII. and XXXII. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa XI., Quaest. III, Can. ij.

CANON VII

No stranger shall be received without letters pacifical.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VII. A traveller having no letter pacific with him is not to be received. Compare the Apostolic Canon number XXXIII. For a discussion of the Letters styled *pacifici*, see notes on next canon. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. lxxi., c. ix. in Isidore's version. The Roman Correctors the Apostolic note that Dionysius must have had a different reading from the Greek we know.

CANON VIII

Let not country presbyters give letters canonical, or let them send such letters only to the neighbouring bishops. But the chorepiscopi of good report may give letters pacifical.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VIII. A country presbyter is not to give canonical letters, or [at most] only to a neighbouring bishop. These "letters canonical" were called in the West letters "formatoe," and no greater proof of the great influence they had in the early days of the Church in binding the faithful together can be found than the fact that Julian the Apostate made an attempt to introduce something similar among the pagans of his empire. "Commendatory letters" (*epistolai sustatikai*;) are spoken of by St. Paul in 2 Cor. iii. 1, and the reader will find some interesting remarks on this and cognate subjects in J. J. Blunt's, *The Christian Church during the first three Centuries* (Chapter II). By means of these letters even the lay people found hospitality and care in every part of the world, and it was thrown up against the Donatists as a mark of their being schismatics that their canonical letters were good only among themselves.

Pseudo-Isidore informs us that it was stated at the Council of Chalcedon by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, that it was agreed at the Council of Nice that all such letters should be marked II. Y. A. II. (i.e. Father, Son, Holy Spirit), and it is asserted (*Herzog, Real-Encyk., s. v. Literae Format, Real-Encyk., s. v. Literae Formatae*) that this form is found in German documents of the sixth century. As will be seen among the Canons of Chalcedon, the old name, Letters Commendatory, is continued, but in this canon and in the 41st of Laodicea the expression "Canonical Letters" is used. In the West, at least, these letters received the episcopal seal of the diocese to avoid all possibility of imposture. Dean Plumptre (whom I am following very closely in this note) believes the earliest evidence of this use of the diocesan seal is in Augustine (*Epist. lix. al. ccxvij.*) He also refers to *Ducange, s. v. Formatae*.

As these letters admitted their bearers to communion they were sometimes called "Communion letters" (*koinwnikai*;) and are so described by St. Cyril of Alexandria; and by the Council of Elvira (canon xxv.), and by St. Augustine (*Epist. xliii. al. clxii.*) The "Letters Pacifical" appear to have been of an eleemosynary character, so that the bearers of them obtained bodily help.

Chalcedon in its eleventh canon ordains these "Letters pacifical" shall be given to the poor, whether they be clerics or laics. The same expression is used in the preceding canon of the synod. A later form of ecclesiastical letter is that with which we are so familiar, the "letter dimissory." This expression first occurs in Carom XVII. of the Council in Trullo. On this expression Suicer (*Thesaurus*, s. v. *apolutike*;) draws from the context the conclusion that "letters dimissory" were given only for permanent change of ecclesiastical residence, while, "letters commendatory" were given to those whose absence from their diocese was. only temporary.

CANON IX

IT behoves the bishops in every province to acknowledge the bishop who presides in the metropolis, and who has to take thought for the whole province; because all men of business come together from every quarter to the metropolis. Wherefore it is decreed that he have precedence in rank, and that the other bishops do nothing extraordinary without him, (according to the ancient canon which prevailed from [the times of] our Fathers) or such things only as pertain to their own particular parishes and the districts subject to them. For each bishop has authority over his own parish, both to manage it with the piety which is incumbent on every one, and to make provision for the whole district which is dependent on his city; to ordain prebysters and deacons; and to settle everything with judgment. But let him undertake nothing further without the bishop of the metropolis; neither the latter without the consent of the others.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IX. Bishops should be bound to opinion of the metropolitan, and nothing should they do without his knowledge except only such things as have reference to the diocese of each, and let them ordain men free from blame. Van Espen. From this canon we see that causes of more importance and greater moment are to be considered in the Provincial Synod which consisted of the metropolitan and the other bishops of the province. By the "ancient canon" of which mention is here made, there can scarcely be a doubt is intended the xxxiv. of the Canons of the Apostles, since in it are read the same provisions (and almost in the same words) as here are set forth somewhat more at length; nor is there any other canon in which these, provisions are found earlier in date than this synod, wherefore from

this is deduced a strong argument for the integrity of the Canons of the Apostles.

The wording of this canon should be compared with the famous sentence so often quoted of St. Irenaeus. "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam [i.e. of Rome] propter potentiores principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est eaque est ab Apostolis traditio." Is it not likely that in the lost Greek original the words translated *convenire ad* were (*suntrekein en?* Vide on the meaning of *convenire ad*, F. W. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, pp. 32 et seqq. Compare Apostolic Canon XXXIV.

CANON X

The Holy Synod decrees that persons in villages and districts, or those who are called chorepiscopi, even though they may have received ordination to the Episcopate, shall regard their own limits and manage the churches subject to them, and be content with the care and administration of these; but they may ordain readers, sub-deacons and exorcists, and shall be content with promoting these, but shall not presume to ordain either a presbyter or a deacon, without the consent of bishop of the city to which he and his district are subject. And if he shall dare to transgress [these] decrees, he shall be deposed from the rank which he enjoys. And a chorepiscopus is to be appointed by the bishop of the city to which he is subject.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon X A chorepiscopus makes Exorcists, Lectors, Sub-deacons and Singers, but not a presbyter or a deacon without the bishop of the city. Who dares to transgress this law let him be deposed. The bishop of the city makes the chorepiscopus. For the Minor Orders in the Early Church see the Excursus on the subject appended to Canon XXIV. of Laodicea. "Ordination to the episcopate." In translating thus I have followed both Dionysius and Isidore. the former of whom translates "although they had received the imposition of the hand of the bishop and had been consecrated bishops;" and the latter "although they had received from bishops the imposition of the hand, and had been consecrated bishops.": Van Espen. There can be no doubt that the Chorepiscopi, the authority of whom is limited by this canon, are supposed to be endowed with the episcopal character. Among the learned there is a controversy as to whether Chorepiscopi were

true bishops by virtue of the ordination to that office, and endowed with the episcopal character or were only bishops when accidentally so. But whatever may be the merits of this controversy, there can be no doubt from the context of this canon that the Fathers of Antioch took it for granted that the chorepiscopi were true bishops by virtue of their ordination, but it is also evident that they were subject to the bishop of the greater city. It must also be noted that these chorepiscopi were not instituted by the canons of the Councils of Ancyra, NeoCaesarea, or even of Nice, for these speak of them and make their decrees as concerning something already existing.

And from the very limitations of this canon it is by no means obscure that the fathers of Antioch supposed these chorepiscopi to be real bishops, for otherwise even with the license of the bishop of the city they could not ordain presbyters or deacons.

CANON XI

IF any bishop, or presbyter, or any one whatever of the canon shall presume to betake himself to the Emperor without the consent and letters of the bishop of the province, and particularly of the bishop of the metropolis, such a one shall be publicly deposed and cast out, not only from communion, but also from the rank which he happens to have; inasmuch as he dares to trouble the ears of our Emperor beloved of God, contrary to the law of the Church. But, if necessary business shall require any one to go to the Emperor, let him do it with the advice and consent of the metropolitan and other bishops in the province, and let him undertake his journey with letters from them.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XI. A bishop or presbyter who (of his own motion and not at the bidding of the Metropolitan of the province goes to the Emperor shall be deprived both of communion and dignity. This canon is one of those magnificent efforts which the early church made to check the already growing inclination to what we have in later times learned to call Erastianism. Not only did the State, as soon as it became Christian, interfere in spiritual matters at its own motion, but there were found bishops and others of the clergy who not being able to attain their ends otherwise, appealed to the civil power, usually to the Emperor himself, and thus the whole discipline of the Church was threatened, and the authority of spiritual synods

set aside. How unsuccessful the Church often was in this struggle is only too evident from the remarks of the Greek commentator Balsamon on this very canon.

Hefele. Kellner (*Das Buss, und Strafversahren*, p. 61) remarks with reference to this, that deposition is here treated as a heavier punishment than exclusion from communion, and therefore the latter cannot mean actual excommunication but only suspension.

CANON XLI

IF any presbyter or deacon deposed by his own bishop, or any bishop deposed by a synod, shall dare to trouble the ears of the Emperor, when it is his duty to submit his case to a greater synod of bishops, and to refer to more bishops the things which he thinks right, and to abide by the examination and decision made by them; if, despising these, he shall trouble the Emperor, he shall be entitled to no pardon, neither shall he have an opportunity of defence, nor any hope of future restoration.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XII. One deposed, if he shall have troubled the Emperor, shall seek the greater synod, and submit to its decree. But if he again misbehave himself, he shall not have any chance of restoration. It is usually supposed that this canon, as well as the fourth, and the fourteenth and fifteenth, was directed against St. Athanasius, and it was used against St. Chrysostom by his enemies. Vide Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II., Chapter viii., and Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III., chapter v.; also *ibid.* Book VII., chapter xx. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa XXI., Quest. V., Can. ij., in Isidore's Version.

CANON XIII

No bishop shall presume to pass from one province to another, and ordain persons to the dignity of the ministry in the Church, not even should he have others with him, unless he should go at the written invitation of the metropolitan and bishops into whose country he goes. But if he should, without invitation, proceed irregularly to the ordination of any, or to the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs which do not concern him, the things done by him are null, and he himself shall suffer the due punishment of his

irregularity and his unreasonable undertaking, by being forthwith deposed by the holy Synod.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIII. If without invitation a bishop shall go into another province, and shall ordain, and administer affairs, what he does shall be void and he himself The Roman Correctors are not satisfied with—shall be deposed. Compare with this Apostolic Canon xxxv.; also canon xxii. of this same synod. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa ix., Quæst. II., Can. vj. in the *Versio Prisca*. The Roman Correctors are not satisfied with it, however, nor with any version and give the Greek text, to which they add an accurate translation.

CANON XIV

IF a bishop shall be tried on any accusations, and it should then happen that the bishops of the province disagree concerning him, some pronouncing the accused innocent, and others guilty; for the settlement of all disputes, the holy Synod decrees that the metropolitan call on some others belonging to the neighbouring province, who shall add their judgment and resolve the dispute, and thus, with those of the province, confirm what is determined.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIV. If the bishops of the province disagree among themselves as to an accused bishop, that the controversy may be certainly settled, let other neighbouring bishops be called in. Zonaras. When any bishop shall have been condemned with unanimous consent by all the bishops of the province, the condemnation cannot be called into doubt, as this synod has set forth in its fourth canon. But if all the bishops are not of the same mind, but some contend that he should be condemned and others the contrary, then other bishops may be called in by the metropolitan from the neighbouring provinces, and when their votes are added to one or other of the parties among the bishops, then controversy should be brought to a close. This also is the law of the Synod of Sardica, canons iii. and v. Aristenus. Every bishop accused of crimes should be judged by his own synod, but if the bishops of the province differ, some saying that he is innocent and some that he is guilty, the metropolitan can call other bishops from a neighbouring province that they may solve the controversy agitated by the bishops.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa vi., Quæst. iv., can. j. The Roman Correctors note that the Latin translation implies that the neighbouring metropolitan is to be invited and say, "But, in truth, it hardly seems fitting that one metropolitan should come at the call of another, and that there should be two metropolitans in one synod."

CANON XV

IF any bishop, lying under any accusation, shall be judged by all the bishops in the province, and all shall unanimously deliver the same verdict concerning him, he shall not be again judged by others, but the unanimous sentence of the bishops of the province shall stand firm.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XV. If all the bishops of a province agree with regard to a bishop already sentenced, a new trial shall not be granted him. Van Espen. By the phrase "by others" must be understood bishops called from a neighbouring province, of which mention is made in the previous canon, where in the case of an agreement among the bishops, the synod did not wish to be called in, even if it were demanded by the condemned bishop. This canon, therefore, is a supplement as it were to the preceding. And for this reason in the *Breviarium* and in Cresconius's *Collection of Canons* they are placed under a common title, cap. 144, "Concerning the difference of opinion which happens in the judgment of bishops, or when a bishop is cut off by all the bishops of his province." From these canons it is manifest that at first the causes of bishops were agitated and decided in provincial synods, and this discipline continued for many centuries, and was little by little departed from in the VIII and IX centuries.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa VI., Quæst. IV., Can. v. Gratian adds a note which Van Espen remarks smacks of his own date rather than of that of the Synod of Antioch.

CANON XVI

IF any bishop without a see shall throw himself upon a vacant church and seize its throne, without a full synod, he shall be cast out, even if all the people over whom he has usurped jurisdiction should choose him. And that shall be [accounted] a full synod, in which the metropolitan is present.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVI. Whoever without the full synod and without the Metropolitan Council, shall go over to a vacant church, even if he has no position, he shall be ejected. Beveridge. This, together with the following canon, was recited by Bishop Leontius in the Council of Chalcedon, from the book of the canons, in which this is called the 95th and the following the 96th, according to the order observed in that book of the canons. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XCII., Can. viii. in Isidore's version, and the Roman Correctors note its departure from the original.

CANON XVII

IF any one having received the ordination of a bishop, and having been appointed to preside over a people, shall not accept his ministry, and will not be persuaded to proceed to the Church entrusted to him, he shall be excommunicated until he, being constrained, accept it, or until a full synod of the bishops of the province shall have determined concerning him.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVII. Whoso has received orders and abandoned them let him be excommunicated, until he shall have repented and been received. Zonaras. If any one called to the rule of the people refuse to undertake that office and ministry, let him be removed from communion, that is separated, until he accept the position. But should he persist in his refusal, he can by no means be absolved from his separation, unless perchance the full synod shall take some action in his case. For it is possible that he may assign reasonable causes why he should be excused from accepting the prelature offered him, reasons which would meet with the approbation of the synod. Balsamon explains the canon in the same sense and adds that by "ordination" here is intended ordination proper, not merely election, as some have held. Compare with this Apostolic Canon XXXVI. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XCII., C. vii. The Roman Correctors note that Dionysius's version is nearer the Greek.

CANON XVIII

IF any bishop ordained to a parish shall not proceed to the parish to which he has been ordained, not through any fault of his own, but either because of the rejection of the people, or for any other reason not arising from himself,

let him enjoy his rank and ministry; only he shall not disturb the affairs of the Church which he joins; and he shall abide by whatever the full synod of the province shall determine, after judging the ease.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVIII. Let a bishop ordained but not received by his city have his part of the honour, and offer the liturgy only, waiting for the synod of the province to give judgment. Balsamon. In canon xvij. the fathers punished him who when ordained could not be persuaded to go to the church to which he was assigned. In the present canon they grant pardon to him who is willing to take the charge of the diocese, for which he was consecrated, but is prevented from doing so by the impudence of the people or else by the incursions of the infidel; and therefore they allow him to enjoy, in whatever province he may happen to be, the honour due his rank, viz., his throne, his title, and the exercise of the episcopal office, with the knowledge and consent of the bishop of the diocese. He must not, however, meddle will, the affairs of the church of which he is a guest, that is to say he must not teach, nor ordain, nor perform any episcopal act without the consent of the bishop of the diocese; but he must observe quiet, until he learns what he ought to do by the determination of the full Synod.

Aristenus explains that by keeping quiet is intended that he should not "use any military help or other power." This canon is found twice in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xcii., c. iv. and v.; in the versions of Martin Bracaraensis and of Dionysius.

CANON XIX

A Bishop shall not be ordained without a synod and the presence of the metropolitan of the province. And when he is present, it is by all means better that all his brethren in the ministry of the Province should assemble together with him; and these the metropolitan ought to invite by letter. And it were better that all should meet; but if this be difficult, it is indispensable that a majority should either be present or take part by letter in the election, and that thus the appointment should be made in the presence, or with the consent, of the majority; but if it should be done contrary to these decrees, the ordination shall be of no force. And if the appointment shall be made according to the prescribed canon, and any should object through natural love of contradiction, the decision of the majority shall prevail.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIX. If there be no synod and metropolitan, let there be no bishop. If on account of some difficulty all do not meet together, at least let the greater number, or let them give their assent by letter. But if after the affair is all settled a few are contentious, let the vote of the majority stand firm. Zonaras. In the first place it must be noted that by "ordination" in this place is meant election, and the laying on of the bishop's hand. Balsamon. The method of choosing a bishop is laid down in the canons of Nice, number iv., but the present canon adds the provision that an election which takes place in violation of the provisions of this decree is null and invalid: and that when those who are electing are divided in opinion as to whom to choose, the votes of the majority shall prevail. But when you hear this canon saying that there should be no election without the presence of the Metropolitan, you must not say that he ought to be present at an election (for this was prohibited, as is found written in other canons) but rather say that his presence here is a permission or persuasion, without which no election could take place.

Compare Apostolic Canon number j. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. LXV., can. iij. Gratian has chosen Isidore's version, and the Roman Correctors point out that Dionysius' is preferable.

CANON XX

With a view to the good of the Church and the settlement of disputes, it is decreed to be well that synods of the bishops, (of which the metropolitan shall give notice to the provincials), should be held in every province twice a year, one after the third week of the feast of Easter, so that the synod may be ended in the fourth week of the Pentecost; and the second on the ides of October which is the tenth [or fifteenth] day of the month Hyperberetaeus; so that presbyters and deacons, and all who think themselves unjustly dealt with, may resort to these synods and obtain the judgment of the synod. But it shall be unlawful for any to hold synods by themselves without those who are entrusted with the Metropolitan Sees.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XX. On account of ecclesiastical necessities the synod in every province shall meet twice a year, in the fourth week of Pente-

cost and on the tenth day of Hyperboreos. Schelestratius (Cit. Van Espen). The time fixed by the Council of Nice before Lent for the meeting of the synod was not received in the East, and the bishops kept on in the old custom of celebrating the council in the fourth week after Easter, for the time before Lent often presented the greatest difficulties for those in the far separated cities to come to the provincial metropolis. Van Espen. In this canon the decree of Nice in canon v. is renewed, but with this difference that the Nicene synod orders one synod to be held before Lent, but this synod that it should be held the fourth week after Easter. It will be remembered that the whole period of the great fifty days from Easter to Whitsunday was known as "Pentecost."

Compare with this Apostolic Canon number XXXVII. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XVIII., c. xv., attributed to a council held by Pope Martin. The Roman Correctors point out that this "Pope Martin" was a bishop of Braga (*Bracarenensis*) from whose collection of the decrees of the Greek synods Gratian often quotes; the Correctors also note, "For bishops in old times were usually called Popes" (*Antiquitus enim episcopi Papoe dicebantur*).

CANON XXI

A Bishop may not be translated from one parish to another, either intruding himself of his own suggestion, or under compulsion by the people, or by constraint of the bishops; but he shall remain in the Church to which he was allotted by God from the beginning, and shall not be translated from it, according to the decree formerly passed on the subject.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXI. A bishop even if compelled by the people, and compelled by the bishops, must not be translated to another diocese. See the treatment of the translation of bishops in the *Excursus* to canon xv. of Nice. Compare this canon with Apostolical Canon number xiv. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., *Causa VII.*, *Quaest. I.*, can. xxv., from Isidore's version.

CANON XXII

Let not a bishop go to a strange city, which is not subject to himself, nor into a district which does not belong to him, either to ordain any one, or to appoint presbyters or deacons to places within the jurisdiction of another

bishop, unless with the consent of the proper bishop of the place. And if any one shall presume to do any such thing, the ordination shall be void, and he himself shall be punished by the synod.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXII. A bishop shall not go from city to city ordaining people, except by the will of the bishop of the city: otherwise the ordination shall be without force, and he himself exposed to censure. If we do not draw a rash conclusion, we should say that the interference of bishops in dioceses not their own, must have been very frequent in early days. This one synod enacted two canons (number XIII. and this present canon) on the subject. The same prohibition is found in canons XIV. and XXXV. of the Apostolic canons, in canon XV. of Nice, canon ij. of I. Constantinople and in many others. On account of the similarity of this canon to canon xiii. some have supposed it to be spurious, the enactment of some other synod, and this was the opinion of Godefrides Hermantius (*Vita S. Athanasii*, Lib. IV., cap. xij.) as well as of Alexander Natalis (*Hist. Sec.*, IV., *Dissert.* xxv.). Van Espen, however, is of opinion that the two canons do not cover exactly the same ground, for he says Canon XIII. requires letters both from the Metropolitan and from the other bishops of the province, while this canon XXII. requires only the consent of the diocesan. He concludes that Canon XIII. refers to a diocese *sede vacante*, when the Metropolitan with the other bishops took care of the widowed church, but that Canon XXII. refers to a diocese with its own bishop, whose will is all that is needed for the performance of episcopal acts by another bishop. And this distinction Schelestratius makes still more evident by his discussion of the matter in his scholion on Canon XIII.

Compare with this canon of the Apostolic Canons number XXXV. also number XIV. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa IX., *Quaest.* II., can. vij., but in a form differing far from the Greek original, as the Roman Correctors point out; and even Gratian's present text is not as he wrote it, but amended.

CANON XXIII

IT shall not be lawful for a bishop, even at the close of life, to appoint another as successor to himself; and if any such thing should be done, the appointment shall be void. But the ecclesiastical law must be observed, that a bishop must not be appointed otherwise than by a synod and with tile judgment of

the bishops, who have the authority to promote tile man who is worthy, after the falling asleep of him who has ceased from his labours.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXIII. A dying bishop shall not appoint another bishop. But when he is dead a worthy successor shall be provided by a synod of those who have this power. Nothing could be more important than the provision of this canon. It is evidently intended to prevent nepotism in every form, and to leave the appointment to the vacant see absolutely to the free choice of the Metropolitan and his synod. The history of the Church, and its present practice, is a curious commentary upon the ancient legislation, and the appointment of coadjutor bishops *cure jure successionis*, so common in later days, seems to be a somewhat ingenious way of escaping the force of the canon. Van Espen, however, reminds his readers of the most interesting case of St. Augustine of Hippo (which he himself narrates in his Epistle CCXIII.) of how he was chosen by his predecessor as bishop of Hippo, both he and the then bishop being ignorant of the fact that it was prohibited by the canons. And how when in his old age the people wished him to have one chosen bishop to help him till his death and to succeed him afterwards, he declined saying: "What was worthy of blame in my own case, shall not be a blot likewise upon my son." He did not hesitate to say who he thought most worthy to succeed him, but he added, "he shall be a presbyter, as he is, and when God so wills he shall be a bishop." Van Espen adds; "All this should be read carefully that thence may be learned how St. Augustine set an example to bishops and pastors of taking all the pains possible that after their deaths true pastors, and not thieves and wolves, should enter into their flocks, who in a short time would destroy all they had accomplished by so much labour in so long a time." (Cf. Eusebius. H. E., Lib. VI., cap. xj. and car. xxxij.)

Compare Apostolic Canon number LXXVI. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa VIII., *Quaest. I.*, can. III., in Dionysius's version, and again Canon IV. in that of Martin Bracaraensis.

CANON XXIV

IT is right that what belongs to the Church be preserved with all care to the Church, with a good conscience and faith in God, the inspector and judge of all. And these things ought to be administered under the judgment and au-

thority of the bishop, who is entrusted with the whole people and with the souls of the congregation. But it should be manifest what is church property, with the knowledge of the presbyters and deacons about him; so that these may know assuredly what things belong to the Church, and that nothing be concealed from them, in order that, when the bishop may happen to depart this life, the property belonging to the Church being well known, may not be embezzled nor lost, and in order that the private property of the bishop may not be disturbed on a pretence that it is part of the ecclesiastical goods. For it is just and well-pleasing to God and man that the private property of the bishop be bequeathed to whomsoever he will, but that for the Church be kept whatever belongs to the Church; so that neither the Church may suffer loss, nor the bishop be injured under pretext of the Church's interest, nor those who belong to him fall into lawsuits, and himself, after his death, be brought under reproach.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXIV. All the clergy should be cognizant of ecclesiastical matters; so that when the bishop dies the Church may preserve her own goods; but what belongs to the bishop shall be disposed of according to his directions. Van Espen. This canon shews the early discipline according to which the presbyters and deacons of the episcopal city, who were said to be "about him" or to pertain to his chair, represented the senate of the church, who together with the bishop administered the church affairs, and, when the see was vacant, had the charge of it. All this Martin of Braga sets forth more clearly in his version, and I have treated of the matter at large in my work on Ecclesiastical Law, Pars I., Tit. viii., cap. i., where I have shewn that the Cathedral chapter succeeded to this senate of presbyters and deacons. Compare with this canon Apostolical Canon XL.

This canon in a somewhat changed form is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars II., Causa XII., Quæst. I., can. xx., and attributed to "Pope Martin's Council"; also compare with this the ensuing canon, number XXI.

CANON XXV

Let the bishop have power over the funds of the Church, so as to dispense them with all piety and in the fear of God to all who need. And if there be occasion, let him take what he requires for his own necessary uses and those

of his brethren sojourning with him, so that they may in no way lack, according to the divine Apostle, who says, "Having food and raiment, let us therewith be content." And if he shall not be content with these, but shall apply the funds to his own private uses, and not manage the revenues of the Church, or the rent of the farms, with the consent of the presbyters and deacons, but shall give the authority to his own domestics and kinsmen, or brothers, or sons, so that the accounts of the Church are secretly injured, he himself shall submit to an investigation by the synod of the province. But if, on the other hand, the bishop or his presbyters shall be defamed as appropriating to themselves what belongs to the Church, (whether from lands or any other ecclesiastical resources), so that the poor are oppressed, and accusation and infamy are brought upon the account and on those who so administer it, let them also be subject to correction, the holy synod determining what is right.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXV. The bishop shall have power over ecclesiastical goods. But should he not be content with those things which are sufficient for him but shall alienate the goods and revenues of the church, without the advice of the clergy, penalties shall be exacted from him in the presence of the synod. But if he has converted to his own uses what was given for the poor, of this also let him give an explanation to the synod. Compare with this canon Apostolic Canon number XLI. This Canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars II., Causa XII., Quæst I., can. XXIII. and with this should be compared canon XXII. immediately preceding. At the end of this canon in Labbe's version of Dionysius we find these words added. "And thirty bishops signed who were gathered together at this Synod." Isidore Mercator has a still fuller text, viz.: "I, Eusebius, being present subscribe to all things constituted by this holy Synod. Theodore, Nicetas, Macedonius, Anatolius, Tarcodimantus, Aethe-reus, Narcissus, Eustachius, Hesychius, Mauricius, Paulus, and the rest, thirty bishops agreed and signed." Van Espen after noting that this addition is not found in the Greek, nor in Martin Bracarenis, adds "there is little probability that this clause is of the same antiquity as the canons."

Council of Sardica (AD 343): The Canons

Canons of the council of Sardica, now Sofia, held about AD 343 by Western and Eastern bishops to settle the cases of Athanasius and other deposed bishops. The Eastern bishops withdrew, and the Western bishops who remained made these canons, which deal above all with the right of a bishop to appeal to the bishop of Rome.

INTRODUCTION

The holy synod assembled in Sardica from various provinces decreed as follows. (Found in Greek in John of Constantinople's collection of the sixth century and several other mss. Found also in the works of the Greek scholiasts. Found in Latin in the *Prisca*, in Dionysius Exiguus, and in Isidore, genuine and false.)

CANON I

(Greek.) Hosius, bishop of the city of Corduba, said: A prevalent evil, or rather most mischievous corruption must be done away with from its very foundations. Let no bishop be allowed to remove from a small city to a different one: as there is an obvious reason for this fault, accounting for such attempts; since no bishop could ever yet be found who endeavoured to be translated from a larger city to a smaller one. It is therefore evident that such persons are inflamed with excessive covetousness and are only serving ambition in order to have the repute of possessing greater authority. Is it then the pleasure of all that so grave an abuse be punished with great severity? For I think that men of this sort should not be admitted even to lay communion. All the bishops said: It is the pleasure of all. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: A prevalent evil and mischievous corruption must be done away with from its foundation. Let no bishop be allowed to remove from his own city to another. For the reason of such attempts is manifest, since in this matter no bishop has been found who would remove from a larger city to a smaller one. It is therefore evident that these men are inflamed with excess of covetousness, and are serving ambition and aiming at the possession of power. If it be the

pleasure of all, let so great an evil be punished right harshly and sternly, so that he who is such shall not even be admitted to lay communion. All with one accord answered: Such is our pleasure.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon I. NO bishop is to be found passing from a smaller to a greater city. If anyone should move from an humble to a more important see, he shall be excommunicated through his whole life as proud and grasping. Van Espen. (Dissert. in Synod. Sard., II.) What Peter de Marca says (De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imp., Lib. V., cap. iv.), "Hosius presided over" this council as legate of the Roman bishop, rests upon no solid foundation, and no trace of any such legation is found in Athanasius or in any of the otherwriters who treated of this synod. Moreover such a thing is contrary to the form of subscription used. For of those who signed the first is Hosius, and Athanasius designates him simply as "from Spain," without any addition; and then next he mentions "Julius of Rome, by Archidamus and Philoxenus, his presbyters," etc. What is clearer than that, by the testimony of Athanasius, Julius was present by these two presbyters only, and that they only were his legates or vicars, who in his room were present at this synod?

The first part of this canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici; Raymund's Decretales, De Clericis non residentibus, Cap. ii.

CANON II

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: But if any such person should be found so mad or audacious as to think to advance by way of excuse an affirmation that he had brought letters from the people [laity], it is plain that some few persons, corrupted by bribes and rewards, could have got up an uproar in the church, demanding, forsooth, the said man for bishop. I think then that practices and devices of such sort absolutely must be punished, so that a man of this kind be deemed unworthy even of lay communion in extremis. Do ye therefore make answer whether this sentence is approved by you. They [the bishops] answered: What has been said is approved of. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: Even if any such person should show himself so rash as perhaps to allege as an excuse and affirm that he has received letters from the people, inasmuch as it is evident that a few persons could have been corrupted by rewards and bribes-[namely] persons who do not hold the pure faith-to raise an uproar in the church, and seem to ask for the said man as bishop; I judge that these

frauds must be condemned, so that such an one should not receive even lay communion at the last. If ye all approve, do ye decree it. The synod answered: We approve.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon II. If anyone shall pass from one city to another, and shall raise up seditions, tickling the people and be assisted by them in raising a disturbance, he shall not be allowed communion even when dying. Van Espen. To understand this canon aright it must be remembered that in the first ages of the Church the people were accustomed to have a share in the election of their bishop; and he whom the people demanded was usually ordained their bishop. Aristenus. This [penalty] is something unheard of and horrible, that he should not be deemed worthy of communion even at the hour of death; for it is a provision found nowhere else imposed by any canon, nor inflicted upon any sin. Van Espen. The Greek author Aristenus [in the above remarks] probably has not erred from the truth when he asserts that to no crime was this penalty attached, if he refers to the Eastern Churches; for Morinus himself (in the sixth chapter of the ixth book, *De Penitentia*), confesses that this penalty was never attached to any crime among the Easterns: nevertheless in some Churches in the first ages the three crimes of idolatry, murder, and adultery were thus punished: that is, that to those who admitted any one of these, reconciliation was denied even at his death, "and this," says Morinus, "I think no one can deny, who is at all versed in the testimony of the ancients on this point."

Hefele. The addition in the Latin text, *qui sinceram fidem non habent*, is found both in Dionysius Exiguus and in Isidore and the *Prisca*, and its meaning is as follows: "In a town, some few, especially those who have not the true faith, can be easily bribed to demand this or that person as bishop." The Fathers of Sardica plainly had here in view the Arians and their adherents, who, through such like machinations, when they had gained over, if only a small party in a town, sought to press into the bishoprics. The Synod of Antioch moreover, in 341, although the Eusebians, properly speaking, were dominant there, had laid down in the twenty-first canon a similar, only less severe, rule. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Raymond's *Decretales*, cap. *if*, *De electione*, but with the noteworthy addition "unless he shall have repented." These words do not occur in the other Latin

versions, and Hefele thinks them to have been added by Raymond of Pennafort.

CANON III

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: This also it is necessary to add,—that no bishop pass from his own province to another province in which there are bishops, unless indeed he be called by his brethren, that we seem not to close the gates of charity. And this case likewise is to be provided for, that if in any province a bishop has some matter against his brother and fellow-bishop, neither of the two should call in as arbiters bishops from another province. But if perchance sentence be given against a bishop in any matter and he supposes his case to be not unsound but good, in order that the question may be reopened, let us, if it seem good to your charity, honour the memory of Peter the Apostle, and let those who gave judgment write to Julius, the bishop of Rome, so that, if necessary, the case may be retried by the bishops of the neighbouring provinces and let him appoint arbiters; but if it cannot be shown that his case is of such a sort as to need a new trial, let the judgment once given not be annulled, but stand good as before. (Latin.)

Bishop Hosius said: This also it is necessary to add,—that bishops shall not pass from their own province to another province in which there are bishops, unless perchance upon invitation from their brethren, that we seem not to close the door of charity. But if in any province a bishop have a matter in dispute against his brother bishop, one of the two shall not call in as judge a bishop from another province. But if judgment, have gone against a bishop in any cause, and he think that he has a good case, in order that the question may be reopened, let us, if it be your pleasure, honour the memory of St. Peter the Apostle, and let those who tried the case write to Julius, the bishop of Rome, and if he shall judge that the case should be retried, let that be done, and let him appoint judges; but if he shall find that the case is of such a sort that the former decision need not be disturbed, what he has decreed shall be confirmed. Is this the pleasure of all? The synod answered, It is our pleasure.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome OF Canon No bishop, unless called thereto, shall pass to another city. Moreover a bishop of the province who is engaged in any litigation shall not appeal to outside bishops. But if Rome hears the cause, even

outsiders may be present. Van Espen. According to the reading of Dionysius and Isidore, as well as of the Greeks, Balsamon, Zonaras and Aristenus, as also of Hervetus the provision is that bishops of one province shall not pass to another in which there are Not bishops. Zonaras. Not only are bishops prohibited from changing their cities, and passing from a smaller to a larger one, but also from passing from one province to another in which there are bishops, for the sake of doing any ecclesiastical work there unless they are called by the bishops of that province. On the phrase "if it pleases you" the following from St. Athanasius is much to the point (cit. by Pusey, Councils, p. 143). "They [i.e., the Council of Nice] wrote concerning Easter, 't seemed good' as follows: for it did then seem good, that there should be a general compliance; but about the faith theywrote not 'It seemed good,' but 'Thus believes the Catholic Church' ; and thereupon they confessed how the faith lay, in order to shew that their sentiments were not novel, but apostolic."

Tillemont. This form is very strong to shew that it was a right which the Pope had not had hitherto. Van Espen. Peter de Marca (*De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, Lib. VII., Cap. iij., 8) says that Ho-sins here proposed to the fathers to honourthe memory of St. Peter that he might the more easily lead them to consent to this new privilege; for, as De Marca has proved, the right here bestowed upon the Roman Pontiff was clearly unknown before. It has been urged that the mention of the pope by name, intimates clearly that the provision of these canons of an appeal to Rome was of a purely temporary character; and some famous authors such as Edmund Richer, of the Sorbonne, have written in defence of this view, but Hefele quotes with great force the words of the learned Protestant, Spittler (*Critical Examination of the Sardican Decisions*. Spittler, *Sammtlichen Werken*, P. viii., p. 129 sq.).

Spittler. It is said that these Sardican decisions were simply provisional, and intended for the present necessity; because Athanasius, so hardly pressed by the Arians, could only be rescued by authorizing an appeal to the Bishop of Rome for a final judgment. Richer, in his *History of the General Councils*, has elaborately defended this opinion, and Horix also has declared in its favour. But would not all secure use of the canons of the councils be done away with if this distinction between provisional and permanent synodal decisions were admitted? Is there any sure criterion for distinguishing those canons which were only to be provisional, from the others which were made for all future centuries? The Fathers of the Synod of Sardica express them-

selves quite generally; is it not therefore most arbitrary on our part to insert limitations? It is beyond question that these decisions were occasioned by the very critical state of the affairs of Athanasius; but is everything only provisional that is occasioned by the circumstances of individuals? In this way the most important of the ancient canons might be set aside.

Hefele. According to the Greek text, and that of Dionysius, those who had pronounced the first judgment were to write to Rome; and Fuchs rightly adds, that they were to do this at the desire of the condemned. But, according to Isidore and the Prisca, the right or the duty of bringing the affair before Rome, also belonged to the neighbouring bishops. I believe that the last interpretation has only arisen through a mistake, from a comment belonging to the next sentence being inserted in the wrong place. It only remains to be remarked here, that Isidore and the Prisca have not the name Julio, ... But Hardouin's conjecture, that instead of Julio, perhaps *illi* may be read, is entirely gratuitous, contrary to the Greek text, and plainly only a stratagem against the Gallicans. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris* (*Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa VI., *Quaest.* iv., Canon j. 7, in Isidore's version. Dionysius's version is quite wrong as given by Justellus and in the Munich edition, changing the negative into the affirmative in the phrase *ne unus de duobus*.

CANON IV

(Greek.) Bishop Gaudentius said: If it seems good to you, it is necessary to add to this decision full of sincere charity which thou hast pronounced, that if any bishop be deposed by the sentence of these neighbouring bishops, and assert that he has fresh matter in defence, a new bishop be not settled in his see, unless the bishop of Rome judge and render a decision as to this. (Latin.) Bishop Gaudentius said: It ought to be added, if it be your pleasure, to this sentence full of sanctity which thou hast pronounced, that-when any bishop has been deposed by the judgment of those bishops who have sees in neighbouring places, and he [the bishop deposed] shall announce that his case is to be examined in the city of Rome-that no other bishop shall in any wise be ordained to his see, after the appeal of him who is apparently deposed, unless the case shall have been determined in the judgment of the Roman bishop.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IV. If a bishop has been deposed and affirms that he has an excuse to urge, unless Rome has judged the case, no bishop shall be appointed in his room. For he might treat the decree with scorn either through his nuncios or by his letters. There are two distinct understandings of this canon. The one view is that the "neighbours" of this canon are the same as the "neighbours" of the preceding canon (number iij.) and that the meaning of this canon therefore is-If the court of second instance, correlating of the bishops of the neighbouring province, has pronounced the accused guilty, he still has one more appeal to a third court, viz., Rome. This is the view taken by the Greeks, Zonaras and Balsamon, by the Ballerini, Van Espen, Palrod, Walter, Natalis Alexander and many others. In direct opposition to this is the view that there is no third but only a second appeal mentioned by the canon. The supporters of this interpretation are Peter de Marca, Tillemont, Dupin, Fleury, Remi Ceillier, Neander, Stolberg, Echhorn, Kober, and with these Hefele sides and states his reasons for doing so.

Hefele. There must be added to the reasons of the connexion of this canon with the preceding, the course of events, etc.: 1. That it certainly would be very curious if in the third canon mention was made of the appeal to Rome as following the judgment of the court of first instance; in the fourth, after that of the court of second instance; and again in the fifth, after the judgment of the court of first instance. 2. That if the Synod had really intended to institute a court of third instance, it would have done so in clearer and more express terms, and not only have, as it were, smuggled in the whole point with the secondary question, as to "what was to be done with the bishop's see." 3. Farther, that it is quite devoid of proof that the expression "neighbouring bishops" is identical with "Bishops in the neighbourhood of the said Province," that, indeed this identification is throughout unwarrantable and wrong, and it is far more natural to understand by the neighbouring bishops, the comprovincials, therefore the court of first instance.

4. That by this interpretation we obtain clearness, consistency, and harmony in all three canons. 5. That the word *palin* in the fourth canon presents no difficulty; for even one who has only been heard in the court of first instance may say he desires again to defend himself, because he has already made his first defence in the court of first instance. Canon V. (Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: Decreed, that if any bishop is accused, and the

bishops of the same region assemble and depose him from his office, and he appealing, so to speak, takes refuge with the most blessed bishop of the Roman church, and he be willing to give him a hearing, and think it right to renew the examination of his case, let him be pleased to write to those fellow-bishops who are nearest the province that they may examine the particulars with care and accuracy and give their votes on the matter in accordance with the word of truth. And if any one require that his case be heard yet again, and at his request it seem good to move the bishop of Rome to send presbyters a latere, let it be in the power of that bishop, according as he judges it to be good and decides it to be right-that some be sent to be judges with the bishops and invested with his authority by whom they were sent. And be this also ordained. But if he think that the bishops are sufficient for the examination and decision of the matter let him do what shall seem good in his most prudent judgment.

