

## NOTES AND STUDIES

## EARLY ORDINATION SERVICES.

THE object of this paper is to recover two early tractates concerning Ordination, which lie hidden among the materials which were used by the Compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* at the beginning of Book VIII. They appear also at various other stages in the development of the earlier Church Orders. From these documents it may be possible to work back to their original form, to guess at their original date, and to make a conjecture as to their authorship. Moreover, it will also be possible to trace the development that takes place in the successive manipulations which the tracts undergo.

## I

The first of the two tracts is found only in the documents of one stage of the development, i. e. (a) in *Apostolic Constitutions* (AC) VIII i, ii; (b) in the *Constitutions of Hippolytus* (CPH) § 1; (c) in the third section of the *Statutes of the Apostles*—Ethiopic § 49, Arabic § 48, Saïdic § 63, and Bohairic § 63.<sup>a</sup> There are slight differences in these authorities, the more important of them being between the two Greek texts; for the oriental versions are here of no special significance.<sup>b</sup>

First as regards the heading, AC has a composite title referring to Book VIII as a whole: Περὶ χαρισμάτων καὶ χειροτονιῶν, καὶ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. CPH, dividing the same material into several sections, has several successive headings: for the first tract, Διδασκαλία τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων; and for the second, Διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἰππολύτου. This second title nominally covers the twenty-six sections which compose book II, but it really belongs to §§ 1–16. Thenceforward the headings of the sections take a new shape, and the term used in AC, κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοί, begins to appear. The heading of the oriental versions is always a double one, referring to both Treatises, ‘Concerning the gift[s] and the office[s]’ (i. e. Περὶ χαρισμάτων καὶ χειροτονιῶν); and probably either that composite phrase was the original title of the two tracts, or else (as seems more likely) the former of the two had the heading Περὶ χαρισμάτων and the latter the heading Περὶ χειροτονιῶν.

<sup>a</sup> The first three versions are in Horner *Statutes of the Apostles* (London 1904) pp. 186, 266, 332; the fourth in Tattam *Apostolical Constitutions* (London 1848) p. 94. CPH is printed in Lagarde *Reliquiae Juris* (Leipzig 1856), see pp. 1–4, and in Funk *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* ii 72–96. See below, pp. 370, 371.

<sup>b</sup> Arabic omits a piece through homoioteleuton; Ethiopic adds at the end a considerable passage taken from *Didache* xi and *Didascalia* xiii.

There is a general agreement as to the contents in all the sources, which seems to shew that we have the former tract, preserved substantially in its original form, in AC and in CPH. Such slight modification as appears to have taken place lies in the credal passage (AC VIII i 9-11).

(i) For οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος πιστεύσας διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ὃς οὐκ εἴληφεν χάρισμα πνευματικόν,

CPH has διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἄχρακτον αὐτοῦ πατέρα καὶ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα, ὃς κτλ.

The oriental versions vary thus

in Christ the Son of God *Eth.*

in God by His holy Son *Ar.* and (substantially) *Said.* and *Boh.*

(ii) Again, while AC continues thus

αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι πολυθέου ἀσεβείας

καὶ πιστεύσαι Θεῷ πατρὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ,

χάρισμα ἔστι Θεοῦ,

CPH has Θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ, χάρισμα κτλ.

*Eth.* has 'believed in God the Father and in Christ His Son'.

*Ar.* has 'the entrance into the faith of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'.

The two Coptic versions substantially agree with *Ar.*

(iii) A little later, where AC has

συγχωρήσει θεοῦ σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινεν αἰσχύνης καταφρονήσας, ὁ θεὸς λόγος,

and the oriental versions agree,

CPH has οἰκεία συγχωρήσει καὶ βουλῇ σταυρὸν . . . , θεὸς ὢν λόγος.

(iv) Once more, where AC, followed by the oriental versions, has

διάφορα γὰρ εἰσι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρισματα, παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ  
διδόμενα,

CPH has διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διδόμενα.

These four modifications shew some theological and christological sensitiveness, especially on the part of CPH.<sup>a</sup> They belong to a passage which on other grounds is suspected to shew, at any rate in AC, the hand of the compiler, because its language is characteristic of

<sup>a</sup> Funk deduces from them that CPH is later than AC (see his *Testament unsertes Herrn* pp. 180 and ff, and his *Didascalia* II xiv), but if they both had the same original before them and treated it differently, this conclusion does not follow. There is a similar occurrence in the prayer of the bishop in § 5 : where again CPH seems to give the later form of the passage in question, but the earlier and uninflected form of the prayer as a whole.

him and parallel with other passages in AC.<sup>a</sup> There has also been some other editorial hand busy in CPH: but probably independently of AC. Setting this passage aside, as suspect on both grounds, we may yet incline towards the conclusion that the main bulk of the treatise has not been substantially modified by its successive editors.<sup>b</sup>

The scope and object of this part of the work are fairly clear. The writer feels it necessary to define the position with regard to two points—charismatic gifts and ordination. He writes in the name of the Apostles. Possibly the phrase in § 2, which contains this adoption of Apostolic style, *τούτων τῶν χαρισμάτων πρότερον μὲν ἡμῖν δοθέντων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, is due to an editor: for the editor in the case of AC and CPH was all along working on that line. But the equivalent of the phrase is found in the oriental versions also; and there the editor was not otherwise working on that line: for he does not put the subsequent directions into the mouths of Apostles, as do the editors of AC and CPH. Therefore it seems more probable that the treatise was originally thus written in the name of the Apostles.

The purpose of the writer in the former tract, *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*, is to secure a right estimate of charismatic gifts. They exist for the sake of the unbeliever, that he may be convinced of Christian truth; not for the sake and credit of those who have them. They often fail to convince now, as they did in Biblical days. Those who have such gifts, then, must not esteem themselves over those who have not. Further, it is insisted that all Christians have some *charisma*, for conversion from heathenism or heresy can only come about through such a gift. Therefore, those who have an unusual gift have no cause to exalt themselves over those who have the ordinary gifts. 'Let no man therefore exalt himself above his brother, even though he be a prophet or a wonder-worker.' Those in authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, must not despise others; for that would destroy all corporate life. The bishop must not exalt himself above the deacons or the presbyters; nor the presbyters above the laity. All authority is simply due to the gift of God.

In the second section (AC viii ii) the writer goes on to deal with false claims to charismatic gifts. Not every one who prophesies or exorcizes is holy. There are false prophets as there were of old, and people in office who do not deserve their title (*ψευδώνυμοι*). This is said, not to discredit true prophecy, for which there is excellent precedent, among women as well as men; but to shew up impudent charlatans. Finally,

<sup>a</sup> *Achelis Canones Hippolyti* (in *Texte und Untersuchungen* vi, Leipzig 1891) pp. 272–274, 278.

<sup>b</sup> The biblical references which constantly appear in the Treatise may as well be part of the original as part of the compiler's work.

it is noted that humility is the sign of the true recipient of *charismata*, whether man or woman.

This summary of the first treatise will help to determine its provenance and date. It probably comes from a Greek-speaking source; for the oriental versions, and especially the Coptic pair, seem to point to a Greek original. The points controverted are those which became crucial after the rise of Montanism. There are two ways in which the need and significance of modesty are emphasized and the reverse is deprecated. In VIII i 12 and 17 the arrogance contemplated is that of the man who claims *charismata*, setting himself up against the ordinary Christian: but in § 20 ecclesiastical aggression is also deprecated, though, so far, in general terms. In VIII ii, when false prophecy is in question, a more pointed criticism is made of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Neither gifts nor office make up for personal unworthiness. The bishop may be disqualified *ἀγνοία* or *κακονοία*; then he is no bishop but *ψευδώνυμος*, and such false bishops and presbyters shall not escape the judgement of God. The writer seems here to digress from his main subject on to other ground; he soon returns, but the digression may be significant.

## II

It is quite possible that the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* had a prologue; but if

*Ethiopic Version*, Horner, p. 196, l. 20.

And this word shall not be hidden concerning the gifts which God gave to the youths as they wished, and as they acquire the similitude of those who dwell in falsehood, and are moved because of alien spirits. And God appointed impious men to be such as either prophesied or did signs.

And now the word will guide us to that which is better for the ordinance of the Church: that ye indeed, the bishops whom we ordained and sent from ourselves by the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ—if ye know this ordinance from us—that ye might do all and not neglect anything, as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded, as the ordinance which we gave to you. And ye know that he who heard from us is he who heard from Christ, and he who heard from Christ heard from God the Father; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

*Arabic Version*, Horner, p. 273, l. 4.

First we sent out these words concerning the gifts which God gave to the men according to His will. As they indeed acquire for themselves the similitude of those who take to falsehood and are moved by alien spirits: so God causes reprobate men to prophesy and work signs.

And now the words will draw us on to come to the chapter which is for the definitions of the Church, that ye who have become bishops through us by the command of Christ having learnt this arrangement from us,

might do everything according to the commands of Christ as the statute which he gave to you: And know that he who receives from us receives from Christ and receives from God the Father; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

so, it has not been preserved. There is, however, extant an epilogue, which serves to sum up the first tractate, *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*, and to lead on to the second one. A very similar passage is prefixed as a prologue to the *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν*. When we reach it, our real difficulties begin. It will be well therefore to have the epilogue before us, that we may use its help in understanding the Second Treatise with its prologue. This epilogue is not to be found in CPH, but the Greek Text, as given in AC VIII iii, is as follows:—

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοῦ λόγου ἐξεθέμεθα περὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὅσαπερ ὁ θεὸς κατ' ἰδίαν βούλησεν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅπως τῶν ψευδῆ ἐπιχειρούντων λέγειν ἢ ἄλλοτρίῳ πνεύματι κινουμένων ἤλεγξε τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι πονηροῖς πολλάκις ἀπεχρήσατο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τε προφητεῖαν καὶ τερατοποιίαν. Νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαϊότατον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπέγει, ὅπως καὶ ταύτην μαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν διάταξιν, οἱ ταχθέντες δι' ἡμῶν γνώμῃ Χριστοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, πάντα κατὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας ἡμῖν ἐντολὰς ποιῆσθε, εἰδότες ὅτι “ὁ ἡμῶν ἀκούων, Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, ὁ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἀκούων, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀκούει”. ϥ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

The four oriental versions have preserved the epilogue ; they interpret it with varying degrees of success, as may be seen below ; but we need not concern ourselves much with them at this point.

*Bohairic Version* in Tattam, p. 114.

We have put forth this first discourse concerning the gifts which God gives to men according to his holy will ; and how he reproveth the appearance of those who attempted to speak falsehoods, being moved by strange spirits. And that God has been pleased that the wicked should prophesy and should perform signs and wonders.

But now the discourse draws us to come to the principal point of the constitution of the Church ; that you, who have been ordained bishops by us, at the command of Christ, when you have known this order from us, may do everything according to the command which has been delivered unto you : knowing that he who hears us, hears Christ, and he who hears Christ, hears God the Father, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

*Saidic Version*, Horner, p. 340, l. 2.

In the first (part) of this discourse we have declared concerning the gifts which God is wont to give to men according to his holy will. And how he rebuked the form of those who set to work to speak lies, being moved by the alien spirits ; and that God is often wont to cause wicked ones to prophesy and do signs and wonders.

Now then the word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (*kephalaion*) of the ordinance of the Church, that ye who have been ordained bishops by us, with the commandment of the Christ, when ye know this order through us, may do every thing according to the commandment which was delivered unto you, knowing that he who hears us is hearing the Christ, and he who hears the Christ is hearing God the Father ; to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.

## III

When we approach the second tract, *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν*, there is a more complicated task before us; and we must describe more fully those four groups into which the documents fall, the third of which was the group to which all the authorities for the former tract belonged. These four groups are as follows:—

1. A Church Order, to be found in five versions, Ethiopic, Arabic, Saidic, Bohairic, and (in part) Latin. This is here called CO<sup>1</sup>. The first three versions are in Horner *Statutes of the Apostles*, the fourth in Tattam *Apostolical Constitutions*, the fifth in Hauler *Didascalie Apostolorum Fragmenta*.

2. *The Canons of Hippolytus* (CH). These are to be found in Arabic in Haneberg's edition with a Latin translation which is printed in a revised form by Achelis and in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*. A German version from an improved text is in Riedel. Professor Burkitt has been kind enough to make an English version for use in this enquiry.

