

The *Hibernensis*

Extracts from a forthcoming study, edition and
translation with commentary by Roy Flechner

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Preface

This book has been many years in the making. It began life as a project for a doctoral dissertation at Oxford, supervised by Professor Richard Sharpe. It is to him that I owe a debt of gratitude for inspiring mentorship, practical guidance, generosity with his vast reserves of knowledge, and uncompromising intellectual sincerity. After my doctorate was conferred in 2007, work on the *Hibernensis* continued intermittently as much as time has allowed. Over this period I was fortunate to receive input from a good number of scholars whose Latinity and competence as historians far surpass my own. The earliest draft was read in its entirety by Dr Richard Pollard, whose penetrating insights as Latinist, historian, and avid reader of early medieval literature have contributed a great deal to improving the text and to excising errors. A more recent draft was reviewed by Professor Thomas Charles-Edwards, himself the leading authority on the *Hibernensis*, who read every word, made numerous corrections, and offered contextual interpretations based on his unrivalled familiarity with early Irish law and church history. The late Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin, who can rightly be credited with establishing many of the fundamental principles of the study of early Irish law and canon law, read the entire text, and proposed several changes and re-interpretations of passages that strained my linguistic and historical understanding. Further reading of portions of text, translation, and introduction was provided by distinguished colleagues and friends, among them the leading scholars in early medieval canon law and Celtic studies: Professor Liam Breathnach, Professor Pádraig Breathnach, Dr Michael Elliot, Dr Sven Meeder, and the late Professor Roger Reynolds. The final script was meticulously proof-read by Linda Mellor and the indefatigable polymath Dr Joel Kalvesmaki. Additional (and much-needed) verification of source references was provided by Sumner Braund. The English translation was indexed by Laura Napran. All have been extraordinarily forthcoming with their time and patiently corrected my many errors.

The authorial cliché of claiming responsibility for all remaining errors holds markedly true for these volumes, because in editing a text on the scale of the *Hibernensis* and with as many variant manuscript readings, some perplexingly esoteric, errors are impossible to avoid entirely (especially for a Latinist of middling ability): some will be trivial, like the

occasional miscopying of a manuscript variant, while others, like a controversial editorial decision, may be deemed more serious. The textual transmission of the *Hibernensis* is notoriously complex, with over ten copies collated here, and of the many challenges that it raises there were, inevitably, some that I was able to address better than others. It is to be expected that readers' opinions will be divided on certain choices that I made in editing and translating. Nevertheless, I believe that the present text is sufficiently reliable to satisfy the needs of readers who will make use of it as a source for early medieval European history, but also of readers who may wish to treat it as an occasion for preparing a new edition constructed along different editorial principles.

I gladly acknowledge further debts, which are owed to those who, although not directly involved in the editing and writing process, have been a source of intellectual inspiration and professional support. At the Hebrew University, 1999–2002: Professor Esther Cohen, Professor Doron Mendels and the late Dr Emanuel Wardi. Friends and colleagues at Oxford and Cambridge, 2002–2012: Professor Lesley Abrams, Dr Martin Brett, the late Dr Cliff Davies, Dr Luned Davies, Dr Fiona Edmonds, Professor Yitzhak Hen, Dr David Howlett, Professor John Marenbon, Dr Matthew Kempshall, Professor Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Dr Tom Pickles, Dr Hannah Skoda, Dr Krisztina Szilágyi, Professor Rosamond McKitterick, Professor Joanna Story, Professor Teresa Webber, and Professor Chris Wickham. Friends and colleagues from University College Dublin, 2012–2015: Dr Eddie Coleman, Dr Catherine Cox, Dr Elva Johnston, Professor John McCafferty, Dr Charles Ivar McGrath, Professor Jean-Michel Picard, Dr Michael Staunton, Professor Tadhg O hAnnrachain, Professor Aidan O'Sullivan, and Dr Jennifer Wellington.

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Abbreviations

<i>AL</i>	<i>Ancient Laws of Ireland</i> , ed. J. O'Donovan, <i>et al.</i> , 6 vols. (Dublin, 1865–1901)
<i>AU</i>	<i>Annals of Ulster</i> , ed. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983)
<i>BCLL</i>	M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, <i>Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200</i> (Dublin, 1985)
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1966–)
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1953–)
<i>CIH</i>	<i>Corpus Iuris Hibernici</i> , ed. D. A. Binchy, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1978)
<i>CLA</i>	<i>Codices Latini antiquiores</i> , ed. E. A. Lowe, 12 vols (Oxford, 1934–1972)
<i>CPL</i>	E. Dekkers and E. Gaar, <i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , 3rd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1995)
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna, 1866–)
<i>DIL</i>	<i>Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> , ed. E. G. Quin, C. Marstrander <i>et al.</i> (Dublin, 1913–1976)
<i>EOMIA</i>	<i>Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima</i> , ed. C. H. Turner, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1899–1939)
<i>GCS</i>	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig and Berlin, 1897–)
<i>GEIL</i>	F. Kelly, <i>A Guide to Early Irish Law</i> (Dublin, 1988)
<i>Hib</i> (<i>Hib.A</i> , <i>Hib.B</i>)	<i>Collectio Hibernensis</i> (Recensions A, B)
<i>J³</i>	P. Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum... editio tertia</i> , ed. M. Schütz <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (Göttingen, 2016–2017)
<i>Kanonensammlung</i>	<i>Collectio Hibernensis</i> , ed. H. Wasserschleben, <i>Die irische Kanonensammlung</i> (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1885)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1864)
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1941–)
<i>SLH</i>	<i>Scriptores Latini Hiberniae</i> (Dublin, 1955–)
<i>ZCP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie</i>

For abbreviated sources in the *apparatus fontium* of the edition, see corresponding entries in the index of sources on pp. 982–1000.

Sigla

Manuscripts collated for this edition

- A** Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 221 (193), *saec.* VIII²/IX¹
- B** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 3182, *saec.* X/XI
- D** Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 297, *saec.* XI
- H** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42, *saec.* IX¹-X
- O** London, British Library, Cotton Otho E. XIII, *saec.* X/XI
- O₂** O, fols. 128^r-149^v
- O_{2b}** O, fols. 150^r-179^v
- P** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12021, *saec.* IX
- S** St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 243, *saec.* IX²
- V** Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, T. XVIII, *saec.* X
- Θ** Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Mp. th. q. 31, *saec.* VIII/IX

Other manuscripts

- C** Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 679 (619), AD 763×790
- Cop** Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Ny. Kgl. S. 58 8°, *saec.* VIII¹
- E** London, British Library, Royal 5 E.XIII, *saec.* IX
- I** Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 522, *saec.* X
- K** Cologne, Dombibliothek, 210, *saec.* VIII
- L** Livorno, Biblioteca Labronica, sine numero, *saec.* XI/XII
- M** Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4592, *saec.* X-XI
- Q** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12444, *saec.* VIII-IX
- R** Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. XVIII, *saec.* IX
- U** Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6434, *saec.* VIII²
- W** Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 279, *saec.* IX²

Groupings of manuscripts

Hib.A *Hibernensis*, A-Recension

Normally consisting of two or more of the following: ABCLOPQS

Hib.B *Hibernensis*, B-Recension

Normally consisting of two or more of the following: DHO₂O_{2b}V

Introduction

The *Hibernensis* set a number of precedents in the area of medieval canon law. It was the first canon-law text in the Latin west to attempt to compile laws for a Christian society and not only for the church; it was the first to deal extensively with conceptual questions pertaining to jurisprudence (e.g. what is law, what purpose does it serve), and it was the first to draw upon the Old and New Testaments systematically as sources for law. The *Hibernensis* (hereafter *Hib*) was compiled in Ireland at a time when Irish scholars were committing to writing what was to become early medieval Europe's largest corpus of vernacular laws, which complemented an existing corpus of Hiberno-Latin normative material. This flurry of compilatory activity is usually dated between c. 650 and c. 750.¹ Juridical texts that were written in this period are typically divided into two broad categories, secular and ecclesiastical, but there is nevertheless considerable overlap between the two.

Many Irish laws from this period have come down to us in two great collections, compiled more or less at the same time, but distinct in scope, structure, and purpose. These are the *Senchas Már*, comprising texts in the vernacular, and *Hib*, comprising texts in Latin.² Language ranks highly among the criteria that led to the classification of the *Senchas Már* as a secular law text, and *Hib* as a text of ecclesiastical law. This classification, however, must not be upheld too rigidly because the *Senchas Már*, despite its secular thrust, contains law tracts that pronounce on ecclesiastical matters and draw on church law. It is not uncommon for texts classified as 'secular law' from elsewhere in Europe to contain rules on ecclesiastical matters. Some such examples are the laws of Æthelberht, Wihtred, and Ine from England, all of which concern themselves with the church and its personnel, and early continental law codes, like the *Leges Visigothorum* and the *Leges Alamannorum*, which have clauses pertaining to the church. In comparison, texts classified as canon law, both Irish and non-Irish, rarely deal with matters that are unrelated to ecclesiastical organisation or the observance of religious rites. When viewed against the backdrop of such

¹GEIL, 231–232; Charles-Edwards, *Gaelic Lawyer*, 12.

²On the *Senchas Már* and its contents see Breathnach, 'On the original extent of the *Senchas Már*'; *Idem, Companion*, 268–314; *Idem, The Early Irish Law Text Senchas Már and the Question of Its Date*; GEIL, 264–280.

'typical' canon-law collections, *Hib* stands out as a glaring exception for its preoccupation with ostensibly secular matters such as kingship, theft, inheritance, treason, and even fair wages for workmen. In dealing with these matters *Hib* appears close to vernacular secular law and can often be seen to seek compromises between ecclesiastical ideals and customary law, some of which, perhaps, goes back to a pre-Christian legal culture. Furthermore, by venturing into the area of contract law and introducing practices from Irish customary law on contracts, *Hib* in fact compensates for the absence of any Mosaic legislation in this area, thereby overcoming a major lacuna in Judaeo-Christian legal thought.

Hib is therefore not a typical canon law collection, but to acknowledge this may simply amount to acknowledging the limitations of our own preconceptions of what a collection of canon law ought to be. Semantics aside, a more nuanced perspective on *Hib* was offered by Thomas Charles-Edwards, who suggested that *Hib* was not simply a law for the church, but 'an attempt to create a Christian law for a Christian society'.¹ If we accept this description, then *Hib* is the earliest such text to survive from Europe.² The reasons why scholars working in early medieval Ireland would be interested in compiling a law code for a Christian society will be considered later.

The fact that *Hib* was concerned with matters that are not strictly ecclesiastical, and also with issues of legal procedure and conceptual questions about law and authority,³ helps to explain its appeal to Christian communities not only at home but also abroad. Towards the end of the first half of the eighth century *Hib* reached continental Europe, where it circulated widely, as attested by copies and derivatives made in Brittany, Tours, Cambrai, Freising, Salzburg, Reichenau, St. Gall, Würzburg, and Bobbio.⁴ In fact, all surviving copies of *Hib* are continental.⁵ The fact that *Hib* was often modified on the continent and derivatives of it were made with a

¹Charles-Edwards, 'Early Irish Law', 353.

²Unlike Martin of Braga's sixth-century *Capitula* (PL 84:575–586), *Hib* does not maintain a systematic separation between rules for the clergy and the laity.

³See the books *De lege*, *De testimonio*, *De ordine inquisitionis causarum*, *De prouincia*, *De iudicio*, *De sceleribus et uindictis*, *De contrariis causis*.

⁴See chapter on manuscripts below. For a map and a convenient handlist of manuscripts of *Hib* (which does not distinguish between origin and provenance), see Davies, 'The biblical text of the *Collectio*', 18–19. If we were to go by manuscript provenance rather than origin the list would be even longer and include Corbie, Fleury, Marmoutier, Naples, Livorno, and Monte Cassino.

⁵A possible exception is a fragmentary palimpsest from Ireland or from an Irish centre in continental Europe, now Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 137/50, fols. 48^r–61^v (CLA 9 §1368).

view to addressing specific issues that were of concern to the communities in which the continental copyists worked, suggests that some saw *Hib* as a text of potential practical value. Frequent excerpting from *Hib* testifies to its influence on major works of ecclesiastical law dating between the eighth and the twelfth century, such as the Corbie redaction of the *Vetus Gallica*, the False Decretals of Benedictus Levita, Regino of Prüm's *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, Burchard's *Decretum*, and Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum*.¹

There were, it seems, at least three reasons for which *Hib* was of interest to continental clergy. The first was its potential utility as a comprehensive Christian law code that did not restrict itself to matters of ecclesiastical administration and jurisdiction but also offered rules for Christian society at large, while allowing for the accommodation of prevalent pre-Christian traditions. As a text of this kind, it might, for example, have come in handy to bishops whose jurisdictions extended over large secular communities, or to Christian missionaries who engaged closely with non-Christian and newly converted societies, like the missionaries of the eighth and ninth centuries whose activities were stimulated by Frankish political expansion. The second factor was *Hib*'s systematic structure, which could have served as a blueprint for continental ecclesiastical legislation. The third was *Hib*'s extensive use of written sources, which led some of its readers to mine it as a convenient store for citations.²

The citations that *Hib* comprises derive from a pool of sources wider and more varied than had ever before been tapped by a text of ecclesiastical law. Thanks to *Hib*'s sources, modern historians are provided with a rare glimpse into the vitality of early Irish intellectual life and the range of books and *florilegia* that were available in Ireland. As already mentioned, *Hib* was the first ever collection to claim the Bible as a source for law, and it introduced other novel categories of authorities, such as patristics, Christian historiography, hagiography, Irish and Anglo-Saxon wisdom texts, Irish and Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical laws, and Irish vernacular laws. Yet *Hib* did not neglect the more conventional sources that were ubiquitous in contemporary canonical collections, like conciliar canons and papal decrets. But it was *Hib*'s Insular sources that made it a vehicle for the transmission of Insular learning (including material translated from the Irish) abroad, mediating it to readers who might not always have been aware

¹Wasserschleben, *Kanonensammlung*, xxix; Seckel, 'Studien zu Benedictus Levita VIII (Studie VIII, Teil I)', 396. I discuss the *Vetus Gallica* at length later.

²A manuscript that reflects such an interest is the derivative Θ, discussed at length in section 2.5.

whence this unique material originated. Altogether it is possible to identify forty-one authors cited in *Hib*, some of whom—like Augustine, Jerome and Isidore—are cited numerous times and from a number of different works of theirs.¹

Paradoxically, despite the fact that *Hib* is of uncontested Irish origin, its early Irish reception is not as well attested as its continental reception. The earliest secure secondary witness to *Hib* in Ireland is the vernacular law tract *Bretha Nemed Toísech*, dated by Liam Breathnach to the first half of the eighth century, which cites passages from *Hib* in Old Irish translation.² On the other hand, *Hib* itself is a secondary witness to Irish texts that survive independently and also to others that do not survive. Among those that did not survive we find many documents that emanated from synods. Thanks to this synodal material *Hib* has recently been hailed as ‘the single most important source for early Irish ecclesiastical organisation’.³ The Irish synods cited in *Hib* were also pivotal to Kathleen Hughes’s influential (and much disputed) hypothesis which posited two distinct but coexisting modes of church organisation in eighth-century Ireland: one with defined territorial dioceses and governed by bishops, and the other favouring government by abbots who exercised jurisdiction over non-territorial *paruchiae*.⁴

Though it is generally acknowledged to be an unrivalled source for early Irish church history and intellectual life, historians’ ability to access *Hib* as a historical source has been hampered by its complex textual history. *Hib* is preserved in seven early medieval complete copies and ap-

¹The question of whether or not *Hib*’s compilers were working from complete works or *florilegia* is discussed on p. 67*.

²Breathnach, ‘Canon law and secular law in early Ireland’, 457. See also p. 91*.

³Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 47.

⁴*Hib*’s place in her hypothesis was summed up succinctly in her ‘Synodus II S. Patricii’, 141: ‘many of the native Irish canons in the eighth-century *Collectio* belong to two distinct groups, the *Romani* and the *Hibernenses*. The *Romani* were concerned with a church administered by bishops and clinging to Roman and continental usage; the *Hibernenses* were dealing with a church normally administered by abbots, a church concerned with native legal institutions, trying to fit the Irish church into the structure of native law’. Richard Sharpe offered a refinement of this model by positing ‘an organisation with many small dioceses but no archbishops with recognized metropolitan authority’. See R. Sharpe, ‘Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model’, 107. A reassessment of the problem of church organisation, necessitated by Richard Sharpe (‘Some problems concerning the organization of the church in early medieval Ireland’), was undertaken by Colmán Etchingham (*Church Organisation*), who placed *Hib* at the forefront of his contemporary Latin sources.

proximately ninety incomplete copies, fragments, and derivatives.¹ Some of these copies have been shown to belong to two distinct text-types, commonly referred to as recensions A and B (hereafter *Hib.A* and *Hib.B*). The relationship between *Hib.A* and *Hib.B* and their relative dates have eluded scholars for more than two centuries. Matters are further complicated by the fact that fragmentary copies and derivatives, all drawn up on the continent, vary considerably between themselves. Consequently, the ‘historical’ picture gleaned from *Hib*’s different copies is not always consistent, and continental augmentations and omissions that obscure the compilers’ original intentions are a constant hazard, though they are nevertheless important in their own right for their potential to shed light on regional variations in legal scholarship or even practice. In the study that follows I attempt to untangle *Hib*’s complex textual history and place it within its proper historical context. The study seeks to offer solutions to some of the problems that vexed students of the text in the past and puts forward new evidence to facilitate work on other problems that still await treatment. The ultimate purpose of the following study and edition is to provide a secure starting point for readers who want to pursue independent research on *Hib*’s textual history, or to use *Hib* as a source for Irish ecclesiastical history, the reception of Irish learning abroad, and the availability of late antique texts in Ireland.

The first edition of *Hib*, by Hermann Wasserschleben, was based solely on a text of *Hib.A* complemented by a selective collation of readings from *Hib.B* in the *apparatus*. Therefore, before the completion of the present edition, readers could glimpse only selections from the text of *Hib.B*. The present edition offers for the first time a comprehensive text of both *Hib.A* and *Hib.B* with a translation and notes that aim to make *Hib* accessible to all, including those with little familiarity with early medieval Irish history.

¹A thorough but not altogether exhaustive list is Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages*, 73–78.

1 A background to the *Hibernensis*

An Irish origin for *Hib* has come to be taken for granted since 1929, when James F. Kenney catalogued the text in his *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*. The consensus on this matter has become so pervasive that, to the best of my knowledge, no exhaustive review of the evidence has ever been attempted. This will be undertaken in the present chapter, along with a re-assessment of other fundamental questions about the text and its context, such as authorship, date of compilation, structure, correspondence with Irish vernacular law, and use of sources.

An Irish origin for *Hib* can be posited on two categories of evidence: external, deriving from features pertaining to *Hib*'s transmission; and internal, deriving from *Hib*'s contents. The most frequently cited item of external evidence is an inscription in manuscript P (see p. 45* for sigla) which contains two Irish names believed to be those of *Hib*'s compilers. The inscription will be discussed separately in section 1.1 'Authorship'. A second type of external evidence, Irish glosses, is found in manuscripts P and W. The glosses in P are not found in *Hib*, but rather in other Hiberno-Latin texts in the same manuscript: *De disputatione Hibernensis sinodi* and *De arreis*. Manuscript W, on the other hand, contains glosses in Old Irish in its fragmentary copy of *Hib*.¹ A third type of external evidence consists of Irish texts that often circulated in manuscripts together with *Hib*. Apart from *De disputatione* and *De arreis* these include the *Canones Adomnani*, canons of Irish synods, various penitential texts, and the Old Irish text known as the *Cambrai Homily*, found only in MS C.²

The internal evidence for *Hib*'s Irish origin may also be divided into three types. First, approximately one hundred and eighty texts in *Hib* are either cited from or attributed to Irish sources. The figure varies between manuscripts and excludes several unattributed passages in *Hib* which may be of Irish origin but whose sources have not been identified. All citations from (or attributions to) Irish sources are listed in tables 1–4 (pp. 151*–157*). The second type of internal evidence consists of abundant correspondences between *Hib* and Irish vernacular law, some of which will be discussed separately in section 1.8 'Hib and Irish vernacular law' and

¹Analysed by Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2:xi, 38 and edited and translated *ibid.* *De disputatione* and *De arreis* were edited by Bieler, *Penitentials*, 160–166.

²For copies of *Hib* that circulated alongside texts of Irish origin, see entries for MSS AB-HOP in chapter 4. An edition of the Cambrai Homily is in Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2:244–247. For background on the homily, see Ó Néill, 'The background to the Cambrai Homily'; Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom'.

others are mentioned in the notes on the translation. The third type of internal evidence is linguistic. It consists of Hiberno-Latinisms as well as Irish proper names (and a place-name) found throughout the text. The following are but a few examples: on p. 182 ln. 1 of book 26 we find a reference to the term *uagus Dei*. This appears to be a Latin rendering of the Irish legal term *déorad Dé* ‘exile of God’, denoting hermits who left their own territory and lived as exiles elsewhere. Such persons enjoyed special status in the laws which accorded them an honour price equal to that of a king (or his ecclesiastical equivalent, the bishop).¹ The heading of chapter 26.22 stipulates against denying hospitality to a *uagus Dei*. In book 33 we find thirteen references to a *rata*, the Hiberno-Latin equivalent of Old Irish *ráth* ‘paying surety’.² Finally, in books 40 and 47 there is a Latinised form of the Irish unit of value *cumal* (lit. ‘female slave’). The Latin term, *ancilla*, is a literal translation but, like *rata*, retains the Old Irish technical sense.³ As for names, on p. 410 ln. 5 of chapter 51.6 we find the name of the legendary king of Tara, Lóegaire mac Néill. It occurs in the genitive, and is spelled differently in different manuscripts: *Loigairi filii Neillis* (P), *Loigairi filii Neili* (S), *Lugeri filii Nellex* (H). Another Irish name, Díchu (mac Trichim), a ‘good pagan’ mentioned in Muirchú’s Life of Patrick, occurs only in B and O (p. 460 ln. 6) alongside an Irish place-name, Armagh (p. 460 ln. 4).

1.1 Authorship

The authorship of *Hib* has been much debated since Hermann Wasserschleben published his edition of *Hib* in 1874 (reprinted with a revised introduction in 1885). In 1882 Friedrich Loofs suggested that *Hib* originated in Northumbria because it cited sayings attributed to Archbishop Theodore (d. 690) of Canterbury, which bear a close resemblance to passages found in a canonical collection by a certain *Discipulus Vmbrensius*, who may have been a Northumbrian.⁴ Wasserschleben objected to a North-

¹Charles-Edwards, ‘The social background to Irish *peregrinatio*’, 53–54. GEIL, 41, 224.

²For the terms *rata* and *ráth*, see Thurneysen, ‘Aus dem irischen Recht V’, 368–371. An overview of Irish suretyship is GEIL, 167–173; McLeod, *Early Irish Contract Law*, 16–21.

³The Latin form occurs on p. 308 ln. 17, p. 397 ln. 4. On *cumal* as a unit of value, see Kelly, *Farming*, 592–593; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 69.

⁴Loofs, *Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque ecclesiae*, 76. On the transmission of the *Discipulus*’s text and its relationship with *Hib*, see Flechner, ‘Canons of Theodore’, 121–143. The *Discipulus*’s text is in Finsterwalder, ed., *Canones Theodori*, 285–334. A translation is McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 182–215. Like Levison (review of Finsterwalder in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*), I find no serious reason to doubt that

umbrian origin on the grounds that no Northumbrian could have been sufficiently versed in Irish vernacular law to have been able to produce a work that corresponds so closely to Irish sources.¹ Wasserschleben did not offer a counter-hypothesis, but instead played down the importance of the author's identity and place of origin, claiming that irrespective of whether or not the author was Irish, the work itself was undoubtedly intended for the Irish church.²

The Cambridge University Librarian Henry Bradshaw (1831–1886) was confident he had identified the author as a certain Cumméne, who—as Bradshaw believed—was an Irishman based on the continent.³ The initial impetus for this hypothesis was a corrupt name, *cv cuiminiae* (on which see p. 56*), found in one copy of *Hib*: P, fol. 127^v. Bradshaw interpreted this as a distortion of the name 'Cummean', whom he recognised as the author of an eighth-century continental penitential text, commonly referred to nowadays as *Excarpus Cummeani*.⁴ He proceeded to posit a dependence between the penitential and *Hib* by arguing that the penitential's author was:

precisely contemporary with the compiler of the *Hibernensis*; while his materials stand in the closest possible connection with the materials used in the *Hibernensis*, exhibiting, as they do, a combination of Frankish documents with others of British and Irish origin...

It has since been established that the attribution of the *Excarpus Cummeani* to 'Cummean' was spurious, and that the genuine penitential written by 'Cummean'—identified as Cumméne Fada (d. 662), bishop of Clonfert—was only one of its sources.⁵ But although Bradshaw has been shown to be mistaken in his attribution of *Hib*'s authorship to Cumméne, we may

the Disciple wrote anywhere but on the island of Britain. Charles-Edwards, 'Penitential of Theodore', 141 n 4, took *umbrensum* to mean 'of the Northumbrians'. For the designation *umbrenses*, see Whitby Life of Gregory §12, ed. and tr. Colgrave, *Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, 94; Bede, *HE*, 4.15 [17].

¹Wasserschleben, *Kanonensammlung*, xiv.

²Ibid.

³Bradshaw, letter to Wasserschleben, 28 May 1885, in Wasserschleben, *Kanonensammlung*, lxiii–lxxv.

⁴Ed. Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, 460–493. Bradshaw was later informed by Whitley Stokes—in reply to a letter he sent to Stokes on 17 May 1885—that the figure in question was not 'Cummean' but 'Cucumne'. See Prothero, *Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, 307–308.

⁵Cumméne's death is recorded in AU 662.1. Only two copies of the genuine penitential survive, but the preface to the penitential was transmitted separately in six other manuscripts. See Bieler, *Penitentials*, 6, 13 [his MS F], 15 [his MS R], 17–19, 108–134 [edi-

nevertheless wish to eliminate the theoretical possibility that *Hib* was compiled by the unnamed compiler of the *Excarpus*. As we have just seen, Bradshaw drew attention to similarities between the mélange of sources in *Hib* and the *Excarpus*. However, we now know that the two texts cannot be linked in this way because several other Insular and continental penitentials also exhibit a combination of Irish, British, or Anglo-Saxon sources (such as Cumméne Fada's genuine penitential¹ and texts containing canons attributed to Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury).² The *Excarpus* was therefore not unique in its selection of sources, even though its continental distribution might have been wider than that of other Insular penitentials.³

The next scholar to have offered a hypothesis on the identity of *Hib*'s compiler was August Nürnberg,⁴ who noticed that texts attributed to Boniface are interspersed among texts from *Hib* in a *florilegium* in the eighth- or ninth-century manuscript Θ (on which see pp. 143*–145*). From this he inferred that Boniface was *Hib*'s author.⁵ This circumstantial link was dismissed by Kenney for being based on 'very flimsy grounds'.⁶

The debate on *Hib*'s authorship came to a close in 1908, when a corrupt inscription in P had been fully restored by Rudolf Thurneysen, whose work benefitted from earlier contributions by Whitley Stokes, Henry Brad-

tion]. By contrast, at least seven eighth-century manuscripts of the *Excarpus* survive. See Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek*, 509–510.

¹Which itself drew upon British sources. See Bieler, *Penitentials*, 285–286.

²E.g. *Poenitentiale Remense*, ed. Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, 494–504, ed. Asbach, *Poenitentiale Remense*, Anhang 4–77; *Poenitentiale XXXV Capitulorum*, ed., Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, 505–526, [as *Capitula Iudiciorum*] ed. Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek*, 434–484; *Poenitentiale Sangalense Tripartitum*, ed. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren nach handschriftlichen Quellen*, 177–189, ed. Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek*, 326–352.

³Körntgen, 'Der *Excarpus Cummeani*'. Curiously, despite Pseudo-Cumméne's continental popularity, no passage in *Hib* was ever sourced to Cumméne's genuine work (with one possible exception, on which see note 561 on the translation). This is somewhat surprising, since it is fair to assume that the penitential was known to *Hib*'s compilers, who cited a collection of sayings attributed to Theodore, which contained excerpts from Cumméne (see Flechner, 'Canons of Theodore', 128–129, nn 31, 36). Perhaps his penitential was excluded because of *Hib*'s overall avoidance of prescribing penances.

⁴Nürnberg, 'Über die Würzburger Handschrift'.

⁵Ibid. 35–40.

⁶Kenney, *Sources*, 248 n 272. The hypothesis was also rejected by Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques*, 1:62 n 5. On the possibility that Cop, which contains either a source or a derivative of *Hib* on fols. 69^v–80^v was written at Boniface's request, see Meens, 'Oldest manuscript witness', 13–14. He believes that the manuscript originated from northern France, but accepts that its contents do not conflict with a possible northern Italian origin.

shaw, Bartholomew MacCarthy, and Edward Nicholson.¹ The inscription, which immediately follows the copy of *Hib* in P on fol. 127^v (on which see pp. 137*-141*), reads: hucvsq: nuben & cv cuiminiæ & durinis. Thurneysen emended the reading thus: *Hucusque Ruben & Cú Chuimine Iae & Durinis* 'Thus far Ruben of Dairinis and Cú Chuimne of Iona'.² The names in the inscription—which is often referred to nowadays as a colophon—have been identified by Stokes, MacCarthy and Nicholson as Ruben of Dairinis (d. 725), *scriba* of Munster, and Cú Chuimne (d. 747) *sapiens* of Iona.³

The titles *scriba* and *sapiens* denoted intellectual preeminence in early medieval Ireland. Ruben's designation as *scriba* of Munster implies he was learned in the law, particularly in biblical law.⁴ In *Hib* the title also implies judicial responsibilities.⁵ The title *sapiens* appears to have been, as Charles-Edwards suggested, 'a more general term (including *scriba*) for someone with the authority to teach and to judge by virtue of his learning'.⁶ But whereas the judicial role of a *scriba* and his status within society were clearly defined (he is equal in rank to a bishop), those of a *sapiens* were not.⁷ Furthermore, a *scriba* appears to have been an exclusively ecclesiastical function, whereas the title *sapiens* also encompassed secular learning and adjudication.⁸

Postulating a collaboration between Ruben and Cú Chuimne raises a number of problems. The first, a practical problem, is that of the distance between the two: Ruben dwelt in the monastery on Dairinis (Kinsalebeg, Co. Waterford, on the Blackwater River), and Cú Chuimne was an inmate of the monastery on Iona, an island northeast of Ireland, in Argyll. But distance itself, as Bart Jaski pointed out, would not have debarred cooperation, because regular contacts between northern and southern Irish clerics are known to have taken place on other occasions in the seventh century.

¹For a brief account of attempts to decipher the passage, see Kenney, *Sources*, 248 n 273.

²Thurneysen, 'Zur irischen Kanonensammlung', *ZCP* 6 (1908): 1–5.

³AU 725.4, 747.5. For examples of the long standing scholarly consensus on Ruben and Cú Chuimne's authorship, see, e.g., Kenney, *Sources*, 248; Hughes, *Church in Irish Society*, 123; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 216; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 265; Jaski, 'Cú Chuimne, Ruben'. Incidentally, Nicholson, 'The origin of the "Hibernian" collection of canons', suggested, on shaky grounds, that the names belonged to early copyists and that *Hib* was in fact compiled by Adomnán.

⁴For the terms *scriba* and *sapiens* see Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 264–271; Ireland, 'Aldfrith of Northumbria'.

⁵See chapters 21.1, 21.2.

⁶Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 270.

⁷*Ibid.* 269–270.

⁸See p. 136 ln. 6 of the present edition.

Jaski gives two examples. First, there are Mo Sinnu moccu Min (d. 610), Abbot of Bangor in Ulster, and his pupil Mo Chuaróc maccu Neth Sémon, from the territory of the Déisi in south Munster.¹ The second example is the well-known Paschal Letter written in 632 by Cumméne, a cleric from southern Ireland, to Abbot Ségené of Iona.² To these may be added a third example: the collaboration attested in the guarantor list appended to Adomnán's Law of Innocents, which contains the names of northern and southern Irish dignitaries.³ All were either present or represented by proxy at the synod of Birr in 697, but some guarantors, as Richard Sharpe suggested, may have attached their names to the law when Adomnán approached them for support as he was travelling through Ireland.⁴ Thus distance in itself does not appear to have been an insurmountable obstacle.

Another ostensible difficulty with positing a collaboration between Ruben and Cú Chuimne is the apparent discrepancy between the idea of co-authorship and *Hib*'s preface (p. 1 of the present edition), written in the first person singular.⁵ But as David Howlett suggested, the prologue 'may have issued from the mind of a single orderly legislist, who described accurately what he and his late colleague had done'.⁶

But perhaps the most challenging question—to which no easy answer can be offered on the basis of the available evidence—relates to the compilers' motivations and the division of labour between them. Were they both equally involved in the production of *Hib*? Did each have access to the same sources, or were some of the sources supplied by one compiler and others by the other? Did they have different ideological agendas which they promoted through the work? The fact that *Hib* has been transmitted in two recensions has prompted various theories concerning the role that either compiler might have played in the formation of each recension. At present, however, the available evidence makes it impossible to determine with certainty what Ruben and Cú Chuimne were responsible for, or even if they were responsible for the text of *Hib* as we know it today, for parts of it, or for a base text that was modified with time. Arguably, they might

¹Jaski, 'Cú Chuimne, Ruben', 52. Biographical details on the two can be found in Ó Cróinín, 'Mo-Sinnu moccu Min and the computus of Bangor', 285–286.

²Cumméne, Letter to Ségené, ed. Walsh and Ó Cróinín, 56–96.

³Ed. and tr. Meyer, *Cáin Adomnáin*. A text of the list with commentary is Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The guarantor list of Cáin Adomnáin, 697'.

⁴Sharpe, tr., *Life of St. Columba*, 52.

⁵The discrepancy was pointed out by Dumville, 'Ireland, Brittany, and England', 86.

⁶Howlett, 'The prologue to the *Collectio*', 149.

only have been the authors of the final and somewhat opaque short text in *Hib* (on p. 473 ln. 19), because the expression ‘*hucusque*’ that introduces them is used elsewhere in *Hib* to designate the sources of three short texts: *hucusque Agustinus* (p. 96 ln. 20), *hucusque historia ecclesiastica* (p. 334 ln. 10), and *hucusque Hermas* (p. 367 ln. 8).

As regards the backgrounds of Ruben and Cú Chuimne, we know the following. Ruben belonged to the monastery of Dairinis, which was associated with the *Céli Dé* movement of the eighth century through its abbot Fer Dá Chrích (d. 747), who was the teacher of Máel Ruain (d. 792), founder of Tallaght and prominent leader of the *Céli Dé*.¹ The *Céli Dé*, according to one influential definition, was a reform movement that ‘represented a sharp reaction against the laxity and corruption of the older monastic federations, “the people of the old churches” (*lucht na sencheld*) or “the lax folk” (*lax-áes*)’.² Peter O’Dwyer noted that the reform literature of Tallaght made use of texts from *Hib* on issues such as refusing gifts from wicked men, moderate fasting, consumption of wild deer, prohibition of fasting on Sunday, prayers for the dead, prohibition of sleeping in a church, continence among married couples, and receiving the sacrament *in extremis*.³ It cannot be ruled out, however, that *Hib* might have been used by scholars of the *Céli Dé* not as an authoritative law code but merely as a convenient compendium of religious pronouncements. There is nothing to indicate that *Hib* was compiled with the intent of facilitating a reform of the type that the *Céli Dé* initiated from the second half of the eighth century. *Hib* can certainly not be said to espouse strict monastic discipline of the sort that the *Céli Dé* movement is believed to have championed.

For Ruben’s ancestry we can turn to the Irish chronicles. His obit is recorded in AU, as well as the annals of Clonmacnoise and Tigernach.⁴ In AU 725.4 it reads:

¹O’Dwyer, *Céli dé*, 29–30; Kenney, *Sources*, 469.

²Binchy, ‘Old-Irish table of penitential commutations’, 53–54.

³O’Dwyer, *Céli Dé*, 4. A list of texts from *Hib* is provided, but he does not name specific works of the *Céli Dé* which cite *Hib*. This question was only briefly revisited in the latest monograph on the *Céli Dé*: Follet, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 89–96. He notes that *Hib*’s concern with circumstances under which the religious were permitted to accept gifts from the wicked was shared by leaders of the *Céli Dé*. However, he does not ask whether *Hib* might have been a forerunner of the *Céli Dé* movement.