The bishops answered: What has been said is approved. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: Further decreed, that if a bishop is accused, and the bishops of that region assemble and depose him from his office, if he who has been deposed shall appeal and take refuge with the bishop of the Roman church and wishes to be given a hearing, if he think it right that the trial or examination of his case be renewed, let him be pleased to write to those bishops who are in an adjacent and neighbouring province, that they may diligently inquire into all the particulars and decide according to the word of truth. But if he who asks to have his case reheard, shall by his entreaty move the Bishop of Rome to send a presbyter a latere it shall be in the power of that bishop to do what he shall resolve and determine upon; and if he shall decide that some be sent, who shall be present and be judges with the bishops invested with his authority by whom they were appointed, it shall be as he shall choose. But if he believe that the bishops suffice to give a final decision, he shall do what he shall termine upon in his most wise judgment.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon V. [Lacking.] This Canon is vii. of Isidore's collection. Van Espen. Mere there is properly speaking no provision for "appeal," which entirely suspends [i.e. by the canon law] the execution and effect of the first sentence; but rather for a revision of judgment ... ; those who were sent by the Roman bishop from his side (a latere) or the bishops wire were appointed, ought, together with the bishops of the province who had given the

former sentence, to give a fresh judgment and declare their sentence. And this Hinemar of Rheinus was the first to notice in his letters in the name of Charles the Bald sent to John VIII. This view is supported with his accustomed learning and acumen by Du Pin, *De Antiqua Eccl. Disciplina*, Diss. II., Cap. I., Sec. 3.

CANON VI

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: If it happen that in a province in which there are very many bishops one bishop should stay away and by some negligence should not come to the council and assent to the appointment made by the bishops, but the people assemble and pray that the ordination of the bishop desired by them take place-it is necessary that the bishop who stayed away should first be reminded by letters from the exarch of the province (I mean, of course, the bishop of the metropolis), that the people demand a pastor to be given them. I think that it is well to await his [the absent bishop's] arrival also. But if after summons by letter he does not come, nor even write in reply, the wish of the people ought to be complied with. The bishops from the neighbouring provinces also should be invited to the ordination of the bishop of the metropolis.

It is positively not permitted to ordain a bishop in a village or petty town, for which even one single presbyter is sufficient (for there is no necessity to ordain a bishop there) lest the name and authority of bishop should be made of small account, but the bishops of the province ought, as before said, to ordain bishops in those cities in which there were bishops previously; and if a city should be found with a population so large as to be thought worthy of an episcopal see, let it receive one. Is this the pleasure of all? All answered: It is our pleasure. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: If it shall have happened, that in a province in which there have been very many bishops, one [i.e., but one] bishop remains, but that he by negligence has not chosen [to ordain] a bishop, and the people have made application, the bishops of the neighbouring province ought first to address [by letter] the bishop who resides in that province, and show that the people seek a ruler [i.e., pastor] for themselves and that this is right, so that they also may come and with him ordain a bishop. But if he refuses to acknowledge their written communication, and leaves it unnoticed, and writes no reply, the people's request should be satisfied, so that bishops should come from the neighbouring province and ordain a bishop.

But permission is not to be given to ordain a bishop either in any village, or in an unimportant city, for which one presbyter suffices, lest the name and authority of bishop grow cheap. Those [bishops] who are invited from another province ought not to ordain a bishop unless in the cities which have [previously] had bishops, or in a city which is so important or so populous as to be entitled to have a bishop. Is this the pleasure of all? The synod replied: It is our pleasure. Ancient Epitome of Canon VI. If the bishops were present when the people were seeking for a bishop, and one was away, let that one be called. But if he is willing to answer the call neither by letter nor in person, let him be ordained whom they desire. When a Metropolitan is appointed the neighbouring bishops are to be sent for.

In a little city and town, for which one presbyter suffices, a bishop is not to be appointed. But if the city be very populous, it is not unfitting to do so. The second portion of this canon is entirely lacking in the Latin. The Greek scholiasts, Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenus, understand this to mean "that 'at the appointment of a metropolitan the bishops of the neighbouring provinces shall also be invited,' probably to give greater solemnity to the act," so says Hefele. And to this agree Van Espen, Tillemont, and Herbst. The first part in the Greek and Latin have different meanings; the Greek text contemplating the case of one bishop stopping away from a meeting of bishops for an election to fill a vacancy; the Latin text the case of there being only one bishop left in a province (after war, pestilence, or the like). This second meaning is accepted by Van Espen, Christian Lupus and others. Moreover, it would seem from Flodoard's History of the Church of Rheims (*Geschichte der Rheimser Kirche*, Lib. III., c. 20 [a book I have never seen]) that the Gallican Church acted upon this understanding of this canon. It is that also of Gratian.

Between the Latin and the Greek text stands the interpretation of Zonaras, which is that if a province once having many bishops has by any contingency only one left besides the Metropolitan, and he neglects to be present at the consecration of the new bishops, he is to be summoned by letter of the Metropolitan, and if he does not then come, the consecrations are to go on without him. With this explanation Harmenopulus also agrees, adding further that the Metropolitan might alone consecrate the bishops, resting his argument on the words to ikaun k.t.l. Some scholars have supposed that neither the present Greek nor the present Latin text represent the

original, but that the Greek text is nearest to it, but must be corrected by an ancient Latin version found by Maffei in a codex at Verona. The Ballerini have devoted careful attention to this point in their notes to the Works of St. Leo the Great (Tom. iii., p. xxxij. 4). It would seem that this might be the canon quoted by the fathers of Constantinople in 382, and if so, it would seem that they had a Greek text like that from which the Verona version was made.

Van Espen. The fathers of Sardica [in the second part of this canon, which is Canon VII. by the Latin computation] decreed two things: first, that where the people justly asked for a Pastor to be ordained for them, their demand should be complied with; but where the people insisted upon having a bishop ordained for a village or little city, for which one presbyter was all that was needed, no attention should be paid to their demands, lest the name and authority of a bishop should become despicable. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, P. I., Distinc. lxxv., c. ix.

CANON VII

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: Our importunity and great pertinacity and unjust petitions have brought it about that we do not have as much favour and confidence as we ought to enjoy. For many of the bishops do not intermit resorting to the imperial Court, especially the Africans, who, as we have learned from our beloved brother and fellow-bishop, Gratus, do not accept salutary counsels, but so despise them that one man carries to the Court petitions many and diverse and of no possible benefit to the Church, and does not (as ought to be done and as is fitting) assist and help the poor and the laity or the widows, but is intriguing to obtain worldly dignities and offices for certain persons. This evil then causes enfeeblement [better, murmuring (read *tonqrusmon* or *tonqrusmon*)], not without some scandal and blame to us. But I account it quite proper for a bishop to give assistance to one oppressed by some one, or to a widow suffering injustice, or, again, an orphan robbed of his estate, always provided that these persons have a just cause of petition.

If, then, beloved brethren, this seems good to all, do ye decree that no bishop shall go to the imperial Court except those whom our most pious emperor may summon by his own letters. Yet since it often happens that persons condemned for their offences to deportation or banishment to an island, or who have received some sentence or other, beg for mercy and seek refuge

with the Church [i.e., take sanctuary], such persons are not to be refused assistance, but pardon should be asked for them without delay and without hesitation. If this, then, is also your pleasure, do ye all vote assent. All gave answer: Be this also decreed. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: Importunities and excessive pertinacity and unjust petitions have caused us to have too little favour or confidence, while certain bishops cease not to go to the Court, especially the Africans, who (as we have learned) spurn and condemn the salutary counsels of our most holy brother and fellow-bishop, Gratus, so that they not only bring to the Court many and diverse petitions (not for the good of the Church nor, as is usual and right, to succour the poor or widows or orphans), but even seek to obtain worldly dignities and offices for certain persons. This evil therefore stirs up at times not only murmurings, but even scandals. But it is proper that bishops should intercede for persons suffering from violence and oppression, afflicted widows and defrauded orphans, provided, nevertheless, that these persons have a just cause or petition.

If, then, brethren dearly beloved, such be your pleasure, do we decree that no bishops go to the Court except those who may have been invited or summoned by letters of the God-fearing emperor. But since it often happens that those who are suffering from injustice or who are condemned for their offences to deportation or banishment to an island, or, in short, have received some sentence or other, seek refuge with the mercy of the Church, such persons should be succoured and pardon be begged for them without hesitation. Decree this, therefore, if it be your pleasure. All said: It is our pleasure and be it decreed.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VII. When an orphan, widow, and other desolate persons are oppressed by force let the bishop give them succour and approach the Emperor; but through a pretext of this kind let him not be a hanger on of the camp, but rather let him send a deacon. Van Espen. The "salutary counsels" (*salutaria consilia*) here seem to be synodical admonitions, as Zonaras notes; and these might well be ascribed to Gratus, the bishop of Carthage, because many of the African synods were held under his presidency and direction. Nothing is more noteworthy than how from the first princes summoned bishops in counsel with regard to affairs touching either the estate of the Church or of the Realm; and called them to their presence in urgent and momentous cases, and kept them with them. Justinian, the

emperor, in his Novels (Chapter II.) defines that no one of the God-beloved bishops shall dare to be absent any more from his diocese for a whole year, and adds this exception, "unless he does so on account of an imperial jussio; in this case alone he shall be held to be without blame."

On this whole matter of bishops interceding for culprits, and especially for those condemned to death, see St. Augustine (Epist. 153 ad Macedonium). With this canon may be compared Canon VII. of the Council of Rheims in a.d. 630. This canon is found in part in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, P. II., Causa xxiiij., Quaest. viij., c. xxviij.

CANON VIII

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: This also let your sagacity determine, that -inasmuch as this was decreed in order that a bishop might not fall under censure by going to the Court-that if any have such petitions as we mentioned above, they should send these by one of their deacons. For the person of a subordinate does not excite jealousy, and what shall be granted [by the Emperor] can thus be reported more quickly. All answered: Be this also decreed. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: This also your forethought should provide for-inasmuch as ye have made this decree in order that the audacity of bishops might not labour [or, be observed] to go to Court. Whosoever therefore shall have or receive petitions such as we have mentioned above, let them send these [each] by a deacon of his, because the person of a minister is not an object of jealousy, and he will be able to report more quickly what he has obtained.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VIII. [Lacking.] Van Espen. This decree is threefold. First, that the bishop in going to Court should not fall under suspicion either at Court or of his own people that he was approaching the Prince to obtain some cause of his own. Second, according to the interpretation of Zonaras, "that no one should be angry with the Minister or Deacon who tarried in camp, as the bishop had departed thence." And third, that the Minister could carry away what he had asked for, that is (according to Zonaras), the letters of the Emperor pardoning the fault, or such like other matters.

CANON IX

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: This also, I think, follows, that, if in any province whatever, bishops send petitions to one of their brothers and fellow-bishops, he that is in the largest city, that is, the metropolis, should himself send his deacon and the petitions, providing him also with letters commendatory, writing also of course in succession to our brethren and fellow-bishops, if any of them should be staying at that time in the places or cities in which the most pious Emperor is administering public affairs. But if any of the bishops should have friends at the Court and should wish to make requests of them as to some proper object, let him not be forbidden to make such requests through his deacon and move these [friends] to give their kind assistance as his desire. But those who come to Rome ought, as I said before, to deliver to our beloved brother and fellow-bishop, Julius, the petitions which they have to give, in order that he may first examine them, lest some of them should be improper, and so, giving them his own advocacy and care, shall send them to the Court.

All the Bishops made answer that such was their pleasure and that the regulation was most proper. (Latin.) This also seems to follow, that from whatever province bishops shall send petitions to that brother and fellow-bishop of ours who has his see in the metropolis, he [the metropolitan] should dispatch his deacon with the petitions, providing him with commendatory letters of like tenour to our brethren and fellow-bishops at that time resident in those regions and cities in which the fortunate and blessed Emperor is ruling the State. If however a bishop who seeks to obtain some petition (a worthy one, that is) has friends in the palace, he is not forbidden to make his request through his deacon and to advise those who, he knows, can kindly intercede for him in his absence. X. But let those who come to Rome, deliver, as before said, to our most holy brother and fellow-bishop, the bishop of the Roman church, the petitions which they bear, that he also may examine whether they are worthy and just, and let him give diligence and care that they be forwarded to the Court.

All said that such was their pleasure and that the regulation was proper. Bishop Alypius said: If they have incurred the discomforts of travel for the sake of orphans and widows or any in distress and having cases that are not unjust, they will have some good reason [for their journey]; but now since

they chiefly make requests which cannot be granted without envy and reproach, it is not necessary for them to go to Court.

Note.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IX. If one brother sends to another, let the Metropolitan fortify the nuncio with letters; and let him write to the bishops, who have the matter in hand, to protect the nuncio. Here the Latin is not only a translation but an interpretation of the Greek text, for it distinctly says that every bishop shall send the petition he intends to present at court first to his Metropolitan, who shall send it in. This is not clearly in the Greek, and yet the Greek Commentators find it there. Christian Lupus. The authority of the bishop alone is not sufficient to send a deacon to Court, there must be added the judgment of the Metropolitan who shall examine the petition, prove, sign, and commend it, not only to the Prince, but also to the bishop in whose diocese he may happen to be. Hefele. Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenus explained this canon somewhat differently, thus: "If a bishop desires to send his petitions addressed to the Emperor to the bishop of the town where the Emperor is staying, he shall first send them to the Metropolitan of that province (according to Aristenus, his own Metropolitan) and the latter shall send his own deacon with letters of recommendation to the bishop or bishops who may be at court." This difference rests upon the various meanings of "to the brother and fellow-bishop" in the beginning of the canon. We understand by this his own Metropolitan, and treat the words: *o en th meizoni k. t. l.*, as a more exact definition of "fellow-bishop," and the participle *tugkanwn* as equivalent to *tugkanei*, and make the principal clause begin at *autoj kai ton diakonon*. Beveridge translated the canon in the same way. Zonaras and others, on the contrary, understood by "fellow-bishop," the bishop of the Emperor's residence for the time being, and regarded the words *o en th meizoni k. t. l.* not as a clearer definition of what had gone before, but as the principal clause, in the sense of "then the Metropolitan shall," etc. According to this interpretation, the words conveying the idea that the bishop must have recourse to the Metropolitan are entirely wanting in the canon.

The first part of this Canon is the last part of Canon IX. of the Latin. The last part is Canon X. of the Latin, but the personal part about Alypius is omitted from the Greek.

CANON X

(Greeks.) Bishop Hosius said: This also I think necessary. Ye should consider with all thoroughness and care, that if some rich man or professional advocate be desired for bishop, he be not ordained until he have fulfilled the ministry of reader, deacon, and presbyter, in order that, passing by promotion through the several grades, he may advance (if, that is, he be found worthy) to the height of the episcopate. And he shall remain in each order assuredly for no brief time, that so his faith, his reputable life, his steadfastness of character and considerateness of demeanour may be well-known, and that he, being deemed worthy of the divine sacerdotal office [sacerdotium, i.e., the episcopate] may enjoy the highest honour. For it is not fitting, nor does discipline or good conversation allow to proceed to this act rashly or lightly, so as to ordain a bishop or presbyter or deacon hastily; as thus he would rightly be accounted a novice, especially since also the most blessed Apostle, he who was the teacher of the Gentiles, is seen to have forbidden hasty ordinations; for the test of [even] the longest period will not unreasonably be required to exemplify the conversation and character of each [candidate]. All said that this was their pleasure and that it must be absolutely irreversible. (Latin.)

Bishop Hosius said: This also I think it necessary for you to consider most carefully, that if perchance some rich man or professional advocate or ex-official be desired for bishop, he be not ordained until he have fulfilled the ministry of a reader and the office of deacon and presbyter, and so ascend, if he have shown himself worthy, through the several grades to the height of the episcopate. For by these promotions which in any case take a considerable length of time can be tested his faith, his discretion, his gravity and modesty. And if he be found worthy, let him be honoured with the divine sacerdotal office [i.e. the episcopate]. For it is not fitting, nor does order or discipline allow, that one be rashly or lightly ordained bishop, presbyter or deacon, who is a novice, especially since also the blessed Apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles, is seen to have expressly forbidden it. But those [should be ordained] whose life has been tested and their merit approved by length of time.

All said that this was their pleasure.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon X. No lawyer, teacher, or gentleman (plousioj) shall be made a bishop without passing through the holy orders. Nor shall the space of time between the orders be made too brief, that there may be a better proof of his faith and good conversation. For otherwise he is a neophyte. This is Canon XIII. of Dionysius, Isidore, and the Prisca. Van Espen. By Scholasticus de foro ["professional advocate"] must be understood an eloquent pleader of difficult causes, who being bound up in forensic disputes and strifes, may be presumed to be little fitted for the priesthood, and therefore to need a more strict examination. The Synodal approbation is lacking in Dionysius as given by Justellus, as well as in that of the Roman Code, but is found in Labbe's reprint of Dionysius and Isidore. This Canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, P. I., Dist. lxj., c. x.

CANON XI

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: This also we ought to decree, that when a bishop comes from one city to another city, or from one province to another province, to indulge boastfulness, ministering to his own praises rather than serving religious devotion, and wishes to prolong his stay [in a city], and the bishop of that city is not skilled in teaching, let him [the visiting bishop] not do despite to the bishop of the place and attempt by frequent discourses to disparage him and lessen his repute (for this device is wont to cause tumults), and strive by such arts to solicit and wrest to himself another's throne, not scrupling to abandon the church committed to him and to procure translation to another. A definite limit of time should therefore be set in such a case, especially since not to receive a bishop is accounted the part of rude and discourteous persons. Ye remember that in former times our fathers decreed that if a layman were staying in a city and should not come to divine worship for three [successive] Sundays [that is], for three [full] weeks, he should be repelled from communion. If then this has been decreed in the case of laymen, it is neither needful, nor fitting, nor yet even expedient that a bishop, unless he has some grave necessity or difficult business, should be very long absent from his own church and distress the people committed to him.

All the bishops said: We decide that this decree also is most proper. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: This also ye ought to determine. If a bishop comes from one city to another city, or from his own province to another province,

and serving ambition rather than devotion, wishes to remain resident for a long time in a strange city, and then (as it perchance happens that the bishop of the place is not so practised or so learned as himself) he, the stranger, should begin to do him despite and deliver frequent discourses to disparage him and lessen his repute, not hesitating by this device to leave the church assigned him and remove to that which is another's—do ye then [in such a case] set a limit of time [for his stay in the city], because on the one hand to refuse to receive a bishop is discourteous, and on the other his too long stay is mischievous. Provision must be made against this. I remember that in a former council our brethren decreed that if any layman did not attend divine service in a city in which he was staying three Sundays, that is, for three weeks, he should be deprived of communion. If then this has been decreed in the case of laymen, it is far less lawful and fitting that a bishop, if there be no grave necessity detaining him, should be absent from his church longer than the time above written. All said that such was their pleasure.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XI. A bishop when called in by another bishop, if he that called him is unskilled, must not be too assiduous in preaching, for this would be indecorous to the unlearned bishop, and an attack upon his bishopric. And both improper, Without grave necessity it is undesirable for a bishop to be absent from his church. This is Canon XIV. of the Latin. Van Espen. To understand this canon it must be again remembered that in the first ages of the Church bishops were wont to be appointed at the demand of the people; wherefore whoever were going around after the episcopate, were accustomed to solicit the hearts of the people, and to make it their study to win their affections.

CANON XII

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: Since no case should be left unprovided for, let this also be decreed. Some of our brethren and fellow-bishops are known to possess very little private property in the cities in which they are placed as bishops, but have great possessions in other places, with which they are, moreover, able to help the poor. I think then permission should be given them, if they are to visit their estates and attend to the gathering of the harvest, to pass three Sundays, that is, to stay for three weeks, on their estates, and to assist at divine worship and celebrate the liturgy in the nearest church

in which, a presbyter holds service, in order that they may not be seen to be absent from worship, and in order that they may not come too frequently to the city in which there is a bishop. In this way their private affairs will suffer no loss from their absence and they will be seen to be clear from the charge of ambition and arrogance.

All the bishops said: This decree also is approved by us. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: Since no case should be left unprovided for [let this also be decreed]. There are some of our brother-bishops, who do not reside in the city in which they are appointed bishops, either because they have but little property there, while they are known to have considerable estates elsewhere, or, it may be, through affection for kith and kin and in complaisance to these. Let this much be permitted them, to go to their estates to superintend and dispose of their harvest, and [for this purpose] to remain over three Sundays, that is, for three weeks, if it be necessary, on their estates; or else, if there is a neighbouring city in which there is a presbyter, in order that they may not be seen to pass Sunday without church, let them go thither, so that in this way] neither will their private affairs suffer loss from their absence, nor will they, by frequent going to the city in which a bishop is resident, incur the suspicion of ambition and place-seeking. All said that this was approved by them.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XII. If a bishop has possessions outside his diocese, and visits them, let him be careful not to remain there more than three Lord's days. For thus his own flock will be enriched by him, and he himself will avoid the charge of arrogance. This is Canon XV. of the Latin. Van Espen. As Balsamon notes, this canon is an appendix to that which goes before, and the context of the canon indicates this clearly enough; for while the last canon decrees that no bishop is to be absent from his diocese for more than three Lord's days, without grave necessity, in this canon a certain modification is introduced with regard to certain bishops. Hefele. According to the Latin text of Dionysius, it is: "Some bishops do not reside in their Cathedral town, etc." Isidore and the Prisca, however, are nearer the Greek text, as instead of resident they more rightly read possident.

CANON XIII

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: Be this also the pleasure of all. 'If any deacon or presbyter or any of the clergy be excommunicated and take refuge with another bishop who knows him and who is aware final he has been removed from communion by his own bishop, [that other bishop] must not offend against his brother bishop by admitting him to communion. And if any dare to do this, let him know that he must present himself before an assembly of bishops and give account.' All the bishops said: This decision will assure peace at all times and preserve the concord of all. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: Be this also the pleasure of all. If a deacon or presbyter or any of the clergy be refused communion by his own bishop and go to another bishop, and he with whom he has taken refuge shall know that he has been repelled by his own bishop, then must he not grant him communion. But if he shall do so, let him know that he must give account before an assembly of bishops.

All said: This decision will preserve peace and maintain concord.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIII. Whose knowingly admits to communion one excommunicated by his own bishop is not without blame. This is Canon XVI. of the Latin. Van Espen. The present canon agrees with Canon V. of Nice and with Canon IV. of Antioch, on which canons see the notes. The Synod's approbation of this canon is found in Dionysius, Isidore, and in the Roman Codex apud Hervetus; but it is lacking from Balsamon and Zonaras.

CANON XIV

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: I must not fail to speak of a matter which constantly urgeth me. If a bishop be found quick to anger (which ought not to sway such a man), and he, suddenly moved against a presbyter or deacon, be minded to cast him out of the Church, provision must be made that such a one be not condemned too hastily [or read *aqwon*, if innocent] and deprived of communion. All said: Let him that is cast out be authorized to take refuge with the bishop of the metropolis of the same province. And if the bishop of the metropolis is absent, let him hasten to the bishop that is nearest, and ask to have his case carefully examined. For a hearing ought not to be denied those who ask it. And that bishop who cast out such a one, justly or unjustly, ought not to take it ill that examination of the case be made, and his de-

cision confirmed or revised. But, until all the particulars have been examined with care and fidelity, he who is excluded from communion ought not to demand communion in advance of the decision of his case. And if any of the clergy who have met [to hear the case] clearly discern arrogance and pretentiousness in him, inasmuch as it is not fitting to suffer insolence or unjust censure, they ought to correct such an one with somewhat harsh and grievous language, that men may submit to and obey commands that are proper and right. For as the bishop ought to manifest sincere love and regard to his subordinates, so those who are subject to him ought in like manner to perform the duties of their ministry in sincerity towards their bishops. (Latin.)

Bishop Hosius said: I must not fail to speak of a matter which further moveth me. If some bishop is perchance quick to anger (which ought not to be the case) and, moved hastily and violently against one of his presbyters or deacons, be minded to cast him out of the Church, provision must be made that an innocent man be not condemned or deprived of communion. Therefore let him that is cast out be authorized to appeal to the neighbouring bishops and let his case be heard and examined into more diligently. For a hearing ought not to be denied one who asks it. And let that bishop who cast him out, justly or unjustly, take it patiently that the matter is discussed, so that his sentence may either be approved by a number judges] or else revised. Nevertheless, until all the particulars shall be examined with care and fidelity, no one else ought to presume to admit to communion him who was excluded therefrom in advance of the decision of his case. If, however, those who meet to hear it observe arrogance and pride in [such] clergy, inasmuch as it surely is not fitting for a bishop to suffer wrong or insult, let them correct them with some severity of language, that they may obey a bishop whose commands are proper and right. For as he [the bishop] ought to manifest sincere love and charity to his clergy, so his ministers ought for their part to render unfeigned obedience to their bishop.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIV. One condemned out of anger, if he asks for assistance, should be heard. But until [he shall have asked for] the assistance let him remain excommunicated. This is Canon XVII. of the Latin version. Van Espen This canon is intended especially to aid presbyters, deacons, and other clerics, who have been excommunicated precipitately and without just cause, or suspended by their own bishop in his anger and fury. ... The

canon, moreover, admonishes that the bishop with regard to whose sentence the dispute has arisen should patiently consent to the discussion of the matter *de novo*, whether his decision be sustained by the majority or emended. And let bishops and other prelates who have spiritual jurisdiction over the clergy note this, who cannot bear with equanimity that a word should be said against their decisions, but exact a kind of blind obedience, even frequently with great conscientious suffering to their very best ecclesiastics; and in such cases as do not promptly and blindly obey them, the clergy are traduced as rebels and even a patient hearing is refused to them.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, P. II., Causa XI., Q. iij., c. iv.[After Canon XIV.] Canon XVIII. (of the Latin.) Bishop Januarius said: Let your holiness also decree this, that no bishop be allowed to try to gain for himself a minister in the church of a bishop of another city and ordain him to one of his own parishes. All said: Such is our pleasure, inasmuch as discord is apt to spring from contentions in this matter, and therefore the sentence of us all forbids anyone to presume to do

Note.

Van Espen. It is manifest that these two canons [xviii. of the Latin and xv. of the Greek], contain the resolution of the same case, and therefore it is that the Greeks keep only the former which contains the decree of the synod, made on Hosius's motion, the suggestion having been made by Januarius the bishop: which suggestion makes the first of these canons. [I.e. Latin canon xvij.]

CANON XV

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: And let us all decree this also, that if any bishop should ordain to any order the minister of another from another diocese without the consent of his own bishop, such an ordination should be accounted invalid and not confirmed. And if any take upon themselves to do this they ought to be admonished and corrected by our brethren and fellow-bishops. All said: Let this decree also stand unalterable. (Latin.) Bishop Hosius said: This also we all decree, that if any [bishop] should ordain the minister of another from another diocese without the consent and will of his own bishop, his ordination be not ratified. And whoever shall have taken upon himself to do this ought to be admonished and corrected by our brethren and fellow-bishops.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XV. If one places a foreign minister without the knowledge of his own bishop in any grade embaqmon, in aliquo gradu), he has indeed made the appointment, but it is without force. This is Canon XIX. in the Latin. Hefele. Fuchs, in his *Bibliothek der Kirchenver-sammlungen* (Pt. II., p. 123, note 125) , thinks he has discovered a difference between this canon and the exclusively Latin one preceding it, in that the latter supposes the case of a bishop ordaining a foreign cleric, over whom he has no jurisdiction, to a higher grade, with the view of retaining him for his own diocese; while the other-fifteenth or nineteenth canon-treats of a case where such an ordination takes place without the ordaining bishop intending to keep the person ordained for his own diocese. Van Espen is of another opinion, and maintains that both canons obviously refer to one and the same case, for which reason the Greek text has only inserted one of them. It is certain that the text of both canons, as we have it, does not clearly indicate the difference conjectured by Fuchs, but that it may easily be found there.

Van Espen. If the reading of all the Latins and Greeks is decisive, this canon only treats of the ordination of those already ministers or clerics, and so the Greek commentators Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristenus understood it, as is evident from their annotations. But Gratus, Bishop of Carthage, and Primate of Africa, in the First Synod of Carthage testified that in this canon it was decreed, that without the licence of his own bishop, a layman of another diocese was not to be ordained, and this interpretation or rather extension of the Canon, was received everywhere, as is demonstrated by the fifty-sixth of the African Code. This together with Canon XIX. of the Latin text are found as one in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Gratian's *Decretum*, P. I., Dist. lxxj.), c. j.

CANON XVI

(Greek.) Bishop Aetius said: Ye are not ignorant how important and how large is the metropolitan city of Thessalonica. Accordingly presbyters and deacons often come to it from other provinces and, not content with staying a short time, remain and make it their permanent place of residence, or are compelled with difficulty and after a very long delay to return to their own churches. A decree should be made bearing on this matter. Bishop Hosius said: Let those decrees which have been made in the case of bishops, be ob-

served as to these persons also. (Latin.) Bishop Aetius said: Ye are not ignorant how large and important is the city of Thessalonica. Presbyters and deacons often come to it from other regions, and are not content to remain a short time, but either make their residence there or at least are with difficulty compelled to return after a long interval to their own place.

All said: Those limits of time which have been decreed in the case of bishops ought to be observed as to these persons also.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVI. What things have been decreed for bishops with regard to the length of their absence, applies also to presbyters and deacons. Van Espen. This canon needs no explanation.

CANON XVII

(Greek.) AT the suggestion moreover of our brother Olympius, we are pleased to decree this also: That if a bishop suffer violence and is unjustly cast out either on account of his discipline or for his confession of [the faith of] the Catholic Church or for his defence of the truth, and, fleeing from danger, although innocent and devout [or, innocent and being under charge of high treason], comes to another city, let him not be forbidden to stay there until he is restored or until deliverance can be found from the violence and injustice that have been done him. For it would be harsh indeed and most oppressive that one who has suffered unjust expulsion should not be harboured by us; as such a man ought to be received with the greatest consideration and cordiality.* All said: This also is our pleasure. (Latin.) AT the suggestion of our brother Olympius, we are pleased to decree this also: That if any suffer violence and is unjustly cast out on account of his discipline and his Catholic confession or for his defence of the truth, and, fleeing from dangers, although innocent and devout, comes to another city, let him not be forbidden to stay there until he can return or his wrong has been redressed. For it is harsh and unfeeling that he who is suffering persecution should not be received; indeed, great cordiality and abundant consideration should be shown him.

All the synod said: All that has been decreed the Catholic Church spread abroad throughout all the world will preserve and maintain. And all the bishops of the various provinces who had assembled subscribed thus: I, N., bishop of the city of N. and the province of N., so believe as above is written.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVII. If a bishop goes into another province after he has been unjustly expelled from his own, he should be received, until he has been delivered from his injury. This is Canon XXI. of the Latin and the last. Van Espen. St. Gregory seems to have had this canon in mind when he wrote to the bishops of Illyria (Lib. III., Epist. xliij.), who had been cast out by the hostility of the barbarians.

CANON XVIII

(Greek.) Bishop Gaudentius said: Thou knowest, brother Aetius, that since thou wast made bishop, peace hath continued to rule [in thy diocese]. In order that no remnants of discord concerning ecclesiastics remain, it seems good that those who were ordained by Musaeus and by Eutychianus, provided no fault be found in them, should all be received. (This canon is wanting in the Latin.)

CANON XIX

(Greek.) Bishop Hosius said: This is the sentence of my mediocrity [i.e., unworthiness]-that, since we ought to be gentle and patient and to be constant in compassion towards all, those who were once advanced to clerical office in the Church by certain of our brethren, if they are not willing to return to the churches to which they were nominated [or, espoused], should for the future not be received, and that neither Eutychianus should continue to vindicate to himself the name of bishop, nor yet that Musaeus be accounted a bishop; but that if they should seek for lay communion, it should not be denied them. All said: Such is our pleasure. (This canon is wanting in the Latin.)

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canons XVIII. And XIX. A clergyman who does not live in the Church among whose clergy he is enrolled should not be received. Eutychian and Musoeus shall not have the name of bishops. But let them be admitted to communion with the laity, if they wish. Both of these canons are lacking in the Latin. Hefele. It is clear that the reason why these two canons do not exist in the Latin text is that they did not apply to the Latin Church and only contained a special rule for Thessalonica.

CANON XX

(Greek.) Bishop Gaudentius said: These things wholesomely, duly, and filly decreed, in the estimation of us the bishops [twn ierewn] such as are pleasing both to God and to man will not be able to obtain due force and validity, unless fear [of a penalty] be added to the decrees proclaimed. For we ourselves know that through the shamelessness of a few, the divine and right reverend title of bishop [of the thj ierwsunhj] hath often come into condemnation. If therefore any one, moved by arrogance and ambition rather than seeking to please God, should have the hardihood to pursue a different course of action, contrary to the decree of all, let him know beforehand that he must give account and defend himself on this charge, and lose the honour and dignity of the episcopate. All answered: This sentence is proper and right, and such is our pleasure. And this decree will be most widely known and best carried into effect, if each of those bishops among us who have sees on the thoroughfares or highway, on seeing a bishop [pass by] shall inquire into the cause of his passage and his place of destination. And if at his departure he shall find that he is going to the Court, he will direct his inquiries with reference to the objects [of a resort to the Court] above mentioned. And if he come by invitation let no obstacle be put in the way of his departure. But if he is trying to go to the Court out of ostentation, as hath afore been said by your charity, or to urge the petitions of certain persons, let neither his letters be signed nor let such an one be received to communion.

All said: Be this also decreed (Latin.) Bishop Gaudentius said: These things which you have wholesomely and suitably provided [in your decrees] pleasing in [or, to] the estimation of all both [or, and] to God and to men, can obtain force and validity only in case fear [of a penalty] be added to this your action. For we ourselves know that through the shamelessness of a few the sacred and venerable sacerdotal [-episcopal] name hath been many times and oft brought to blame. If therefore anyone attempts to oppose the judgment of all and seeks to serve ambition rather than please God, he must be given to know that he will have to render an account and lose office and rank. This can be carried into effect only provided each of us whose see is on the highway shall, if he sees a bishop pass, inquire into the cause of his journey, ascertain his destination, and if he finds that he is on his way to the Court, satisfy himself as to what is contained above [i.e., as to his objects at Court], lest perhaps he has come by invitation, that permission may be given him to pro-

ceed. If, however, as your holiness mentioned above, he is going to Court to urge petitions and applications for office, let neither his letters be signed nor let him be received to communion.

All said that this was proper and right and that this regulation was approved by them.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XX. [the last part of which in Beveridge, Synod., is numbered xxj.] If any bishop tries out of pride to do away with what has been decreed admirably, and in a manner pleasing to God, he shall lose his episcopate. A bishop who shall see a bishop on his way to the camp, if he shall know that he goes therefor any of the before-mentioned causes, let him not trouble him, but if otherwise let him pronounce excommunication against him. This is Canon XI. of the Latin. Van Espen. After the words ["honour and dignity"] according to Balsamon and Zonaras, as also Gentian Hervetus, there follows the approbation of the synod in these words: "All answered, This opinion is becoming and well-pleasing to us," which indicate this to be the end of the canon; and therefore the Greeks make of this two distinct canons. Dionysius and Isidore make but one canon, ... and this appears to be more congruous on account of the subject-matter of the first part, and will be manifest by connecting the two parts together.

Van Espen follows Zonaras and Balsamon in understanding "Bishops in Canali," as such as were set on the public roads and public highways, or rather "in cities which are on the public highways, or 'Canals,' by which they that pass go without labour, as in a canal or aqueduct the water flows, for aqueduct and canal are the same thing in the Roman tongue." [After Canon XX.] Canon XII. (of the Latin Texts.) Bishop Hosius said: But some discretion is here requisite, brethren dearly beloved, in case some should come to those cities which are on the highway still ignorant of what has been decreed in the council. The bishop of such a city ought therefore to admonish him [a bishop so arriving], and instruct him to send his deacon from that place. Upon this admonition he must, however, himself return to his diocese.

Notes.

Van Espen. This proposition of Hosius in the Roman Codex is joined as an appendix to the preceding canon. The Greeks omit it altogether, very likely either because it seemed to be a proposition of Hosius's rather than a synodal

canon, for no adoption by the synod is recorded: or else because, even if it were a decree, it was only of temporary character, that is to say, until the canons had been sufficiently promulgated, and therefore some on the ground of ignorance might be exempt from the threatened penalties.

Council of Laodicea: The Canons

Canons of a council held at Laodicea in Phrygia. Its date is uncertain, and is placed in the middle of the fourth century. The canons deal with worship, with the clergy and their conduct, with penance and with the relations of Christians with heretics and Jews. The last canon, which lists the books of Scripture, is thought by many scholars to be a later addition. Each canon is followed by notes.

INTRODUCTION

In Which Many Blessed Fathers from Divers Provinces of Asia Were Gathered Together.

¹ The holy synod which assembled at Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, from divers regions of Asia; set forth the ecclesiastical definitions which are here-under annexed.

Note.

² This brief preface, by some ancient collector, is found in the printed editions of Zonaras and of Balsamon and also in the Amerbachian manuscript.

CANON I

IT is right, according to the ecclesiastical Canon, that the Communion should by indulgence be given to those who have freely and lawfully joined in second marriages, not having previously made a secret marriage; after a short space, which is to be spent by them in prayer and fasting.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon I. A digamist not secretly married, after devoting himself for a short time to praying shall be held blameless afterwards. Van Espen. Many synods imposed a penance upon digamists, although the Church never condemned second marriages. On this whole subject of second marriages see notes on Canon VIII. of Nice, on Canons III. and VII. of NeoCaesarea, and on Canon XIX. of Ancyra. In treating of this canon Hefele does little but follow Van Espen, who accepts Bishop Beveridge's conclusions

in opposition to Justellus and refers to him, as follows, "See this observation of Justellus' refuted more at length by William Beveridge in his notes on this canon," and Bp. Beveridge adopted and defended the exposition of the Greek commentators, viz.: there is some fault and some punishment, they are to be held back from communion for "a short space," but after that, it is according to the law of the Church that they should be admitted to communion. The phrase "not having previously made a secret marriage" means that there must not have been intercourse with the woman before the second marriage was "lawfully" contracted, for if so the punishment would have been for fornication, and neither light nor for "a short space." The person referred to in the canon is a real digamist and not a bigamist, this is proved by the word "lawfully" which could not be used of, the second marriage of a man who already had a living wife.

CANON II

They who have sinned in divers particulars, if they have persevered in the prayer of confession and penance, and are wholly converted from their faults, shall be received again to communion, through the mercy and goodness of God, after a time of penance appointed to them, in proportion to the nature of their offence.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon II. Those who have fallen unto various faults and have confessed them with compunction, and done the penance suitable to them, shall be favourably received. Hefele. Van Espen and others were of opinion that this canon treated only of those who had themselves been guilty of various criminal acts, and it has been asked whether any one guilty not only of one gross sin, but of several of various kinds, might also be again received into communion. It seems to me, however, that this canon with the words, "those who have sinned in divers particulars," simply means that "sinners of various kinds shall be treated exactly in proportion to the extent of their fall." That the question is not necessarily of different sins committed by the same person appears from the words, "in proportion to the nature of their offence," as the singular, not the plural, is here used.

But Van Espen, with Aubespine, is clearly right in not referring the words, "if they persevere in confession and repentance," to sacramental confession, to which the expression. "persevere" would not be well suited. Here is evid-

ently meant the oft-repeated contrite confession before God and the congregation in prayer of sins committed, which preceded sacramental confession and absolution. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars II., Causa XXVI., Quaest. vii., can. iv.

CANON III

HE who has been recently baptized ought not to be promoted to the sacerdotal order.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon III. A neophyte is not ordainable. This rule is laid down in the Second Nicene canon. Balsamon also compares Apostolic Canon lxxx. Balsamon. Notwithstanding this provision, that great light, Nectarius, just separated from the flock of the catechumens, when he had washed away the sins of his life in the divine font, now pure himself, he put on the most pure dignity of the episcopate, and at the same time became bishop of the Imperial City, and president of the Second Holy Ecumenical Synod.

CANON IV

They who are of the sacerdotal order ought not to lend and receive usury, nor what is called hemioliae.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IV. A priest is not to receive usury nor hemioliae. The same rule is laid down in the seventeenth Canon of Nice. For a treatment of the whole subject of usury see excursus to that canon. Dionysius Exiguus and Isidore have numbered this canon v., and our fifth they have as iv. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XLVI., can. ix.

CANON V

Ordinations are not to be held in the presence of hearers.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon V. Ordinations are not to be performed in the presence of hearers. Balsamon. This canon calls elections "laying on of hands," and says that since in elections unworthy things are often said with regard to those who are elected, therefore they should not take place in the presence of any that might happen to come to hear. Zonaras also agrees that election is here intended, but Aristenus dissents and makes the reference to

ordinations properly so-called, as follows: Aristenus. The prayers of ordination are not to be said out loud so that they may be heard by the people.

CANON VI

IT is not permitted to heretics to enter the house of God while they continue in heresy.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VI. The holy place is forbidden to heretics. Aristenus. Heretics are not to be permitted to enter the house of God, and yet Basil the Great, before this canon was set forth, admitted Valens to the perfecting of the faithful [i.e., to the witnessing the celebration of the Divine Mysteries]. Van Espen. A heretic who pertinaciously rejects the doctrine of the Church is rightly not allowed to enter the house of God, in which his doctrine is set forth, so long as he continues in his heresy. For this reason when Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria, was consulted concerning the admission of heretics to church, answered in the IX Canon of his Canonical Epistle, that unless they were ready to promise to do penance and to abandon their heresy, they could in no way be admitted to the prayers of the faithful. Contrast with this Canon lxxxiv., of the so-called IV Council of Carthage, a.d. 398.