3. The second Church Order, to be found in two Greek forms (AC and CPH) and in four oriental versions (see above): called CO<sup>2</sup>.

4. *The Testament of our Lord* (*Test.*), printed in Syriac with a Latin version by Rahmani: and in an English version by Cooper and Maclean.<sup>a</sup>

These four groups probably fall, historically speaking, into the order in which they are set above—at any rate so far as the documents now in question are concerned: though in some respects a later source may retain an earlier form; and *Test.* does so especially.

The handling of the two treatises in these documents varies considerably. The former tract (*Περὶ χαρισμάτων*) was not utilized by the compiler of CO<sup>1</sup>. The controversy which had evoked that tract was probably over, and the compiler therefore made no use of this, while he adopted and enlarged the second tract. His object was apparently liturgical. The compilers of CH and *Test.* seem to have had similar objects and ideas: hence they also ignored the former tract and adopted the latter as the basis of part of their liturgical prescriptions.

Consequently *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* appears only in the third group, where a literary interest seems to have existed beside the practical one: but *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν* appears in all four groups.

The method of handling this tract in the different documents composing the first and third groups also varies. Therefore, in order to gain a clear view of it, we shall do well to have before us in detail the evidence to be gained from the earliest group and from CH; and to compare with this, where necessary, the evidence to be drawn from the various components of the third group, and from *Test.*

<sup>a</sup> Full references are given at p. 371 below.

THE PROLOGUE TO THE *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν*.*Latin Version* ; from Hauler, p. 101.

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Eaquidem quae verba fuerunt digne posuimus  
de donationibus quanta quidem deus a prin-  
cipio secundum propriam voluntatem praes-  
tittit hominibus  
offerens sibi eam imaginem quae  
aberrauerat. Nunc autem ex caritate,  
quam in omnes sanctos  
habuit, producti ad verticem  
traditionis quae catechizat ad ecclesias  
perreximus, ut hi qui bene  
docti sunt eam, quae permansit usque nunc,  
traditionem, exponentibus nobis,  
custodiant ;  
et agnoscentes firmiores maneat  
propter eum, qui nuper inuentus est,  
per ignorantiam lapsus vel error :  
et hos qui ignorant  
praestante sancto spiritu perfectam  
gratiam eis qui recte credunt ut  
cognoscant quomodo oportet tradi et  
custodiri omnia eos qui ecclesiae praesunt.

*Ethiopic Version* ; from Horner, p. 162.40. CONCERNING THE ORDINANCE OF THE GIFT  
WHICH IS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCORDING TO  
THE ORTHODOX WORD.

We have written concerning graces  
so far as God our Lord has grant-  
ed to us of his own counsel.  
Formerly he gave it to man while  
bringing near to him that which had  
gone astray in type: and now (He gave)  
the beloved Son who is in all the holy  
ones. Having come to the source of the  
proper tradition in the churches  
we have attained that (men) should learn  
well what has been (received) until now ;  
they handed them on and kept them as our  
ordinances :  
yet though they knew that they were  
quite firm concerning that which had been  
found for them,  
now unawares they slipped away. And  
those indeed who knew not, (to them) the  
Holy Spirit is giving the perfection of  
grace. For them who believe rightly as  
they know, how seemly it is that they  
should hand on and keep those things  
which are established in the Church.

*Canons of Hippolytus*.

## PROLOGUE.

1. First of all we will speak of the holy and true  
faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the  
living God. We have stated it in a faith whereto  
we assent with all steadfastness. We say then  
in truth that the Trinity which is equal and  
perfect in honour is also equal in majesty, and It  
has no beginning or ending. The Word is the  
Son of God and creator of all creation visible and  
invisible. This we have stated, and we hold  
concerning those, who err and speak monstrous  
things about the Word of God, as our Lord Jesus  
Christ has spoken about them. And so we have  
united all the closer together with power in God,  
and have separated them because they do not  
agree with the Church in God, nor with us the  
disciples of the Scriptures. On this account  
we have separated them from the Church and  
left their affair to God, who shall judge the  
creation in righteousness. To the ignorant we  
make this known without prejudice, in order  
that they may not fall upon an evil death as  
heretics, but may attain eternal life, and teach  
their children and successors this one faith.

The Prologue to the *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν* is less well attested than the tract is as a whole. It has survived only in two of the available sources: (i) in CO<sup>1</sup> Latin, where it occupies its proper place; and (ii) in CO<sup>1</sup> Ethiopic, out of place, being prefixed to an interpolated section concerning Baptism.

It is to be interpreted in conjunction with the Epilogue of the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*. The use of the first person plural continues as in the previous document; so this tract also must be taken as written in the name of the Apostles jointly and addressed by them to the bishops whom they have ordained.

The first sentence of the Prologue corresponds with the second half of the preceding Epilogue, and the Greek of the latter explains the Latin of the former.

Nunc autem ex caritate,  
quam in omnes sanctos habuit, producti  
ad verticem traditionis  
quae catechizat ad ecclesias  
perreximus,  
ut hi qui bene . . .

Νῦν δὲ  
ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαίωτατον τῆς  
ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως  
ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπέγει,  
ὅπως καὶ κτλ.

It would seem that the Latin translator was puzzled by some Greek phrase similar to that of the Epilogue, which the Saidic translator there rightly turned thus:—

‘The word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (*κεφαλαῖον*) of the ordinance of the Church.’<sup>a</sup>

We must attempt therefore to get behind his version.

Both in the epilogue and in the prologue there is one chief point to be made, viz. the transition from one subject to the other. Leaving the *charismata*, and embarking upon the question of the ministry, the author in the former case describes it as ‘the chief matter of ecclesiastical ordinance’, in the latter as *verticem traditionis quae catechizat ad ecclesias*. The Ethiopic has ‘Having come to the source of the proper tradition in the churches’. In view of these versions the Greek may perhaps be reconstructed as follows:—

Νῦν δέ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους (Eph. i 15) ἀναχθέντες,  
ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαίωτατον (οἱ τὴν κορυφὴν) τῆς παραδόσεως ἣ καθήκει ταῖς  
ἐκκλησίαις κατήλθομεν,

and this may account for the differences in the versions. The Ethiopic translator’s word ‘source’ seems to be a mistake; but the end of his sentence is then correct. The Latin translator would seem to have dealt correctly with the first half; but to have mistaken *καθήκει* for

<sup>a</sup> Above, p. 327.



κατηχεῖ, and so produced the meaningless phrase *quae catechizat ad ecclesias*.

Thenceforward all is clear. Writing in the name of the Apostles the author goes on to deal with the main point of ecclesiastical tradition, namely, the ministry. He notes that some are already firm in the tradition, and only need to be encouraged by the apostolic exposition of the subject, in face of a recent lapse or error; while others are ignorant, and need by the grace of the Holy Spirit to be instructed in the right tradition and observance of Holy Order.

If this is a right interpretation of the passage, and of the position in general, the view of Scherman is mistaken, and his position is not tenable.<sup>a</sup> He divorces this treatise from the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*; takes the writer here to be Clement of Rome, speaking in the plural; he strikes out the *ad* before *ecclesias*, and then interprets *verticem traditionis quae catechizat ecclesias* of the papacy.

What was the new error which the writer wished to oppose? Its general character seems clear. It was apparently an attempt made by those who relied upon spiritual gifts against the apostolic tradition of the ministry. This is the well-known position of Montanism. Its adherents opposed the *spiritalem hominem* to the episcopate,<sup>b</sup> and gave to the spiritual man the powers of the ministry: they made great boasting of *charismata*. It seems probable then that these little tracts form a reply to Montanism. Every line of the first one has Montanist claims in view, and notably the passage about female prophets; while the second one equally fits into the position. They seem also to belong to the early stage of the controversy; for in meeting the claims of the new prophecy they do not adopt the policy of denying the survival of prophecy in the Church, but maintain the opposite point of view—that prophecy is continuing, only the false needs to be distinguished from the true. This point of view is that of the end of the second century: while later, in the third century, the other and more negative policy was adopted, and the Church came to regard prophecy as extinct.

The prologue to the Canons of Hippolytus is of quite a different character, and has in view a different set of circumstances altogether. The treatise *Concerning Gifts* is not to the compiler's purpose, so he does not use it; and with it he omits its epilogue and the prologue to the treatise *Concerning Ordinations*. In place of the last, there is an introduction concerning a right faith, in which the Apostles collectively expound the doctrine of the Trinity and then proceed to condemn

<sup>a</sup> *Ein Weiheritual der Römischen Kirche am Schlusse des ersten Jahrhunderts* (München-Leipzig 1913) pp. 4 sqq.

<sup>b</sup> *Tert. De pudic.* 21.

excommunicate heretics who teach pernicious views about the Word of God. This change in atmosphere prepares us to find the treatise in a modified form in this source; though, in point of fact, change is not so evident in the body of the work as in the prologue. The chief thing which the redactor seems to have kept is the name Hippolytus; for it seems likely that that name stood at the head of the two little tracts and that he took it thence to give a good introduction to his compilation of Canons.

#### IV

We have next to determine, as far as may be, the length and contents of the original treatise *Concerning Ordinations*. It is linked with other material in all the four collections in which it figures, viz. the first Church Order (CO<sup>1</sup>), *The Canons of Hippolytus* (CH), the second Church Order (CO<sup>2</sup>), and the *Testament*. A comparison of the four indicates fairly clearly the point at which the original treatise ended.<sup>a</sup> The first six sections of CO<sup>1</sup> contain the rites for Bishop, Priest, Deacon, Confessor, Widow, Reader, Virgin, Subdeacon. These correspond fairly with the sections 2-9 of CH; and (a little less closely) with sections 1-14 of CPH; also in different degrees with the corresponding passages in the rest of the group of documents classed together as representing CO<sup>2</sup>. It may be supposed therefore that at least these six sections formed part of the treatise.

Was there also more? The next section in CO<sup>1</sup> deals with the proving of converts; it does not therefore seem to belong naturally to a treatise *Concerning Ordinations*.

On the other hand, it is found also in CH, in CO<sup>2</sup>, and in *Test.*; and it is the only section besides those six which is common to all these four sources. This seems to suggest that it should be reckoned with them.

But against this are to be set two contrary arguments. First the section itself varies greatly in contents and wording in the different sources, and lacks therefore the uniformity which characterizes the previous sections. Secondly in CPH this section is not only separated from the preceding, but is distinguished from them by a different heading, and by a different method of statement; and in *Test.* this section is still further marked off by forming the beginning of Book ii.

It seems wisest therefore, at any rate for the present purpose, to exclude this section; and to reckon as belonging to the original treatise no more than the six sections directly concerned with Ordinations. Even the whole of these six may prove not to have been part of the original document. But a discussion of that question and also of

<sup>a</sup> See the comparative table printed below, pp. 370, 371.

the additional sections on Ordination which are added in CO<sup>2</sup> will come best at the later stages.

We have now to go through the successive sections, to discover as far as may be the original form of the *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν*, and to note first the modifications that take place in the four main groups of sources—CO<sup>1</sup>, CH, CO<sup>2</sup>, Test.—and secondly, any variations that there are of importance in the different authorities comprised under the general headings of CO<sup>1</sup> and CO<sup>2</sup>.

Since CO<sup>2</sup> belongs to the second half of the fourth century, and *Test.* is later still, we can watch the transition that the tract goes through in the course of perhaps a couple of centuries.

## V

First we note as regards the heading of the section about the Bishop that in AC and CPH it is introduced by a new attribution of the Constitutions to the Apostles, with whom are now associated St Paul and St James the bishop, with the rest of the presbyters and the Seven Deacons.

This is a fuller development of the more reticent use of the character of the apostles in the original tract which we have already noted. St Peter begins a series of apostolic pronouncements by laying down this constitution. There has been much modification: but in spite of the alterations, which they have undergone, these sources are particularly valuable because they help to determine the original Greek of the Treatise.

The directions for the Bishop's consecration consist of three parts: (a) the preliminaries, (b) the service, and (c) the Ordination prayer. In all we have to attempt to ascertain the original form of the Treatise, and then note the later modifications.

CO<sup>1</sup> Latin seems to have preserved the old form; and the Greek in CO<sup>2</sup> (CPH and AC) goes closely with it so far as (a) is concerned, though with considerable additions.