⁴Annals of Clonmacnoise, ed. Murphy (Dublin, 1896); Annals of Tigernach, ed. Stokes. An attempt by Jaski, ‘Cú Chuimne, Ruben’, 54, to link this passage with a pedigree found under the year 720 in the Annals of the Four Masters, was contested by Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, 1:198 n 2, on the grounds that the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters was emended at a much later date and that AU and the Annals of Tigernach should be preferred because they agree with each other.

Rubin m. Connadh scriba Mumhan filiusque Broccain o Thaigh
Theille qui magister bonus euangelii Christi erat...

Ruben son of Conna scribe of Mumu and Broccán's son from
Tech Taille who was a good teacher of Christ's Gospel...

By contrast, the pedigree of Cú Chuimne is unknown. He is, however, the author of another text, *Cantemus in omni die*, the oldest extant hymn in Latin written in honour of the Virgin Mary.¹ The poem was styled by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín as 'perhaps the high-point of Hiberno-Latin versification'.² It was incorporated into the liturgy of the *Céili Dé* but this should not be taken to mean that Cú Chuimne (or Ruben) supported the *Céili Dé* movement in its infancy.³ A curious interpolation into Cú Chuimne's obit in AU 747.5, relates that in his youth he was famous for chasing after nuns, but later in life he turned his attention to serious scholarly pursuits.⁴ The text is attributed in AU to his mother, but in the *Liber Hymnorum* to Adomnán (d. 704), ninth abbot of Iona.⁵

To conclude, Cú Chuimne's and Ruben's background as prominent Christian men of learning of the first half of the eighth century who received legal training, suggests they were fully qualified to compile a text such as *Hib.* The mention of their names in one of the manuscripts (P) may suggest that the two were identified with *Hib.* by the time that the archetype of this manuscript was written, perhaps as early as the ninth century. The fact that the manuscript contains a copy of *Hib.A* does not rule out the possibility that both Ruben and Cú Chuimne were associated with *Hib.B* as well, for example, as the authors of a proto-version from which both *Hib.A* and *Hib.B* derived their material. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that *Hib.* contains no definitive statement of their authorship.

1.2 Date of composition

A *terminus post quem* for *Hib.* is sometimes fixed by the date of the latest authority cited in it. Contrary to what some have believed, this authority is not Adomnán (d. 704), whose name is mentioned in a single manuscript,

¹BCLL §581. The latest edition and translation is Howlett, 'Five experiments in textual reconstruction and analysis', 19–30.

²Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 217.

³O'Dwyer, *Céili Dé*, 202.

⁴For a translation, see Kelleher, *Too Small for Stove Wood*, 12.

⁵On the *Liber Hymnorum*, see Kenney, *Sources*, 716–718 (§574).

which is contaminated by interpolations.¹ The latest authority is in fact Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, quoted from a collection of canonical teachings attributed to him, which was compiled, at the earliest, shortly after Theodore's arrival in England in 669. Theodore's rulings on canonical and penitential matters circulated in seven different recensions at least, none of which corresponds exactly to the recension used by *Hib*'s compilers.² Alternatively, citations from a synod held somewhere in Britain, probably after 675, can also be used as a *terminus post quem* (see p. 65*), but as its date is uncertain they are not a reliable dating criterion for *Hib*. As for *Hib*'s *terminus ante quem*, this can be set by using *Hib*'s earliest secondary witness as a criterion, namely the Corbie redaction of the *Vetus Gallica*, completed c. 748.³

The Easter controversy and its consequences have also frequently been used as dating criteria. Wasserschleben thought that *Hib* was compiled after the controversy subsided, at a time when the Irish church 'joined' itself to Rome, an event he dated to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century.⁴ Bradshaw suggested that the text was compiled at the close of the seventh century.⁵ Neither Bradshaw nor Wasserschleben identified Cú Chuimne in the inscription in P, and were therefore unaware of *Hib*'s connection to Iona, which accepted the Roman rite in 716, according to Bede.⁶ The 'colophon' had already been deciphered by the time that Kathleen Hughes asserted that 'the fact that no section is given to Easter suggests that the collection post-dates 716'.⁷ Her observation, however,

¹The name occurs in H, fol. 106^v. The interpolations to this manuscript are discussed at length in Flechner, 'Aspects of the Breton transmission'. For an attempt to set a *terminus post quem* based on Adomnán's death date see, e.g., Hughes, *Church in Irish Society*, 123.

²Flechner, 'Canons of Theodore', 131–134. A single text that occurs in one of *Hib*'s copies, K (see p. 45* for sigla), after the equivalent of p. 57 ln. 6 of the present edition, can be shown to have derived from a known recension of the Canons of Theodore (U ii.14.1), which echoes canon 52 of the Council of Laodicea. But this text was, in all likelihood, interpolated into *Hib* on the continent. That the recension in question was compiled within a generation of Theodore's death is evident from the fact that its compiler, a *Discipulus Vmbrensius*, attempted to reconstruct Theodore's original sayings by consulting the archbishop's former pupils. See Finsterwalder, ed., *Canones Theodori*, 333 lines 11–12, 17.

³Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, 86–94, 287; Ganz, *Corbie*, 20, 72. Although *Bretha Nemed* is the earliest secondary witness to *Hib* in Ireland, the dating 721×742 that was proposed for its compilation by Breathnach, 'Canon law and secular law', 457, cannot be used as an exact *terminus ante quem*, because it was inferred with reference to *Hib*.

⁴Wasserschleben, *Kanonensammlung*, xiii: 'die irische Kirche nach langem Streuben sich an Rom angeschlossen hatte...'.

⁵Bradshaw, *Early Collection*, 7, 13.

⁶Bede, *HE* 5.22.

⁷Hughes, *Church in Irish Society*, 133 n 3.

was based solely on *Hib.A*, whereas *Hib.B* contains a text (p. 409 ln. 17 of the present edition) that describes the British reckoning of Easter as Quartodeciman. This derogatory reference to the British observance suggests that the text (ascribed to Gildas) was penned by sympathisers of the adherents of the Victorian computistical reckoning, the *Romani*, perhaps even while Ireland was still divided on the Easter question. On its own, this text does not constitute a definitive dating criterion, for it could have been incorporated into *Hib* by the *Romani* either before the Easter question was settled or after, when the Victorian rite prevailed. However, for this and other pro-Roman statements¹ to have been incorporated into *Hib* with Cú Chuimne's consent (if indeed he was one of the compilers), we must assume that the work was completed after his monastery converted to the Roman rite in 716. This date can thus provide a *terminus post quem*, for which a corresponding *terminus ante quem* may be the death date of either Ruben (725)² or Cú Chuimne (747). Therefore, if we accept Cú Chuimne's and Ruben's authorship and if we accept Bede's dating of Iona's reform, then *Hib* can be dated on historical grounds 716×747. The historical dating is, however, less secure than the date-range reached earlier on text-critical criteria, namely 669×748: the first date corresponding to Theodore's arrival in England and the second to the completion of the Corbie redaction of the *Vetus Gallica*.

1.3 Structure

The structure of *Hib.A* and *Hib.B* is, by and large, identical. The basic building blocks of *Hib* are excerpts from sources such as the Bible, exegetical works (patristic and others), conciliar canons, church histories, and wisdom texts. Each excerpt serves either as a *testimonium*, namely a quoted text from an authoritative source, or an *exemplum*, namely an example of a rule being applied.³ These citations are brought under editorial headings that put forward the rule more succinctly. The headings are phrased either as descriptive or prescriptive statements, e.g. 21.1 *De*

¹E.g. Rome as the highest authority in Christendom and the contentious issue of clerical tonsure: p. 114 ln. 16, and book 51 *De tonsura*.

²As preferred by Charles-Edwards, *Gaelic Lawyer*, 5. However, it seems that Charles-Edwards considers some parts of *Hib*, such as book 20, to have been compiled earlier, for they constitute 'a defence against claims of Armagh, and to a lesser extent other churches such as Kildare, to a primacy within Ireland'. This struggle for predominance within the Irish church probably reached its climax in the late seventh century. See also Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role of the church in early Irish laws', 65–66.

³Charles-Edwards, 'The construction', 210.

lus, and a text at the end of the passage (*similiter et gradu inferior*) occurs in ABH, but not in OP. The spelling of proper names is also inconsistent. For instance, on p. 6 ln. 15 S and P (after scribal correction) have *Iosue*, A has *Issue*, whereas B, P (before it was corrected) and all *Hib.B* copies (DHV) have *Iosue*.

Clearly, there are major inconsistencies between copies of *Hib.A* of the Breton group: sometimes AP agree against B, sometimes AB agree against P, sometimes OP agree against AB, and so forth. The inconsistency in the pattern of agreements between the different pairs makes it impossible to infer whether any two derive from a common exemplar.

3.3 Principles of the present edition

The main text

The edition comprises readings from nine copies, ABDHOO₂PSV, and from the fragmentary Θ. Of these, ABOPS are complete copies of *Hib.A* (but O is defective and to a lesser degree so is S) and HV are complete copies of *Hib.B*. Two incomplete copies of *Hib.B* were also collated: D and O₂. On certain occasions I used O_{2b}, which derives from the same exemplar as H, to clarify ambiguous readings. The main text follows P, as explained in section 3.2. All texts from copies other than P are printed in sans serif font corresponding to sigla in the margin, which indicate where these readings were taken from. The first siglum in a string of marginal sigla is the copy from which the text in sans serif font was printed. For instance, on p. 4 ln. 14 the sequence VDH indicates that the text in sans serif font occurs in three copies of *Hib.B*, but that the orthography and word order of the text as printed is faithful to V, with variants from D and H in the *apparatus*. Sometimes the sequence of sigla changes within a single block of text in sans serif font. For example, on p. 83 the heading *De quinque modis testimonii* corresponds to the marginal sigla HO₂V, but the next heading *De tribus rebus quibus probatur testis* corresponds to the marginal sigla VHO₂, and is followed by a text, also in sans serif font, corresponding to the marginal sigla HO₂V. What this means is that the first heading as well as the text in sans serif font that follows it up to the second heading is printed from H with readings from O₂V in the *apparatus*. The next heading, however, is printed from V with readings from HO₂ supplied in the *apparatus*. The final text is printed from H with readings from O₂V in the *apparatus*.

Book, chapter, and other numbers

The main numbering scheme (in large and consecutive arabic numerals) follows the *actual* order of books and chapters in P rather than the number scheme of the manuscript itself, which is sometimes in error.¹ Book and chapter headings from HV (namely *Hib.B*) copies are numbered in smaller type and follow the scribal numbering schemes, even when these are in error (e.g. when the scribe accidentally repeated the same number). Had I corrected the errors and introduced a logical but artificial sequence, it would have been more difficult to locate texts in these manuscripts. A fragmentary copy, Θ, which may be a witness to an undivided text of *Hib* which preceded *Hib.A* and *Hib.B* (as described on pp. 107^{*}–110^{*}), has also been collated. The relative order of texts in Θ and *Hib*'s complete copies is given in a synoptic table on pp. 158^{*}–164^{*}.

Cited sources

The quotations that form the chapters of *Hib* are prefixed by attributions—some genuine, others spurious—to *Hib*'s material sources. The *apparatus fontium* includes references to sources cited verbatim. Allusions to sources, biblical or otherwise, are prefixed by 'cf.', and although numerous such allusions are mentioned, no attempt has been made to record them exhaustively. The *apparatus* notes the line numbers in which quotations begin. My reasons for not indicating where quotations end are the same as my reasons for preferring—insofar as possible—to avoid the use of quotation marks for marking citations: citations, which are the lifeblood of *Hib*, were sometimes modified and merged with other texts, suggesting that the compilers did not always treat them as separate elements within the text. In both edition and translation I reserve the use of quotation marks only for cases in which their absence would have made for ambiguous reading. References to books of the Bible correspond to the nomenclature in the Vulgate. When *Hib* cites a Bible-text other than the Vulgate no attempt has been made to trace the *Vetus Latina* tradition. Identifying further sources, both Insular and foreign, as well as tracing the traditions of *Vetus Latina* citations are among the outstanding desiderata that the present edition leaves for future researchers.

¹E.g. both *De peccantibus* and *De iejunio* are numbered XII, both *De quaestionibus mulierum* and *De ratione matrimonii* are numbered XLIII, and chapters can be out of sequence.

Grammar, orthography, and translation

In choosing not to normalise the Latin orthography and grammar I follow a long-established tradition of editing Insular canons and penitentials, whose main proponents were Haddan and Stubbs, Wasserschleben, Finsterwalder, and Bieler. Thus the grammar and orthography of the main text of the present edition is faithful to P, unless the text is in sans serif font, in which case it follows the copy indicated by the first siglum in the margin (which is usually H). The orthography of P, like that of most other copies, is internally inconsistent, such that a single word may be spelled differently in different places. Overall, it exhibits peculiarities that are common to Breton copies, such as the frequent confusion of the consonants *b/p, t/d, m/n*, and the vowels *e/i* and *o/u*. It also exhibits occasional preference for *th* instead of *t* or vice versa, *c* instead of *ch* (e.g. *monacus*) and addition or omission of aspiration. Other common orthographic features are the doubling of *i* (e.g. *uirii, principii, malii, lociis*) or, more frequently, the reduction of *ii* to *i* (e.g. *iudici* for *iudicii, fili* for *fili*, *uis* for *uiis*). These and other features are examined, with examples, in the general discussion of the orthography of *Hib* on p. 83*. I did not try to impose a standard consistent system of spelling even when readings were extremely unusual, but some emendations were nevertheless necessary for maintaining clarity.

In general, a literal translation was preferred, but this rule is not followed rigidly, especially when an interpretative translation conveys the sense better. When I reproduce or adapt published translations of cited texts, the source is acknowledged in a note. Biblical verses are adapted from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate (DRV).¹ Names and place-names as rendered by the DRV have mostly been retained, but for clarity I modified some in line with modern English usage.

Variant readings and emendations

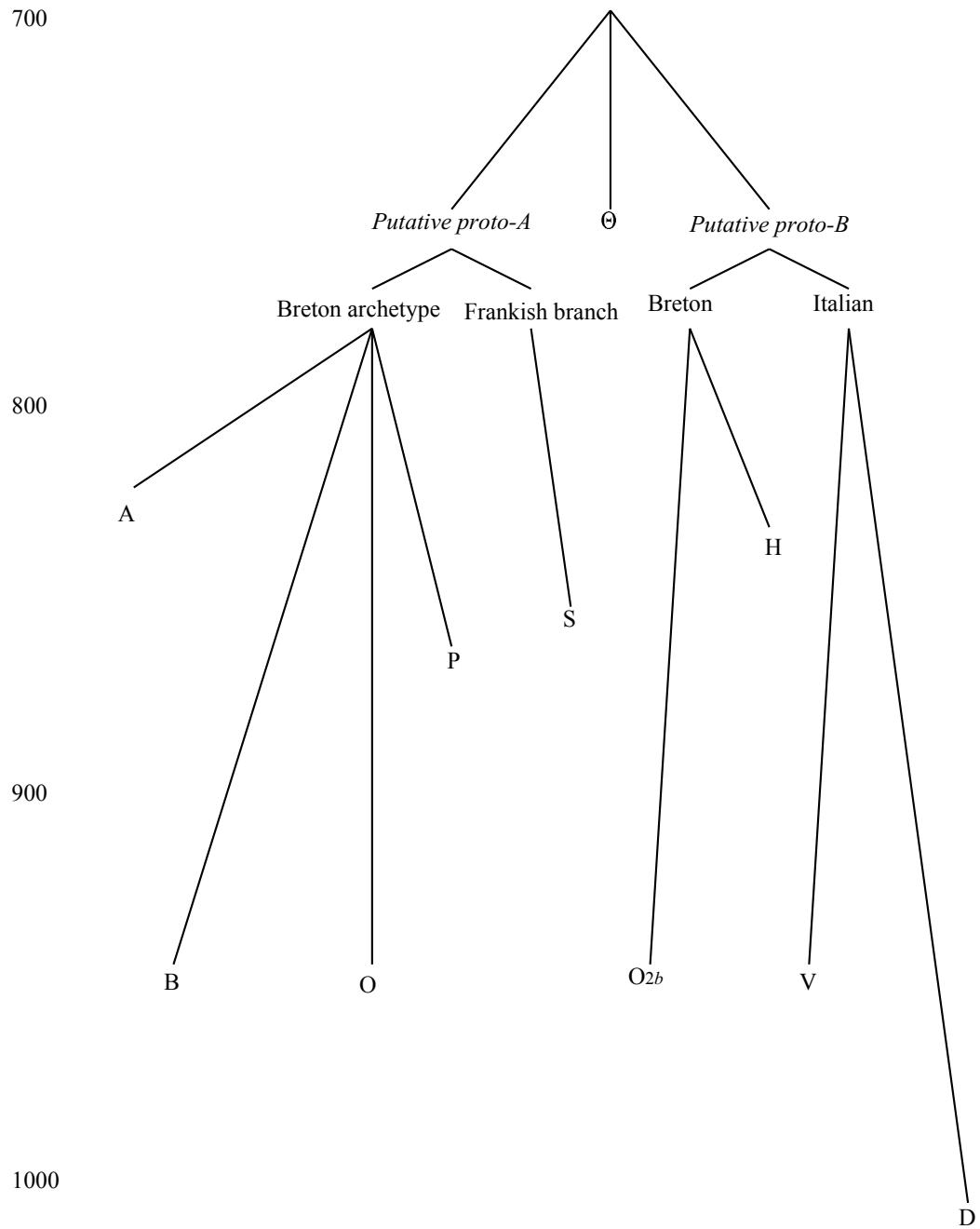
The main text follows P with necessary emendations made on the authority of other copies of *Hib* or, failing that, on the authority of cited sources, when such could be identified. Contracted names were expanded based on examples of names spelled in full. In transcribing I became aware of my tendency to occasionally overlook both minor oddities in the manuscript's spelling and subtle scribal emendations by hands that may or may not be contemporaneous with the main text. When in doubt, readers are invited

¹First published 1582–1610, initially at Rheims, then at Douai, and subsequently revised 1749–1752 at Douai by Richard Challoner.

to consult the manuscript facsimile on the Project Gallica. Readings before my editorial emendation are followed in the apparatus by the manuscript siglum and two asterisks (P**). Readings before a scribal emendation are indicated by the siglum of the manuscript that was emended followed by a single asterisk (e.g. P*). When readings in the main text follow another manuscript (i.e. when the text is in sans serif font), the siglum of that manuscript will appear in the margin either by itself or as the first in a sequence of sigla (see also p. 121* for conventions). In such cases the main text will reproduce that manuscript as faithfully as possible. Most readings in sans serif font come from *Hib.B* copies. Corrections to readings from *Hib.B* are indicated by the same means that corrections to P are indicated: the text before the correction is followed by D**, H**, or V**, depending on the manuscript from which the reading in sans serif font came from.

The *apparatus* records the following variants from secondary copies: (i) added or missing sections, phrases, or words; (ii) variations in word order; (iii) variations in the spelling of proper names and place-names; (iv) some variant spellings deemed noteworthy in certain contexts. No systematic attempt has been made to record the numerous orthographic variants from secondary manuscripts, but orthography is occasionally mentioned nevertheless. Cross references in the *apparatus* are to passages or chapters that are repeated elsewhere in the same recension or in another recension. The *apparatus* also indicates when texts of *Hib.B* are arranged in a different order from that of *Hib.A*.

It was not possible to collate all copies as fully as I would have liked. The British Library gave me only limited access to Cotton Otho E. XIII (containing O, O₂, O_{2b}), which was damaged in the Cotton fire and is not entirely legible in its microfilm copy. The Biblioteca Vallicelliana allowed me to consult V for approximately three weeks, but only for half a day at a time. Sadly, the microfilm reproduction of this manuscript is of low quality, with large parts barely legible, and I was not permitted to take photographs. The microfilm of P and its recent reproduction online on the Project Gallica were clear enough to enable me to transcribe the manuscript entirely from film, although some fine scribal corrections (mainly to vowels) are not easily discernible, and coloured ink is impossible to detect. The microfilm of B (and to a large extent its online version) fails to reproduce most of the rubrics of the book and chapter headings, as well as attributions and some glosses. The Bibliothèque nationale de France let me consult B and P, both classified as fragile, for one day only each. In addressing outstanding doubtful readings, I either normalised the orthography or followed the prevalent conventions of the manuscripts.

Undivided proto-version

A stemma for manuscripts discussed in the present chapter

Editorial conventions

The main text is based on P, a manuscript of *Hib.A*. Material from manuscripts other than P is printed in sans serif font with the corresponding sigla in the **right margin**. Text in sans serif font is, more often than not, supplied from *Hib.B* and corresponds to the first manuscript in the marginal sequence: e.g. HDV indicates that the text in sans serif font follows H, while DV are collated in the *apparatus* (all three are *Hib.B* manuscripts). See p. 121* for examples. Note that the orthography of all manuscripts is internally inconsistent.

In text

- [X] Text supplied by editor, not always with manuscript support
- { X } Superfluous text to be omitted

In *apparatus*

- X* Reading before scribal emendation
- X** Reading before editorial emendation
- Y ⟨ X* Reading after scribal emendation ⟨ Reading before scribal emendation
- Y ⟨ X** Reading after editorial emendation ⟨ Reading before editorial emendation
- *** Lacuna in the manuscript
- (numeral) If lemma occurs more than once in the same line of the main text, then the occurrence (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.) is given in brackets

In left margin

H+numeral V+numeral Book, chapter nums. in HV, the principal *Hib.B* MSS

Text of the *Hibernensis*

Senodicorum exemplariorum innumerositatem conspiciens ac plurimorum ex ipsis obscuritatem rudibus minus utilem prouidens, necnon ceterorum diuersitatem inconsonam destruentem magis quam edificantem propiciens, breuem planamque ac consonam de ingenti silua scriptorum in unius uoluminis textum expositionem degessi, plura addens, plura minuens, plura eodem tramite degens, plura sensu ad sensum neglecto uerborum tramite adserens; hoc ergo solum in omnibus contendens, ne meo iuditio que uidebantur uelud commendaticia discriberentur. Singulorum nomina singulis testimonis praescripta possui, ne uelud incertum quis quodque dicat, minus luceat. Sed hoc lectorem non fallat, ut cum ad generales titulos, quos necessaria preposuimus, recurrat, numeros diligenter obseruet; e quibus obseruatis, questionem quam uoluerit, sine ulla cunctione reperiet. Finit prologus.

prologue only
in PDHO₂V

5

10

De senodo

to p. 3 ln. 12 only
in PDHOO₂V

De nomine senodi

15

In libris ethimologiarum: Senodus interpretatur comitatus uel coetus. Concilii uero nomen tractum est ex more Romano, tempore enim quo cause agebantur, conueniebant omnes in unum communique intentione tractabant. Vnde et concilium a communi intentione dictum est, quasi conci-

5 Pelag., *Liber de induratione cordis Pharaonis* §2 (p. 139) 16 Isid., *Etymol.* 6.16.11–13

1 Senodicorum] sinodecorum D sinodorum H synodicorum V 1 exemplariorum] ex-plarium H 2 obscuritatem] DHO₂V obscuritate P** 3 destruentem] destruentemque H distruentem P* 4 planamque] plenamque DV 4 de...silua] silua de ingenti H 5 tex-tum] textu D 6–8 minuens...commendaticia] om. V 6 degens] degerens D dirigens H 6–7 plura sensu...adserens] om. DH 7 in omnibus] pre omnibus H 9 singulis] sigulis H 9 possui] composui DV 10 quis quodque] quod quisque O₂ quis pro quo V 11 necessaria] necessarios O₂ 11 preposuimus] prepossimus P* 11 recurrat] recurrat et O₂ 12 e] om. DHV 13 Finit prologus] om. O₂V 14 De senodo] om. DHOO₂ De synodo V 15 De...senodi] *this chap.* om. O 15 nomine] nominibus HDV noē P** 16 In...ethimologiarum] om. DHV 16 ethimologiarum] ethymologiarum O₂ &himo (&imo P* 16 Senodus] senodus ex Greca H Synodus enim ex Greca DV 16 interpretatur] interpretatione H interpretatus V 16–17 Concilii] V concilium O₂ 17 uero] et hoc O₂ 17 tractum] DHV tractatum P** 17 est] om. DH 17 ex] a H 17 Romano] Romanorum DHV Romano quando O₂ 18 agebantur] agebantur ar-due O₂ 18 communique] communique P* communi quod V 19 concilium] consilium H 19 communi] communioni H 19 dictum est] dicitur DV 19–2.2 est...transeunde] om. O₂ 19 est] om. H 19–2.1 concilium] consedium H com cilium Isid.

lium, id est, sicut conuerso. Nam cilia oculorum sunt. Vnde et considium concilium, id est, sui concilium decretum, d in 1 literam transeunde. Cetus uero conuentus est uel congregatio, a coeundo, id est, conueniendo in unum.

Cicero autem dicit: Senodus latinum nomen est; dicens, senodus est congregatio senum.⁵

De principalibus sinodis

In libris etimologiarum: Inter cetera autem concilia, IIII esse uenerabiles senodos conperimus quae totam principaliter fidem complectunt, quasi IIII euangelia uel totidem paradisi flumina. Prima Nicena sinodus tricentorum XVIII episcoporum, Constantino augusto imperante peracta est. In qua Arriane perfidie condemnata blasfemia est, quam de inequalitate sancte trinitatis idem Arrius adserebat. II sinodus, CL patrum, sub Theodosio seniore Constantinopolim congregata est. Que Macidonium spiritum sanctum dominum esse negantem condemnans, consubstantiale patri et filio spiritum sanctum demonstrauit. III, sinodus Efessiana CC-tis episcopis, sub iuniore Theodosio augusto edita est. Que Nestorium duas personas in Christo adserentem iusto anatemate condemnauit. IIII, sino-

10

15

8 Isid., *Etymol.* 6.16.5–9

1 id...conuerso] om. DHV 1 considium] concidium DH 2 id...decretum] om. DHV
 2 d] ee P** 2 literam] litteram H littera V 2 transeunde] transeunte HV 2–3 Cetus] coecus H 3 est(2)] est a DH 5–6 Cicero... senum] unde et conuentus est nuncupatus DV om. H 7 De...sinodis] this chap. om. O₂ 7 sinodis] senodis P* 8 In] Isidorus in DH Hysidorus in V 8 libris] libro DV 8 etimologiarum] ethimologiarum HV 8 autem] om. DV 8 IIII] quattuor DV 9 quae totam] DHV quanto tam P** 9 complectunt] *Isid.* complectuntur P** 10 IIII] quattuor DV 10 flumina] DHV Isid., *Etymol.* fluminarum P** 10 Prima] harum prior DHV *Isid.* 10 sinodus] senodus H 10–11 tricentorum XVIII] a trecentis decem et octo DV 10–11 tricentorum] CCC H 11 episcoporum] episcopi H episcopis DV 11 Constantino augusto] augusto Constantino DV 11 angusto] angusto P** 12 condemnata] dampnata H contemnata P* 12 blasphemis H 12 est] om. D 12 quam] *Isid.* quia P* 13 trinitatis] trenitatis P* 13 Arius] Arrianus V 13 II] secunda DHV 13 sinodus] senodus P* 13 CL] centum quinquaginta V 13–14 Theodosio] Theodussio P* 14 Macidonium] Macedoneum P* 15 condemnans] contemnans P* 16 demonstrauit] demonstrans H demonstrat DV 16 III] III-us H tertia DV 16 sinodus] senodus P* 16 Efessiana] Efesiana D Effessiana H 16 CC-tis] ducentorum V 17 episcopis] episcoporum DV *Isid.* 17 iuniore Theodosio] Theodosio iuniore DHV 17 Theodosio] Theodossio P* 17 angusto] angusto P* 18 condemnauit] condampnauit H contemnauit P* 18 IIII] om. D quarta V 18–3.1 sinodus] senodus P*

dus Calcedonensis DC-torum XXX-ta sacerdotum, sub Marciano principe habita est. In qua Euticen Constantinopolitanum abbatem uerbi Dei et carnis unam naturam pronuntiantem, et eiusdem defensorem Dioscorum quondam Alexandrinorum episcopum, et ipsum rursum Nestorium cum reliquis ereticis una patrum sententia perdamnauit; predicans eadem sinodus Christum Dominum sic natum de uirgine, ut in eo substantiam esse et diuinae et humane.

DOV

5 O

De prefatione Dionisi ad Stefanum de diuersis sinodis

Regule apud Necenas XX. Regule apud Anciriam XXIII. Regule apud Cessariam XIII. Regule apud Antiochiam XXVI. Regule apud Laodaciam Frigie LVIII. Regule apud Constantinopolim XIII. Regule apud Calcidiaciam XXVII. Regulae apud Gangrenes XX. Regule senodis Sardensis XX. Regule apud Cartaginensem {cum} Africe CXXXVIII. Finit Amen.

10

HDV

De diebus congregationis sinodorum

H

Senodus Antiochenensis ait: Propter utilitates ecclesiasticas et absolutiones earum rerum quae dubitatem contrauersiamque recipiunt, optime placuit, ut per singulas quasque prouincias bis in anno episcoporum concilia celebrentur: semel quidem

15 HDV

⁸ cf. Dion., praef. ad Steph. §§4–5 ¹⁴ *Antioch.* §20

¹ Calcedonensis] Calcidonensis HV Caledonensis P* ¹ DC-torum XXX-ta] DCXXV H sexcentorum triginta DV ¹ Marciano] Marcio H ² habita] abita H habeta P* ² Euticen] Euthicen H ² Constantinopolitanum] Constantinopolitanum pontifice D Contantinopolitanum P* ² abbatem] *in marg.* D ³ defensorem] defensorei O ^{3–4} quondam..ereticis] *om.* DV ⁶ eo] eum O** ⁷ De prefatione..sinodis] *om.* D *this chap. om.* OO₂ ⁷ De prefatione] item praefatio H item prepherat V ⁷ Stefanum] Stephanum HV Stifanum P* ⁷ sinodis] senodis P* ^{8–12} Regule apud Necenas..CXXVIII] *the order in DHV is Nece., Anch., Cessa., Laud., Cons., Calc., Gang., Anti., Cart., Sard. but Sard. om.* DV ⁸ Necenas] Nicenas D Necenam H Nicenis V ⁸ XX] biginti D uiginti V ⁸ Anciriam] Anchiritanam H ⁸ XXIII] biginti quattuor D uiginti quattuor V ⁹ Cessariam] Necessam H Neocesarie V ⁹ XIII] quattuor decim D quattuordecim V ⁹ Antiochiam] Anthiociam D Anthiochiam H Anteoachiam P* Antiochia V ⁹ XXVI] biginti quinque D XXV H uiginti quinque V ⁹ Laodaciam] Laudaciam H Laudociam V ¹⁰ Frigie] Frigiae H ¹⁰ LVIII] quinquaginta nouem D LVIII H ¹⁰ XIII] tres DV ^{10–11} Calcidoniam] Calcedoniam V ¹¹ XXVII] H biginti quattuor D XX quattuor V ¹¹ Gangrenes XX] Congrenses biginti D Gangrenes uiginti V ¹¹ Regule..XX] *om.* DV ¹¹ Sardensis] Sardinenses H ¹² Cartaginensem] Cartaginem D Cartaginenses H ¹² cum] *om.* DHV ¹² Africe] Affrice H ¹² CXXXVIII] centum biginti octo D CXXVIII H centum XXVIII V ¹² Finit Amen] *om.* DHV ¹³ De..sinodorum] *om.* DOO₂ ^{14–4.6} Senodus..commissa] *this chap. om.* OO₂ ¹⁴ Antiochenensis] Anthicena D Antiochena V ¹⁶ prouincias] probincias V

post tertiam septimanam festi Pascalis ita, ut quarta septimana Pentecostes conueniat synodus, metropolitano prouinciales episcopos ammonente. Secunda uero synodus fiat diebus Octimbris, id est, XV die mensis Octimbris. In ipsis autem conciliis assint presbiteri, diaconi, et omnes, qui se lesos exestimant. Et experiatur senodi examen. Nullis uero liceat apud se celebrare concilia praeter eos, quibus metropolitana iura uidentur esse commissa.

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1 De episcopo

1.1 De nomine aepiscopi

Episcopus nomen a graeco ductum, os in us conuertens, quod latine super-speculator siue superintentor dicitur pro eo quod speculatur mores et uitam populorum infra se possitorum, et superintendat curam subdicorum.

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B

Isidorus ait: Scopus quidem intentio est, ergo episcopum latine superintendere possumus dicere.

Et non qui preesse diligitur, sed qui prodesse aliis curam, scilicet subditorum, gerens.

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VDH

Paulus: Qui desiderat episcopatum, bonum opus desiderat.

Isidorus: Episcopatus autem, ut quidam prudentium ait, nomen est oneris non honoris. Notandum est quod episcopi sacerdotes nominantur, necnon et prespiteri sacerdotum nomine censentur.

Item: Sciendum est episcopos et prespiteros in noua lege sumsise talia uocabula. Sacerdotes autem siue in ueteri siue in noua nuncupatos. Sciendum

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B

⁹ Isid., *De off.* 2.5.8 ¹⁰ Isid., *Etymol.* 7.12.11 ¹² Isid., *De off.* 2.5.8 ¹⁶ I Tim. 3:1 || cf. p. 8 ln. 6 ¹⁷ Isid., *De off.* 2.5.8

³ Octimbris] Octimbris D ³ XV] quartodecimo V ⁴ diaconi] diacones V
⁴⁻⁵ experiatur senodi] synodi experiatur DV ⁵ Nullis] D nullus H** ⁶ commissa] table of contents follows in DHV. For tables of contents in BOPS see pp. 130*, 135*, 139*, 141*. ⁹ a graeco] grecum DHOV ⁹ ductum] dictum AB om. DHV ⁹ quod] et DHV ¹⁰ superintentor] superintendens V ¹² Isidorus] Isiodorus enim H Ysidorus enim DV ¹⁴ diligitur] diligit DH ¹⁵ gerens] generis H ¹⁶ Paulus] Paulus ait H ¹⁷ Isidorus] om. DH ¹⁷ Episcopatus] episcopus H episcopatum DV ¹⁷ ut] om. DHV ¹⁷ prudentium] prudentius V ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ nomen..honoris] non nomen est honoris sed honoris DHV ¹⁷ est] om. B ¹⁷ oneris] hone ius A honoris P* ¹⁸ est] est sane HV ²⁰ episcopos] episcopus P* ²⁰ noua] noua uel nō P* ²⁰ lege] lege maxime ista DHV ²⁰ talia] om. ADHVP ²¹ Sacerdotes] apostolus ait sacerdotes O ²¹ siue(1)] sicut V ²¹ siue(2)] sic DV ²¹ noua] noua ita AB nomina ita H noua uel nō P* ²¹ nuncupatos] nominatos dicimus B nominatus H nominatos DV noncupantur O

est episcopo quod pontifex, et antestis, et sumus sacerdos nominatur.

B1.2

De eo quod non debet ordinari episcopus, qui secundis nuptiis uel illicitis contaminatus

Sinodus Romana dicit: Si quis post baptismum secundis fuerit nuptiis copulatus aut concupinam habuerit, non potest esse episcopus, aut presbiter, aut diaconus, aut prorsus ex numero eorum, qui in ministerio sacro deseruiunt. 5

Esidorus ait in libris de officialibus: Si enim quis, qui iam in episcopatu aut in presbiterio positus est, mortale aliquod peccatum admiserit, non debet offerre panes Domino. Quando magis si ante ordinationem peccator inuentus, non ordinetur.

H1.2 V1.2

1.2 De his, qui nomine episcopi indigne usurpant

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Episcopi non omnes episcopi habentur.

Augustinus: Episcopus in quantum desiderauerit honorem, in tantum maiori periculo grauatur.

Hieronimus: Cauendum episcopo ne, dum nomine tantum nominetur, opus episcopatus sui amittat. 15

Multi episcopi nomen honoris desiderant, opus oneris deuitant.