CANON VII

Persons converted from heresies, that is, of the Novatians, Photinians, and Quartodecimans, whether they were catechumens or communicants among them, shall not be received until they shall have anathematized every heresy, and particularly that in which they were held; and afterwards those who among them were called communicants, having thoroughly learned the symbols of the faith, and having been anointed with the holy chrism, shall so communicate in the holy Mysteries.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VII. Novatians and Photinians, and Quartodecimans, unless they anathematize their own and other heresies, are not to be received. When they have been anointed, after their abjuration, let them communicate. I have allowed the word "Photinians" to stand in the text although whether it is not an interpolation is by no means certain. They certainly were heretical on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and therefore differed from the other dissidents mentioned in the canon, all of whom were

orthodox on this matter. It is also worthy of note that the word is not found in Ferrandus's Condensation (*Breviatio Canonum*, n. 177) nor in Isidore's version. Moreover there is a Latin codex in Lucca, and also one in Paris (as is noted by Mansi, v. 585; ij. 591) in which it is lacking. It was rejected by Baronius, Binius, and Remi Ceillier. The word "Catechumens" is wanting in many Greek mss. but found in Balsamon, moreover, Dionysius and Isidore had it in their texts.

This canon possesses a great interest and value to the student from a different point of view. Its provisions, both doctrinal and disciplinary, are in contrariety with the provisions of the council held at Carthage in the time of St. Cyprian, and yet both these canons, contradictory as they are, are accepted by the Council in Trullo and are given such ecumenical authority as canons on discipline ever can possess, by the Seventh Ecumenical. This is not the only matter in which the various conciliar actions adopted and ratified do not agree inter se, and from this consideration it would seem evident that it was not intended that to each particular of each canon of each local synod adopted, the express sanction of the Universal Church was given, but that they were received in block as legislation well calculated for the good of the Church. And that this must have been the understanding at the time is evinced by the fact that while the Trullan canons condemned a number of Western customs and usages, as I shall have occasion to point out in its proper place, no objection was made by the Roman legates to the canon of the Seventh Ecumenical which received them as authoritative.

CANON VIII

Persons converted from the heresy of those who are called Phrygians, even should they be among those reputed by them as clergymen, and even should they be called the very chiefest, are with all care to be both instructed and baptized by the bishops and presbyters of the Church.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon VIII. When Phrygians return they are to be baptized anew, even if among them they were reckoned clergymen. Hefele. This synod here declares the baptism of the Montanists invalid, while in the preceding canon it recognised as valid the baptism of the Novatians and Quartodecimans. From this, it would appear that the Montanists were suspected of heresy with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity. Some other authorities of

the ancient Church, however, judged differently, and for a long time it was a question in the Church whether to consider the baptism of the Montanists valid or not. Dionysius the Great of Alexandria was in favour of its validity: but this Synod and the Second General Council rejected it as invalid, not to mention the Synod of Iconium 235, which declared all heretical baptism invalid. This uncertainty of the ancient Church is accounted for thus: (a) On one side the Montanists, and especially Tertullian, asserted that they held the same faith and sacraments, especially the same baptism (*eadem lavacri sacramenta*) as the Catholics. St. Epiphanius concurred in this, and testified that the Montanists taught the same regarding the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as did the Catholic Church. (b) Other Fathers, however, thought less favourably of them, and for this reason, that the Montanists often expressed themselves so ambiguously, that they might, nay, must be said completely to identify the Holy Ghost with Montanus. Thus Tertullian in quoting expressions of Montanus, actually says: "the Paraclete speaks"; and therefore Firmilian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, and other Fathers, did in fact, reproach the Montanists with this identification, and consequently held their baptism to be invalid.

(c) Basil the Great goes to the greatest length in this direction in maintaining that the Montanists had baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of Montanus and Priscilla. But it is very probable, as Tillemont conjectured, that Basil only founded these strange stories of their manner of baptizing upon his assumption that they identified Montanus with the Holy Ghost; and, as Baronius maintains, it is equally "probable that the Montanists did not alter the form of baptism. But, even admitting all this, their ambiguous expressions concerning Montanus and the Holy Ghost would alone have rendered it advisable to declare their baptism invalid. (d) Besides this, a considerable number of Montanists, namely, the school of Aeschines, fell into Sabellianism, and thus their baptism was decidedly invalid. (Vide Article in Wetzer and Welte *Kirchenlexicon* s. v. Montanus; by myself [i.e. Hefele]). In conclusion, it must be observed that Balsamon and Zonaras rightly understood the words in our text, "even though they be called the very chiefest," "though they be held in the highest esteem," to refer to the most distinguished clergy and teachers of the Montanists.

CANON IX

The members of the Church are not allowed to meet in the cemeteries, nor attend the so-called martyries of any of the heretics, for prayer or service; but such as so do, if they be communicants, shall be excommunicated for a time; but if they repent and confess that they have sinned they shall be received.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon IX. Whoso prayeth in the cemeteries and martyries of heretics is to be excommunicated. Zonaras. By the word "service" (therapeias) in this canon is to be understood the healing of sickness. The canon wishes that the faithful should under no pretence betake themselves to the prayers of heretical pseudo-martyrs nor pay them honour in the hope of obtaining the healing of sickness or the cure of their various temptations. And if any do so, they are to be cut off, that is for a time forbidden communion (and this refers to the faithful who are only laymen), but when they have done penance and made confession of their fault, the canon orders that they are to be received back again. Balsamon. As canon vi. forbids heretics to enter the house of God, so this canon forbids the faithful to go to the cemeteries of heretics, which are called by them "Martyries." ... For in the days of the persecution, certain of the heretics, calling themselves Christians, suffered even to death, and hence those who shared their opinions called them "martyrs."

Van Espen. As Catholics had their martyrs, so too had the heretics, and especially the Montanists or Phrygians, who greatly boasted of them. Apollinaris writes of these as may be seen in Eusebius (H. E., Lib. v., cap. xvj.) The places or cemeteries in which rested the bodies of those they boasted of as martyrs, they styled "Martyries" (martyria) as similar places among Catholics were wont to be called by the same name, from the bones of the martyrs that rested there. From the Greek text, as also from Isidore's version it is clear that this canon refers to all the faithful generally, and that "the members of the Church" (Lat. Ecclesiastici, the word Dionysius uses) must be taken in this wide signification.

CANON X

The members of the Church shall not indiscriminately marry their children to heretics.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon X. Thou shalt not marry a heretic. Fuchs. (Bib. der Kirchenvers., pt. ii., p. 324.) "Indiscriminately" means not that they might be given in marriage to some heretics and not to others; but that it should not be considered a matter of indifference whether they were married to heretics or orthodox. Zonaras and Balsamon, led astray by the similar canon enacted at Chalcedon (number xiv.), suppose this restriction only to apply to the children of the clergy, but Van Espen has shewn that the rule is of general application. He adds, however, the following: Van Espen. Since by the custom of the Greeks, ecclesiastics are allowed to have wives, there is no doubt that the marriage of their children with heretics would be indecent in a very special degree, although there are many things which go to shew that marriage with heretics was universally deemed a thing to be avoided by Catholics, and was rightly forbidden.

CANON XI

Presbytides, as they are called, or female presidents, are not to be appointed in the Church.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XI. Widows called presidents shall not be appointed in churches. Balsamon. In old days certain venerable women (presbutides) sat in Catholic churches, and took care that the other women kept good and modest order. But from their habit of using improperly that which was proper, either through their arrogance or through their base self-seeking, scandal arose. Therefore the Fathers prohibited the existence in the Church thereafter of any more such women as are called presbytides or presidents. And that no one may object that in the monasteries of women one woman must preside over the rest, it should be remembered that the renunciation which they make of themselves to God and the tonsure brings it to pass that they are thought of as one body though many; and all things which are theirs, relate only to the salvation of the soul. But for woman to teach in a Catholic Church, where a multitude of men is gathered together, and women of different opinions, is, in the highest degree, indecorous and pernicious.

Hefele. It is doubtful what was here intended, and this canon has received very different interpretations. In the first place, what is the meaning of the

words *presbutides* and *prokathemenai* ("presbytides" and female presidents)? I think the first light is thrown on the subject by Epiphanius, who in his treatise against the Collyridians (*Haer.*, lxxix. 4) says that "women had never been allowed to offer sacrifice, as the Collyridians presumed to do, but were only allowed to minister. Therefore there were only deaconesses in the Church, and even if the oldest among them were called 'presbytides,' this term must be clearly distinguished from presbyteresses. The latter would mean priestesses (*hierissas*), but 'presbytides' only designated their age, as seniors." According to this, the canon appears to treat of the superior deaconesses who were the overseers (*prokathemenai*) of the other deaconesses; and the further words of the text may then probably mean that in future no more such superior deaconesses or eldresses were to be appointed, probably because they had often outstepped their authority.

Neander, Fuchs, and others, however, think it more probable that the terms in question are in this canon to be taken as simply meaning deaconesses, for even in the church they had been wont to preside over the female portion of the congregation (whence their name of "presidents"); and, according to St. Paul's rule, only widows over sixty years of age were to be chosen for this office (hence called "presbytides"). We may add, that this direction of the apostle was not very strictly adhered to subsequently, but still it was repeatedly enjoined that only elder persons should be chosen as deaconesses. Thus, for instance, the Council of Chalcedon, in its fifteenth canon, required that deaconesses should be at least forty years of age, while the Emperor Theodosius even prescribed the age of sixty. Supposing now that this canon simply treats of deaconesses, a fresh doubt arises as to how the last words- "they are not to be appointed in the Church" are to be understood. For it may mean that "from henceforth no more deaconesses shall be appointed;" or, that "in future they shall no more be solemnly ordained in the church." The first interpretation would, however, contradict the fact that the Greek Church had deaconesses long after the Synod of Laodicea. For instance, in 692 the Synod in Trullo (*Can.* xiv.) ordered that "no one under forty years of age should be ordained deaconess." Consequently the, second interpretation, "they shall not be solemnly ordained in the church," seems a better one, and Neander decidedly prefers it. It is certainly true that several later synods distinctly forbade the old practice of conferring a sort of ordination upon deaconesses, as, for instance, the first Synod of Orange (*Arausican-*

um I. of 441, Can. xxvj.) in the words-diaconae omnimodis non ordinandae; also the Synod at Epaon in 517 (Can. xxj.), and the second Synod at Orleans in 533 (Can. xviii.); but in the Greek Church at least, an ordination, a cheir-otoneisthai, took place as late as the Council in Trullo (Can. xiv.). But this Canon of Laodicea does not speak of solemn dedication, and certainly not of ordination, but only of kathistasthai. These reasons induce us to return to the first interpretation of this canon, and to understand it as forbidding from that time forward the appointment of any more chief deaconesses or "presbytides."

Zonaras and Balsamon give yet another explanation. In their opinion, these "presbytides" were not chief deaconesses, but aged women in general (ex populo), to whom was given the supervision of the females, in church. The Synod of Laodicea, however, did away with this arrangement, probably because they had misused their office for purposes of pride, or money-making, bribery, etc. Compare with the foregoing the Excursus on Deaconesses, appended to Canon XIX. of Nice. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. XXXII., c. xix, in Isidore's version; but Van Espen remarks that the Roman Correctors have pointed out that it departs widely from the Greek original. The Roman Correctors further say "The note of Balsamon on this point. should be seen;" and with this interpretation Morinus also agrees in his work on Holy Orders (De Ordinationibus, Pars III., Exercit. x., cap. iij., n. 3).

CANON XII

Bishops are to be appointed to the ecclesiastical government by the judgment of the metropolitans and neighbouring bishops, after having been long proved both in the foundation of their faith and in the conversation of an honest life.

Note.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XII. Whoever is most approved in faith and life and most learned, he is fit to be chosen bishop. The first part of this canon is in conformity with the provision in the IV. canon of Nice.

CANON XIII

The election of those who are to be appointed to the: priesthood is not to be committed to the multitude.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIII. Whoso is chosen by seculars is ineligible. Balsamon. From this canon it is evident that in ancient times not only bishops but also priests were voted for by the multitude of the people. This is here forbidden. Aristenus. Bishops are elected by metropolitans and other bishops. If anyone in this manner shall not have been promoted to the Episcopate, but shall have been chosen by the multitude, he is not to be admitted nor elected. [It is clear from this that by "the Priesthood" Aristenus understands the episcopate, and I think rightly:] Van Espen. The word in the Greek to which "multitude" corresponds (*oklos*) properly signifies a tumult. What the fathers intend to forbid are tumultuous elections, that is, that no attention is to be paid to riotous demonstrations on the part of the people, when with acclamations they are demanding the ordination of anyone, with an appearance of sedition. Such a state of affairs St. Augustine admirably describes in his *Epistola ad Albinam* (*Epist. cxxvi.*, *Tom. II*, col. 548, *Ed. Gaume*).

And it is manifest that by this canon the people were not excluded from all share in the election of bishops and priests from what St. Gregory Nazianzen says, in *Epistola ad Caesarienses*, with regard to the election of St. Basil. From this what could be more evident than that after this canon was put out the people in the East still had their part in the election of a bishop? This also is clear from Justinian's "Novels" (*Novellae*, cxxij., c.j. and cxxxvij., c. ij.) This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, *Pars I.*, *Dist. lxiii.*, can. vj., but in proof of the proposition that laymen were hereby forbidden to have any share in elections. Van Espen notes that Isidore's version favours Gratian's misunderstanding, and says that "no doubt that this version did much to exclude the people from the election of bishops."

CANON XIV

The holy things are not to be sent into other dioceses at the feast of Easter by way of eulogiae.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIV. It is not right to send the holy gifts to another parish. Hefele. It was a custom in the ancient Church, not indeed to consecrate, but to bless such of the several breads of the same form laid on the altar as were not needed for the communion, and to employ them, partly for the maintenance of the clergy, and partly for distributing to those of the

faithful who did not communicate at the Mass. The breads thus blessed were called *eulogiae*. Another very ancient custom was, that bishops as a sign of Church fellowship, should send the consecrated bread to one another. That the Roman Popes of the first and second centuries did so, Irenaeus testifies in his letter to Pope Victor in Eusebius. In course of time, however, instead of the consecrated bread, only bread which had been blessed, or *eulogiae*, were sent abroad. For instance, Paulinus and Augustine sent one another these *eulogiae*. But at Easter the older custom still prevailed; and to invest the matter with more solemnity, instead of the *eulogiae*, the consecrated bread, i.e., the Eucharist, was sent out. The Synod of Laodicea forbids this, probably out of reverence to the holy Sacrament.

Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. IV., P. iij., p. 535.) gives another explanation. He starts from the fact that, with the Greeks as well as the Latins, the wafer intended for communion is generally called *sancta* or *agia* even before the consecration. This is not only perfectly true, but a well-known fact; only it must not be forgotten that these wafers or oblations were only called *sancta* by anticipation, and because of the *sanctificatio* to which they were destined. Binterim then states that by *agia* in the canon is to be understood not the breads already consecrated, but those still unconsecrated. He further conjectures that these unconsecrated breads were often sent about instead of the *eulogiae*, and that the Synod of Laodicea had forbidden this, not during the whole year, but only at Easter. He cannot, however, give any reason, and his statement is the more doubtful, as he cannot prove that these unconsecrated communion breads really used before to be sent about as *eulogiae*.

In connection with this, however, he adds another hypothesis. It is known that the Greeks only consecrate a square piece of the little loaf intended for communion, which is first cut out with the so-called holy spear. The remainder of the small loaf is divided into little pieces, which remain on or near the altar during Mass, after which they are distributed to the non-communicants. These remains of the small loaf intended for consecration are called *antidora* and Binterim's second conjecture is, that these *antidora* might perhaps have been sent as *eulogiae* and may be the *agia* of this canon. But he is unable to prove that these *antidora* were sent about, and is, moreover, obliged to confess that they are nowhere called *eulogiae*, while this canon certainly speaks of *eulogiae*. To this must be added that, as with

regard to the unconsecrated wafer, so we see no sufficient cause why the Synod should have forbidden these antidora being sent.

CANON XV

No others shall sing in the Church, save only the canonical singers, who go up into the ambo and sing from a book.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XV. No one should ascend the ambon unless he is tonsured. Hefele. The only question [presented by this canon] is whether this synod forbade the laity to take any part in the Church music, as Binius and others have understood the words of the text, or whether it only intended to forbid those who were not cantors taking the lead. Van Espen and Neander in particular were in favour of the latter meaning, pointing to the fact that certainly in the Greek Church after the Synod of Laodicea the people were accustomed to join in the singing, as Chrysostom and Basil the Great sufficiently testify. Bingham propounded a peculiar opinion, namely, that this Synod did indeed forbid the laity, to sing in the church, or even to join in the singing, but this only temporarily, for certain reasons. I have no doubt, however, that Van Espen and Neander take the truer view.

CANON XVI

The Gospels are to be read on the Sabbath [i.e. Saturday], with the other Scriptures.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVI. The Gospel, the Epistle [apostolos] and the other Scriptures are to be read on the Sabbath. Balsamon. Before the arrangement of the Ecclesiastical Psalmody was settled, neither the Gospel nor the other Scriptures were accustomed to be read on the Sabbath. But out of regard to the canons which forbade fasting or kneeling on the Sabbath, there were no services, so that there might be as much feasting as possible. This the fathers prohibit, and decree that on the Sabbath the whole ecclesiastical office shall be said. Neander (*Kirchengesch.*, 2d ed., vol. iij., p. 565 et seq.) suggests in addition to the interpretation just given another, viz.: that it was the custom in many parts of the ancient Church to keep every Saturday as a feast in commemoration of the Creation. Neander also suggests that possibly some Judaizers read on the Sabbath only the Old Testament; he, however,

himself remarks that in this case euangelia and heteron graphonould require the article.

Van Espen. Among the Greeks the Sabbath was kept exactly as the Lord's day except so far as the cessation of work was concerned, wherefore the Council wishes that, as on Sundays, after the other lessons there should follow the Gospel. For it is evident that by the intention of the Church the whole Divine Office was designed for the edification and instruction of the people, and especially was this the case on feast days, when the people were apt to be present in large numbers. Here we may note the origin of our present [Western] discipline, by which on Sundays and feast days the Gospel is wont to be read with the other Scriptures in the canonical hours, while such is not the case on ferial days, or in the order for ferias and "simples."

CANON XVII

The Psalms are not to be joined together in the congregations, but a lesson shall intervene after every psalm.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVII. In time of service lessons shall be interspersed with the Psalms. Aristenus. It was well to separate the Psalms by lessons when the congregation was gathered in church, and not to keep them continuously singing unbroken psalmody, lest those who had assembled might become careless through weariness. Zonaras. This was an ancient custom which has been laid aside since the new order of ecclesiastical matters has been instituted. Van Espen. Here it may be remarked we find the real reason why in our present rite, the lections, verses, etc., of the nocturns are placed between the Psalms, so as to repel weariness.

CANON XVIII

The same Service of prayers is to be said always both at nones and at vespers.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XVIII. The same prayers shall be said at nones vespers. Hefe. Some feasts ended at the ninth hour, others only in the evening, and both alike with prayer. The Synod here wills that in both cases the same prayers should be used. Thus does Van Espen explain the words of the text, and I think rightly. But the Greek commentator understands the Synod to order that the same prayers should be used in all places, thus excluding all individual caprice. According to this, the rule of conformity would refer to

places; while, according to Van Espen, the nones and vespers were to be the same. If, however, this interpretation were correct, the Synod would not have only spoken of the prayers at nones and vespers, but would have said in general, "all dioceses shall use the same form of prayer."

Excursus on the Choir Offices of the Early Church.

Nothing is more marked in the lives of the early followers of Christ than the abiding sense which they had of the Divine Presence. Prayer was not to them an occasional exercise but an unceasing practice. If then the Psalmist sang in the old dispensation "Seven times a day do I praise thee" (Ps. cxix. 164), we may be quite certain that the Christians would never fall behind the Jewish example. We know that among the Jews there were the "Hours of Prayer," and nothing would be, a priori, more likely than that with new and deeper significance these should pass over into the Christian Church. I need not pause here to remind the reader of the observance of "the hour of prayer" which is mentioned in the New Testament, and shall pass on to my more immediate subject. Most liturgiologists have been agreed that the "Choir Offices" of the Christian Church, that is to say the recitation of the Psalms of David, with lessons from other parts of Holy Scripture and collects, was an actual continuation of the Jewish worship, the melodies even of the Psalms being carried over and modified through the ages into the plain song of today. For this view of the Jewish origin of the Canonical Hours there is so much to be said that one hesitates to accept a rival theory, recently set forth with much skill and learning, by a French priest, who had the inestimable happiness of sitting at the feet of De Rossi. M. Pierre Battifol is of opinion that the Canonical Hours in no way come from the Jewish Hours of Prayer but are the outgrowth of the Saturday Vigil service, which was wholly of Christian origin, and which he tells us was divided into three parts, j., the evening service, or *lucernarium*, which was the service of Vespers; ij., the midnight service, the origin of the Nocturns or Mattins; iij., the service at daybreak, the origin of Lauds. Soon vigils were kept for all the martyr commemorations; and by the time of Tertullian, if not before, Wednesdays and Fridays had their vigils. With the growth of monasticism they became daily. This Mr. Battifol thinks was introduced into Antioch about a.d. 350, and soon spread all over the East. The "little hours," that is Terce, Sext, and None, he thinks were monastic in origin and that Prime and Compline were trans-

ferred from the dormitory to the church, just as the martyrology was transferred from the refectory.

Such is the new theory, which, even if rejected, at least is valuable in drawing attention to the great importance of the vigil-service in the Early Church, an importance still attaching to it in Russia on the night of Easter Even. Of the twilight service we have a most exquisite remains in the hymn to be sung at the lighting of the lamps. This is one of the few Psalmi idiotici which has survived the condemnation of such compositions by the early councils, in fact the only two others are the Gloria in Excelsis and the Te Deum. The hymn at the lighting of the lamps is as follows: "O gladsome light Of the Father Immortal, And of the celestial Sacred and blessed Jesus, our Saviour!" "Now to the sunset Again hast thou brought us; And seeing the evening Twilight, we bless thee, Praise thee, adore thee!" "Father omnipotent! Son, the Life-giver!

Spirit, the Comforter! Worthy at all times Of worship and wonder!" Dr. Battifol's new theory was promptly attacked by P. Suibbert Baumer, a learned German Benedictine who had already written several magazine articles on the subject before Battifol's book had appeared. The title of Baumer's book is *Geschichte des Breviers, Versuch einer quellenmassigen Darstellung der Entwicklung des altkirchen und des romeschen Officiums bis auf unsere Tage*. (Freiburg in Briesgau, 1895.) The following may be taken as a fair resume of the position taken in this work and most ably defended, a position which (if I may be allowed to express an opinion) is more likely to prevail as being most in accordance with the previous researches of the learned. "The early Christians separated from the Synagogues about a.d. 65; that is, about the same time as the first Epistle to Timothy was written, and at this moment of separation from the Synagogue the Apostles had already established, besides the liturgy, at least one, probably two, canonical hours of prayer, Mattins and Evensong, Besides what we should call sermons, the service of these hours was made up of psalms, readings from Holy Scripture, and extempore prayers. A few pages on (p. 42) Baumer allows that even if this service had been daily in Jerusalem the Apostles' times, yet it had become limited to Sundays in the sub-Apostolic times, when persecution would not allow the Apostolic custom of daily morning and evening public prayer. Yet the practice of private prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours continued, based upon an Apostolic tradition; and thus, when the tyranny of persecution was

overpast, the idea of public prayer at these hours was saved and the practice carried on."

The student should by no means omit to read Dom Prosper Gueranger's *Institutions Liturgiques*, which while written in a bitter and most partisan spirit, is yet a work of the most profound learning. Above all anyone professing any familiarity with the literature on the subject must have mastered Cardinal Bona's invaluable *De Divina Psalmodia*, a mine of wisdom and a wonder of research.

CANON XIX

After the sermons of the Bishops, the prayer for the catechumens is to be made first by itself; and after the catechumens have gone out, the prayer for those who are under penance; and, after these have passed under the hand [of the Bishop] and departed, there should then be offered the three prayers of the faithful, the first to be said entirely in silence, the second and third aloud, and then the [kiss of] peace is to be given. And, after the presbyters have given the [kiss of] peace to the Bishop, then the laity are to give it [to one another], and so the Holy Oblation is to be completed. And it is lawful to the priesthood alone to go to the Altar and [there] communicate.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XIX. After the prayers of the catechumens shall be said those of the Penitents, and afterwards those of the faithful. And after the peace, or embrace, has been given, the offering shall be made. Only priests shall enter the sanctuary and make there their communion. The Greek commentators throw but little if any light upon this canon. A question has been raised as to who said the prayers mentioned. Van Espen, following Isidore's translation "they also pray who are doing penance," thinks the prayer of the penitents, said by themselves, is intended, and not the prayer said by the Bishop. But Hefele, following Dionysius's version- "the prayers over the catechumens," "over those who are doing penance"-thinks that the liturgical prayers are intended, which after the sermon were wont to be said "over" the different classes. Dionysius does not say "over" the faithful, but describes them as "the prayers of the faithful," which Hefele thinks means that the faithful joined in reciting them.

Excursus on the Worship of the Early Church. (Percival, H. R.: Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, Vol. V., S. V. Liturgics.)

St. Paul is by some learned writers supposed to have quoted in several places the already existing liturgy, especially in I. Cor. ij. 9., and there can be no doubt that the Lord's prayer was used and certain other formulas which are referred to by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles as "the Apostles' prayers." How early these forms were committed to writing has been much disputed among the learned, and it would be rash to attempt to rule this question. Pierre Le Brun presents most strongly the denial of their having been written during the first three centuries, and Probst argues against this opinion. While it does not seem possible to prove that before the fourth century the liturgical books were written out in full, owing no doubt to the influence of the *disciplina arcani*, it seems to be true that much earlier than this there was a definite and fixed order in the celebration of divine worship and in the administration of the sacraments. The famous passage in St Justin Martyr seems to point to the existence of such a form in his day, shewing how even then the service for the Holy Eucharist began with the Epistle and Gospel. St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom bear witness to the same thing.

Within, comparatively speaking, a few years, a good deal of information with regard to the worship of the early Church has been given us by the discovery of the *Didache*, and of the fragments the Germans describe as the *K. O.*, and by the publication of M. Gamurrini's transcript of the *Peregrinatio Silviae*. From all these it is thought that liturgical information of the greatest value can be obtained. Moreover the first two are thought to throw much light upon the age and construction of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Without in any way committing myself to the views I now proceed to quote, I lay them before the reader as the results of the most advanced criticism in the matter. (Duchesne. *Origines du Culte Chretien*, p. 54 et seq.) All known liturgies may be reduced to four principal types-the Syrian, the Alexandrian, the Roman, and the Gallican. In the fourth century there certainly existed these four types at the least, for the Syrian had already given rise to several sub-types which were clearly marked.

The most ancient documents of the Syrian Liturgy are: 1. The Catechetical Lectures of St, Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered about the year 347. 2. The Apostolic Constitutions (Bk. II., 57, and Bk. VIII., 5-15). 3. The homilies of St. John Chrysostom. St. John Chrysostom often quotes lines of thought and

even prayers taken from the liturgy. Bingham was the first to have the idea of gathering together and putting in order these scattered references. This work has been recently taken in hand afresh by Mr. Hammond. From this one can find much interesting corroborative evidence, but the orator does not give anywhere a systematic description of the liturgy, in the order of its rites and prayers. The Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril are really a commentary upon the ceremonies of the mass, made to the neophytes after their initiation. The preacher does not treat of the *missa catechumenorum* because his hearers had so long been familiar with it; he presupposes the bread and wine to have been brought to and placed upon the altar, and begins at the moment when the bishop prepares himself to celebrate the Holy Mysteries by washing his hands.

In the Apostolic Constitutions a distinction must be drawn between Book II. and Book VIII. The first is very sketchy; it only contains a description of the rites without the words used, the other gives at length all the formulas of the prayers, but only from the end of the Gospel. We know now that the Apostolical Constitutions in the present state of the Greek text represent a melting down and fusing together of two analogous books—the *Didaskale* of the Apostles, of which only a Syriac version is extant; and the *Didake* of the Apostles, recently discovered by the metropolitan, Philotheus Bryennius. The first of these two books has served as a basis for the, first six books of the Apostolical Constitutions. The second, much spread out, has become the seventh book of the same collection. The eighth book is more homogeneous. It must have been added to the seven others by the author of the recension of the *Didaskale* and of the *Didake*. This author is the same as he who made the interpolations in the seven authentic letters of St. Ignatius, and added to them six others of his own manufacture. He lived at Antioch in Syria, or else in the ecclesiastical region of which that city was the centre. He wrote about the middle of the fourth century, at the very high tide of the Subordination theology, which finds expression more than once in his different compositions. He is the author of the description of the liturgy, which is found in Book II.; in fact, that whole passage is lacking in the Syriac *Didaskale*. Was it also he who composed the liturgy of the VIII book? This is open to doubt, for there are certain differences between this liturgy and that of the IID book.

I shall now describe the religious service such as these documents suppose, noting, where necessary, their divergences. The congregation is gathered together, the men on one side the women on the other, the clergy in the apsidal chancel. The readings immediately begin; they are interrupted by chants. A reader ascends the ambo, which stood in the middle of the church, between the clergy and the people, and read two lessons; then another goes up in his place to sing a psalm. This he executes as a solo, but the congregation join in the last modulations of the chant and continue them. This is what is called the "Response" (*psalmus responsorius*), which must be distinguished carefully from the "Antiphon," which was a psalm executed alternately by two choirs. At this early date the antiphon did not exist, only the response was known. There must have been a considerable number of readings, but we are not told how many. The series ended with a lection from the Gospel, which is made not by a reader but by a priest or deacon. The congregation stands during this lesson.

When the lessons and psalmodies are done, the priests take the word, each in his turn, and after them the bishop. The homily is always preceded by a salutation to the people, to which they answer, "And with thy spirit." After the sermon the sending out of the different categories of persons who should not assist at the holy Mysteries takes place. First of all the catechumens. Upon the invitation of the deacon they make a prayer in silence while the congregation prays for them. The deacon gives the outline of this prayer by detailing the intentions and the things to be prayed for. The faithful answer, and especially the children, by the supplication *Kyrie eleison*. Then the catechumens rise up, and the deacon asks them to join with him in the prayer which he pronounces; next he makes them bow before the bishop to receive his benediction, after which he sends them home.

The same form is used for the *energumens*, for the *competentes*, i.e., for the catechumens who are preparing to receive baptism, and last of all for the penitents. When there remain in the church only the faithful communicants, these fall to prayer; and prostrate toward the East they listen while the deacon says the litany- "For the peace and good estate of the world; for the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; for bishops, priests; for the Church's benefactors; for the neophytes; for the sick; for travellers; for little children; for those who are erring," etc. And to all these petitions is added *Kyrie eleison*. The litany ends with this special form "Save us, and raise us up, O God,

for thy mercy's sake." Then the voice of the bishop rises in the silence—he pronounces a solemn prayer of a grave and majestic style. Here ends the first part of the liturgy; that part which the Church had taken from the old use of the synagogues. The second part, the Christian liturgy, properly so-called, begins by the salutation of the bishop, followed by the response of the people. Then, at a sign given by a deacon, the clergy receive the kiss of peace from the bishop, and the faithful give it to each other, men to men, women to women.

Then the deacons and the other lower ministers divide themselves between watching and serving at the altar. The one division go through the congregation, keeping all in their proper place, and the little children on the outskirts of the sacred enclosure, and watching the door that no profane person may enter the church. The others bring and set upon the altar the breads and the chalices prepared for the Sacred Banquet; two of them wave fans backwards and forwards to protect the holy offerings from insects. The bishop washes his hands and vests himself in festal habit; the priests range themselves around him, and all together they approach the altar. This is a solemn moment. After private prayer the bishop makes the sign of the cross upon his brow and begins, "The grace of God Almighty, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you always!" And with thy spirit."

"Lift up your hearts." "We lift them up unto the Lord." "Let us give thanks unto our Lord." "It is meet and right so to do." "It is very meet," etc. And the eucharistic prayer goes on ... concluding at last with a return to the mysterious Sanctuary where God abides in the midst of spirits, where the Cherubims and the Seraphims eternally make heaven ring with the trisagion. Here the whole multitude of the people lift up their voices and joining their song with that of the choir of Angels, sing, "Holy, Holy, Holy," etc. When the hymn is done and silence returns, the bishop continues the interrupted eucharistic prayer. "Thou truly art holy," etc., and goes on to commemorate the work of Redemption, the Incarnation of the Word, his mortal life, his passion; now the officiant keeps close to the Gospel account of the last supper; the mysterious words pronounced at first by Jesus on the night before his death are heard over the holy table. Then, taking his inspiration from the last words, "Do this in remembrance of me," the bishop develops the idea, recalling the Passion of the Son of God, his death, his resurrection, his ascension, the

hope of his glorious return, and declaring that it is in order to observe this precept and make this memorial that the congregation offers to God this eucharistic bread and wine. Finally he prays the Lord to turn upon the Oblation a favourable regard, and to send down upon it the power of his Holy Spirit, to make it the Body and Blood of Christ, the spiritual food of his faithful, and the pledge of their immortality.

Thus ends the eucharistic prayer, properly so-called. The mystery is consummated. ... The bishop then directs the prayers ... and when this long prayer is finished by a doxology, all the congregation answer "Amen," and thus ratify his acts of thanks and intercession. After this is said "Our Father," accompanied by a short litany. ... The bishop then pronounces his benediction on the people. The deacon awakes the attention of the faithful and the bishop cries aloud, "Holy things for holy persons." And the people answer, "There is one only holy, one only Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father," etc. No doubt at this moment took place the fraction of the bread, a ceremony which the documents of the fourth century do not mention in express terms. The communion then follows. The bishop receives first, then the priests, the deacons, the sub-deacons, the readers, the singers, the ascetics, the deaconesses, the virgins, the widows, the little children, and last of all the people.

The bishop places the consecrated bread in the right hand, which is open, and supported by the left; the deacon holds the chalice-they drink out of it directly. To each communicant the bishop says, "The Body of Christ"; and the deacon says, "The Blood of Christ, the Cup of life," to which the answer is made, "Amen." During the communion the singers execute Psalm XXXIII. [XXXIV. Heb. numbering] *Benedicam Dominum*, in which the words "O, taste and see how gracious the Lord is," have a special suitability. When the communion is done, the deacon gives the sign for prayer, which the bishop offers in the name of all; then all bow to receive his blessing. Finally the deacon dismisses the congregation, saying, "Go in peace."

CANON XX

IT is not right for a deacon to sit in the presence of a presbyter, unless he be bidden by the presbyter to sit down. Likewise the deacons shall have worship of the subdeacons and all the [inferior] clergy.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XX. A deacon shall not sit down unless bidden. This is another canon to curb the ambition of Levites who wish to take upon themselves the honours of the priesthood also. Spiritual Cores seem to have been common in early times among the deacons and this is but one of many canons on the subject. Compare Canon XVIII of the Council of Nice. Van Espen points out that in the Apostolic Constitutions (Lib. II., cap. lvij), occurs the following passage, "Let the seat for the bishop be set in the midst, and on each side of him let the presbyters sit, and let the deacons stand, having their loins girded." Van Espen. Here it should be noted, by the way, that in this canon there is presented a hierarchy consisting of bishops, presbyters, and deacons and other inferior ministers, each with their mutual subordination one to the other.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xciii., c. xv., in Dionysius's version.

CANON XXI

The subdeacons have no right to a place in the Diaconicum, nor to touch the Lord's vessels.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXI. A subdeacon shall not touch the vessels. The "Lord's vessels" are the chalice and what we call the sacred vessels. Aristenus. The ecclesiastical ministers shall not take into their hands the Lord's vessels, but they shall be carried to the Table by the priests or deacons. Both Balsamon and Zonaras agree that by *huperetai* is here meant subdeacons. Hefele. It is doubtful whether by *diaconicum* is here meant the place where the deacons stood during service, or the *diaconicum* generally so called, which answers to our sacristy of the present day. In this *diaconicum* the sacred vessels and vestments were kept; and as the last part of the canon especially mentions these, I have no doubt that the *diaconicum* must mean the sacristy. For the rest, this canon is only the concrete expression of the rule, that the subdeacons shall not assume the functions of the deacons.

With regard to the last words of this canon, Morinus and Van Espen are of opinion that the subdeacons were not altogether forbidden to touch the sacred vessels, for this had never been the case, but that it was intended that at the solemn entrance to the altar, peculiar to the Greek service, the sacred

vessels which were then carried should not be borne by the subdeacons. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. xxiii., c. xxvj.

CANON XXII

The subdeacon has no right to wear an orarium [i.e., stole], nor to leave the doors.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXII. A subdeacon must not wear an orarium nor leave the doors. The "orarium" is what we call now the stole. In old times, so we are told by Zonaras and Balsamon, it was the place of the subdeacons to stand at the church doors and to bring in and take out the catechumens and the penitents at the proper points in the service. Zonaras remarks that no one need be surprised if this, like many other ancient customs, has been entirely changed and abandoned. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. xxxii., canon xxvij., but reads *hostias* instead of *ostia*, thus making the canon forbid the subdeacons to leave the Hosts; and to make this worse the ancient Glossator adds, "but the subdeacon should remain and consume them with the other ministers." The Roman Correctors indeed note the error but have not felt themselves at liberty to correct it on account of the authority of the gloss. Van Espen remarks "To-day if any Hosts remain which are not to be reserved, the celebrant consumes them himself, but perchance in the time the gloss was written, it was the custom that the subdeacons and other ministers of the altar were accustomed to do this, but whenever the ministers present gradually fell into the habit of not receiving the sacrament, this consumption of what remained devolved upon the celebrant."

Excursus on the Vestments of the Early Church.

It would be out of place to enter into any specific treatment of the different vestments worn by the clergy in the performance of their various duties. For a full discussion of this whole matter I must refer my readers to the great writers on liturgical and kindred matters, especially to Cardinal Bona, *De Rebus Liturgicis*; Pugin, *Ecclesiastical Glossary*; Rock, *Church of our Fathers*; Hefele, *Beitrag zu Kircheschichte, Archaologie und Liturgik* (essay in *Die Liturgischen Gervander*, vol. ij. p. 184 sqq.). And I would take this opportunity of warning the student against the entirely unwarranted conclu-

sions of Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* and of Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*. The manner in which the use of the stole is spoken of in this canon shews not only the great antiquity of that vestment but of other ecclesiastical vestments as well. Before, however, giving the details of our knowledge with regard to this particular vestment I shall need no apology for quoting a passage, very germane to the whole subject, from the pen of that most delightful writer Curzon, to whose care and erudition all scholars and students of manuscripts are so deeply indebted. (Robert Curzon, *Armenia*, p. 202.)

Here I will remark that the sacred vestures of the Christian Church are the same, with very insignificant modifications, among every denomination of Christians in the world; that they have always been the same, and never were otherwise in any country, from the remotest times when we have any written accounts of them, or any mosaics, sculptures, or pictures to explain their forms. They are no more a Popish invention, or have anything more to do with the Roman Church, than any other usage which is common to all denominations of Christians. They are and always have been, of general and universal—that is, of Catholic-use; they have never been used for many centuries for ornament or dress by the laity, having been considered as set apart to be used only by priests in the church during the celebration of the worship of Almighty God. Thus far the very learned Curzon. As is natural the distinctive dress of the bishops is the first that we hear of, and that in connexion with St. John, who is said to have worn a golden mitre or fillet. (Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chretien*, p. 376 et sqq.)

It was not the bishops alone who were distinguished by insignia from the other ecclesiastics. Priests and deacons had their distinctive insignia as well. There was, however, a difference between Rome and the rest of the world in this matter. At Rome it would seem that but little favour was extended at first to these marks of rank; the letter of Pope Celestine to the bishops shews this already. But what makes it evident still more clearly, is that the orarium of the priest and of the deacon, looked upon as a visible and distinctive mark of these orders, was unknown at Rome, at least down to the tenth century, while it had been adopted everywhere else. To be sure, the orarium is spoken of in the ordines of the ninth century; but from these it is also evident that this vestment was worn by acolytes and subdeacons, as well as by the superior clergy, and that its place was under the top vestment, whether dalmatic or

chasuble, and not over it. But that orarium is nothing more than the ancient sweat-cloth (sudarium), the handkerchief, or cravat which has ended up by taking a special form and even by becoming an accessory of a ceremonial vestment: but it is not an insignia. I know no Roman representation of this earlier than the twelfth century. The priests and deacons who figure in the mosaics never display this detail of costume.

But such is not the case elsewhere. Towards the end of the fourth century, the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia forbade inferior classes, subdeacons, readers, etc., to usurp the orarium. St. Isidore of Pelusium knew it as somewhat analogous to the episcopal pallium, except that it was of linen, while the pallium was of wool. The sermon on the Prodigal Son, sometimes attributed to St. John Chrysostom [Migne's Ed., vol. viij., 520], uses the same term, *othone*; it adds that this piece of dress was worn over the left shoulder, and that as it swung back and forth it called to mind the wings of the angels. The deacons among the Greeks wear the stole in this fashion down to to-day, perfectly visible, over the top of the upper vestment, and fastened upon the left shoulder. Its ancient name (*orarion*) still clings to it. As for the orarium of the priests it is worn, like the stole of Latin priests, round the neck, the two ends falling in front, almost to the feet. This is called the *epitrachilion* (*epitrachelion*).