(AC VIII iv 2.)

ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖσθαι . . . . .  
ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκκληλεγμένον.  
οὐ ὀνομασθέντος  
καὶ ἀρέσαντος  
συνελθῶν ὁ λαὸς  
ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ  
καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπισκόποις  
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ  
(+ CH συνευδοκεῖται)

\* \* \* \* \*

καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης

(Hauler, p. 103.)

(a) Episcopus ordinetur,  
electus ab omni populo:  
quique cum nominatus fuerit,  
et placuerit omnibus,  
conueniet populus  
una cum presbyterio  
et his qui praesentes fuerint episcopi,  
die dominica.

(b) Consentientibus omnibus,  
imponent super eum manus,  
et presbyterium adstet quiescens.  
Omnes autem silentium habeant

(AC VIII iv 6.)

(Hauler, p. 103.)

*εἰς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων . . . . .**λεγέτω πρὸς θεόν*

orantes in corde  
 propter descensionem spiritus.  
 Ex quibus unus de praesentibus  
 episcopis  
 ab omnibus rogatus,  
 imponens manum ei qui ordinatur  
 episcopus,  
 oret ita dicens.

The oriental versions of CO<sup>1</sup> agree together in (a) except that they substitute 'deacons' for 'bishops' at the end, and modify the beginning

*Ethiopic Version, Horner, p. 138.**Latin Version, Hauler, p. 103.*

22. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF  
 BISHOPS, AND THE RIGHT ORDER OF  
 THE OBLATION.

The Bishop shall be ordained as we  
 have already spoken;  
 one who has been chosen by all the  
 people together,

with the presbyters and deacons on the  
 day of the Sabbath.

And all the bishops shall go with mutual  
 consent

and lay their hands upon him;  
 and the presbyters standing by keep  
 quiet, and all of them together  
 in silence and praying in their  
 hearts that the Holy Spirit may help  
 them and descend upon him. And every  
 one of the bishops shall pray, and all of  
 them severally standing up shall lay their  
 hands upon him who is ordained bishop,  
 and they shall pray over him thus, saying:

Episcopus ordinetur

electus ab omni populo:

quique cum nominatus fuerit,  
 et placuerit omnibus,  
 conveniet populus una  
 cum presbyterio et his qui praesentes  
 fuerint episcopi die dominica.  
 Consentientibus omnibus,

imponent super eum manus,  
 et presbyterium adstet  
 quiescens. Omnes autem silentium  
 habeant, orantes in corde  
 propter descensionem spiritus.

Ex quibus unus de praesentibus epi-  
 scopis ab omnibus rogatus, imponens  
 manum ei qui ordinatur episcopus,  
 oret ita dicens:

of (b) accordingly. In CH very little of (a) is preserved. On the other hand in (b) a development begins to shew itself in CH which is continued in CO<sup>2</sup>, namely the elaboration of a ceremony of Confirmation or Recognition which CH calls *ἐξομολόγησις*. In CO<sup>2</sup> this finally takes a triple form<sup>a</sup>; and as this development comes in, a primitive feature disappears. The original Treatise seems to have prescribed first a joint laying on of hands by the assembled episcopate. In this the presbytery in some way co-operated; but all was done in

silence, while all prayed in their hearts for the descent of the Holy Spirit.

Only when this was over did a single bishop, chosen for the purpose, say the Consecration prayer, accompanied by the imposition of his hand. This double imposition of hands did not find favour as time went on. Divergences begin to appear in the oriental versions of CO<sup>1</sup>. Ethiop. makes all the bishops give the second imposition of hands and say the Consecration prayer. Arab.,<sup>a</sup> Said., and Boh. add that all are to stand during the prayer, but keep the two different impositions.

*Arabic Version*, Horner, p. 244.

21. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF  
THE BISHOPS AT THE BEGINNING OF  
THE KIDDAS.

The Bishop shall be ordained, as we have already said.

He shall be chosen from all the assembly without fault.

When they have made mention of him and are satisfied with him, all the people shall assemble together and the presbyters and the deacons on Sunday.

And all the bishops shall walk one with another joyfully, and they shall lay their hands upon him. And the people (*sic*) standing up

in silence together shall pray in their hearts that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him.

And they shall ask one of the bishops; and, while every one stands, he shall lay his hand upon him who is ordained bishop, and shall pray over him thus.

*Saidic and Bohairic Versions*, Horner and Tattam.

31. CONCERNING THE BISHOPS.

The bishop shall be ordained, according to the word which we said before, having been chosen from all the multitude and being without sin.

When he has been named and they are pleased with him, the whole people shall assemble themselves together and the presbyters with the deacons on the Lord's Day with the consent of all the bishops

<sup>b</sup> who have laid their hand <sup>b</sup> upon him. And the presbyters also stand by waiting. And they all hold their peace together and pray in their heart that the Holy Spirit may come upon him.

And <sup>c</sup> they request one of <sup>c</sup> the bishops, while all stand up, <sup>d</sup> that he should lay his hands <sup>d</sup> upon him who is to be made bishop and pray over him.

CH. 2. CONCERNING THE BISHOPS.

The bishop shall be chosen out of the whole assembly. He shall be without reproach, as is written of<sup>e</sup> him in the Apostle.<sup>9</sup> In the week in which he is ordained let all the people say 'We have chosen him'. And there shall be silence in all the flock after the exhomologetas (*ἑξομολόγησιν*); and all shall pray for him and say 'O God, establish him whom Thou hast prepared for us'. And one of the bishops and presbyters shall be chosen and he shall lay his hand upon his head, and pray and say:—

<sup>a</sup> It is probably merely by mistake that Arab. substitutes 'people' for 'presbytery'.

<sup>b-b</sup> B 'and the bishops shall lay their hands'.

<sup>c-c</sup> B 'He who is worthy out of . . .'

<sup>d-d</sup> B 'putteth his hand'.

<sup>e</sup> Tit. i 7; 1 Tim. iii 2.

In CH and CO<sup>2</sup> the first imposition has disappeared and the *ἐξομολόγησις* seems to fill the place. The double imposition is, however, preserved in *Test.*, side by side with much of the original phraseology: but after the silence a prayer is provided for the bishops to say jointly during their laying on of hands. Thereupon follows the second imposition by the one bishop, and the Consecration prayer.

In CH the single consecrator is described as 'one of the bishops and presbyters'—a phrase which apparently points to a stage in which a bishop is always regarded as a presbyter, but one differentiated from the rest by the episcopal authority which he possesses.

We must note also a fuller development of the ceremonial in CO<sup>2</sup>. The consecrator is supported by two bishops, following Apostolic Canon no. 1. He stands with them near the altar and says the prayer alone, while the other bishops and presbyters pray in silence. The deacons meanwhile hold the open Gospel-book over the head of the candidate. Curiously enough in the process of revision CO<sup>2</sup> has lost all express directions for any laying on of hands.

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*Ethiopic Version* (continued).

*Latin Version* (continued).

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ  
 Father of mercies and Lord of all  
 comforts,  
 who dwelt with the lofty and yet sees  
 the humble  
 and who knew all before it came to  
 pass.  
 Thou gavest an ordinance to the Church  
 by the word of Thy grace;  
 Thou who foreordainedst originally a

family of righteous men from Abraham  
 thou ordainedst judges and priests;

and Thou didst not leave Thy sanctuary  
 without ministers;

And ever since the creation of the world  
 Thou hast desired to be glorified

in the (place) which Thou choosest.

Now pour out from Thee the might  
 of the Holy Spirit

which Thou gavest to Thy beloved Son  
 Jesus Christ

which Thou grantest to us Thy holy  
 apostles Thy helpers in Thy Church

with the plough of Thy cross

Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi,  
 pater misericordiarum et deus totius  
 consolationis,  
 qui in excelsis habitas et humilia  
 respicis,  
 qui cognoscis omnia antequam nascan-  
 tur,  
 Tu qui dedisti terminos in ecclesia  
 per verbum gratiae tuae  
 praedestinans ex principio genus

iustum Abraham, principes et  
 sacerdotes constituens

et sanctum tuum sine ministerio  
 non derelinquens:

Ex initio saeculi bene tibi placuit

in his quos elegisti praedicari:  
 Nunc effunde eam virtutem quae a te  
 est principalis spiritus,  
 quem dedisti dilecto Filio Tuo  
 Iesu Christo,  
 quod donavit sanctis apostolis  
 qui constituerunt ecclesiam per  
 singula loca

(c) The Ordination prayer, which survives in CO<sup>1</sup> Latin and Ethiopic, is probably the prayer of the original tract, though in some degree modifications are traceable. With these two sources the Greek of CPH is in close agreement, while AC and *Test.* have enlarged forms of the same prayer.\* It is not suggested that the text in CPH is exactly the original text, for it gives a suspiciously different phrase as compared with Eth. and Lat. in the central passage beginning with *Καὶ νῦν ἐπίχεε*, where there is some divergence. It is to be observed that the prayer itself is not in CPH (nor Latin) put into the mouth of the Apostles: it is so in Ethiop.,† but then there are other signs there of alteration at this point. On the other hand CPH has

\* Here as in § 1 greater theological propriety is found in CPH than in AC; and it has apparently modified a passage in the original which AC took over unaltered. See Zahn II xiv, and above, p. 324. AC has *πνεύματος, ὅπερ διακονεῖται τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ σου παιδί*: thus agreeing with CO<sup>1</sup> in speaking of the Holy Spirit as given 'to our Lord and to the Apostles', instead of 'through our Lord to the Apostles'.

† But in a later passage even in Ethiop. the apostles are mentioned in the third not the first person.

CH (*continued*).

CPH § 4; Funk, ii p. 78.

3. THE PRAYER FOR HIM WHO IS TO BE MADE BISHOP; AND THE ORDERING OF THE KIDDAS.

O God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who dwellest in the highest and beholdest the lowly who knewest all things before they were made, Thou who hast appointed the frontiers of the Church, Thou who hast ordained from Adam that there should remain a righteous race through this bishop who is the great one, Abraham: Thou who hast appointed prelaties and principedoms:

Look upon N. Thy servant with Thy power and a ruling spirit\* whom (*sic*) Thou gavest through our Lord Jesus Christ Thine only Son to the holy apostles, those who founded the Church in every place

Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ὁ γινώσκων τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν, Σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὄρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ λόγου χάριτός σου, ὁ προορίσας τε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γένος δίκαιον ἐξ Ἀβραάμ, ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς καταστήσας.

τό τε ἀγίασμά σου μὴ καταλιπῶν ἀλειτούργητον, ὁ ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εὐδοκήσας

ἐν οἷς ἡρετίσω δοξασθῆναι. Καὶ νῦν ἐπίχεε τὴν παρὰ Σοῦ δύναμιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δεδώρησαι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἀποστόλοις, οἱ καθίδρυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τόπον ἀγιάσματός σου

\* πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ, Ps. l (li) 14.

lost (perhaps by mere inadvertence) the bracketed words in the phrase [ποιμαίνειν] σου τὴν ἁγίαν [ποιῦμην] which are in AC and are represented in the Latin and Ethiopic versions.

The same prayer underlies the form found in CH: the opening is identical, but differences begin after a few lines, through some omissions and the introduction of a reference to Adam as well as that

*Ethiopic Version (continued).*

*Latin Version (continued).*

and in the place of Thy holiness—  
To Thee be glory and praise unceasingly  
to Thy name.  
Give, Thou knower of the heart, and send  
the Holy Spirit upon Thy servant  
whom Thou hast chosen for the pontificate,  
that he may feed Thy flock

sanctificationem tuam  
in gloriam et laudem indeficientem  
nomini tuo.  
Da, cordis cognitor pater,  
super hunc seruum tuum,  
quem elegisti ad episcopatum,  
pascere gregem sanctam tuam ;

and minister as priest to thee  
without blame,  
serving thee by day and night,  
and supplicating to see Thy face  
worthily.

et primatum sacerdotii tibi exhibere  
sine reprehensione  
seruientem noctu ac die ;  
incessanter repropitiari uultum  
tuum.