4 Canon. Apost. §17 7 Isid., De off. 2.5.15 11 Hier., ad Heliodor., ep. 14.9

10 indigne usurpant] usurpant indigne BO 10 usurpant] ussurpant P* *in marg.* usurpat i. nominat presummit uel suum facit P 11 Episcopi...habentur] non omnes episcopi episcopi habentur B Paulus non nomen episcopi episcopi nominantur D Paulus dicit aepiscopi aepiscopi nominantur H Paulus omnes episcopi episcopi nominantur V 11 Episcopi] Apostolous ait episcopi A 12 Augustinus] Agustinus ABDHP* 12 in(2)] *om.* ADV 12 tantum] tantum in D 12-13 maiori] maiore BP* 14 Hieronimus] BDHV Hironimus P** 14 Cauendum] cauendum *interlin.* est O cauendum est P** 14 nomine...nominetur] nominatur tamen H nominentur tantum DV 14 tantum] tamen B 15 sui] *om.* DHV 15 amittat] dimittat A amittat D 16 Multi] idem multi ABO item Hieronimus multi DHV 16 episcopi] *om.* DV 16 opus oneris] non oneris B 16 oneris] honeris AV honoris H 16 deuitant] diuitant P* deuiant V

1.3 De initio sacerdotis in utraque lege

H1.3 V1.3

Esidorus: Aron primus in lege sacerdotale nomen accepit primusque pontificali stola induitus, uictimas obtulit, iubente Domino ac loquente ad Moysen: Accipe Aron et filios eius. Ad hostium tabernaculi adplicabis patrem cum filiis, et reliqua.

VBDH

5

Quo loco contemplari oportet Aaron summum sacerdotem, id est, episcopum figurasse, et filios eius prespiterorum figuram premonstrasse.

Moysen autem figuram Christi insimulasse.

In nouo quoque testamento, post Christum pontificalis ordo a Petro apostolo et Iacobo episcopo episcoporum cœpit.

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1.4 De impositione manuum in episcopum

H1.4 V1.4

Esidorus: Quod uero per manuum impositionem aepiscopi ordinantur, antiqua institutio est. Isac enim patriarcha inponens manum suam super caput Iacob benedixit ei. Similiter Iacob filii suis. Sed et Moyses super caput Iosue manum suam inponens, dedit ei spiritum uirtutis et ducatus in populum Israel. Sic et Dominus noster Jesus Christus per manus impositionem benedixit apostolis suis, et precepto spiritus sancti Paulo et

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2 Isid., *De off.* 2.5.2 **4** Exod. 29:4 **6** Isid., *De off.* 2.5.3 **8** Isid., *De off.* 2.5.5 **12** Isid., *De off.* 2.5.9

1 sacerdotis] sacerdotii P** sacerdotum B **2** Esidorus] Isidorus H *om.* DV **2** Aron] Aaron HO **2** primus in lege] in lege primus DHV **2** accepit] accipit P* **2** primusque] sacerdotali uel H **2-3** pontificali] sacerdotali DV **3** stola] stula V **3** obtulit] obtulit P* optulit in ueste DV **3** iubente] *om.* DV **3** ac] *om.* DV **4** Accipe] accipiat D *om.* V **4** Aron] Aaron BDHV **4** filios] filii V **4** Ad...tabernaculi] *in margin* O **4** hostium] fore B **4-5** adplicabis...et reliqua] et lotos aqua indues sanctis uestibus ut ministrarent mihi B **4** adplicabis] atquelaueris D adlaueris V** adq laueris H **5** et reliqua] *om.* V **6** Quo] in quo O **7** premonstrasse] demonstrasse DHV **8** Moysen] Moyses D **9-10** apostolo...cœpit] apostolo cœpit et ab Iacobo episcopo episcoporum DV **10** et] et ab H **10** episcopo] episcobo A *om.* H **11** impositione] impositione BP* **11** manuum] manum P* **11** episcopum] aepiscopis id est de ordinatione H epis copis de ordinatione DV **12** Esidorus] Isidorus HO Ysidorus DV **12** Quod] qua D que V **12** uero] non V **12** manuum] manus DHV **12** aepiscopi] *om.* V **12** ordinantur] inordinantur D inhordinantur V **13** Isac] Isaac ADHOV **13** inponens] ponens BDV **14** Iacob(2)] *interlin.* P* **14** filii] filis P* **14** suis] eius H **14** Moyses] Moses B Moysen H **15** caput] *om.* DV **15** Iosue] BDHOV Iessue A Iosue (Iosue P* **15** inponens] ponens DV **15-16** ducatus] ducatum HO **16** populum] populo DHO **16** Israel] Isrehlitico DV **17** impositionem] impositionem P* **17** benedixit apostolis] apostolis benedixit DHV **17** apostolis] apostolos A **17** suis] *om.* D VH

Barnabe ab apostolis manus impossita est in æpiscopatum, et sic missi sunt ad euangelizandum, et reliqua.

Sinodus Cartaginensis ait: Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant manus et teneant euangeliorum codicem super caput, id est, super ceruicem eius, et uno fundente benedictionem, ceteri omnes aepiscopi, qui adsunt, iuxta manum episcopi manus suas super caput eius tendant.⁵

1.5 De eo quod non unus unum ordinet

H1.5 V1.5

Essidorus: Porro episcopus non ab uno, sed a cunctis conprouincialibus æpiscopis ordinetur, ne aliquid contra fidem unius tirannica auctoritate moliretur. Propterea ab omnibus conuenientibus constituitur ac non minus a tribus presentibus, caeteris tamen consentientibus testimonio litterarum.¹⁰

Sinodus Cartaginensis ait: Tunc, consensu clericorum, et laicorum, et totius prouintię episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani, uel epistola, uel auctoritate, uel presentia, ordinetur episcopus.¹⁵

1.6 De baculo et annulo episcopi

H1.6 V1.6

Huic cum consecratur datur baculus, ut eius indicio subditam plebem uel regat, uel corrigat, uel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat. Datur ei et annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris uel signaculum secretorum, ne indignis quibusque sacramenta Dei aperiantur.²⁰

³ Stat. eccl. ant. §90 ⁸ Isid., De off. 2.5.11 ¹³ Stat. eccl. ant. §1 ¹⁷ Isid., De off. 2.5.12

¹ Barnabe] Barnabe manus DV ¹ apostolis] apōs P* ¹ manus] om. DV ² et reliqua] om. DHV ³ Cartaginensis] BDHV *interlin.* O om. P** ³ ait] om. D ³⁻⁴ ponant] ponant inponant DH imponant V ⁴ caput..super] om. DHV ⁵ ceruicem] uerticem V ⁵ fundente] cantante B *interlin.* O ⁵ aepiscopi] om. D ⁶ adsunt] assistunt episcopi D ⁶ manum] BHO manus P** ⁶ tendant] extendant H ⁸ Essidorus] Esidorus A Isidorus H Ysidorus DV ⁹ aliquid] aliqui DHP*V ¹⁰ moliretur] mollirentur H molirentur ABDV ¹¹ tamen] tunc D ¹³ Cartaginensis] BDHV *interlin.* O om. P** ¹⁴ que] om. DV ¹⁴ metropolitani] metropolitanorum BH ¹⁷ Huic] Isidorus huic H Ysidorus huic DV ¹⁷ eius] eis P* ¹⁹ propter signum] pro signo H ¹⁹ signaculum] signaculo H ²⁰ aperiantur] aperiatur (aperiantur P*

Gregorius: Quid per baculum nisi pastoralis cura signatur? Baculus enim sustendat, custodit et regit.

C[h]ori episcopi, id est, uicarii episcoporum uel unius plebis, ab uno episcopo ordinentur. Hii autem a solo episcopo ciuitatis, cui adiacent, ordinantur.

B

1.7 De eo, qui ordinandus est

H1.7 V1.7

5

Paulus: Si quis episcopatum cupit, bonum opus desiderat. Vnius uxoris uirum sacerdotem querit aeclesia aut de uirginitate sumptum.

B

De eo quod nemo cito ordinandus sit, ne te noceat alienum peccatum

H1.8 V1.8

DHV

Item idem: Nemini cito manus inpossueris, ne cummunicaueris peccatis alienis. Temed ipsum castum costodi.

HDV

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Idem: Non neophitum, ne in superbiam elatus, putet se quod non tam ad ministerium humilitatis, quam ad ministrationem saeculi potestatis accipit ordinationem.

Isidorus: Quomodo enim ualebit homo saecularis sacerdotii ministerium adimplere, cuius nec offitium tenuit, nec disciplinam agnouit? Aut quomodo docere poterit cum ipse non didicerit? Nunc uero sepe cernimus plures ordinationem facere non quos eclesia eligit, sed quos uel ipsi amant uel quorum sunt officis deliniti uel obsequis, uel pro quibus malorum quispiam rogauerit et, ut deteriora dicam, qui, ut ordinarentur, muneribus

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VDH

¹ cf. Greg. I, *Homil. in euang.* 22.9 ³ Isid., *De off.* 2.6.1 ⁶ I Tim. 3:1–2 || cf. p. 4 ln. 16
⁹ I Tim. 5:22 || cf. Isid., *De off.* 2.5.12 ¹¹ I Tim. 3:6 || Isid., *De off.* 2.5.12 ¹⁴ I Tim. 3:6 ||
 Isid., *De off.* 2.5.13

¹ baculum] baculum significatur H ¹ signatur] significatur B *om.* DHV ¹ Baculus] baculu in P* ² sustendat] sustinet DV ² custodit...regit] ac regit custodit H et erigit custodet DV ² regit] regit erigit O ⁴ ordinantur] ordinetur B* ⁵ qui] ODHSV quod AP** ⁶ Paulus] Papulus B ⁷ sumptum] sumtum P* ⁸ sit] est H ⁹ Item idem] Paulus DHV ⁹ idem] *interlin.* B ⁹ Nemini cito manus] manus cito nemini DHV ⁹ cummunicaueris] communicaueris DV ¹⁰ castum] caustum V ¹⁰ costodi] custodi DV ¹¹ Idem...neophitum] qui sit neophitus O ¹¹ Idem] item DHV ¹¹ non tam] numquam A ¹² potestatis] potestatem DV ¹² accipit] accepit DV ¹³ ordinationem] *om.* D ¹⁴ Isidorus] Essidorus AP* Esidorus B Ysidorus ait DV ¹⁵ agnouit] tenuit HV ¹⁶ didicerit] didicit H ¹⁷ ordinationem] ordinaciones DV ¹⁷ quos(1)] quas DV ¹⁷ eclesia eligit] eligit eclesia B ¹⁷ eligit] elegit P* ¹⁷ quos] quas DV ¹⁷ uel(1)] et DV ¹⁸ quorum] quarum DV ¹⁸ officis...uel obsequis] obsequis diliniti B obsequis uel ofitiis dilinti H obsequiis delinti DV ¹⁸ deliniti] diliniti P* ¹⁸ uel obsequis] *om.* A obsequis (obsequus B* ¹⁹ ut(2)] *om.* DV

inpetrauerunt. Alii successores filios uel parentes faciunt et conantur posteris presulature relinquere dignitatem; cum hoc nec Moyses amicus Dei facere potuit, sed Iesum de alia tribu elegit, ut nouerimus principatum in populo non sanguine defendendum esse sed uitæ meritis.

Sinodus dicit: Qui episcopus ordinandus est, ante examinetur si natura prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si sobrius, si uita castus, si humilibus afabilis, si misericors, si literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si scripturarum sensibus cautus, et ante omnia, si fidei documenta uerbis simplicioribus adserit.

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B

1.8 De moribus episcopi

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m1.9 v1.9

Isidorus: Huius sermo debet esse purus et apertus, plenus grauitatis et honestatis, plenus suauitatis et gratiæ, tractans de misterio legis, de doctrina fidei, de uirtute continentiae, de disciplina iustitiae; cuius p[ro]ae ceteris speciale officium est, scripturas legere, percurrere canones, exempla sanctorum imitari ieunis, uigilis, orationibus incumbere, cum fratribus pacem habere, curam pauperum gerere, essurientes pascere, nudos uestire, peregrinos suspicere, captiuos redimere, uiduas ac pupillos tueri, cuius diuersorum debet esse cunctorum receptaculum. Laicus enim unum uel II-
20 os suscipiens, ut inpleuit hospitalitatis offitium. Episcopus autem si non reciperit omnes, inhumanus est.

15

Sinodus dicit: Episcopus non inuadat alienam parochiam, non ordinet

⁵ Stat. eccl. ant. §1 11 Isid., De off. 2.5.17–19 21 cf. Antioch. §22

2 presulature] pro sepultura A presulature sue DV 2 hoc nec] nec hoc DHV 2 nec] om. V 2 Moyses] Moyses A 3 facere] fecere P* 3 Iesum] Iessum AP* 3 nouerimus] sciremus DHV 5 Sinodus] sinodus Cartaginensis D senodus Cartaginensis H syndus Cartaginensis V 5 dicit] om. DHV 5 episcopus] episcopus si A 5 est] om. B interlin. P 6 sobrius] subrius P* 8 si(1)] om. A si in D 8 scripturarum] scripture DV 8–9 et...adserit] et reliqua P 11 Isidorus] Ysidorus DV Essidorus AP* 12 misterio] ministerio P* 12 de(2)] interlin. P 13 p[ro]ae ceteris] preceris DV 13–14 p[ro]ae...speciale] speciale p[ro]ae ceteris B 14 speciale...est] speciale est officium DHV 14 scripturas] scripturas diuinias D 15 imitari] emitari P* 15 ieunis] ieuniis et DHV 15 uigilis] uigiliis et DHV 15 incumbere] intentus esse D intentum esse HV 15 cum fratribus] om. DV 16 gerere] agere DV 16 essurientes pascere] om. V 16 nudos uestire] uestire nudos BDHV 16–17 peregrinos suspicere] suspicere peregrinos BDHV 17 redimere] redemere P* 18 debet...cunctorum] cunctorum debet esse DHV 18–19 II-os] duos ADHV duo B 19 ut] om. BDHV Isid. 19 inpleuit] implebit DH 19 autem] om. B 20 reciperit] recipiat DHV 21 Sinodus dicit] sinodus Romana B om. DHV 21 parochiam] parochiam P*

alium clericum alicuius æclesie, non presummat praetium ordinationis, non presumat dona iniquorum, que reprobatur altissimus, non ambulet sine presbitero, et reliqua. Pacem habere cum omnibus, nullum damnare nisi conprobatum, nullum excommunicare nisi inhumanum esse, ita, ut sciat subditos corrigere neque immoderata auctoritati seueritatis potestatem exerceat. Episcopus non debet esse contentiosus sed modestus. Aepiscopo scientia scripturarum necessaria est. Si enim eruditus non fuerit sibi soli potest prodesse; sin uero, potest alios instruere et aduersarios persecutari.

5

Item: Qui alios de peccato arguet, ipse a peccato debet alienum esse.

Qua enim fronte subiectos arguit, cum illi tanta in ipsum ingerere possunt? Quapropter qui neglegerit recta facere, desinat recta docere.

10

Item: Primitus semet ipsum corrigere debet, qui alios ad bene uiuendum ammonet.

Item Dionisius Exiguus: Et si quis episcopus aut presbiter preter ordinationem Domini alia quaedam in sacrificio offerat super altare, id est, mel aut lac aut pro uino sicera et confecta quaedam, aut uolatilia, aut animalia aliqua, aut legumina, contra consuetudinem facit. Congruo tempore deponatur. Offerri non liqueat aliquid ad altare preter nouas spicas, et oleum ad luminaria, et timiama, id est incensum, tempore, quo sancta celebratur oblatio.

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Reliqua enim poma omnia addom primitiarum episcopo et presbiteris dirigantur.

2 Sir. 34:23 || cf. Pat., *Epist.* §8 || cf. p. 291 ln. 7, p. 300 ln. 1, p. 313 ln. 15 (*apparatus*), *chaps.* 2.22, 2.24, 2.26, 39.2 **9** Isid., *De off.* 2.5.15 **10** Isid., *De off.* 2.5.16 **12** Isid., *De off.* 2.5.16
13 *Canon. Apost.* §3 **16** *Canon. Apost.* §4 **19** *Canon. Apost.* §5

1 alium] aliquem O **1** clericum] *om.* ABDHOV **1** non...ordinationis] after non...altissimus DHV **1** presummat] praesumet B **2** ambulet] ambulat P* **3** et reliqua] *om.* DHV **3** damnare] dampnare H **4** esse] *om.* H **5** immoderata auctoritati] inmoderatam auctoritatem H **5** potestatem] potestate H **5** Episcopus] aepiscopus H **7** sibi soli potest] potest sibi soli H **7** uero] uero non H **8** persecutari] percutere H **9** de] Isid. a V**DH **9** arguet] arguit H **9** alienum] alienus DH **10** illi] *om.* H **11** neglegerit] neglegit DH **12** Primitus] prius Isid. **12** ammonet] admonet H **13** item Dionisius Exiguus et si quis] *om.* H **13** preter] *om.* H **14** offerat] offerret H **14** est] *om.* H **15** sicera] sincera H **15** confecta] DH confesta V** **15** aut animalia] *interlin.* H **16** deponatur] H *om.* DV** **16** liqueat] licet H **17** ad] aut D **19** Reliqua enim] autem H **19** omnia] *om.* V **19** addom] addomus D *om.* H **19** episcopo] aepiscopis H

1.9 De tempore, quo debet episcopus ab eclesia

H1.10 V1.10

Sinodus dicit Sardinensis: Nulli episcopo liceat nisi III ebdomadibus abesse ab aëlesia.

Item sinodus Hibernensis ait: Episcopum oportet ne per unum dominicum diem ab aëlesia sua deesse. Si autem per duos abierit, in exilium mitendus est. Si autem sollemnitatem neglexerit in sua aëlesia celebrare, degradetur.

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1.10 De uaris episcopi obseruationibus

H1.11 V1.11

Vt episcopus non longe ab eclesia hospitiolum habeat.

Vt episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se reuocet, sed ut lectioni, et orationi, et uerbi Dei predicationi tantum uacet.

10

Vt aepiscopus in aëlesia consesu prespiterorum sublimior sedeat. Intra domum uero collegam se prespiterorum esse cognoscat.

Vt episcopus uilem suppellectilem, et mensam, et uictum habeat pauperem, et dignitatis sue auctoritatem fide et uite meritis querat.

15

Vt aepiscopus gentilium libros non legat; hereticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore perlegat.

Vt episcopus tutionem testamentorum non suscipiat.

² Sardica §15 ⁴ cf. apparatus p. 29 ln. 5 ⁹ Stat. eccl. ant. §1 ¹⁰ Stat. eccl. ant. §3 ¹² Stat. eccl. ant. §2 ¹⁴ Stat. eccl. ant. §4 ¹⁶ Stat. eccl. ant. §5 ¹⁸ Stat. eccl. ant. §6

¹ quo] quod P** ¹ debet] debent HV ¹ episcopus] aepiscopi HV ¹ abesse] adesse H ²⁻³ Sinodus...aëlesia] in margin D ² dicit Sardinensis] Sardinensis dicit BO ² dicit] om. ADH ² Nulli] nullo A ² III] tribus DHV ⁴ Item] om. DHV ⁴ Hibernensis] DV Aurelinensis B Aurenensis H om. OP** ⁴ ait] om. DHV ⁴ Episcopum] episcopus A ⁴ per] om. DV ⁴⁻⁵ dominicum diem] diem dominicum DHV ⁵ sua] om. D ⁵ deesse] defuerit A desit DH sua defuerit O ⁵ Si] sin H si in DV ⁵ autem] om. DHV ⁵ per] om. V ⁵ duos] dua D duas HV ⁵ abierit] BDHOV habierit A afuerit P** ⁶ est] om. DV ⁶ Si] quod si DHV ⁶ autem] om. DHV ⁶ sollemnitate] sollemnitates annuas D sollempnites annuas H sollempnitatis annuas V ⁶ sua] suo DH ⁶ aëlesia] monasterio DHV ⁶⁻⁷ degradetur] donec peniteat abiciatur DHV ⁸ uaris] om. A ⁸ episcopi obseruationibus] obseruationibus episcopi DHV ⁹ hospitiolum] H ospitolium P** hospitalium AV hospitium B in marg. dormitorium H ¹⁰ episcopus] episcopus ad DV ¹⁰ rei familiaris] familiaris rei DHV ¹⁰ ad se] om. DV ¹⁰ lectioni] lectioni tantum uacet DHV ¹¹ tantum uacet] om. DHV ¹² consensu] consensu DV ¹³ collegam] colligam BP* ¹⁵ dignitatis] dignitatem DHV ¹⁵ auctoritatem] auctoritatis BP** ¹⁵ fide] fidei D ¹⁶ autem] om. D ¹⁷ perlegat] perlegit A ¹⁸ Vt episcopus...non suscipiat] in margin H ¹⁸ non] om. H

Vt episcopus gubernationem uiduarum, et pupillorum, et peregrinorum non per semet ipsum, sed per archipresbiterum et archidiaconum habeat.

Vt episcopus nec prouocatus pro rebus transitoriis litiget.

Vt episcopus ad sinodum ire satis graui necessitate inhibeat; si tantum per personam legatum mittat, suspecturus salua fidei ueritate quicquid sinodus statuerit. 5

Vt episcopus uel clericus de loco ignobiliore per ambitionem ad nobilorem non transeat.

Vt episcopus absque consilio prespiterorum suorum clericos non ordinet, ita, ut ciuium testimonium querat. 10

Vt episcopus nullius causam iudicare audeat absque presentia clericorum suorum, alioquin inrita erit sententia episcopi, nisi præsentia clericorum suorum confirmetur.

Vt aepiscopus quo loco sedens stare prespiteros non patiatur.

Vt aepiscopus rebus æclesiae tanquam commendatis, non tamquam propriis utatur. 15

Vt episcopus nullum prohibeat ingrredi aeclesiam, exaudire uerbum Dei siue hereticum, siue Iudeum, siue gentilem, usque ad missam catacomnorum.

1.11 De aetatibus, quibus prouehitur ad episcopatum

H1.12 V1.12

20

Tribus ordinibus ætas episcopalnis eligitur.

1 Stat. eccl. ant. §7 3 Stat. eccl. ant. §8 4 Stat. eccl. ant. §9 7 Stat. eccl. ant. §11 9 Stat. eccl. ant. §10 11 Stat. eccl. ant. §14 14 Stat. eccl. ant. §12 15 Stat. eccl. ant. §15 17 Stat. eccl. ant. §16

1 pupillorum] popillarum A 2 archidiaconum] archidiaconem A 4 satis] sine D 4 si] sic DHV 4 tantum] tamen BH 5 per] om. HV interlin. O 5 personam] ut in persona sua DV pro se < personam H* personam suam O 5 legatum] ligatum P* 5 fidei] fidei et A 7 ambitionem] interlin. id per cupiditatem P 10 ciuium testimonium] testimonium ciuium DHV 11 nullius] nullius clericus non ordinet A 11 iudicare audeat] audeat iudicare B 11 presentia] presentia et consilio O 12-13 suorum alioquin... suorum confirmetur] suorum (quorum V) confirmatione confirmetur (confirmet V) DV 14 sedens] sedeat DHV 15 tanquam] tam D 15 non tamquam] om. V non D 17 prohibeat] prohiberit A prohibeat (sic) B 17 exaudire] audire BO 20 aetatibus] aetatibus et meritis DHV 20 prouehitur] prouehi debet D prouehi H prouehi V 20 ad] om. HV 21 eligitur] elegitur P*

Primo, de uirginitate et æclesiasticis institutis

Sinodus Cartaginensis: Puer autem ab infantia æclesiasticis ministeris de-ditus, usque ad XX aetatis suæ annum lector siue exorcista stet. Ostiarius et subdiaconus IIII annis, diaconus V, presbiter XXX-mo, æpiscopus XL-mo, XXX (siue LX-mo) anno sacerdos efficiatur, quia in ea ætate Christus 5 predicare orsus est.

Secundo, de unius uxoris uiro iuuene

Sinodus eadem: Qui autem ab accessu adolissentie usque ad XXX annum aetatis sue probabiliter uixerit, una tantum uxore uirgine sumpta contentus, V annis subdiaconus et V annis diaconus, XL-mo annis presbiter, L-mo episcopus stet. 10

Tertio, de grandeuo laico

Sinodus eadem: Si autem grandis ætatis sit laicus, et necesse sit, ut episcopus fiat, biennio sit lector, V subdiaconus, V diaconus; post XII annos prespiter siue episcopus subrogetur. 15

² Zosim., *Decr. §3* (*Dion.*, ed. Justel) || cf. Siric., *Decr. §10* (*Dion.*, ed. Justel) ⁵ Isid., *De off.* ^{2.5.10} ⁸ Siric., *Decr. §9* (*Dion.*, ed. Justel) ¹³ Siric., *Decr. §10* (*Dion.*, ed. Justel)

¹ institutis] uirtutibus DHV *interlin.* uel institutis H ² Cartaginensis] BDHV *om.* P**
² autem] *om.* DHV ³ XX] uicesimum DV ³ aetatis suæ annum] annum etatis suaे H annum aetatis DV ⁴ IIII] bicesimo quarto D XX-mo IIII-o H III-cesimo quattuor V ⁴ annis] anno DV ⁴ diaconus V presbiter] diaconus et presbiter H ⁴ diaconus V] diaconus XXV D ⁴ XXX-mo] XXX-mo et A tricesimo DV ⁴ æpiscopus] *interlin.* uel P ⁴⁻⁵ XL-mo] XL-mo siue B XL-mo siue a H quadragesimo siue DV ⁵ XXX] siue XXX B tricesimo DV ⁵ siue LX-mo] siue XL-mo A *om.* BDHV ⁵ sacerdos] (*sic*) P sacerdos id aepiscopus H episcopus DV ⁵ efficiatur] efficitur P* ⁵ quia] ut Ysidorus ait quia D ut Isidorus dicit quia H ut Hisydorus ait quia V ⁶ predicare...est] exorsus est predicare D incipit predicare H predicare licitum est fieri V ⁸ Sinodus eadem] item eadem sinodus DHV ⁸ ab] *om.* DHV ⁸ usque] ut H ⁸ XXX] XXX-mum H tricesimum DV ⁸⁻⁹ annum aetatis] aetatis annum DV ⁹ sue] *om.* DHV ⁹ uxore uirgine] uirgine uxore DV ⁹ sumpta] *om.* DV ¹⁰ V(1)] IIII H quattuor DV ¹⁰ et] *om.* SH ¹⁰ V(2)] quinto DV ¹⁰ annis(2)] anno DV ¹⁰ XL-mo] quadragesimo DV ¹⁰ annis] *om.* DHV ¹¹ L-mo] quinquagesimo DV ¹¹ episcopus] aepiscopatus H ¹¹ stet] fiet D ¹² Tertio] tertio gradu D ¹² de] *om.* V ¹² grandeuo] grande V ¹³ Sinodus eadem] eadem dinodus DV ¹³ autem grandis] grandis autem H ¹³ autem] enim DV ¹³ aetatis] *om.* DV ¹⁴ sit] *om.* D ¹⁴ V(1)] quinque D quinto V ¹⁴ V(2)] quinque D quinquennio H quinto V ¹⁴ XII] XV A quindecim DV ¹⁵ subrogetur] subrogetur id ordinatur H

Item: Est alia contraria aetas pro qua episcopus, aut presbiter, aut diaconus effici non potest, id est: Si quis post baptismum secundis nuptiis fuerit copulatus aut concubinam habuerit, non potest esse æpiscopus, aut presbiter, aut diaconus, aut prorsus ex numero eorum, qui in ministerio sacro deseruiunt.

Aut si quis uiduam et electam acciperit, aut meretricem, aut ancillam, aut aliquam de his quae publicis spectaculis mancipantur, non potest esse æpiscopus, aut presbiter, aut diaconus, aut ex eorum numero, qui in ministerio sacro deseruiunt.

5

1.12 De eo quod non aliunde uocandus, qui ordinatur nisi necessitate

H1.13 V1.13

Sinodus Alexandrina: Tunc alter de altera eligatur æclesia: si de ciuitatis illius clericis, cui est ordinandus, nullus dignus poterit reperiri.

10

1.13 De ordinationibus inlicitis mouendis

H1.14 V1.14

Sinodus eadem: Si que sunt ordinationes inlicite facte remoueantur. Similiter ordinatores potestate utique ordinandi priuentur, ut nulla reletionis reuerentia obscuritate fuscetur.

15

1.14 De eo quod habent episcopi auctoritatem ligandi atque soluendi

H1.15 V1.15

Gregorius Romanus: Episcopi auctoritatem ligandi uel soluendi suscipiunt. Qui gradum regiminis sortiuntur, grandis honor est, sed graue pondus istius honoris. Incongruum quippe est, ut qui nescit tenere moderamina uitiae suae, iudex fiat alienae.

20

Θ

² Canon. Apost. §17 ⁵ Canon. Apost. §18 ¹⁰ Caelestin., ad Episc. Vienn. et Narbon., ep. 4.7 ¹³ Caelestin., ad Episc. Vienn. et Narbon., ep. 4.8 ¹⁸ Greg. I, *Homil. in euang.* 26.5

³ diaconus aut] DV om. H** ⁵ acciperit] accepit DV ⁶ aut(1)] uel DV ⁷ aut(2)] uel DV ⁸ uocandus] uocandus sit DHV ⁸⁻⁹ nisi necessitate] DH nisi ex necessitate V om. ABOP ¹⁰ Alexandrina] Alexandria B Alexandriae H ¹¹ est] est episcopus BDHOV ¹¹ ordinandus] *interlin.* P ¹¹ nullus] nullus est O ¹¹ reperiri] reperiri similiter et gradu inferior AB similiter et gradus inferior H ¹² inlicitis mouendis] mouendis inlicitis A ¹³ Sinodus eadem] om. DV ¹³ sunt] om. D ¹³ inlicate] illicate fuerit D om. V ¹⁴ ordinatores] ordinationes H ordinationibus DV ¹⁴ ordinandi] ordinanti H om. DV ¹⁶ habent episcopi] episcopi habent B ¹⁶ atque] et DHV ¹⁸ Gregorius Romanus] om. DV ¹⁸ uel] om. D et V ¹⁸ soluendi] om. D ¹⁹ regiminis] regminis ABOP* ¹⁹⁻²⁰ pondus] pondus est DV ²⁰ Incongruum] congruum Θ**

Phetrus dicit de Clemente Romano, suo successore: Quem pre ceteris hominibus expertus sum Deum colentem, homines diligentem, cautum dicendi, studis deditum, sobrium, benignum, iustum, patientem, scientem. Propter quod trado illi potestatem ligandi ac soluendi. Ligabit enim quod oportet ligari et soluet quod oportet solui.

5

1.15 De eo quod imago Christi episcopus est

H1.24 V1.24

Augustinus ait: Christus imaginem Dei habet, sicut aepiscopus imaginem Christi.

1.16 De eo quod nullus debet iudicare episcopos

H1.16 V1.16

In historia æclesiastica: Constantinus rex ad episcopos ait: Vos non potestis ab hominibus iudicari. Propter quod Dei solius inter uos expectate iudicium, et reliqua.

10

Gildas ait: Habent quippe sacerdotes et episcopi terribilem iudicem, cui pertinet et non nobis, de illis in utroque seculo iudicare.

Item: Conepiscopos et coabbates nec non consubiectos non iudicare melius est.

15

¹ Pseudo-Clemens, Epist. ad Iacob. 3.2 || cf. p. 261 ln. 5 ¹⁰ Euseb. (tr. Rufin.), *Eccl. Hist.* 10.2 cf. *chap. 21.29* ¹³ *Fragmenta Gildae* §5 (Winterbottom, 145) ¹⁵ *Fragmenta Gildae* §7 (Winterbottom, 145)

¹ dicit] *om.* DHV ¹ suo successore] successore suo DHV ¹⁻² hominibus] *om.* DV ² homines] omnes DV ² diligentem] diligentia DV ²⁻³ dicendi] discendi BDV ³ iustum patientem] patientem iustum HV ³⁻⁴ scientem...potestatem] *om.* D ⁴ trado] tradidit V ⁴ Ligabit] ligauit V ⁵ oportet(1)] oportuerit DV ⁵ oportet(2)] oportuerit DV ⁶] *This chap. comes at the end of Bk I in DHV* ⁶ episcopus est] est episcopus D ⁶ est] *om.* HV ⁷ Augustinus] Agustinus BP* *om.* DV ⁷ ait] *om.* DV ⁸ Christi] Christi habet ADHV ⁹ episcopos] episcopum BDV aepiscopo H episcopis P** ¹⁰ rex] rex ait DV ¹⁰ episcopos] episcopos ad se congregatos trecentos decem et octo deus DV ¹⁰ ait] *om.* DHV ¹⁰ non] constituit sacerdotes et potestatem uobis dedit de nobis quoque iudicandis et ideo nos a uobis recte iudicamur uos DV ¹¹⁻¹² Dei...reliqua] filius Dei in uos expectat iudicium et reliqua DV ¹³ Gildas ait] *om.* DV ¹³ Gildas] Giltas B ¹³ ait] *om.* H ¹⁴ nobis] uobis D ¹⁵ Item] sinodus DHV ¹⁵ Conepiscopos] B conaepiscopos H contraepiscopos DV coneepiscopos (corepiscopos O* corepiscopos P** ¹⁵ coabbates] coneepiscopos A conabbates BH conab (corab O* contraabbates DV corabbates P* ¹⁵ nec non] et H et non DV ¹⁵ consubiectos] subditos DV

1.17 De eo quod elegit episcopus successorem ipso uiuente et sospite

H1.17 V1.17

In historia aëclesiastica: Alexander quidam confessionis titulo satis clarus, Hirusolimorum aëclesiae subrogatur episcopus, cum superesset adhuc Narcissus, qui prius ibi functus est pontificatus officio.

5

Item paulo post: Verum iam ipse senio, cum pontificatus ministerio sufficere non posset, Alexandrum, qui iam erat episcopus alterius loci, diuina inspiratio in adiutorium Narcissi senis euidentissimis reuelationibus euocauit.

Item: Multa illic scripta Anatolius relinquit, quibus salutaris eruditio scire uolentibus innotescat. Huic primo Theotecnus sacerdotium Cessariæ tenebris in æpiscopatum manus impossuit. Vnde et aliquando tempore pariter cum ipso Theotecno Cesariensi aëclesie prefuit.

10

Sinodus ait Sardinensis: Si episcopo animas nostras et colla nostra submittamus, quanto magis debet gubernare aëclesiam et successorem ordinare.

15

Originis: Quid uobis uidetur mutare gubernatoris nostri sententiam? Si enim illi Deus maiora credidit, cur minima non credimus?

3 Euseb. (tr. Rufin.), *Eccl. Hist.* 6.8.7 6 Euseb. (tr. Rufin.), *Eccl. Hist.* 6.11.1–2 10 Euseb. (tr. Rufin.), *Eccl. Hist.* 7.32.20–21 14 cf. p. 266 ln. 10 16 cf. p. 265 ln. 7, p. 266 ln. 12

1 ipso] se DHV 3 titulo] titulū P* 4 Hirusolimorum] Hierosolimorum A Hierusolimitane DV Hirusolimae H Hirerosolimitane O 6 ipse] om. D 6 senio] senior DV senio adfectus H senio confectus O 6–7 sufficere] sufferre A 7 iam erat] esset etiam DHV 8 inspiratio] aspiratio B dispensatio DHV 8–9 euocauit] euocauit in nomine P** 10 Item] item illic legitur DV 10 illic] et alia DHV 10 Anatolius] Anatholius B Anatholicus V 10 relinquit] dereliquit DH reliquit O dereliquia V 10 scire] AB-HOV sciret P** 11 Theotecnus] Theochus DV Theotechnus H 11 Cessariæ] Caesariae H Cesarie BV 12 impossuit] posuit B 12 et] om. A 12 pariter] pariter iste DHV 13 cum] om. DV 13 Theotecno] Theocho DV Theotechno H 13 Cesariensi] V Cesariensi D Cessariensi HO 14 ait] om. DHV 14 animas] manus B 14 nostras] uestras H 14–15 submittamus] submitimus AHV 15 debet] om. DHV 15 gubernare] gubernato V 15 aëclesiam] ecclesie V 15 successorem ordinare] ordinare successorem DHV 16 Originis] Origenis DV 16 mutare] commutare DHV motare P* 17 cur] cum H 17 minima] minora D

**1.18 De eo quod debet electio bonorum post obitum obseruari
et exitu uitæ decessoris episcopi**

H1.18 V1.18

Sinodus ait: Nullus episcopus successorem in uita sua faciat, sed post obitum eius boni bonum eligit.

Item sinodus difiniuit episcopum ordinare successorem in exitu uitae consensu sinodi et regionis ipsius sententia, ne inritum fiat.