These distinctions were also found in Spain and Gaul. The Council of Braga, in 561, ordered that deacons should wear these *oraria*, not under the tunicle, which caused them to be confounded with the subdeacon, but over it, over the shoulder. The Council of Toledo, in 633, describes the orarium as the common mark of the three superior orders, bishops, priests, and deacons; and specifies that the deacon should wear his over his left shoulder, and that it should be white, without any mixture of colours or any gold embroidery. Another Council of Braga forbade priests to say mass without having a stole around their necks and crossed upon the breast, exactly as Latin priests wear it to-day. St. Germanus of Paris speaks of the insignia of a bishop and of a deacon; to the first he assigns the name of pallium, and says that it is worn around the neck, and falls down upon the breast where it ends with a fringe. As for the insignia of a deacon he calls it a stole (*stola*); and says that deacons wear it over the alb. This fashion of wearing the stole of the deacon spread during the middle ages over nearly the whole of Italy and to the very gates of Rome. And even at Rome the ancient usage seems to have been maintained

with a compromise. They ended up by adopting the stole for deacons and by placing it over the left shoulder, but they covered it up with the dalmatic or the chasuble.

The priest's stole was also accepted: and in the mosaics of Sta. Maria in Trastevere is seen a priest ornamented with this insignia. It is worthy of notice that the four popes who are represented in the same mosaic wear the pallium but no stole. The one seems to exclude the other. And as a matter of fact the ordines of the ninth century in describing the costume of the pope omit always the stole. One can readily understand that who bore one of these insignia should not wear the other. However, they ended by combining them, and at Ravenna, where they always had a taste for decorations, bishop Ecclesius in the mosaics of San Vitale wears both the priest's stole and the Roman pallium. This, however, seems to be unique, and his successors have the pallium only. The two are found together again in the Sacramentary of Autun (Vide M. Lelisle's reproduction in the *Gazette Archeologique*, 1884, pl. 20), and on the paliotto of St. Ambrose of Milan; such seems to have been the usage of the Franks.

In view of these facts one is led to the conclusion that all these insignia, called pallium, omophorion, orarium, stole, epitrachilion, have the same origin. They are the marks of dignity, introduced into church usage during the fourth century, analogous to those which the Theodosian code orders for certain kinds of civil functionaries. For one reason or another the Roman Church refused to receive these marks, or rather confined itself to the papal pallium, which then took a wholly technical signification. But everywhere else, this mark of the then superior orders of the hierarchy was adopted, only varying slightly to mark the degree, the deacon wearing it over the left shoulder, the bishop and priest around the neck, the deacon over the tunicle which is his uppermost vestment, the priest under the chasuble; the bishop over his chasuble. However, for this distinction between a bishop and priest we have very little evidence. The Canon of III Braga, already cited, which prescribes that priests shall wear the stole crossed over the breast, presupposes that it is worn under the chasuble, but the council understands that this method of wearing it pertains distinctively to priests, and that bishops have another method which they should observe; for the word *sacerdotes*, used by the council, includes bishops as well as priests. The rest of the Spanish ecclesiastical literature gives us no information upon the point. In Gaul, St.

Germanus of Paris (as we have seen) speaks of the episcopal pallium after having described the chasuble, which makes one believe that it was worn on top. I have already said that Bishop Ecclesius of Ravenna is represented with the stole pendant before, under the chasuble and at the same time with the pallium on top of it; and that this usage was adopted in France in the Carolingian times. Greek bishops also wear at the same time the epitrichilion and the omophorion. This accumulation of insignia was forbidden in Spain in the seventh century (*Vide* IV Toledo, Canon XXXIX), and (as we have stated) the Pope abstained from it until about the twelfth century, contenting himself with the pallium without adding to it the stole.* The pallium, with the exception of the crosses which adorn its ends, was always white; so too was the deacon's stole and also that of the priest and bishop. The pallium was always and everywhere made of wool; in the East the deacon's stole was of linen; I cannot say of what material the priest's and deacon's stole was in the West.

CANON XXIII

The readers and singers have no right to wear an orarium, and to read or sing thus [habited].

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXIII. Cantors and lectors shall not wear the orarium. Van Espen. Rightly Zonaras here remarks, "for the same reason (that they should not seem to wish to usurp a ministry not their own) it is not permitted to these to wear the stole, for readers are for the work of reading, and singers for singing," so each one should perform his own office. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xxiii., can. xxviii.

CANON XXIV

No one of the priesthood, from presbyters to deacons, and so on in the ecclesiastical order to subdeacons, readers, singers, exorcists, door-keepers, or any of the class of the Ascetics, ought to enter a tavern.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXIV. No clergyman should enter a tavern. Compare this with Apostolic Canon LIV., which contains exceptions not here specified. This canon is contained in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. xlv. c. ij.

Excursus on the Minor Orders of the Early Church. (Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius, Vol. I., P. 258.)

Some of these lower orders, the subdeacons, readers, door-keepers, and exorcists, are mentioned in the celebrated letter of Cornelius bishop of Rome (a.d. 251) preserved by Eusebius (H.E., vi., 43), and the readers existed at least half a century earlier (Tertull. de Praescr., 41). In the Eastern Church, however, if we except the Apostolic Constitutions, of which the date and country are uncertain, the first reference to such offices is found in a canon of the Council of Antioch, a.d. 341, where readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, are mentioned, this being apparently intended as an exhaustive enumeration of the ecclesiastical orders below the diaconate; and for the first mention of door-keepers in the East, we must go to the still later Council of Laodicea, about a.d. 363, (see III., p. 240, for the references, where also fuller information is given). But while most of these lower orders certainly existed in the West, and probably in the East, as early as the middle of the third century the case is different with the "singers" (psaltai) and the "labourers" (kopiatai). Setting aside the Apostolic Constitutions, the first notice of the "singers" occurs in the canons of the above-mentioned Council of Laodicea. This, however, may be accidental. The history of the word kopiatai affords a more precise and conclusive indication of date. The term first occurs in a rescript of Constantius (a.d. 357), "clerici qui kopiatai appellantur," and a little later (a.d. 361), the same emperor speaks of them as "hi quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari."

(Adolf Harnack, in his little book ridiculously intituled in the English version *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, page 85.) Exorcists and readers there had been in the Church from old times, subdeacons are not essentially strange, as they participate in a name (deacon) which dates from the earliest days of Christianity. But acolytes and door-keepers (puloroi) are quite strange, are really novelties. And these acolytes even at the time of Cornelius stand at the head of the ordines minores: for that the subdeacons follow on the deacons is self-evident. Whence do they come? Now if they do not spring out of the Christian tradition, their origin must be explained from the Roman. It can in fact be shown there with desirable plainness. With regard to subdeacons the reader may also like to see some of Harnack's speculations. In the volume just quoted he writes as follows (p. 85 note): According to Cornelius and Cyprian subdeacons were mentioned in the thirtieth canon of the

Synod of Elvira (about 305), so that the sub diaconate must then have been acknowledged as a fixed general institution in the whole west (see Dale, *The Synod of Elvira*, Lond., 1882). The same is seen in the "*gesta apud Zenophilum*." As the appointment of the lower orders took place at Rome between about the years 222-249, the announcement in the *Liber Pontificalis* (see Duchesne's edition, fasc. 2, 1885, p. 148) is not to be despised, as according to it Bishop Fabian appointed seven subdeacons: "*Hic regiones dividit diaconibus et fecit vii. subdiaconos*." The *Codex Liberianus* indeed (see Duchesne, fasc. 1, pp. 4 and 5; Lipsius, *Chronologie d. rom. Bischofe*, p. 267), only contains the first half of the sentence, and what the *Liber Pontif.* has added of the account of the appointment of subdeacons (... *qui vii notariis imminerent, ut gestas martyrum in integro fideliter colligerent*) is, in spite of the explanation of Duchesne, not convincing. According to Probst and other Catholic scholars the subdiaconate existed in Rome a long time before Fabian (*Kirchl. Disciplin*, p. 109), but Hippolytus is against them. Besides, it should be observed that the officials first, even in Carthage, are called hypodeacons, though the word subdiaconus was by degrees used in the West. This also points to a Roman origin of the office, for in the Roman church in the first part of the third century the Greek language was the prevailing one, but not at Carthage.

But to return to the Acolythes, and door-keepers, whom Harnack thinks to be copies of the old Roman temple officers. He refers to Marquardt's explanation of the sacrificial system of the Romans, and gives the following resume (page 85 et seq.): 1. The temples have only partially their own priests, but they all have a superintendent (*oedituus-curator templi*). These *oeditui*, who lived in the temple, fall again into two classes. At least "in the most important brotherhoods the chosen *oedituus* was not in a position to undertake in person the watching and cleaning of the *sacellum*. He charged therefore with this service a freedman or slave." "In this case the *sacellum* had two *oeditui*, the temple-keeper, originally called *magister oedituus*, and the temple-servant, who appears to be called the *oedituus minister*." "To both it is common that they live in the temple, although in small chapels the presence of the servant is sufficient. The temple-servant opens, shuts, and cleans the sacred place, and shows to strangers its curiosities, and allows, according to the rules of the temple, those persons to offer up prayers and sacrifices to whom this is permitted, while he sends away the others."

2. "Besides the endowment, the colleges of priests were also supplied with a body of servants"-the under officials-; "they were appointed to the priests, ... by all of whom they were used partly as letter-carriers (*tabellarii*), partly as scribes, partly as assistants at the sacrifices." Marquardt reckons, (page 218 and fol.) the various categories of them among the *sacerdotes publici*, *lictiores*, *pullarii*, *victimarii*, *tibicines*, *viatores*, sixthly the *calatores*, in the priests' colleges free men or freedmen, not slaves, and in fact one for the personal service of each member. Here we have the forerunners of the Church door-keepers and acolytes. Thus says the fourth Council of Carthage, as far as refers to the former: "*Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi, tradat ei episcopus claves ecclesiae de altari, dicens. Sic age, quasi redditurus deo rationem pro his rebus, quae hisce clavibus recluduntur.*" The *ostiarius* (*puleros*) is thus the *aedituus* minister. He had to look after the opening and shutting of the doors, to watch over the coming in and going out of the faithful, to refuse entrance to suspicious persons, and, from the date of the more strict separation between the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*, to close the doors, after the dismissal of the catechumens, against those doing penance and unbelievers. He first became necessary when there were special church buildings (there were such even in the second century), and they like the temples, together with the ceremonial of divine service, had come to be considered as holy, that is, since about 225. The church acolytes are without difficulty to be recognised in the under officials of the priests, especially in the "*calatores*," the personal servants of the priests. According to Cyprian the acolytes and others are used by preference as *tabellarii*. According to Cornelius there were in Rome forty-two acolytes. As he gives the number of priests as forty-six, it may be concluded with something like certainty that the rule was that the number of the priests and of the acolytes should be equal, and that the little difference may have been caused by temporary vacancies. If this view is correct, the identity of the *calator* with the acolyte is strikingly proved. But the name "*acolyte*" plainly shows the acolyte was not, like the door-keeper, attached to a sacred thing, but to a sacred person.

(Lightfoot. *Apostolic Fathers*. Ignatius, ad Antioch, xj., note. Vol. II., Sec. II., p. 240.) The acolytes were confined to the Western Church and so are not mentioned here. On the other hand the "*deaconesses*" seem to have been

confined to the Eastern Church at this time. See also Apost. Const., iii., 11.; viii., 12; comp. viii., 19-28, 31; Apost. Can., 43; Conc. Laodic., Can. 24; Conc. Antioch, Can. 10. Of these lower orders the "subdeacons" are first mentioned in the middle of the third century, in the passage of Cornelius already quoted and in the contemporary letters of Cyprian. The "readers" occur as early as Tertullian de Praescr. 41 "hodie diaconus, qui cras lector," where the language shows that this was already a firmly established order in the Church. Of the "singers" the notices in the Apostolical Constitutions are probably the most ancient. The "door-keepers," like the sub-deacons, seem to be first mentioned in the letter of Cornelius. The kopiontes first appear a full century later; see the next note. The "exorcists," as we have seen, are mentioned as a distinct order by Cornelius, while in Apost. Const., viii., 26, it is ordered that they shall not be ordained, because it is a spiritual function which comes direct from God and manifests itself by its results. The name and the function, however, appear much earlier in the Christian Church; e.g., Justin Mart., Apol. ii., 6 (p. 45). The forms eporkistes and exorkistes are convertible; e.g., Justin Mart., Dial., 85 (p. 311).

The "confessors" hardly deserve to be reckoned a distinct order, though accidentally they are mentioned in proximity with the different grades of clergy in Apost. Const., viii., 12, already quoted. Perhaps the accidental connexion in this work has led to their confusion with the offices of the Christian ministry in our false Ignatius. In Apost. Const., viii., 23, they are treated in much the same way as the exorcists, being regarded as in some sense an order and yet not subject to ordination. Possibly, however, the word *homologetai*; has here a different sense, "chanters," as the corresponding Latin "confessores" seems sometimes to have, e.g., in the Sacramentary of Gregory "Oremus et pro omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus, acolythis, exorcistis, lectoribus, ostiariis, confessoribus, virginibus, viduis, et pro omni populo sancto Dei; see Ducange, Gloss. Lat., s. v. (11. p. 530, Henschel). In a law of the year 357 (Cod. Theod., xiii., 1) mention is made of "clerici qui copiatæ appellantur," and another law of the year 361 (Cod. Theod. xvi., 2, 15) runs "clerici vero vel his quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari," etc. From these passages it is clear that the name kopiontes was not in use much before the middle of the fourth century, though the office under its Latin name "fossore" or "fossarii" appears somewhat earlier. Even later Epiphanius (Expos. Fid., 21) writes as if the word still needed some explanation. In accord-

ance with these facts, Zahn (I. v., A. p. 129), correctly argues with regard to our Ignatian writer, urging that on the one hand he would not have ascribed such language to Ignatius if the word had been quite recent, while on the other hand his using the participle (*tous kopiontas*) rather than the substantive indicates that it had not yet firmly established itself. For these "*copiatae*" see especially de Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, III., p. 533 sq., Gothofred on Cod. Theod., II., cc., and for the Latin "*fossore*s" Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* s.v. See also the inscriptions, C. I. G., 9227, *Bull. de Corr. Hellen.*, vii., p. 238, *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.*, vi., p. 362.

CANON XXV

A Subdeacon must not give the Bread, nor bless the Cup,

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXV. A subdeacon may not give the bread and the cup. Aristenus. Subdeacons are not allowed to perform the work of presbyters and deacons. Wherefore they neither deliver the bread nor the cup to the people. Hefele. According to the Apostolic Constitutions, the communion was administered in the following manner: the bishop gave to each the holy bread with the words: "the Body of the Lord," and the recipient said, "Amen." The deacon then gave the chalice with the words: "the Blood of Christ, the chalice of life," and the recipient again answered, "Amen." This giving of the chalice with the words: "the Blood of Christ," etc., is called in the canon of Laodicea a " *blessing*" (*eulogein*). The Greek commentator Aristenus in accordance with this, and quite rightly, gives the meaning of this canon. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., *Diet. XCIII.*, c. xix.; but reads "*Deacons*" instead of "*Subdeacons*." The Roman Correctors point out the error.

CANON XXVI

They who have not been promoted [to that office] by the bishop, ought not to adjure, either in churches or in private houses.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXVI. No one shall adjure without the bishop's promotion to that office. Balsamon. Some were in the habit of "*adjuring*," that is catechising the unbelievers, who had never received the imposition of the bishop's hands for that purpose; and when they were accused of doing so, contended that as they did not do it in church but only at home, they could

not be considered as deserving of any punishment, For this reason the Fathers rule that even to "adjure" (ephorkizen) is an ecclesiastical ministry, and must not be executed by anyone who shall not have been promoted thereto by a bishop. But the "Exorcist" must be excepted who has been promoted by a Chorepiscopus, for he can indeed properly catechize although not promoted by a bishop; for from Canon X. of Antioch we learn that even a Chorepiscopus can make an Exorcist. Zonaras notes that from this canon it appears that "Chorepiscopi are considered to be in the number of bishops."

Van Espen. "Promoted" (proachthentas) by the bishops, by which is signified a mere designation or appointment, in conformity with the Greek discipline which never counted exorcism among the orders, but among the simple ministries which were committed to certain persons by the bishops, as Morinus proves at length in his work on Orders (*De Ordinationibus*, Pars III., Ex. XIV., cap. ij.). Double is the power of devils over men, the one part internal the other external. The former is when they hold the soul captive by vice and sin. The latter when they disturb the exterior and interior senses and lead anyone on to fury. Those who are subject to the interior evils are the Catechumens and Penitents, and those who are subject to the exterior are the Energumens. Whoever are occupied with the freeing from the power of the devil of either of these kinds, by prayers, exhortations, and exorcisms, are said "to exorcize" them; which seems to be what Balsamon means when he says-"exorcize" that is 'to catechize the unbelievers.'" Vide this matter more at length in Ducange's Glossary (Gloss., s. v. Exorcizare).

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. LXIX. c. ij., Isidore's version.

CANON XXVII

Neither they of the priesthood, nor clergymen, nor laymen, who are invited to a love feast, may take away their portions, for this is to cast reproach on the ecclesiastical order.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome OF Canon XXVII. A clergyman invited to a love feast shall carry nothing away with him; for this would bring his order into shame. Hefele. Van Espen translates: "no one holding any office in the Church, be he cleric or layman," and appeals to the fact that already in early times among the Greeks many held offices in the Church without being ordained, as do

now our sacristans and acolytes. I do not think, however, with Van Espen, that by "they of the priesthood" is meant in general any one holding office in the Church, but only the higher ranks of the clergy, priests and deacons, as in the preceding twenty-fourth canon the presbyters and deacons alone are expressly numbered among the hieratikoi and distinguished from the other (minor) clerics. And afterwards, in canon XXX., there is a similar mention of three different grades, hieratikoi, klerikoi, and asketai.

The taking away of the remains of the agape is here forbidden, because, on the one hand, it showed covetousness, and, on the other, was perhaps considered a profanation. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XLII., c. iij.

CANON XXVIII

IT is not permitted to hold love feasts, as they are called, in the Lord's Houses, or Churches, nor to eat and to spread couches in the house of God.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome OF Canon Beds shall not be set up in churches, nor shall love feasts be held there. Hefele. Eusebius (H. E., Lib. IX., Cap. X.) employs the expression *kuriaka* in the same sense as does this canon as identical with churches. The prohibition itself, however, here given, as well as the preceding canon, proves that as early as the time of the Synod of Laodicea, many irregularities had crept into the agape. For the rest, this Synod was not in a position permanently to banish the usage from the Church; for which reason the Trullan Synod in its seventy-fourth canon repeated this rule word for word. This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Disk XLII., c. iv.

CANON XXIX

Christians must not judaize by resting on the Sabbath, but must work on that day, rather honouring the Lord's Day; and, if they can, resting then as Christians. But if any shall be found to be judaizers, let them be anathema from Christ.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXIX. A Christian shall not stop work on the Sabbath, but on the Lords Day. Balsamon. Here the Fathers order that no one of the faithful shall stop work on the Sabbath as do the Jews, but that they should honour the Lord's Day; on account of the Lord's resurrection,

and that on that day they should abstain from manual labour and go to church. But thus abstaining from work on Sunday they do not lay down as a necessity, but they add, "if they can." For if through need or any other necessity any one worked on the Lord's day this was not reckoned against him.

CANON XXX

None of the priesthood, nor clerics [of lower rank] nor ascetics, nor any Christian or layman, shall wash in a bath with women; for this is the greatest reproach among the heathen.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXX. It is an abomination to bathe with women. This canon was renewed by the Synod in Trullo, canon lxxvij. Zonaras explains that the bathers were entirely nude and hence arose the objection which was also felt by the heathen. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. LXXXI, c. xxviii.

CANON XXXI

IT is not lawful to make marriages with all [sorts of] heretics, nor to give our sons and daughters to them; but rather to take of them, if they promise to become Christians.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXXI. It is not right to give children in marriage to heretics, but they should be received if they promise to become Christians. Van Espen. By this canon the faithful are forbidden to contract marriage with heretics or to join their children in such; for, as both Balsamon and Zonaras remark, "they imbue them with their errors, and lead them to embrace their own perverse opinions."

CANON XXXII

It is unlawful to receive the eulogiae of heretics, for they are rather alogiai [i.e., follies], than eulogiae [i.e., blessings].

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXXII. The blessings of heretics are cursings. To keep the Latin play upon the words the translator has used bene-dictiones and male-dictiones, but at the expense of the accuracy of translation. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars II., Causa II., Quaest. I., Can. lxvj.

CANON XXXIII

No one shall join in prayers with heretics or schismatics.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXXIII. Thou shalt not pray with heretics or schismatics. Van Espen. The underlying principle of this canon is the same as the last, for as the receiving of the Eulogiae which were sent by heretics as a the same communion, and therefore to be sign of communion, signified a communion avoided. This is also set forth in Apostolical with them in religious matters, so the sharing Canon number xlv. with them common prayer is a declaration

CANON XXXIV

No Christian shall forsake the martyrs of Christ, and turn to false martyrs, that is, to those of the heretics, or those who formerly were heretics; for they are aliens from God. Let those, therefore, who go after them, be anathema.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXXIV. Whoso honours an heretical pseudo-martyr let him be anathema. Hefele. This canon forbids the honouring of martyrs not belonging to the orthodox church. The number of Montanist martyrs of Phrygia was probably the occasion of this canon. The phrase which I have translated "to those who formerly were heretics" has caused great difficulty to all translators and scarcely two agree. Hammond reads "those who have been reputed to have been heretics;" and with him Fulton agrees, but wrongly (as I think) by omitting the "to." Lambert translates "to those who before were heretics" and correctly. With him agrees Van Espen, thus, *vel eos qui prius heretici fuere*.

CANON XXXV

Christians must not forsake the Church of God, and go away and invoke angels and gather assemblies, which things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one shall be found engaged in this covert idolatry, let him be anathema; for he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has gone over to idolatry.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXXV. Whoso calls assemblies in opposition to those of the Church and names angels, is near to idolatry and let him be

anathema. Van Espen. Whatever the worship of angels condemned by this canon may have been, one thing is manifest, that it was a species of idolatry, and detracted from the worship due to Christ. Theodoret makes mention of this superstitious cult in his exposition of the Text of St. Paul, Col. ii., 18, and when writing of its condemnation by this synod he says, "they were leading to worship angels such as were defending the Law; for, said they, the Law was given through angels. And this vice lasted for a long time in Phrygia and Pisidia. Therefore it was that the synod which met at Laodicea in Phrygia, prohibited by a canon, that prayer should be offered to angels, and even to-day an oratory of St. Michael can be seen among them, and their neighbours."

In the Capitular of Charlemagne, a.d. 789 (cap. xvi.), it is said, "In that same council (Laodicea) it was ordered that angels should not be given unknown names, and that such should not be affixed to them, but that only they should be named by the names which we have by authority. These are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael." And then is subjoined the present canon. The canon forbids "to name" (onomazein) angels, and this was understood as meaning to give them names instead of to call upon them by name. Perchance the authors of the Capitular had in mind the Roman Council under Pope Zachary, a.d. 745, against Aldebert, who was found to invoke by name eight angels in his prayers. It should be noted that some Latin versions of great authority and antiquity read *angulos* for *angelos*. This would refer to doing these idolatrous rites in corners, hiddenly, secretly, occulte as in the Latin. But this reading, though so respectable in the Latin, has no Greek authority for it.

This canon has often been used in controversy as condemning the cultus which the Catholic Church has always given to the angels, but those who would make such a use of this canon should explain how these interpretations can be consistent with the cultus of the Martyrs so evidently approved by the same council; and how this canon came to be accepted by the Fathers of the Second Council of Nice, if it condemned the then universal practice of the Church, East and West. Cf. Forbes, *Considerationes Modestae*.

CANON XXXVI

They who are of the priesthood, or of the clergy, shall not be magicians, enchanters, mathematicians, or astrologers; nor shall they make what are

called amulets, which are chains for their own souls. And those who wear such, we command to be cast out of the Church.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XXXVI. Whoso will be priest must not be a magician, nor one who uses incantations, or mathematical or astrological charms, nor a putter on of amulets. Some interesting and valuable information on charms will be found in Ducange (*Glossarium*, s. v. *Phylacterea*). Balsamon. "Magicians" are those who for any purpose call Satan to their aid. "Enchantors" are those who sing charms or incantations, and through them draw demons to obey them. "Mathematicians" are they who hold the opinion that the celestial bodies rule the universe, and that all earthly things are ruled by their influence. "Astrologers" are they who divine by the stars through the agency of demons, and place their faith in them. Van Espen. Zonaras also notes that the science of mathematics or astronomy is not at all hereby forbidden to the clergy, but the excess and abuse of that science, which even more easily may happen in the case of clergymen and consecrated persons than in that of laymen.

CANON XXXVII

IT is not lawful to receive portions sent from the feasts of Jews or heretics, nor to feast together with them.

CANON XXXVIII

IT is not lawful to receive unleavened bread from the Jews, nor to be partakers of their impiety.

CANON XXXIX

IT is not lawful to feast together with the heathen, and to be partakers of their godlessness.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canons XXXVII., XXXVIII., and XXXIX. Thou shalt not keep feasts with Hebrews or heretics, nor receive festival offerings from them. Balsamon. Read canon lxx. and canon lxxj. of the Holy Apostles, and Canon lx of the Synod of Carthage. Aristenus. Light hath no communion with darkness. Therefore no Christian should celebrate a feast with heretics or Jews, neither should he receive anything connected with these feasts such as azymes and the like.

CANON XL

Bishops called to a synod must not be guilty of contempt, but must attend, and either teach, or be taught, for the reformation of the Church and of others. And if such an one shall be guilty of contempt, he will condemn himself, unless he be detained by ill health.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XL. Whoso summoned to a synod shall spurn the invitation, unless hindered by the force of circumstances, shall not be free from blame. Hefele. By *anomalía*, illness is commonly understood, and Dionysius Exiguus and Isidore translated it, the former *aegritudinem*, and the latter *infirmatatem*. But Balsamon justly remarks that the term has a wider meaning, and, besides cases of illness includes other unavoidable hinderances or obstacles. This Canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. XVIII., c. v.

CANON XLI

None of the priesthood nor of the clergy may go on a journey, without the bidding of the Bishop.

CANON XLII

None of the priesthood nor of the clergy may travel without letters canonical.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome OF Canons XLI. And XLII. No clergyman shall undertake a journey without canonical letters or unless he is ordered to do so. Van Espen. (On Canon xli.) It is well known that according to the true discipline of the Church no one should be ordained unless he be attached to some church, which as an ecclesiastical soldier he shall fight for and preserve. As, then, a secular soldier cannot without his prefect's bidding leave his post and go to another, so the canons decree that no one in the ranks of the ecclesiastical military can travel about except at the bidding of the bishop who is in command of the army. A slight trace of this discipline is observed even to-day in the fact that priests of other dioceses are not allowed to celebrate unless they are provided with Canonical letters or testimonials from their own bishops. (On Canon xlii.)

The whole subject of Commendatory and other letters is treated of in the note to Canon VIII. of the Council of Antioch. Canon xli. is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars III., Dist. V., De Consecrat., can. xxxvj. Canon xli. is appended to the preceding, but, curiously enough, limited to laymen, reading as follows: "a layman also without canonical letters," that is "formed letters," should not travel anywhere. The Roman Correctors remark that in the Greek order this last is canon xli., and the former part of Gratian's canon, canon xli. of the Greek, but such is not the order of the Greek in Zonaras nor in Balsamon. The correctors add that in neither canon is there any mention made of laymen, nor in Dionysius's version; the *Prisca*, however, read for canon xli., "It is not right for a minister of the altar, even for a layman, to travel, etc."

CANON XLIII

The subdeacons may not leave the doors to engage in the prayer, even for a short time.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XLIII. A subdeacon should not leave the gates, even for a short time, to pray. On this canon the commentators find nothing to say in addition to their remarks on Canons xxj., and xxij., except that the "prayer" is not their own private prayer, but the prayer of the Liturgy. It has struck me that possibly when there was no deacon to sing the litany outside the Holy Gates while the priest was going on with the holy action within, subdeacons may have left their places at the doors, assumed the deacon's stole and done his part of the office, and that it was to prevent this abuse that this canon was enacted, the "prayer" being the litany. But as this is purely my own suggestion it is probably valueless.

CANON XLIV

Women may not go to the altar.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XLIV. The altar must not be approached by women. Van Espen. The discipline of this canon was often renewed even in the Latin Church, and therefore Balsamon unjustly attacks the Latins when he says; "Among the Latins women go without any shame up to the altar whenever they wish," For the Latins have forbidden and do forbid this approach of women to the altar no less than the Greeks; and look upon the

contrary custom as an abuse sprung of the insolence of the women and of the negligence of bishops and pastors. Zonaras. If it is prohibited to laymen to enter the Sanctuary by the lxixth canon of the Sixth synod [i.e. Quinisext], much more are women forbidden to do so who are unwillingly indeed, but yet truly, polluted by the monthly flux of blood.

CANON XLV

[Candidates] for baptism are not to be received after the second week in Lent.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XLV. After two weeks of Lent no one must be admitted for illumination, for all such should fast from its beginning. Van Espen. To the understanding of this canon it must be remembered that such of the Gentiles as desired to become Catholics and to be baptized, at first were privately instructed by the catechists. After this, having acquired some knowledge of the Christian religion, they were admitted to the public instructions given by the bishop in church; and were therefore called Audi-entes and for the first time properly-speaking Catechumens. But when these catechumens had been kept in this rank a sufficient time and had been there tried, they were allowed to go up to the higher grade called Genuflectentes. And when their exercises had been completed in this order they were brought by the catechists who had had the charge of them, to the bishop, that on the Holy Sabbath [Easter Even] they might receive baptism, and the catechumens gave their names at the same time, so that they might be set down for baptism at the coming Holy Sabbath.

Moreover we learn from St. Augustine (Serm. xiii., Ad Neophitos,) that the time for the giving in of the names was the beginning of Lent. This council therefore in this canon decrees that such as do not hand in their names at the beginning of Lent, but after two weeks are past, shall not be admitted to baptism on the next Holy Sabbath.

CANON XLVI

They who are to be baptized must learn the faith [Creed] by heart, and recite it to the bishop, or to the presbyters, on the fifth day of the week.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XLVI. Vide infra. Hefele. It is doubtful whether by the Thursday of the text was meant only the Thursday of Holy Week, or

every Thursday of the time during which the catechumens received instruction. The Greek commentators are in favour of the latter, but Dionysius Exiguus and Isidore, and after them Bingham, are, and probably rightly, in favour of the former meaning. This canon was repeated by the Trullan Synod in its seventy-eighth canon.

CANON XLVII

They who are baptized in sickness and afterwards recover, must learn the Creed by heart and know that the Divine gifts have been vouchsafed them.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canons XLVI. And XLVII. Whoso is baptised by a bishop or presbyter let him recite the faith on the fifth feria of the week. Also anyone baptized clinically a short while afterwards. Balsamon. Some unbelievers were baptized before they had been catechized, by reason of the urgency of the illness. Now some thought that as their baptism did not follow their being catechumens, they ought to be catechized and baptized over again. And in support of this opinion they urged Canon XII. of NeoCaesarea, which does not permit one clinically baptized to become a priest rashly. For this reason it is that the Fathers decree that such an one shall not be baptized a second time, but as soon as he gets well he shall learn the faith and the mystery of baptism, and to appreciate the divine gifts he has received, viz., the confession of the one true God and the remission of sins which comes to us in holy baptism.

CANON XLVIII

They who are baptized must after Baptism be anointed with the heavenly chrism, and be partakers of the Kingdom of Christ.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome OF Canon XLVIII. Those illuminated should after their baptism be anointed. Van Espen. That this canon refers to the anointing with chrism on the forehead of the baptized, that is to say of the sacrament of confirmation, is the unanimous opinion of the Greek commentators, and Balsamon notes that this anointing is not simply styled "chrism" but "the heavenly chrism," viz.: "that which is sanctified by holy prayers and through the invocation of the Holy Spirit; and those who are anointed therewith, it sanctifies and makes partakers of the kingdom of heaven." Aubespine. (Lib. i., Observat. cap. xv.) Formerly no one was esteemed worthy of the name

Christian or reckoned among the perfect who had not been confirmed and endowed with the gift of the Holy Ghost. The prayers for the consecration of the Holy Chrism according to the rites of the East and of the West should be carefully read by the student. Those of the East are found in the Euchologion, and those of the West in the Pontificale Romanum, De Officio in feria v. Coena Domini.

CANON XLIX

During Lent the Bread must not be offered except on the Sabbath Day and on the Lord's Day only.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon XLIX. In Lent the offering should be made only on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day. Hefele. This canon, which was repeated by the Trullan Synod in its fifty-second canon, orders that on ordinary week days during Lent, only a Missa Praesanctificationum should take place, as is still the custom with the Greeks on all days of penitence and mourning, when it appears to them unsuitable to have the full liturgy, and as Leo Allatius says, for this reason, that the consecration is a joyful act. A comparison of the above sixteenth canon, however, shows that Saturday was a special exception. To the Saturdays and Sundays mentioned by Hefele must be added the feast of the Annunciation, which is always solemnized with a full celebration of the Liturgy, even when it falls upon Good Friday.

CANON L

The fast must not be broken on the fifth day of the last week in Lent [i.e., on Maunday Thursday], and the whole of Lent be dishonoured; but it is necessary to fast during all the Lenten season by eating only dry meats.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon L. It is not right on the fifth feria of the last week of Lent to break the fast, and thus spoil the whole of Lent; but the whole of Lent should be kept with fasting on dry food. That long before the date of the Quinisext Synod the fasting reception of the Holy Eucharist was the universal law of the Church no one can doubt who has devoted the slightest study to the point. To produce the evidence here would be out of place, but the reader may be referred to the excellent presentation of it in Cardinal Bona's *De Rebus Liturgicis*. I shall here cite but one passage, from St. Augustine: "It is clear that when the disciples first received the body and

blood of the Lord they had not been fasting. Must we then censure the Universal Church because the sacrament is everywhere partaken of by persons fasting? Nay, verily; for from that time it pleased the Holy Spirit to appoint, for the honour of so great a sacrament, that the body of the Lord should take the precedence of all other food entering the mouth of a Christian; and it is for this reason that the custom referred to is universally observed. For the fact that the Lord instituted the sacrament after other food had been partaken of does not prove that brethren should come together to partake of that sacrament after having dined or supped, or imitate those whom the Apostle reprov'd and corrected for not distinguishing between the Lord's Supper and an ordinary meal. The Saviour, indeed, in order to commend the depths of that mystery more affectingly to his disciples, was pleased to impress it on their hearts and memories by making its institution his last act before going from them to his passion. And, therefore, he did not prescribe the order in which it was to be observed, reserving this to be done by the Apostles, through whom he intended to arrange all things pertaining to the churches. Had he appointed that the sacrament should be always partaken of after other food, I believe that no one would have departed from that practice.

But when the Apostle, speaking of this sacrament, says, 'Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another, and if any man hunger let him eat at home, that ye come not together unto condemnation,' he immediately adds, 'And the rest will I set in order when I come.' Whence we are given to understand that, since it was too much for him to prescribe completely in an epistle the method observed by the Universal Church throughout the world it was one of the things set in order by him in person; for we find its observance uniform amid all the variety of other customs." In fact the utter absurdity of the attempt to maintain the opposite cannot better be seen than in reading Kingdon's *Fasting Communion*, an example of special pleading and disingenuousness rarely equalled even in controversial theological literature. A brief but crushing refutation of the position taken by that writer will be found in an appendix to a pamphlet by H. P. Liddon, *Evening Communions contrary to the Teaching and Practice of the Church in all Ages*. But while this is true, it is also true that in some few places the custom had lingered on of making Maundy Thursday night an exception to this rule, and of having then a feast, in memory of our Lord's

Last Supper, and after this having a celebration of the Divine Mysteries. This is the custom which is prohibited by this canon, but it is manifest both from the wording of the canon itself and from the remarks of the Greek commentators that the custom was condemned not because it necessitated an unfasting reception of the Holy Eucharist, but because it connoted a feast which was a breaking of the Lenten fast and a dishonour to the whole of the holy season. It is somewhat curious and a trifle amusing to read Zonaras gravely arguing the point as to whether the drinking of water is forbidden by this canon because it speaks of "dry meats," which he decides in the negative!

Balsamon. Those, therefore, who without being ill, fast on oil and shell-fish, do contrary to this law; and much more they who eat on the fourth and sixth ferias fish.

CANON LI

The nativities of Martyrs are not to be celebrated in Lent, but commemorations of the holy Martyrs are to be made on the Sabbaths and Lord's days.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LI. Commemorations of Martyrs shall only be held on Lord's days and Sabbaths. By this canon all Saints-days are forbidden to be observed in Lent on the days on which they fall, but must be transferred to a Sabbath or else to the Sunday, when they can be kept with the festival service of the full liturgy and not with the penitential incompleteness of the Mass of the Presanctified. Compare canon xlix. of this Synod, and canon lii. of the Quinisext Council. Balsamon. The whole of Lent is a time of grief for our sins, and the memories of the Saints are not kept except on the Sabbaths. Van Espen remarks how in old calendars there are but few Saints-days in those months in which Lent ordinarily falls, and that the multitude of days now kept by the Roman ordo are mostly of modern introduction.

CANON LII

Marriages and birthday feasts are not to be celebrated in Lent.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LII. Marriage shall not be celebrated in Lent, nor birthdays. Hefele. By "birthday feasts" in this canon the natalitia martyrum is not to be understood as in the preceding canon, but the birthday feasts

of princes. This, as well as the preceding rule, was renewed in the sixth century by Bishop Martin of Bracara, now Braga, in Portugal.

CANON LIII

Christians, when they attend weddings, must not join in wanton dances, but modestly dine or breakfast, as is becoming to Christians.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LIII. It is unsuitable to dance or leap at weddings. Van Espen. This canon does not call for explanation but for reflection, and greatly it is to be desired that it should be observed by Christians, and that through like improprieties, wedding-days, which should be days of holy joy and blessing, be not turned, even to the bride and groom themselves, into days of cursing. Moreover the Synod of Trent admonishes bishops (Sess. xxiv., De Reform. Mat., cap. x.) to take care that at weddings there be only that which is modest and proper.

CANON LIV

Members of the priesthood and of the clergy must not witness the plays at weddings or banquets; but, before the players enter, they must rise and depart.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LIV. Priests and clerics should leave before the play. Aristenus. Christians are admonished to feast modestly when they go to weddings and not to dance nor ballizein, that is to clap their hands and make a noise with them. For this is unworthy of the Christian standing. But consecrated persons must not see the play at weddings, but before the thymelici begin, they must go out. Compare with this Canons XXIV. and LI., of the Synod in Trullo. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars III., De But Consecrat. Dist. v., can. xxxvij.

CANON LV

Neither members of the priesthood nor of the clergy, nor yet laymen, may club together for drinking entertainments.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LV. Neither a layman nor a cleric shall celebrate a club feast. These meals, the expenses of which were defrayed by a number clubbing together and sharing the cost, were called "symbola" by Isidore, and

by Melinus and Crabbe "comissalia," although the more ordinary form is "commensalia" or "comessalia." Cf. Ducange Gloss., s.v. Commensalia and Confertum. This Canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. XLIV., c. x. (Isidore's version), and c. xij., (Martin of Braga's version).

CANON LVI

Presbyters may not enter and take their seats in the bema before the entrance of the Bishop: but they must enter with the Bishop, unless he be at home sick, or absent.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LVI. A presbyter shall not enter the bema before the bishop, nor sit down. It is difficult to translate this canon without giving a false idea of its meaning. It does not determine the order of dignity in an ecclesiastical procession, but something entirely different, viz., it provides that when the bishop enters the sanctuary he should not be alone and walk into a place already occupied, but that he should have with him, as a guard of honour, the clergy. Whether these should walk before or after him would be a mere matter of local custom, the rule *juniores priores* did not universally prevail. This canon is found in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Gratian's Decretum, Pars I., Dist. XCV., can. viij.