That he may offer Thine oblation  
in Thy Holy Church ;  
In the holy spirit of the priesthood

Et offerre dona sancta  
ecclesiae tuae ;  
spiritu primatus sacerdotii

having authority to forgive sin  
according to Thy commandment  
and to give the ordination of Thine  
ordinance,  
and loose all  
bonds of iniquity according to the  
authority which Thou gavest to Thine  
apostles ;

habere potestatem dimittere peccata  
secundum mandatum tuum,  
dare sortes secundum praeceptum  
tuum,  
soluere etiam omnem colligationem  
secundum potestatem quam dedisti  
apostolis ;

and that he may please Thee with  
gentleness and purity of heart,  
offering to Thee a sweet savour,  
through Thy Son Jesus Christ, through  
whom to Thee be glory and might and  
honour, to the Father  
and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in  
Thy holy Church, now and always and  
for ever and ever. Amen.

placere autem tibi in mansuetudine  
et mundo corde,  
offerentem tibi odorem suauitatis,  
per puerum tuum Iesum Christum  
per quem tibi gloria et potentia et honor,  
patri et  
filio et spiritui sancto, et nunc et in  
saecula saeculorum. Amen.



to Abraham. In the central section CH supports CPH when the divergence in the CO<sup>1</sup> group takes place. After καρδιογνώστα πάντων CH omits the term ἐπισκοπήν, perhaps because it has already been brought in through the earlier modification, and is to appear again. It has the phrase about feeding the flock, and adds after it a piece of its own about the bishop's moral pre-eminence and example. Thenceforward the

3. THE PRAYER FOR HIM WHO IS TO BE MADE BISHOP ; AND THE ORDERING OF THE KIDDAS (*continued*). CPH § 4 ; Funk, ii p. 78(*continued*).

for honour and glory to Thy Holy Name.

Because Thou art He that knoweth each one's heart, grant him that he may see Thy people without sin, that he may be worthy to feed Thy flock, the great and the holy.

And grant that his life may excel that of all the people without accidents, and that he may be envied for his excellence by every one.

And accept his prayers and oblations which he presents to Thee day and night,

and let them be to Thee a strong savour.

And give unto him O Lord the episcopate and a mild spirit, and authority to forgive sins,

and give him power to loose all the bonds of iniquity

of demons, and to heal all weaknesses, and bruise Satan under his feet shortly:

in our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον ἀδιάλειπτον  
τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.  
καρδιογνώστα πάντων,  
ὁὸς ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων σου τούτων,  
ὄν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπισκοπήν,  
[ποιμαίνειν] σου τὴν ἁγίαν [ποίμνην],

καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοὶ  
ἀμέμπτως,  
λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας,  
ἀδιαλείπτως τε ἰλάσκεσθαι τῷ προσώπῳ  
σου

καὶ προσφέρειν σοὶ τὰ δῶρα τῆς  
ἀγίας σου ἐκκλησίας,  
καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ

ἔχειν ἕξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας  
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου,  
διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα  
σου,  
λύειν τε πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν  
ἕξουσίαν, ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις,

εὐαρεστεῖν τέ σοι ἐν πράττητι καὶ  
καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ  
προσφέροντά σοι ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας,  
διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, κράτος,  
τιμὴ, σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ  
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

differences multiply ; the most notable one is that which introduces a reference to gifts of exorcism and healing. An express order for the congregation to say 'Amen' follows the prayer, which is found also in an enlarged form in AC.

VI

In CPH the section closes with this Amen, and the next section takes

<i>Ethiopic Version</i> (continued).	<i>Latin Version</i> (continued).
And after the bishop has been ordained every one of them shall salute him with the mouth kissing him who has become a bishop, and to whom this grace has been imparted.	Quicumque factus fuerit episcopus, omnes os offerant pacis, salutantes eum quia dignus effectus est.
And the deacon shall bring to him the oblation ; and he then having laid his hand upon the oblation with all the holy ones and the presbyters shall say, thus giving thanks :	Illi uero offerant diacones oblationem, quique imponens manus in eam
The Lord (be) with you all. And the people shall say : Perfectly with thy Spirit may he be. And the bishop shall say : Lift up your hearts.	cum omni presbyterio dicat gratias agens : Dominus uobiscum. Et omnes dicant : Et cum spiritu tuo.  Susum corda.
And all the people shall say : We have (them) with the Lord our God.	Habemus ad dominum.
And the bishop shall say : Let us give thanks to the Lord. And the people shall say : Right, it is meet and just. And then the bishop shall say the (words) of the oblation as follows : We give thanks to thee O Lord . . . . . . . . . . for ever and ever. Amen.	Gratias agamus domino.  Dignum et iustum est. Et sic iam prosequatur,  Gratias tibi referimus deus . . . . . . . . . . in saecula saeculorum. Amen.
Concerning the oblation (of oil) Oil he shall offer according as the oblation of bread and wine, giving thanks as in that ordinance. Whenever he does not speak the same words, he shall give thanks according to the various meaning of each one but also with the other words, saying thus :	Si quis oleum offert secundum panis oblationem et uini  non ad sermonem dicat sed simili uirtute gratias referat,  dicens :

up the question of the presbyter. In all the other sources some references to the Eucharist follow. CO<sup>1</sup> Arabic and Coptic, which have not given the ordination prayer, fall now into line again with CO<sup>1</sup> Latin and Ethiopic, prescribing the kiss of peace, and apparently a special acclamation of \*Αξιὸς ἔστω.<sup>a</sup> This may be regarded either as the epd of the ordination or as the beginning of the Eucharistic Anaphora which follows.

## CH (continued).

And let all the people say Amen.  
And after this let all turn to him  
kissing him in peace  
because he is worthy of this.

## HERE FOLLOWS THE BISHOP'S FIRST MASS.

And the deacon shall come with the offerings.  
And he that has become bishop shall lay his hand on the offerings with the presbyters, and he shall say :

Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων.  
And the people shall say :  
And with thy spirit.  
And he shall say :  
Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας.

And [the people] shall say :  
Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

And he shall say :  
Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.  
And it shall be said :  
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, which is It is meet.  
And after this he shall say the prayer and finish the Mass.

And if there be oil

he shall pray over it thus :  
and if they have none, these sentences only.

Arabic Version (continued from above,  
p. 335).

And when he has become bishop  
every one shall salute him and kiss  
his mouth.

Saidic (and Bohairic) Version (continued).  
And when he is made bishop let every one give peace to him with their mouth, saluting him.

[The same : the Arabic version is similar.]  
Let the deacons then offer to him the oblation.

And having put his hand upon the oblation  
with the presbyters let him say in giving thanks (eukharistou) :

Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. [ἡμῶν Boh.]  
And all the people say :  
Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.  
And he says :

Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας. [Where are your hearts Arab.]

And the people say :  
Εὐχαίμεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. [They are with the Lord Arab.]

And he says again :  
Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τὸν Κύριον.  
And all the people say :

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

And let him pray also thus, and say the things which come after these according to the custom of the holy oblation. [End.]  
[And he shall say what comes after this in the rule of the Kiddas. [End.] Arab.]

<sup>a</sup> Cp. Test. i 21.

*Ethiopic Version* (continued).

Having sanctified oil . . . who receive it.

*Latin Version* (continued).

Ut oleum hoc sanctificans . . . praebeat.  
 Similiter si quis caseum et oliuas offeret  
 ita dicat :  
 Sanctifica lac hoc . . . . . sperant in te.

In omni uero benedictione dicatur :

Tibi gloria patri et filio cum sancto spiritu  
 in sancta ecclesia et nunc et semper  
 et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

And the people shall say :

As it was, is, and shall be to generation  
 of generation and to age of age. Amen.

The bishop shall say :

[Further prayers of the Bishop and  
 Deacon containing the rest of the  
 Liturgy in outline.]

And the deacon shall say Go forth in  
 peace

And after (that) the Keddase is finished.  
 [End.]

CH (continued).

And if there be firstfruits of anything  
 for food

which any one have brought, let him pray  
 over them and give a blessing over the  
 fruits of which they have brought to him  
 some in the prayer.

And at every prayer there shall be said  
 over everything (there shall be said) at  
 the end of the prayer,

Glory to Thee, O Father and Son and  
 Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

[End.]

In CO<sup>1</sup> and CH the next point mentioned is the Offertory.

CO<sup>1</sup> Latin has: 'Illi uero offerant diacones oblationem: quique imponens manus in eam cum omni presbyterio dicat gratias agens, *Dominus uobiscum*', &c.

The oriental versions agree, and so does CH; but since the divergences following are so great,<sup>a</sup> it is probable that the original Treatise did not include more than (at most) the first cues of the prayers; and that all the rest concerning the Liturgy has been added by the compiler of CO<sup>1</sup>.

When we consider CO<sup>2</sup> we observe that further change has taken place. The act of ordination is set back to an earlier point in the service, preceding the Lessons. This involves further changes, as will be seen from the four forms of CO<sup>2</sup> here subjoined.

<p>AC VIII v 9-11. καὶ μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν,  εἰς τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀναφερέτω τὴν θυσίαν  ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος.  καὶ τῆ ἕωθεν ἐνθρονιζέσθω εἰς τὸν αὐτῷ διαφέροντα τόπον παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπι- σκόπων πάντων αὐτὸν φιλησάντων τῷ ἐν κυρίῳ φιλήματι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου . . .</p>	<p>CO<sup>2</sup> <i>Said.</i> (and <i>Boh.</i>) (Horner, p. 341). And when he has finished praying for him, let one of the bishops place the oblation upon the hands of him who is ordained,  and let the other bishops set him upon the seat which is proper for him.  And when they have saluted him with the salutation which is in the Lord, let them read in the Holy Gospels, &amp;c.</p>
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CO<sup>2</sup> *Arab.* (Horner, p. 274).

CO<sup>2</sup> *Ethiop.* (Horner, p. 198).

<p>And one of the bishops shall offer incense  over the hand of him who is to be ordained. And the bishops shall cause him to sit upon a seat which was prepared for him.  And when they have all kissed him with the kiss of the Lord, let them read in the Holy Scriptures, &amp;c.</p>	<p>And the bishops  shall sit down upon seats <sup>b</sup> and they shall say, He is worthy of it.<sup>b</sup> And then all shall salute him with the kiss of the Lord, and they shall read the Holy Scriptures, &amp;c.</p>
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<sup>a</sup> CO<sup>1</sup> Arabic and Coptic have the versicles down to Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον and there stop. CO<sup>1</sup> Ethiopic and Latin agree in adding the consecration prayer and a Blessing of Oil, but then they diverge; the Latin adds merely a Blessing of Cheese and Olives, but the Ethiopic continues the Anaphora. CH, after the versicles, gives merely a direction for the rest of the Liturgy, but adds blessings of oil and of first-fruits. In CO<sup>2</sup> and *Test.* much larger developments take place.

<sup>b-b</sup> Over erasure.

What underlies these variants? It seems fairly clear that when the consecration was put before the lessons, the bringing to the new bishop of the oblation by the deacons was out of place: for he was not, in these altered circumstances, proceeding at once to the Anaphora. Ethiop. therefore omits the whole sentence. The rest change 'deacons' into 'bishops', while Arab. goes further and changes 'oblation' into 'incense'.

An enthronement is introduced, and the kiss of peace is made to belong to this ceremony, being now out of its eucharistic place. Finally AC seems to postpone the enthronement to the next day.

The Testament seems not to make these changes but to keep the earlier plan.

## VII

The service for the ordination of a presbyter is briefly described in CO<sup>1</sup> Latin, and much of its language is paralleled in the Greek of CPH and AC (VIII xvi 2).

*πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε,  
τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει αὐτός,*

*τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου παρστώτός σοι,  
καὶ τῶν διακόνων.*

*καὶ εὐχόμενος λέγε . . .*

*Cum autem presbyter ordinatur,  
imponat manum super caput eius  
episcopus,  
contingentibus etiam presbyteris,*

*et dicat secundum ea quae prae-  
dicta sunt, sicut praediximus  
super episcopum.*

Here the original seems to have ended: the same prayer was used for the presbyter as for the bishop. This procedure, however, soon seemed strange; and we trace in the various documents successive

*Ethiopic Version, Horner, p. 143.*

*Latin Version, Hauler, p. 108.*

CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF  
PRESBYTERS.