5

1.19 De eo quod aliena gentis episcopus elegitur

H1.19 V1.19

Post XV æpiscopos qui extra circumcissionem post Iacobum Hirusolime ciuitati prefuerunt, primus ex gentibus Marcus eiusdem cathedre episcopus elegitur. Post quem innumeri ceteri ex gentibus. Item, Marcus discipulus Petri, gente Iudeus, Alexandrine urbi Aegyptiorum præfuit. Item, Alexander, gente Capadocus, Hierusolimæ æclesiae æpiscopus elegitur ab omnibus, in ospitio adorandi gratia et locorum sanctorum uidendi causa ueniens. Item, Anatolius Alexandrinus Cessariensi æclesiae præfuit et postea Laudiciensi æclesiae præfuit.

10

15

3 cf. p. 261 ln. 14 3 cf. *Antioch* §23 5 cf. p. 261 ln. 16 8 Euseb. (tr. Rufin.), *Eccl. Hist.* 4.6

1 electio...obitum] *om.* D 2 et...episcopi] in eligendo successore DHV 2 decessoris] decessori A 3 ait] *om.* DHV 3 successorem] successorem sibi BDHV 3 in...faciat] faciat in uita sua DH faciat in uita V 5 sinodus] *om.* DV 5 difiniuit] *om.* HV 5 episcopum] aepiscopum oportet H episcopis P** 5 successorem] successorem non debet A 6 sinodi] sinodi nisi B *interlin.* O 6 regionis] BDHOV religionis AP** 6 ipsius] illius DHV 7 episcopus] episcopus aliquando DV 8 XV] quinque DV 8 extra] ex BDV 8 Hirusolime] Hierosolimæ B Hierusolimitane DV 9 ciuitati] ciuitatis V 9 ex gentibus Marcus] Marcus DV Marchus ex gentibus H 9-10 episcopus elegitur] elegitur episcopus DV 10 quem...gentibus] quem pene innumeros ex gentibus episcopos (aepiscopis H) in Hirusolima historia ecclesiastica prefuisse testis est VDH 10 gentibus] gentibus elegitur A 10 Marcus] Marchus H 11 gente Iudeus] Iudeus gente DHV 11 Alexandrine] Alexandrie D Alexandriae H Alexandre V 11 urbi] ciuitati DHV 11 Aegyptiorum] Egypti DV 12 Alexander] Alexandrinus H 12 gente] *om.* DHV 12 Capadocus] Cappadocus ex lenae (*sic*) D Capadocius A Capadochus ex gente HV Capadochius O Capodocus P* 12 Hierusolimæ] Hierusolimitane DV Hirusolimæ HP* 12 æclesiae] urbis DHV 13 omnibus] hominibus A 13 adorandi] orandi DHV 13 gratia] graua H 13 locorum] loca O 14 Anatolius] Anatholius DVH 14 Alexandrinus] Alexandrus D Alexander H Alexandrum V 14 Cessariensi] Cesariensi ABDV 14 præfuit] *om.* DV 15 postea] postea in DV 15 Laudiciensi] Laudaciensi B Laudicensi DV Laudacensi O

1.20 De eo quod coram episcopo infirmo sacerdos non ministret

H1.20 V1.20

Si quis episcopus infirmitatem aut in ebitudinem sensus inciderit aut officium oris amisserit, ea que non nisi per æpiscopos geruntur, non sub presentia sua prespiteros agere permittat, sed æpiscopum euocet, cui quod in æclesia agendum fuerit, inponat.

5

De eo quod eunoichi aepiscopatum accipient

H1.22 V1.22

HDO₂V

Dionisius Exiguus: Eunochus si per insidias hominum factus uel si persecutione eius sunt amputata uirilia uel si ita natus fuerit, idem dignus, ut aeficiatur aepiscopo. Si quis autem semet ipsum abscidit, id est, si quis eius consilio sibi amputauit, non fiat aepiscopus sed ætiam non est clericus. Qui sui homicida est et Dei conditionis inimicus.

10

1.21 De eo quod episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum de rebus æclesię nihil donat

H1.23 V1.23

Inrita erit episcopi uel donatio, uel uenditio, uel commendatio rei aeclesiastice absque scriptione clericorum suorum.

15

1.22 De episcopo excommunicando, qui aliena rapit

H1.21 V1.21

Sinodus: Episcopus qui alterius episcopi paruchiam rapit excommunicandus, nisi legitimo ordine peniteat, a pace, et missa, et mensa.

² Araus. I §30 ⁷ Canon. Apost. §§21, 22 ¹⁴ Stat. eccl. ant. §50 ¹⁶ cf. p. 276 ln. 3, p. 298 ln. 16 ¹⁷ cf. Syn. Pat. §4

² Si] sinodus si DHV ² aut.. .inciderit] inciderit aut habitudinem (ebitudinem V) sensus DHV ² in] om. A ² inciderit] inciderit BP* ³ æpiscopos] aepiscopus HV ⁴ æpiscopum euocet] euocet aepiscopum H ⁴ cui] qui DV ⁵ agendum] agentum P* ⁷ Eunochus] enunochus H** ⁷ si(2)] si non O₂ ⁸ si] om. O₂ ⁸ idem] id est si DV id est O₂ ⁸ dignus] indignus DV dignum O₂ ⁸ ut] om. O₂ ⁹ id est] DV idem H** ⁹ sibi] om. O₂ ¹¹ inimicus] inimicus si iam ordinatus deiciatur O₂ ¹³ æclesię] interlin. O ¹⁴ Inrita] sinodus irrita DV ¹⁴ episcopi] aepiscopus H ¹⁴ donatio.. .uenditio] uel uenditio uel donatio DHV ¹⁴ commendatio] commutatio V ¹⁴ rei] de rebus O ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ aeclesiastice] aeccliae HO ¹⁵ scriptione] conscriptione BH ¹⁵ suorum] om. AO ¹⁶ episcopo.. .rapit] episcopo qui aliena rapit excommunicando DHV ¹⁷ qui] interlin. P ¹⁷ alterius] alterii A ¹⁷ episcopi] episcopi (aepiscopis H) uel alicuius abbatis DHV ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ excommunicandus] excommunicandus est O ¹⁸ a] DHV aut ABOP** ¹⁸ pace.. .mensa] missa et pace et mensa HV

Episcopus non exeat ad aliam parochiam et suam relinquat, nisi multorum episcoporum iudicio et maxime supplicatione perficiat.

B

Qui autem episcopum uel presbiterum occiderit, regi ad iudicandum dimittendus est.

BH

Item: Dionisius Exiguus et Laurentius, auctores Grecorum peritisimi, de eadem causa dicunt: Episcopus non licet alienam parochiam rapere et relicta propria perdere, licet cogatur a pluribus, nisi sorte eum rationabilis causa conpellat, tamquam qui possit ibidem constitutis plus lucri rapte conferre et causa religionis aliquid profecto prospicere. Non a semet ipso, sed in aepiscoporum multorum iudicio, et maxima supplicatione proficere.

10

5 DHV

2 De prespitero uel sacerdote

H2.1 V2.1

2.1 De nomine prespiteri

Prespiter grecum nomen, quod latine senior dicitur. Isidorus: Prespiteri autem merito et sapientia dicuntur, non ætate, ut in proverbis dicitur: Gloria senum canities. Que est haec canities? Haud dubie quin sapientia, de qua scriptum est: Canities hominum prudentia est.

15

De exordio sacerdotis, hoc est, de sacerdotibus legis naturae

Θ

Sacerdotes dicuntur eo quod sacrum ducatum praebent populo.

³ *Canones Theodori* D 79 (\simeq U i.4.5, G 108) ⁵ *Canon. Apost.* §14 ¹³ cf. Isid., *De off.* 2.7.1
¹³ Isid., *De off.* 2.7.4 ¹⁵ Prou. 20:29 ¹⁸ Greg, I, *Reg. past.* 2.7 CS 381, pp. 220–2

⁵ auctores] auctoratis V ⁵ peritisimi] peritissimus V ⁶ parochiam] parochiam V
⁶ relicta propria] propria relicta HV ⁸ rapte] om. H ⁸ et] et in H ⁹ profecto] profectum H ^{9–10} iudicio] iudiciorum H ¹⁰ proficere] proficiat HV ¹¹ prespitero uel] om. Θ ¹¹ uel sacerdote] om. HV ¹³ grecum nomen] grece nominatur DV ¹³ quod] quod in V ¹³ latine senior] senior latine H ¹³ dicitur] om. H ¹³ Isidorus] Esidorus B om. DV Essidorus ait H Essidorus P* ¹⁴ autem] enim DV ¹⁴ ætate] aetate sed grauitate morum H ¹⁵ senum] uiri O ¹⁵ Que est] om. V ¹⁵ est] est *interlin.* eorum P ¹⁵ haec] om. ABDO ¹⁵ Haud] aut AH haut P* ¹⁵ dubie] dubium DHO ¹⁵ quin] quam O ¹⁷ sacerdotis] sacerdoti Θ** ¹⁸ populo] populis D populis uel eo quod sacrum dant H populus V

2.2 De exordio prespiterorum

H2.2 V2.2

Isidorus: Prespiterorum ordo a filiis Aron principium sumsit, qui sacerdotes in ueteri testamento uocabantur. Hii sunt, qui nunc appellantur prespiteri. Et qui noncupantur principes sacerdotum, nunc æpiscopi nominantur, quanquam et Melchissedech prior obtullerit sacrificium ante Aron, et post hunc Abraham, et Isaac, et Iacob. Sed ipsi spontanea uoluntate, non sacerdotali auctoritate ista fecerunt.

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2.3 De eo quod ordinantur prespiteri

H2.3 V2.3

Sinodus Kartaginensis: Prespiter cum ordinatur, æpiscopo eum benedidente et manum super caput eius tendente, omnes prespiteri, qui adsunt, manus suas iuxta manum æpiscopi super caput illius ponant.

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2.4 De similitudine et distantia ministerii episcopi et prespiteri

H2.4 V2.4

Isidorus de prespiteris ait: His autem sicut æpiscopis dispensatio ministeriorum Dei commissa est. Praesunt enim æclesie Christi. Et in compositione diuini corporis et sanguinis consortes cum episcopis sunt, similiter et in doctrina apostolica et officio praedicandi. Hec sola propter auctoritatem summo sacerdoti clericorum ordinatio et consecratio reseruanda est, ne, a

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² Isid., *De off.* 2.7.1 ⁵ Isid., *De off.* 2.5.1 ⁹ *Stat. eccl. ant.* §91 ¹⁴ Isid., *De off.* 2.7.1-2

² Isidorus] Essidorus AH Ysidorus DV Esidorus BP* ² ordo..sumsit] ordo principium sumpsit a filiis Aaron DHV ² filiis] filis P* ² Aron] Aaron BO ² qui] qui enim DHV ²⁻³ sacerdotes..uocabantur] sacerdotes uocabantur in ueteri testamento DHV ³ nunc appellantur] appellantur nunc (nun V) DHV ⁴ noncupantur] nuncupabantur B om. DHV ⁴ sacerdotum] sacerdotum erant DHV ⁴ nunc] DHOV sic B sicut P** ⁴⁻⁵ nominantur] nuncupantur B ⁵ et] om. HV ⁵ Melchissedech] Melchisedech BDHOV ⁵ obtullerit] obtullerat BOP*V ⁵ sacrificium] om. A ⁵ Aron] Aaron DHV ⁶ Abraham] Abraam V ⁶ ipsi] isti HV ⁷ ista] om. O ⁸ quod] quomodo DV ⁸ ordinantur prespiteri] presbiter ordinari debet DHV ⁹ Sinodus Kartaginensis] om. V ⁹ Kartaginensis] om. D Cartaginensis BH ⁹ Prespiter] presbiteri V ⁹ ordinatur] ordinantur V ¹⁰ manum] manus V ¹⁰ caput] om. V ¹⁰ tendente] tenente V ¹⁰ adsunt] adfuit V ¹¹ manum] manus B ¹¹ æpiscopi] om. O ¹² similitudine..distantia] differentia ac similitudine DV distantia ac similitudinem H ¹² et] ac DV ¹⁴ Isidorus] Esidorus B Ysidorus DV Essidorus P* ¹⁴ de..ait] om. DHV ¹⁴ autem] enim DV ¹⁵ Praesunt] presbiteri BHO ¹⁵ Christi] Dei B ¹⁶ diuini] DHOV diuina BP** ¹⁷ apostolica] popularum DV ¹⁷ et] et in DV ¹⁸ summo] summi V ¹⁸ reseruanda] seruenda A reseruata DHOV ¹⁸ est] est et reliqua ABOP**

VDH

multis disciplina ecclesie uindicata, concordiam dissolueret, scandala generaret; inde hic gradus secundus et pene coniunctus.

De moribus presbiteri

H2.5 V2.5

HDV

Presbiter inreprehensibilis esse, uir unius uxoris, sine macula, non contensiosus, non cupidus, non iracundus, non elatus, non percussor, non nisi ex consensu 5 æepiscopi in coram pauperum.

H2.6 V2.6

2.5 De causis, quibus immolabunt sacerdotes legis nature, quo- rum primus Melchisedech

Hironimus: Melchisedech tribus modis obtullit. Primo pro se ipso obtullit, ut bonis presentibus non extolleretur et malis non disperaret et mala sua aboleret. Secundo pro familia sua, que in commodis sæcularibus uiueret. Tertio in figuram corporis Christi.

Gregorius: Iob obtullisse oblationem Domino pro filiis suis legitur, in qua III continuit. Primo, ut ne ipse in bonis filiorum suorum eleuaretur. Secundo et pro filiis, ne in prosperis peccarent, ut ait: Ne forte peccarent filii mei in Domino. Tertio in figuram Christi et per quam in plagiis meruit non peccare, ut non peccauit Iob in labiis suis uel in omnibus his.

⁴ cf. I Tim. 3:2–3 ⁹ cf. Gen. 14:18–20 ¹⁵ Iob 1:5 ¹⁷ Iob 2:10

¹ uindicata] uendicata H ⁵ consensu] consenser (sic) V ⁶ in coram] V in cu-
ram ABDHOP** ⁷ legis] lege DV ⁷ nature] naturali DV ⁸ Melchisedech] om.
A Melchisedech immolans optulit DV Melchisedech H ⁹ Melchisedech] om. ADV
⁹ tribus modis obtullit] om. DV ¹⁰ ut] ut de DV ¹⁰ extolleretur] extolleter B
¹⁰ et(1)] et in DV ¹¹ familia sua] sua familia DHV ¹² corporis] om. DV cor-
poris et sanguinis H ¹³ Gregorius] om. DV ¹³ filiis] filis P* ¹³ suis] om. DHV
^{13–14} in...continuit] tribus causis O ¹⁴ III] tria DV ¹⁴ continuit] continentur DHV
^{14–16} Primo...Domino] primo ne forte peccarent filii mei in Domino ut ne ipse in bonis
filiorum suorum eleuaretur secundo et pro filiis ne prosperis peccarent (*interlin.* ut ipse
dicit) ne forte peccarent filii mei in Domino O ¹⁴ ipse] se ipse B in se (sic) V ¹⁵ et] om.
DHV ¹⁵ filiis] filis P* ¹⁵ peccarent(1)] peccarent ut ipse DHV ¹⁵ ait] om. B *interlin.*
P ¹⁵ peccarent(2)] peccauerint DV; after Domino DHV ¹⁶ in(1)] om. DHV ¹⁷ ut]
ut est illud H ¹⁷ in...uel] om. DV ¹⁷ labiis] labis P* ¹⁷ his] his quae acciderunt ei
H om. V

H2.7 V2.7 **2.6 De causis, quibus immolabant sacerdotes legis litere, quorum primus Aaron**

Aaron primo pro se et pro filiis suis offærebat, secundo pro peccatis populi, tertio in figuram Christi, sicut et ceteri sacerdotes immolabant.

H2.8 V2.8 **2.7 De IIII generibus oblationum legis litere figurantibus Christum**

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Isidorus: In exordio Leuitici IIII genera principalium oblationum discriminabuntur. Primum uitulum de armentis inmaculatum, II agnum de ouibus, III turturem et columbam, quartum similaginem consparsam azimam oleo unctam clibano coctam. Reliqua autem omnia pro qualitate causarum in persona populi offerebantur. Primum itaque uitulus de armentis Christum demonstrat, ex patriarcharum progenie descendente, qui aratro crucis sue terram carnis nostre perdomuit. Secundo hostia de ouibus, hoc est Christus propter innocentiam agnus nominatus. Tertium sacrificium turatur et columba, hoc est caro Christi spiritui sancto sociata. IIII-um autem similago, que æclesie figuram denuntiat, que quasi simila areei multis granis creditum collecta est, et legis et euangeliorum mola inter litteram et spiritum separata, oleo peruncta spiritus sancti.

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3 cf. Leuit. 9:10–20 7 Isid., *In Leuit. 6.1*

1 causis...immolabant] *om.* Θ 1 legis litere] legaliter DV 1–2 quorum...Aaron] *om.* Θ 3 primo pro se] ipse B 3 pro(2)] *om.* V 3–4 peccatis populi] populi peccatis DHV 4 sicut] sic B 5 IIII] quattuor DV 5 generibus] *interlin.* principalibus O 5 legis litere] legaliter DV 6 Christum] Cristum V 7 Isidorus] Esidorus B *om.* DV Essidorus P* 7 IIII] quattuor DV 7 principalium oblationum] oblationum principalium DV 7–8 describuntur] scribuntur DHV 8 II] secundum DV 9 quartum] IIII BH 9 azimam] maximam DV assimam H 10 autem] *om.* DHV 10 qualitate] qualitatibus DHV 10 causarum] causarum id est quasi peccatores (peccatorum H) DHV 11 armentis] armento V 12 descendente] descendente P* 12 qui] hic ABDHOV 13 Secundo] secunda B II H 13 hostia] ostiam D 14 nominatus] nominatus est H 14 Tertium] tertio DV III H 15 IIII-um] quarta B quarto DV 15 autem] enim DV 16 que(1)] quae B *om.* DHV 16 æclesie figuram] figuram ecclesie DHV 16 quasi] quasi autem A 16 simila] similaginem BH 16 areei] areae ADH aree BP* aree V 17 mola] molam D mola molitur BH

2.8 De causis quibus immolauit Christus primus in nouo testamento sacerdos

H2.9 V2.9

Agustinus ait: Multis modis Christus obtullit. Primo pro sua carne infirma, secundo pro apostolis in temptationem futuris, tertio in exemplum æclesie postea, quarto pro animabus ab inferno solutis in hora mortis suæ.

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Vnde Paulus ait: Si sanguis uitolorum et hircorum et cinis uituli aspersus redemit peccata hominum, quanto magis sanguis Christi redemit nos.

H2.10 V2.10

2.9 De modis, quibus nunc æclesia immolat

Sinodus Hibernensis: Nunc æclesia multis modis offert Domino. Primo pro se ipsa, secundo pro commemoratione Iesu Christi, qui dicit: Hoc facite in meam memoriam. Tertio pro animabus defunctorum.

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2.10 De diuerso sacrificio per IIII leges

H2.11 V2.11

Melchisedech uinum et panem obtulit, Iob holocaustomata, Aaron agnos et uitulos columbasque et turtures, Christus corpus et sanguinem obtulit.

H2.12 V2.12

De eo quod non nocet ministerio ministrantis contagio uitae

15 HDO_{2b}V

In uita sanctorum legitur: Fuit quidam solitarius et ueniebat ad eum præsbiter et consecrabat ei oblationem ad comunicandum. Veniens enim quidam ad senem ac-

⁶ Heb. 9:13–14 ¹⁰ Luc. 22:19 ¹³ cf. Gen. 14:18 || cf. Iob. 1:5 || cf. Leuit. 5:6–7, 9:3 ¹⁴ cf. Matt. 26:26, 28 ¹⁶ *Vitas Patrum* 9.11

¹ causis] causis pro V ¹ immolauit] immolatur DV ¹ Christus] om. DV ^{1–2} testamento] om. DV *interlin.* P ³ Agustinus] om. DV ³ ait] om. DHV ⁴ secundo] II H ⁴ tertio] III H ⁶ Vnde] inde DV ⁶ uituli] uitule P** ⁶ aspersus] aspersus P* sparsus A ⁷ nos] om. DV ⁸ modis] causis B ⁸ æclesia immolat] immolat ecclesia DHV ⁹ Hibernensis] DH Hibernensis V om. ABOP** ⁹ Nunc] om. DH *interlin.* P ⁹ modis offert] offert modis B ⁹ offert] offerat V ⁹ Domino] om. DHV ¹⁰ secundo] II H ¹⁰ dicit] dixit DHV ¹¹ memoriam] *interlin.* uel commemoriam P commemorationem ABDHOV ¹¹ Tertio] quarta (*sic*) DV III H ¹² IIII] quattuor DV *interlin.* uel per diuersis P ¹³ Melchisedech] Mechisedech (*sic*) H ¹³ holocaustomata] holocaustum D holocausta V ¹⁴ et(1)] om. DV ¹⁴ uitulos] uitulos quod V ¹⁴ que] om. AD ¹⁴ sanguinem] sanguinem suum ADV ¹⁴ obtulit] om. DHV ¹⁵ ministerio] D ministerium H**O₂V ¹⁵ contagio] contagium DV ¹⁶ legitur] om. DV ¹⁷ oblationem] oblationes D ¹⁷ enim] autem HO_{2b} ^{17–24.1} senem accusauit ei] *interlin.* .i. peccauit presbiter O_{2b}

cusauit ei presbiterum, qui consuete uenit ad agendum ministerium. Scandalizatus est senex non apparuit ei, et ille discessit. Tunc reuelatum est seni et uidebat quasi puteum aureum et aquam ualde bonam. Videbat et leprosum haurientem et fundentem in uas. Cupiebat bibere et nolebat propter leprosum, qui auriebat. Et ecce uox ad eum facta est dicens: Cur non bibes ex aqua hac? Quam causam habet qui implet? Implet enim solummodo et refudit in uas. Tunc reuersus senex, uocauit presbiterum, et fecit eum sicut prius sanctificare sibi oblationem.

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2.11 De iure sacerdotis a populo

H2.13 V2.13

Lex dicit: Primitie omnis populi Israel sacerdotis erunt, et decime et plura de primogenitis.

10

Item: Victimam pro peccato et delicto comedunt ipsi, et omne uotum in Israel et omnia libamenta ex omnibus, quae offeruntur, sacerdotum erunt, et primitia ciborum uestrorum.

Item: Pectusculum et armum dextrum tuli a filiis Israel iure perpetuo, et sacerdotis erunt.

15

Item: Qui altari deseruiunt de altario participantur.

Item: Non Aron fecit sibi uestimenta, sed Moyses et alii. Quod significat omnia necessaria sacerdotis a principe fieri.

Item: Notandum quod non Aaron ipse fecit tabernaculum, sed populus et artifices consilio Moysi. Significat sacerdotum non esse eclesias construere.

ADHV

20

9 Num. 5:9 11 Ezech. 44:29–30 14 Num. 18:18 16 I Cor. 9:13 19 cf. Exod. 36:8–38

1 presbiterum] presbiter H**DO_{2b}V 1 uenit] ueniens D 2 est senex] *om.* V 2 apparuit] apperuit V 2 est(2)] est in somno O_{2b} 2 uidebat] uidebam V 3 haurientem] aurientem D harientem H* currentem V 4 in uas] *om.* DV 4 Cupiebat] et cupiebat O_{2b}V *interlin.* i. senex O_{2b} 4 et] DV *om.* H** et non O_{2b} 4 nolebat] bibebat O_{2b} 5 bibes] DO_{2b}V biles H** 6 refudit] refundit DO_{2b}V 6 Tunc] tunc ipse DO_{2b}V 8 sacerdotis] sacerdotum V 8 a] ac DV 8 populo] populi V 9 Lex dicit] *om.* DV 9 sacerdotis erunt] erant sacerdotes DV 9 sacerdotis] sacerdotes AD sacerdotum BO 9 erunt] erant ABDOV 11 et...comedunt] medunt (*sic*) V 11 comedunt] *om.* O 11 in] *om.* V 12 offeruntur] offerunt A 12 erunt] erant AB *om.* DHV 13 uestrorum] *om.* BDH 14 Item] item Dominus dicit DH 14 Pectusculum] pecatus D pectus V 14 filii] filii P* 16 Item...participantur] *at end of chap.* DHV 16 altari] altario V 16 participantur] partiuntur A 17 Item] item notandum quia (quod H) DHV 17 Aron] Aaron BO Aaron per (per *om.* H) semet ipse (ipsum V) DHV 17 Moyses] Moysen H 19–20 Item...construere] *this section follows the next* A 19 quod] quia DV 19 populus] *om.* H 19 et artifices] *om.* H 20 eclesias construere] construere aecclias DH construere ecclias V

Item: Non Aaron cedebat hostias nisi paucas, sed populus. Manum tantum ponebat super caput eius. Significat sacerdotes in cibo non laborare.

Item: Non Aron portabat tabernaculum et utensilia eius, sed tantum inuoluebat. Significat ministros fieri cum sacerdotibus.

2.12 De poenis resistentium sacerdoti

H2.14 V2.14

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Lex dicit: Qui superbierit, nolens oboedire imperio sacerdotis, qui in eo tempore ministrat, moriatur homo ille, et auferes malum de Israel.

Item: Si quis contradixerit sacerdoti, moriatur.

HDV

Item: Nemo audeat resistere sacerdotibus, quia ministri Dei sunt.

2.13 De indignis mercantibus sacerdotium et de uendentibus domum Dei

H2.15 V2.15

10

Gregorius Nazanzenus: Quicunque hoc donum studet donatione mercari, dum non officium sed nomen attendit, sacerdotem non esse decernimus. Sicut qui inuitus renuit et quesitus refugit sacris est remouendus altaribus. Sic is, qui ultiro ambit uel inoportunius se ingerit, procul dubio est repellendus. Nam qui sic ad altaria concendit, quid agit, nisi ut crescendo

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¹ cf. Leuit. 4:4 ³ cf. Num. 4:4 ⁶ Deut. 17:12 ⁹ cf. Is. 61:6 ¹² Greg. I, ep. 9.219 CCSL 140A, pp. 783-4

¹ Non Aaron] Aaron non DHV ¹⁻² tantum] tamen H tantum manum V ² ponebat] mittebat O ponebat sacerdos DHV ² eius] hostie DV hostie quod H hosti*** O ² Significat] hoc significat O ² sacerdotes] sacerdotum DHV ² in...non] non esse uictum DHV ³ Aron] Aaron BO Aaron nec filii eius DHV ³ portabat] portabant DHV ³ tabernaculum] tabernacula H ³ tantum] tamen B ³⁻⁴ inuoluebat] immolabant DV inuoluebat quod H ⁴ Significat] significans B hoc significat O ⁵ poenis] poena DH pena V ⁵ resistentium] resistendi DV ⁵ sacerdoti] sacerdotibus H ⁶ dicit] om. DV ⁶ imperio sacerdotis] sacerdotes imperio DV ⁶ in eo] om. D eo V ⁷ ille...malum] om. A ⁷ auferes] aures B* ⁷ malum] *interlin.* P ⁹ quia] qui H* ¹⁰ indignis] indigenis B ¹⁰ et] om. A ¹⁰ de] om. DV ¹⁰ uendentibus] uentibus A ¹² Nazanzenus] om. A Nazareus O Nazozenus V ¹² Quicunque] nam quicumque DV ¹² donum] *interlin.* .i. sacerdotium O ¹³ officium] officium habet A ¹³ attendit] ad te dit A ¹³ sacerdotem] DHV sacerdos ABOP** ¹⁴ Sicut] sicut his DHV ¹⁴ inuitus] inuitatus DV Greg. ¹⁴ et] BDHV *interlin.* O om. P** ¹⁴ sacrif. BDHOV sacraris P** ¹⁴ est] preesse DHOV ¹⁴ remouendus] om. BDHOV ¹⁴ altaribus] altaribus preesse debet B altaribus debet DV ¹⁵ Sic] sic autem A ¹⁵ is] om. A his D ¹⁵ ambit] *interlin.* cupid P ¹⁵ uel] et DV ¹⁵ inoportunius] inoportunis A importunius DV ¹⁵ procul...est] om. DV ¹⁵ est] om. ADHOV ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ repellendus] repellentis A ¹⁶ concendit] consendit A ¹⁶ quid] *interlin.* aliud O ¹⁶ crescendo] *interlin.* in sumptione O

decrescat et ascendendo exterius, interius in profundo discendat?

Lucas in actibus apostolorum: Phetrus ad Simonem magum dicit: Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem; existimasti enim donum Dei pretio mercari.

In templo columbe uendebantur. Quid per columbas nisi spiritus sancti donum significatur? Sed uidentes eos significant, qui pro inpossitione manuum terrena munera accipiunt. 5

2.14 De eo quod donanda pars substantiae omnis mortui sacerdotibus

H2.16 V2.16

Sinodus Hibernensis decreuit: Quia Aron sumebat partem uniuscuiusque oblationis siue principis siue famuli, et sedatum communis de substantia omnis mortui dandum est. 10

2.15 De sedatione commoni

H2.17 V2.17

Sinodus Kartaginensis ait: Sedatum commone si modicum fuerit, respui non debet. Si magnum, accipendum usque pretium uacce. Hoc sedatum aufugit regem et episcopum, cui monachus est, et fratres. 15

Sinodus Hibernensis in hoc sedatum ouem aut pretium eius statuta demensione tribui censuit.

² Act. 8:20 ⁴ Greg. I, *Homil. in euang. 39.2*

¹ decrescat...ascendendo] *om. D* ¹ ascendendo] *interlin.* .i. in gradu O ¹ exterius] *interlin.* .i. corpore O ¹ interius] *interlin.* .i. in anima O ¹ profundo] profundum D ² Phetrus] Petrus ABDHOV ² Simonem] H Simone D ² dicit] *om. H* ² Pecunia] penia B* ³ Dei] *om. D* ⁴ In] Gregorius in H ⁴ nisi] nisi donum DHV ⁵ donum] *om. DHV* ⁵ significatur] significat H ⁵ eos] columbas eos DV eas columbas H ⁷ donanda] danda sit DV danda H ⁷ pars...mortui] omnis pars mortuis (mortui V) DV ⁹ decreuit] decreuit ut substantiae mortui pars detur sacerdotibus DHV ⁹ Quia] quia ait DV ⁹ Aron] Aaron O ¹⁰ oblationis] BDH oblationem P** oblationibus V ¹⁰ famuli] serui DHV ¹⁰⁻¹¹ et...est] *om. DHV* ¹⁰ sedatum] sedationem B ¹¹ dandum] danda B ¹¹ est] *om. B* ¹² sedatione] sedatio V ¹² commoni] commonis P* communionis V ¹³ Kartaginensis] Cartaginensis B Hibernensis DV Cartaginensis (Hibernensis H* ¹³ ait] *om. DV* ¹³ commone] commonis BO communionis DV ¹⁴ Si] et si DV ¹⁴ usque...uacce] sed pretium non excedat DV ¹⁶ Sinodus Hibernensis] quidam enim (autem H) Hibernensium DHV sinodus Hiberniensis P* ¹⁶⁻¹⁷ demensione tribui] DHV *om. P*** ¹⁷ censuit] censuerunt DHV

2.16 De commonione

H2.18 V2.18

Sinodus Hibernensis: Commonionis nomen hoc est: uiaticum habet, id est, uiae custodiam. Custodit enim animam usque dum steterit ante tribunal Christi, cui refert sua, prout geserit, propria. Nec archangelus potest du-
cere ad uitam, usque dum iudicauerit eam Deus, nec Zabulus ad penam
traducere, nisi Dominus damnauerit eam.

5

2.17 De increpatione malorum sacerdotum

H2.19 V2.19

Ezechiel ait: Væ sacerdotibus, qui comedunt peccata populi mei; hoc est siue eorum summentes uictimas et non orantes pro eis, siue comedentes hostias et non corripientes malos.

10

Item Gregorius: Causa ruine populi sacerdotes mali.

Nemo quippe amplius in æclesia nocet, quam qui peruerse agens, nomen et ordinem sanctitatis habet. Delinquentem nam hunc redarguere nullus presumit. Et in exemplum uehementer culpa extenditur, quoniam pro reuerentia ordinis peccator honoratur.

15

2.18 De poenis pessimorum sacerdotum

H2.20 V2.20

Lex dicit: Aaron portauit iniuitatem filiorum Israel.

Et iterum si neglegenter hoc fecerit, morietur, aut si non bono animo hoc fecerit, siue per inuidiam siue per cupiditatem alienarum rerum, ut filii Aron offerentes ignem alienum, aut per diligentiam ciborum et per negle-

20

8 cf. Ezech. 20:28–30 **11** Greg. I, ep. 9.219 CCSL 140A, p. 787 or 11.46 CCSL 140A, p. 943

12 Greg. I, Reg. past. 1.2 **17** Exod. 28:38 **19** cf. Leuit. 10:1–2

2 Hibernensis] DHV eadem ABOP** **2** Commonionis.. .habet] communio dicitur eo quod omnium fidelium in exitu uitae communis est uictus ergo quidam uiaticum nominant DHV **2** Commonionis] commonis O **3** uiae] uitae DHV **4** cui.. .propria] *om.* DV *in marg.* H **4** sua] sua propria H **4** archangelus] bonus angelus DHV **4–5** potest ducere] *om.* DHV **5** usque.. .Deus] *om.* DHV **5** Zabulus] Sabulus AB nequam angelus DV malus angelus H **6** traducere] perducere talem animam ualeat DV producere H **6** nisi.. .eam] nisi prius diuino iudicio censeatur DHV **7** increpatione] increpatio B **7** malorum sacerdotum] sacerdotum malorum DHV **8** ait] *om.* DV **11** Item] *om.* DHV **11** Causa.. .mali] mali *final sentence of this chap. in DHV* **13** nam] namque BDV **13** redarguere nullus] nullus redarguere DV **14** uehementer culpa] culpe uehementer DHV **14** quoniam] quando DV Greg. **17** Lex dicit] *om.* D **17** dicit] dicit ad B **18** hoc(1)] haec B **18** aut] id est DHV **19** cupiditatem] cupiditate B **20** Aron] Aaron B Aaron fecerunt DHV **20** et] aut DHV

gentiam ministerii, ut filii Heli sacerdotis, aut per contentionem principatus, ut Core.

2.19 De eo quod non habent sacerdotes hereditatem, nisi Dominum

H2.21 V2.21

Lex dicit: Non dabis eis hereditatem in Israel; ego enim hereditas eorum.

5

Sed sciendum est quod VI urbes refugii Israel cum suburbanis suis sacerdotum erant.

De ordine sacerdotis contra principem et populum

H2.22 V2.22

HDV

Primo pro se sacerdos offerat, ne eius peccata inficiant populi, quia sacerdotes mali, et reliqua. Deinde pro populo, ut dixit: Portabit iniquitatem, et reliqua.

10

2.20 De superfluis sacerdotum ad æclesias dandis

H2.23 V2.23

Sinodus decreuit, ut sacerdos omne quod superfluum habeat, det in ælesia et, ut quantum æclesiae demserit, tantum æclesia demat de superfluis eius.

2.21 De sacerdotibus, ut non querant pretium ministrii

H2.24 V2.24

15

Hironimus: Sacerdos non querat pretium ministrationis; quia gratis accepit, gratis det.

1 cf. I Sam. 2:12–36 2 cf. Num. 16:23–33 5 Ezech. 44:28 9 cf. Greg. I, ep. 9.219 CCSL 140A, p. 787 or 11.46 CCSL 140A, p. 943 || cf. p. 27 ln. 11 10 Leuit. 5:1 16 Matt. 10:8

1 ministerii] ministri DH 1 per] om. B 1–2 principatus] principatus sui O 2 ut] ut fecit DHV 2 Core] Corae B Choræ DHOV 5 Lex dicit] om. DV 6 sciendum est] scientes DV 6 VI] sex D 6 refugii] refugii cum B refugii in O 6 Israel cum] om. DV 7 erant] sunt V 8 sacerdotis] sacerdotum DV 9 sacerdos] om. H 9 eius] V ei DH** 9 populi] populum D 10 et reliqua(2)] om. D 12 Sinodus] sinodus Hibernalensis DHV 12 in] om. B 13 ut] om. HV 13 quantum] quandum H 13 æclesiae demserit] dempserit ecclesiae DHV 13 æclesiae] eccliam AB 13 tantum æclesia] interlin. O 13 demat] demat interlin. eum O 14 eius] ei AD 15 sacerdotibus] sacerdotibus interlin. quibus dicitur O sacerdote V 15 querant] querat V 16 Hironimus] Hieronimus DHV 16 quia] quia quod B quod (quia H* quod O 16–17 accepit] accipit H

H2.25 V2.25 **2.22 De sacerdotibus, ut non accipient munera iniquorum**

Sinodus difiniuit, ut sacerdos non accipiat munera eius, cuius conscientiam non nouerit. Quantum enim illi hostia non prodest, tantum huic dona iniqui nocent.