CANON LVII

Bishops must not be appointed in villages or country districts, but visitors; and those who have been already appointed must do nothing without the consent of the bishop of the city. Presbyters, in like manner, must do nothing without the consent of the bishop.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LVII. A bishop shall not be established in a village or in the country, but a *periodeutes*. But should one be appointed he shall not perform any function without the bishop of the city. On the whole subject of *Chorepiscopi* see the Excursus to Canon VIII. of Nice, in this volume. Hefele. Compare the eighth and tenth canons of the Synod of Antioch of 341, the thirteenth of the Synod of Ancyra, and the second clause of the sixth canon of the Synod of Sardica. The above canon orders that from henceforth, in the place of the rural bishops, priests of higher rank shall act as visitors of the country dioceses and country clergy. Dionysius Exiguus,

Isidore, the Greek commentators, Van Espen, Remi Ceillier, Neander, and others thus interpret this canon; but Herbst, in the Tübingen Review, translates the word (*periodeutai*;) not visitors but physicians—physicians of the soul,—and for this he appeals to passages from the Fathers of the Church collected by Suicer in his *Thesaurus*.

This canon is found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Pars I., Dist. LXXX., c. v.

CANON LVIII

The Oblation must not be made by bishops or presbyters in any private houses.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LVIII. Neither a bishop nor a presbyter shall make the offering in private houses. Van Espen. By "the oblation" here is intended the oblation of the unbloody sacrifice according to the mind of the Greek interpreters. Zonaras says: "The faithful can pray to God and be intent upon their prayers everywhere, whether in the house, in the field, or in any place they possess: but to offer or perform the oblation must by no means be done except in a church and at an altar."

CANON LIX

No psalms composed by private individuals nor any uncanonical books may be read in the church, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LIX. Psalms of private origin, or books uncanonical are not to be sung in temples; but the canonical writings of the old and new testaments. Hefele. Several heretics, for instance Bardesanes, Paul of Samosata, and Apollinaris—had composed psalms, i.e., Church hymns. The Synod of Laodicea forbade the use of any composed by private individuals, namely all unauthorized Church hymns. Luft remarks that by this it was not intended to forbid the use of all but the Bible psalms and hymns, for it is known that even after this Synod many hymns composed by individual Christians, for instance, Prudentius, Clement, Ambrose, came into use in the Church. Only those not sanctioned were to be banished. This idea was greatly exaggerated by some Gallicans in the seventeenth century who wished that all the Antiphons, etc., should be in the words of Holy Scripture.

A learned but somewhat distorted account of this whole matter will be found in the *Institutions Liturgiques* by Dom Prosper Gueranger, tome ij., and a shorter but more temperate account in Dr. Batiffol's *Histoire du Breviaire Romain*, Chap. vj.

CANON LX

[N. B.-This Canon is of most questionable genuineness.] These are all the books of Old Testament appointed to be read: 1, Genesis of the world; 2, The Exodus from Egypt; 3, Leviticus; 4, Numbers; 5, Deuteronomy; 6, Joshua, the son of Nun; 7, Judges, Ruth; 8, Esther; 9, Of the Kings, First and Second; 10, Of the Kings, Third and Fourth; 11, Chronicles, First and Second; 12, Esdras, First and Second; 13, The Book of Psalms; 14, The Proverbs of Solomon; 15, Ecclesiastes; 16, The Song of Songs; 17, Job; 18, The Twelve Prophets; 19, Isaiah; 20, Jeremiah, and Baruch, the Lamentations, and the Epistle; 21, Ezekiel; 22, Daniel. And these are the books of the New Testament: Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; The Acts of the Apostles; Seven Catholic Epistles, to wit, one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude; Fourteen Epistles of Paul, one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, one to the Hebrews, two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon.

Notes.

Ancient Epitome of Canon LX. But of the new, the four Gospels-of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke, of John ; Acts; Seven Catholic epistles, viz. of James one, of Peter two, of John three, of Jude one ; of Paul fourteen, viz.: to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Phillipians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two, to the Hebrews one, to Timothy two, to Titus one, and to Philemon one. It will be noticed that while this canon has often been used for controversial purposes it really has little or no value in this connexion, for the absence of the Revelation of St. John from the New Testament to all orthodox Christians is, to say the least, as fatal to its reception as an ecumenical definition of the canon of Holy Scripture, as the absence of the book of Wisdom, etc., from the Old Testament is to its reception by those who accept the books of what we may call for convenience the Greek canon, as distinguished from the Hebrew, as canonical.

We may therefore leave this question wholly out of account, and merely consider the matter from the evidence we possess. In 1777 Spittler published a special treatise to shew that the list of scriptural books was no part of the original canon adopted by Laodicea. Hefele gives the following resume of his argument: (a) That Dionysius Exiguus has not this canon in his translation of the Laodicean decrees. It might, indeed, be said with Dallaeus and Van Espen, that Dionysius omitted this list of the books of Scripture because in Rome, where he composed his work, another by Innocent I. was in general use. (b) But, apart from the fact that Dionysius is always a most faithful translator, this sixtieth canon is also omitted by John of Antioch, one of the most esteemed and oldest Greek collectors of canons, who could have had no such reasons as Dionysius for his omission.

(c) Lastly, Bishop Martin of Braga in the sixth century, though he has the fifty-ninth, has also not included in his collection the sixtieth canon so nearly related to it, nor does the Isidorian translation appear at first to have had this canon. Herbst, in the Tübingen Review, also accedes to these arguments of Spittler's, as did Fuchs and others before him. Mr. Ffoulkes in his article on the Council of Laodicea in Smith and Cheetham's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities at length attempts to refute all objections, and affirms the genuineness of the list, but his conclusions can hardly be accepted when the careful consideration and discussion of the matter by Bishop Westcott is kept in mind. (*History of the Canon of the New Testament*, IIID. Period, chapter ii. [p. 428 of the 4th Edition.])

P A R T T H R E E

The Apostolic Constitutions, Books I–IV

*The first four books of the great Syrian collection of church law:
the laity, the bishop, widows, and the care of the poor.*

Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Book 1

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

c. AD 380

Book 1 of the Apostolic Constitutions, on the laity: how they are to live with one another and with the poor, how they are to bear injuries, and what Scripture they are to read.

Concerning the Laity. — Sec. I.—General Commandments.

¹ The apostles and elders to all those who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; grace and peace from Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you in the acknowledgment of Him. The Catholic Church is the plantation of God and His beloved vineyard; containing those who have believed in His unerring divine religion; who are the heirs by faith of His everlasting kingdom; who are partakers of His divine influence, and of the communication of the Holy Spirit; who are armed through Jesus, and have received His fear into their hearts; who enjoy the benefit of the sprinkling of the precious and innocent blood of Christ; who have free liberty to call Almighty God, Father; being fellow-heirs and joint-partakers of His beloved Son: hearken to this holy doctrine, you who enjoy His promises, as being delivered by the command of your Saviour, and agreeable to His glorious words. Take care, ye children of God, to do all things in obedience to God; and in all things please Christ our Lord. For if any man follows unrighteousness, and does those things that are contrary to the will of God, such a one will be esteemed by God as the disobedient heathen.

Concerning Covetousness.

² I. Abstain, therefore, from all unlawful desires and injustice. For it is written in the law, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything

that is thy neighbour's; " for all coveting of these things is from the evil one. For he that covets his neighbour's wife, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, is already in his mind an adulterer and a thief; and if he does not repent, is condemned by our Lord Jesus Christ: through whom glory be to God for ever, Amen. For He says in the Gospel, recapitulating, and confirming, and fulfilling the ten commandments of the law: "It is written in the law, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that is, I said in the law, by Moses. But now I say unto you myself, Whosoever shall look on his neighbour's wife to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. Such a one is condemned of adultery, who covets his neighbour's wife in his mind. But does not he that covets an ox or an ass design to steal them to apply them to his own use, and to lead them away? Or, again, does not he that covets a field, and continues in such a disposition, wickedly contrive how to remove the landmarks, and to compel the possessor to part with somewhat for nothing? For as the prophet somewhere speaks:

3 "Woe to those who join house to house, and lay field to field, that they may deprive their neighbour of somewhat which was his. Wherefore he says: "Must you alone inhabit the earth? For these things have been heard in the ears of the Lord of hosts. And elsewhere: "Cursed be he who removeth his neighbour's landmarks: and all the people shall say, Amen. Wherefore Moses says: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmarks which thy fathers have set. Upon this account, therefore, terrors, death, tribunals, and condemnations follow such as these from God. But as to those who are obedient to God, there is one law of God, simple, true, living, which is this: "Do not that to another which thou hatest another should do to thee. Thou wouldst not that any one should look upon thy wife with an evil design to corrupt her; do not thou, therefore, look upon thy neighbour's wife with a wicked intention. Thou wouldst not that thy garment should be taken away; do not thou therefore, take away another's. Thou wouldst not be beaten, reproached, affronted; do not thou, therefore, serve any other in the like manner.

That We Ought Not to Return Injuries, Nor Revenge Ourselves on Him that Does Us Wrong.

4 II. But if any one curse thee, do thou bless him. For it is written in the book of Numbers: "He that blesseth thee is blessed, and he that curseth thee is cursed." In the same manner it is written in the Gospel: "Bless them that

curse you." Being injured, do not avenge yourselves, but bear it with patience; for the Scripture speaks thus: "Say not thou, I will avenge myself on my enemy for what injuries he has offered me; but acquiesce under them, that the Lord may right thee, and bring vengeance upon him who injures thee." For so says He again in the Gospel: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; and ye shall be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and raineth on the just and unjust." Let us therefore, beloved, attend to these commandments, that we may be found to be the children of light by doing them. Bear, therefore, with one another, ye servants and sons of God.

Sec. II.-Commandments to Men. Concerning the Adornment of Ourselves, and the Sin Which Arises from Thence.

5 Let the husband not be insolent nor arrogant towards his wife; but compassionate, bountiful, willing to please his own wife alone, and treat her honourably and obligingly, endeavouring to be agreeable to her; (III. not adorning thyself in such a manner as may entice another woman to thee. For if thou art overcome by her, and sinnest with her, eternal death will overtake thee from God; and thou wilt be punished with sensible and bitter torments. Or if thou dost not perpetrate such a wicked act, but shakest her off, and refusest her, in this case thou art not wholly innocent, even though thou art not guilty of the crime itself, but only in so far as through thy adorning thou didst entice the woman to desire thee. For thou art the cause that the woman was so affected, and by her lusting after thee was guilty of adultery with thee: yet art thou not so guilty, because thou didst not send to her, who was ensnared by thee; nor didst thou desire her. Since, therefore, thou didst not deliver up thyself to her, thou shalt find mercy with the Lord thy God, who hath said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and, "Thou shalt not covet.

6 For if such a woman, upon sight of thee, or unseasonable meeting with thee, was smitten in her mind, and sent to thee, but thou as a religious person didst refuse her, if she was wounded in her heart by thy beauty, and youth, and adorning, and fell in love with thee, thou wilt be found guilty of her transgressions, as having been the occasion of scandal to her, and shalt inherit a woe. Wherefore pray thou to the Lord God that no mischief may befall thee upon this account: for thou art not to please men, so as to commit sin; but God, so as to attain holiness of life, and be partaker of everlasting

rest. That beauty which God and nature has bestowed on thee, do not further beautify; but modestly diminish it before men. Thus, do not thou permit the hair of thy head to grow too long, but rather cut it short; lest by a nice combing thy hair, and wearing it long, and anointing thyself, thou draw upon thyself such ensnared or ensnaring women. Neither do thou wear over-fine garments to seduce any; neither do thou, with an evil subtilty, affect over-fine stockings or shoes for thy feet, but only such as suit the measures of decency and usefulness. Neither do thou put a gold ring upon thy fingers; for all these ornaments are the signs of lasciviousness, which if thou be solicitous about in an indecent manner, thou wilt not act as becomes a good man:

7 for it is not lawful for thee, a believer and a man of God, to permit the hair of thy head to grow long, and to brush it up together, nor to suffer it to spread abroad, nor to puff it up, nor by nice combing and platting to make it curl and shine; since that is contrary to the law, which says thus, in its additional precepts: "You shall not make to yourselves curls and round rasures. Nor may men destroy the hair of their beards, and unnaturally change the form of a man. For the law says: "Ye shall not mar your beards. For God the Creator has made this decent for women, but has determined that it is unsuitable for men. But if thou do these things to please men, in contradiction to the law, thou wilt be abominable with God, who created thee after His own image. If, therefore, thou wilt be acceptable to God, abstain from all those things which He hates, and do none of those things that are unpleasant to Him.

That We Ought Not to Be Over-Curious About Those Who Live Wickedly, But to Be Intent Upon Our Own Proper Employment.

8 IV. Thou shalt not be as a wanderer and gadder abroad, rambling about the streets, without just cause, to spy out such as live wickedly. But by minding thy own trade and employment, endeavour to do what is acceptable to God. And keeping in mind the oracles of Christ, meditate in the same continually. For so the Scripture says to thee: "Thou shalt meditate in His law day and night; when thou walkest in the field, and when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up, that thou mayest have understanding in all things." Nay, although thou beest rich, and so dost not want a trade for thy maintenance, be not one that gads about, and walks abroad at random; but either go to some that are believers, and of the same

religion, and confer and discourse with them about the lively oracles of God:-

What Books of Scripture We Ought to Read.

9 V. Or if thou stayest at home, read the books of the Law, of the Kings, with the Prophets; sing the hymns of David; and peruse diligently the Gospel, which is the completion of the other.

That We Ought to Abstain from All the Books of Those that are Out of the Church.

10 VI. Abstain from all the heathen books. For what hast thou to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, which subvert the faith of the unstable? For what defect dost thou find in the law of God, that thou shouldest have recourse to those heathenish fables? For if thou hast a mind to read history, thou hast the books of the Kings; if books of wisdom or poetry, thou hast those of the Prophets, of Job, and the Proverbs, in which thou wilt find greater depth of sagacity than in all the heathen poets and sophisters, because these are the words of the Lord, the only wise God. If thou desirest something to sing, thou hast the Psalms; if the origin of things, thou hast Genesis; if laws and statutes, thou hast the glorious law of the Lord God. Do thou therefore utterly abstain from all strange and diabolical books. Nay, when thou readest the law, think not thyself bound to observe the additional precepts; though not all of them, yet some of them. Read those barely for the sake of history, in order to the knowledge of them, and to glorify God that He has delivered thee from such great and so many bonds. Propose to thyself to distinguish what rules were from the law of nature, and what were added afterwards, or were such additional rules as were introduced and given in the wilderness to the Israelites after the making of the calf;

11 for the law contains those precepts which were spoken by the Lord God before the people fell into idolatry, and made a calf like the Egyptian Apis—that is, the ten commandments. But as to those bonds which were further laid upon them after they had sinned, do not thou draw them upon thyself: for our Saviour came for no other reason but that He might deliver those that were obnoxious thereto from the wrath which was reserved for them, that He might fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and that He might abrogate or change those secondary bonds which were superadded to the rest of the law. For therefore did He call to us and say, "Come unto me", all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. When, therefore, thou

hast read the Law, which is agreeable to the Gospel and to the Prophets, read also the books of the Kings, that thou mayest thereby learn which of the kings were righteous, and how they were prospered by God, and how the promise of eternal life continued with them from Him; but those kings which went a-whoring from God did soon perish in their apostasy by the righteous judgment of God, and were deprived of His life, inheriting, instead of rest, eternal punishment. Wherefore by reading these books thou wilt be mightily strengthened in the faith, and edified in Christ, whose body and member thou art.

12 Moreover, when thou walkest abroad in public, and hast a mind to bathe, make use of that bath which is appropriated to men, lest, by discovering thy body in an unseemly manner to women, or by seeing a sight not seemly for men, either thou beest ensnared, or thou ensnarest and enticest to thyself those women who easily yield to such temptations. Take care, therefore, and avoid such things, lest thou admit a snare upon thy own soul.

Concerning a Bad Woman.

13 VII. For let us learn what the sacred word says in the book of Wisdom: "My son, keep my words, and hide my commandments with thee. Say unto Wisdom, Thou art my sister; and make understanding familiar with thee: that she may keep thee from the strange and wicked woman, in case such a one accost thee with sweet words. For from the window of her house she looks into the street, to see if she can espy some young man among the foolish children, without Understanding, walking in the market-place, in the meeting of the street near her house, and talking in the dusk of the evening, or in the silence and darkness of the night. A woman meets him in the appearance of an harlot, who steals away the hearts of young persons. She rambles about and is dissolute; her feet abide not in her house sometimes she is without, sometimes in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner. Then she catches him, and kisses him, and with an impudent face says unto him, I have peace-offerings with me; this day do I pay my vows: therefore came I forth to meet thee; earnestly I have desired thy face, and I have found thee. I have decked my bed with coverings; with tapestry from Egypt have I adorned it. I have perfumed my bed with saffron, and my house with cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning; come, let us solace ourselves with love," etc. To which he adds:

¹⁴ "With much discourse she seduced him, with snares from her lips she forced him. He goes after her like a silly bird. And again: "Do not hearken to a wicked woman; for though the lips of an harlot are like drops from an honey-comb, which for a while is smooth in thy throat, yet afterwards thou wilt find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than any two-edged sword. And again: "But get away quickly, and tarry not fix not thine eyes upon her: for she hath thrown down many wounded; yea, innumerable multitudes have been slain by her. "If not," says he, "yet thou wilt repent at the last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed, and wilt say, How have I hated instruction, and my heart has avoided the reproofs of the righteous! I have not hearkened to the voice of my instructor, nor inclined mine ear to my teacher. I have almost been in all evil. But we will make no more quotations; and if we have omitted any, be so prudent as to select the most valuable out of the Holy Scriptures, and confirm yourselves with them, rejecting all things that are evil, that so you may be found holy with God in eternal life.

Sec. III.-Commandments to Women. Concerning the Subjection of a Wife to Her Husband, and that She Must Be Loving and Modest.

¹⁵ VIII. Let the wife be obedient to her own proper husband, because "the husband is the head of the wife. But Christ is the head of that husband who walks in the way of righteousness; and "the head of Christ is God," even His Father. Therefore, O wife, next after the Almighty, our God and Father, the Lord of the present world and of the world to come, the Maker of everything that breathes, and of every power; and after His beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom glory be to God, do thou fear thy husband, and reverence him, pleasing him alone, rendering thyself acceptable to him in the several affairs of life, that so on thy account thy husband may be called blessed, according to the Wisdom of Solomon, which thus speaks: "Who can find a virtuous woman? for such a one is more precious than costly stones. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that she shall have no need of spoil: for she does good to her husband all the days of her life. She buyeth wool and flax, and worketh profitable things-with her hands. She is like the merchants ships, she bringeth her food from far. She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth" meat to her household, and food to her maidens. She considereth a field, and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She tasteth that it is good to labour;

¹⁶ her lamp goeth not out all the whole night. She stretcheth out her arms for useful work, and layeth her hands to the spindle. She openeth her hands to the needy; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the poor. Her husband takes no care of the affairs of his house; for all that are with her are clothed with double garments. She maketh coats for her husband, clothings of silk and purple. Her husband is eminent in the gates, when he sitteth with the elders of the land. She maketh fine linen, and selleth it to the Phoenicians, and girdles to the Canaanites. She is clothed with glory and beauty, and she rejoices in the last days. She openeth her mouth with wisdom and discretion, and puts her words in order. The ways of her household are strict; she eateth not the bread of idleness. She will open her mouth with wisdom and caution, and upon her tongue are the laws of mercy. Her children arise up and praise her for her riches, and her husband joins in her praises. Many daughters have obtained wealth and done worthily, but thou surpassest and excellest them all. May lying flatteries and the vain beauty of a wife be far from thee. For a religious wife is blessed. Let her praise the fear of the Lord: give her of the fruits of her lips, and let her husband be praised in the gates. And again: "A virtuous wife is a crown to her husband. And again: "Many wives have built an house.

¹⁷ You have learned what great commendations a prudent and loving wife receives from the Lord God. If thou desirest to be one of the faithful, and to please the Lord, O wife, do not superadd ornaments to thy beauty, in order to please other men; neither affect to wear fine broidering, garments, or shoes, to entice those who are allured by such things. For although thou dost not these wicked things with design of sinning thyself, but only for the sake of ornament and beauty, yet wilt thou not so escape future punishment, as having compelled another to look so hard at thee as to lust after thee, and as not having taken care both to avoid sin thyself, and the affording scandal to others. But if thou yield thyself up, and commit the crime, thou art both guilty of thy own sin, and the cause of the ruin of the other's soul also. Besides, when thou hast committed lewdness with one man, and beginnest to despair, thou wilt again turn away from thy duty, and follow others, and grow past feeling; as says the divine word: "When a wicked man comes into the depth of evil, he becomes a scorner, and then disgrace and reproach come upon him. For such a woman afterward being wounded, ensnares without restraint the souls of the foolish. Let us learn, therefore, how the di-

vine word, triumphs over such women, saying: "I hated a woman who is a snare and net to the heart of men worse than death; her hands are fetters.

¹⁸ And in another passage: "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is beauty in a wicked woman. And again: "As a worm in wood, so does a wicked woman destroy her husband. And again: "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a contentious and an angry woman. You, therefore, who are Christian women, do not imitate such as these. But thou who designest to be faithful to thine own husband, take care to please him alone. And when thou art in the streets, cover thy head; for by such a covering thou wilt avoid being viewed of idle persons. Do not paint thy face, which is God's workmanship; for there is no part of thee which wants ornament, inasmuch as all things which God has made are very good. But the lascivious additional adorning of what is already good is an affront to the bounty of the Creator. Look downward when thou walkest abroad, veiling thyself as becomes women.

That a Woman Must Not Bathe with Men.

¹⁹ IX. Avoid also that disorderly practice of bathing in the same place with men; for many are the nets of the evil one. And let not a Christian woman bathe with an hermaphrodite; for if she is to veil her face, and conceal it with modesty from strange men, how can she bear to enter naked into the bath together with men? But if the bath be appropriated to women, let her bathe orderly, modestly, and moderately. But let her not bathe without occasion, nor much, nor often, nor in the middle of the day, nor, if possible, every day; and let the tenth hour of the day be the set time for such seasonable bathing. For it is convenient that thou, who art a Christian woman, shouldst ever constantly avoid a curiosity which has many eyes.

Concerning a Contentious and Brawling Woman.

²⁰ X. But as to a spirit of contention, be sure to curb it as to all men, but principally as to thine husband; lest, if he be an unbeliever or an heathen, he may have an occasion of scandal or of blaspheming God, and thou be partaker of a woe from God. For, says He, "Woe to him by whom My name is blasphemed among the Gentiles;" and lest, if thy husband be a Christian, he be forced, from his knowledge of the Scriptures, to say that which is written in the book of Wisdom: "It is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and an angry woman." You wives, therefore, demonstrate your

piety by your modesty and meekness to all without the Church, whether they be women or men, in order to their conversion and improvement in the faith. And since we have warned you, and instructed you briefly, whom we do esteem our sisters, daughters, and members, as being wise yourselves, persevere all your lives in an unblameable course of life. Seek to know such kind of learning whereby you may arrive at the kingdom of our Lord, and please Him, and so rest for ever and ever. Amen.

Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Book 2

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

c. AD 380

Book 2, on the bishop: what he must be, how he is to judge, to teach and to receive offenders, and what the deacons, the presbyters and the people owe to him.

Of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. — Sec. I.—On Examining Candidates for the Episcopal Office. That a Bishop Must Be Well Instructed and Experienced in the Word.

1 I. But concerning bishops, we have heard from our Lord, that a pastor who is to be ordained a bishop for the churches in every parish, must be unblameable, unreprouable, free from all kinds of wickedness common among men, not under fifty years of age; for such a one is in good part past youthful disorders, and the slanders of the heathen, as well as the reproaches which are sometimes cast upon many persons by some false brethren, who do not consider the word of God in the Gospel: "Whosoever speaketh an idle word shall give an account thereof to the Lord in the day of judgment. And again: "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned. Let him therefore, if it is possible, be well educated; but if he be unlettered, let him at any rate be skilful in the word, and of competent age. But if in a small parish one advanced in years is not to be found, let some younger person, who has a good report among his neighbours, and is esteemed by them worthy of the office of a bishop,—who has carried himself from his youth with meekness and regularity, like a much elder person,—after examination, and a general good report, be ordained in peace. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of Israel, and Josiah at eight years of age reigned righteously, and in like manner Joash governed the people at seven years of age.

2 Wherefore, although the person be young, let him be meek, gentle, and quiet. For the Lord God says by Esaias: "Upon whom will I look, but upon him who is humble and quiet, and always trembles at my words? " In like manner it is in the Gospel also: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Let him also be merciful; for again it is said: "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Let him also be a peacemaker; for again it is said: "Blessed sons of God. Let him also be one of a good conscience, purified from all evil, and wickedness, and unrighteousness; for it is said again: "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

What Ought to Be the Characters of a Bishop and of the Rest of the Clergy.

3 II. Let him therefore be sober, prudent, decent, firm, stable, not given to wine; no striker, but gentle; not a brawler, not covetous; "not a novice, test, being puffed up with pride, be fall into condemnation, and the snare of the devil: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abused." Such a one a bishop ought to be, who has been the "husband of one wife," who also has herself had no other husband, "ruling well his own house." In this manner let examination be made when he is to receive ordination, and to be placed in his bishopric, whether he be grave, faithful, decent; whether he hath a grave and faithful-wife, or has formerly had such a one; whether he hath educated his children piously, and has "brought them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; " whether his domestics do fear and reverence him, and are all obedient to him: for if those who are immediately about him for worldly concerns are seditious and disobedient, how will others not of his family, when they are under his management, become obedient to him?

In What Things a Bishop is to Be Examined Before He is Ordained.

4 III. Let examination also be made whether he be unblameable as to the concerns of this life; for it is written: "Search diligently for all the faults of him who is to be ordained for the priesthood."

Sec. II.-On the Character and Teaching of the Bishop.

5 On which account let him also be void of anger; for Wisdom says: "Anger destroys even the prudent." Let him also be merciful, of a generous and loving temper; for our Lord says: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." Let him be also ready to give, a lover of the widow and the stranger; ready to serve, and minister, and attend; resolute in his duty; and let him know who is the most worthy of his assistance. That

Charitable Distributions are Not to Be Made to Every Widow, But that Sometimes a Woman Who Has a Husband is to Be Preferred: and that No Distributions are to Be Made to Any One Who is Given to Gluttony, Drunkenness, and Idleness. IV. For if there be a widow who is able to support herself, and another woman who is not a widow, but is needy by reason of sickness, or the bringing up many children, or infirmity of her hands, let him stretch out his hand in charity rather to this latter. But if any one be in want by gluttony, drunkenness, or idleness, he does not deserve any assistance, or to be esteemed a member of the Church of God. For the Scripture, speaking of such persons, says: "The slothful hideth his hand in his bosom, and is not able to bring it to his mouth again." And again: "The sluggard folds up his hands, and eats his own flesh." "For every drunkard and whoremonger shall come to poverty, and every drowsy person shall be clothed with tatters and rags." And in another passage: "If thou give thine eyes to drinking and cups, thou shalt afterwards walk more naked than a pestle." For certainly idleness is the mother of famine.

That a Bishop Must Be No Acceptor of Persons in Judgment; That He Must Possess a Gentle Disposition, and Be Temperate in His Mode of Life.

6 V. A bishop must be no acceptor of persons; neither revering nor flattering a rich man contrary to what is right, nor overlooking nor domineering over a poor man. For, says God to Moses, "Thou shalt not accept the person of the rich, nor shalt thou pity a poor man in his cause: for the judgment is the Lord's." And again: "Thou shalt with exact justice follow that which is right" Let a bishop be frugal, and contented with a little in his meat and drink, that he may be ever in a sober frame, and disposed to instruct and admonish the ignorant; and let him not be costly in his diet, a pamperer of himself, given to pleasure, or fond of delicacies. Let him be patient and gentle in his admonitions, well instructed himself, meditating in and diligently studying the Lord's books, and reading them frequently, that so he may be able carefully to interpret the Scriptures, expounding the Gospel in correspondence with the prophets and with the law; and let the expositions from the law and the prophets correspond to the Gospel. For the Lord Jesus says: "Search the Scriptures; for they are those which testify of me." And again: "For Moses wrote of me." But, above all, let him carefully distinguish between the original law and the additional precepts, and show which are the laws for believers, and which the bonds for the unbelievers, lest any should fall under

those bonds. Be careful, therefore, O bishop, to study the word, that thou mayest be able to explain everything exactly, and that thou mayest copiously nourish thy people with much doctrine, and enlighten them with the light of the law; for God says: "Enlighten yourselves with the light of knowledge, while we have yet opportunity."

That a Bishop Must Not Be Given to Filthy Lucre, Nor Be a Surety Nor an Advocate.

7 VI. Let not a bishop be given to filthy lucre, especially before the Gentiles, rather suffering than offering injuries; not covetous, nor rapacious; no pur-loiner; no admirer of the rich, nor hater of the poor; no evil-speaker, nor false witness; not given to anger; no brawler; not entangled with the affairs of this life; not a surety for any one, nor an accuser in suits about money; not ambitious; not double-minded, nor double-tongued; not ready to hearken to calumny or evil-speaking; not a dissembler; not addicted to the heathen festivals; not given to vain deceits; not eager after worldly things, nor a lover of money. For all these things are opposite to God, and pleasing to demons. Let the bishop earnestly give all these precepts in charge to the laity also, persuading them to imitate his conduct. For, says He, "Do ye make the children of Israel pious. Let him be prudent, humble, apt to admonish with the instructions of the Lord, well-disposed, one who has renounced all the wicked projects of this world, and all heathenish lusts; let him be orderly, sharp in observing the wicked, and taking heed of them, but yet a friend to all; just, discerning; and whatsoever qualities are commendable among men, let the bishop possess them in himself. For if the pastor be unblameable as to any wickedness, he will compel his own disciples, and by his very mode of life press them to become worthy imitators of his own actions.

8 As the prophet somewhere says, "And it will be, as is the priest, so is the people;" for our Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ, the Son of God, began first to do, and then to teach, as Luke somewhere says: "which Jesus began to do and to teach. Wherefore he says: "Whosoever shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of God. For you bishops are to be guides and watchmen to the people, as you yourselves have Christ for your guide and watchman. Do you therefore become good guides and watchmen to the people of God. For the Lord says by Ezekiel, speaking to every one of you: "Son of man, I have given thee for a watchman to the house of Israel; and thou shalt hear the word from my mouth, and shalt observe, and shalt declare it from me. When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if thou

dost not speak to warn the wicked from his wickedness, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, and his blood will I require at thine hand. But if thou warn the wicked from his way, that he may turn from it, and he does not turn from it, he shall die in his iniquity, and thou hast delivered thy soul.

9 "In the same manner, if the sword of war be approaching, and the people set a watchman to watch, and he see the same approach, and does not forewarn them, and the sword come and take one of them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood shall be required at the watchman's hand, because he did not blow the trumpet. But if he blew the trumpet, and he who heard it would not take warning, and the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon him, because he heard the trumpet and took not warning. But he who took warning has delivered his soul; and the watchman, because he gave warning, shall surely live. The sword here is the judgment; the trumpet is the holy Gospel; the watchman is the bishop, who is set in the Church, who is obliged by his preaching to testify and vehemently to forewarn concerning that judgment. If ye do not declare and testify this to the people, the sins of those who are ignorant of it will be found upon you. Wherefore do you warn and reprove the uninstructed with boldness, teach the ignorant, confirm those that understand, bring back those that go astray. If we repeat the very same things on the same occasions, brethren, we shall not do amiss. For by frequent hearing it is to be hoped that some will be made ashamed, and at least do some good action, and avoid some wicked one. For says God by the prophet:

10 "Testify those things to them; perhaps they will hear thy voice. And again: "If perhaps they will hear, if perhaps they will submit. Moses also says to the people: "If hearing thou wilt hear the Lord God, and do that which is good and fight in His eyes. And again: "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord. And our Lord is often recorded in the Gospel to have said: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And wise Solomon says: "My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and reject not the laws of thy mother. And, indeed, to this day men have not heard; for while they seem to have heard, they have not heard aright, as appears by their having left the one and only true God, and their being drawn into destructive and dangerous heresies, concerning which we shall speak again afterwards.

Sec. III.—How the Bishop is to Treat the Innocent, the Guilty, and the Penitent. — What Ought to Be the Character of the Initiated.

11 VII. Beloved, be it known to you that those who are baptized into the death of our Lord Jesus are obliged to go on no longer in sin; for as those who are dead cannot work wickedness any longer, so those who are dead with Christ cannot practise wickedness. We do not therefore believe, brethren, that any one who has received the washing of life continues in the practice of the licentious acts of transgressors. Now he who sins after his baptism, unless he repent and forsake his sins, shall be condemned to hell-fire.

Concerning a Person Falsely Accused, or a Person Convicted.

12 VIII. But if any one be maliciously prosecuted by the heathen, because he will not still go along with them to the same excess of riot, let him know that such a one is blessed of God, according as our Lord says in the Gospel: "Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, or persecute you, or say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for your reward is great in heaven." If, therefore, any one be slandered and falsely accused, such a one is blessed; for the Scripture says, "A man that is a reprobate is not tried by God." But if any one be convicted as having done a wicked action, such a one not only hurts himself, but occasions the whole body of the Church and its doctrine to be blasphemed; as if we Christians did not practise those things that we declare to be good and honest, and we ourselves shall be reproached by the Lord, that "they say and do not." Wherefore the bishop must boldly reject such as these upon full conviction, unless they change their course of life.

That a Bishop Ought Not to Receive Bribes.

13 IX. For the bishop must not only himself give no offence, but must be no respecter of persons; in meekness instructing those that offend. But if he himself has not a good conscience, and is a respecter of persons for the sake of filthy lucre, and receiving of bribes, and spares the open offender, and permits him to continue in the Church, he disregards the voice of God and of our Lord, which says, "Thou shalt exactly execute right judgment." "Thou shalt not accept persons in judgment: thou shalt not justify the ungodly." "Thou shalt not receive gifts against any one's life; for gifts do blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous." And elsewhere He says: "Take away from among yourselves that wicked person." And Solomon says

in his Proverbs: "Cast out a pestilent fellow from the congregation, and strife will go out along with him."

That a Bishop Who by Wrong Judgment Spares an Offender is Himself Guilty.

14 X. But he who does not consider these things, will, contrary to justice, spare him who deserves punishment; as Saul spared Agag, and Eli his sons, "who knew not the Lord. Such a one profanes his own dignity, and that Church of God which is in his parish. Such a one is esteemed unjust before God and holy men, as affording occasion of scandal to many of the newly baptized, and to the catechumens; as also to the youth of both sexes, to whom a woe belongs, add "a mill-stone about his neck," and drowning, on account of his guilt. For, observing what a person their governor is, through his wickedness and neglect of justice they will grow sceptical, and, indulging the same disease, will be compelled to perish with him; as was the case of the people joining with Jeroboam, and those which were in the conspiracy with Corah. But if the offender sees that the bishop and deacons are innocent and unblameable, and the flock pure, he will either not venture to despise their authority, and to enter into the Church of God at all, as one smitten by his own conscience: or if he values nothing, and ventures to enter in, either he will be convicted immediately, as Uzza at the ark, when he touched it to support it; and as Achan, when he stole the accursed thing; and as Gehazi, when he coveted the money of Naaman, and so will be immediately punished: or else he will be admonished by the pastor, and drawn to repentance.

15 For when he looks round the whole Church one by one, and can spy no blemish, neither in the bishop nor in the people who are under his care, he will be put to confusion, and pricked at the heart, and in a peaceable manner will go his way with shame and many tears, and the flock will remain pure. He will apply himself to God with tears, and will repent of his sins, and have hope. Nay, the whole flock, at the sight of his tears, will be instructed, because a sinner avoids destruction by repentance.

How a Bishop Ought to Judge Offenders.

16 XI. Upon this account, therefore, O bishop, endeavour to be pure in thy actions, and to adorn thy place and dignity, which is that of one sustaining the character of God among men, as being set over all men, over priests, kings, rulers, fathers, children, teachers, and in general over all those who are subject to thee: and so sit in the Church when thou speakest, as having

authority to judge offenders. For to you, O bishops, it is said: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Instruction as to How a Bishop Ought to Behave Himself to the Penitent.

17 XII. Do thou therefore, O bishop, judge with authority like God, yet receive the penitent; for God is a God of mercy. Rebuke those that sin, admonish those that are not converted, exhort those that stand to persevere in their goodness, receive the penitent; for the Lord God has promised with an oath to afford remission to the penitent for what things they have done amiss. For He says by Ezekiel: "Speak unto them, As I live, saith the Lord, I would not the death of a sinner, but that the wicked turn from his evil way, and live. Turn ye therefore front your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel? " Here the word affords hope to sinners, that if they will repent they shall have hope of salvation, lest otherwise out of despair they yield themselves up to their transgressions; but that, having hope of salvation, they may be converted, and may address to God with tears, on account of their sins, and may repent from their hearts, and so appease His displeasure towards them; so shall they receive a pardon from Him, as from a merciful Father.

That We Ought to Beware How We Make Trial of Any Sinful Course.

18 XIII. Yet it is very necessary that those who are yet innocent should continue so, and not make an experiment what sin is, that they may not have occasion for trouble, sorrow, and those lamentations which are in order to forgiveness. For how dost thou know, O man, when thou sinnest, whether thou shalt live any number of days in this present state, that thou mayest have time to repent? For the time of thy departure out of this world is uncertain; and if thou diest in sin, there will remain no repentance for thee; as God says by David, "In the grave who will confess to Thee? " It behoves us, therefore, to be ready in the doing of our duty, that so we may await our passage into another world without sorrow. Wherefore also the Divine Word exhorts, speaking to thee by the wise Solomon, "Prepare thy works against thy exit, and provide all beforehand in the field," lest some of the things necessary to thy journey be wanting; as the oil of piety was deficient in the five foolish virgins mentioned in the Gospel, when they, on account of their having extinguished their lamps of divine knowledge, were shut out of the bride-chamber. Wherefore he who values the security of his soul will take

care to be out of danger, by keeping free from sin, that so he may preserve the advantage of his former good works to himself. Do thou, therefore, so judge as executing judgment for God.

¹⁹ For, as the Scripture says, "the judgment is the Lord's. In the first place, therefore, condemn the guilty person with authority; afterwards try to bring him home with mercy and compassion, and readiness to receive him, promising him salvation if he will change his course of life, and become a penitent; and when he does repent, and has submitted to his chastisement, receive him: remembering that our Lord has said, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." ²⁰ Concerning Those Who Affirm that Penitents are Not to Be Received into the Church. That a Righteous Person, Although He Converse with a Sinner, Will Not Perish with Him. That No Person is Punished for Another, But Every One Must Give an Account of Himself. That We Must Assist Those Who are Weak in the Faith; And that a Bishop Must Not Be Governed by Any Turbulent Person Among the Laity.

²¹ XIV. But if thou refusest to receive him that repents, thou exposest him to those who lie in wait to destroy, forgetting what David says: "Deliver not my soul, which confesses to Thee, unto destroying beasts. Wherefore Jeremiah, when he is exhorting men to repentance, says thus: "Shall not he that falleth arise? or he that turneth away, cannot he return? Wherefore have my people gone back by a shameless backsliding? and they are hardened in their purpose. Turn, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings. Receive, therefore, without any doubting, him that repents. Be not hindered by such unmerciful men, who say that we must not be defiled with such as those, nor so much as speak to them: for such advice is from men that are unacquainted with God and His providence, and are unreasonable judges, and unmerciful brutes. These men are ignorant that we ought to avoid society with offenders, not in discourse, but in actions: for "the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. And again: "If a land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, and I stretch out my hand upon it, and break the staff of bread upon it, and send famine upon it, and destroy man and beast therein: though these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, were in the midst of it, they shall only save their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.

²² The Scripture most clearly shows that a righteous man that converses with a wicked man does not perish with him. For in the present world the

righteous and the wicked are mingled together in the common affairs of life, but not in holy communion: and in this the friends and favourites of God are guilty of no sin. For they do but imitate "their Farther which is in heaven, who maketh His sun to rise on the righteous and unrighteous, and sendeth His rain on the evil and on the good;" and the righteous man undergoes no peril on this account. For those who conquer and those who are conquered are in the same place of running, but only those who have bravely undergone the race are where the garland is bestowed; and "no one is crowned, unless he strive lawfully. For every one shall give account of himself, and God will not destroy the righteous with the wicked; for with Him it is a constant rule, that innocence is never punished. For neither did He drown Noah, nor burn up Lot, nor destroy Rahab for company. And if you desire to know how this matter was among us, Judas was one of us, and took the like part of the ministry which we had; and Simon the magician received the seal of the Lord. Yet both the one and the other proving wicked, the former hanged himself, and the latter, as he flew in the air in a manner unnatural, was dashed against the earth.