If the bishop desires to ordain a presbyter, he shall lay his hand upon his head;

and all the presbyters shall touch him and shall pray over him; in the form which we said before

*Cum autem presbyter ordinatur,  
imponat manum super caput eius  
episcopus,  
contingentibus etiam presbyteris,  
et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta  
sunt,  
sicut praediximus,  
super episcopum,*

changes which were made. CO<sup>1</sup> Arabic and Saidic perhaps are witnesses to the unchanged state of things ; they have no prayer for the presbyter, but only the passage contained in the Latin text above. But as they give no prayer for bishop or deacon either their witness here is doubtful. CO<sup>1</sup> Latin and Saidic add a prayer for the ordination of the presbyter regardless of the direction (which they retain) to use the form already given (for the bishop).

Further confirmation of the original state of things comes from CH. There is no special prayer provided there for the presbyter because his ordination is to be exactly the same as the bishop's, except that the term 'bishop' is not used. This exception is newly added : and an explanation is also given of the relation of presbyter and bishop, which corresponds with what was said above about bishop-presbyters in CH. We see then the old situation preserved here, but needing some further explanation.\*

The bishop's prayer made no mention of episcopal as distinct from sacerdotal functions and no mention of the power of ordination. It was therefore available, with a change of word, for the presbyter. The later prayer which is substituted for it is found in CO<sup>1</sup> Lat. and Ethiop. and also in different stages of further expansion and modification in CPH, AC, and *Test.* The differentiating of presbyter from bishop is clearly conceived in its thought and expressed in its choice of precedents and phraseology.

\* That explanation is still more fully given in Haneberg's text of CH than in Riedel's.

<p>CH.</p> <p>4. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS.</p> <p>And when a presbyter is ordained,</p> <p>all things concerning him shall be done as concerning a bishop,<sup>d</sup> except taking his seat on the throne.</p> <p>And the bishop's prayer shall be said over him entire,<sup>d</sup> except the name bishop' only. The bishop is in all</p> <p><sup>a</sup> SB 'CONCERNING THE PRESBYTERS'.  <sup>c</sup> S 'all the presbyters touching him' : B 'shall touch him'.</p>	<p><i>Arabic Version (Saidic and Bohairic in notes),</i> Horner, pp. 245, 307 ; Tattam, p. 34.</p> <p>22 (32). CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF THE PRESBYTER.<sup>a</sup></p> <p>When the bishop desires to ordain the presbyter, he shall lay his hand<sup>b</sup> upon his head ;  and all the priests touched him,<sup>c</sup>  and he prays over him according to the pattern which we have said</p> <p>concerning the bishop.</p> <p><sup>b</sup> SB 'hands'.  <sup>d-d</sup> Riedel omits.</p>
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*Ethiopic Version* (continued).*Latin Version* (continued).

he shall pray, saying :  
 My God the Father of our Lord and  
 Saviour Jesus Christ

look down upon this Thy servant,  
 and impart to him the spirit of  
 grace and the gift of holiness,

that he may be able to direct Thy  
 people with pure heart.

As Thou lookedst upon Thy chosen  
 people

and commandedst Moses to choose  
 presbyters

whom Thou filledst with the Holy Spirit  
 which Thou grantedst to Thy servant  
 and minister Moses :

So now, Lord give to this Thy servant  
 the grace which fails not, preserving to  
 us the spirit of Thy favour :

And vouchsafe to us, whilst Thou fillest  
 us with Thy worship

in our heart to glorify Thee :

through Thy Son Jesus Christ,  
 through whom to thee (be) glory and  
 power, to the Father and the Son and  
 the Holy Spirit in the holy Church,  
 now, &c.

orans et dicens :

Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu  
 Christi

respice super seruum tuum istum  
 et impartire spiritum gratiae et  
 consilii,

praesbyteris ut adiuuet  
 et gubernet plebem tuam in corde  
 mundo,

sicuti respexisti super populum  
 electionis tuae,  
 et praecepisti Moysi ut elegeret  
 praesbyteros

quos replesti de spiritu tuo  
 quod tu donasti famulo tuo ;

Et nunc domine praesta indeficienter  
 conseruari in nobis spiritum  
 gratiae tuae :

Et dignos effice  
 ut credentes tibi ministremus  
 in simplicitate cordis laudantes te :  
 per puerum tuum Christum Iesum  
 per quem tibi gloria et uirtus  
 patri et filio cum spiritu sancto  
 in sancta ecclesia  
 et nunc et in saecula saeculorum.  
 Amen.

And all the people shall say :

Amen and Amen. He is worthy of it.



CH (*continued*).

respects the equivalent of the presbyter, except in regard to the throne and ordination. Because he was not given authority to ordain.

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*Extracts from CPH (Funk, ii 80).*

ἔπιθε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον . . .  
καὶ ἐμπλησον αὐτὸν πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ  
συμβουλίας  
τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι  
καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν καθαρᾷ  
καρδίᾳ,  
ὃν τρόπον ἐπέιδες ἐπὶ λαὸν ἐκλογῆς  
σου,  
καὶ προσέταξας Μωϋσεὶ αἰρετίσασθαι  
πρεσβυτέρους,  
ὡς ἐπλησας πνεύματος,

ὅπως ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐνεργημάτων ἱερατικῶν  
καὶ λόγων διδακτικῶν ἐν πραότητι  
παιδείῃ σου τοῦτον εἰλικρινῶς ἐν  
καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ,  
καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἱερουργίας  
ἀμώμως ἐκτελῆ,  
διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα  
καὶ σέβας σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς  
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

## VIII

In the present form of the *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν* in CO<sup>1</sup>, the theory of ordination is more fully expounded in the section concerning the deacons than anywhere else. It is not very easy to say how much of the exposition belongs to the original form of the tract. In both CO<sup>1</sup> and CH there is considerable disorder, indicating that some interpolation has taken place. Further, this disorder and interpolation is not found in CO<sup>2</sup>, where the section about the Deacon is only quite a short one; the main part of it runs thus in CPH vii and AC viii xvii.

διάκονον καταστήσεις, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε,  
ἐπιθεις αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας,  
παρεστῶτός σοι παντός τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου,  
καὶ τῶν διακόνων,  
καὶ ἐπεξάμενος λέγε (AC ἐρείς).

This very business-like statement is parallel to the equally brief section about the presbyter; and it probably represents (with the usual modifications) the original section of the tract. The compiler of CO<sup>1</sup> makes his section a commentary on this, rather than the equivalent of it. He is evidently handling a point that was in controversy at the time. CH has also a commentary upon the office rather than mere directions: but of a less controversial character.

The divergences may be summarized thus:—

1. The Deacon's election is mentioned in CO<sup>1</sup>, and a reference back to an earlier direction is given here, just as it was also above in the case of the bishop. This refers, no doubt, to the *Apostolic Church Order*, which precedes CO<sup>1</sup> in the composite work (*The Statutes of the Apostles*) as edited by the final redactor; and the reference is an addition made by him. In CO<sup>1</sup> Eth. and Ar. the election is interpreted to be a choice by the bishop; and this is probably a change from the older method of election by 'all the people', which ApCO in fact prescribes.<sup>a</sup> CH has no mention of election, but has merely a note that the canons are to be observed.

2. After the direction for the imposition of hands, CO<sup>1</sup> goes off into argument, and does not give the corresponding ordination prayer till the argument is done. CH twice leads up to the prayer. It does so at

*Ethiopic Version*, Horner, p. 144.

*Latin Version*, Hauler, p. 109.

24. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF  
DEACONS.

And if the bishop desires to ordain a deacon, he shall choose him as we have already said.

Diaconus uero, cum ordinatur, eligatur secundum ea quae praedicta sunt similiter:

<sup>a</sup> See e.g. Statute 16 Ethiopic, = 15 Arabic, = 20 Saidic, in Horner, pp. 135, 241, 303.

the beginning of the section ; but then it too is led away into exposition ; and only when that is done, does it come back to prescribe the imposition of hands and the prayer. There is little doubt that in both CO<sup>1</sup> and CH most of the intervening passages are interpolated. It is possible, however, that one further sentence, the only one which is common to CO<sup>1</sup> and CH, was part of the original ; though, if so, it has disappeared in CO<sup>2</sup>. That is the one which runs in Latin thus, 'quia non in sacerdotio ordinatur sed in ministerio episcopi'; and reappears in *Test.* thus, 'because he is not appointed to priesthood, but for the service of attendance on the bishop and the Church'. There seems to be an echo of this in the familiar canon 4 of the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* :—

Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus qui eum benedicit manum super caput illius ponat : quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur.

This makes an interesting link with the later Latin Rites.

3. For the rest the material in CO<sup>1</sup> is mainly unlike that in CH, and the circumstances that give rise to it differ. The compiler of CO<sup>1</sup> is resisting the aggression of the diaconate by protests such as may also be seen in the councils of the fourth century from that at Arles (314) onwards<sup>a</sup> ; or again in the writings of St Jerome. He is careful to distinguish the deacon from the presbyters both by his inferior dignity and office, and by the difference of his functions, which are essentially dependent upon the bishop. The compiler of CH on the other hand shews little if any trace of controversy. He is anxious that the deacon should be an efficient almoner, besides ministering in church.

4. Another point must also be noted in CO<sup>1</sup>. The writer is anxious that if the deacon is kept in his place, so shall the presbyter be also. Though he receives 'the great spirit' and a more solemn imposition of hands, he may not presume to ordain. The Ethiopic version adds further words, in order to make clear that he may not even ordain a Reader or a Subdeacon.

All these points are of considerable interest for the history of the Ordination Services, though they all seem to be subsequent to the original tract, and to be due to a series of interpolations and modifications, varying in their purpose and provenance.

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CH.	<i>Arabic and two Coptic Versions.</i>
5. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF DEACONS. And when a deacon is ordained,	23 (33) CONCERNING [THE ORDINATION OF] <sup>b</sup> THE DEACONS. When the bishop desires to appoint a deacon, ° he shall choose him ° as we have said before.

<sup>a</sup> Arles, Canons xv, xviii ; Nicaea, Canon xviii ; Laodicea, Canon xx, &c.

<sup>b</sup> SB omit.

<sup>c-c</sup> SB 'who has been chosen'.

*Ethiopic Version* (continued).*Latin Version* (continued).

And the bishop alone shall lay his hand upon his head. Why do we say that the bishop alone is he who lays his hand upon him ?

For a sign it is of this thing, that he was not ordained for priesthood, but only for the service of the bishop, that he may perform the commandment with which he was commanded by him. And he was not ordained to be the teacher of all those who are in orders,

imponens manus episcopus solus sicuti et praecepimus.  
In diacono ordinando solus episcopus imponat manus,

propterea quia non in sacerdotio ordinatur, sed in ministerio episcopi, ut faciat ea quae ab ipso iubentur :

non est enim particeps consilii in clero,

but to be one who will think of what is proper (to be done) and will inform the bishop.

sed curas agens  
et indicans episcopo quae oportet ;

And he was not ordained to acquire the great Spirit, of which the presbyters partake ; but to occupy himself with that which is proper, that the bishop may trust him ; and that he may acquaint the bishop with that which is fitting (for him to know).

The bishop is he alone who shall lay his hand upon him.

non accipiens communem presbyteri Spiritum eum,  
cuius participes presbyteri sunt,  
sed id quod sub potestate episcopi est creditum.

Qua de re episcopus solus diaconum faciat.

CH (*continued*).

let it be done according to the various canons, and they shall say this prayer over him.

However he is not (thereby) appointed to the presbyterate, but to the diaconate, as a servant of God.

Let him serve the bishop and presbyters in all things, and not only at the time of the liturgy :  
but let him also serve the sick of the congregation, who have no one belonging to them.

Let him inform the bishop, that he may pray over them giving them what they need : and persons in seclusion also who have need.<sup>f</sup>

Let them also serve others for whom the bishop has pity, so that perhaps he may be giving to the widows, the orphans, and the poor.

And let him perform all the duties in this way.

Such an one is in truth that deacon, of whom Christ has said :

'If any minister to me, my Father will honour him.' (Jo. xii 26.)

But let the bishop lay his hand upon him,

<sup>a</sup> SB omit.

<sup>b</sup> SB 'hands'.

<sup>c-c</sup> SB 'for a (the) service of the bishop'.

<sup>d</sup> S 'fellow-councillor' : B 'of the counsel'.

<sup>e-e</sup> SB 'to take care of the sick'.