Sinodus Feruensis: Dona iniquorum, que reprobantur a Deo, reprobentur a sanctis. 5

Item sinodus: Eorum, qui pauperes premunt, dona a sacerdotibus refutanda.

H2.26 V2.26 **2.23 De eo quod non nocet uictus necesarius et uestimentum, nisi superflua dona recipias**

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Sinodus Romana de oblationibus eorum: Contentus tegmine tantum et alimento, cætera dona iniquorum reproba, que reprobat altissimus, quoniam non sumit lucerna, nisi quo alatur.

H2.27 V2.27 **2.24 De eo quod dona iniquorum a sacerdote recipienda, ut tamen pauperibus erogentur et captiuis**

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Martinus: Mox ad eum Liguntius, diuina expertus beneficia, peruolauit; C etiam argenti libras obtulit, quas uir beatus nec respuit nec recepit, sed

5 cf. Sir. 34:23 || cf. Pat., *Epist.* §8 || cf. p. 10 ln. 2, p. 291 ln. 7, p. 300 ln. 1, p. 313 ln. 15 (app. crit.), *chaps.* 2.24, 2.26, 39.2 7 *Statt. eccl. ant.* 94(69) 11 *Syn. Pat.* §2 14 cf. Pat., *Epist.* §8 || p. 10 ln. 2, p. 291 ln. 7, p. 300 ln. 1, p. 313 ln. 15 (app. crit.), *chaps.* 2.22, 2.26, 39.2 16 Sulpic. Seuer. *Dialog.* 3.14 CSEL 1, p. 212

2 Sinodus] Sinodus Hibernensis DHV 2 difiniuit] decreuit V 2 eius] *om.* V 2 cuius] *interlin.* B quorum V 2–3 conscientiam] conscientia (consecratio V* 3 enim) autem H 4 iniqui nocent] nocent iniqui HV 4 iniqui] iniqui non A iniquorum O 4 nocent] nocet P* 5 Feruensis] Auernens K Hibernensis (Feruensis H* Ferbensis V || cf. p. 11 line 4 (app. crit.) 5 reprobentur] reprobantur BHOV 7 Eorum] Romanorum (eorum H* 7 sacerdotibus] sacerdote B 7–8 refutanda] refutanda sunt B refutantur H refutentur DV 9 uictus] uictus ac uestimentum DV 9 necesarius] *om.* H 9 et] ac H *om.* DV 9 uestimentum] uestimentum necessarius H *om.* DV 11 Contentus] contendus A continent DV 12 dona] *om.* DV 12 reproba, que] *om.* ABDHOV 12 que] *interlin.* P 12 altissimus] altissimus P* 13 non] *om.* D 13 sumit] sumunt B 13 lucerna] lucernę B 13 nisi quo] si quis DV 13 alatur] alantur AB 14 ut] aut V 14–15 tamen pauperibus] pauperibus tantum H pauperibus tam V 16 Martinus] in libris Martini H 16 Liguntius] Licentius DV Licuntius ABH Licontius O 17 C] centum ADV 17 etiam] *om.* DHV 17 quas uir] quattuor V 17 nec (1)] non BDHV

priusquam pondus illud monasterii limen attingeret, redimendis id captiuis deputauit. Et cum ei sugeretur, ut aliquid ab eo in sumtum monasterii seruaretur, dicentes omnibus angustum esse uictum, multis deesse uestimentum, ‘nos’, inquit, ‘æclesia pascat et uestiat’.

2.25 De tempore, quo debent sacerdotes ab æclesia deesse et de penetentia eorum, si ultra defuerint

H2.28 V2.28

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Sinodus Hibernensis decreuit, ut sacerdos una tantum die ab æclesia defuerit. Si duobus, peneteat VII diebus cum pane et aqua. Si autem mortuus ad æclesiam adlatus fuerit, et ille absens, peniteri debet, quia poene reus illius est.

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Item: Si uno dominico defuerit, agat penitentiam XX dierum cum pane et aqua. Si autem duobus aut tribus, submouendus honore gradus sui.

2.26 De eo quod non debet sacerdos existimare dona oblata sua esse, sed æclesie

H2.29 V2.29

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Sinodus dicit: Sacerdotes, quibus ab aliis aliquid, siue cum æclesia, siue sequestratim donatur, quia hoc ille, qui donat, pro redemptione anime, non pro commodo sacerdotis probatur offerre, non quasi suum proprium, sed quasi dimissum æclesie computabunt. Quia iustum est, ut sicut sacer-

¹³ cf. 10 ln. 2, p. 291 ln. 7, p. 300 ln. 1, p. 313 ln. 15 (app. crit.), chaps. 2.22, 2.24, 39.2
¹⁵ Agath. §6

1 redimendis] remediis A 1 id] id est D 2 sugeretur] surgereret DV 3 seruaretur] seruaretur ex A 3 dicentes] om. ABOP 3 uictum] interlin. H om. V 4 uestimentum] after esse DHV 4 nos] uos DV 4 inquit] inquit V 5–6 et...defuerint] om. D 7 Hibernensis] et Esidorus B Hibernensis et Issidorus H 7 decreuit] definiuit DHV 7 una...die] una die tantum DV 8 Si] si enim DV si autem H 8 duobus] duo DV 8 VII] septem DV 8 autem] enim DHV 9 adlatus fuerit] auffuerit D 9 peniteri] pennere V 9 poene] O pene P** 10 illius est] est illius DHV 11 uno] in uno V 11 dominico] dominico ab ecclesia DH die dominico ab ecclesia V 11 XX] biginti D uiginti V 11 dierum] dies DV 12 autem] enim DV 12 duobus] duo annos DV 12 aut tribus] tres DV 13 existimare] estimare AHV 13 dona] dona sibi DHV 15 Sinodus] Sinodus Agathensis DV Sinodus Agatensis H 15 dicit] om. DV 15 Sacerdotes] pontifices DH pontifices uto V 15 quibus] quibus summo sacerdotio constitutis ab extraneis dumtaxat DH 15 ab aliis] donatur DV om. H 15 siue(1)] uel DHV 15 siue(2)] seu B uel H om. V 16 sequestratim] sequestratum (sequentium V) aut dimittitur aut DHV 16 quia hoc] quia enim V 16 hoc] ab O 16 anime] anime sue DHV 17 offerre] fere B 18 quasi] quasi suum proprium sed quasi H om. V 18 æclesie] ecclesie inter facultates DHV aeclesie interlin. inter facultates O 18 computabunt] computabit DV

dos habet quod æclesie dimissum est, ita æclesia habeat quod sacerdoti relinquitur.

Sane quicquid per fideicommissum, aut sacerdotis nomine, aut aecclesiae fortasse dimittitur, cuicunque alii post modum profuturum, id est, inter facultates suas æclesia computare aut retinere non poterit.

DHV

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2.27 De eo quod gradus excelsi non debent curas saeculares habere

H2.30 V2.30

Episcopus, aut prespiter, aut diaconus nequaquam seculares curas adsument, sin aliter, deponantur.

Senodus Calcidonensis decreuit, sanctum concilium difiniuit nullum episcopum, uel monachum, uel prespiterum, aut clericum posesiones sibi conducere aut negutiis secularibus se miscere, sed propter pupillorum curam, aut orfanorum, uel uiduarum, maxime personarum, que indigent adiutorio propter timorem Domini. Si quis enim transierit ecclesie increpationibus subiacebit.

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HDV

3 De diacono

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3.1 De nomine diaconi

H3.1 V3.1

Diaconus grecum, latine diaconus sonat, quod interpretatur minister eo quod altario ministret.

3 Agath. §6 **8** Canon. Apost. §7 **10** Chalced. §3 || cf. p. 46 ln. 18 **17** cf. Isid., Etymol. 7.12.22

1 quod] *interlin.* P **1–2** sacerdoti relinquitor] reliquid sacerdos D reliquid sacerdoti V **3** Sane] sacerdoti sane H** **3** fideicommissum] diecommissum V **3** aut] Agath. **3** aecclesiae] aecclesiae est H** **4** alii] alio H **4** profuturum] pro futuris (pro futurus H* **5** retinere] retine H* **6** gradus] superiores D superiores gradus HV **6** excelsi] om. D **6** curas saeculares] saeculares curas O **8–9** Episcopus..deponantur] om. DHV **8** curas] *interlin.* O **8–9** adsumant] adsumat O*P* **9** deponantur] deponatur O*P* **10** Calcidonensis] Calcedonensis DV **10** difiniuit] *in marg.* H **11** uel prespiterum aut] om. V **11** clericum] clericum aut DV **11** posesiones sibi] posteriores DV *in marg.* H **11** conducere] V conductorit DH** **12** propter] om. DV *in marg.* H **12** curam..orfanorum] om. D **14** enim] hec H **14** ecclesie] DV aecclesiam H** **17** grecum] grece B greco nomine DV **17** latine] quam et latino DV *interlin.* OP **17** diaconus sonat] sonat DHV **18** altario] altario et gradui sacerdotali HV

3.2 De exordio diaconorum in utraque lege

H3.2 V3.2

Diaconorum ordo a tribu Leui accipit exordium. Precipit enim Dominus ad Moysen, ut per ordinationem Aron sacerdotis et filiorum eius rursus Leui tribus in diuini cultus ministerio ordinaretur et consecrarentur Domino pro omnibus primogenitis, et seruirent Deo pro Israel. Ipsi quoque gestarent arcam et tabernaculum omniaque uasa eius, et a XXV annis et supra in tabernaculo seruire mandatum.

In nouo autem primordia eorum in actibus apostolorum ita leguntur: Conuocantes autem XII apostoli multitudinem discipulorum dixerunt: Considerate ex uobis uiros boni testamenti VII plenos · spiritu sancto et sapientia quos constituamus in hanc rem. Nos uero erimus orationi et ministerio sermonis instantes.

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10 S begins

3.3 De ordinatione diaconi

H3.3 V3.3

Sinodus: Cum diaconus ordinatur, solus æpiscopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput eius ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur.

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3.4 De diligentia diaconorum

H3.4 V3.4

Apostolus ait: Similiter diaconos oportet graues esse et pudicos, non bilinguales, non multo uino deditos, non turpi lucrum sectantes, habentes

² Isid., *De off.* 2.8.1 ⁶ Num. 8:24 ⁸ Act. 6:2–4 ¹⁴ *Stat. eccl. ant.* §92 ¹⁸ I Tim. 3:8–10

² Diaconorum] *interlin.* Isidorus O ² tribu Leui] Leui tribu DV ³ per] post DHV ³ Aron] Aaron BDHV ⁴ rursus] rursus uiri H ⁴ cultus] cultus in P** ⁴ ordinaretur] D ordinentur A ordinarentur BP** ^{4–5} consecrarentur] consacrarentur P* consecretur DV ⁵ seruirent] seruiret D seruire V ⁵ Deo] *om.* DV ⁵ pro Israel] pro filiis Israel H ⁵ Ipsi] ipsique H ipse V ⁶ quoque] *om.* DV ⁶ arcum] aram H ⁶ uasa eius] eius uasa B ⁶ eius] eius et que in circuitu tabenaculi erant DV ⁶ et(2)] *om.* DV ⁶ XXV] bicesimo (uicessimo V) quinto DV ⁷ annis] anno DV ⁷ tabernaculo] tabernaculum DV ⁷ mandatum] mandatum est BDHOV ⁸ autem] enim testamento DV ^{8–9} primordia...Conuocantes] *om.* A ⁸ primordia] primordium DV ⁸ leguntur] legitur DV ⁹ autem] sicut D ⁹ XII] duodecim DV ¹⁰ boni testamenti] testamenti boni H ¹⁰ boni] *om.* DV ¹⁰ testamenti] testimoni DV ¹⁰ VII] septem DV ¹¹ rem] rem id est ministrare mensis S ¹⁴ Sinodus] *om.* DV sinodus Carthag. dixit S ¹⁴ Cum diaconus] diaconus cum DHSV ¹⁴ benedicit] benedixit S ¹⁵ ad(2)] *interlin.* P ^{15–16} ministerium] mysterium S ¹⁷ diligentia] diligentia P* ¹⁸ Apostolus ait] *om.* DV ¹⁸ oportet...esse] graues esse oportet DV ¹⁹ turpi] turpia D ¹⁹ lucrum] lucra DV

ministerium fidei in conscientia pura. Et hii primum probentur, et sic ministrent nullum crement habentes.

Essidorus ait: Pudici idem utique, id est, a libidine abstinentes. Non bilingues, scilicet, ne conturbent habentes pacem. Non multo uino deditos, quia ubi æbrietas, ibi libido donatur et furor. Non turpis lucrum sectantes, ne de celesti ministerio lucra terrena sectentur.⁵

3.5 De distantia ministerii sacerdotis et diaconi

H3.5 V3.5

Essidorus: Ipsi clara uoce in modum preconis amonent cunctos, siue in orando, siue in flectendo genua; ipsi etiam audiendi aures habeamus ad Dominum clamant; ipsi quoque euangelizant. Sine ipsis sacerdos nomen habet, officium non habet. Nam sicut in sacerdote consecratio, ita in ministro dispensatio sacramenti est. Illi orare, huic sallere mandauit; ille oblata sanctificat, hic sanctificata dispensat. Ipsi etiam sacerdotibus propter presumptionem non licet de mensa Domini tollere calicem, nisi eis traditus fuerit a diacono.¹⁰

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Et hoc sciendum est, quod leuite a L-mo anno custodes uasorum habebantur in lege. Sic et in nouo aeditui aeclesiarum in senectute sunt, et uenerabiles senes habendi.

³ Isid., *De off.* 2.8.5 ⁸ Isid., *De off.* 2.8.3-4

¹ conscientia] scientia A ² nullum] in illum A ³ Essidorus ait] om. D
³ Essidorus...abstinentes] om. A ³ Essidorus] Esidorus B Isidorus OS ³ Pudici]
diaconi pudici S ³ idem] om. S ³ utique] utique sint DHV ³ id est] DHSV om. P**
⁵ æbrietas] ebrietas est DHV ⁵ donatur] dominatur ABS ⁵ et furor] after sectantes
O ⁵ turpis lucrum] turpilucrum B turpitudinem O ⁵ turpis] turpia DV turpes S
⁵ lucrum] om. A lucra DV ⁶ sectentur] sedentes in marg. separantur O ⁸ Essidorus]
Sinodus A Esidorus B om. DV Isidorus OS ⁹ ipsi] interlin. O ⁹ etiam] etiam ut
DHV etiam interlin. O ⁹ aures] ante aures S ⁹⁻¹⁰ habeamus...clamant] ad dominum
habeamus clamant D ⁹ habeamus] om. AS ¹⁰ euangelizant] euangelizanthii sunt
VII (septem DV) angeli tubis canentes et tubis canentes et VII (septem DV) candelabra
hii VII (septem DV) uoces tonitrorum (tonitru DV) HDV ¹⁰ ipsis] ipsis autem H ipsis
enim DV ¹⁰ sacerdos] sacerdos tantum D ¹¹ habet(1)] habet et DH habent et V
¹¹ habet(2)] habent V ¹² orare] orare id est offerre DHV ¹² sallere] psallere ABOS
¹⁴ tollere calicem] calicem tollere D ¹⁴ calicem] om. A ¹⁶ Et] in D ¹⁶ L-mo]
quinquagesimo DS quagesimo AV ¹⁶ uasorum] sacrorum ABS ¹⁷ nouo] nouo
testamento H ¹⁷ aeditui] editui id est domorum DV

3.6 De uestimento diaconi

H3.6 V3.6

Isidorus: Qui ad altaria albis induiti adsistunt, ut celestem uitam habeant, candidique ad hostias et immaculati accident, mundi scilicet corpore, in-corrupti pudore.

Sinodus: Diaconus tempore oblationis tantum alba ueste. 5

3.7 De subiectione diaconi

H3.7 V3.7

Sinodus: Diaconus ita se prespiteri ministrum nouerit, ut æpiscopi presbiteros honorent.

3.8 De distributione eucharistæ a diacono

H3.8 V3.8

Sinodus: Diaconus prestante prespitero æucharistiam populo, si necessitas 10 cogit, eroget.

3.9 De predicatione diaconi coram prespiteris

H3.9 V3.9

Sinodus: Diaconus in conspectu prespiterorum interrogatus loquatur.

3.10 De diacono non occupante sedem prespiteri

H3.10 V3.10

Sinodus Nicena: Diaconi prespiteris non preferantur neque sedeant in conspectu prespiterorum. 15

2 Isid., *De off. 2.8.4* 5 *Stat. eccl. ant. §60* 7 *Stat. eccl. ant. §57* 10 *Stat. eccl. ant. §58*
13 *Stat. eccl. ant. §61*

2 Isidorus] S om. D Issidorus *interlin.* H Issidorus A Esidorus B Essidorus P* 2 Qui ad] diaconi (diaconi qui HV) circa arcam (aram H) uel DHV 2 induiti] indutis DV 5 Sinodus] sinodus Cartaginensis DHV 5 oblationis tantum] tantum oblationis DH tamen oblationis et lectionis K 5 tantum] om. S 5 uititur] utatur KS 7 Diaconus] DHSV diaconi P** 7 prespiteri] presbiteri ut episcopi DV presbyteri uel episcopi S 7 nouerit] ABOS nouerint P** 7–8 ut..honorent] om. DSV 7 æpiscopi] episcopum B episcopos O 7–8 presbiteros] presbiteri O 8 honorent] honoret H 9 diacono] *interlin.* coram prespiteris O 10 Sinodus] *interlin.* H *interlin.* coram prespiteris O om. V 10 Diaconus] om. D 10 prestante] presente A 11 cogit] cogat AS coget BO cogat iussu DHV 12 prespiteris] presbitero DV 13 Sinodus] om. DV *interlin.* H 13 in conspectu] inconuenti D inuentum H 15 Sinodus] om. D 15 Nicena] om. D Necena P* 15 preferantur] preferant A 15–16 conspectu] BHKO consessu (conspectu P* conspectu *interlin.* uel in consensu O

4 De subdiacono

H4.1 V4.1

4.1 De nomine subdiaconi

Apud Grecos apodiaconos uocitatur; Latine autem subdiaconus, id est, subminister, eo quod oboediunt subdiaconi officiis leuitarum.

4.2 De ministerio subdiaconorum

H4.2 V4.2

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Issidorus: Isti oblationes in templo Dei suscipiunt a populis, isti uasa corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi diacono ad altaria offerunt. De quibus placuit patribus, ut qui ad sacra ministeria sunt ordinati, ab omni carnali inmunditia sint liberi, iuxta quod illis profeta dicit: Mundamini, qui fertis uasa Domini.

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4.3 De ordinatione subdiaconi

H4.3 V4.3

15

Sinodus: Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus inpositionem non accipit, patenam de manu episcopi accipiat uacuam et calicem uacuum. De manu uero archidiaconi accipiat orceulum cum aqua manile, id est, scaphum cum aqua et manumtergium.

³ Isid., *De off.* 2.10.1 ⁶ Isid., *De off.* 2.10.2 ⁹ Is. 52:11 ¹² *Stat. eccl. ant.* §93

³ Apud] Isidorus apud S ³ apodiaconos] ypodiaconus DS epodiaconus H yppodiaconus V ³ uocitatur..autem] uocitatur uel enim H ³ uocitatur..subdiaconus] *om.* DV ³ Latine autem] uel A ³ Latine] in Latina B ⁴ subminister] subminister dicitur DH ⁴ subdiaconi] diaconi DV ⁶ Issidorus] Esidorus B *om.* D Isidorus S *interlin.* H Essidorus AP* ⁶ Dei] Domini DHV ⁷ sanguinis] sanguinis Domini nostri S ⁷ Iesu] *om.* DV ⁷ diacono] diaconus D diaconis S ⁷ ad] *om.* D ab V ⁷ altaria] altarium D alterum V ⁸ ministeria] mysteria A ⁹ iuxta] iusta D ⁹ quod] que D ⁹ dicit] dicente iubeatur DH ait S ¹⁰ uasa] iussa B* ¹² Sinodus] *om.* D sinodus Kartaginensis S ¹³ patenam] pateram DV paenam (patnam H* ¹⁴ uero] *om.* B ¹⁴ accipiat] accipit AP* ¹⁴ orceulum] urcelum BD ortiolum H urceolum S orceoleum V ¹⁴ cum..manile] et aquiminilem B ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ aqua..manumtergium] aqua ac (*om.* H) magisterium (manutergium D *om.* H) et aquimanilem (aquimanile D) id est scaphum cum aqua (et manutergium H) VDH ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ sciphum] *interlin.* B ¹⁵ cum aqua] *om.* A ¹⁵ manumtergium] manutergium AS

4.4 De exordio subdiaconorum in utraque lege

H4.4 V4.4

Subdiaconi in Hestra inueniuntur appellanturque ibi Nazareni, id est, in humilitate seruientes Deo. Ex eorum ordine Nathanael fuit, qui in aeuan-gelio diuina proditione commonitus saluatorem meruit confiteri, protestante Domino: Ecce uir Israelita, in quo dolus non est.

5

5 De lectoribus

H5.1 V5.1

5.1 De exordio lectorum

Lectores qui uerbum Dei predictant, quibus dicitur: Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta uocem tuam. Hi initium sumserunt a profetis et lege, qui recitabant diuinos libros.

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5.2 De ordinatione lectoris

H5.2 V5.2

Sinodus Romana: Lector cum ordinatur, facit æpiscopus uerbum de eo ad plebem, indicans eius fidem, ac uitam, ac ingenium. Post haec spectante plebe tradat ei et codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: Accipe et esto uerbi Dei reuelator; habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleueris officium, partem cum hiis, qui ministrauerunt uerbum Dei.

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² Isid., *De off.* 2.10.1 ⁵ Ioh. 1:47 ⁸ Isid., *De off.* 2.11.1 ⁸ Is. 58:1 ¹² *Stat. eccl. ant.* §96

² Subdiaconi] Isidorus subdiaconi S ² in Hestra inueniuntur] inueniuntur in Esdra (Hestra H Hesdra V) DHV ² Hestra] Esdra ADS ² appellanturque] et appellantur que H et appellantur DV ² Nazareni] Nazarei ABHS Natinnei D ²⁻³ in...Deo] humilitate Deo seruientes DV ³ Deo] Domino S ³ Nathanael] Nathanael D ³ in] in eorum V *interlin.* P ⁴ commonitus] communicus A ⁴ saluatorem] saluatore D ⁴ confiteri] profiteri D ⁵ uir] uere D ⁵ Israelita] Israhelita H ⁶ lectoribus] lectore V ⁸ Lectores] lectores sunt DV ⁸ qui] qui alegendo *interlin.* dicuntur H ⁸⁻⁹ quasi...tuam] et reliqua DH *om.* V ⁹ qui] qui in populo Dei DV ¹² Sinodus Romana] sinodus B *om.* D ¹² cum] com P* ¹² æpiscopus...eo] uerbum de eo episcopus DV ¹³ eius fidem] eiusdem*** m O ¹³ ac(2)] et B ¹³ haec] hoc O ¹⁴ et(1)] *om.* DV ¹⁴ codicem] codicem diuinorum apicum DHV ¹⁴ Accipe] *interlin.* hunc librum O ¹⁵ reuelator] reuelatur A relator V ¹⁵ habiturus] *after* officium S ¹⁵ impleueris] impleueris hoc S impleueris *interlin.* hoc O ¹⁶ ministrauerunt..Dei] uerbum Dei predicauerunt DHV ¹⁶ Dei] Domini A Dei habebis O

5.3 De eo qui eligendus est in lectore

H5.3 V5.3

Isidorus: Qui autem ad eiusmodi prouehitur gradum, iste erit doctrina et libris inbutus sensuumque ac uerborum scientia ornatus ita, ut in distinctionibus sententiarum intellegat, ubi firmatur iunctura, ubi adhuc pendat oratio, ubi sententia extrema concludatur, hoc est, discernens genera pronuntiationis, et his similia.

5

5.4 De uoce lectorum

H5.4 V5.4

Idem ait: Porro uox lectorum semplex esse debet et clara ad omne pronuntiationis genus accommodata, plena suco uirili, agrestem et rusticum effugiens sonum, non humilis, non adeo sublimis, non fracta, non tenera nihilque femineum sonans.

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6 De exorcista

H6.1 V6.1

6.1 De exordio exorcistarum

Hic gradus ab Hestra sumpsit initium, qui in templo Salomonis iussit di-

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² Isid., *De off.* 2.11.2 ⁸ Isid., *De off.* 2.11.5 ¹⁴ Isid., *De off.* 2.13.1, 3

¹ in lectore] *om.* H lector O ² Isidorus] S *om.* BV Issidorus HO Essidorus P*
² autem...eiusmodi] huiusmodi DHV ² eiusmodi] huiusmodi O ² prouehitur] prouehitur ad DHV ² erit] erit in DV ² et] in AS ³ inbutus] *interlin.* id docibilis P ³ sensuum] BHV sensum P** sensu AOS ³ que] *om.* DV ³ ac] DV *om.* AB *interlin.* OP** ³ in] *om.* DV ³⁻⁴ distinctionibus] distinctionibus P** ⁴ firmatur] finiatur S ⁵ extrema] extrema P* ⁵ concludatur] claudatur V ⁵⁻⁶ hoc...pronuntiationis] HDV *om.* ABOSP** ⁵ genera] genus DV ⁷ lectorum] lectoris AS ⁸ Idem ait] Ysidorus DV Essidorus H ⁸ uox lectorum] lectoris uox AS ⁸ lectorum] lectoris ADHSV ⁸ esse debet] est A *om.* D erit HSV ⁸ esse] sit B ⁸ ad omne] BDHSV *om.* AP** ⁹ suco] suno A sono H ⁹ et] *om.* DV *interlin.* H ⁹ rusticum] rusticum DHV ¹⁰ non(3)] nec V ¹² exorcista] *in marg.* *** greca in latina adiurantes siue increpantes uocantur inuocant *** erguminos super eos qui habent spiritum inmundum nomen Domini Ihu Xpi *** ntes per eum ut egrediatur O ¹³ exordio] exordio P* ¹³ exorcistarum] exorcistare B exorciste V ¹⁴ Hic] Essidorus hic A Isidorus hic S ¹⁴ Hestra] Extra A Hesdra S Esara V ¹⁴ Salomonis] *om.* S Salomonis V ¹⁵ actores] auctores AS ¹⁵ Hestras] Estras A Hestra B Hesdras S Hes V ¹⁵ nunc] *om.* B nunc in V ^{15-38.1} aeclesia] aeclesie P*

sia Dei exorcistas nominat. Quomodo enim actor prudens et bonus scit quid sit domini sui census, et omnis substantię modos erigit, sic exorcista redegit in sua diligentia totius regni Dei secreta, ut memoriae mandat de sacramentis.

6.2 De ordinatione et ministerio exorciste

H6.2 V6.2

5

Sinodus Romana: Exorcista cum ordinatur accipit de manu æpiscopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: Accipe, et commenda, et habeto potestatem inponendi manus super energuminum, siue borbizatum, siue caticumum.

7 De ostiario

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7.1 De exordio eorum in lege

H7.1 V7.1

Ostiari sunt, qui in ueteri testamento ianitores templi uocabantur, qui preerant portis Hierusalem quique ordinati per uices suas, omnia interiora templi siue exteriora custodiebant.

6 *Stat. eccl. ant.* §95 12 Isid., *De off.* 2.15 [14].1

1 Dei] Domini AS 1 nominat] nominat id est orationes deseruientes DHV 1 actor] auctor S 1 prudens et bonus] bonus et prudens B 1 scit] om. D 2 quid] om. DHV 2 domini] domi H 2 modos] modos uel A 2 erexit] egerit A regit DHV erigit S 3 redegit] regit DV *interlin.* id inclinat P redigit S 3 Dei] Domini BO uel Domini DHV 3 memoriae] S memoria P** 6 Sinodus Romana] om. DV *interlin.* H sinodus Kartaginensis S 6 Exorcista...accipit] hi cum ordinantur accipiunt DHV 7 exorcismi] *interlin.* i. increpationes O 8 commenda] commenda *interlin.* memoriæ P 8 habeto] habe BDV 8 energuminum] B inergominum AH inerguminum O energominum S energuminos (inergomino P* 9 borbizatum] baptizatos DV 9 siue...caticumum] om. A 9 caticumum] cathecuminos DV caticumum H catacomum P* 11 eorum] ostiariorum DV 12 Ostiari] Emissarius hostiari ADV hostiarii H Isidorus ostiarii S 12 qui(1)] om. H 12 ueteri] uetera A 12 testamento] om. A 13 preerant] ABHSV preherant D preerant in O preperant P** 13 Hierusalem] Hisrael A 14 templi...exteriora] *interlin.* O 14 siue] uel V

7.2 De ministerio eorum in nouo

H7.2 V7.2

Hii denique inter sanctum et iniquum discernentes. Eos tantum in aeclesia recipiunt, qui sunt fideles. Habent enim potestatem bonos recipiendi et reiciendi indignos. Per hos autem intramus in ecclesiam.

HDV

7.3 De ordinatione ostiarii

H7.3 V7.3

5

Sinodus Romana: Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conuersari, ad sugestionem archidiaconi tradat ei æpiscopus claves æclesie de altari, dicens: Sic age quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, que istis clauibus recluduntur.

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8 De recapitulatione VII graduum

H8.1 V8.1

Ostiarius fuit quando aperuit ostia inferni. Exorcista quando eiecit VII demonia de Maria Magdalena. Lector quando aperuit librum Essaiæ. Subdiaconus quando fecit uinum de aqua in Cana Galileae. Diaconus quando lauit pedes discipulorum. Sacerdos quando accipit panem ac fregit et benedixit. Episcopus fuit quando eleuauit manus suas ad celum et benedixit apostolos suos.

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² Isid., *De off. 2.14.1* ⁶ *Stat. eccl. ant.* §97 ¹³ cf. *Luc. 8:2* ¹⁴ cf. *Luc. 4:17* ¹⁵ cf. *Ioh. 2:8-9* || cf. *Ioh. 13:5* ¹⁶ cf. *Matt. 26:26* ¹⁷ cf. *Luc. 24:50*

¹ eorum] horum DV ¹ nouo] nouo testamento H ² Hii] Isidorus hi S ³ enim] *om.* DV ⁴ reiciendi] reieciendi (reeiecienti H*) ⁴ autem] enim DV ⁶ Sinodus Romana] *om.* DHV sinodus Kartaginensis S ⁷ Dei] Domini AS ⁷ sugestionem] sugessionem B ⁹ Deo rationem] Deo ratione A ¹¹ VII] septem DV ¹² adfuit] fuit DH ¹³ aperuit] aperuit et percussit DHV ¹³ inferni] inferni captiuam captiuitatem reducens H ¹³ Exorcista] exorcista fuit DHV ¹³ VII] septem DSV ¹⁴ Lector] lector fuit DHV ¹⁴ aperuit...Essaiæ] librum Esaie (Issiae H) aperuit DHV ¹⁴ librum] libellum B ¹⁴ Essaiæ] Esaiae AB Isaię O ¹⁵ Subdiaconus] subdiaconus fuit DHV ¹⁵ Cana] Chana V ¹⁵ Diaconus] diaconus fuit DHV ¹⁶ lauit] lauauit H ¹⁶ discipulorum] discipulorum suorum DHV ¹⁶ Sacerdos] sacerdos fuit DHV ¹⁶⁻¹⁷ ac...et] *om.* H et V ¹⁷ ad celum] *om.* DHV ¹⁸ apostolos] apostolis ABS ¹⁸ suos] *om.* AS

8.2 De distantia graduum

H8.2 V8.2

Episcopum decet iudicare, et interpretari, et consecrare, et consummare, et ordinare, et bapbtizare, et offerre. Sacerdotem autem oportet offerre, et benedicere, et bene praesesse, predicare, et bapbtizare. Leuitam, id ministrum, oportet ministrare ad altare, et bapbtizare, et commonicare. Subdiaconum decet ministrare aquam altari diacono et dehonestare altare. Exorcistam oportet abiecere demones et dicere his qui commonicant, ut requirant aquam ministerii effundere. Lectorem oportet legere ei, qui predicit, et lectiones decantare, et benedicere panes et fructus nouos. Ostiarium percutere cimbala, aperire aeclesiam, et sacrarium, et codicem, ex quo praedicatur aut legitur.

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9 De acolito et salmista et clero

H9.1 V9.1

9.1 De ordinatione acoliti

Sinodus Romana: Accolitus cum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem docetur, qualiter se in officio suo agere debeat, sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cera, ut sciat se ad accendenda aeclesie luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et orceulum uacuum ad sugerendum uinum in eucharistiam corporis Christi.

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¹⁴ Stat. eccl. ant. §94

¹ De...graduum] as Bk heading in O ² iudicare] indicare H ³ bapbtizare et offerre] offerre et baptizare DHV ³ autem] om. DHV ³ et(1)] om. V ⁴ et(2)] om. V ⁵ et(2)] om. V ⁶ diacono] interlin. et dicere his qui non communicant recedere O ⁷ Exorcistam] exorcista D ⁷ demones] demonia D ⁸⁻⁹ legere...predicat] legere in ecclesia DHV interlin. O ⁹ et(1)] om. H ⁹⁻¹⁰ Ostiarium] ostiarium decet DV hostiarium oportet H ¹⁰ cimbala] clocos DV interlin. uel clocos O ¹⁰ aperire] et aperire DV ¹⁰ sacrarium] sacrarium custodire H sararium P* ¹⁰ codicem] codicem tradat S ¹⁰ ex] om. DHV ¹² salmista] ¹² et clero] om. HV ¹³ ordinatione acoliti] acoliti ordinatione DV interlin. accensor luminum O ¹⁴ Sinodus Romana] om. DV interlin. H sinodus Kartaginensis S ¹⁴ Romana] om. O ¹⁴ Accolitus] acolitus A acolitus accensor luminarium his (est is H) DHV acolitus accensor luminum K ¹⁵ se] om. DV ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ ceroferarium] Stat. eccl. ant. §94 trisarium AH triforium B trisorium DV trisorium interlin. .i. cerisor O ceresorarium P** cereferarium S ¹⁶ cera] cereis DV ¹⁶ se ad] om. DV interlin. H ¹⁶ accendenda] adcidenda A accendere V ¹⁶ luminaria] luminaria ei qui ministerio DV ¹⁷ orceulum] urceum D orcielum H ¹⁸ Christi] in marg. id ordinatiī P

9.2 De psalmiste exordio et uoce et ussu

H10 V9.2

Isidorus: Psalmistarum exordium Dauid siue Assaph extiterunt. Mortuo autem Assaph, filii eius in hunc ordinem subrogati sunt a Dauid, erantque psalmiste per successionem generis, sicut ordo sacerdotalis. Ex hoc uetere more æclesia sumsit exemplum nutriendi psalmistarum, quorum cantibus ad affectum Dei mentes audientium excitantur. Vox autem eius non aspera, nec rauca uel disonans, sed canora erit, suauis, liquida atque acuta, habens sonum et melodiam sanctae religioni congruentem, neque musica uel theatrali arte redoleat, sed que conpunctionem magis audientibus faciat.

5

10

De ordinatione psalmistæ

o

Hic ordinatur sine iussione episcopi sed sola prespiteri sententia, dicente sibi: Vide, ut quod ore cantas corde credas, et quod corde credis operibus probes.

Psalimsta grece, cantator latina; psalmus canticum. Sed psalmus diuinus, can-
ticum humanum.