²³ Moreover, Noah and his sons with him were in the ark; but Ham, who alone was found wicked, received punishment in his son. But if fathers are not punished for their children, nor children for their fathers, it is thence clear that neither will wives be punished for their husbands, nor servants for their masters, nor one relation for another, nor one friend for another, nor the righteous for the wicked. But every one will be required an account of his own doing. For neither was punishment inflicted on Noah for the world, nor was Lot destroyed by fire for the Sodomites, nor was Rahab slain for the inhabitants of Jericho, nor Israel for the Egyptians. For not the dwelling together, but the agreement in their sentiments, alone could condemn the righteous with the wicked. We ought not therefore to hearken to such persons who call for death, and hate mankind, and love accusations, and under fair pretences bring men to death. For one man shall not die for another, but "every one is held with the chains of his own sins. And, "behold, the man and his work is before his face. Now we ought to assist those who are with us, and are in danger, and fall, and, as far as lies in our power, to reduce them to sobriety by our exhortations, and so save them from death. For "the whole have no need of the physician, but the sick;

24 " since "it is not pleasing in the sight of your Father that one of these little ones should perish. For we ought not to establish the will of hard-hearted men, but the will of the God and Father of the universe, which is revealed to us by Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

25 For it is not equitable that thou, O bishop, who art the head, shouldst submit to the tail, that is, to some seditious person among the laity, to the destruction of another, but to God alone. For it is thy privilege to govern those under thee, but not to be governed by them. For neither does a son, who is subject by the course of generation, govern his father; nor a slave, who is subject by law, govern his master; nor does a scholar govern his teacher, nor a soldier his king, nor any of the laity his bishop. For that there is no reason to suppose that such as converse with the wicked, in order to their instruction in the word, are defiled by or partake of their sins, Ezekiel, as it were on purpose preventing the suspicions of ill-disposed persons, says thus: "Why do you speak this proverb concerning the land of Israel? The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. As I live, saith the Lord Coot, ye shall not henceforth have occasion to use this proverb in Israel. For all souls are mine, in like manner as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. But the man who is righteous, and does judgment and justice" (and so the prophet reckons up the rest of the virtues, and then adds for a conclusion, "Such a one is just"), "he shall surely live, saith the Lord God.

26 And if he beget a son who is a robber, a shedder of blood, and walks not in the way of his righteous father" (and when the prophet had added what follows, he adds in the conclusion), "he shall certainly not live: he has done all this wickedness; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him. Yet they will ask thee, Why? Does not the son bear the iniquity of the father; or his righteousness, having exercised righteousness and mercy himself? And thou shalt say unto them, The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. And a little after he says: "When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, all his righteousness, by reason of all his wickedness which he has committed, shall not be mentioned to him: in his iniquity which he hath committed, and in his sin which he hath sinned, in them shall he die. And a

little after he adds: "When the wicked turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doth judgment and justice, he hath preserved his soul, he hath turned away from all his ungodliness which he hath done; he shall surely live, he shall not die. And afterwards:

27 "I will judge every one of you according to his ways, O house of Israel, saith the Lord God."

That a Priest Must Neither Overlook Offences, Nor Be Rash in Punishing Them.

28 XV. Observe, you who are our beloved sons, how merciful yet righteous the Lord our God is; how gracious and kind to men; and yet most certainly "He will not acquit the guilty: " though He welcomes the returning sinner, and revives him, leaving no room for suspicion to such as wish to judge sternly and to reject offenders entirely, and to refuse to vouchsafe to them exhortations which might bring them to repentance. In contradiction to such, God by Isaiah says to the bishops: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, ye priests: speak comfortably to Jerusalem. It therefore behoves you, upon hearing those words of His, to encourage those who have offended, and lead them to repentance, and afford them hope, and not vainly to suppose that you shall be partakers of their offences on account of such your love to them. Receive the penitent with alacrity, and rejoice over them, and with mercy and bowels of compassion judge the sinners. For if a person was walking by the side of a river, and ready to stumble, and thou shouldest push him and thrust him into the river, instead of offering him thy hand for his assistance, thou wouldst be guilty of the murder of thy brother; whereas thou oughtest rather to lend thy helping hand as he was ready to fall, lest he perish without remedy, that both the people may take warning, and the offender may not utterly perish.

29 It is thy duty, O bishop, neither to overlook the sins of the people, nor to reject those who are penitent, that thou mayst not unskilfully destroy the Lord's flock, or dishonour His new name, which is imposed on His people, and thou thyself beest reproached as those ancient pastors were, of whom God speaks thus to Jeremiah: "Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard; they have polluted my heritage. And in another passage: "My anger is waxed hot against the shepherds, and against the lambs shall I have indignation. And elsewhere: "Ye are the priests that dishonour my name."

Of Repentance, the Manner of It, and Rules About It.

³⁰ XVI. When thou seest the offender, with severity command him to be cast out; and as he is going out, let the deacons also treat him with severity, and then let them go and seek for him, and detain him out of the Church; and when they come in, let them entreat thee for him. For our Saviour Himself entreated His Father for those who had sinned, as it is written in the Gospel: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. Then order the offender to come in; and if upon examination thou findest that he is penitent, and fit to be received at all into the Church when thou hast afflicted him his days of fasting, according to the degree of his offence-as two, three, five, or seven weeks-so set him at liberty, and speak such things to him as are fit to be said in way of reproof, instruction, and exhortation to a sinner for his reformation, that so he may continue privately in his humility, and pray to God to be merciful to him, saying: "If Thou, O Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who should stand? For with Thee there is propitiation. Of this sort of declaration is that which is said in the book of Genesis to Cain: "Thou hast sinned; be quiet;" that is, do not go on in sin.

³¹ For that a sinner ought to be ashamed for his own sin, that oracle of God delivered to Moses concerning Miriam is a sufficient proof, when he prayed that she might be forgiven. For says God to him: "If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed? Let her be shut out of the camp seven days, and afterwards let her come in again. We therefore ought to do so with offenders, when they profess their repentance,-namely, to separate them some determinate time, according to the proportion of their offence, and afterwards, like fathers to children, receive them again upon their repentance.

That a Bishop Must Be Unblameable, and a Pattern for Those Who are Under His Charge.

³² XVII. But if the bishop himself be an offender, how will he be able any longer to prosecute the offence of another? Or how will he be able to reprove another, either he or his deacons, if by accepting of persons, or receiving of bribes, they have not all a clear conscience? For when the ruler asks, and the judge receives, judgment is not brought to perfection; but when both are "companions of thieves, and regardless of doing justice to the widows," those who are under the bishop will not be able to support and vindicate him: for they will say to him what is written in the Gospel, "Why beholdest thou the

mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? " Let the bishop, therefore, with his deacons, dread to bear any such thing; that is, let him give no occasion for it. For an offender, when he sees any other doing as bad as himself, will be encouraged to do the very same things; and then the wicked one, taking occasion from a single instance, works in others, which God forbid: and by that means the flock will be destroyed. For the greater number of offenders there are, the greater is the mischief that is done by them: for sin which passes without correction grows worse and worse, and spreads to others;

³³ since "a little leaven infects the whole lump," and one thief spreads the abomination over a whole nation and "dead flies spoil the whole pot of sweet ointment;" and "when a king hearkens to unrighteous counsel, all the servants under him are wicked. So one scabbed sheep, if not separated from those that are whole, infects the rest with the same distemper; and a man infected with the plague is to be avoided by all men; and a mad dog is dangerous to every one that he touches. If, therefore, we neglect to separate the transgressor from the Church of God, we shall make the "Lord's house a den of thieves. For it is the bishop's duty not to be silent in the case of offenders, but to rebuke them, to exhort them, to beat them down, to afflict them with fastings, that so he may strike a pious dread into the rest: for, as He says, "make ye the children of Israel pious. For the bishop must be one who discourages sin by his exhortations, and sets a pattern of righteousness, and proclaims those good things which are prepared by God, and declares that wrath which will come at the day of judgment, lest he condemn and neglect the plantation of God; and, on account of his carelessness, hear that which is said in Hosea: "Why have ye held your peace at impiety, and have reaped the fruit thereof? "

That a Bishop Must Take Care that His People Do Not Sin, Considering that He is Set for a Watchman Among Them.

³⁴ XVIII. Let the bishop, therefore, extend his concern to all sorts of people: to those who have not offended, that they may continue innocent; to those who offend, that they may repent. For to you does the Lord speak thus: "Take heed that ye offend not one of these little ones. It is your duty also to give remission to the penitent. For as soon as ever one who has offended says, in the sincerity of his soul, "I have sinned against the Lord," the Holy Spirit answers, "The Lord also hath forgiven thy sin; be of good cheer, thou shalt not

die. Be sensible, therefore, O bishop, of the dignity of thy place, that as thou hast received the power of binding, so hast thou also that of loosing. Having therefore the power of loosing, know thyself, and behave thyself in this world as becomes thy place, being aware that thou hast a great account to give. "For to whom," as the Scripture says, "men have entrusted much. of him they will require the more. For no one man is free from sin, excepting Him that was made man for us; since it is written: "No man is pure from filthiness; no, not though he be but one day old. Upon which account the lives and conduct of the ancient holy men and patriarchs are described; not that we may reproach them from our reading, but that we ourselves may repent, and have hope that we also shall obtain forgiveness.

35 For their blemishes are to us both security and admonition, because we hence learn, when we have offended, that if we repent we shall have pardon. For it is written: "Who can boast that he has a clean heart? and who dare affirm that he is pure from sin? " No man, therefore, is without sin. Do thou therefore labour to the utmost of thy power to be unblameable; and be solicitous of l all the parts of thy flock, lest any one be scandalized on thy account, and thereby perish. For the layman is solicitous only for himself, but thou for all, as having a greater burden, and carrying a heavier load. For it is written: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Thou and Aaron shall bear the sins of the priesthood. Since, therefore, thou art to give an account of all, take care of all. Preserve those that are sound, admonish those that sin; and when thou hast afflicted them with fasting, give them ease by remission; and when with tears the offender begs readmission, receive him, and let the whole Church pray for him; and when by imposition of thy hand thou hast admitted him, give him leave to abide afterwards in the flock. But for the drowsy and the careless, do thou endeavour to convert and confirm, and warn and cure them, as sensible how great a reward thou shalt have for doing so, and how great danger thou wilt incur if thou beest negligent therein.

36 For Ezekiel speaks thus to those overseers who take no care of the people: "Woe unto the shepherds of Israel, for they have fed themselves; the shepherds feed not the sheep, but themselves. Ye eat the milk, and are clothed with the wool; ye slay the strong, ye do not feed the sheep. The weak have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was

lost; but, violently ye chastised them with insult: and they, were scattered, because there was no shepherd; and they became meat to all the beasts of the forest. And again: "The shepherds did not search for my sheep; and the shepherds fed themselves, but they fed not my sheep. And a little after: "Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my sheep at their hands, and cause them to cease from feeding my sheep, neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; and I will deliver my sheep out of their hands, and they shall not be meat for them. And he also adds, speaking to the people: "Behold, I will judge between sheep and sheep, and between rams and rams. Seemed it a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, and to have trodden down with your feet the residue of your pasture, and that the sheep have eaten what was trodden down with your feet?

³⁷ "And a little after He adds: "And ye shall know that I am the Lord, and you the sheep of my pasture; ye are my men, and I am your God, saith the Lord God."

That a Shepherd Who is Careless of His Sheep Will Be Condemned, and that a Sheep Which Will Not Be Led by the Shepherd is to Be Punished.

³⁸ XIX. Hear, O ye bishops; and hear, O ye of; the laity, how God speaks: "I will judge between ram and ram, and between sheep and sheep." And He says to the shepherds: "Ye shall be judged for your unskilfulness, and for destroying the sheep." That is, I will judge between one bishop and another, and between one lay person and another, and between one ruler and another (for these sheep and these rams are not irrational, but rational creatures): lest at any time a lay person should say, I am a sheep and not a shepherd, and I am not concerned for myself; let the shepherd look to that, for he alone will be required to give an account for me. For as that sheep that will not follow its good shepherd is exposed to the wolves, to its destruction; so that which follows a bad shepherd is also exposed to unavoidable death, since his shepherd will devour him. Wherefore care must be had to avoid destructive shepherds.

How the Governed are to Obey the Bishops Who are Set Over Them.

³⁹ XX. As to a good shepherd, let the lay person honour him, love him, reverence him as his lord, as his master, as the high priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that heareth him, heareth Christ; and he that rejecteth him, rejecteth Christ; and he who does not receive Christ, does not receive His God and Father: for, says He, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that rejecteth you, rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me, rejecteth Him that sent me.

In like manner, let the bishop love the laity as his children, fostering and cherishing them with affectionate diligence; as eggs, in order to the hatching of young ones; or as young ones, taking them in his arms, to the rearing them into birds: admonishing all men; reproving all who stand in need of reproof; reproving, that is, but not striking; beating them down to make them ashamed, but not overthrowing them; warning them in order to their conversion: chiding them in order to their reformation and better course of life; watching the strong, that is, keeping him firm in the faith who is already strong; feeding the people peaceably; strengthening the weak, that is, confirming with exhortation that which is tempted; healing that which is sick, that is, curing by instruction that which is weak in the faith through doubtfulness of mind;

⁴⁰ binding up that which is broken, that is, binding up by comfortable admonitions that which is gone astray, or wounded, bruised, or broken by their sins, and put out of the way; leasing it of its offences, and giving hope: by this means restore it in strength to the Church, bringing it back into the flock. Bring again that which is driven away, that is, do not permit that which is in its sins, and is cast out by way of punishment, to continue excluded; but receiving it, and bringing it back, restore it to the flock, that is, to the people of the undefiled Church. Seek for that which is lost, that is, do not suffer that which desponds of its salvation, by reason of the multitude of its offences, utterly to perish. Do thou search for that which is grown sleepy, drowsy, and sluggish, and that which is unmindful of its own life, through the depth of its sleep, and which is at a great distance from its own flock, so as to be in danger of falling among the wolves, and being devoured by them. Bring it back by admonition, exhort it to be watchful; and insinuate hope, not permitting it to say that which was said by some: "Our impieties are upon us, and we pine away in them; how shall we then live?"

⁴¹ "As far as possible, therefore, let the bishop make the offence his own, and say to the sinner, Do thou but return, and I will undertake to suffer death for thee, as our Lord suffered death for me, and for all men. For "the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep; but he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, that is, the devil, and he leaveth the sheep, and fleeth, and the wolf seizes upon them. We must know, therefore, that God is very merciful to those who have offended, and hath promised repentance with an oath. But he who has offen-

ded, and is unacquainted with this promise of God concerning repentance, and does not understand His long-suffering and forbearance, and besides is ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, which proclaim repentance, inasmuch as he has never learned them from you, perishes through his folly. But do thou, like a compassionate shepherd, and a diligent feeder of the flock, search out, and keep an account of thy flock. Seek that which is wanting; as the Lord God our gracious Father has sent His own Son, the good Shepherd and Saviour, our Master Jesus, and has commanded Him to "leave the ninety-nine upon the mountains, and to go in search after that which was lost, and when He had found it, to take it upon His shoulders, and to carry it into the flock, rejoicing that He had found that which was lost.

⁴² In like manner, be obedient, O bishop, and do thou seek that which was lost, guide that which has wandered out of the right way, bring back that which is gone astray: for thou hast authority to bring them back, and to deliver those that are broken-hearted by remission. For by thee does our Saviour say to him who is discouraged under the sense of his sins, "Thy sins are forgiven thee: thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace. But this peace and haven of tranquillity is the Church of Christ, into which do thou, when thou hast loosed them from their sins, restore them, as being now sound and unblameable, of good hope, diligent, laborious in good works. As a skilful and compassionate physician, heal all such as have wandered in the ways of sin; for "they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. For the Son of man came to save and to seek that which was lost. Since thou art therefore a physician of the Lord's Church, provide remedies suitable to every patient's case. Cure them, heal them by all means possible; restore them sound to the Church. Feed the flock, "not with insolence and contempt, as lording it over them," but as a gentle shepherd, "gathering the lambs into thy bosom, and gently leading those which are with young."

That It is a Dangerous Thing to Judge Without Hearing Both Sides, or to Determine of Punishment Against a Person Before He is Convicted.

⁴³ XXI. Be gentle, gracious, mild, without guile, without falsehood; not rigid, not insolent, not severe, not arrogant, not unmerciful, not puffed up, not a man-pleaser, not timorous, not double-minded, not one that insults over the people that are under thee, not one that conceals the divine laws and the promises to repentance, not hasty in thrusting out and expelling, but steady, not one that delights in severity, not heady. Do not admit less evid-

ence to convict any one than that of three witnesses, and those of known and established reputation; inquire whether they do not accuse out of ill-will or envy: for there are many that delight in mischief, forward in discourse, slanderous, haters of the brethren, making it their business to scatter the sheep of Christ; whose affirmation if thou admittest without nice scanning the same, thou wilt disperse thy flock, and betray it to be devoured by wolves, that is, by demons and wicked men, or rather not men, but wild beasts in the shape of men-by the heathen, by the Jews, and by the atheistic heretics. For those destroying wolves soon address themselves to any one that is cast out of the Church, and esteem him as a lamb delivered for them to devour, reckoning his destruction their own gain. For he that is "their father, the devil, is a murderer.

⁴⁴ He also who is separated unjustly by thy want of care in judging will be overwhelmed with sorrow, and be disconsolate, and so will either wander over to the heathen, or be entangled in heresies, and so will be altogether estranged from the Church and from hope in God, and will be entangled in impiety, whereby thou wilt be guilty of his perdition: for it is not fair to be too hasty in casting out an offender, but slow in receiving him when he returns; to be forward in cutting off, but unmerciful when he is sorrowful, and ought to be healed. For of such as these speaks the divine Scripture: "Their feet run to mischief; they are hasty to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known. The fear of God is not before their eyes. Now the way of peace is our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has taught us, saying: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven. Give, and it shall be given to you;" that is, give remission of sins, and your offences shall be forgiven you. As also He instructed us by His prayer to say unto God: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. If, therefore, you do not forgive offenders, how can you expect the remission of your own sins? Do not you rather bind yourselves faster, by pretending in your prayers to forgive, when you really do not forgive?

⁴⁵ Will you not be confronted with your own words, when you say you forgive and do not forgive? For know ye, that he who casts out one who has not behaved himself wickedly, or who will not receive him that returns, is a murderer of his brother, and sheds his blood, as Cain did that of his brother Abel, and his "blood cries to God," and will be required. For a righteous man unjustly slain by any one will be in rest with God for ever. The same is the

case of him who without cause is separated by his bishop. He who has cast him out as a pestilent fellow when he was innocent, is more furious than a murderer. Such a one has no regard to the mercy of God, nor is mindful of His goodness to those that are penitent, nor keeping in his eye the examples of those who, having been once great offenders, received forgiveness upon their repentance. Upon which account, he who casts off an innocent person is more cruel than he that murders the body. In like manner, he who does not receive the penitent, scatters the flock of Christ, being really against Him. For as God is just in judging of sinners, so is He merciful in receiving them when they return. For David, the man after God's own heart, in his hymns ascribes both mercy and judgment to Him.

That David, the Ninevites, Hezekiah, and His Son Manasseh, are Eminent Examples of Repentance, the Prayer of Manasseh King of Judah.

⁴⁶ XXII. It is also thy duty, O bishop, to have before thine eyes the examples of those that have gone before, and to apply them skilfully to the cases of those who want words of severity or of consolation. Besides, it is reasonable that in thy administration of justice thou shouldest follow the will of God; and as God deals with sinners, and with those who return, that thou shouldst act accordingly in thy judging. Now, did not God by Nathan reproach David for his offence? And yet as soon as he said he repented, He delivered him from death, saying, "Be of good cheer; thou shalt not die. So also, when God had caused Jonah to be swallowed up by the sea and the whale, upon his refusal to preach to the Ninerites, when yet he prayed to Him out of the belly of the whale, He retrieved his life from corruption. And when Hezekiah had been puffed up for a while, yet, as soon as he prayed with lamentation, He remitted his offence. But, O ye bishops, hearken to an instance useful upon this occasion. For it is written thus in the fourth book of Kings and the second book of Chronicles: "And Hezekiah died; and Manasseh his son reigned. He was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Hephzibah. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord:

⁴⁷ he did not abstain from the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord destroyed from the face of the children of Israel. And Manasseh returned and built the high places which Hezekiah his father had overthrown; and he reared pillars for Baal, and set up an altar for Baal, and made groves, as did Ahab king of Israel. And he made altars in the house of the Lord, of

which the Lord spake to David and to Solomon his son, saying, Therein will I put my name. And Manasseh set up altars, and by them served Baal, and said, My name shall continue for ever. And he built altars to the host of heaven; the two courts of the house of the Lord; and he made his children pass through the fire in a place named Ge Benennom; and he consulted enchanters, and dealt with wizards and familiar spirits, and with conjurers and observers of times, and with teraphim. And he sinned exceedingly in the eyes of the Lord, to provoke Him to anger. And he set a molten and a graven image, the image of his grove, which he made in the house of the Lord, wherein the Lord had chosen to put His name in Jerusalem, the holy city, for ever, and had said, I will no more remove my foot from the land of Israel, which I gave to their fathers;

⁴⁸ only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the precepts that my servant Moses commanded them. And they hearkened not. And Manasseh seduced them to do more evil before the Lord than did the nations whom the Lord cast out from the face of the children of Israel. And the Lord spake concerning Manasseh and concerning His people by the hand of His servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of Judah has done all these wicked abominations in a higher degree than the Amorite did which was before him, and hath made Judah to sin with his idols, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold, I bring evils upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of them, both his ears shall tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab; and I will blot out Jerusalem as a table-book is blotted out by wiping it. And I will turn it upside down; and I will give up the remnant of my inheritance, and will deliver them into the hands of their enemies, and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies, because of all the evils which they have done in mine eyes, and have provoked me to anger from the day that I brought their fathers out of the land of Egypt even until this day.

⁴⁹ Moreover, Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another, beside his sins wherewith he made Judah to sin in doing evil in the sight of the Lord. And the Lord brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, and they caught Manasseh in bonds, and they bound him in fetters of brass, and brought him to Babylon; and he was bound and shackled with iron all over in the house of

the prison. And bread made of bran was given unto him scantily, and by weight, and water mixed with vinegar but a little and by measure, so much as would keep him alive; and he was in straits and sore affliction. And when he was violently afflicted, he besought the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the face of the Lord God of his fathers. And he prayed unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, almighty God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof, who hast bound the sea by the word of Thy commandment, who hast shut up the deep, and sealed it by Thy terrible and glorious name, whom all men fear and tremble before Thy power; for the majesty of Thy glory cannot be borne, and Thine angry threatening towards sinners is insupportable. But Thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable;

⁵⁰for Thou art the most high Lord, of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful, and repentest of the evils of men. Thou, O Lord, according to Thy great goodness, hast promised repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against Thee, and of Thine infinite mercy hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved. Thou therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, has not appointed repentance to the just as to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, which have not sinned against Thee; but Thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner: for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea. My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied; my transgressions are multiplied, and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquity. I am bowed down with many iron bands; for I have provoked Thy wrath, and done evil before Thee, setting up abominations, and multiplying offences. Now, therefore, I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching Thee of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I acknowledge mine iniquities; wherefore I humbly beseech Thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; neither condemn me into the lower part of the earth. For Thou art the God, even the God of them that repent, and in me Thou wilt show Thy goodness;

⁵¹for Thou wilt save me that am unworthy, according to Thy great mercy. Therefore I will praise Thee for ever all the days of my life; for all the powers of the heavens do praise Thee, and Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen. And the Lord heard his voice, and had compassion upon him.

And there appeared a flame of fire about him, and all the iron shackles and chains which were about him fell off; and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction, and brought him back to Jerusalem unto his kingdom: and Manasseh knew that the Lord He is God alone. And he worshipped the Lord God alone with all his heart, and with all his soul, all the days of his life; and he was esteemed righteous. And he took away the strange gods and the graven image out of the house of the Lord, and all the altars which he had built in the house of the Lord, and all the altars in Jerusalem, and he cast them out of the city. And he repaired the altar of the Lord, and sacrificed thereon peace-offerings and thank-offerings. And Manasseh spake to Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel. And he slept in peace with his fathers; and Amon his son reigned in his stead. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord according to all things that Manasseh his father had done in the former part of his reign. And he provoked the Lord his God to anger."

52 Ye have heard, our beloved children, how the Lord God for a while punished him that was addicted to idols, and had slain many innocent persons; and yet that He received him when he repented, and forgave him his offences, and restored him to his kingdom. For He not only forgives the penitent, but reinstates them in their former dignity.

Amon Maybe an Example to Such as Sin with an High Hand.

53 XXIII. There is no sin more grievous than idolatry, for it is an impiety against God: and yet even this sin has been forgiven, upon sincere repentance. But if any one sin in direct opposition, and on purpose to try whether God will punish the wicked or not, such a one shall have no remission, although he say with himself, "All is well, and I will walk according to the conversation of my evil heart." Such a one was Amon the son of Manasseh. For the Scripture says: "And Amon reasoned an evil reasoning of transgression, and said, My father from his childhood was a great transgressor, and repented in his old age; and now I will walk as my soul lusteth, and afterwards I will return unto the Lord. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him. And the Lord God soon destroyed him utterly from His good land. And his servants conspired against him, and slew him in his own house, and he reigned two years only."

That Christ Jesus Our Lord Came to Save Sinners by Repentance.

⁵⁴ XXIV. Take heed, therefore, ye of the laity, lest any one of you fix the reasoning of Amon in his heart, and be suddenly cut off, and perish. In the same manner, let the bishop take all the care he can that those which are yet innocent may not fall into sin; and let him heal and receive those which turn from their sins. But if he is pitiless, and will not receive the repenting sinner, he will sin against the Lord his God, pretending to be more just than God's justice, and not receiving him whom He has received, through Christ; for whose sake He sent His Son upon earth to men, as a man; for whose sake God was pleased that He, who was the Maker of man and woman, should be born of a woman; for whose sake He did not spare Him from the cross, from death, and burial, but permitted Him to die, who by nature could not suffer, His beloved Son, God the Word, the Angel of His great council, that he might deliver those from death who were obnoxious to death. Him do those provoke to anger who do not receive the penitent. For He was not ashamed of me, Matthew, who had been formerly a publican; and admitted of Peter, when he had through fear denied Him three times, but had appeased Him by repentance, and had wept bitterly; nay, He made him a shepherd to His own lambs.

⁵⁵ Moreover, He ordained Paul, our fellow-apostle, to be of a persecutor an apostle, and declared him a chosen vessel, even when he had heaped many mischiefs upon us before, and had blasphemed His sacred name. He says also to another, a woman that was a sinner: "Thy sins, which are many, are forgiven, for thou lovest much. And when the elders had set another woman which had sinned before Him, and had left the sentence to Him, and were gone out, our Lord, the Searcher of the hearts, inquiring of her whether the elders had condemned her, and being answered No, He said unto her: "Go thy way therefore, for neither do I condemn thee. This Jesus, O ye bishops, our Saviour, our King, and our God, ought to be set before you as your pattern; and Him you ought to imitate, in being meek, quiet, compassionate, merciful, peaceable, without passion, apt to teach, and diligent to convert, willing to receive and to comfort; no strikers, not soon angry, not injurious, not arrogant, not supercilious, not wine-bibbers, not drunkards, not vainly expensive, not lovers of delicacies, not extravagant, using the gifts of God not as another's, but as their own, as good stewards appointed over them, as those who will be required by God to give an account of the same.

Sec. IV.-On the Management of the Resources Collected for the Support of the Clergy, and the Relief of the Poor.

⁵⁶ Let the bishop esteem such food and raiment sufficient as suits necessity and decency. Let him not make use of the Lord's goods as another's, but moderately; "for the labourer is worthy of his reward." Let him not be luxurious in diet, or fond of idle furniture, but contented with so much alone as is necessary for his sustenance.

Of First-Fruits and Tithes, and After What Manner the Bishop is Himself to Partake of Them, or to Distribute Them to Others.

⁵⁷ XXV. Let him use those tenths and first-fruits, which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God; as also let him dispense in a right manner the free-will offerings which are brought in on account of the poor, to the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts who has committed the disposition to him. Distribute to all those in want with righteousness, and yourselves use the things which belong to the Lord, but do not abuse them; eating of them, but not eating them all up by yourselves: communicate with those that are in want, and thereby show yourselves unblameable before God. For if you shall consume them by yourselves, you will be reproached by God, who says to such unsatiable people, who alone devour all, "Ye eat up the milk, and clothe yourselves with the wool; " and in another passage, "Must you alone live upon the earth Upon which account you are commanded in the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Now we say these things, not as if you might not partake of the fruits of your labours; for it is written, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox which treadeth out the corn; " but that you should do it with moderation and righteousness. As, therefore, the ox that labours in the threshing-floor without a muzzle eats indeed, but does not eat all up;

⁵⁸ so do you who labour in the threshing-floor, that is, in the Church eat of the Church: which was also the case of the Levites, who served in the tabernacle of the testimony, which was in all things a type of the Church. Nay, further, its very name implied that that tabernacle was fore-appointed for a testimony of the Church. Here, therefore, the Levites also, who attended upon the tabernacle partook of those things that were offered to God by all the people,-namely, gifts, offerings, and first-fruits, and tithes, and sacrifices, and oblations, without disturbance, they and their wives, and their sons and

their daughters. Since their employment was the ministration to the tabernacle, therefore they had not any lot or inheritance in the land among the children of Israel, because the oblations of the people were the lot of Levi, and the inheritance of their tribe. You, therefore, O bishops, are to your people priests and Levites, ministering to the holy tabernacle, the holy Catholic Church; who stand at the altar of the Lord your God, and offer to Him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices through Jesus the great High Priest. You are to the laity prophets, rulers, governors, and kings; the mediators between God and His faithful people, who receive and declare His word, well acquainted with the Scriptures. Ye are the voice of and witnesses of His will, who bear the sins of all, and intercede for all;

⁵⁹whom, as you have heard, the word severely threatens if you hide the key of knowledge from men, who are liable to perdition if you do not declare His will to the people that are under you; who shall have a certain reward from God, and unspeakable honour and glory, if you duly minister to the holy tabernacle. For as yours is the burden, so you receive as your fruit the supply of food and other necessities. For you imitate Christ the Lord; and as He "bare the sins of us all upon the tree" at His crucifixion, the innocent for those who deserved punishment, so also you ought to make the sins of the people your own. For concerning our Saviour it is said in Isaiah, "He bears our sins, and is afflicted for us. And again: "He bare the sins of many, and was delivered for our offences. As, therefore, you are patterns for others, so have you Christ for your pattern. As, therefore, He is concerned for all, so be you for the laity under you. For do not thou imagine that the office of a bishop is an easy or light burden. As, therefore, you bear the weight, so have you a right to partake of the fruits before others, and to impart to those that are in want, as being to give an account to Him, who without bias will examine your accounts.

⁶⁰For those who attend upon the Church ought to be maintained by the Church, as being priests, Levites, presidents, and ministers of God; as it is written in the book of Numbers concerning the priests: "And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou, and thy sons, and the house of thy family, shall bear the iniquities of the holy things of priesthood. "Behold, I have given unto you the charge of the first-fruits, from all that are sanctified to me by the children of Israel; I have given them for a reward to thee, and to thy sons after thee, by an ordinance for ever. This shall be yours out of the holy things, out

of the oblations, and out of the gifts, and out of all the sacrifices, and out of every trespass-offering, and sin-offerings; and all that they render unto me out of all their holy things, they shall belong to thee, and to thy sons: in the sanctuary shall they eat them. And a little after: "All the first-fruits of the oil, and of the wine, and of the wheat, all which they shall give unto the Lord, to thee have I given them; and all that is first ripe, to thee have I given it, and every devoted thing. Every first-born of man and of beast, clean and unclean, and of sacrifice, with the breast, and the right shoulder, all these appertain to the priests, and to the rest of those belonging to them, even to the Levites."

⁶¹ Hear this, you of the laity also, the elect Church of God. For the people were formerly called "the people of God," and "an holy nation." You, therefore, are the holy and sacred "Church of God, enrolled in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people," a bride adorned for the Lord God, a great Church, a faithful Church. Hear attentively now what was said formerly: oblations and tithes belong to Christ our High Priest, and to those who minister to Him. Tenth of salvation are the first letter of the name of Jesus. Hear, O thou Holy Catholic Church, who hast escaped the ten plagues, and hast received the ten commandments, and hast learned the law, and hast kept the faith, and hast believed in Jesus, and hast known the decalogue, and hast believed in the iota which is the first letter of the name of Jesus, and art named after His name, and art established, and shinest in the consummation of His glory. Those which were then the sacrifices now are prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings. Those which were then first-fruits, and tithes, and offerings, and gifts, now are oblations, which are presented by holy bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, who has died for them. For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests, and your present deacons instead of your Levites; as are also your readers, your singers, your porters, your deaconesses, your widows, your virgins, and your orphans: but He who is above all these is the High Priest.

According to What Patterns and Dignity Every Order of the Clergy is Appointed by God.

⁶² XXVI. The bishop, he is the minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; and, next after God, he is your father, who has begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit.

He is your ruler and governor; he is your king and potentate; he is, next after God, your earthly god, who has a right to be honoured by you. For concerning him, and such as he, it is that God pronounces, "I have said, Ye are gods; and ye are all children of the Most High. And, "Ye shall not speak evil of the gods. For let the bishop preside over you as one honoured with the authority of God, which he is to exercise over the clergy, and by which he is to govern all the people. But let the deacon minister to him, as Christ does to His Father; and let him serve him unblameably in all things, as Christ does nothing of Himself, but does always those things that please His Father. Let also the deaconess be honoured by you in the place of the Holy Ghost, and not do or say anything without the deacon; as neither does the Comforter say or do anything of Himself, but gives glory to Christ by waiting for His pleasure.

⁶³ And as we cannot believe on Christ without the teaching of the Spirit, so let not any woman address herself to the deacon or bishop without the deaconess. Let the presbyters be esteemed by you to represent us the apostles, and let them be the teachers of divine knowledge; since our Lord, when He sent us, said, "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Let the widows and orphans be esteemed as representing the altar of burnt-offering; and let the virgins be honoured as representing the altar of incense, and the incense itself.

That It is a Horrible Thing for a Man to Thrust Himself into Any Sacerdotal Office, as Did Corah and His Company, Saul and Uzziah.

⁶⁴ XXVII. As, therefore, it was not lawful for one of another tribe, that was not a Levite, to offer anything, or to approach the altar without the priest, so also do you do nothing without the bishop; for if any one does anything without the bishop, he does it to no purpose. For it will not be esteemed as of any avail to him. For as Saul, when he had offered without Samuel, was told, "It will not avail for thee; " so every person among the laity, doing anything without the priest, labours in vain. And as Uzziah the king, who was not a priest, and yet would exercise the functions of the priests, was smitten with leprosy for his transgression; so every lay person shall not be unpunished who despises God, and is so mad as to affront His priests, and unjustly to snatch that honour to himself: not imitating Christ, "who glorified not Himself to be made an high priest; " but waited till He heard from His Father, "The

Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek. If, therefore, Christ did not glorify Himself without the Father, how dare any man thrust himself into the priesthood who has not received that dignity from his superior, and do such things which it is lawful only for the priests to do?

⁶⁵ Were not the followers of Corah, even though they were of the tribe of Levi, consumed with fire, because they rose up against Moses and Aaron, and meddled with such things as did not belong to them? And Dathan and Abiram went down quick into hell; and the rod that budded put a stop to the readiness of the multitude, and demonstrated who was the high priest ordained by God. You ought therefore, brethren, to bring your sacrifices and your oblations to the bishop, as to your high priest, either by yourselves or by the deacons; and do you bring not those only, but also your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your free-will offerings to him. For he knows who they are that are in affliction, and gives to every one as is convenient, that so one may not receive alms twice or oftener the same day, or the same week, while another has nothing at all. For it is reasonable rather to supply the wants of those who really are in distress, than of those who only appear to be so.

Of an Entertainment, and After What Manner Each Distinct Order of the Clergy is to Be Treated by Those Who Invite Them to It.

⁶⁶ XXVIII. If any determine to invite either women to an entertainment of love, or a feast, as our Saviour calls it, let them most frequently send to such a one whom the deacons know to be in distress. But let what is the pastor's due, I mean the first-fruits, be set apart in the feast for him, even though he be not at the entertainment, as being your priest, and in honour of that God who has entrusted him with the priesthood. But as much as is given to every one of the either women, let double so much be given to the deacons, in honour of Christ. Let also a double portion be set apart for the presbyters, as for such who labour continually about the word and doctrine, upon the account of the apostles of our Lord, whose place they sustain, as the counsellors of the bishop and the crown of the Church. For they are the Sanhedrim and senate of the Church. If there be a reader there, let him receive a single portion, in honour of the prophets, and let the singer and the porter have as much. Let the laity, therefore, pay proper honours in their presents, and utmost marks of respect to each distinct order. But let them not on all occasions trouble their governor, but let them signify their desires by those who minister to

him, that is, by the deacons, with whom they may be more free. For neither may we address ourselves to Almighty God, but only by Christ.

⁶⁷ In the same manner, therefore, let the laity make known all their desires to the bishop by the deacon, and accordingly let them act as he shall direct them. For there was no holy thing offered or done in the temple formerly without the priest. "For the priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth," as the prophet somewhere says, "for he is the messenger of the Lord Almighty. For if the worshippers of demons, in their hateful, abominable, and impure performances, imitate the sacred rules till this very day (it is a wide comparison indeed. and there is a vast distance between their abominations and God's sacred worship), in their mockeries of worship they neither offer nor do anything without their pretended priest, but esteem him as the very mouth of their idols of stone, waiting to see what commands he will lay upon them. And whatsoever he commands them, that they do, and without him they do nothing; and they honour him, their pretended priest, and esteem his name as venerable in honour of lifeless statues, and in order to the worship of wicked spirits.

⁶⁸ If these heathens, therefore, who give glory to lying vanities, and place their hope upon nothing that is firm, endeavour to imitate the sacred rules, how much more reasonable is it that you, who have a most certain faith and undoubted hope, and who expect glorious, and eternal, and never-failing promises, should honour the Lord God in those set over you, and esteem your bishop to be the mouth of God!

What is the Dignity of a Bishop and of a Deacon.

⁶⁹ XXIX. For if Aaron, because he declared to Pharaoh the words of God from Moses, is called a prophet; and Moses himself is called a god to Pharaoh, on account of his being at once a king and a high priest, as God says to him, "I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet;" why do not ye also esteem the mediators of the word to be prophets, and reverence them as gods?

After What Manner the Laity are to Be Obedient to the Deacon.

⁷⁰ XXX. For now the deacon is to you Aaron, and the bishop Moses. If, therefore, Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the bishop be honoured among you as a god, and the deacon as his prophet. For as Christ does nothing without His Father, so neither does the deacon do anything without his

bishop; and as the Son without His Father is nothing, so is the deacon nothing without his bishop; and as the Son is subject to His Father, so is every deacon subject to his bishop; and as the Son is the messenger and prophet of the Father, so is the deacon the messenger and prophet of his bishop. Wherefore let all things that he is to do with any one be made known to the bishop, and be finally ordered by him.

That the Deacon Must Not Do Anything Without the Bishop.

71 XXXI. Let him not do anything at all without his bishop, nor give anything without his consent. For if he gives to any one as to a person in distress without the bishop's knowledge, he gives it so that it must tend to the reproach of the bishop, and he accuses him as careless of the distressed. But he that casts reproach on his bishop, either by word or deed, opposes God, not hearkening to what He says: "Thou shalt not speak evil of the gods." For He did not make that law concerning deities of wood and of stone, which are abominable, because they are falsely called gods, but concerning the priests and the judges, to whom He also said, "Ye are gods, and children of the Most High."

That the Deacon Must Not Make Any Distributions Without the Consent of the Bishop, Because that Will Turn to the Reproach of the Bishop.

72 XXXII. If therefore, O deacon, thou knowest any one to be in distress, put the bishop in mind of him, and so give to him; but do nothing in a clandestine way, so as may tend to his reproach, lest thou raise a murmur against him; for the murmur will not be against him, but against the Lord God: and the deacon, with the rest, will hear what Aaron and Miriam heard, when they spake against Moses: "How is it that ye were not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" And again, Moses says to those who rose up against him: "Your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord our God." For if he that calls one of the laity Raka, or fool, shall not be unpunished, as doing injury to the name of Christ, how dare any man speak against his bishop, by whom the Lord gave the Holy Spirit among you upon the laying on of his hands, by whom ye have learned the sacred doctrines, and have known God, and have believed in Christ, by whom ye were known of God, by whom ye were sealed with the oil of gladness and the ointment of understanding, by whom ye were declared to be the children of light, by whom the Lord in your illumination testified by the imposition of the bishop's hands, and sent out His sacred voice upon every one of you, saying, "Thou art my son, this

day have I begotten thee? " By thy bishop, O man, God adopts thee for His child. Acknowledge, O son, that right hand which was a mother to thee. Love him who, after God, is become a father to thee, and honour him.

After What Manner the Bishops are to Be Honoured, and to Be Reverenced as Our Spiritual Parents.

73 XXXIII. For if the divine oracle says, concerning our parents according to the flesh, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee; " and, "He that curseth his father or his mother, let him die the death;" how much more should the word exhort you to honour your spiritual parents, and to love them as your benefactors and ambassadors with God, who have regenerated you by water, and endued you with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, who have fed you with the word as with milk, who have nourished you with doctrine, who have confirmed you by their admonitions, who have imparted to you the saving body and precious blood of Christ, who have loosed you from your sins, who have made you partakers of the holy and sacred eucharist, who have admitted you to be partakers and fellow-heirs of the promise of God! Reverence these, and honour them with all kinds of honour; for they have obtained from God the power of life and death, in their judging of sinners, and condemning them to the death of eternal fire, as also of loosing returning sinners from their sins, and of restoring them to a new life.