<sup>f</sup> Riedel has, 'who ask for advice and are in trouble'.

<sup>g-g</sup> SB 'to be worthy for the bishop to entrust to him the things which it is right'.

<sup>h-h</sup> B omits.

*Arabic and Coptic Versions (continued).*

The bishop [alone] <sup>a</sup> shall lay his hand <sup>b</sup> upon him. Why have we said that the bishop alone is he who shall lay his hand upon him? The reason of this is that he is not appointed for the priesthood, but he <sup>c</sup> is one of the assistants of this work, <sup>c</sup> that he should perform his commands with which he is commanded by him.

And he is not ordained to be a teacher <sup>d</sup> of all the clergy

but to <sup>e</sup> be one who will give attention to what is proper (to be done) <sup>e</sup> and will give the bishop information about it.

And he is not appointed to acquire the spirit of greatness in which the presbyters share, but <sup>f</sup> to give attention, and to be worthy

of the bishop's trust, and to be diligent about what is proper, <sup>g</sup>

because the bishop <sup>h</sup> alone is he who lays his hand upon him.

*Ethiopic Version* (continued).

Whereas for the presbyters indeed the bishop and all the presbyters take part with him, and they shall lay their hands upon him ; for it is one Spirit which descends upon him.

And the presbyter alone shall not do it ;

nor have the ordained clergy power to ordain.

And because of this the Reader also and the subdeacon shall not be ordained by the presbyter alone : but the bishop alone shall ordain and lay his hand upon him.

The prayer of the ordination of Deacons.

God who hast created all  
and by Thy word hast set (it) in order,  
the Father of our Lord and our Saviour  
Jesus Christ, whom Thou sentest that he  
might minister according to Thy will  
and reveal to us Thy secret counsel :  
grant spirit and grace  
and diligence  
unto this Thy servant,  
whom Thou hast chosen to be a deacon  
in our Church  
and to offer in Thy Holy of Holies  
that which is offered to Thee by  
Thine ordained Chief Priests  
to the glory of Thy name.

*Latin Version* (continued).

Super presbyterum autem etiam presbyteri superimponent manus, propter communem et similem cleri Spiritum.

Presbyter enim huius solius habet potestatem ut accipiat ; dare autem non habet potestatem. Quapropter clericum non ordinat.

Super presbyteri uero ordinatione consignat, episcopo ordinante. Super diaconum autem ita dicat.

Deus qui omnia creasti,  
et uerbo perordinasti,  
pater domini nostri Iesu Christi,  
quem misisti ministrare tuam uoluntatem,  
et manifestare nobis tuum desiderium,  
da spiritum sanctum gratiae et sollicitudinis et industriae  
in hunc seruum tuum,  
quem elegisti ministrare ecclesiae tuae,  
et offerre

\* \* \* \*

CH (*continued*).

*Arabic and Coptic Versions* (*continued*).

As for the presbyters, the bishop and all the <sup>h</sup> presbyters share with him in placing their hands upon him.

It is the one Spirit which comes down upon him.

<sup>a</sup>And the presbyter is only he who acquires the position of the clergy: he has not authority; so because of that he does not appoint clergy.<sup>a</sup>

and say this prayer over him, saying:

The presbyter is only ordained, and the clergy ordain him.

[S He only seals the presbyter, while the bishop is to ordain him.

B The presbyter is sealed only; the bishop shall ordain him.]

CPH; Funk, ii 80.

O God,

Ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ . . .

Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,

we earnestly-beseech Thee to pour out Thy Holy Spirit

εἰσάκουσον προσευχῆς ἡμῶν, κύριε, καὶ ἐνώτισαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόνα σου τόνδε, τὸν προχειριζόμενόν σοι εἰς διακονίαν,

upon thy servant N.

and number him with those who serve Thee according to all Thy good pleasure, like Stephen and his companions. Fill him with might and wisdom like Stephen and grant him that he may vanquish all the powers of the devil by the sign of Thy cross, wherewith Thou dost sign him. Make his life that it be without sin before all men, and an example for

καὶ πλησον αὐτὸν πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ὡς ἐπλησας Στέφανον, τὸν πρωτομάρτυρα καὶ μιμητὴν τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.

<sup>a-a</sup> SB 'For the presbyter receives only: he has no authority to give orders (B it to the clergy): for this cause he is not to ordain the clergy'.

*Ethiopic Version* (continued).

Thus without blame in pure life  
 having served the degrees of ordination  
 he may attain the exalted priesthood  
 and Thy honour, and glorify Thee :

through Thy Son Jesus Christ our

Lord, through whom to Thee with Him  
 (be) glory and might and power and  
 praise with the Holy Spirit  
 now, &c.

We now come to the deacon's Ordination prayer. Three different formulas appear: the first in CO<sup>1</sup> Ethiopic and (partly) Latin; the second in CH; the third at two different stages of development in CPH and AC. The first is also found in a greatly inflated shape in *Test.*, which thus once again preserves early features. It is not easy to say whether this diversity implies that the original treatise had no prayer; or whether it implies that some original prayer, which it had, has been superseded. If there was one in the tract, and it is any of these, the first has most claim to be considered such, both on the ground of the external evidence and also on the ground of its own contents. It agrees best of the three in style and character with the Ordination prayer of the Bishop.

There is little that is common to all three except the petition for the Holy Spirit.

## IX

We now reach the point at which the different sources diverge in respect of the order of the topics treated. CO<sup>1</sup>, CH, and *Test.* have next a very important section about Confessors, which in CO<sup>2</sup> has lost importance, and is relegated to a later position. CO<sup>2</sup> inserts after the Deacon a section on the Deaconess, which does not appear in the earlier sources; it also places the Subdeacon before the Reader, inverting the order observed in CO<sup>1</sup> and CH (in this point *Test.* agrees); and further, it transforms a subsection on gifts of healing, which closed the series in CO<sup>1</sup> and CH, into a section on the Exorcist.



CH (*continued*).

*Arabic and Coptic Versions* (continued).

many, whereby he may save a number  
in the Holy Church without fault.

And receive all his service  
through our Lord Jesus Christ,

through whom be the glory to Thee  
with Him and the Holy Spirit  
for ever and ever. Amen.

καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν  
εὐαρέστως λειτουργήσαντα τὴν ἐγχειρι-  
σθείσαν αὐτῷ διακονίαν,  
ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως,  
μείζονος ἀξιοθῆναι βαθμοῦ,  
διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου  
τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου·  
μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας  
σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι  
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Alterations in the position of the Widow and the Virgin complete the list of changes in order.<sup>a</sup>

These changes seem to shew that, while all but one of the above sections belonged to the original tract, it was found advisable, as time went on and changes in the hierarchy took place, to modify the original sequence, and to intercalate also at last in CO<sup>2</sup> a new section about the Deaconess.

By far the most important of these sections, in its original form, is the one on the status and relation to the clergy of confessors. It is also one that has undergone continual modification. Henceforward, for CO<sup>1</sup> the Latin version is wanting; and we have to depend upon much less satisfactory Egyptian versions.

<sup>a</sup> This may be put in tabular form thus:—

CO <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Eth. and Ar.</i> )	CO <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Said. and Boh.</i> )	CH	CO <sup>2</sup>	Test.
Confessor	Confessor	Confessor	Deaconess	Confessor
Widow				Widow
Reader	Reader	Reader	Subdeacon	Subdeacon
Virgin				
Subdeacon	Subdeacon	Subdeacon	Reader Confessor	Reader
	Widow			
	Virgin	Virgin	Virgin Widow	Virgin
Healing	Healing	Healing Widow	Exorcist	Healing

*Ethiopic Version.*25. CONCERNING THOSE WHO CONFESSED  
AND WERE CONDEMNED FOR THE  
NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

If the confessor has been in the place of punishment, in chains for the Name of Christ, they shall not lay hand on him for a ministering, for that is the honour of a deacon : but (as for) the honour of the presbyterate though he hath the honour of the presbyterate by that which he confessed, the bishop shall ordain him having laid his hand upon him.

And if the confessor was one who came not before the judges and if he was not punished with chains, nor was shut up in prison, nor suffered any affliction

but withal was only derided

for the Name of the Lord, and was not condemned to the least punishment, yet he professed all the work of the priesthood, which is meet for him,

they shall lay hand upon him and make him a deacon. And the bishop shall give thanks as we have already said.

And it is necessary that he should mention the things which we have already said, that he should recite clearly and carefully,

*Saidic Version (and Bohairic in notes).*

## 34. CONCERNING THE CONFESSORS.

The confessor then, if he has been in chains for the name of the Lord, they shall not lay hand [B hands] upon him for a ministry [B service] or presbyterate :

for he has the honour of the presbyterate by his confession. But if he is to be ordained bishop, then hand shall be laid upon him. [B they shall lay hands on him]. But if he is a Confessor \* who was not <sup>a</sup> brought before an authority, nor was punished with chains, nor shut up in prison, nor condemned with any sentence [B in any injustice], but in a casual way he was only insulted [B but according to the word, because he has been reviled alone]

for the Name of our Lord and he was punished with a punishment of house, though he confessed, hand is to be laid upon him for every office of which he is worthy. [B and hath confessed, he is worthy of every sacerdotal office from them ; they shall lay hands on him.] Now the bishop shall give thanks according to things which we said before.

It is not altogether [B Truly it is] necessary for him to recite the same words which we said before, as if learning to say them by heart [B that he may meditate upon them diligently]

\*-a B 'He shall not have been': and so on.

## CH.

6. CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN  
PUNISHED FOR THE FAITH.

When any one is found worthy to stand in the law-court for the faith and endure punishment for Christ's sake, and afterwards to be saved by a pardon,

he likewise is found worthy of the rank of the presbyterate : through God not for ordination by the bishop ; and indeed his confession is his ordination.

But when he becomes a bishop, let him be ordained.

And when any one has confessed,

and was not hurt by punishment

he is worthy of the presbyterate ;

but let him be ordained through the bishop.

If such a one, being some one's slave, underwent punishment for Christ's sake, he likewise is a presbyter for the flock. And if one have not received the form of the presbyterate, yet he has obtained the spirit of the presbyterate. Let the bishop not pray the recitation 'through the Holy Spirit'.

*Arabic Version.*24. CONCERNING THE CONFESSORS WHO  
WERE PUNISHED FOR THE NAME OF  
CHRIST, THAT THEY HAVE THE RANK  
OF THE DEACON AND THE PRESBYTER.

If the confessor has been in bonds for the Name of the Lord, hand shall not be laid for the ministry which belongs to the deacon or the presbyter,

for he has the honour of the presbyterate by his confession. If he is appointed bishop, the hand shall be laid upon him.

If as confessor he was not brought before the authorities and was not punished with bonds or prison and was not put to suffering

but he only came to be ridiculed

and was punished with punishment in the house, and yet he confessed, he is worthy of all the rank of the priesthood ; the hand shall be laid upon him and he shall be made (priest). And the bishop shall give thanks as we have said before.

And it is obligatory that he should mention what we have said before reading clearly and carefully,

*Ethiopic Version* (continued).

and give thanks to God  
 according as it is proper  
 for each to pray.  
 And if there was one who could  
 pray with devotion or use a grand  
 and elevated prayer,  
 and he himself being good ;  
 and if he prayed  
 and speaks praise with moderation,  
 no one shall be prevented from praying  
 who is truly  
 right.

*Saidic Version* (continued).

in his thanksgiving to God ;  
 but according to the ability of each one  
 he is to pray [B every one is to pray].  
 If indeed he is able to 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.

The position of the confessor is seen to be declining. In CO<sup>1</sup> Coptic and Arabic and in CH he has so exalted a position that he ranks as a presbyter, and ordination is only required in case he becomes a bishop ; this is also the position which survives in *Test*.

In CO<sup>1</sup> Ethiopic it seems that, though he has an honorary status as presbyter in view of his confession, yet if he wishes to be a presbyter he must be ordained so by the bishop.

When we come to CO<sup>2</sup>, the confessor, as such, needs no ordination ; he has a status of honour, as a confessor, *ipso facto*.<sup>a</sup> But if he is to become not only bishop or presbyter, but even deacon, he needs ordination ; and if he proceeds without it to exercise ministerial functions on the strength of his confession, he is to be deposed.