15

HDV

² Isid., *De off. 2.12.1, 2* ¹² *Stat. eccl. ant.* §98

¹ De...ussu] *this chap. heading is numbered as a new Bk heading in H* ¹ psalmiste] psalmistarum DV ¹ ussu] usu et nomine DHV ² Isidorus] S Esidorus B om. DV *interlin.* H Esidorus AP* ² exordium] auctores DHV ² Assaph] Asaph H Asaph ABOSV ³ autem] enim DV ³ Assaph] Asaph ABDOSV Assaf H ³ in] ad DHV ³ hunc] hanc HV ³ ordinem] ordinatione H ordinationem V ³ subrogati...Dauid] a Dauid subrogati sunt DHV ⁴ sicut] sic B ⁴ ueteri ADHSV ⁵ psalmistarum] psalmistas ABDHSV ⁶ Dei] Domini AS ⁶ autem] om. D enim V ⁶ eius] eorum O ⁷ nec] uel DHV ⁷ disonans] *interlin.* i.e. culpabilis O ⁷ canora] clara S conora B ⁷ liquida] licida D lucida HV ⁸ melodiam] medoliam A ⁸ religioni] religionis D ⁸ congruentem] congruem A *interlin.* abtantem P ⁹ theatrali] theathraeli H ⁹ redoleat] *interlin.* id non sonat P *interlin.* i.e. floreat O ⁹ conpunctionem] conpunctionem cordis DHV ¹² Hic...sola] sinodus (*om.* V) Kartaginensis (*om.* V) psalmista (*om.* V) id (*om.* DHV) est (*om.* DHV) cantator (*om.* DH cantor S psalmista V) potest absentiam (*absentia* HSOV) episcopi sola iussione (iussione presbiteri officium suspicere cantandi dicente presbitero O) DHSOV ¹² sententia] officium suspicere cantandi DHOSV ¹² dicente] dicens AB ¹³ sibi] presbitero DHOSV ¹³⁻¹⁴ Vide...probes] *in margin* O ¹³ quod (1)] que DV ¹³ corde credas] corde credas A credas corde B ¹³⁻¹⁴ et quod...probes] et reliqua A et quod credas operibus impleas S ¹³ et quod] et que DV quod O ¹³⁻¹⁴ credis...probes] et reliqua B ¹⁴ probes] impleas OV ¹⁵ cantator] cantatur H** cantor DV

De clero

HV

H 11 v10

De nomine clericorum

DHV

H 11.1 v10.1

Clerici, qui seruiunt Christi aecclesie, interpretatur primum uocabulum suum ex nominis distinctione per latinitatem esse. Quod dicitur enim clerici, latine sors Dei appellatur. Propterea uocantur clericorum, uel eo quod de sorte Domini sunt, uel quod Dominus ipse sors, id pars clericorum. Quod enim ipse Domini pars est; uel Dominum habeat partem talem se exhibere debet, ut possideat Dominum, et ipse a Domino possideatur.

5

Essidorus: Proinde ergo clericos uocari solent, aut eo quod in sorte hereditatis Domini dentur, uel pro eo quod ipse Dominus sors illorum, loquente Domino: Ego hereditas illorum.

DHV

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H 11.2 v10.2

De eo quod omnes, qui habent gradus ecclesiasticos clericorum nominantur

15

Itaque omnes, qui aecclesie ministerii gradibus ordinati sunt, generaliter clericorum nominantur.

H 11.3 v10.3

De eo quod debent clericorum apud abbatem, non apud seculares iudicari

DHV

Sinodus Laudacensis: Si quis clericus aduersus clericum habet negotium, non deferat aepiscopum proprium et ad secularia percurrat iudicia, sed prius actio uentiletur apud aepiscopum proprium; uel certe consilio eiusdem aepiscopi, apud alios, quos utreque partes uoluerint, iudicium continebunt. Si quis autem preter hoc fecerit, canonice correctionibus subiacebit.

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³ cf. Isid., *Etymol.* 7.12.1–2 ⁵ cf. Num. 18:20 ⁹ cf. Isid., *Etymol.* 7.12.1–2 ¹⁰ Ezech. 44:28
¹⁴ Isid., *De off.* 2.1.1 ¹⁷ Chalced. §9

³ seruiunt] seruit H ⁴ nominis] non inis H ⁴ per latinitatem] H prolata nitatur D**V ⁴ Quod dicitur] H predicitur D**V ⁴ enim] H si enim D**V ⁴ clerici] *χλεπος* H ⁵ uocantur] uocatur H* uocandi V ⁵ clericorum] cleri (clericorum H* ⁵ eo quod] quia V ⁶ Quod] quia V ⁶ enim] autem H ⁷ uel] HV id D** ⁸ a] ad D**V ⁸ Domino] Domine D**V ⁸ possideatur] possedatur H ⁹ Essidorus] Ysidorus D Hysidorus V ⁹ uocari] uocaris D ⁹ solent] *interlin.* H ¹⁰ pro eo] *om.* H ¹⁰ illorum] illorum est H ¹⁴ aecclesie] ecclesiaestici DV ¹⁷ Sinodus Laudacensis] *om.* Θ ¹⁷ Laudacensis] Laudacensis DV ¹⁷ clericum] alium Θ ¹⁷ habet] habens Θ ^{17–18} deferat] desiderat Θ ¹⁸ secularia...iudicia] alia iudicia currit nisi ex consensu episcopi anathema sit Θ ¹⁹ consilio] concilio DV ¹⁹ alios] Chalced. ²⁰ uoluerint] uoluerit H* ²⁰ autem] enim DV

De causa clericorum contra episcopum

HDV

H11.4 V10.4

Eadem sinodus: Quodsi clericus habet causam aduersus alterum clericum, apud episcopum proprium iudicetur. Si autem aduersus proprium episcopum, apud sinodus prouincie iudicetur.

VDH

H11.5 V10.5

De eo quod clerici in conuiuiis fieri non debent

5

Sinodus Anthiocena: Quod non oportet Christianos euntes ad nuptias, plaudere uel saltare, sed uenerabiliter cenare uel prandere; sicut decet Christianos.

Item eadem sinodus: Quod non oportet sacerdotes uel clericos quibuscumque spectaculis, in cenis aut nuptiis interesse; sed antequam ingrediantur thimelici, exurgere eos conuenit atque inde discedere.

10

H11.6 V10.6

De clericis uel episcopis habentibus causam contra metropolitanum aepiscopum

15

Sinodus Laudacensis: Quodsi aduersus eiusdem prouincie metropolitanum aepiscopum aepiscopus uel clericus habet querellam, petat primatem diocesseos, aut sedem regie urbis Constantinopolitane, et aput ipsum iudicentur.

H11.7 V10.7

De uoce moderanda clericorum

Bassilius uocis mensuram definiuit audiendi modus. Si ergo breuior fuerit et pre-sior uox, quam res poscit, prope est, ut murmur potius uel susurratio uideatur, quam sermo. Si uero maior sit, quam res requirit, cum possit audire ille, cui lo-quimur, etiam si leuius loquamur, hec aetiam non erit uox, sed clamor, quod est motabile.

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² Chalced. §9 ⁶ Laodicen. §53 ⁸ Laodicen. §54 ¹³ Chalced. §9 || cf. p. 114 ln. 16 ¹⁷ Basil., Asceticon (tr. Rufin.) PL 103:534

² Eadem] om. Θ ² Quodsi] si Θ ² alterum...apud] om. H ³ iudicetur...episcopum] om. H ³ aduersus...episcopum] episcopum aut principem Θ ⁶ Anthiocena] (sic) D Antioensis H ⁶ Quod...Christianos] om. H ¹¹ clericis] clericu DV ¹¹ episcopis] episcopo DV ¹¹ habentibus] habente DV ¹³ Laudacensis] Laudocensis DV ¹⁵ regie] V rege D regine { regni H* ¹⁵ et] adeat et DV ¹⁶ clericorum] clericu DV ¹⁷ Bassilius] Basilius DV ²⁰ si] DV siue H** ²⁰ hec] hoc DV

H11.8 V10.8 De clericis non retinentis in locis suis et non ita maiores

Sinodus Nicena: Non retinendi sunt clerici in propriis aecclesis si periculum, uel persecutio, uel inquisitio melioris regule eos compellat. Maiores uero gradus non oportet proprias deserere aecclesias, sed omnem necessitatem inponi illius.

10 De multimodis causis clericorum

H11.9 V10.9

5

Clericus professionem suam etiam habitu et accessu probet. Nec calcibus, nec calciamentis decorem querat.

Clericus cum extraneis mulieribus non habitet.

Clericus per plateas et andronas non nisi certa et maxima sui officii necessitate ambulet.

10

Clericus uictum et uestimentum sibi artifitio siue agricultura absque officii sui dumtaxat detimento preparet.

Clericus, qui non pro emendo aliquid in mundanis uel in foro deambulat, ab offitio suo degradetur.

Clericus inuidens fratrum profectibus, donec in hoc uitio est, degradetur.

15

Clericus scurilis et uerbis turpibus iocularis degradetur.

Clericus inter temptationes officio suo incubans, gradibus sublimandus.

1 cf. p. 466 ln. 1 6 Stat. eccl. ant. §26 8 Stat. eccl. ant. §27 9 Stat. eccl. ant. §28 11 Stat. eccl. ant. §29 13 Stat. eccl. ant. §34 15 Stat. eccl. ant. §42 17 Stat. eccl. ant. §71

1 De...maiores] see p. 466 ln. 1 for this chap. in Hib.A 1 retinentis] (sic) H 1 maiores] propriis ecclesiis D 2 uel] om. V 4 proprias] propriam DV 4 aecclesias] ecclesiam DV 4 inponi illius] illius imponi DV 5 De...clericorum] de multis obseruationibus clericorum DV De multis modis obseruandis clericorum H as chap. heading in DH 5 clericorum] interlin. et obseruationibus O 6 Clericus] Sinodus Cartaginensis clericus DHV 6 etiam] etiam in AS 6 et] erat A 6 accessu] cessu A in cessu DSV 6 Nec calcibus] om. DH nec uestibus S 7 querat] om. D 8 extraneis] interlin. .i. nisi cum consubrinis O 9 andronas] antropas H* 9 non nisi] DHV om. ABOSP** 9 sui officii] sine sui B officii sui DHV 9-10 necessitate ambulet] om. D 9-10 necessitate] necessitate non B necessitate interlin. non O 11-12 Clericus...sui] om. D 11 et] om. H 11 siue] uel D 13 in mundanis] innundinis ADV inmundinis H* innundanis S 13 deambulat] ambulat DV ambulet H deambulet ABOP* 15 fratrum] ABDHOSV fratraris P** 17 sublimandus] sublemandus (sublemando*) degradetur V

Clericus inter epulas cantans, fidem non aedificans, sed auribus tantum proruens, excommonis sit.

Clericus, qui indictum iejunium rumpit absque ineuitabili necessitate, uilior habendus est.

Clericus hereticorum et scismaticorum tam conuiuia quam solempnitates æqualiter uitet. 5

Clericus, quamuis eruditus uerbo Dei, uictum sibi ex artifitio suo querat.

Clericus, qui æpiscopi si distinctionem circa se iniustum putat, recurrat ad sinodum.

Clericus non conceditur mortem alicuius poscere. Et concesas a Deo potestates ad uindictam malorum etiam post baptismum non debemus reprehendere, ne Domini a disciplina auertere, aut contra auctoritatem Domini uenire uideamur. His autem potestatibus omnia gesta in ratione reddenda seruabuntur. Dum autem legum in improbos auctoritas exercetur, dicator mortis eorum erit immunis. 10
15

Clerici inergumini degradentur.

Clericus frequentandi extraneas mulieres non habeat potestatem, sed cum matre uel thia, filia, sorore, nepte tantum uiuat; de quibus omnibus nefas aliquid, quam quod natura constituit, suspicari.

Clericus qui, absque corpusculi sui inequalitye uigilis, deest stipendio priuetur.

20 HDV

1 Stat. eccl. ant. §75 || cf. p. 438 ln. 12 **3** Stat. eccl. ant. §76 **5** Stat. eccl. ant. §80 **7** Stat. eccl. ant. §79 **8** Stat. eccl. ant. §88 **10** Innoc. ad Exsuper., ep. 6.8 **14** Innoc. ad Exsuper., ep. 6.11 **17** Agath. §10

1 cantans] dictans DV decantans H **1** fidem] fidem utique AHS **2** proruens] B promens A placens DHV proriens *interlin.* id durificans P** **2** excommonis] excommunicandus DV excommunicis S **4** habendus] habentus A habendi V **4** est] *om.* DHV **5** et scismaticorum] *om.* A **5** solempnites] sodalites H **6** uitet] uitat⟨ uiuat B* uidetur D **7** artifitio] oficio A **8** si] *om.* ADHSV **8** distinctionem] distinctionem esse A **10** conceditur] confeditur B permitat D permititur HV **11–12** reprehendere] repetere⟨ reprehendere H* **12** ne] nec H **12** Domini(1)] dum S **12** a] aut⟨ a H* aut SV **12** disciplina] disciplinam ABDSV **12** aut] DBHSV a OP* **13** His] in his O **13** potestatibus] *interlin.* HO *om.* DV **14** autem] enim DV **14** improbos] *interlin.* i.e. in reos O **14** dicator] dictator DV *interlin.* clericus H **15** immunis] immunis *interlin.* innocens O immonis P* **16** inergumini] inergomini P** **17** Clericus] clerici ABHS **17** frequentandi..mulieres] mulieres extraneas frequentandi A **17** extraneas] extraneis⟨ extraneas P* **17** mulieres] mulieribus⟨ mulieres P* **17** habeat] habeant ABHS **18** thia] tia A *interlin.* i.e. soror matris AO **18** sorore] sororis H **18** uiuat] uiuant AS **18** nefas] nefas est ABHOSV **19** quam quod] quam H quod V **19** natura] naturam H **19** constituit] construit V **19** suspicari] suspicari *interlin.* non possit P **20** Clericus...stipendio] *in margin* O **20** sui] *om.* H

Clericus maledicus, maxime in sacerdotibus, cogatur ad postolandam ueniam. Si noluerit, degradetur, et numquam ad officium usque satisfactionem reuocetur.

Clericus inter temptationes ab officio suo declinans uel negligentius agens, ab officio suo remouendus est. 5

Clericus iurans excomonicandus est.

Clericus non comam nutriet, nec barbam radat.

Clericus propriam aeclesiam non relinquat.

Clericus ussuras non accipiat, et turpia lucra non sectetur. Si quis inuentus fuerit aliquid tale excogitans, abieciatur a clero. 10

Clerici, quos conuenerit per discordiam aliquam, et adprobatum fuerit unum ex his prouocasse hostem ad interficiendum uel iniuriam faciendam, homicidam magis congruum nuncupari, quam clericum, et ab omnibus rectis habeatur alienus.

Clericum non oportet ussuras accipere, quia mansionem celestem non possedebit, quia peconiam suam dedit ad usuram. 15

De eo quod omnes clerici non debent secularia negotia dispensare

HDV

H11.10**V10.10**

Sinodus Calcidonensis: Peruenit ad sanctam sinodum quod quidam, qui in clero uidentur affecti, propter lucra turpia conductores alienarum possessionum fiunt et secularia negotia sub cura summa sui suscipiunt, Dei quidem ministerium paruipendentes, ad secularium uero disurrentes domus propter auaritiam patrimoniorum 20

¹ Stat. eccl. ant. §44 ⁴ Stat. eccl. ant. §72 ⁶ Stat. eccl. ant. §74 ⁷ Stat. eccl. ant. §25
⁹ Nicaea §17 ¹¹ Syn. episc. §31 ¹⁸ Chalced. §3 || cf. p. 31 ln. 10

² et] om. DV ² usque] usque ad OS ⁴ suo] om. A ⁴ declinans] declinari A ⁴ uel] om. H ⁵ est] om. DV ⁷ nutrit] nutriat ABHV ⁷ radat] sed radat BHV ⁹ accipiat] recipiat V ⁹ et] aut D om. HV ¹⁰ abieciatur] abiiciatur A ¹¹ Clerici] clericus B clericos V ¹¹ quos] om. A qui H ¹¹ aliquam] aliquas (aliquam H) rixas facere (fecisse H) DHV ¹¹ et] V om. DH uel P** ¹¹⁻¹² adprobatum...unum ex his] om. DHV ¹² unum] AS uni P** ¹² ex his] ex ii A uel duobus S ¹² prouocasse] uocasse B prouocare DV ¹²⁻¹³ uel iniuriam faciendam] om. A ¹²⁻¹³ faciendam] BHSV sciendam P** ¹³ homicida] homicidas DHSV ¹³ magis congruum] magrarium H* ¹³ nuncupari] est nuncupari S ¹³ clericum] clericos DHSV ¹⁴ habeatur] habeantur ADSV ¹⁴ alienus] alieni DHSV ¹⁵ Clericum] clerico AS clericus BV ¹⁵ ussuras] usuram DV ¹⁶ suam] om. DV ¹⁶ usuram] usuram XXI fere A ¹⁷ dispensare] exercere DV ¹⁸ Calcidonensis] Calcedonensis DV ¹⁹⁻²⁰ conductores alienarum...summa sui] om. D ²⁰ summa] om. V ²⁰ suscipiunt] principiunt D ²¹ ad] om. DV ²¹ domus] domos DV

sollicitudinem adsumentes. Decretit sanctum magnumque concilium nullum deinceps, aepiscopum aut clericum uel monachum, aut possessiones conducere aut negotiis secularibus se commiscere, preter pupillorum, si sorte curam inexcusabilem leges inponant, aut ciuitatis episcopus aecclesiasticarum rerum sollicitudinem habere precipiat, aut orfanorum et uiduarum earumque, quae sine ulla prouissione sunt, et personarum, que maxime aecclesiastico indigent adiutorio, [et] propter timorem Dei causa deposcat. Si quis autem transgredi de cetero statuta temptauerit, huiusmodi aeclesiasticis increpationibus subiacebit. 5

De Christiano

H12 V11

HV

De nomine christi

H12.1 V11.1

10

HDV

In historia æcclesiastica: Idcirco denique cum multi ante apud Ebreos oleo in hoc ipsum consecrato sollempniter uncti sunt christi siue reges, siue profete, siue aetiam pontifices, super hoc fuerint instituti. Nullus tamen ipsorum, uel gentibus, uel discipulis, aut sectatoribus, ex suo uocabulo nomen dare potuit et appellare discipulos suos christianos, nisi hic solus, qui uerus est christus, et non oleo humano, sed paterno spiritu perunctus est. Hic sectatorum suorum populos et universam per totum mundum gentem sui nominis et ueri christi uocabulo appellari fecit perenni nomine Christians. 15

De moribus Christiani

H12.2 V11.2

Agustinus: Quis Christianum se esse iudicat, nisi qui doctrinam Christi sequitur et imitatur exemplum? Sed tu illum Christianum putas, cuius numquam pane ulla 20

11 Euseb. (tr. Rufin.), *Eccl. Hist.* 1.3.17 **20** Pelag., *Liber de uita Christiana* §14 || cf. p. 459 ln. 5

2 aepiscopum] non episcopum DV **2** aut(1)] non DV **4** episcopus] DV aut aepiscopi H** **4** aecclesiasticarum] ecclesiarum DV **5** precipiat] precipiant D **5** earumque] eorumque H* **5** quae] *Chalced.* **6** que maxime] *om. V* **7** et] *Chalced.* **7** timorem] timore DV **7** causa] causam DV **7** autem] enim DV **8** aeclesiasticis] ecclesie DV **11** multi ante] multis ante V **11** Ebreos] Hebreos V **12** consecrato] consecratio DV **12** sollempniter] sollemniter H* **12** sunt] sint D **13** fuerint] superint H* **13** instituti] intituti H* **14** sectatoribus] testatoribus H* **14** et] DV ad(et H* **14** appellare] DV appellando H** **15** hic] hic qui V **16** perunctus] V perunctas H** **16** est] *om.* DV **16** sectatorum] sectorum V **17** gentem] gentem D **19** De moribus Christiani] *see* p. 459 ln. 5 *for this chap. in Hib.A* **20** Agustinus] Augustinus DV **20** Christianum] Christianus D

satiatur essuries, cuius potu sitis non extenguitur, cuius mensam nemo cognoscit,
 cuius auxilio nullus pauper fauetur, cuius bonum nemo scit, cuius misericordiam
 nemo cognoscit. Absit appellari filius Dei qui talis sit. Christianus ille est, qui om-
 nibus misericordiam facit, qui dolorem alterius quasi proprium sentit, qui ad fletum
 fletibus prouocatur alienis, cuius omnium commonis domus est, cuius ianua ne-
 mini cluditur, cuius mensam nullus pauper ignorat, cuius bonum omnes nouerunt,
 qui die noctuque Deo seruit, qui pauper mundo efficitur, ut Deo locuples fiat, qui
 celestia potius, quam terrena desiderat, qui humana spernit, ut possit sapere cae-
 lestia.

5

H12.3 V11.3 De his, qui se putant iustos esse, et non sunt

10

Geldas: Hii dum pane ad mensuram uescuntur, pro hoc ipso sine mensura glori-
 antur; dum aqua utuntur, simul odii poculo potantur; dum siccis ferculis utuntur, de-
 tractationibus pleni sunt; dum uigiliis se expendunt, alias sumno opresos uituper-
 ant. Ieiunium caritati, uigilias iustitie, adinuentio[n]em propriam concordie, clausu-
 lam cellule humiliati, postremo hominem Deo anteponunt. Hii ieunant, quod nisi
 per aliquas uirtutes affectatur nihil prodest. Qui uero caritatem perficiunt, cum
 cithera spiritus sancti dicunt.

15

Aesaias: Quasi pannus menstruate mulieris omnes iustitiae nostrae, et reliqua.

In euangelio Farisaeus gloriatur dicens: Gratias ago Deo meo quia non sum sicut
 puplicanus iste, et reliqua. De his Paulus dicit: Ignorantes Dei iustitiam et suam
 querentes statuere, iustitie Dei non sunt subdit*i*.

20

11 *Fragmenta Gildae* §3 (Winterbottom, 143–4) || cf. p. 461 ln. 16 **18** Is. 64:6 **19** Luc. 18:11
20 Rom. 10:3

1 extenguitur] extinguitur DV **1** cognoscit] cognosciatur DV **2** fauetur] faueatur
 DV **3** Absit] abscit D* **4** facit] faciat DV **4** alterius] aliorum V **6** ignorat] ignoscat DV **6** bonum] bonus DV **7** efficitor] efficiatur DV **7** locuples] DV locu-
 plex H** **10** De...sunt] see p. 461 ln. 16 for this chap. in Hib.A **11** Geldas] Gelasius
 DV **12** potentur] putantur H* **12** ferculis] feculis H* **13** se] om. H **13** opresos] om. DV
13–14 uituperant] excitant DV **15** cellule] DV celle H** **15** quod] quia DV
16 affectatur] affectentur DV **16** caritatem] DV caritate H** **17** cithera] cithara D
 cythara V **18** Aesaias] om. DV **19** gloriatur] gloriantur H* **19** meo] om. D **20** his]
 inde DV

H12.4 V11.4 **De moderandis uestibus Christianorum**

Hieronimus: Vestis nec satis munda, nec satis sordida et nulla diuersitate notabilis, nec ad te obuia preter euntium turba et digitto demonstreris.

Gregorius: Nemo quippe uestimenta precipua, nisi ad inanem gloriam, querit, ut honorabilior ceteris esse uideatur. Nam quod pro sola inani gloria uestimenta pretiosa querit, res ipsa testatur, quod nemo uult ibi pretiosis uestibus indui, ubi ab aliis non possit uideri.

5

H12.5 V11.5 **De eo quod debet uerus Christianus septem cum suo uocabulo a Christo summere**

DHV

Hieronimus: Christianus septem cum uocabulo suo a Christo debet sumere. Pauper esse, ut Dominus, qui dixit: Non habet filius hominis, et reliqua. Humilis, ut Dominus: Discite a me quia mitis, et reliqua. Incontentiosus, ut Dominus suus, de quo dicitur: Non contendit neque clamauit, et reliqua. Non iratus, ut Dominus, qui mansuetus fuit. Non cupidus, ut Dominus, qui dixit: Si uis perfectus esse, et reliqua. Hospitalius esse, ut Dominus, qui dixit: Qui cumque susciperit unum ex hiis, et reliqua. Non maledicus, ut Dominus: Quicum malediceretur non se maledicebat.

10

HDV

15

H12.6 V11.6 **De his, quibus pertinet nomen Christiani**

Agustinus: Christianus iustitiae, bonitatis, integritatis, patientiae, prudentiae, humilitatis, innocentiae, pietatis nomen est.

20

1 cf. p. 458 ln. **1** **2** Hier., ad Eustoch., ep. 22.27 **4** Greg. I, *Homil. in euang.* 40.3 || cf. p. 458 ln. **5** **11** Matt. 8:20; Luc. 9:58 **12** Matt. 11:29 **14** Matt. 19:21 **15** Matt. 18:5
16 I Petr. 2:23 **19** Pelag., *Liber de uita Christiana* §6

1 De...Christianorum] see p. 458 ln. **1** for this chap. in Hib.A **1** moderandis...uestibus] modernadis uestibus H **1** moderandis] moderantia in V **2** notabilis] mutabilis (notabilis H* cf. p. 458 ln. **3** **3** ad] DV a H** **3** obuia] onuia DV obia H** **3** et] DV om. H** **5** Nam quod] homo quippe qui DV **6** pretiosa] DV pretiosius H** **8** uerus] uero H **8** Christianus] Christiano H **8** septem] VII H **10** septem] VII H **11** et reliqua] ubi capud reclinet V **12** et reliqua] suam et humili V **14-15** et reliqua] uende que habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in celo et ueni sequere me V **16** et reliqua] pusillis me suscepit V **16** se] om. V

H13 v12

11 De peccantibus sub gradu

H13.1 v12.1

11.1 De eo quod incertum sit utrum priorem gradum æpiscopus post lapsus accipiat

Hironimus ait: Quicumque dignitatem gradus diuini non custodiuit, contentus fiat animam suam saluare. Reuerti autem in eundem gradum nescio an non. Deus scit.

5

Patricius episcopus dicit: Qui sub gradu peccat, debet excommunicari, quia magna est dignitas huius nominis. Tamen potest redimere animam suam post poenitentiam; ad priorem gradum uenire difficile nescio an non. Deus scit.

10

Origenis: Iudas Scarioth de gradu suo cicidit, et iterum non inuenit.

HDV

Item sinodus: Quicumque sub gradu ceciderit, sine gradu consurget.

H13.2 v12.2

11.2 De ministerio, quod agit post poenitentiam sub gradu peccans

Agustinus: Qui sub gradu cecidit, post poenitentiam contentus fiat baptizare, communionem dare infirmis, et altari ministrare.

15

H13.3 v12.3

11.3 De consultu sinodorum de lapsis gradibus

Sinodus Hibernensis decreuit, ut in perigrinationem exierint et ibi ministrare sub manu abbatis.

12 *Syn. Pat. §10*

1 De...gradu] *om.* D de his qui sub gradu peccant **2** post...accipiat] meretur accipere post lapsus **3** Hironimus] Hieronimus BDHSV **4** ait] *om.* DV **4** custodiuit] custodiunt DH **4-5** contentus] D centenus S contemptus V contendus H** **5** fiat] *om.* H **5** autem] enim DV **5** eundem] eum HV **7** Patricius] Paterius DV **7** dicit] *om.* DHV **7** sub] sub huius nominis D **8** quia] quantum H **8** huius nominis] *om.* D **8** Tamen] tantum DHV **8** redimere] redemere P* **9** poenitentiam] poetentiam P* **9** priorem enim DV **9** nescio] *om.* V **10** Deus scit] scit Dominus A *om.* DHV **11** Origenis] Originis H **11** Scarioth] Scariath DV **11** inuenit] uenit DV **12** ceciderit] cecidit DV **12** consurget] consurgit D **13** agit] ait P* **13** poenitentiam] poenitentiam P* **15** Agustinus] Augustinus ADSV **15** cecidit] ceciderit A cecidit P* **16** communionem] SBDHOV commonem A communem (commonem P* **16** dare infirmis] infirmis dare DHV **16** altari] altario ADHV altare P* **17** consultu] consultis V **17** sinodorum] ABHSOV sinodis P** **18** Hibernensis] *om.* DV *interlin.* H **18** exierint] exieret A mittantur DHV

65.16 De clericis non retinendis in locis suis et non ita, ut maiores

Sinodus Necena: Non retinendi sunt clerici in propriis aeclesis, si periculum uel persequitio uel inquisitio melioris regulæ eos conpellat. Maiores uero gradus non oportet proprias deserere aeclesias, sed omnem necessitatem illis inponi.

5

65.17 De eo quod monere melius est

H69.13

V68.13

Patricius dicit: Satius est nobis neglegentes premonere, ne delicta abundant, quam culpare, que sunt facta.

Salamon: Melius est arguere, quam irasci.

65.18 De eo quod non ieunandum in die dominico

10

Sinodus Romana: Qui die dominico studiose ieunat, non esse catholicus credatur.

Sinodus Gangrensis: Si quis propter continentiam, que putatur, aut contumaciam, in die dominico ieunat, anathema sit.

66 De contrariis causis

15

H68 V67

De exemplo non operandi sublimibus gradibus et, e contra, operandi etiam æpiscopo

HV

H68.1 V67.1

Lucas in actibus apostolorum: Non æquum nos derelinquere uerbum Dei et ministrare mensis.

¹ cf. p. 44 ln. 1 ⁷ *Syn. episc. præf.* ⁹ Sir. 20:1 ¹¹ *Stat. eccl. ant.* §77 || cf. p. 68 ln. 7; *Canones Theodori U i.11.2* (≈G 57) ¹³ *Gangrens.* §18 ¹⁸ *Act. 6:2*

¹ De...maiores] see p. 44 ln. 1 for this chap. in Hib.B page mutilated S ² Necena] Nicena AS ⁶ monere...est] melius est premonere HV ⁷ Patricius] pēt H Paterius V ⁷ dicit] om. HV ⁷ ne] interlin. H ⁸ sunt facta] facta sunt HV ⁹ Salomon] Salomone dicente H Salomone dicente V ¹⁰ De...dominico] see p. 68 ln. 7 for this chap. in Hib.B ¹¹ studiose ieunat] ieunat studiose O ¹¹⁻¹² non...credatur] catholicus non esse credimus O ¹³ Gangrensis] tangensis (*sic*) A Gangensis P** ¹⁵ De...causis] this Bk precedes the previous Bk HV ¹⁵ contrariis causis] AHSOV contraris P** ¹⁶ sublimibus] sublimi V ¹⁸ Non] non est V

E contra, Paulus in actibus apostolorum: Ad ea, quę mihi ministrauerunt manus iste, opus erant, et his, qui mecum sunt.

H68.2 V67.2 De exemplo perigrinandi et, e contra, remanendi in loco proprio et faciendi uoluntatem Dei in eo

Deus Abraam dicit: Exii de terra tua, et reliqua

5 VH

David: Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis et ospes filiis matris mee.

Hinc et omnis perigrinus heres est Abraam necnon et David.

E contra, Agustinus: In toto orbe terrarum instituta sunt regna cælorum. Quid uis per terra uenire ad eum, qui terras implet? Non dixit Dominus: Vade ad orientem et quere iustitiam, aut nauigare in occidente et quere indulgentiam, sed dixit: Da et dabitur tibi, dimitte et dimittetur tibi, fidem habe in Domino et permane in loco tuo.

HV

10

H68.3 V67.3 De licentia Christianorum in cibis et, e contra, eadem coercenda

Et data est licentia Christianis, ut manducent quod uellent cum moderatione et gratiarum actione.

15

E contra, Paulus: Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia ædificant.

Aponius: Solus in iniquitis non cadit, qui se et a licitis caute restringit.

VH

H68.4 V67.4 De maledicendis inimicis et, e contra, non maledicendis

HV

Dominus in lege: Maledices populo huic.

David: Non misseriaris omnibus Israel.

20

Iob: Maledictus furor eorum quia pertinax.

1 Act. 20:34 5 Gen. 12:1 || cf. p. 223 ln. 20 6 Ps. 68:9 8 cf. p. 340 ln. 1 16 I Cor. 6:12 ||
cf. p. 417 ln. 1 17 Greg. I, *Moralia* 5.11 19 cf. Num. 22:6 20 cf. Ps. 58:6 21 Gen. 49:7

1 ministrauerunt manus] *after* mecum sunt V 3 remanendi] manenti V 5 Abraam]
Abraham H 5 reliqua] reliqua usque mōns H 6 et...mee] et reliqua usque mæ (*sic*)
H 6 mee] *sic* V 7 Abraam] Abraham H 8 Agustinus] Augustinus V 9 uenire]
subuenire H* 14 Et] Agustinus ait Θ 14 licentia] liquentia H* 16 licent] liquent
H* 17 se et] se H 17 licitis] liquitis H* 20 misseriaris] misereberis V 20 omnibus
Israel] R V 21 Maledictus] V maledictum H**

E contra, Dominus in lege: Mihi uindictam et ego retribuam.

In nouo, Paulus: Maledicentes regnum Dei non possidebunt.

De libris non retinendis et, e contra, malis non dandis

H68.5 V67.5

HVE

Sunt multi et forte religiosi, qui plures libros ligatos uolunt et eos in armaris clausos tenent, ut illos nec ipsi legant, nec aliis ad legendum tribuant, ignorantes quod nihil prodest libros habere et eos propter inpedimenta mundi non legere. Liber enim nitidus et bene cooperatus, si non legatur, non facit animam candidam. Ille uero, qui iugiter legitur, pro eo quod legitur sepe, reuoluitur, pulcher a foris esse non potest, pulcram tamen animam intus facit.

5

E contra: Nolite sanctum dare canibus et margaritas ante porcos.

10

HV

Originis hoc de scriptura sentit.

Hironimus: Si stolido scripturam dederis, et contempnabit, et bona non leget, mala uero reprehendet, et male mentis a statu auctorem carpauit.

Sinodus decreuit: Libros familiares extra urbem non debere abstulli, sed chohiberi ad utilitatem legentium.

15

In annalibus Ebreorum demonstraretur: In tempore Ozie a duodecim tribubus quinque libri Moysi postolati sunt, sed Ozias respondit nequaquam ab armario offere debuerint.

H68.6 V67.6

De immobilitate doctrinae et, e contra, mouilitate

Non ueni soluere legem, sed ad implere.

20

Paulus: Si angelus Dei euangelizauerit uobis preter ea, quod euangelizantur, nolite credere ei.

VH

1 cf. Deut. 32:35; Rom. 12:19 || cf. p. 199 ln. 20 **2** I Cor. 6:10 || cf. p. 245 ln. 14 **10** Matt. 7:6 || cf. p. 81 ln. 21 **20** Matt. 5:17 **21** cf. Gal. 1:9

1 ego] V eo H** **2** Maledicentes] maledici V **3** De...dandis] de libris semper legendis ut eorum nigritudo candidam efficiat animam hoc est de libris non retinendis Θ **4** Sunt] Agustinus ait sunt Θ **4** libros] liberi H* **4** uolunt] habere uolunt Θ **4** armaris] armarios V **5** tribuant] tradunt Θ **8** legitur(1)] V legitur H** om. Θ **10** margaritas] V margam (*sic*) H** **10** porcos] V por H** **11** Originis] Originis V **12** Hironimus] Hieronimus V **12** contempnabit] contemnet V **12** mala] et mala V **14** Libros] V om. H** **16** Ebreorum] Hebreorum V **16** demonstraretur] demonstretur V **16-17** duodecim tribubus quinque] V .xii .iii v. H** **19** mouilitate] mouilita H** mobilitate V **21** angelus] angelo H **21** euangelizauerit..euangelizantur] euangelizamur H **21** ea] id V**

In [h]istoria æclesiastica: Noua doctrina aurium uestrarum non intret cauernas.

HV

E contra: Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: Diliges proximum tuum et hodies inimicum. Ego autem dico uobis: Diligithe inimicos uestros.

Alius ait: Duo sunt in errore hominum difficilius tollerantur: presumptio falsitatis priusquam ueritas pateat, et cum iam ueritas patuerit, presumpta deffensio falsitatis.

5

De Deo non obliuiscendo in prosperis et, e contra, non negando in aduersis

H68.7 V67.7

Lex: Cum introduxerit te Dominus Deus tuus in terra, quam datus sit tibi, expulsis habitatoribus eius ante te, in ciuitates, quas non ædificasti, ad fructus, quos non colluisti, ad chisternas, quas non fodisti, ad domos plænas cunctarum opum, quas non extruxisti, caue diligenter, ne obliuiscaris Domini, qui eduxit te de domo seruitutis ad hæc beneficia.

10

E contra, Paulus: Veritatem dico non mentior in Christo, quia neque mors, neque uita, neque gladius, neque esuries, neque nuditas poterit me separare a caritate Dei, et reliqua.

15

66.1 De eo quod omnis iudex uolubilis esse in iuditio non debet et, e contra, mutare mendatium

Philatus ait: Quod scripsi, scripsi.