That Priests are to Be Preferred Before Rulers and Kings.

74 XXXIV. Account these worthy to be esteemed your rulers and your kings, and bring them tribute as to kings; for by you they and their families ought to be maintained. As Samuel made constitutions for the people concerning a king, in the first book of Kings, and Moses did so concerning priests in Leviticus, so do we also make constitutions for you concerning bishops. For if there the multitude distributed the inferior services in proportion to so great a king, ought not therefore the bishop much more now to receive of you those things which are determined by God for the sustenance of himself and of the rest of the clergy belonging to him? But if we may add somewhat further, let the bishop receive more than the other received of old: for he only managed the affairs of the soldiery, being entrusted with war and peace for the preservation of men's bodies; but the other is entrusted with the exercise of the priestly office in relation to God, in order to preserve both body and soul from dangers. By how much, therefore, the soul is more valuable

than the body, so much the priestly office is beyond the kingly. For it binds and looses those that are worthy of punishment or of remission.

⁷⁵ Wherefore you ought to love the bishop as your father, and fear him as your king, and honour him as your lord, bringing to him your fruits and the works of your hands, for a blessing upon you, giving to him your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your oblations, and your gifts, as to the priest of God; the first-fruits of your wheat, and wine, and oil, and autumnal fruits, and wool, and all things which the Lord God gives thee. And thy offering shall be accepted as a savour of a sweet smell to the Lord thy God; and the Lord will bless the works of thy hands, and will multiply the good things of the land. "For a blessing is upon the head of him that giveth."

That Both the Law and the Gospel Prescribe Offerings.

⁷⁶ XXXV. Now you ought to know, that although the Lord has delivered you from the additional bonds, and has brought you out of them to your refreshment, and does not permit you to sacrifice irrational creatures for sin-offerings, and purifications, and scapegoats, and continual washings and sprinklings, yet has He nowhere freed you from those oblations which you owe to the priests, nor from doing good to the poor. For the Lord says to you in the Gospel: "Unless your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven." Now herein will your righteousness exceed theirs, if you take greater care of the priests, the orphans, and the widows; as it is written: "He hath scattered abroad; he hath given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever." And again: "By acts of righteousness and faith iniquities are purged." And again: "Every bountiful soul is blessed." So therefore shalt thou do as the Lord has appointed, and shalt, give to the priest what things are due to him, the first-fruits of thy floor, and of thy wine-press, and sin-offerings, as to the mediator between God and such as stand in need of purgation and forgiveness. For it is thy duty to give, and his to administer, as being the administrator and disposer of ecclesiastical affairs. Yet shalt thou not call thy bishop to account, nor watch his administration, how he does it, when, or to whom, or where, or whether he do it well or ill, or indifferently; for he has One who will call him to an account, the Lord God, who put this administration into his hands, and thought him worthy of the priesthood of so great dignity.

The Recital of the Ten Commandments, and After What Manner They Do Here Prescribe to Us.

77 XXXVI. Have before thine eyes the fear of God, and always remember the ten commandments of God,-to love the one and only Lord God with all thy strength; to give no heed to idols, or any other beings, as being lifeless gods, or irrational beings or daemons. Consider the manifold workmanship of God, which received its beginning through Christ. Thou shalt observe the Sabbath, on account of Him who ceased from His work of creation, but ceased not from His work of providence: it is a rest for meditation of the law, not for idleness of the hands. Reject every unlawful lust, everything destructive to men, and all anger. Honour thy parents, as the authors of thy being. Love thy neighbour as thyself. Communicate the necessities of-life to the needy. Avoid swearing falsely, and swearing often, and in vain; for thou shalt not be held guiltless. Do not appear before the priests empty, and offer thy free-will offerings continually. Moreover, do not leave the church of Christ; but go thither in the morning before all thy work, and again meet there in the evening, to return thanks to God that He has preserved thy life. Be diligent, and constant, and laborious in thy calling. Offer to the Lord thy free-will offerings; for says He, "Honour the Lord with the fruit of thy honest labours. If thou art not able to cast anything considerable into the Corban, yet at least bestow upon the strangers one, or two, or five mites.

78 "Lay up to thyself heavenly treasure, which neither the moth nor thieves can destroy. And in doing this, do not judge thy bishop, or any of thy neighbours among the laity; for if thou judge thy brother, thou becomest a judge, without being constituted such by anybody, for the priests are only entrusted with the power of judging. For to them it is said, "Judge righteous judgment; " and again "Approve yourselves to be exact money-changers. For to yon this is not entrusted; for, on the contrary, it is said to those who are not of the dignity of magistrates or ministers: "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged."

Sec. V.-On Accusations, and the Treatment of Accusers. — Concerning Accusers and False Accusers, and How a Judge is Not Rashly Either to Believe Them or Disbelieve Them, But After an Accurate Examination.

79 XXXVII. But it is the duty of the bishop to judge rightly, as it is written, "Judge righteous judgment; " and elsewhere, "Why do ye not even of yourselves judge what is right? " Be ye therefore as skilful dealers in money:

for as these reject bad money, but take to themselves what is current, in the same manner it is the bishops's duty to retain the unblameable, but either to heal, or, if they be past cure, to cast off those that are blameworthy, so as not to be hasty in cutting off, nor to believe all accusations; for it sometimes happens that some, either through passion or envy, do insist on a false accusation against a brother, as did the two elders in the case of Susanna in Babylon, and the Egyptian woman in the case of Joseph. Do thou therefore, as a man of God, not rashly receive such accusations, lest thou take away the innocent and slay the righteous; for he that will receive such accusations is the author of anger rather than of peace. But where there is anger, there the Lord is not; for that anger, which is the friend of Satan-I mean that which is excited unjustly by the means of false brethren-never suffers unanimity to be in the Church. Wherefore, when you know such persons to be foolish, quarrelsome, passionate, and such as delight in mischief, do not give credit to them; but observe such as they are, when you hear anything from them against their brother:

⁸⁰ for murder is nothing in their eyes, and they cast a man down in such a way as one would not suspect. Do thou therefore consider diligently the accuser, wisely observing his mode of life, what, and of what sort it is; and in case thou findest him a man of veracity, do according to the doctrine of our Lord, and taking him who is accused, rebuke him, that he may repent, when nobody is by. But if he be not pervaded, take with thee out or two more, and so show him his fault, and admonish him with mildness and instruction; for "wisdom will rest upon an heart that is good, but is not understood in the heart of the foolish."

*That Sinners are Privately to Be Reproved, and the Penitent to Be Received,
According to the Constitution of Our Lord.*

⁸¹ XXXVIII. If, therefore, he be persuaded by the mouth of you three, it is well. But if any one hardens himself, "tell it to the Church: but if he neglects to hear the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican; " and receive him no longer into the Church as a Christian, but reject him as an heathen. But if he be willing to repent, receive him. For the Church does not receive an heathen or a publican to communion, before they every one repent of their former impieties; for our Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, has appointed place for the acceptance of men upon their repentance.

Examples of Repentance.

82 XXXIX. For I Matthew, one of those twelve which speak to you in this doctrine, am an apostle, having myself been formerly a publican, but now have obtained mercy through believing, and have repented of my former practices, and have been vouchsafed the honour to be an apostle and preacher of the word. And Zacchaeus, whom the Lord received upon his repentance and prayers to Him, was also himself in the same manner a publican at first. And, besides, even the soldiers and multitude of publicans, who came to hear the word of the Lord about repentance, heard this from the prophet John, after he had baptized them: "Do nothing more than that which is appointed you." In like manner, life is not refused to the heathen, if they repent and cast away their unbelief. Esteem, therefore, every one that is convicted of any wicked action, and has not repented, as a publican or an heathen. But if he afterward repents, and turns from his error, then, as we receive the heathen, when they wish to repent, into the Church indeed to hear the word, but do not receive them to communion until they have received the seal of baptism, and are made complete Christians; so do we also permit such as these to enter only to hear, until they show the fruit of repentance, that by hearing the word they may not utterly and irrecoverably perish. But let them not be admitted to communion in prayer; and let them depart after the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the Gospel, that by such departure they may be made better in their course of life, by endeavouring to meet every day about the public assemblies, and to be frequent in prayer, that they also may be at length admitted, and that those who behold them may be affected, and be more secured by fearing to fall into the same condition.

That We are Not to Be Implacable to Him Who Has Once or Twice Offended.

83 XL. But yet do not thou, O bishop, presently abhor any person who has fallen into one or two offences, nor shalt thou exclude him from the word of the Lord, nor reject him from common intercourse, since neither did the Lord refuse to eat with publicans and sinners; and when He was accused by the Pharisees on this account, He said: "They that are well have no need of the physician, but they that are sick." Do you, therefore, live and dwell with those who are separated from you for their sins; and take care of them, comforting them, and confirming them, and saying to them: "Be strengthened, ye weak hands and feeble knees." For we ought to comfort those that mourn,

and afford encouragement to the fainthearted, lest by immoderate sorrow they degenerate into distraction, since "he that is fainthearted is exceedingly distracted."

After What Manner We Ought to Receive a Penitent; How We Ought to Deal with Offenders, and When They are to Be Cut Off from the Church.

⁸⁴ XLI. But if any one returns, and shows forth the fruit of repentance, then do ye receive him to prayer, as the lost son, the prodigal, who had consumed his father's substance with harlots, who fed swine, and desired to be fed with husks, and could not obtain it. This son, when he repented, and returned to his father, and said, "I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son; " the father, full of affection to his child, received him with music, and restored him his old robe, and ring, and shoes, and slew the fatted calf, and made merry with his friends. Do thou therefore, O bishop, act in the same manner. And as thou receivest an heathen after thou hast instructed and baptized him, so do thou let all join in prayers for this man, and restore him by imposition of hands to his ancient place among the flock, as one purified by repentance; and that imposition of hands shall be to him instead of baptism: for by the laying on of our hands the Holy Ghost was given to believers. And in case some one of those brethren who had stood immoveable accuse thee, because thou art reconciled to him, say to him: "Thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine. It was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.

⁸⁵ For that God does not only receive the penitent, but restores them to their former dignity, holy David is a sufficient witness, who, after his sin in the matter of Uriah, prayed to God, and said: "Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and uphold me with Thy free Spirit. And again: "Turn Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine offences. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in my inward parts. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Do thou therefore, as a compassionate physician, heal all that have sinned, making use of saving methods of cure; not only cutting and searing, or using corrosives, but binding up, and putting in tents, and using gentle healing medicines, and sprinkling comfortable words. If it be an hollow wound, or great gash, nourish it with a suitable plaister, that it may be filled up, and become even with the rest of the whole flesh. If it be foul, cleanse it with corrosive powder, that

is, with the words of reproof. If it have proud flesh, eat it down with a sharp plaister-the threats of judgment. If it spreads further, sear it, and cut off the putrid flesh, mortifying him with fastings.

⁸⁶ But if, after all that thou hast done, thou perceivest that from the feet to the head there is no room for a fomentation, or oil, or bandage, but that the malady spreads and prevents all cure, as a gangrene which corrupts the entire member; then, with a great deal of consideration, and the advice of other skilful physicians, cut off the putrefied member, that the whole body of the Church be not corrupted. Be not therefore ready and hasty to cut off, nor do thou easily have recourse to the saw, with its many teeth; but first use a lancet to lay open the wound, that the inward cause whence the pain is derived being drawn out, may keep the body free from pain. But if thou seest any one past repentance, and he is become insensible, then cut off the incurable from the Church with sorrow and lamentation. For: "Take out from among yourselves that wicked person. And: "Ye shall make the children of Israel to fear. And again: "Thou shalt not accept the persons of the rich in judgment. And: "Thou shalt not pity a poor man in his cause: for the judgment is the Lord's."

That a Judge Must Not Be a Respector of Persons.

⁸⁷ XLII. But if the slanderous accusation be false, and you that are the pastors, with the deacons, admit of that falsehood for truth, either by acceptance of persons or receiving of bribes, as willing to do that which will be pleasing to the devil, and so you thrust out from the Church him that is accused, but is clear of the crime, you shall give an account in the day of the Lord. For it is written: "The innocent and the righteous thou shalt not slay. "Thou shalt not take gifts to smite the soul: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and destroy the words of the righteous. And again: "They that justify the wicked for gifts, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him. Be careful, therefore, not to condemn any persons unjustly, and so to assist the wicked. For "woe to him that calls evil good, and good evil; bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; that puts light for darkness, and darkness for light. Take care, therefore, lest by any means ye become acceptors of persons, and thereby fall under this voice of the Lord. For if you condemn others unjustly, you pass sentence against yourselves. For the Lord says: "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and as you condemn, you shall be condemned.

⁸⁸ If, therefore, ye judge without respect of persons, ye will discover that accuser who bears false witness against his neighbour, and will prove him to be a sycophant, a spiteful person, and a murderer, causing perplexity by accusing the man as if he were wicked, inconstant in his words, contradicting himself in what he affirms, and entangled with the words of his own mouth; for his own lips are a dangerous, snare to him: whom, when thou hast convicted him of speaking falsely, thou shalt judge severely, and shalt deliver him to the fiery sword, and thou shalt do to him as he wickedly proposed to do to his brother; for as much as in him lay he slew his brother, by forestalling the ears of the judge. Now it is written, that "he that sheddeth man's blood, for that his own blood shall be shed. And: "Thou shalt take away that innocent blood, which was shed without cause, from thee."

After What Manner False Accusers are to Be Punished.

⁸⁹ XLIII. Thou shalt therefore cast him out of the congregation as a murderer of his brother. Some time afterwards, if he says that he repents, mortify him with fastings, and afterwards ye shall lay your hands upon him and receive him, but still securing him, that he does not disturb anybody a second time. But if, when he is admitted again, he be alike troublesome, and will not cease to disturb and to quarrel with his brother, spying faults out of a contentious spirit, cast him out as a pernicious person, that he may not lay waste the Church of God. For such a one is the raiser of disturbances in cities; for he, though he be within, does not become the Church, but is a superfluous and vain member, casting a blot, as far as in him lies, on the body of Christ. For if such men as are born with superfluous members of their body, which hang to them as fingers, or excrescences of flesh, cut them away from themselves on account of their indecency, whereby the unseemliness vanishes, and the man recovers his natural good shape by the means of the surgeon; how much more ought you, the pastors of the Church (for the Church is a perfect body, and sound members;

⁹⁰ of such as believe in God, in the fear of the Lord, and in love), to do the like when there is found in it a superfluous member with wicked designs, and rendering the rest of the body unseemly, and disturbing it with sedition, and war, and evil-speaking; causing fears, disturbances, blots, evil-speaking, accusations, disorders, and doing the like works of the devil, as if he were ordained by the devil to cast a reproach on the Church by calumnies, and mighty disorders, and strife, and division! Such a one, therefore, when he is a

second time cast out of the Church, is justly cut off entirely from the congregation of the Lord. And now the Church of the Lord will be more beautiful than it was before, when it had a superfluous, and to itself a disagreeable member. Wherefore henceforward it will be free from blame and reproach, and become clear of such wicked, deceitful, abusive, unmerciful, traitorous persons; of such as are "haters of those that are good, lovers of pleasure," affecters of vainglory, deceivers, and pretenders to wisdom; of such as make it their business to scatter, or rather utterly to disperse, the lambs of the Lord.

Sec. VI.-The Disputes of the Faithful to Be Settled by the Decisions of the Bishop, and the Faithful to Be Reconciled.

⁹¹ Do thou therefore, O bishop, together with thy subordinate clergy, endeavour rightly to divide the word of truth. For the Lord says: "If you walk cross-grained to me, I will walk cross-grained to you." And elsewhere: "With the holy Thou wilt be holy, and with the perfect man Thou wilt be perfect, and with the froward Thou wilt be froward." Walk therefore holily, that you may rather appear worthy of praise from the Lord than of complaint from the adversary.

That the Deacon is to Ease the Burden of the Bishops, and to Order the Smaller Matters Himself.

⁹² XLIV. Be ye of one mind, O ye bishops, one with another, and be at peace with one another; sympathize with one another, love the brethren, and feed the people with care; with one consent teach those that are under you to be of the same sentiments and to be of the same opinions about the same matters, "that there may be no schisms among you; that ye may be one body and one spirit, perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment," according to the appointment of the Lord. And let the deacon refer all things to the bishop, as Christ does to His Father. But let him order such things as he is able by himself, receiving power from the bishop, as the Lord did from His Father the power of creation and of providence. But the weighty matters let the bishop judge; but let the deacon be the bishop's ear, and eye, and mouth, and heart, and soul, that the bishop may not be distracted with many cares, but with such only as are more considerable, as Jethro did appoint for Moses, and his counsel was received.

That Contentions and Quarrels are Unbecoming Christians.

⁹³ XLV. It is therefore a noble encomium for a Christian to have no contest with any one; but if by any management or temptation a contest arises with any one, let him endeavour that it may be composed, though thereby he be obliged to lose somewhat; and let it not come before an heathen tribunal. Nay, indeed, you are not to permit that the rulers of this world should pass sentence against your people; for by them the devil contrives mischief to the servants of God, and occasions a reproach to be cast upon us, as though we had not "one wise man that is able to judge between his brethren," or to decide their controversies.

That Believers Ought Not to Go to Law Before Unbelievers; Nor Ought Any Unbeliever to Be Called for a Witness Against Believers.

⁹⁴ XLVI. Let not the heathen therefore know of your differences among One another, nor do you receive unbelievers as witnesses against yourselves, nor be judged by them, nor owe them anything on account of tribute or fear; but "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's," as tribute, taxes, or poll-money, as our Lord by giving a piece of money was freed from disturbance. Choose therefore rather to suffer harm, and to endeavour after those things that make for peace, not only among the brethren, but also among the unbelievers. For by suffering loss in the affairs of this life, thou wilt be sure not to suffer in the concerns of piety, and wilt live religiously, and according to the command of Christ. But if brethren have lawsuits one with another, which God forbid, you who are the rulers ought thence to learn that such as these do not do the work of brethren in the Lord, but rather of public enemies; and one of the parties will be found to be mild, gentle, and the child of light; but the other unmerciful, insolent, and covetous. Let him, therefore, who is condemned be rebuked, let him be separated, let him undergo the punishment of his hatred to his brother. Afterwards, when he repents, let him be received; and so, when they have learned prudence, they will ease your judicatures. It is also a duty to forgive each other's trespasses—not the duty of those that judge, but of those that have quarrels;

⁹⁵ as the Lord determined when I Peter asked Him, "How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times? "He replied, "I say not unto thee, Until seven times, but until seventy times seven. For so would our Lord have us to be truly His disciples, and never to have anything

against anybody; as, for instance, anger without measure, passion without mercy, covetousness without justice, hatred without reconciliation. Draw by your instruction those who are angry to friendship, and those who are at variance to agreement. For the Lord says: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

That the Judicatures of Christians Ought to Be Held on the Second Day of the Week.

96 XLVII. Let your judicatures be held on the second day of the week, that if any controversy arise about your sentence, having an interval till the Sabbath, you may be able to set the controversy right, and to reduce those to peace who have the contests one with another against the Lord's day. Let also the deacons and presbyters be present at your judicatures, to judge without acceptance of persons, as men of God, with righteousness. When, therefore, both the parties are come, according as the law says, those that have the controversy shall stand severally in the middle of the court; and when you have heard them, give your votes holily, endeavouring to make them both friends before the sentence of the bishop, that judgment against the offender may not go abroad into the world; knowing that he has in the court the Christ of God as conscious of and confirming his judgment. But if any persons are accused by any one, and their fame suffers as if they did not walk uprightly in the Lord. in like manner you shall hear both parties-the accuser and accused; but not with prejudice, nor with hearkening to one part only, but with righteousness, as passing a sentence concerning eternal life or death. For says God: "He shall prosecute that which is right justly." For he that is justly punished and separated by you is rejected from eternal life and glory; he becomes dishonourable among holy men, and one condemned of God.

That the Same Punishment is Not to Be Inflicted for Every Offence, But Different Punishments for Different Offenders.

97 XLVIII. Do not pass the same sentence for every sin, but one suitable to each crime, distinguishing all the several sorts of offences with much prudence, the great from the little. Treat a wicked action after one manner, and a wicked word after another; a bare intention still otherwise. So also in the case of a contumely or suspicion. And some thou shalt curb by threatenings alone; some thou shalt punish with fines to the poor; some thou shalt mortify with fastings; and others thou shalt separate according to the greatness of their several crimes. For the law did not allot the same punishment to every offence, but had a different regard to a sin against God, against the

priest, against the temple, or against the sacrifice; from a sin against the king, or ruler, or a soldier, or a fellow-subject; and so were the offences different which were against a servant, a possession, or a brute creature. And again, sins were differently rated according as they were against parents and kinsmen, and those differently which were done on purpose from those that happened involuntarily. Accordingly the punishments were different: as death either by crucifixion or by stoning, fines, scourgings, or the suffering the same mischiefs they had done to others. Wherefore do you also allot different penalties to different offences, lest any injustice should happen, and provoke God to indignation. For of what unjust judgment soever you are the instruments, of the same you shall receive the reward from God. "For with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged."

What are to Be the Characters of Accusers and Witnesses.

98 XLIX. When, therefore, you are set down at your tribunal, and the parties are both of them present (for we will not call them brethren until they receive each other in peace), examine diligently concerning those who appear before you; and first concerning the accuser, whether this be the first person he has accused, or whether he has advanced accusations against some others before, and whether this contest and accusation of theirs does not arise from some quarrel, and what sort of life the accuser leads. Yet, though he be of a good conscience, do not give credit to him alone, for that is contrary to the law; but let him have others to join in his testimony, and those of the same course of life. As the law says: "At the mouth of two or three witnesses everything shall be established. But why did we say that the character of the witnesses was to be inquired after, of what sort it is? Because it frequently happens that two and more testify for mischief, and with joint consent prefer a lie; as did the two elders against Susanna in Babylon, and the sons of transgressors against Naboth in Samaria, and the multitude of the Jews against our Lord at Jerusalem, and against Stephen His first martyr. Let the witnesses therefore be meek, free from anger, full of equity, kind, prudent, continent, free from wickedness, faithful, religious; for the testimony of such persons is firm on account of their character, and true on account of their mode of life.

99 But as to those of a different character, do not ye receive their testimony, although they seem to agree together in their evidence against the accused; for it is ordained in the law: "Thou shalt not be with a multitude for

wickedness; thou shalt not receive a vain report; thou shalt not consent with a multitude to pervert judgment. You ought also particularly to know him that is accused; what he is in his course and mode of life; whether he have a good report as to his life; whether he has been unblameable; whether he has been zealous in holiness; whether he be a lover of the widows, a lover of the strangers, a lover of the poor, and a lover of the brethren; whether he be not given to filthy lucre; whether he be not an extravagant person, or a spend-thrift; whether he be sober, and free from luxury, or a drunkard, or a glutton; whether he be compassionate and charitable.

That Former Offences Do Sometimes Render After Accusations Credible.

100 L. For if he has been before addicted to wicked works, the accusations which are now brought against him will thence in some measure appear to be true, unless justice do plainly plead for him. For it may be, that though he had formerly been an offender, yet that he may not be guilty of this crime of which he is accused. Wherefore be exactly cautious about such circumstances, and so render your sentences, when pronounced against the offender convicted, safe and firm. And if, after his separation, he begs pardon, and falls down before the bishop, and acknowledges his fault, receive him. But neither do you suffer a false accuser to go unpunished, that he may not calumniate another who lives well, or encourage some other person to do like him. Nor, to be sure, do ye suffer a person convicted to go off clear, lest another be ensnared in the same crimes. For neither shall a witness of mischiefs be unpunished, nor shall he that offends be without censure.

Against Judging Without Hearing Both Sides.

101 LI. We said before that judgment ought not to be given upon hearing only one of the parties; for if you hear one of them when the other is not there, and so cannot make his defence to the accusation brought against him, and rashly give your votes for condemnation, you will be found guilty of that man's destruction, and partaker with the false accuser before God, the just Judge. For "as he that holdeth the tail of a dog, so is he that presides at unjust judgment." But if ye become imitators of the elders in Babylon, who, when they had borne witness against Susanna, unjustly condemned her to death, you will become obnoxious to their judgment and condemnation. For the Lord by Daniel delivered Susanna from the hand of the ungodly, but condemned to the fire those elders who were guilty of her blood, and re-

proaches you by him, saying: "Are ye so foolish, ye children of Israel? Without examination, and without knowing the truth, have ye condemned a daughter of Israel? Return again to the place of judgment, for these men have borne false witness against her."

The Caution Observed at Heathen Tribunals Before the Condemnation of Criminals Affords Christians a Good Example.

102 LII. Consider even the judicatures of this world, by whose power we see murderers, adulterers, wizards, robbers of sepulchres, and thieves brought to trial; and those that preside, when they have received their accusations from those that brought them, ask the malefactor whether those things be so. And though he does not deny the crimes, they do not presently send him out to punishment; but for several days they make inquiry about him with a full council, and with the veil interposed. And he that is to pass the final decree and suffrage of death against him, lifts up his hands to the sun, and solemnly affirms that he is innocent of the blood of the man. Though they be heathens, and know not the Deity, nor the vengeance which will fall upon men from God on account of those that are justly condemned, they avoid such unjust judgments.

That Christians Ought Not to Be Contentious One with Another.

103 LIII. But you who know who our God is, and what are His judgments, how can you bear to pass an unjust judgment, since your sentence will be immediately known to God? And if you have judged righteously, you will be deemed worthy of the recompenses of righteousness, both now and hereafter; but if unrighteously, you will partake of the like. We therefore advise you, brethren, rather to deserve commendation from God than rebukes; for the commendation of God is eternal life to men, as is His rebuke everlasting death. Be ye therefore righteous judges, peacemakers, and without anger. For "he that is angry with his brother without a cause is obnoxious to the judgment. But if it happens that by any one's contrivance you are angry at anybody, "let not the sun go down upon your wrath; " for says David, "Be angry and sin not; " that is, be soon reconciled, lest your wrath continue so long that it turn to a settled hatred, and work sin. "For the souls of those that bear a settled hatred are to death," says Solomon. But our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ says in the Gospels: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then

come and offer thy gift to God. Now the gift to God is every one's prayer and thanksgiving.

¹⁰⁴ If, therefore, thou hast anything against thy brother, or he has anything against thee, neither will thy prayers be heard, nor will thy thanksgivings be accepted, by reason of that hidden anger. But it is your duty, brethren, to pray continually. Yet, because God hears not those which are at enmity with their brethren by unjust quarrels, even though they should pray three times an hour, it is our duty to compose all our enmity and littleness of soul, that we may be able to pray with a pure and unpolluted heart. For the Lord commanded us to love even our enemies, and by no means to hate our friends. And the lawgiver says: "Thou shalt not hate any man; thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy mind. Thou shalt certainly reprove thy brother, and not incur sin on his account. "Thou shalt not hate an Egyptian, for thou wast a sojourner with him. Thou shalt not hate an Idumaeon, for he is thy brother. And David says: "If I have repaid those that requited me evil. Wherefore, if thou wilt be a Christian, follow the law of the Lord: "Loose every band of wickedness; for the Lord has given thee authority to remit those sins to thy brother which he has committed against thee as far as "seventy times seven," that is, four hundred and ninety times.

¹⁰⁵ How oft, therefore, hast thou remitted to thy brother, that thou art unwilling to do it now, when thou also hast heard Jeremiah saying, "Do not any of you impute the wickedness of his neighbour in your hearts?" But thou rememberest injuries, and keepest enmity, and comest into judgment, and art suspicious of His anger and thy prayer is hindered. Nay, if thou hast remitted to thy brother four hundred and ninety times, do thou still multiply thy acts of gentleness more, to do good for thy own sake. Although he does not do so, yet, however, do thou endeavour to forgive thy brother for God's sake, "that thou mayest be the son of thy Father which is in heaven," and when thou prayest, mayest be heard as a friend of God.

That the Bishops Must by Their Deacon Put the People in Mind of the Obligation They are Under to Live Peaceably Together.

¹⁰⁶ LIV. Wherefore, O bishop, when you are to go to prayer after the lessons, and the psalmody, and the instruction out of the Scriptures, let the deacon stand nigh you, and with a loud voice say: Let none have any quarrel with another; let none come in hypocrisy; that if there be any controversy found among any of you, they may be affected in conscience, and may pray to God,

and be reconciled to their brethren. For if, upon coming into any one's house, we are to say, "Peace be to this house," like sons of peace bestowing peace on those who are worthy, as it is written, "He came and preached peace to you that are nigh, and them that are far off, whom the Lord knows to be His," much more is it incumbent on those that enter into the Church of God before all things to pray for the peace of God. But if he prays for it upon others, much more let himself be within the same, as a child of light; for he that has it not within himself is not fit to bestow it upon others. Wherefore, before all things, it is our duty to be at peace in our own minds; for he that does not find any disorder in himself will not quarrel with another, but will be peaceable, friendly, gathering the Lord's people, and a fellow-worker with him, in order to the increasing the number of those that shall be saved in unanimity. For those who contrive enmities, and strifes, and contests, and lawsuits, are wicked, and aliens from God.

An Enumeration of the Several Instances of Divine Providence, and How in Every Age from the Beginning of the World God Has Invited All Men to Repentance.

107 LV. For God, being a God of mercy from the beginning, called every generation to repentance by righteous men and prophets. He instructed those before the flood by Abel and Sem, and Seth, also by Enos, and by Enoch that was translated; those at the flood by Noah; the inhabitants of Sodom by hospitable Lot; those after the flood by Melchizedek, and the patriarchs, and Job the beloved of God; the Egyptians by Moses; the Israelites by him, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas, and the rest; those after the law by angels and prophets, and the same by His own incarnation of the Virgin; those a little before His bodily appearance by John His forerunner, and the same by the same person after Christ's birth, saying, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" those after His passion by us, the twelve apostles, and Paul the chosen vessel. We therefore, who have been vouchsafed the favour of being the witnesses of His appearance, together with James the brother of our Lord, and the other seventy-two disciples, and his seven deacons, have heard from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by exact knowledge declare "what is the will of God, that good, and acceptable, and perfect will" which is made known to us by Jesus; that none should perish, but that all men with one accord should believe in Him, and send unanimously praise to Him, and thereby live for ever.

That It is the Will of God that Men Should Be of One Mind in Matters of Religion, in Accord with the Heavenly Powers.

¹⁰⁸ LVI. For this is that which our Lord taught us when we pray to say to His Father, "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so upon earth; " that as the heavenly natures of the incorporeal powers do all glorify God with one consent, so also upon earth all men with one mouth and one purpose may glorify the only, the one, and the true God, by Christ His only-begotten. It is therefore His will that men should praise Him with unanimity, and adore Him with one consent. For this is His will in Christ, that those who are saved by Him may be many; but that you do not occasion any loss or diminution to Him, nor to the Church, or lessen the number by one soul of man, as destroyed by you, which might have been saved by repentance; and which therefore perishes not only by its own sin, but also by your treachery besides, whereby you fulfil that which is written, "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth.

¹⁰⁹ Such a one is a disperser of the sheep, an adversary, an enemy of God, a destroyer of those lambs whose Shepherd was the Lord, and we were the collectors out of various nations and tongues, by much pains and danger, and perpetual labour, by watchings, by fastings, by lyings on the ground, by persecutions, by stripes, by imprisonments, that we might do the will of God, and fill the feast-chamber with guests to sit down at His table, that is, the holy and Catholic Church, with joyful and chosen people, singing hymns and praises to God that has called them by us to life. And you, as much as in you lies, have dispersed them. Do you also of the laity be at peace with one another, endeavouring like wise men to increase the Church, and to turn back, and tame, and restore those which seem wild. For this is the greatest reward by His promise from God, "If thou fetch out the worthy and precious from the unworthy, thou shalt be as my mouth."

Sec. VII.-On Assembling in the Church. — An Exact Description of a Church and the Clergy, and What Things in Particular Every One is to Do in the Solemn Assemblies of the Clergy and Laity For, Religious Worship.

¹¹⁰ LVII. But be thou, O bishop, holy, unblameable, no striker, not soon angry, not cruel; but a builder up, a converter, apt to teach, forbearing of evil, of a gentle mind, meek, long-suffering, ready to exhort, ready to comfort, as a man of God. ¹¹¹ When thou callest an assembly of the Church as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons as mariners to prepare places for

the brethren as for passengers, with all due care and decency. And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the bishop's throne be placed, and on each side of him let the presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship: with regard to these, let the laity sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order. And let the women sit by themselves, they also keeping silence. In the middle, let the reader stand upon some high place: let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses.

112 Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under the conduct of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels, both those which I Matthew and John have delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul received and left to you, Luke and Mark. And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence; for it is written: "Be silent, and hear, O Israel. And again: "But do thou stand there, and hear. In the next place, let the presbyters one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the bishop in the last place, as being the commander. Let the porters stand at the entries of the men, and observe them. Let the deaconesses also stand at those of the women, like shipmen. For the same description and pattern was both in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple of God. But if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the deacon, as a manager of the foreship, and be removed into the place proper for him; for the Church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheepfold. For as the shepherds place all the brute creatures distinctly, I mean goats and sheep, according to their kind and age, and still every one runs together, like to his like;

113 so is it to be in the Church. Let the young persons sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; if not, let them stand upright. But let those that are already stricken in years sit in order. For the children which stand, let their fathers and mothers take them to them. Let the younger women also

sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; but if there be not, let them stand behind the women. Let those women which are married, and have children, be placed by themselves; but let the virgins, and the widows, and the elder women, stand or sit before all the rest; and let the deacon be the disposer of the places, that every one of those that comes in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance. In like manner, let the deacon oversee the people, that nobody may whisper, nor slumber, nor laugh, nor nod; for all ought in the church to stand wisely, and soberly, and attentively, having their attention fixed upon the word of the Lord. After this, let all rise up with one consent, and looking towards the east, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastward, who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east; remembering also the ancient situation of paradise in the east, from whence the first man, when he had yielded to the persuasion of the serpent, and disobeyed the command of God, was expelled.

¹¹⁴ As to the deacons, after the prayer is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord's body with fear. Let others of them watch the multitude, and keep them silent. But let that deacon who is at the high priest's hand say to the people, Let no one have any quarrel against another; let no one come in hypocrisy. Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord's kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss. After this let the deacon pray for the whole Church, for the whole world, and the several parts of it, and the fruits of it; for the priests and the rulers, for the high priest and the king, and the peace of the universe. After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded the priests to bless the people, in these words: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace. Let the bishop pray for the people, and say: "Save Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance, which Thou hast obtained with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood, and an holy nation. After this let the sacrifice follow, the people standing, and praying silently;

¹¹⁵ and when the oblation has been made, let every rank by itself partake of the Lord's body and precious blood in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their king. Let the women approach with their heads covered, as is becoming the order of women; but let the door be watched, lest any unbeliever, or one not yet initiated, come in.

Of Commendatory Letters in Favour of Strangers, Lay Persons, Clergymen, and Bishops; And that Those Who Come into the Church Assemblies are to Be Received Without Regard to Their Quality.

116 LVIII. If any brother, man or woman, come in from another parish, bringing recommendatory letters, let the deacon be the judge of that affair, inquiring whether they be of the faithful, and of the Church? whether they be not defiled by heresy? and besides, whether the party be a married woman or a widow? And when he is satisfied in these questions, that they are really of the faithful, and of the same sentiments in the things of the Lord, let him conduct every one to the place proper for him. And if a presbyter comes from another parish, let him be received to communion by the presbyters; if a deacon, by the deacons; if a bishop, let him sit with the bishop, and be allowed the same honour with himself; and thou, O bishop, shalt desire him to speak to the people words of instruction: for the exhortation and admonition of strangers is very acceptable, and exceeding profitable. For, as the Scripture says, "no prophet is accepted in his own country. Thou shalt also permit him to offer the Eucharist; but if, out of reverence to thee, and as a wise man, to preserve the honour belonging to thee, he will not offer, at least thou shalt compel him to give the blessing to the people.

117 But if, after the congregation is sat down, any other person comes upon you of good fashion and character in the world, whether he be a stranger, or one of your own country, neither do thou, O bishop, if thou art speaking the word of God, or hearing him that sings or reads, accept persons so far as to leave the ministry of the word, that thou mayest appoint an upper place for him; but continue quiet, not interrupting thy discourse, nor thy attention. But let the brethren receive him by the deacons; and if there be not a place, let the deacon by speaking, but not in anger, raise the junior, and place the stranger there. And it is but reasonable that one that loves the brethren should do so of his own accord; but if he refuse, let him raise him up by force, and set him behind all, that the rest may be taught to give place to those that are more honourable. Nay, if a poor man, or one of a mean family, or a stranger, comes upon you, whether he be old or young, and there be no place, the deacon shall find a place for even these, and that with all his heart; that, instead of accepting persons before men, his ministration towards God may be well-pleasing. The very same thing let the deaconess do to those women, whether poor or rich, that come unto them.

That Every Christian Ought to Frequent the Church Diligently Both Morning and Evening.

118 LIX. When thou instructest the people, O bishop, command and exhort them to come constantly to church morning and evening every day, and by no means to forsake it on any account, but to assemble together continually; neither to diminish the Church by withdrawing themselves, and causing the body of Christ to be without its member. For it is not only spoken concerning the priests, but let every one of the laity hearken to it as concerning himself, considering that it is said by the Lord: "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." Do not you therefore scatter yourselves abroad, who are the members of Christ, by not assembling together, since you have Christ your head, according to His promise, present, and communicating to you. Be not careless of yourselves, neither deprive your Saviour of His own members, neither divide His body nor disperse His members, neither prefer the occasions of this life to the word of God; but assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's house: in the morning saying the sixty-second Psalm, and in the evening the hundred and fortieth, but principally on the Sabbath-day. And on the day of our Lord's resurrection, which is the Lord's day, meet more diligently, sending praise to God that made the universe by Jesus, and sent Him to us, and condescended to let Him suffer, and raised Him from the dead. Otherwise what apology will he make to God who does not assemble on that day to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection, on which we pray thrice standing in memory of Him who arose in three days, in which is performed the reading of the prophets, the preaching of the Gospel, the oblation of the sacrifice, the gift of the holy food?

The Vain Zeal Which the Heathens and Jews Show in Frequenting Their Temples and Synagogues is a Proper Example and Motive to Excite Christians to Frequent the Church.

119 LX. And how can he be other than an adversary to God, who takes pains about temporary things night and day, but takes no care of things eternal? who takes care of washings and temporary food every day, but does not take care of those that endure for ever? How can such a one even now avoid hearing that word of the Lord, "The Gentiles are justified more than you?" as He says, by way of reproach, to Jerusalem, "Sodom is justified rather than thou.

For if the Gentiles every day, when they arise from sleep, run to their idols to worship them, and before all their work and all their labours do first of all pray to them, and in their feasts and in their solemnities do not keep away, but attend upon them; and not only those upon the place, but those living far distant do the same; and in their public shows all come together, as into a synagogue: in the same manner those which are vainly called Jews, when they have worked six days.

¹²⁰ on the seventh day rest, and come together into their synagogue, never leaving nor neglecting either rest from labour or assembling together, while yet they are deprived of the efficacy of the word in their unbelief, nay, and of the force of that name Judah, by which they call themselves,-for Judah is interpreted Confession,-but these do not confess to God (having unjustly occasioned the suffering on the cross), so as to be saved on their repentance;-if, therefore, those who are not saved frequently assemble together for such purposes as do not profit them, what apology wilt thou make to the Lord God who forsakest His Church, not imitating so much as the heathen, but by such thy absence growest slothful, or turnest apostate, or actest wickedness? To whom the Lord says by Jeremiah: "Ye have not kept my ordinances; nay, ye have not walked according to the ordinances of the heathen, and you have in a manner exceeded them. And again: "Israel has justified his soul more than treacherous Judah. And afterwards: "Will the Gentiles change their gods which are not gods? Wherefore pass over to the isles of Chittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and observe diligently whether such things have been done. For those nations have not changed their ordinances; but," says He, "my people has changed its glory for that which will not profit. How, therefore, will any one make his apology who has despised or absented himself from the church of God?

That We Must Not Prefer the Affairs of This Life to Those Which Concern the Worship of God.