CO<sup>1</sup> proceeds next to deal with the case of a minor sort of confession which did not involve punishment but only derision ; and decides that in this case too the confession deserves the status of the presbyterate. But if the confessor aspires to the office as distinct from the status, he must be ordained. This clause is reduced to much smaller proportions in CH ; but a fresh clause follows there, providing that a slave who has suffered punishment in his confession is to count as a presbyter. A distinction is here drawn between the form, which he has not, and the spirit, which he has. Consequently if he is ordained to the office, the petition for the Holy Spirit is to be omitted. Neither of these two points seems to be original ; and the latter is an innovation in the theory as well as in the statement of the case.

The net result of the whole seems to be that, in the days of persecution, the confessor obtained so high a position, that he sat in the presbytery ; and only needed ordination, if he was elected as bishop. But that, as those circumstances disappeared, the privilege was gradually pared down ; the distinctions between status and office, and between qualification and ordination, were clearly established ; and only the

<sup>a</sup> AC VIII xxiii 2-4.

CH (*continued*).

*Arabic Version* (*continued*).

and giving thanks to God.  
 And that according to his power  
 each one shall pray.  
 If any one is able to pray fluently,  
 and it is a grand and  
 elevated prayer,  
 and he is a good man,  
 and if he offers prayer and says the  
 words of praise as he can,  
 no one shall prevent him from offering  
 prayer if he is correct and right.

**IX. LET (THE PRESBYTER) NOT DWELL  
 IN PLACES NOT HIS ; AND CONCERNING  
 THE HONOURING OF WIDOWS.**

A presbyter, when he departs and dwells in places not his, let the clergy of that place receive him, and make enquiries of the bishop of his see, in case he may have fled because of some reason.

If his town is a distant one, enquiry shall first be made whether he is a student, or whether he be not a model for the priests.

And after that he shall take his place with the rest ; and double honour shall be given him ; and he shall not be ordained afterwards.

former finally remained as the privileges of the confessor. By the time of CO<sup>2</sup> persecution had ceased ; the whole matter had lost its interest, and the section was relegated to a subordinate position in a much contracted form.<sup>a</sup> But evidently there still survived some who were anxious to claim the extinct privilege, and to claim, not merely status or qualification, but actual ministerial authority, on the ground of their confession. It had to be made clear to them that such a claim was no longer admissible.

An important passage upon a different subject follows in CO<sup>1</sup>. It is not found in CH or CO<sup>2</sup> ; but there is a lingering trace of it in *Test*. Permission is given to the ordaining bishop to use other prayers than those set down, according to his own ability. This passage, which preserves the old freedom of the officiant, as described in Justin Martyr and elsewhere, is early in its character and probably original. The

<sup>a</sup> The Arabic and Ethiopic versions of CO<sup>2</sup> mistake the meaning and mistranslate.

reason why it is not found in CH and CO<sup>2</sup> probably is, that the old liberty had disappeared, or become less important, by the time when those forms were compiled. In the days when the original treatise was written such freedom was still being exercised. Moreover, in view of the Montanist claims, it was wise to take the opportunity of asserting the church's liturgical freedom, but linking with it a stipulation for orthodoxy.

## X

The position of Widows and Virgins has also gone down in the course of time, and the sections concerning them are in CH and CO<sup>2</sup>

*Ethiopic Version.*26. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF  
WIDOWS.

If a widow is ordained,  
she shall not be sealed,  
but be made by the name.  
And if it was one whose husband  
died a long time,  
she shall be ordained.  
And if it was one whose husband  
had lately died,  
she shall not be trusted.  
And even if she is aged, she shall  
be tried many days,  
because lust will contend with  
those who are ordained to a place.  
And the widow shall be ordained  
by word only,  
and she shall (then) be joined to  
the rest of the widows.  
And they shall not lay hand upon her,  
because she does not offer the sacrifice  
nor has she a (sacred) ministry.  
For the sealing is for the priests  
because of their ministry,  
but the duty of widows is about  
prayer,  
which is the duty of all.

*Saidic Version.*

## 37. CONCERNING THE WIDOWS.

Further when a widow is appointed,  
she shall not be ordained  
but she shall be chosen by the name.  
And if her husband has died  
a long time before,  
then let her be appointed.  
But if she has not tarried long  
since her husband died,  
trust her not.  
But (even) if she has become old,  
let them prove her by time:  
for often the passions even grow old with  
him who gives place for them in himself.  
Let them appoint the widow  
by (mention of) the word only,  
and enrol her  
with the rest:  
but hand shall not be laid upon her,  
because she does not offer the oblation.  
nor conduct the public worship.  
And ordination belongs to the clergy  
for the sake of public worship.  
But the widow indeed is appointed  
for the prayer,  
and that is the duty of all persons.

put after the sections on the Reader and Subdeacon. The directions about Widows are considerable in CO<sup>1</sup>, but much curtailed in CH and CO<sup>2</sup>; there is, however, no change of principle. The widow is not ordained, and has no imposition of hands. CH says that ordination is only for men. CO<sup>1</sup> does not dwell on the difference of sex, but on that of function. She has no ordination because she does not offer the sacrifice, nor conduct public worship. For the method of appointment of widows CO<sup>1</sup> seems to contemplate only a solemn naming. CH on the other hand speaks of a prayer to be said over them, but gives no form of prayer.

*Test.*, in contradistinction to all this, makes much of the widow, and even provides a prayer for the bishop to say over her.

CH (*continued*).

For widows who are appointed, the orders of the Apostle hold good. They shall not, however, be ordained, but prayer shall be said over them : for ordination is only for men.

Widows, however, shall be highly honoured for continuance in prayer and the ministering to the sick and in much fasting.

*Arabic Version.*

## 25. CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF THE WIDOWS.

When a widow is appointed, she shall not be signed but shall be made by the name. If her husband has been dead a long time, let her be appointed. If her husband has lately died, she shall not be trusted. But if she had become aged let her be tested for a time : for solicitations grow old in him who makes place for them in him. Let the widow be appointed with the word alone, and let her be joined to the rest of the widows. And hand shall not be placed upon her, because she does not offer the oblations nor have any ministry. Signing is for the clergy because of their ministry ; and for the widow (her appointment is) because of prayer, this (being the duty of) every one.

## XI

The closing section in CO<sup>1</sup> comprises four brief subsections, which are the same in all versions except for a change of order in the Coptic versions. The Reader is appointed by the bishop, without laying on of hands, but by a delivery to him of the Bible. The Subdeacon has neither laying on of hands, nor any delivery of instruments, but only a solemn naming, as in the case of the Widow: he is the attendant upon the Deacon. In the case of the Virgin there is no official action of any kind; only a recognition of her own interior purpose.

In CH more is made of the Reader, in that it is stipulated, that he should have the same qualifications as the Deacon. He is appointed by a delivery of the Gospel-book; and here it is ordered that the

*Ethiopic Version.*

## 27. CONCERNING THE READER AND THE VIRGINS AND THE SUBDEACONS, AND CONCERNING THE GRACE OF HEALING.

To the Reader who is ordained the bishop shall deliver the scripture

and shall not lay hand upon him.

As for the Virgin also, he shall not lay hand on a virgin; but it is with her heart alone that she became a virgin.

As for the subdeacons, he shall not lay hand upon a subdeacon, but he shall make (mention) over them of their name that they may minister to the deacons.

*Saidic Version.*

## 35. CONCERNING THE READER.

The reader shall be appointed by the bishop giving to him the book of the Apostle, and praying over him; but he shall not lay hand upon him.

## 38. CONCERNING THE VIRGINS.

Hand shall not be laid upon a virgin, but her purpose alone is that which makes her a virgin.

## 36. CONCERNING THE SUBDEACON.

They shall not lay hand upon a subdeacon, but they shall mention his name that he may follow the deacon.



Subdeacon is to be appointed in the same way ; thus the distinction, which existed in CO<sup>1</sup>, has vanished. CH differs also in dealing with celibate men in place of virgins, and in adding a further sentence about Reader and Subdeacon.

Greater changes have come about in CO<sup>2</sup>. Not only do we find there that the Deaconess is ordained by imposition of hands and with a prayer provided in CPH and AC ; but also that the Subdeacon takes precedence of the Reader, and has also imposition of hands and an ordination prayer, with a petition for the gift of the Holy Spirit in order that he may rightly handle the liturgical vessels. The Reader in CPH remains where he was, being appointed by the delivery of the Book ; but in AC he also is advanced to the dignity of having imposition of hands and a special prayer, with a petition for the gift of the Holy

## CH.

7. ON HIM WHO IS CHOSEN READER AND  
SUBDEACON.

When any man is chosen to be a Reader, he shall have the prerogatives of the deacon : but no one shall lay hand upon him first ; only the bishop shall give him the Gospel. For the Subdeacon, all is done in the same way.

And he shall not be ordained, if he be a celibate, or if he have no wife, unless testimony is given about him, and he be approved through his neighbours, namely that since being among them<sup>a</sup> he has kept apart from women. And no one shall lay hand on a man as a celibate, except he has reached full age and can be trusted and have testimony given about him.

The Subdeacon and the Reader, when these two pray, or one of them, they shall stand behind by themselves, and the Subdeacon shall minister before the people.

*Arabic Version.*26. CONCERNING THE VIRGINS AND THE  
SUBDEACONS, AND CONCERNING THE  
GRACE OF HEALING.

The Reader is he who is appointed by the bishop, giving to him the Book :

and hand shall not be laid upon him.

Hand shall not be placed upon a virgin, but her inmost thought alone causes her to be a virgin.

Hand shall not be placed upon a subdeacon, but a name shall be put upon them that they may follow the deacons.

<sup>a</sup> But Riedel has 'being grown up'

Spirit, in order that he may like Ezra worthily read the scriptures to the people and be found worthy of promotion to a higher ministry.<sup>a</sup>

In *Test.* a new feature is introduced, viz. a charge is given to the Subdeacon and the Reader by the Bishop, as his method of appointment.

Finally we reach what seem to be the last clauses of the original tract; and characteristically they are concerned with the relation of special *charismata* to the ministry. The order, which is given, is differently understood in the extant versions belonging to CO<sup>1</sup> and CH. One seems to imply that such gifts, when attested, are not equivalent to an ordination, though they may be taken as qualifications for ordination. The other seems merely to say that no laying on of hands is required as authorization for the exercise of such gifts, because the fact will shew whether the healing gifts are genuine or not. The former of these (CO<sup>1</sup> Ethiopic and CH) seems more likely to be the original than the latter (CO<sup>1</sup> Arabic and Coptic and *Test.*). It is certainly more in place as a part (and probably the conclusion) of a pair of tracts on *Charismata* and Ordination. There is no evidence that any desire was expressed by those who had *charismata* to have their position recognized by an imposition of hands. Whereas there is evidence that such persons claimed a place in the hierarchy on the ground of such gifts; and the purpose of the author is to deny the pretensions of those who boasted of their *charismata*.

*Ethiopic Version* (continued).

As for the grace of healing  
if some one says  
'I have acquired the grace of healing  
and prophecy'  
they shall not lay hand upon him  
until his deed make evident that  
he is trustworthy.

*Saidic Version.*

39. CONCERNING THE GRACE OF HEALING.

Further when any one says  
'I received gifts of healing by a  
revelation'  
hand shall not be laid upon him :  
for the deed itself shall make him  
manifest, if he speaks the truth.

<sup>a</sup> Funk makes this passage his third proof of the priority of AC to CPH: he calls attention to the differences between it and the rest, and treats them as innovations. But this passage in CPH corresponds very closely with CO<sup>1</sup>; and its peculiarities are due to its being less altered than the rest. Besides, the condition of the Reader which it describes, appointed by a tradition of the Book without imposition of hands, is certainly anterior to that described in AC—ordination with imposition of hands and an ordination prayer.

In CO<sup>2</sup> this becomes a chapter about an exorcist ; but it preserves some of the old language : ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν χάρισμα ἰαμάτων δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀναδείκνυται, φανερῶς οὐσης πᾶσιν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ χάριτος (AC VIII xxvi). As exorcist he receives no imposition of hands ; but he needs it to become bishop, priest, or deacon. By this time we have passed out of the period when any living claim to such gifts is being generally made.

## XII

At this point it seems that the Treatise Περὶ χειροτονιῶν ended. If it ever had an epilogue like the Περὶ χαρισμάτων, it has been robbed of it. In all the sources where the little tract is found, it runs on straight into other things.