Hironimus: Iudex statuat et non commutet. Si enim mutauerit, degradetur.

20

Paulus, e contra: Omnis nodus iniustus soluetur.

² cf. p. 191 ln. 8 ³ Matt. 5:44; Luc. 6:27 || cf. p. 167 ln. 12, p. 169 ln. 16, p. 191 ln. 9

⁴ Aug., *De trinitate* 2.1 CCSL 50, p. 80 ⁹ Deut. 6:10–12 ¹⁴ Rom. 9:1, 8:38–39 || cf. p. 241 ln. 16 ¹⁷ cf. p. 138 ln. 15, p. 139 ln. 1 ¹⁹ Ioh. 19:22 || cf. p. 126 ln. 16, p. 138 ln. 16, p. 251 ln. 16 ²⁰ cf. p. 138 ln. 19 ²² cf. p. 244 ln. 3, p. 139 ln. 2

^{2–3} inimicum] inimicum tuum V ⁵ pateat] V peteat H** ⁵ cum iam] o iā H** ⁵ presumpta] presumpte VH** ⁷ e] V om. H** ¹¹ plænas] plenas V ¹² Domini] Dominum V ¹⁵ gladius] V gladium H** ¹⁵ neque nuditas] om. V ^{17–18} De...mendatium] *this and all chaps. to p. 474 ln. 3 om. HV* ¹⁷ non debet] *before omnis S* ¹⁸ mutare] motare P* ¹⁹ Philatus] Pilatus AS ¹⁹ Quod scripsi scripsi] scripsi quod scripsi A ¹⁹ Quod] interlin. P ²⁰ Hironimus] Hieronimus S ²⁰ commutet] commotet P* ²⁰ mutauerit] motauerit P* ²² Paulus...contra] e contra Paulus S ²² Omnis nodus] omne nodum ABS ²² iniustus] iniustum AB iniquum S

Hironimus: Melius est mutare, quam statuere quod uerum esse non uideatur.

66.2 De tarditate conductionum et eius breuitate

Salamon: Noli iudex esse cito.

Item: Nolite iudicare ante tempus.

5

Job: Causam, quam nesciebam, diligentissime inuestigabam.

Patricius: Non oportet iudices tam ueloces esse in iudicio, donec sciant quod probum fiat, quia dictum est: Noli iudex esse cito.

Issaias, e contra: Ve mihi, quia tacui.

Hironimus: Certe peccatum est longius ueritatem tacuisse.

10

Salamon de quessione mulierum sine prolongatione temporis interpretatus est.

Christus de censu cessaris sine mora iudicauit.

Nathan Dauid sine mora iudicauit.

Phetrus Annaniam et Saphiram sine mora iudicauit.

15

66.3 De eo quod iudicem oporteat observare III

Gregorius Nazanzeus: Probare sine discrimine, iudicare sine mora, uerum non tacere.

1 cf. p. 139 ln. 3 **3** cf. p. 138 ln. 1, 10 **4** cf. p. 126 ln. 15, p. 138 ln. 11 **5** Matt. 7:1–2 || cf. p. 124 ln. 16 (*app. crit.*) **6** Job 29:16 || cf. p. 138 ln. 13 **7** cf. p. 138 ln. 12 **9** Is. 6:5 || cf. p. 141 ln. 6, p. 279 ln. 9, p. 284 ln. 2 (*app. crit.*) **11** cf. I Reg. 3:16–28 || cf. p. 138 ln. 2 **13** cf. Matt. 22:21; Marc. 12:17; Luc. 20:25 || cf. p. 133 ln. 13, p. 138 ln. 3 **14** cf. II Sam. 12:1–4 || cf. p. 138 ln. 2 **15** cf. Act. 5:1–5 || cf. p. 138 ln. 3 **17** cf. p. 138 ln. 5

1 Hironimus] Hieronimus S **1** Melius...mutare] mutare melius et S **1** est] *om.* A **1** mutare] motare P* **1** statuere] *interlin.* .i. iudicare O **3** eius] earum S **4** Salomon] Salomon ABS **4** Noli] A nolite SP** **5** Item] S item e contra P** **8** probum] prauum S **9** Issaias] Essaias AP* Esaia O **10** Hironimus] Hieronimus S **11** Salomon] Salomon ABS **11** quessione] questione S **11** sine] siue S **13** cessaris] cesaris P* cesaris S **15** Phetrus] Petrus ABOS **15** Annaniam] Ananiam S **15** Saphiram] Zapirram AB Zaphirram OP* **16** De...observare] Gregorius ait iudicem decet tria obseruare Θ **16** III] tria S **17** Gregorius Nazanzeus] *om.* AS *in heading after quod OP***

Origines: Iudex debet mendatium distruere, fallacem reprobare, uerum sine mora iudicare, laudem de eo non querere.

66.4 De seueritate uindicte et, e contra, indulgentia

Lex: Qui effunderit sanguinem innocentis, sanguis eius effundetur.

Dauid: Deus ultionum Dominus Deus; usque: Qui iudicas terram.

5

Item: Letabitur iustus cum uiderit uindictam; usque: Ad peccatoris.

Heremias: Maledictus homo, qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine.

In nouo: Verbis Phetri Annaniam et Saphira exanimis cadunt.

Hironimus: Dum parcunt peccatoribus sacerdotes, æclesie moliuntur interitum.

10

Item: Qui non occidit latronem, ipse perdit inopem. Mortificat animas, que non moriuntur et uiuificant animas, quae non uiuunt.

Item: Non morientem quippe mortificat, qui iniustum uiuificate nititur et qui reum a suppicio soluere conatur.

Item: Qui occidit in gladio, oportet eum in gladio occidi.

15

Agustinus: Que est ista uanitas, uni parcere et omnes in discrimine adducere? Pulluitur enim populus uno peccante.

Lex, e contra: Ne memor sis iniurię ciuium tuorum.

Dauid: Misericors et miserator Dominus, patiens et multe misericordiae.

Item: Si dereliquerint fili eius legem meam; usque: Non dispergam ab eis.

20

Christus: Dilegitе inimicos uestros.

¹ cf. p. 138 ln. 7 ⁴ cf. Gen. 9:6; Deut. 21:7–8 || cf. p. 168 ln. 4 ⁵ Ps. 93:1–2 || cf. p. 168 ln. 2 ⁶ Ps. 57:11 || cf. p. 168 ln. 7 ⁷ Ier. 48:10 || cf. p. 168 ln. 9 ⁸ cf. Act. 5:5, 10 || cf. p. 170 ln. 11 ⁹ cf. p. 168 ln. 18 ¹¹ Ezech. 13:19 || cf. p. 169 ln. 3 ¹³ Greg. I, *Homil. in euang. 26.5* || cf. p. 169 ln. 5 ¹⁵ Apoc. 13:10 || cf. p. 168 ln. 10 ¹⁶ Caesar, *Epist. de Concilio Massiliense CCSL 148A*, pp. 91–2 ln. 147–148 || cf. p. 169 ln. 1 ¹⁸ Leuit. 19:18 || cf. p. 167 ln. 8 ¹⁹ Ps. 144:8 || cf. p. 167 ln. 7 ²⁰ Ps. 88:31–34 || cf. p. 167 ln. 10 ²¹ Matt. 5:44; Luc. 6:27 || cf. p. 167 ln. 12, p. 169 ln. 16, p. 191 ln. 9

¹ Origines] Gregorius A ¹ Iudex] omnis iudex ABS ² querere] querere Originis A ³ e contra] eius S ⁵ Deus(2)] Deus ultionum S ⁶ Ad] om. S ⁷ Heremias] Heremias A Hieremias OS ⁸ Phetri] Petri ABOS ⁸ Annaniam] Annanias O Anania S ⁸ Saphira] Saffirram A Safyrram B Saphyrre O ⁹ Hironimus] Hironimus S ⁹ moliuntur] molliuntur P* ¹² animas...uiuunt] om. A ¹³ Item...mortificat] om. A ¹⁵ oportet...gladio] interlin. P ²⁰ dispergam] dipergam P*

Item: Si non remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, non remitet uobis pater uester cælestis, qui in caelis est.

Item: Superexaltat misericordia iuditio.

Phetrus interrogauit: Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quoties dimitam ei, usque septies? Veritas respondit: Non dico usque septies, sed septies et ⁵ septuagies.

Dominus orauit pro Iudeis: Pater, ignosce illis.

Sic et Stiphanus dixit: Domine Ihesu, ne statuas illis hoc in peccatum; nesciunt {seruiens} enim quid faciunt.

66.5 De reatu reorum in defendantes eos ueniente et, e contra, in defendantes eos bono animo non ueniente

Tribus Beniamen defendens reos ciuitatis unius tota deletur et exterminatur.

Item: Iosias nisus defendere Carcamis, a Faraone Necanore occiditur, qui dixit, nuntiis missis: Non uenio aduersum te, sed pugno aduersum aliam ¹⁵ domum, ad quam Dominus me ire præcepit.

Heremias proclamat: Profugos Domini ne defendas.

Item: Profugii Domini fugientes in Aegiptum deleti, sed et Aegiptii suscipientes eos similiter.

E contra: Abraham non solum Loth iustum defendit et desoluit de manu regum, sed et Sodomas inimicos Dei.

¹ cf. Matt. 6:15; Marc. 11:20; Ioh. 20:23 || cf. p. 167 ln. 14, p. 445 ln. 15 ³ Iacob. 2:13 ⁴ cf. Matt. 18:21–22 || cf. p. 167 ln. 17, p. 446 ln. 3 ⁷ cf. Luc. 23:34 || cf. p. 167 ln. 19 ⁸ Act. 7:59 || cf. p. 167 ln. 20 ⁹ Eccl. 4:17 ¹⁰ cf. chaps. 26.19, 26.20 ¹² cf. Iudic. 20:19–21 || cf. p. 180 ln. 6 ¹⁵ II Chron. 35:21 || cf. p. 180 ln. 8 ¹⁷ cf. p. 180 ln. 4 ²⁰ cf. Gen. 14, 18:22–25 || cf. p. 182 ln. 10

³ iuditio] *Vulg.* iuditium P** ⁴ Phetrus ABOS ^{5–6} septies et septuagies] septuagies septies S ⁸ Stiphanus] Stephanus ABOS ¹⁰ reorum] S eorum AP** ¹¹ in...animo] S *om.* P** ¹² Tribus] in lege tribus S ¹⁴ Iosias] Iossias AB ¹⁴ nisus] misus A misos P* nisus est S ¹⁴ Carcamis] carcam his A Charchamis S ¹⁴ Faraone] Pharaone OS ¹⁴ Necanore] Necanore A Necanone OS Necaroge {Necanore P* ¹⁵ missis] missis P* ¹⁵ aduersum (2)] *interlin.* P *om.* S ¹⁶ ire] *om.* A ¹⁶ præcepit] præcepit P* ¹⁷ Heremias] Hieremias A Hieremias S ¹⁸ Aegiptum] Aegyptum BOS ¹⁸ deleti] dileti P* ¹⁸ Aegiptii] Aegypti ABOS ²¹ Sodomas] Sodomitas S

Item: Rab meritrix defendens nuntios Iessu inimicos Hiricho cum tota domu saluatur.

Item: Defendit Iessu Gabaonitas inimicos Dei, et laudatur.

Scimus enim quod ciuitas refugi non solum defendit iustum, sed iniustum, ut sciatur causa eius.

5

66.6 De furto grauiter puniendo et, e contra, leuiter puniendo

Exodus: Si quis furatus fuerit bouem aut ouem et si occiderit uel ueniderit; usque: Conuictus noxiæ morte moriatur.

Salamon, e contra: Non grandis culpa, si quis furatus fuerit; furatus enim, ut esurientem animam inpleat.

10

Paulus: Qui furabatur, iam non furetur, sed laboret manibus, ut habeat unde retribuet indegentibus.

66.7 De iuramento soluendo et, e contra, non soluendo

Si mulier in ætate puellari in domo patris sui se iuramento constrinxerit, si pater eius audierit uota, statim ut contradixerit, uota eius et iuramenta inrita erunt, nec tenebitur obnoxia.

15

Saul iurauit Ionathan occidere et non occisus est, nec in hoc culpatur, quia iuxta uoluntatem suam iurauit, et non Dei.

Euita omnem iniquitatem, oppresionem, et iniustiam, quod iuditium est sanguinis; licet enim gladio non occidat, uoluntate interficit, nec malum uidet. Felix enim conscientia est, que nec audit nec aspicit malum, pleniusque eius perfectionem designans. Dicit eum in munimentis tantum

20

¹ cf. Ios. 2:1–21, 6:17–18, 25 || cf. p. 180 ln. 12 ³ cf. Ios. 9 || cf. p. 180 ln. 16 ⁴ cf. p. 182 ln. 8 ⁶ cf. chaps. 28.3, 28.8 ⁷ Exod. 22:1; 21:16 || cf. p. 192 ln. 19 ⁹ Prou. 6:30 || cf. p. 197 ln. 6 ¹¹ Ephes. 4:28 || cf. p. 174 ln. 13, p. 197 ln. 4 ¹³ cf. chaps. 34.5, 34.6 ¹⁴ cf. Num. 30:4–6 || cf. p. 100 ln. 17, p. 244 ln. 18, p. 245 ln. 9 ¹⁷ cf. I Sam. 14:44 || cf. p. 244 ln. 10 ²² cf. Is. 33:16 || Hier. *In Esaiam* 33:13–19 CCSL 73, pp. 414–16

¹ Rab] Raab S ¹ Hiricho] Hiericho ABS ⁴ enim] *om.* S ⁸ Conuictus] BOS conuinctus AP** ⁸ noxiæ] noxae S ⁹ Salomon] Salomon ABOS ⁹ grandis] gradis P* ⁹ culpa] culpe AP* ¹² retribuet] tribuat BS ¹⁹ Euita] *om.* S ¹⁹ iuditium est] est iuditium S ²¹ uidet] uideat B ²¹ Felix] *interlin.* O ²¹ est] *om.* S ²¹ que] quia S ²¹ aspicit] accipit uel aspicit A ²² eum] enim S

saxorum sublimitatem habere inmobilium, uidelicet in Christo; apostolorum panemque et aquas fideles, legem Dei uidelicet accepisse.

hucvsq: nuben & cv cuiminiæ & durinis

only in P

1 habere] habuere AB **1** uidelicet] uidelicet et S

Hibernensis: Translation

Observing the numerousness of copies of synodal texts, and foreseeing that the obscurity of a great many of them will be less useful to the uninitiated, and also anticipating that the inharmonious diversity of the rest would be destructive rather than constructive, I have provided a brief, clear, and harmonious exposition in a single volume out of the great forest of authors, adding many things, reducing many things, excerpting many things word-for-word, asserting more things following the sense with the order of the words disregarded;¹ seeking this alone in all things: that the things that might appear as recommendations should not be imputed to my judgement. I have prefixed names of individuals to individual testimonies, lest whatever someone may call uncertain should shine less brightly. But let this not deceive the reader, that when he turns to the general titles, which we prefixed by necessity, he ought to observe the numbers diligently; by which numbers, when they are observed, he will find the matter that he wishes without delay. The prologue ends.²

Concerning the synod

Concerning the word ‘synod’

In the books of etymologies: ‘Synod’ is translated ‘company’ or ‘assembly’. The word ‘council’ is drawn from Roman custom, for when cases were being dealt with, everyone gathered together and debated with a common interest. Whence ‘council’ also takes its name from ‘common interest’, as if it were ‘council’, that is, as if it were ‘I revolve’ (*conuerso*). For they are [like] eyelids (*cilia*).³

Whence also a judicial assembly (*considium*) is a council (*concilium*)—that is, a council decree of itself⁴—the letter ‘d’ changing to ‘l’. An assembly is a gathering or congregation, from ‘coming together’ (*coeundo*), that is, from ‘convening together’ (*conueniendo*).

However, Cicero says: ‘synod’ is a Latin noun; saying, ‘a synod is a congregation of the elders’.

Concerning the principal synods

In the books of etymologies: However, of all the councils, we find that there are four venerable synods which principally encompass the whole

faith, just as there are the four Gospels or as many rivers of paradise. The first, the Nicaean synod of 318 bishops, took place during the reign of Constantine Augustus. In it was condemned the blasphemy of the Arian heresy, which the same Arius espoused concerning the inequality of the Holy Trinity. The second synod, of 150 fathers, was convened under Theodosius the Elder at Constantinople. In condemning Macedonius who denied that the Holy Spirit was the Lord, it demonstrated that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the father and son. The third, the Ephesian synod of 200 bishops, was held under Theodosius Augustus the Younger. This synod, by just anathema, condemned Nestorius, who espoused that there were two persons in Christ. The fourth, the Chalcedonian synod of 630 *sacerdotes*, was held under the *princeps*⁵ Marcian. In which a sentence of the fathers condemned Eutyches, the Constantinopolitan abbot, who propagated the single nature of the word of God and the flesh, and his defender, Dioscorus, at one time bishop of the Alexandrians, and, once more, the same Nestorius together with the other heretics; the same synod proclaimed that Christ the Lord was born of a virgin such that in him there was a substance of both the divine and human.

From Dionysius's preface to Stephen⁶ concerning different synods

At Nicaea 20 rulings. At Ancyra 24 rulings. At Caesaria 14 rulings. At Antioch 26 rulings. At Laodicea in Phrygia 58 rulings. At Constantinople 13 rulings. At Chalcedon 27 rulings. At Gangra 20 rulings. Rulings of the Sardican⁷ synod 20. At Carthage in Africa 138 rulings. It ends amen.

Concerning the days for convening synods

The synod of Antioch said: For the sake of ecclesiastical expediency and for addressing the things that meet with doubt and controversy, it was most opportunely decided that in each and every province councils of bishops ought to be repeated twice a year: the first after the third week of the Paschal feast, so that a synod may be convened in the fourth week of Pentecost, after the metropolitan bishop has given notice to the provincials. Let the second synod take place in October, that is on the fifteenth of the month of October. In these councils there shall be present presbyters, deacons, and all others who feel themselves aggrieved. And let the judgement of the synod explore matters. Let none celebrate councils at

their own sees, save those in whom metropolitan prerogatives are seen to have been invested.

1 Concerning the bishop

1.1 Concerning the word 'bishop'

The word 'bishop' is drawn from Greek, changing 'os' into 'us', rendering that which in Latin is called 'overseer' or 'superintendent', because he oversees the conduct and the way of life of the people under him and superintends the care of his subjects.

Isidore said: Looking (*scopus*) is indeed the intention, therefore, in Latin we can say that a bishop superintends.

And it is not the presider who enjoys respect, but he who helps by administering care to others, namely to his subjects.

Paul: He who desires the office of a bishop, desires good work.

Isidore: However, the episcopal office, as a certain wise man said, denotes burden rather than honour. Note that bishops are designated *sacerdotes*,⁸ and likewise presbyters are deemed to be *sacerdotes*.⁹

Likewise: Let it be known that bishops and presbyters assumed their appellations from the new law. However, *sacerdotes* are so named both in the old and in the new law. Let the bishop know that he is designated *pontifex* and *antistes* and chief *sacerdos*.

That a man who was polluted by a second or illicit marriage ought not be ordained bishop

A Roman synod says: If someone after baptism should be joined by a second marriage, or should have a concubine, he may not be a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or, in short, be numbered among those who serve in the sacred ministry.

Isidore said in the books concerning the offices: For if someone who has already been placed in the episcopal office or the office of presbyter had committed a mortal sin, he ought not offer loaves to the Lord. All the more so let him not be ordained if he has been found to be a sinner prior to his ordination.

1.2 Concerning those who assume the title of bishop undeservedly

Not all bishops are considered true bishops.

Augustine: The more a bishop desires honour, the more he is weighed down by danger.

Jerome: The bishop, while he is so named, must take care not to forget the work of his episcopal office.

Many bishops desire the honorific title but avoid the work of their office.

1.3 Concerning the origin of the *sacerdos* in both laws

Isidore: Aaron was the first to receive the sacerdotal title in the law¹⁰ and the first to wear a pontifical robe. He offered sacrifices, with the Lord commanding and saying to Moses: Receive Aaron and his sons. You will bring the father with his sons to the entrance of the tabernacle etc.

In which place Aaron ought to be perceived as the chief *sacerdos*, which is to say that he prefigured the bishop, and his sons heralded the figure of presbyters.

Moses, however, represents the figure of Christ.

And in the New Testament the pontifical order begins after Christ with Peter the apostle and Jacob the bishop of bishops.

1.4 Concerning the laying on of hands on the bishop

Isidore: That bishops are ordained by a laying on of hands is an ancient institution. For the patriarch Isaac, placing his hand upon Jacob's head, blessed him. Similarly Jacob blessed his sons. But also Moses, placing his hand upon Joshua's head, gave him the spirit of courage and leadership over the people of Israel. Thus also our Lord Jesus Christ blessed his apostles by the laying on of a hand; and by the command of the Holy Spirit, a hand was placed by the apostles upon Paul and Barnabas towards the episcopate, and thus they were sent to evangelise etc.

The synod of Carthage said: When a bishop is ordained, let two bishops impose their hands, and let them hold a book of the Gospels over his head, that is, above his neck, and after one of them utters a blessing, let all the

other bishops who are present extend their hands over his head, following on the hand of the bishop.

1.5 That a single bishop should not ordain another

Isidore: Furthermore, a bishop should not be ordained by a single bishop, but by all the fellow-provincial bishops, lest something contrary to faith be attempted through the tyrannical authority of one bishop. On account of this, he is invested by all who are convened, and by no fewer than three who are present, while the others give their consent in writing.

The synod of Carthage said: Then, let the bishop be ordained with the consent of the clerics and laymen and the bishops of the whole province and especially the metropolitan—either by letter, or by a representative, or in person.

1.6 Concerning the staff and ring of the bishop

When he is consecrated he is given a staff, so that by its sign he may rule and correct the community subject to him, and sustain the weaknesses of the weak. A ring is also given him to signify pontifical honour or a seal of secrets, lest the sacraments of God be revealed to the unworthy.

Gregory: What is signified by the staff if not pastoral care? For the staff sustains, defends, and governs.

Let the *chorepiscopi*, that is, the deputies of bishops or bishops of a single community, be ordained by a single bishop. They are ordained only by the bishop of the nearest *civitas*.

1.7 Concerning the one who is to be ordained

Paul: If someone desires the office of a bishop, he desires good work. The church seeks as a *sacerdos* a man of a single wife, or a virgin.

That no one ought to be ordained hastily, lest another's sin should harm you

Likewise, the same authority: Lay not hands lightly upon any man, lest you be a partaker of other men's sins. Keep yourself chaste.

The same: Not a neophyte, lest, puffed up with pride, he should think himself ordained not so much to the service of humility, but for the exercise of secular power.

Isidore: For how will a secular man fulfil a sacerdotal ministry whose duty he did not grasp and its instruction he did not accept? Or how will he teach, when he himself has not learned? For nowadays we often see that many ordain not those whom the church chooses, but either those whom they love themselves, or those who allure them by service and obedience, or those on whose behalf a wicked man entreats, and—to mention the worst cases—those who secured their ordination by means of gifts. Others make their sons or relatives successors and strive to hand down the dignity of superintending to their descendants; though even Moses, the friend of God, could not do this, but chose Joshua from another tribe, that we may know that the leadership of the people must not be determined by blood, but by a life of merit.

A synod says: Before a bishop is ordained, let it be examined whether he is prudent by nature, whether he is ready to listen, whether his manners are temperate, whether he is sober, whether he leads a chaste life, whether he is kind to the lowly, whether he is merciful, whether he is learned, whether he is versed in the law of the Lord, whether he is careful with the sense of scripture, and above all, whether he proclaims the proofs of faith in simple terms.

1.8 Concerning the bishop's conduct

Isidore: His speech ought to be pure and candid, full of severity and honesty, full of sweetness and grace, concerned with the mystery of law, with the teaching of the faith, with the virtue of self-restraint, with the discipline of justice; above all, his special duty is to read the scripture, inspect the canons thoroughly, imitate the examples of saints in fasts and vigils, commit himself to prayers, be in peace with the brethren, care for the poor, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, receive pilgrims, redeem captives, look after widows and orphans. Whose dwelling place ought to be a refuge for all. For the layman admits one or two in order to fulfil the obligation of hospitality. If, however, the bishop should not admit everybody, he is savage.

A synod says: Let no bishop invade the *parochia*¹¹ of another, or ordain a cleric belonging to another's church, or receive payment in return for ordi-

nation, or receive the gifts of the wicked, which the most high condemns, or travel without a presbyter, etc. He is at peace with everybody, he does not condemn anyone without reason, he does not excommunicate anyone save for the savage, such that he knows to correct his subjects and does not exercise the power of severity through immoderate authority. The bishop ought not be obstinate but modest. It is necessary for the bishop to have knowledge of scripture. For should he not be erudite, he will serve only himself; but if he should be, he can teach others and persecute adversaries.

Likewise: He who reproves the sins of others must himself be a stranger to sin.

For how dare he reprove his subjects, when they can accuse him of the same things? Wherefore he who has failed to do righteous things, would cease to teach righteous things.

Likewise: He who admonishes others to live virtuously, ought first to correct himself.

Likewise, Dionysius Exiguus: And if a bishop or presbyter should offer above the altar any sacrifice besides that which is ordained by the Lord, namely honey or milk, or fortified wines instead of wine, and certain cooked dishes, or birds or other animals or vegetables, he does so contrary to custom. Let him be deposed at the proper time. Let nothing be permitted to be offered at the altar when the holy offering is celebrated, except new ears of grain and oil for lamps and *thymiana*, that is, incense.

Let all other *adom* firstfruits¹² be given to the bishop and presbyters.

1.9 Concerning the amount of time the bishop ought to be absent from the church

The synod of Sardica says: Let it not be permitted to any bishop to be absent from the church for more than three weeks.

Likewise, a Hibernian synod said: It is the duty of the bishop not to be absent from his church for even one Sunday.¹³ If, however, he has been absent for more than two, he should be sent into exile. If, however, he has neglected to celebrate a solemnity in his church, let him be demoted.

1.10 Concerning different duties of the bishop

Let a bishop's guest-chamber not be far from the church.

Let a bishop not concern himself with the interests of his household, but he should be free only to read, and pray, and preach the word of God.

Let a bishop sit in a higher seat than the assembly of the presbyters. But inside the dwelling, let him concede that he is a colleague of the presbyters.

Let a bishop have simple furniture, and a table, and modest nourishment, and claim the power of his dignity in faith and in the merits of a good life.

Let a bishop not read the books of pagans; however, he may read books by heretics, depending on the occasion and need.

Let a bishop not undertake the administration of wills.

Let a bishop not look after widows, and orphans, and pilgrims himself, but through an archpresbyter and an archdeacon.

Let a bishop not litigate about worldly things even if he is challenged.

Let a bishop be permitted to be absent from a synod on account of a sufficiently urgent cause; if he should send a representative in his place, he shall accept anything that the synod has decided provided that the truth of the faith be safeguarded.

Let a bishop or cleric not move from a lowly to a higher place through ambition.

Let a bishop not ordain clerics without an assembly of his presbyters, in order that he might ask the *cives* to be witnesses.

Let a bishop not presume to judge a case without the presence of his clerics, otherwise the bishop's verdict will be void, unless it should be confirmed in the presence of his clerics.

Let a bishop, whenever sitting, not suffer his presbyters to stand.

Let a bishop use church property as if it were a deposit, not as his own property.

Let a bishop not forbid anyone from entering the church to hear the word of God, be it a heretic, a Jew, a pagan, until the dismissal of the catechumens.

1.11 Concerning the ages at which one is raised to the episcopal office

The episcopal age is reckoned with respect to three criteria.

The first, concerning virginity and ecclesiastical institutions

The synod of Carthage: But a lad who was given to ecclesiastical services since infancy, should remain a lector or exorcist up until his twentieth year. A porter and subdeacon four years, a deacon five, a presbyter in his thirtieth year, a bishop in his fortieth, a *sacerdos* in his thirtieth (or his sixtieth year) for in that year Christ began to preach.¹⁴

The second, concerning a young man of one wife

The same synod: But one who lived virtuously from the beginning of adolescence to his thirtieth year, content with a single wife who was a virgin at the time of marriage: five years a subdeacon and five years a deacon, in his fortieth let him be a presbyter, in his fiftieth a bishop.

The third, concerning an aged layman

The same synod: But if he should be a layman of advanced age, and if it be necessary that he should be made a bishop, let him be a lector for two years, five a subdeacon, five a deacon; after twelve years let him be chosen to replace a presbyter or bishop.

Likewise: There is another, different, time in which one may not become a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, to wit: If one should enter upon another marriage after baptism or have a concubine, he may not be a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or, in short, be numbered among those who serve in the sacred ministry.

If one should marry a widow and a divorced woman, or a harlot, or a female slave, or one of those who are sold for public spectacles, he may not be a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or be numbered among those who serve in the sacred ministry.

1.12 That the one who is to be ordained must not be summoned from another place, except by necessity

An Alexandrian synod: Only then may one be chosen from another church: if no worthy candidate has been found from among the clerics of that *ciuitas*¹⁵ for which someone ought to be ordained.

1.13 Concerning the need to undo unlawful ordinations

The same synod: If ordinations have been performed unlawfully, let them be annulled. Similarly, let those who ordained be completely deprived of the power of ordination, lest respect for religion should be dimmed.

1.14 That bishops have authority to bind and loose

Gregory the Roman: Bishops receive the authority to bind and loose. A great honour has befallen them who are allotted a position of ruling, but the honour carries a heavy burden. It is surely unfitting that he who does not know how to keep control over his own life, should become the judge of another's.

Peter says of Clement the Roman, his successor: I have deemed him, before others, honouring God, loving men, careful in speech, devoted to studies, sober, kind, just, forebearing, wise. On account of which I hand over to him the power to bind and loose. For he will bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed.

1.15 That a bishop is the image of Christ

Augustine said: Christ bears the image of God, just as a bishop bears the image of Christ.

1.16 That no one ought to judge bishops

In the Ecclesiastical History: King Constantine said to the bishops: You cannot be judged by men. Await, therefore, the judgement of God alone amongst yourselves, etc.

Gildas said: Indeed, *sacerdotes*¹⁶ and bishops have a terrible judge, to whom it belongs, and not to us, to judge them in both worlds.

Likewise: It is better not to judge fellow bishops and fellow abbots and fellow subjects.

1.17 That a bishop chooses his successor while he is still alive and of sound mind

In the Ecclesiastical History: A certain Alexander, quite famous by distinction of confession,¹⁷ was elected bishop of the church of Jerusalem, while Narcissus, who formerly held the pontifical office there, was still alive.

Likewise, a little further on: When he was already old and unable to perform the service of the pontificate, divine inspiration, by means of manifest revelations, summoned the same Alexander, who was already bishop of another place, to the aid of old Narcissus.

Likewise: Anatolius left many writings in that matter, through which salutary learning is known to those who wish to learn it. He was the first upon whom Theotechnus, holding the priesthood of Caesarea, laid hands to make him a bishop. Whence for some time he presided over the church of Caesarea with the same Theotechnus.

The synod of Sardica said: If we should submit our souls and necks to the bishop, it is all the more fitting that he ought to govern the church and ordain a successor.¹⁸

Origen: Why does it seem right to you to change our governor's decision? For if God entrusted him with greater things, why do we not entrust him with the smallest of things?

1.18 That the election of the worthy candidates ought to take place after the death, or at the deathbed, of the retiring bishop

A synod said: Let no bishop appoint a successor while he is alive, but let the worthy ones elect a worthy candidate after his death.

Likewise, a synod ruled that a bishop ordain his successor on his deathbed with the consent of the synod and according to the will of the same region, lest it be void.

1.19 That a bishop was elected from another race

Following fifteen bishops of the circumcision, who presided over the city of Jerusalem after Jacob, Mark was the first of the gentiles to be elected bishop of the same see. Thereafter innumerable other gentiles followed.

Likewise, Mark, the disciple of Peter, Jewish by race, presided over Alexandria, the city of the Egyptians. Likewise, Alexander, a Cappadocian by race, arriving as a guest for the sake of worshipping and seeing the holy places, was unanimously elected bishop of the church of Jerusalem. Likewise, Anatolius the Alexandrian presided over the Caesarean church and then presided over the Laodicean church.

1.20 That a *sacerdos* should not minister in the presence of an infirm bishop

If a bishop has suffered infirmity or dimness of his senses or has lost the ability to speak, let him not allow presbyters to perform in his presence the things that are performed only by bishops, but let him summon a bishop, to whom he should entrust that which needs to be performed.

That eunuchs may accept the episcopal office

Dionysius Exiguus: A eunuch, whose virile organs were amputated through a plot carried out by men or through persecution or if he was born with this condition, is worthy to be made bishop. If, however, he has cut them off himself, i.e. if someone amputated them for him at his request, he is not to become a bishop, but he is also not a cleric. He who is a killer of his own self is also inimical to the work of God.

1.21 That a bishop does not give away any church property without consultation with his clerics

A bishop's benefaction, or sale, or a deposit of ecclesiastical property shall be void without written approval from his clerics.¹⁹

1.22 Concerning the need to excommunicate a bishop who seized the property of another

A synod: A bishop who seized the *parochia*²⁰ of another bishop, must be excommunicated from the peace,²¹ mass, and table, unless he does penance in proper order.

Let a bishop not leave for another *parochia* and abandon his, unless he does so by a decision of many bishops and especially their earnest request.

He who has slain a bishop or presbyter must be sent to the king for judgement.

Likewise, Dionysius Exiguus and Laurence, highly accomplished Greek authors, say concerning the same matter: A bishop, although urged by many, is not permitted to seize the *parochia* of another and forsake his own, which he has relinquished, unless perchance he is compelled by a reasonable cause, like being able to confer quickly more profit on those living there, and really to provide something else for religion's sake. This he cannot do by himself, but by a decision of many bishops and especially their request.

2 Concerning the presbyter and *sacerdos*²²

2.1 Concerning the word 'presbyter'

'Presbyter' is a Greek word, rendering that which in Latin is called 'señor'. Isidore: Presbyters are so called for their merit and wisdom, not for their age, as it is said in Proverbs: The glory of old men is their grey head. What is this grey head? Without doubt it is wisdom, of which it has been written: The grey head of men is prudence.

Concerning the origin of *sacerdos*, that is, concerning the *sacerdotes* of the law of nature²³

Sacerdotes are so called because they provide sacred leadership to the people.

2.2 Concerning the origin of presbyters

Isidore: The order of presbyters takes its beginning from the sons of Aaron, who were called *sacerdotes* in the Old Testament. They are the ones who are now called presbyters. And they who are designated chiefs of *sacerdotes* are now²⁴ called bishops, even though Melchisedech was the first to offer a sacrifice before Aaron, and after him Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. But they did so of their own volition, not by sacerdotal authority.

2.3 That presbyters are ordained

The synod of Carthage: When a presbyter is ordained, while the bishop is blessing him and holding a hand over his head, let all presbyters who are present place their hands by the bishop's hand, over his head.

2.4 Concerning the similarity and difference between the ministry of a bishop and a presbyter²⁵

Isidore said concerning presbyters: To them, as to bishops, was given the dispensation of God's ministries. For they preside over the church of Christ. And they are consorts of bishops in confecting²⁶ the divine body and blood and likewise in apostolic teaching and the duty of preaching. Only the ordination and consecration of clerics must be reserved for the chief *sacerdos* on account of his authority, lest—if the discipline of the church is claimed by many—it should disturb the harmony and generate scandals; whence he [the presbyter] is second in grade [to the bishop] but nearly conjoined.

Concerning the presbyter's manner of life

A presbyter is blameless, a man of a single wife, without blemish, not quarrelsome, not greedy, not irascible, not proud, not villainous,²⁷ he does not appear in the presence of the poor without the bishop's consent.²⁸

2.5 Concerning the reasons why the *sacerdotes* of the law of nature,²⁹ the first of whom was Melchisedech, were offering³⁰

Jerome: Melchisedech offered in three ways. First, he offered for himself, so that he might not be made proud by worldly goods, nor despair by evils, and that he might do away with his own evils. Second, for his family, that it might live in worldly comfort. Third, in prefiguration of the body of Christ.

Gregory: One reads that Job made an offering to the Lord for his sons, in which he joined together three things. First, that he should not be made proud by the wealth of his sons. Second, also for his sons, that they may not sin in their good fortune, as he said: Lest perhaps my sons should sin in the Lord. Third, in prefiguration of Christ, through which he was

deemed worthy not to sin in his afflictions, as Job did not sin with his lips, nor in all these things.