¹²¹ LXI. But if any one allege the pretence of his own work, and so is a despiser, "offering pretences for his sins," let such a one know that the trades of the faithful are works by the by, but the worship of God is their great work. Follow therefore your trades as by the by, for your maintenance, but make the worship of God your main business; as also our Lord said: "Labour not for the meat which perishes, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life. And again: "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He

hath sent. Endeavour therefore never to leave the Church of God; but if any one overlooks it, and goes either into a polluted temple of the heathens, or into a synagogue of the Jews or heretics, what apology will such a one make to God in the day of judgment, who has forsaken the oracles of the living God, and the living and quickening oracles, such as are able to deliver from eternal punishment, and has gone into an house of demons, or into a synagogue of the murderers of Christ, or the congregation of the wicked?-not hearkening unto him that says: "I have hated the congregation of the wicked, and I will not enter with the ungodly. I have not sat with the assembly of vanity, neither will I sit with the ungodly. And again:

122 "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law will he meditate day and night. But thou, forsaking the gathering together of the faithful, the Church of God, and His laws, hast respect to those "dens of thieves," calling those things holy which He has called profane, and making such things unclean which He has sanctified. And not only so, but thou already runnest after the pomps of the Gentiles, and hastenest to their theatres, being desirous to be reckoned one of those that enter into them, and to partake of unseemly, not to say abominable words; not hearkening to Jeremiah, who says, "O Lord, I have not sat in their assemblies, for they are scorers; but I was afraid because of Thy hand; " nor to Job, who speaks in like manner, "If I have gone at any time with the scornful; for I shall be weighed in a just balance. But why wilt thou be a partaker of the heathen oracles, which are nothing but dead men declaring by the inspiration of the devil deadly things, and such as tend to subvert the faith, and to draw those that attend to them to polytheism? Do you therefore, who attend to the laws.

123 of God, esteem those laws more honourable than the necessities of this life, and pay a greater respect to them, and run together to the Church of the Lord, "which He has purchased with the blood of Christ, the beloved, the first-born of every creature. For this Church is the daughter of the Highest, which has been in travail of you by the word of grace, and has "formed Christ in you," of whom you are made partakers, and thereby become His holy and chosen members, "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but as being holy and unspotted in the faith, ye are complete in Him, after the image of God that created you."

That Christians Must Abstain from All the Impious Practices of the Heathens.

¹²⁴ LXII. Take heed, therefore, not to join yourselves in your worship with those that perish, which is the assembly of the Gentiles, to your deceit and destruction. For there is no fellowship between God and the devil; for he that assembles himself with those that favour the things of the devil, will be esteemed one of them, and will inherit a woe. Avoid also indecent spectacles: I mean the theatres and the pomps of the heathens; their enchantments, observations of omens, soothsayings, purgations, divinations, observations of birds; their necromancies and invocations. For it is written: "There is no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel." And again: "Divination is iniquity." And elsewhere: "Ye shall not be soothsayers, and follow observers of omens, nor diviners, nor dealers with familiar spirits. Ye shall not preserve alive wizards." Wherefore Jeremiah exhorts, saying: "Walk ye not according to the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven." So that it is the duty of a believer to avoid the assemblies of the ungodly, of the heathen, and of the Jews, and of the rest of the heretics, lest by uniting ourselves to them we bring snares upon our own souls; that we may not by joining in their feasts, which are celebrated in honour of demons, be partakers with them in their impiety. You are also to avoid their public meetings, and those sports which are celebrated in them. For a believer ought not to go to any of those public meetings, unless to purchase a slave, and save a soul, and at the same time to buy such other things as suit their necessities. Abstain, therefore, from all idolatrous pomp and state, all their public meetings, banquets, duels, and all shows belonging to demons.

Sec. VIII.—On the Duty of Working for a Livelihood. — That a Christian Who Will Not Work Must Not Eat, as Peter and the Rest of the Apostles Were Fishermen, But Paul and Aquila Tentmakers, Jude the Son of James an Husbandman.

¹²⁵ LXIII. Let the young persons of the Church endeavour to minister diligently in all necessities: mind your business with all becoming seriousness, that so you may always have sufficient to support yourselves and those that are needy, and not burden the Church of God. For we ourselves, besides our attention to the word of the Gospel, do not neglect our inferior employments. For some of us are fishermen, some tentmakers, some husbandmen, that so we may never be idle. So says Solomon somewhere: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways diligently, and become wiser than she. For she, having neither field, overseer, nor ruler, prepareth her food in the sum-

mer, and layeth up a great store in the harvest. Or else go to the bee, and learn how laborious she is, and her work how valuable it is, whose labours both kings and mean men make use of for their health. She is desirable and glorious, though she be weak in strength, yet by honouring wisdom she is improved, etc. How long wilt thou lie on thy bed, O sluggard? When wilt thou awake out of thy sleep? Thou sleepest awhile thou liest down awhile, thou slumberest awhile, thou foldest thy hands on thy breast to sleep awhile. Then poverty comes on thee like an evil traveller, and want as a swift racer. But if thou beest diligent, thy harvest shall come as a fountain, and want shall fly from thee as an evil runagate. And again: "He that manageth his own land shall be filled with bread.

¹²⁶ And elsewhere he says: "The slothful has folded his own hands together, and has eaten his own flesh. And afterwards: "The sluggard hides his hand; he will not be able to bring it to his mouth. And again: "By slothfulness of the hands a floor will be brought low. Labour therefore continually; for the blot of the slothful is not to be healed. But "if any one does not work, let not such a one eat" among you. For the Lord our God hates the slothful. For no one of those who are dedicated to God ought to be idle.

Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Book 3

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

c. AD 380

Book 3, on widows and deaconesses, and on the baptism of women.

Sec. I.-Concerning Widows. — The Age at Which Widows Should Be Chosen.

1 I. Choose your "widows not under sixty years of age," that in some measure the suspicion of a second marriage may be prevented by their age. But if you admit one younger into the order of widows, and she cannot bear her widowhood in her youth, and marries, she will procure indecent reflections on the glory of the order of the widows, and shall give an account to God; not because she married a second time, but because she has "waxed wanton against Christ," and not kept her promise, because she did not come and keep her promise with faith and the fear of God. Wherefore such a promise ought not to be rashly made, but with great caution: "for it is better for her not to vow, than to vow and not to pay." But if any younger woman, who has lived but a while with her husband, and has lost him by death or some other occasion, and remains by herself, having the gift of widowhood, she will be found to be blessed, and to be like the widow of Sarepta, belonging to Sidon, with whom the holy prophet of God, Elijah, lodged. Such a one may also be compared to "Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, which departed not from the temple, but continued in supplications and prayers night and day, who was fourscore years old, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity, who glorified the coming of Christ, and gave thanks to the Lord, and spake concerning Him to all those who looked for redemption in Israel." Such a widow will have a good report, and will be honoured, having both glory with men upon earth, and eternal praise with God in heaven.

That We Must Avoid the Choice of Younger Widows, Because of Suspicion.

2 II. But let not the younger widows be placed in the order of widows, lest, under pretence of inability to contain in the flower of their age, they come to a second marriage, and become subject to imputation. But let them be assisted and supported, that so they may not, under pretence of being deserted, come to a second marriage, and so be ensnared in an unseemly imputation. For you ought to know this, that once marrying according to the law is righteous, as being according to the will of God; but second marriages, after the promise, are wicked, not on account of the marriage itself, but because of the falsehood. Third marriages are indications of incontinency. But such marriages as are beyond the third are manifest fornication, and unquestionable uncleanness. For God in the creation gave one woman to one man; for "they two shall be one flesh." But to the younger women let a second marriage be allowed after the death of their first husband, lest they fall into the condemnation of the devil, and many snares, and foolish lusts, which are hurtful to souls, and which bring upon them punishment rather than rest.

What Character the Widows Ought to Be Of, and How They Ought to Be Supported by the Bishop.

3 III. But the true widows are those which have had only one husband, having a good report among the generality for good works; widows indeed, sober, chaste, faithful, pious, who have brought up their children well, and have entertained strangers unblameably, which are to be supported as devoted to God. Besides, do thou, O bishop, be mindful of the needy, both reaching Gilt thy helping hand and making provision for them as the steward of God, distributing seasonably the oblations to every one of them, to the widows, the orphans, the friendless, and those tried with affliction.

That We Ought to Be Charitable to All Sorts of Persons in Want.

4 IV. For what if some are neither widows nor widowers, but stand in need of assistance, either through poverty or some disease, or the maintenance of a great number of children? It is thy duty to oversee all people, and to take care of them all. For they that give gifts do not of their own head give them to the widows, but barely bring them in, calling them free-will offerings, that so thou that knowest those that are in affliction mayest as a good steward give them their portion of the gift. For God knows the giver, though thou distributest it to those in want when he is absent. And he has the reward of

well-doing, but thou the blessedness of having dispensed it with a good conscience. But do thou tell them who was the giver, that they may pray for him by name. For it is our duty to do good to all men, not fondly preferring one or another, whoever they be. For the Lord says: "Give to every one that asketh of thee. It is evident that it is meant of every one that is really in want, whether he be friend or foe, whether he be a kinsman or a stranger, whether he be single or married. For in all the Scripture the Lord gives us exhortations about the needy, saying first by Isaiah: "Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor which have no covering into thine house. If thou seest the naked, do thou cover him;

5 and thou shalt not overlook those which are of thine own family and seed. And then by Daniel He says to the potentate: "Wherefore, O king, let my counsel please thee, and purge thy sins by acts of mercy, and thine iniquities by bowels of compassion to the needy. And He says by Solomon: "By acts of mercy and of faith iniquities are purged. And He says again by David: "Blessed is he that has regard to the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the evil day. And again: "He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the needy, his righteousness remaineth for ever. And Solomon says: "He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth to the Lord; according to his gift it shall be repaid him again. And afterwards: "He that stoppeth his ear, that he may not hear him that is in want, he also shall call himself, and there shall be none to hear him."

That the Widows are to Be Very Careful of Their Behavior.

6 V. Let every widow be meek, quiet, gentle, sincere, free from anger, not talkative, not clamorous, not hasty of speech, not given to evil-speaking, not captious, not double-tongued, not a busybody. If she see or hear anything that is not right, let her be as one that does not see, and as one that does not hear. And let the widow mind nothing but to pray for those that give, and for the whole Church; and when she is asked anything by any one, let her not easily answer, excepting questions concerning the faith, and righteousness, and hope in God, remitting those that desire to be instructed in the doctrines of godliness to the governors. Let her only answer so as may tend to the subversion of the error of polytheism, and let her demonstrate the assertion concerning the monarchy of God. But of the remaining doctrines let her not answer anything rashly, lest by saying anything unlearnedly she should make the word to be blasphemed. For the Lord has taught us that the

word is like "a grain of mustard seed," which is of a fiery nature, which if any one uses unskilfully, he will find it bitter. For in the mystical points we ought not to be rash, but cautious; for the Lord exhorts us, saying: "Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and turn again and rend you." For unbelievers, when they hear the doctrine concerning Christ not explained as it ought to be, but defectively, and especially that concerning His incarnation or His passion, will rather reject it with scorn, and laugh at it as false, than praise God for it. And so the aged women will be guilty of rashness, and of causing blasphemy, and will inherit a woe. For says He, "Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles."

That Women Ought Not to Teach, Because It is Unseemly; And What Women Followed Our Lord.

7 VI. We do not permit our "women to teach in the Church," but only to pray and hear those that teach; for our Master and Lord, Jesus Himself, when He sent us the twelve to make disciples of the people and of the nations, did nowhere send out women to preach, although He did not want such. For there were with us the mother of our Lord and His sisters; also Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Martha and Mary the sisters of Lazarus; Salome, and certain others. For, had it been necessary for women to teach, He Himself had first commanded these also to instruct the people with us. For "if the head of the wife be the man," it is not reasonable that the rest of the body should govern the head. Let the widow therefore own herself to be the "altar of God," and let her sit in her house, and not enter into the houses of the faithful, under any pretence, to receive anything; for the altar of God never runs about, but is fixed in one place. Let, therefore, the virgin and the widow be such as do not run about, or gad to the houses of those who are alien from the faith. For such as these are gadders and impudent: they do not make their feet to rest in one place, because they are not widows, but purses ready to receive, triflers, evil-speakers, counsellors of strife, without shame, impudent, who being such, are not worthy of Him that called them.

8 For they do not come to the common station of the congregation on the Lord's day, as those that are watchful; but either they slumber, or trifle, or allure men, or beg, or ensnare others, bringing them to the evil one; not suffering them to be watchful in the Lord, but taking care that they go out

as vain as they came in, because they do not hear the word of the Lord either taught or read. For of such as these the prophet Isaiah says: "Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxen gross, and they hear heavily with their ears."

What are the Characters of Widows Falsely So Called.

9 VII. In the same manner, therefore, the ears of the hearts of such widows as these are stopped, that they will not sit within in their cottages to speak to the Lord, but will run about with the design of getting, and by their foolish prattling fulfil the desires of the adversary. Such widows, therefore, are not affixed to the altar of Christ: for there are some widows which esteem gain their business; and since they ask without shame, and receive without being satisfied, render the generality more backward in giving. For when they ought to be content with their subsistence from the Church, as having moderate desires, on the contrary, they run from one of their neighbours' houses to another, and disturb them, heaping up to themselves plenty of money, and lend at bitter usury, and are only solicitous about mammon, whose bag is their god; who prefer eating and drinking before all virtue, saying, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;" who esteem these things as if they were durable and not perishing things. For she that uses herself to nothing but talking of money, worships mammon instead of God,-that is, is a servant to gain, but cannot be pleasing to God, nor resigned to His worship; not being able to intercede with Him continuously on account that her mind and disposition run after money: for "where the treasure is, there will the heart be also.

10 For she is thinking in her mind whither she may go to receive, or that a certain woman her friend has forgot her, and she has somewhat to say to her. She that thinks of such things as these will no longer attend to her prayers, but to that thought which offers itself; so that though sometimes she would pray for anybody, she will not be beard, because she does not offer her petition to the Lord with her whole heart, but with a divided mind. But she that will attend to God will sit within, and mind the things of the Lord day and night, offering her sincere petition with a mouth ready to utter the same without ceasing. As therefore Judith, most famous for her wisdom, and of a good report for her modesty, "prayed to God night and day for Israel;" so also the widow who is like to her will offer her intercession without ceasing for the Church to God. And He will hear her, because her mind is fixed on

this thing alone, and is not disposed to be either insatiable, or covetous, or expensive; when her eye is pure, and her hearing clean, and her hands undefiled, and her feet quiet, and her mouth prepared for neither gluttony nor trifling, but speaking the things that are fit, and partaking of only such things as are necessary for her maintenance. So, being grave, and giving no disturbance, she will be pleasing to God;

¹¹ and as soon as she asks anything, the gift will come to her: as He says, "While thou art speaking, I will say, Behold, I am here. Let such a one also be free from the love of money, free from arrogance, not given to filthy lucre, not insatiable, not gluttonous, but continent, meek, giving nobody disturbance, pious, modest, sitting at home, singing, and praying, and reading, and watching, and fasting; speaking to God continually in songs and hymns. And let her take wool, and rather assist others than herself want from them; being mindful of that widow who is honoured in the Gospel with the Lord's testimony, who, coming into the temple, "cast into the treasury two mites, which make a farthing. And Christ our Lord and Master, and Searcher of hearts, saw her, and said, Verily I say unto you, that this widow hath cast into the treasury more than they all: for all they have cast in of their abundance, but this woman of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had."

¹² The widows therefore ought to be grave, obedient to their bishops, and their presbyters, and their deacons, and besides these to the deaconesses, with piety, reverence, and fear; not usurping authority, nor desiring to do anything beyond the constitution without the consent of the deacon: as, suppose, the going to any one to eat or drink with him, or to receive anything from anybody. But if without direction she does any one of these things, let her be punished with fasting, or else let her be separated on account of her rashness.

That the Widows Ought Not to Accept of Alms from the Unworthy No More Than the Bishop, or Any Other of the Faithful.

¹³ VIII. For how does such a one know of what character the person is from whom she receives? or from what sort of ministration he supplies her with food, whether it does not arise from rapine or some other ill course of life? while the widow does not remember that if she receives in a way unworthy of God, she must give an account for every one of these things. For neither will the priests at any time receive a free-will offering from such a one, as, suppose, from a rapacious person or from a harlot. For it is written, "Thou shalt

not covet the goods that are thy neighbour's; " and, "Thou shalt not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord God." From such as these no offerings ought to be accepted, nor indeed from those that are separated from the Church. Let the widows also be ready to obey the commands given them by their superiors, and let them do according to the appointment of the bishop, being obedient to him as to God; for he that receives from such a one who is worthy of blame, or from one excommunicated, and prays for him, while he purposes to go on in a wicked course, and while he is not willing at any time to repent, holds communion with him in prayer, and grieves Christ, who rejects the unrighteous, and confirms them by means of the unworthy gift, and is defiled with them, not suffering them to come to repentance, so as to fall down before God with lamentation, and pray to Him.

That Women Ought Not to Baptize, Because It is Impious, and Contrary to the Doctrine of Christ.

¹⁴ IX. Now, as to women's baptizing, we let you know that there is no small peril to those that undertake it. Therefore we do not advise you to it; for it is dangerous, or rather wicked and impious. For if the "man be the head of the woman," and he be originally ordained for the priesthood, it is not just to abrogate the order of the creation, and leave the principal to come to the extreme part of the body. For the woman is the body of the man, taken from his side, and subject to him, from whom she was separated for the procreation of children. For says He, "He shall rule over thee." For the principal part of the woman is the man, as being her head. But if in the foregoing constitutions we have not permitted them to teach, how will any one allow them, contrary to nature, to perform the office of a priest? For this is one of the ignorant practices of the Gentile atheism, to ordain women priests to the female deities, not one of the constitutions of Christ. For if baptism were to be administered by women, certainly our Lord would have been baptized by His own mother, and not by John; or when He sent us to baptize, He would have sent along with us women also for this purpose. But now He has nowhere, either by constitution or by writing, delivered to us any such thing; as knowing the order of nature, and the decency of the action; as being the Creator of nature, and the Legislator of the constitution.

That a Layman Ought Not to Do Any Office of the Priesthood: He Ought Neither to Baptize, Nor Offer, Nor Lay on Hands, Nor Give the Blessing.

15 X. Neither do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belonging to the priesthood; as, for instance, neither the sacrifice, nor baptism, nor the laying on of hands, nor the blessing, whether the smaller or the greater: for "no one taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God." For such sacred offices are conferred by the laying on of the hands of the bishop. But a person to whom such an office is not committed, but he seizes upon it for himself, he shall undergo the punishment of Uzziah.

That None But a Bishop and Presbyter, None Even of the Inferior Ranks of the Clergy, are Permitted to Do the Offices of the Priests; That Ordination Belongs Wholly to the Bishop, and to Nobody Else.

16 XI. Nay, further, we do not permit to the rest of the clergy to baptize,-as, for instance, neither to readers, nor singers, nor porters, nor ministers,-but to the bishops and presbyters alone, yet so that the deacons are to minister to them therein. But those who venture upon it shall undergo the punishment of the companions of Corah. We do not permit presbyters to ordain deacons, or deaconesses, or readers, or ministers, or singers, or porters, but only bishops; for this is the ecclesiastical order and harmony.

The Rejection of All Uncharitable Actions.

17 XII. Now, as concerning envy, or jealousy, or evil-speaking, or strife, or the love of contention, we have said already to you, that these are alien from a Christian, and chiefly in the case of widows. But because the devil, who works in men, is in his conduct cunning, and full of various devices, he goes to those that are not truly widows, as formerly to Cain (for some say they are widows, but do not perform the injunctions agreeable to the widowhood; as neither did Cain discharge the duties due to a brother: for they do not consider how it is not the name of widowhood that will bring them to the kingdom of God, but true faith and holy works). But if any one possesses the name of widowhood, but does the works of the adversary, her widowhood will not be imputed, but she will be thrust out of the kingdom, and delivered to eternal punishment. For we hear that some widows are jealous, envious calumniators, and envious at the quiet of others. Such widows as these are not the disciples of Christ, nor of His doctrine; for it becomes them, when one

of their fellow-widows is clothed by any one, or receives money, or meat, or drink, or shoes, at the sight of the refreshment of their sister to say:-

How the Widows are to Pray for Those that Supply Their Necessities.

18 XIII. Thou art blessed, O God, who hast refreshed my fellow-widow. Bless, O Lord, and glorify him that has bestowed these things upon her, and let his good work ascend in truth to Thee, and remember him for good in the day of his visitation. And as for my bishop, who has so well performed his duty to Thee, and has ordered such a seasonable alms to be bestowed on my fellow-widow, who was naked, do Thou increase his glory, and give him a crown of rejoicing in the day of the revelation of Thy visitation. In the same manner, let the widow who has received the alms join with the other in praying for him who ministered to her.

That She Who Has Been Kind to the Poor Ought Not to Make a Stir and Tell Abroad Her Name, According to the Constitution of the Lord.

19 XIV. But if any woman has been good, let her, as a prudent person, conceal her own name, not sounding a trumpet before her, that her alms may be with God in secret, as the Lord says: "Thou, when thou doest thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret. And let the widow pray for him that gave her the alms, whosoever he be, as being the holy altar of Christ; and "the Father, who seeth in secret, will render to him that did good openly. But those widows which will not live according to the command of God, are solicitous and inquisitive what deaconess it is that gives the charity, and what widows receive it. And when she has learned those things, she murmurs at the deaconess who distributed the charity, saying, Dost not thou see that I am in more distress, and want of thy charity? Why, therefore, hast thou preferred her before me? She says these things foolishly, not understanding that this does not depend on the will of man, but the appointment of God.

20 For if she is herself a witness that she was nearer, and, upon inquiry, was in greater want, and more naked than the other, she ought to understand who it is that made this constitution, and to hold her peace, and not to murmur at the deaconess who distributed the charity, but to enter into her own house, and to cast herself prostrate on her face to make supplication to God that her sin may be forgiven her. For God commanded the deaconess who brought the charity not to proclaim the same, and this widow murmured because she did not publish her name, that so she might know it, and

run to receive; nay, did not only murmur, but also cursed her, forgetting Him that said: "He that blesseth thee is blessed, and he that curseth thee is cursed. But the Lord says: "When ye enter into an house, say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; but if it be not worthy, your peace shall return to you."

That It Does Not Become Us to Revile Our Neighbours, Because Cursing is Contrary to Christianity.

21 XV. If, therefore, peace returns upon those that sent it, nay, upon those that before had actually given it, because it did not find persons fit to receive it, much rather will a curse return upon the head of him that unjustly sent it, because he to whom it was sent was not worthy to receive it: for all those who abuse others without a cause curse themselves, as Solomon says: "As birds and sparrows fly away, so the curse causeless shall not come upon any one." And again he says: "Those that bring reproaches are exceeding foolish." But as the bee, a creature as to its strength feeble, if she stings any one, loses her sting, and becomes a drone; in the same manner you also, whatsoever injustice you do to others, will bring it upon yourselves. "He hath graven and digged a pit, and he shall fall into the same ditch that he has made." And again: "He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, shall fall into it." Wherefore he that avoids a curse, let him not curse another; for "what thou hatest should be done to thee, do not thou to another." Wherefore admonish the widows that are feeble-minded, strengthen those of them that are weak, and praise such of them as walk in holiness. Let them rather bless, and not calumniate. Let them make peace, and not stir up contention.

Sec. II.-On Deacons and Deaconesses, the Rest of the Clergy, and on Baptism.

22 Let not therefore either a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon, or any one else of the sacerdotal catalogue, defile his tongue with calumny, lest he inherit a curse instead of a blessing; and let it also be the bishop's business and care that no lay person utter any curse: for he ought to take care of all, -of the clergy, of the virgins, of the widows, of the laity. For which reason, O bishop, do thou ordain thy fellow-workers, the labourers for life and for righteousness, such deacons as are pleasing to God, such whom thou provest to be worthy among all the people, and such as shall be ready for the necessities of their ministration. Ordain also a deaconess who is faithful and holy, for the ministrations towards women. For sometimes he cannot send a deacon, who is a man, to the women, on account of unbelievers. Thou shalt therefore

send a woman, a deaconess, on account of the imaginations of the bad. For we stand in need of a woman, a deaconess, for many necessities; and first in the baptism of women, the deacon shall anoint only their forehead with the holy oil, and after him the deaconess shall anoint them: for there is no necessity that the women should be seen by the men; but only in the laying on of hands the bishop shall anoint her head, as the priests and kings were formerly anointed, not because those which are now baptized are ordained priests, but as being Christians, or anointed, from Christ the Anointed, "a royal priesthood, and an holy nation, the Church of God, the pillar and ground of the marriage-chamber," who formerly were not a people, but now are beloved and chosen, upon whom is called His new name as Isaiah the prophet witnesses, saying: "And they shall Call the people by His new name, which the Lord shall name for them."

Concerning the Sacred Initiation of Holy Baptism.

²³ XVI. Thou therefore, O bishop, according to that type, shalt anoint the head of those that are to be baptized, whether they be men or women, with the holy oil, for a type of the spiritual baptism. After that, either thou, O bishop, or a presbyter that is under thee, shall in the solemn form name over them the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, and shall dip them in the water; and let a deacon receive the man, and a deaconess the woman, that so the conferring of this inviolable seal may take place with a becoming decency. And after that, let the bishop anoint those that are baptized with ointment.

What is the Meaning of Baptism into Christ, and on What Account Everything is There Said or Done.

²⁴ XVII. This baptism, therefore, is given into the death of Jesus: the water is instead of the burial, and the oil instead of the Holy Ghost; the seal instead of the cross; the ointment is the confirmation of the confession; the mention of the Father as of the Author and Sender; the joint mention of the Holy Ghost as of the witness; the descent into the water the dying together with Christ; the ascent out of the water the rising again with Him. The Father is the God over all; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, the Lord of glory; the Holy Ghost is the Comforter, who is sent by Christ, and taught by Him, and proclaims Him.

Of What Character He Ought to Be Who is Initiated.

²⁵ XVIII. But let him that is to be baptized be free from all iniquity; one that has left off to work sin, the friend of God, the enemy of the devil, the heir of God the Father, the fellow-heir of His Son; one that has renounced Satan, and the demons, and Satan's deceits; chaste, pure, holy, beloved of God, the son of God, praying as a son to his father, and saying, as from the common congregation of the faithful, thus: "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one: for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

What are the Characters of a Deacon.

²⁶ XIX. Let the deacons be in all things unspotted, as the bishop himself is to be, only more active; in number according to the largeness of the Church, that they may minister to the infirm as workmen that are not ashamed. And let the deaconess be diligent in taking care of the women; but both of them ready to carry messages, to travel about, to minister, and to serve, as spake Isaiah concerning the Lord, saying: "To justify the righteous, who serves many faithfully. Let every one therefore know his proper place, and discharge it diligently with one consent, with one mind, as knowing the reward of their ministration; but let them not be ashamed to minister to those that are in want, as even our" Lord Jesus Christ came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many. So therefore ought they also to do, and not to scruple it, if they should be obliged to lay down their life for a brother. For the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ did not scruple to "lay down His life," as Himself says, "for His friends. If, therefore, the Lord of heaven and earth underwent all His sufferings for us, how then do you make a difficulty to minister to such as are in want, who ought to imitate Him who underwent servitude, and want, and stripes, and the cross for us? We ought therefore also to serve the brethren, in imitation of Christ. For says He:

²⁷ "He that will be great among you, let him be your minister; and he that will be first among you, let him be your servant. For so did He really, and not in word only, fulfil the prediction of, "serving many faithfully. For

"when He had taken a towel, He girded Himself. Afterward He puts water into a bason; and as we were sitting at meat, He came and washed the feet of us all, and wiped them with the towel. By doing this He demonstrated to us His kindness and brotherly affection, that so we also might do the same to one another. If, therefore, our Lord and Master so humbled Himself, how can you, the labourers of the truth, and administrators of piety, be ashamed to do the same to such of the brethren as are weak and infirm? Minister therefore with a kind mind, not murmuring nor mutinying; for ye do not do it on the account of man, but on the account of God, and shall receive from Him the reward of your ministry in the day of your visitation. It is your duty who are deacons to visit all those who stand in need of visitation. And tell your bishop of all those that are in affliction; for you ought to be like his soul and senses-active and attentive in all things to him as to your bishop, and father and master.

That a Bishop Ought to Be Ordained by Three or by Two Bishops, But Not by One; For that Would Be Invalid.

²⁸ XX. We command that a bishop be ordained by three bishops, or at least by two; but it is not lawful that he be set over you by one; for the testimony of two or three witnesses is more firm and secure. But a presbyter and a deacon are to be ordained by one bishop and the rest of the clergy. Nor must either a presbyter or a deacon ordain from the laity into the clergy; but the presbyter is only to teach, to offer, to baptize, to bless the people, and the deacon is to minister to the bishop, and to the presbyters, that is, to do the office of a ministering deacon, but not to meddle with the other offices.

Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Book

4

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

c. AD 380

Book 4, on the care of orphans, the sick and the poor, and on what may rightly be given to the church.

Sec. I.—On Helping the Poor. — Those Who Have No Children Should Adopt Orphans, and Treat Them as Their Own Children.

1 I. When any Christian becomes an orphan, whether it be a young man or a maid, it is good that some one of the brethren who is without a child should take the young man, and esteem him in the place of a son; and he that has a son about the same age, and that is marriageable, should marry the maid to him: for they which do so perform a great work, and become, fathers to the orphans, and shall receive the reward of this charity from the Lord God. But if any one that walks in the way of man-pleasing is rich, and therefore is ashamed of orphans, the Father of orphans and Judge of widows will make provision for the orphans, but himself shall have such an heir as will spend what he has spared; and it shall happen to him according as it is said: "What things the holy people have not eaten, those shall the Assyrians eat." As also Isaiah says: "Your land, strangers devour it in your presence,"

How the Bishop Ought to Provide for the Orphans.

2 II. Do you therefore, O bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to the orphans the care of parents; to the widows the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to the unable, commiseration; to the strangers, an house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance. Besides these, have a greater care of the orphans, that nothing may be wanting to them; and that as to the maiden, till she arrives at the age of marriage, and ye give her in mar-

riage to a brother: to the young man assistance, that he may learn a trade, and may be maintained by the advantage arising from it; that so, when he is dextrous in the management of it, he may thereby be enabled to buy himself the tools of his trade, that so he may no longer burden any of the brethren, or their sincere love to him, but may support himself: for certainly he is a happy man who is able to support himself, and does not take up the place of the orphan, the stranger, and the widow.

Who Ought to Be Supported According to the Lord's Constitution.

3 III. Since even the Lord said: "The giver was happier than the receiver." For it is again said by Him: "Woe to those that have, and receive in hypocrisy; or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others: for both of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgment." But an orphan who, by reason of his youth, or he that by the feebleness of old age, or the incidence of a disease, or the bringing up of many children, receives alms, such a one shall not only not be blamed, but shall be commended: for he shall be esteemed an altar to God, and be honoured by God, because of his zealous and constant prayers for those that give to him; not receiving idly, but to the uttermost of his power recompensing what is given him by his prayer. Such a one therefore shall be blessed by God in eternal life. But he that hath, and receives in hypocrisy or through idleness, instead of working and assisting others, shall be obnoxious to punishment before God, because he has snatched away the morsel of the needy.

Of the Love of Money.

4 IV. For he that has money and does not bestow it upon others, nor use it himself, is like the serpent, which they say sleeps over the treasures; and of him is that scripture true which says, "He has gathered riches of which he shall not taste; " and they will be of no use to him when he perishes justly. For it says, "Riches will not profit in the day of wrath." For such a one has not believed in God, but in his own gold; esteeming that his God, and trusting therein. Such a one is a dissembler of the truth, an acceptor of persons, unfaithful, cheating, fearful, unmanly, light, of no value, a complainer, ever in pain, his own enemy, and nobody's friend. Such a one's money shall perish, and a man that is a stranger shall consume it, either by theft while he is alive, or by inheritance when he is dead. "For riches unjustly gotten shall be vomited up."

With What Fear Men Ought to Partake of the Lord's Oblations.

5 V. We exhort, therefore, the widows and orphans to partake of those things that are bestowed upon them with all fear, and all pious reverence, and to return thanks to God who gives food to the needy, and to lift up their eyes to Him. For, says He, "Which of you shall eat, or who shall drink without Him? For He openeth His hand, and filleth every living thing with His kindness: giving wheat to the young men, and wine to the maidens, and oil for the joy of the living, grass for the cattle, and green herb for the service of men, flesh for the wild beasts, seeds for the birds, and suitable food for all creatures." Wherefore the Lord says: "Consider the fowls of heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns, and your Father feedeth them. Are not ye much better than they? Be not therefore solicitous, saying, What shall we eat? or what shall we drink? For your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." Since ye therefore enjoy such a providential care from Him, and are partakers of the good things that are derived from Him, you ought to return praise to Him that receives the orphan and the widow, to Almighty God, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; through whom glory be to God in spirit and truth for ever. Amen.

Whose Oblations are to Be Received, and Whose Not to Be Received.

6 VI. Now the bishop ought to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. For he is to avoid corrupt dealers, and not receive their gifts. "For, a corrupt dealer. shall not be justified from sin. For of them it was that Isaiah reproached Israel, and said, "Thy corrupt dealers mingle wine with water. He is also to avoid fornicators, for "thou shall not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord. He is also to avoid extortioners, and such as covet other men's goods, and adulterers; for the sacrifices of such as these are abominable with God. Also those that oppress the widow and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes, and hunger, and hard service, nay, destroy whole cities; do thou, O bishop, avoid such as these, and their odious oblations. Thou shalt also refuse rogues, and such pleaders that plead on the side of injustice, and idol-makers, and thieves, and unjust publicans, and those that deceive by false balances and deceitful measures, and a soldier who is a false accuser and not content with his wages, but does violence to the needy, a murderer, a cut-throat, and an unjust judge, a subverter of causes, him that

lies in wait for men, a worker of abominable wickedness, a drunkard, a blasphemer, a sodomite, an usurer, and every one that is wicked and opposes the will of God. For the Scripture says that all such as these are abominable with God.

7 For those that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and orphans, shall be obnoxious to the judgment-seat of God; as Adonias the prophet, in the book of Kings, when he disobeyed God, and both "eat bread and drank water in the place which the Lord had forbid him," because of the impiety of Jeroboam, was slain by a lion. For the bread which is distributed to the widows from labour is better, though it be short and little, than that from injustice and false accusation, though it be much and fine. For the Scripture says: "Better is a little to the righteous, than much riches of the sinners. Now, although a widow, who eats and is filled from the impious, pray for them, she shall not be heard. For God, who knows the heart, with judgment has declared concerning the impious, saying, "If Moses and Samuel stand before my face in their behalf, I will not hear them; " and, "Pray thou not for this people, and do not ask mercy for them, and do not intercede with me for them, for I will not hear thee."

That the Obligations of the Unworthy, While They are Such, Do Not Only Not Propitiate God, But on the Contrary Provoke Him to Indignation.

8 VII. And not these only, but those that are in sin and have not repented, will only not be heard when they pray, but will provoke God to anger, as putting Him in mind of their own wickedness. Avoid therefore such ministrations, as you would the price of a dog and the hire of an harlot; for both of them are forbidden by the laws. For neither did Elisha receive the presents which were brought by Hazael, nor Ahijah those from Jeroboam; but if the prophets of God did not admit of presents from the impious, it is reasonable, O bishops, that neither should you. Nay, when Simon the magician offered money to me Peter and John, and tried to obtain the invaluable grace by purchase, we did not admit it, but bound him with everlasting maledictions, because he thought to possess the gift of God, not by a pious mind towards God, but by the price of money. Avoid therefore such oblations to God's altar as are not from a good conscience. For says He: "Abstain from all injustice, and thou shalt not fear, and trembling shall not come nigh thee."

9 That It is Better to Afford, Though It Be Inconsiderable and Few, Contributions to the Widows from Our Own Labours, Than Those Which are

Many and Large Received from the Ungodly; For It is Better to Perish by Famine Than to Receive an Oblation from the Ungodly. VIII. But if ye say that those who give alms are such as these, and if we do not receive from them, whence shall we administer to the widows? And whence shall the poor among the people be maintained? Ye shall hear from us, that therefore have ye received the gift of the Levites, the oblations of your people, that ye might have enough for yourselves, and for those that are in want; and that ye might not be so straitened as to receive from the wicked. But if the churches be so straitened, it is better to perish than to receive anything from the enemies of God, to the reproach and abuse of His friends. For of such as these the prophet speaks: "Let not the oil of a sinner moisten my head." Do ye therefore examine such persons, and receive from such as walk holily, and supply the afflicted. But receive not from those that are excommunicated, until they are thought worthy to become the members of the Church. But if a gift be wanting, inform the brethren, and make a collection from them, and thence minister to the orphans and widows in righteousness.

That the People Ought to Be Exhorted by the Priest to Do Good to the Needy, as Says Solomon the Wise.

10 IX. Say unto the people under thee what Solomon the wise says: "Honour the Lord out of thy just labours, and pay thy first-fruits to Him out of thy fruits of righteousness, that thy garners may be filled with fulness of wheat, and thy presses may burst out with wine." Therefore maintain and clothe those that are in want from the righteous labour of the faithful. And such sums of money as are collected from them in the manner aforesaid, appoint to be laid out in the redemption of the saints, the deliverance of slaves, and of captives, and of prisoners, and of those that have been abused, and of those that have been condemned by tyrants to single combat and death on account of the name of Christ. For the Scripture says: "Deliver those that are led to death, and redeem those that are ready to be slain, do not spare."

A Constitution, that If Any One of the Ungodly by Force Will Cast Money to the Priests, They Spend It in Wood and Coals, But Not in Food.

11 X. But if at any time you be forced unwillingly to receive money from any ungodly person, lay it out in wood and coals, that so neither the widow nor the orphan may receive any of it, or be forced to buy with it either meat or drink, which it is unfit to do. For it is reasonable that such gifts of the ungodly should be fuel for the fire, and not food for the pious. And this meth-

od is plainly appointed by the law, when it calls a sacrifice kept too long a thing not fit to be eaten, and commands it to be consumed with fire. For such oblations are not evil in their nature, but on account of the mind of those that bring them. And this we ordain, that we may not reject those that come to us, as knowing that the common conversation of the pious has often been very profitable to the ungodly, but religious communion with them is alone hurtful. And so much, beloved, shall suffice to have spoken to you in order to your security.

Sec. II.-On Domestic and Social Life. — Of Parents and Children.

12 XI. Ye fathers, educate your children in the Lord, bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and teach them such trades as are agreeable and suitable to the word, lest they by such opportunity become extravagant, and continue without punishment from their parents, and so get relaxation before their time, and go astray from that which is good. Wherefore be not afraid to reprove them, and to teach them wisdom with severity. For your corrections will not kill them, but rather preserve them. As Solomon says somewhere in the book of Wisdom: "Chasten thy son, and he will refresh thee; so wilt thou have good hope of him. Thou verily shalt smite him with the rod, and shall deliver his soul from death. And again, says the same Solomon thus, "He that spareth his rod, hateth his son; " and afterwards, "Beat his sides whilst he is an infant, lest he be hardened and disobey thee. He, therefore, that neglects to admonish and instruct his own son, hates his own child. Do you therefore teach your children the word of the Lord. Bring them under with cutting stripes, and make them subject from their infancy, teaching them the Holy Scriptures, which are Christian and divine, and delivering to them every sacred writing, "not giving them such liberty that they get the mastery," and act against your opinion, not permitting them to club together for a treat with their equals. For so they will be turned to disorderly courses, and will fall into fornication;

13 and if this happen by the carelessness of their parents, those that begat them will be guilty of their souls. For if the offending children get into the company of debauched persons by the negligence of those that begat them, they will not be punished alone by themselves; but their parents also will be condemned on their account. For this cause endeavour, at the time when they are of an age fit for marriage, to join them in wedlock, and settle them together, lest in the heat and fervour of their age their course of life become

dissolute, and you be required to give an account by the Lord God in the day of judgment.

Of Servants and Masters.

¹⁴ XII. But as to servants, what can we say more than that the slave bring a good will to his master, with the fear of God, although he be impious and wicked, but yet not to yield any compliance as to his worship? And let the master love his servant, although he be his superior. Let him consider wherein they are equal, even as he is a man. And let him that has a believing master love him both as his master, and as of the same faith, and as a father, but still with the preservation of his authority as his master: "not as an eye-servant, but as a lover of his master; as knowing that God will recompense to him for his subjection." In like manner, let a master who has a believing servant love him as a son or as a brother, on account of their communion in the faith, but still preserving the difference of a servant.

In What Things We Ought to Be Subject to the Rulers of This World.

¹⁵ XIII. Be ye Subject to all royal power and dominion in things which are pleasing to God, as to the ministers of God, and the punishers of the ungodly. Render all the fear that is due to them, all offerings, all customs, all honour, gifts, and taxes. For this is God's command, that I you owe nothing to any one but the pledge of love, which God has commanded by Christ.

Of Virgins.

¹⁶ XIV. Concerning virginity we have received no commandment; but we leave it to the power of those that are willing, as a vow: exhorting them so far in this matter that they do not promise anything rashly; since Solomon says, "It is better not to vow, than to vow and not pay." Let such a virgin, therefore, be holy in body and soul, as the temple of God, as the house of Christ, as the habitation of the Holy Spirit. For she that vows ought to do such works as are suitable to her vow; and to show that her vow is real, and made on account of leisure for piety, not to cast a reproach on marriage. Let her not be a gadder abroad, nor one that rambles about unseasonably; not double-minded, but grave, continent, sober, pure, avoiding the conversation of many, and especially of those that are of ill reputation.

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