It has seemed likely that these tracts arose in the era of Montanism : and in the light of what has gone before, we have now to examine afresh<sup>a</sup> the evidence which introduces, in this connexion the name of Hippolytus, to see if there is any good reason for ascribing the authorship to him.

1. His name stands at the head of the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν in CPH : Διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἰππολύτου, and the word αὐτῶν refers back to the heading of the previous document, viz. the Περὶ χαρισμάτων, which reads thus : Διδασκαλία τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων.

## CH.

## 8. CONCERNING THE GIFT OF HEALING.

When any one asks for ordination, saying, 'I have received the gift of healing', he shall not be ordained until after the matter is clear, and whether the Healing which shall be through him, is from God.

A presbyter whose wife has borne a child is not to be cut off.

(For § 9 see above.)

*Arabic Version* (continued).

## CONCERNING THE GRACE OF HEALING.

If any one says  
'I have acquired a grace of healing by revelation',  
hand shall not be placed upon him :  
because the deed shall make evident  
whether he is speaking the truth.

<sup>a</sup> Achelis has been the main advocate of the Hippolytean authorship. Funk contests it, but Harnack supports Achelis *Gesch. der altchristl. Liter.* (Leipzig 1893) 647. But none of them distinguish the original tracts from the modified forms in which they are extant. See also Leclercq *Mon. Eccl. Liturg.* i ii pp. xlv and ff.

2. In CH the heading is in some such form as this :—

These are the Canons of the Church [and] the commands which Hippolytus wrote, the chief of the bishops of Rome, &c.<sup>a</sup>

The evidence of such headings would not in itself be worth much. Hippolytus had a curious reputation in the East, and many things, which were not his own, were ascribed to him.<sup>b</sup> But it is known, from the list of his real works which is inscribed on his statue, that he wrote a work called *Περὶ χαρισμάτων, ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*. Now this title not only agrees with the first treatise in general, but it also describes the unusual form in which it is cast. The *ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις* is here put by the writer in the mouth of the Apostles.<sup>c</sup>

This literary fiction became a common one; we see it made more explicit in the *Didaschalia, The Apostolic Church Order*, in AC VIII, and in the subsequent parts of CPH which run parallel to AC. A fiction of this sort is perhaps a device which we should not have expected of Hippolytus; but the indisputable title of his *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* suggests it.

It seems quite possible then that the writer may be Hippolytus; that this *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* is his *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*; and that he was even the inaugurator of the literary fiction which afterwards went to so much greater lengths in the development of this group of documents.

It is true there is no mention of a *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν* among his works; but the two treatises are but parts of one work; even together they make but a small tractate; and there is no reason why the single title may not briefly have described both.

Further, Hippolytus is known to have combated Montanism, and his *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* was probably anti-Montanist.<sup>d</sup>

What other evidence is there which can help to determine the date of the Treatise and thus shew whether that is consistent with a Hippolytean authorship?

1. The relation of the bishop to the presbyters is of a primitive kind. If it survived as a living feature of church life into the third century at all, no place was more congenial to such a survival than Rome, and Rome on its most conservative side, as represented by Hippolytus.

2. Not only in the original treatise, but also in the modified form which it takes in CO<sup>1</sup>, CH, there is no sign of the stipulation for three bishops to be present at a consecration. Such a stipulation was

<sup>a</sup> See Riedel, 200; and also *P. G.* x 959.

<sup>b</sup> See *Works I*, edd. Bonwetsch and Achelis (Leipzig 1897).

<sup>c</sup> See Achelis l. c. 269 sqq. He takes the words as forming two titles, the second one belonging to the *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν*. This is possible but seems less probable. For the inscription see *Revue Bénéd.* (1900) xvii pp. 246-248.

<sup>d</sup> Bonwetsch *Geschichte des Montanismus* 36 sqq. (Erlangen 1881).

emphasized by the Nicene Canon and it has been imported into the directions given in CO<sup>2</sup>. Both the earlier sources therefore probably belong to the third century; and the original tract accordingly to the early part of it.

The original does not contemplate any difficulty in securing the co-operation of neighbouring bishops. This again suggests the third century, a time before the movement began for restricting bishoprics to the larger places, for discouraging *χωρεπίσκοποι*, and depressing them into an inferior position.

3. The position of the minor ranks of the hierarchy preserves early features. The list comprises Confessor, Widow, Reader, Virgin, Subdeacon, and at first in that order. Only in CO<sup>2</sup> is the list enlarged by the addition of Deaconess and Exorcist, probably under local Syrian influence.

(a) The Reader is superior to the Subdeacon. This Harnack has shewn to be characteristic of the days before the middle of the third century.<sup>a</sup> At Rome the evidence is clear that in 251 the list was—bishop, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers<sup>b</sup>; and at Carthage the Reader occupied the same position at that time. Tertullian, however, seems to mention only widows and readers (apart from the first three orders)<sup>c</sup> among the ordained persons. The Reader's office historically preceded the rise of the Subdiaconate, and for a time he had precedence. This is also the position in the *Didascalía*.<sup>d</sup>

It is true that Hippolytus elsewhere mentions only bishops, priests, and deacons among the clergy; but this is not evidence that he did not know the Reader, but only that he did not regard him in that *category*—and very naturally as he had no laying on of hands.<sup>e</sup>

(b) The relation of Confessor, Widow, and Virgin to Reader and Subdeacon is remarkable, and their place in the original order of precedence. CO<sup>2</sup> alters this very significantly, setting all that group after the Subdeacon and Reader. This was natural when office, and even minor office, had come to count for more in the matter of precedence, than special religious experience such as had given a special status in earlier days to Confessor, Widow, and Celibate.

(c) The special status of the Confessor is the most remarkable of the three. It shews probably a date before the Decian persecution. At that point Cyprian was being forced to curtail the privileges which

<sup>a</sup> *Sources of the Apostolic Canons* chap. vii (London 1895).

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* vi 43.

<sup>c</sup> I cannot agree with Harnack in taking Tertullian's *lector* to be *laicus*.

<sup>d</sup> Ed. Gibson, pp. 49, 51 (Cambridge 1903), cp. Hauler, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>e</sup> Harnack l. c. p. 63 note. And compare the list in Hipp. in *Danielem* i 17 (edd. Bonwetsch and Achelis i pp. 28, 29), where a list comprises Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, with the choir of Teachers and the Order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

had long been popularly accorded to confessors. When he ordained the Confessor Aurelius he held that his confession was an adequate qualification for the presbyterate; but he regarded him as needing ordination. On the ground of his youth he was to begin as a Reader, so far as his office went; and he was ordained by Cyprian accordingly. The same plan was followed in the case of Celerinus. But both of them, though Readers only in office, had the honour and emoluments of the presbyter assigned to them; and when older they were to take their seat in the presbyteral council.<sup>a</sup>

This is the procedure of some later forms of our document, not of the original. The greater degree of privilege, granted to the confessor there, is probably the legacy of the troubles under Septimius Severus, or even of some earlier persecution.

There is nothing here which points to a later date than that of Hippolytus, and much that points to his era.

Some minor points may also be noticed that tell in the same direction:—

(a) The Christological alterations in the credal passage of the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* which we noticed in comparing CPH with AC, and a similar one in the Bishop's ordination prayer, may be brought in here (unless the passage is to be regarded as an interpolation, because Hippolytus had a reputation for leaning to ditheism and subordinationism, and the passages, which are found in AC but have been altered in CPH, have that flavour.

(b) It is interesting to compare the epilogue and prologue of our tracts with the prologue to the *Philosophoumena*, and set Hippolytus's phrase—

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναγκάζει ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος εἰς μέγαν βυθὸν διηγύσεως ἐπιβῆναι,  
side by side with our—

Νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαϊότατον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπέγει.

Also the description which the writer gives of himself there corresponds with the point of view of the *Two Treatises* and their language:—

... τὸ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθὲν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὗ τυχόντες πρότεροι οἱ ἀπόστολοι μετέδοσαν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πεπιστευκόσιν· ὧν ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι τυγχάνοντες, τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς χάριτος μετέχοντες, ἀρχιερατείας τε καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λελογισμένοι κτλ.

Later, in dealing with Montanism, Hippolytus's complaint is (*Philos.* viii 19)—

Ὑπέρ τε ἀποστόλους καὶ πᾶν χάρισμα ταῦτα τὰ γύναια δοξάζουσι,  
a phrase which sums up the position of the *Two Treatises*.

\* See Cyprian's letters testimonial for them, *Epp.* 38, 39.

(c) The digression about false bishops, already noticed, in the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων* is not unexpected if the writer was Hippolytus, the leader of the rival party in Rome, who held that the recognized bishops had forfeited their position through faults of personal character and by unjustifiable acts of administration.

Finally, it will be well to set out a conspectus of the material in tabular form shewing the documents and the grouping that has been adopted throughout. It is hoped that this fourfold grouping will be seen to have been justified, as our survey proceeded,—at any rate as regards those parts of the different compilations which, in one or another form, reproduce the two tracts. It is not necessarily contended that the compilations themselves fall into the same sequence; for it is clear about compilations that the chronology of the parts is not necessarily the same as the chronology of the wholes. The arguments of Achelis, Funk, Leclercq, and others as to the relationship between these compilations need not therefore necessarily come into question here. But it may be noted that the sequence adopted here for the parts embodying these two tracts is not very different from that adopted for the whole compilations by Achelis and others, as against Funk. It must, however, be clearly stated that this grouping does not imply immediate filiation, but only a rough chronological order. It is quite possible that (except in the case of mere versions) no one of the existing documents is derived directly from any other. A number of other documents representing different stages and filiations must have disappeared.<sup>a</sup> But the contention is that all these sources have utilized two early tracts; and that this grouping roughly shews the degree of nearness of the extant documents to the tracts in their original form.

If our analysis of this group of documents is correct, we have been able to disinter two little treatises on Gifts and Ministry, belonging to the early part of the third century and probably written by Hippolytus: and further to trace some of the modifications which they underwent at the hands of successive compilers and translators in the two centuries that followed.

W. H. FRERE.

<sup>a</sup> The Syrian Octateuch also contains a form of the same two tracts in Books iv and v; but these have not been published. From the description given by Rahmani (*Testamentum* p. xi) this form seems to belong to the Second Church Order group. It omits the account of the Liturgy.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE SOURCES.

	First Church Order					I	Const. P. H.	Second Church Order					Testament of our Lord
	Eth.	Ar.	Said.	Boh.	Lat.			Eth.	Ar.	Said.	Boh.	A. C.	
<b>A. CONCERNING</b>	<b>SPIRITUAL GIFTS</b>												
§§ 1 and 2	—	—	—	—	—		1, 2	49- 52 a	48- 51 a	63 a	63	1, 2	—
Epilogue	—	—	—	—	—		—	52 c	51 b	63 b	64	3	—
<b>B. CONCERNING</b>	<b>ORDINATIONS</b>												
Prologue	40	—	—	—	LXVII		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Bishops and Eucharist	22 a	21 a	31 a	31 a	LXVIII	2, 3 a	3, 4	53 a	52 a	64 a	65 a	4, 5 a	i. 21
	22 b	21 b	31 b	31 b	LXIX- LXXI	3 b	—	53 b	52 b	64 b	65 b	5 b-15	23
2. Presbyters	23	22	32	32	LXXI	4	5, 6	54 a	53 a	66 a	67 a	16	30
3. Deacons	24	23	33	33	LXXII	5	7, 8	54 b	53 b	66 b	67 b	17, 18	34, 38
						Deaconess	9, 10	54 c	53 c	66 c	67 c	19, 20	—
4. Confessors	25	24	34	34	* * *	6	14	55	54	67	68	23	39
5. Widows	26	25	37	37		9 a	16	56 b	55 b	69	70	25	40, 41
6. Readers			35	35		9 b	13	54 c	53 c	66 c	67 c	22	45
Virgins	27	26	38	38		7	15	56 a	55 a	68	69	24	46
Subdeacon			36	36		7	11, 12	54 c	53 c	66 c	67 c	21	44
Healer			39	39		8	Exorcist	17	56 c	55 c	70	71	26

After this point the parallelism of the different documents ceases to be so marked, and divergence sets in