2.6 Concerning the things for which the *sacerdotes* of the law of the letter, the first of whom was Aaron, were offering³¹

In the first place, Aaron was offering for himself and for his sons. Second, for the sins of the people. Third, in prefiguration of Christ, just as the other *sacerdotes* were offering.

2.7 Concerning the four kinds of offerings in the law of the letter that prefigure Christ

Isidore: Four principal kinds of offerings are described at the beginning of Leviticus. First, an immaculate calf of the herd. Second, a lamb of the flock. Third, a turtledove and dove. Fourth, moistened fine unleavened flour, anointed with oil, baked in the oven. All the remaining were offered by the representatives of the people, according to the nature of the cases. Thus the first, a calf of the herd, represented Christ, descendant of the line of the patriarchs, who tamed the land of our flesh by the plough of his cross. Second, a sacrifice from the sheep, namely Christ, styled a lamb on account of his innocence. Third, a sacrifice of a turtledove and dove, namely the flesh of Christ joined to the Holy Spirit. Fourth, fine flour, which prefigures the figure of the church—which, as if it were the fine wheat of the threshing floor, was gathered from the many seeds of the believers—and by the mill of the law and the Gospels was separated letter from spirit, anointed with the oil of the Holy Spirit.

2.8 Concerning the things for which Christ, the first *sacerdos* of the New Testament, offered

Augustine said: Christ offered in many ways. First, for his own weak flesh. Second, for the apostles on account of future temptations. Third, as an example to the church thereafter. Fourth, for the souls released from hell at the hour of his death.

Whence Paul said: If the blood of calves and goats, and the ashes of a heifer being sprinkled, has redeemed the sins of men, how much more the blood of Christ has redeemed us.

2.9 Concerning the ways in which the church offers nowadays

A Hibernian synod: Nowadays the church offers to the Lord in many ways. First, for itself. Second, for the commemoration of Jesus Christ, who says: Do this in commemoration of me. Third, for the souls of the dead.

2.10 Concerning the varied offerings in the four laws

Melchisedech offered wine and bread, Job holocausts, Aaron lambs and calves and doves and turtledoves, Christ offered his body and blood.

That a sordid life does not affect the ministry of the one who ministers

In the life of the saints one reads:³² There was a solitary man, and a presbyter used to come to him and consecrate his offering for him for communion. A certain person appearing before the old man made accusations against the presbyter, who regularly came to discharge his ministry. The old man was tempted to believe that he³³ should not minister to him,³⁴ and he³⁵ left. Then the old man experienced a vision, and he saw the likeness of a golden well and exceptionally clean water. He also saw a leper drawing it up and pouring it into a vessel. He was eager to drink, but he did not want to on account of the leper who was drawing water. And behold, there came a voice to him, saying: Why do you not drink from this water? What is wrong with the one who fills? For he only fills and pours it back into a vessel. Then the old man changed his mind, summoned the presbyter, and made him sanctify his offering, as before.

2.11 Concerning the entitlements³⁶ of a *sacerdos* from the people

The law says: The firstfruits of the whole people of Israel will belong to the priests, both the tithes and the majority of the firstborn.

Likewise: They shall eat the victim both for sin and for trespass, and every vowed thing in Israel and all the libations of all things that are offered shall belong to the priests, as well as firstfruits of your foodstuffs.

Likewise: I have taken the consecrated breast and the right shoulder from the children of Israel in perpetual right, and they shall belong to the priests.

Likewise: They who serve the altar partake from the altar.

Likewise: Aaron did not make his own vestments, but Moses and others. This signifies that all the necessities of the priest are to be provided by the *princeps*.³⁷

It should be noted that Aaron did not make the tabernacle himself, but the people and the craftsmen on the advice of Moses. This signifies that it is not for *sacerdotes* to build churches.

Likewise: Aaron did not hand out the sacrifices, except for a few. But the people did. He only used to place his hand over its head. This signifies that *sacerdotes* do not prepare food.

Likewise: Aaron never carried the tabernacle and its utensils, but only wrapped [them]. This signifies that ministers are identified with *sacerdotes*.

2.12 Concerning punishments for those who resist the *sacerdos*

The Law says: He who will be proud and refuse to obey the commandment of the *sacerdos*, who ministers at that time, let that man die and you shall take away the evil from Israel.

Likewise: If someone has contradicted the *sacerdos*, let him die.

Likewise: Let no one dare to resist the *sacerdotes*, for they are ministers of God.

2.13 Concerning unworthy buyers of the priesthood and sellers of the gift of God

Gregory Nazianzen:³⁸ We declare that whoever is eager to buy this gift by making a gift, while he cares not for the office but for the title, is not a *sacerdos*. Just as the one who, being reluctant, refuses, and when being sought, flees, must be removed from the holy altars.³⁹ Thus also he who ventures too far or obtrudes himself inappropriately, must, without doubt, be rejected. For he who ascends to the altar in this manner, what does he do, except by increasing decrease and by climbing externally, descend internally into the depths?

Luke in the Acts of the Apostles: Peter says to Simon Magus: Let your money be with you unto perdition; for you reckoned that the gift of God might be purchased with money.

In the temple doves were being sold. What do the doves signify, except the gift of the Holy Spirit? But they who were selling them signify those who receive worldly gifts in return for the laying on of hands.

2.14 That it is necessary to give to the *sacerdotes* a part of the property of every deceased person

A Hibernian synod decreed: Since Aaron exacted a part of every offering, whether from the *princeps* or from the servant, thus also a *sedatium*⁴⁰ must be given from the property of every deceased person.

2.15 Concerning the common *sedatio*

The synod of Carthage⁴¹ said: If the *sedatium* should be moderate, it ought not be rejected. If great, it should be accepted up to the value of a cow. The king and the bishop, whose *monachus* he is, and the brethren are exempt from this *sedatium*.⁴²

A Hibernian synod resolved that in respect to this *sedatium*, a sheep or its value as determined by prescribed measures are levied.

2.16 Concerning the *communio*

A Hibernian synod: The word *communio* is this: it consists of *uiaticum*,⁴³ that is, protection for the way (*uia*). For it protects the soul until it will stand before the tribunal of Christ, to whom it carries its deeds, as if it has borne them. The archangel cannot lead it to [eternal] life until God has judged it, nor can the Devil carry it off to punishment, unless the Lord has damned it.

2.17 Concerning reproofing wicked *sacerdotes*

Ezekiel said: Woe to the priests who consume the sins of my people; which is to say that they either eat their sacrificial victims and do not pray for those [who offered the victims] or consume the sacrifices and do not reproach the wicked.

Likewise, Gregory: Wicked *sacerdotes* are the cause of the people's ruin.

No one is more harmful to the church than he who, while behaving perversely, assumes the title and order of sanctity. For no one presumes to contradict this delinquent. And, as a warning, the blame greatly increases, because a sinner is honoured in accordance with the reverence owed to the rank.

2.18 Concerning punishing the most wicked among *sacerdotes*

The Law says: Aaron bore the iniquity of the sons of Israel.

And if he has done this again through negligence or if he has not done this in good faith, but either through envy, or through greedy desire for the possessions of another, like the sons of Aaron offering strange fire, or out of regard for foodstuffs and through negligence of the ministry, like the sons of Eli the priest, or out of disputes with the leadership, like Core, he shall be put to death.

2.19 That *sacerdotes* have no inheritance except the Lord

The law says: You will not give them an inheritance in Israel, for I am their inheritance.

But let it be known that the six cities of refuge of Israel with their precincts, belonged to the *sacerdotes*.

Concerning the *sacerdos*'s rite in regard to the *princeps*⁴⁴ and people

In the first place, the *sacerdos* should offer for himself, lest his sins should infect the people, for [it has been said], 'wicked *sacerdotes*, etc.' Then, for the people, as he said: He shall bear their iniquity etc.

2.20 That the surplus property of *sacerdotes* should be given to churches

A synod decreed that any surplus which a *sacerdos* may have, he should give to the church; and what he took of the church's property, the church shall take of his surplus property.

2.21 Concerning *sacerdotes*, that they may not seek payment for their ministering

Jerome: Let a *sacerdos* not seek payment for ministering; let him give freely, for he has received freely.

2.22 Concerning *sacerdotes*, that they may not accept gifts from the wicked

A synod ruled that a *sacerdos* may not accept the gifts of someone whose conscience he does not know. As the host does not help the one, so the gifts of the wicked harm the other.

A Fervensian synod:⁴⁵ Gifts of the wicked, which have been rejected by God, should be rejected by saints.

Likewise, a synod: The gifts of those who oppress the poor, should be refused by *sacerdotes*.

2.23 That essential provisions and clothing do not harm, unless you receive superfluous gifts [of them]

A Roman synod, concerning the offerings of these things:⁴⁶ Be content only with clothing and food, and reject all other gifts of the wicked, which the most high condemns, since the lamp takes nothing but that by which it is fed.

2.24 That a *sacerdos* should accept the gifts of the wicked, so that they may be spent for the poor and for [redeeming] captives

Martin: Next, Lycontius, having experienced divine kindness, came quickly to him. He also offered a hundred pounds of silver, which the blessed man neither rejected nor accepted, but before that sum touched the confines of the monastery, he designated it for the redemption of captives. And when it was suggested to him that some of it should be reserved for the monastery's expenses, saying that there was little food for all and many lacked clothing, he said: Let the church feed and clothe us.

2.25 Concerning an occasion on which *sacerdos* must be absent from the church, and on penance for those who are absent for longer

A Hibernian synod decreed that a *sacerdos* may be absent from his church only for a single day. If he be absent for two, let him do seven days of penance on bread and water. If, however, a dead man has been brought into the church in his absence, he ought to be made to do penance because he is guilty of this crime.

Likewise: If he was absent on a single Sunday, let him do twenty days of penance on bread and water. If, however, he was absent on two or three, he should be deprived of the honour of his rank.

2.26 That a *sacerdos* ought not regard offered gifts as his own, but as the church's

A synod says: *Sacerdos*, to whom something is given by others either as a conjoint gift to them and the church, or separately, shall not consider it as their own, but as a grant to the church, since it is judged that he, who gives, offers it for the redemption of his soul rather than for the well-being of the *sacerdos*. For it is fair that just as a *sacerdos* holds what has been given to the church, so should the church receive what is left to the *sacerdos*.

Indeed, perhaps something is granted in trust either in the name of the *sacerdos* or of the church, to profit someone else afterwards; that is, the church will not be able to reckon it or retain it amongst its belongings.

2.27 That clergy of the high orders ought not have secular responsibilities

Let a bishop or presbyter or deacon never assume secular responsibilities, and let them be demoted if otherwise.

The synod of Chalcedon decreed, the holy council ruled, that no bishop, or monk, or presbyter, or cleric should hold possessions for himself or implicate himself in secular affairs, except for the sake of caring for foundlings, or orphans, or widows, and especially for people who are in need of help, for fear of the Lord. For if anyone transgresses he will be subject to the rebukes of the church.

3 Concerning the Deacon

3.1 Concerning the word ‘deacon’

Diaconos is a Greek word, pronounced ‘deacon’ in Latin, which means ‘minister’, because he ministers to the altar.

3.2 Concerning the origin of deacons in both laws

The order of deacons drew its origin from the tribe of Levi. For the Lord instructed Moses, that through the ordination of Aaron the priest and his sons, the tribe of Levi should be ordained again in the service of the divine cult, and they should be consecrated to the Lord for all their firstborn, and serve God for Israel. They should also carry the ark and the tabernacle and all its vessels, and it has been commanded that they serve in the tabernacle from the age of twenty-five and above.

In the new law, however, we read the following in the Acts of the Apostles about their origin: Then the twelve apostles calling together the multitude of the disciples, said: Seek from among you seven men of good reputation, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this matter. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word.

3.3 Concerning the deacon’s ordination

A synod: When a deacon is ordained, let only the bishop who blesses him place a hand over his head, since he is consecrated not to the *sacerdotium* but to the ministry.

3.4 Concerning the deacons’ earnestness

The apostle said: Deacons in like manner ought to be grave and chaste, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy for shameful gain, holding the service of faith in pure conscience. And let these also first be proved, and so let them minister, having no crime.

Isidore said: They are, without a doubt, chaste, i.e. abstaining from lust. Not double-tongued, so that they do not disturb those who have peace.

Not given to much wine, for where there is drunkenness, lust is granted free rein, and also rage. Not greedy for shameful gain, lest they pursue worldly gains through their heavenly ministry.

3.5 Concerning the difference between the service⁴⁷ of the *sacerdos* and of the deacon

Isidore: They (*sc. deacons*) instruct all with a clear voice, in the manner of a herald, whether in praying or in genuflecting; they also call upon the Lord that we may have ears for hearing; they also read the Gospel. Without them a *sacerdos* has a title, but no office. For just as consecration belongs to the function of a *sacerdos*, so does dispensing the sacrament belong to the function of a *minister*.⁴⁸ The former he commanded to pray, the latter to sing psalms; the former sanctifies the offerings, the latter dispenses what has been sanctified. The *sacerdotes* themselves are not permitted to take the chalice from the Lord's table through presumption, unless it has been presented to them by the deacon.

And it ought to be known that, in the Law, Levites were reckoned to be guardians of vessels from their fiftieth year. Thus also in the New Testament the sacristans of the churches are in advanced age and are to be regarded as venerable old men.

3.6 Concerning the robes of the deacon

Isidore: Those who stand at the altar dressed in white, so that they may have eternal life, let them also abase themselves, white and immaculate, before hosts, namely clean in body, of unblemished modesty.

A synod: A deacon wears white only during the eucharist.

3.7 Concerning the deacon's subjection

A synod: The deacon shall know himself to be the minister of the presbyter, so that bishops may honour the presbyters.⁴⁹

3.8 Concerning the distribution of the eucharist by the deacon

A synod: If necessity compels, let a deacon hand out the eucharist to the people, with a presbyter taking responsibility.

3.9 Concerning the deacon's speech in the presence of presbyters

A synod: Let a deacon speak when questioned before presbyters.

3.10 Concerning the deacon not occupying the presbyter's chair

The synod of Nicaea: Deacons may not take precedence over presbyters, nor sit in the sight of presbyters.

4 Concerning the subdeacon

4.1 Concerning the word 'subdeacon'

Among the Greeks it is pronounced 'apodiaconos'; in Latin, however, as 'subdiaconus', namely, an under-minister, because the subdeacons obey the offices of the Levites.

4.2 Concerning the ministry of subdeacons

Isidore: They receive the offerings from the people in the temple of God, they offer the vessels of the body and blood of Jesus Christ to the deacon at the altar. About whom it pleased the fathers that those, who are ordained to the holy ministeries be free from any carnal uncleanness, in accordance with that which the prophet says to them: Be clean, you who carry the vessels of the Lord.

4.3 Concerning the ordination of the subdeacon

A synod: When the subdeacon is ordained, since he is not confirmed by the laying on of hands, let him receive an empty paten from the bishop's hand and an empty chalice. And from the archdeacon let him receive a

pitcher with water for washing hands, namely a cup with water and a towel.

4.4 Concerning the origin of subdeacons in both laws

Subdeacons are found in Ezra, where they are called Nazarenes,⁵⁰ namely the ones humbly serving God. Of their order was Nathanael, who, in the Gospel, admonished by divine revelation, was deemed worthy to confess the saviour, the Lord having declared: Behold an Israelite man in whom there is no guile.

5 Concerning lectors

5.1 Concerning the origin of lectors

Lectors are they who proclaim the word of God, to whom it is said: Cry, cease not, lift up your voice like a trumpet. Those who recited the divine books drew their origins from the prophets and the law.

5.2 Concerning the lector's ordination

A Roman synod: When the lector is ordained, the bishop introduces him to the community, making known his faith, way of life, and talent. Thereafter, the community watching, let him also give him a book, from which he will read, saying to him: Take, and be the revealer of God's word; if you fulfil the office faithfully and beneficially, you shall have a share with those who ministered the word of God.

5.3 Concerning the one who should be elected lector

Isidore: However, the one who is advanced to this sort of rank will be imbued with doctrine and books, and so adorned with the knowledge of meanings and words, that he shall know how to distinguish sentences, where a compound is joined, at which point speech should be paused, where the final sentence should end, namely distinguishing types of pronunciation, and so forth.

5.4 Concerning the voice of lectors

The same said: Moreover, the voice of lectors ought to be plain and clear, suited to every type of pronunciation, full of manly vigour, avoiding a common and rustic tone, not meek, but not boastful, not ragged, not delicate, and not feminine.

6 Concerning the exorcist

6.1 Concerning the origin of exorcists

The first to assume this grade was Ezra, who ordered that there be *dispositores* in Solomon's temple, whom Ezra refers to as administrators of the temple, and whom the church now calls God's exorcists. Just as a prudent and good administrator knows his lord's property and oversees all the measures of [his] wealth, so the exorcist brings the secrets of the whole kingdom of God under his care, in the same manner that he commits the sacraments to memory.

6.2 Concerning the exorcist's ordination and ministry

A Roman synod: When the exorcist is ordained, he receives from the bishop's hand a little book, in which the exorcisms have been written, the bishop having said to him: Take, and commit them to memory, and have the power of laying on of hands upon the possessed, whether he be baptised or a catechumen.

7 Concerning the doorkeeper

7.1 Concerning their origin in the law

Doorkeepers are they who were called porters of the temple in the Old Testament, who were in charge of Jerusalem's gates, and who took turns guarding all the interiors and exteriors of the temple.

7.2 Concerning their ministry in the new law

In short, they come between the sacred and profane. They admit only the faithful into the church. For they are authorised to admit the good and reject the unworthy. And through them we enter the church.

7.3 Concerning the doorkeeper's ordination

A Roman synod: When a doorkeeper is ordained, after he has been instructed by the archdeacon on the manner in which he ought to behave in the house of God, let the bishop, at the archdeacon's recommendation, give him the keys of the church from the altar, saying: Behave as though you will render an account unto God for the things which these keys open.

8 Concerning the recapitulation of the seven grades

8.1 Concerning the grades that Christ participated in

He was a doorkeeper when he opened the gates of hell. He was an exorcist when he expelled the seven demons from Mary Magdalene. He was a lector when he opened the book of Isaiah. He was a subdeacon when he turned water into wine at Cana in Galilee. He was a deacon when he washed the feet of the disciples. He was a *sacerdos* when he received bread and broke it and blessed it. He was a bishop when he raised his hands to the heavens and blessed his apostles.

8.2 Concerning the difference between the grades

It is the duty of the bishop to judge and interpret and consecrate and confirm and ordain and baptise and offer. The *sacerdos*, however, ought to offer and bless and govern well and teach and baptise. The levite, namely the minister, ought to minister at the altar and baptise and give communion. It is the duty of the subdeacon to serve the water at the altar to the deacon and to clean the altar. The exorcist ought to expel demons and tell those who take communion to ask to be cleansed by the water of ministry. The lector ought to read out to him, who preaches, and to recite

the lections and bless the new loaves and firstfruits. The doorkeeper ought to sound the bell, open the church and the *sacrarium* and the book being used for preaching or reading.

9 Concerning the acolyte and psalmist and cleric

9.1 Concerning the acolyte's ordination

A Roman synod: When the acolyte is ordained, he is also taught by the bishop how he ought to perform his duty, but let him receive a candlestick with wax from the archdeacon, so that he may know that he is charged with lighting the church's lamps. Let him also receive an empty small jug for supplying wine for the eucharist of the body of Christ.

9.2 Concerning the psalmist's origin, his voice and his duties

Isidore: David and Asaph stood out as precedents for the psalmists. After the death of Asaph, his sons were installed in that order by David, and they were psalmists by hereditary succession, just like the sacerdotal order. The church drew on that ancient custom as an example of supporting the psalmists, by whose songs the minds of the hearers are aroused to the love of God. Their voice, however, will not be rough, nor hoarse or dissonant, but melodious, agreeable, clear, and sharp, having a sound and melody suitable for holy religion, and it should not be redolent of the musical or theatrical art, but cause greater compunction to the hearers.

Concerning the psalmist's ordination

He is ordained without the bishop's command, but by the decision of the presbyter alone, saying to him: See that what you sing with your mouth, you believe with your heart, and what you believe with your heart, you show forth with deeds.

Psalmist is Greek, in Latin it is *cantator*; a psalm being a *canticum*. But a psalm is divine while a *canticum* is human.

Concerning the cleric

Concerning the word ‘cleric’⁵¹

Clerics, who serve the church of Christ, their epithet is translated in the first place from the meaning of the term in Latin. For what is called *kleros* in Greek, is designated *sors* of God in Latin.⁵² Therefore, they are called clerics either because they are of the Lord’s lot (*sors*), or because the same Lord is their lot, namely the share of the clerics. For the same is the share of the Lord; or he ought to show that he is the kind of person to have the Lord as his share, so that he may possess the Lord and may himself be possessed by the Lord.

Isidore: Consequently, therefore, they are commonly called clerics either because they are allotted a place in the Lord’s inheritance, or because the same Lord is their lot, the Lord having said: I am their inheritance.

That all who have ecclesiastical grades are designated clerics

Therefore, all who have been ordained to the grades of the ministry of the church are known generically as clerics.

That clerics ought to be judged before the abbot, not before secular [judges]

The synod of Laodicea: If a cleric has a grievance against another cleric, let him not bypass his own bishop and rush to secular judgements, but first let the case be aired before his own bishop; or, at least, with the advice of the same bishop they shall submit to the judgement of those who are acceptable to both parties. If, however, someone should do anything other than this, he shall be subjected to canonical punishments.

Concerning the clerics’ case against the bishop

The same synod: But if a cleric has a case against another cleric, let it be judged before their own bishop. If, however, against his own bishop, let it be judged before the synod of the province.

That clerics ought not attend parties

The synod of Antioch: Christians going to weddings ought not applaud or dance, but respectfully dine or lunch; as is proper for Christians.

Likewise, the same synod: That *sacerdotes* and clerics ought not attend any public spectacles, feasts, or weddings; but it is appropriate that before the dancers enter, they ought to get up and leave.

Concerning clerics or bishops having a case against the metropolitan bishop

The synod of Laodicea: If a bishop or cleric has a grievance against the metropolitan bishop of his province, let him appeal to the primate of the province or the see of the royal city of Constantinople, and let them be judged there.

Concerning the tempering of the clerics' voice

Basil determined the measure of the voice by the standard of audibility. If the voice should be lower and more subdued than the occasion requires, it should rightly be regarded as a murmur or mutter, rather than speech. If, however, it should be louder than the occasion requires—when he to whom we speak could hear even if we spoke more quietly—this will also not be a voice, but a shout, which is inconstant.

That clerics are not to be tied to their *loca*, unlike their superiors

The synod of Nicaea: Clerics must not be restricted to their own churches in times of danger, or persecution, or if their search for a better rule compels them to leave. Senior grades, however, ought not abandon their own churches, but ought to be committed to its every need.

10 Concerning various matters pertaining to clerics

A cleric should represent his profession in both dress and appearance. Let him not seek embellishment for his feet or shoes.

A cleric should not live with unrelated women.

A cleric should not stroll through streets and alleyways, unless he is on compelling and very important business related to his office.

A cleric should prepare his own food and clothing through workmanship or agriculture, as long as it does not harm his office.

A cleric who wanders out among worldly people or in a public place, not in order to buy something, should be demoted from his office.

A cleric envying the successes of the brethren, while he is in this vice, should be demoted.

A cleric being scurrilous and making foul jokes should be demoted.

A cleric clinging to his office amidst temptations should be raised to higher grades.

A cleric singing between courses at a meal, not edifying faith but only profaning ears, should be excommunicated.

A cleric who breaks a fixed fast without being compelled by necessity is to be regarded as less worthy.

A cleric should avoid both the feasts and the solemnities of heretics and schismatics.

A cleric, although versed in God's word, should obtain food by means of his own productive work.

A cleric who thinks that a bishop ruled unfairly against him should go before a synod.

A cleric is not allowed to demand the death of someone. And we ought not censure the powers granted by God for punishing the wicked, even after baptism, lest we should be seen to diverge from the Lord's discipline or go against the Lord's authority. However, all things done with those powers will be kept in the account to be rendered [to God]. However, so long as the authority of the laws is exercised against the wicked, the one ordering their death will be immune.⁵³

Clerics possessed by the devil should be demoted.

A cleric is not allowed to associate with unrelated women, but he may live only with his mother, maternal aunt, daughter, sister, or granddaughter; this offence is perceived to be different from all others that nature established.

A cleric who, not being ill, is absent from the night office, should be deprived of his stipend.

A cleric who makes a slanderous remark, especially against *sacerdotes*, should be compelled to ask forgiveness. Should he refuse, let him be demoted and not be recalled to office until he makes satisfaction.

A cleric who, amidst temptations, turns away from his office or fulfills it negligently, should be removed from office.

A cleric who swears must be excommunicated.

A cleric should neither groom his hair nor shave his beard.

A cleric should not desert his own church.

A cleric should not accept interest payments and not pursue shameful gain. If one should be found planning something like this, let him be ejected from the clergy.

Clerics who disagree over a certain matter and it has been proven that one of them provoked an enemy [of the other] to slay or injure him, it is more fitting that he be called a killer than a cleric and regarded as a stranger by all the righteous.

A cleric ought not accept interest payments, since he will not attain a heavenly abode, because he gave his money to interest payments.

That all clerics ought not engage in secular businesses

The synod of Chalcedon: It has come to the attention of the holy synod that certain men who appear to have been included among the clergy, have rented the estates of others for the sake of shameful gain, and have taken on secular business with the greatest concern for their own profit, caring little for the ministry of God, but running around to the houses of worldly men, assuming responsibilities for patrimonies out of greed for property. The holy and great council decreed that henceforth, no bishop or cleric or monk should rent estates or implicate himself in secular affairs unless perchance laws require unavoidable care of foundlings or the bishop of a *civitas* orders him to take care of ecclesiastical property or the interests of orphans and widows and people who lack provision, and of persons, who have the greatest need of the help of the church, and the occasion demands it for fear of God. However, should anyone try to transgress the statutes, he shall be subject to ecclesiastical rebukes of this kind.

Concerning the Christian

Concerning the word ‘christ’

In the Ecclesiastical History: Therefore, then, when many among the Hebrews in past times were solemnly anointed to the same purpose with the consecrated oil of the anointed (*christus*) they were, on account of this, ordained either as kings, or prophets, or priests. Nevertheless, none of them could give his own name to the nations or disciples or followers and call his own disciples ‘anointed’, except he alone who is the true anointed, and he was anointed not by man-made oil, but by the paternal spirit. He made the peoples of his followers and the universal nation throughout the whole world known by the perennial word ‘Christians’, from the word of his name and of the true anointed.

Concerning the proper conduct of the Christian

Augustine: Who deems himself Christian, save he who follows Christ’s doctrine and imitates his example? But you think he is a Christian whose bread never sates hunger, whose drink never quenches thirst, whose table no one knows, by whose help no pauper is supported, whose goodness no one is familiar with, whose pity no one knows. Let not someone like this be called a son of God. A Christian is he who shows mercy to all, who feels the grief of another as if it were his own, who is moved to tears by the tears of others, whose home is shared by all, whose door is closed to no one, whose table no pauper is a stranger to, whose goodness all know, who serves God by day and night, who is made poor to the world that he may become rich to God, who desires heavenly rather than earthly things, who spurns human things, that he may know heavenly things.

Concerning those who think they are righteous, but are not

Gildas: While they eat bread by the measure, they boast about it beyond measure; while they use water, at the same time they drink the cup of hatred; while they take dry dishes, they are full of disdains; while they expend themselves on vigils, they rebuke others who are overcome by sleep. They prefer fasting to charity, vigils to justice, their own contrivances to concord, the enclosure of their cell to humility, [and], finally, man to God. They fast, which, unless it is pursued through other virtues, profits nothing. But they who perform charity, proclaim with the *cithara* of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴

Isaiah: All our justices are like the rag of a menstrual woman, etc.

In the Gospel, the Pharisee boasts, saying: I give thanks to my God that I am not like this publican, etc. Concerning them, Paul says: Not knowing the justice of God and seeking to establish their own, they are not humbled to the justice of God.

Concerning the need to restrain the clothes of Christians

Jerome: Their clothing is neither too clean, nor too dirty, and not outlandish, lest a crowd of passers-by encounter you and you should be pointed at.

Gregory: Surely, no one seeks special clothes for any other reason than vainglory: that he may appear more distinguished than others. That he seeks expensive clothes only out of vainglory is borne out by the very fact that no one wants to wear expensive clothes where he cannot be seen by others.

That a true Christian ought to adopt seven [characteristics] of Christ, along with his epithet

Jerome: A Christian ought to adopt, along with his epithet, seven [characteristics] from Christ. To be poor, as the Lord, who said: The son of man does not have, etc. Humble, as the Lord [said]: Learn of me, because I am meek, etc. Not quarrelsome, as his Lord, of whom it is said: He did not quarrel, nor did he raise his voice, etc. Not angry, as the Lord who was mild. Not greedy, as the Lord, who said: If you want to be perfect, etc. A good host, as the Lord, who said: He who shall receive one of them, etc. Not reviling, as the Lord: When he was reviled, he did not revile.

Concerning those, to whom the name ‘Christian’ pertains

Augustine: ‘Christian’ is a name of justice, goodness, integrity, patience, prudence, humility, innocence, piety.

65.17 That it is better to advise

Patrick says: We believe it is better to forewarn the negligent, lest offences abound, than to condemn the deeds once they are done.

Solomon: It is better to reprove than to be angry.

65.18 That one must not fast on Sunday

A Roman synod: Whoever fasts devoutly on Sunday is deemed not to be a catholic.

The synod of Gangra: If anyone fasts on Sunday on account of perceived continence, or defiance, let him be anathema.

66 Concerning contrary sources⁶⁰¹

Concerning the example of manual labour not being performed by higher orders and, on the contrary, being performed by the bishop

Luke in the Acts of the Apostles: It would be wrong for us to leave the word of God and serve tables.

On the contrary, Paul in the Acts of the Apostles: For such things as were needful for me and them that are with me, these hands have furnished.

Concerning the example of living abroad and, on the contrary, of remaining in one's own *locus* and doing God's will there

God says to Abraham: Go forth out of your country, etc.

David: I have become a stranger to my brethren and an alien to the sons of my mother.

Wherefrom it emerges that every pilgrim is an heir of Abraham and also of David.

On the contrary, Augustine: The kingdoms of heaven have been founded throughout the world. How do you expect to come across the earth to him who fills the earth? The Lord did not say: Go forth to the east and seek justice, or sail to the west and seek mercy, but he said: Give and it shall be given to you, forgive, and you shall be forgiven, have faith in the Lord and stay in your *locus*.

Concerning the concession made to Christians with respect to food-stuffs and, on the contrary, the need to restrict it

And Christians have been given permission to eat what they desire with moderation and thanksgiving.

On the contrary, Paul: All things are lawful to me, but not all things edify.

Aponius: Only he who practises self-restraint also with respect to lawful things, does not stumble into the unlawful.

Concerning wishing evil on enemies and, on the contrary, not wishing evil

The Lord in the Law: You shall curse this people.

David: Have no mercy on all of Israel.

Job: Cursed be their fury, because it was stubborn.

On the contrary, the Lord in the Law: Revenge is mine, and I shall repay.

In the New Testament, Paul: Those who wish evil shall not possess the kingdom of God.

That books ought not be withheld and, on the contrary, not be given to evildoers

There are many, even religious men, who want to have many bound books and yet they keep them shut up in cupboards, so that they neither read them themselves, nor lend them to others to read, not understanding that there is no benefit in having books and yet being too busy to read them. For a clean and well bound book does not make the soul clean if it is not read. However, a book that is continually read, though it cannot be fair on the outside through being handled and read all the time, nonetheless makes the soul fair within.

On the contrary: Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast your pearls before swine.

Origen said this with respect to scripture.

Jerome: If you will give the scripture to a fool, he will despise it, and he will not read what is worthy, but he will deride what is bad, and wickedly misinterpret the author.⁶⁰²

A synod decreed: Books belonging to a community ought not be removed from the monastic establishment,⁶⁰³ but should be confined for the use of those who would wish to read them.

The following was shown in the Annals of the Hebrews: In the time of Uziah, the five books of Moses were demanded by the twelve tribes, but Uziah replied that by no means ought they be handed over from the cupboard.

Concerning the immutability of doctrine and, on the contrary, its mutability

I do not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil.

Paul: If an angel of God should preach to you anything beyond what is already preached, do not believe him.

In the Ecclesiastical History: Let no new doctrine enter the caverns of your ears.

On the contrary: You have heard what was said by the authors of old: You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy. But I say to you: Love your enemies.

Another says: There are two things in the error of men that are tolerated with great difficulty: that presumption of falsehood should prevail over the truth, and—even when the truth has revealed itself—that falsehood should be presumptuously defended.

That God ought not be forgotten in times of prosperity and, on the contrary, not forsaken in times of hardship

The Law: When the Lord your God shall have brought you into the land that he shall give you after its inhabitants have been expelled before you, into the cities that you did not construct, to the fruit that you did not water, to the cisterns that you did not dig, to the houses full of riches that you did not build, take heed diligently lest you forget the Lord, who brought you out of the house of servitude to these favours.

On the contrary, Paul: I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not, for neither death, nor life, nor the sword, nor hunger, nor nakedness, shall be able to separate me from the love of God, etc.

66.1 That every judge ought not be changeable in his judgement and, on the contrary, ought to overturn an injustice⁶⁰⁴

Pilate says: What I have written I have written.

Jerome: Let a judge give his verdict and let him not change it. For if he should change it, let him be demoted.

Paul, on the contrary: Every unjust bond shall be undone.

Jerome: It is better to change than to confirm what does not seem to be true.

66.2 Concerning the slowness of judging and its swiftness

Solomon: Judge, do not be hasty.

Likewise: Do not give a premature verdict.

Job: The case which I knew not, I examined most diligently.

Patrick: It is inappropriate for judges to be too swift in judgement before they know what is right. For it has been said: Judge, do not be hasty.

Isaiah, on the contrary: Woe to me, because I have been silent.

Jerome: It is surely a sin to withhold the truth for very long.

Solomon decided about the question of the women without delay.

Christ gave his verdict concerning caesar's tribute without delay.

Nathan judged David without delay.

Peter judged Ananias and Sapphira without delay.

66.3 That a judge ought to observe three things

Gregory Nazianzen: To inquire without discrimination, to judge without delay, not to withhold the truth.

Origen: A judge must overturn an injustice, condemn deceit, decide the truth without delay, and not seek praise for it.

66.4 Concerning the severity of punishment and, on the contrary, clemency

The Law: Whoever will shed innocent blood, his own blood shall also be shed.

David: God, the Lord God of revenge; as far as: You who judge the earth.

Likewise: The just man shall rejoice when he shall see the punishment; as far as: Of the sinner.

Jeremiah: Cursed be he who withholds his sword from blood.

In the New Testament: Ananias and Sapphira fall lifeless at Peter's words.

Jerome: So long as *sacerdotes* spare sinners, churches bring about death.

Likewise: He who does not kill a thief, himself destroys the helpless. He puts to death the souls that do not die, and revives the souls that do not live.

Likewise: He who strives to revive the unjust and tries to release a criminal from punishment puts the one who is not dying to death.

Likewise: He who kills by the sword ought to be killed by the sword.

Augustine: What is this vanity, to spare one and lead all others into danger? For the people are polluted by a single sinner.

The Law, on the contrary: Be not mindful of the injury of your citizens.

David: The Lord is gracious and merciful, patient and plenteous in mercy.

Likewise: And if his children forsake my law; as far as: I shall not move away from them.

Christ: Love your enemies.

Likewise: If you do not forgive men their sins, your heavenly father, who is in heaven, shall not forgive you.

Likewise: Mercy exalts itself above judgement.

Peter asked: If my brother offend against me, how many times shall I forgive him? Up to seven times? The truth responded: I say not to you, up to seven times, but up to seventy times seven.

The Lord pleaded on behalf of the Jews: Father, forgive them.

So Stephen also said: Lord Jesus, do not reckon this as their sin, for they know not what they do.

66.5 Concerning the guilt of offenders coming upon those who defend them and, on the contrary, not coming upon those who defend them in good faith⁶⁰⁵

The tribe of Benjamin is wholly annihilated and exterminated for defending the offenders of a single city.

Likewise: Josias, endeavouring to defend Charcamis, is slain by Pharaoh Necanor,⁶⁰⁶ who communicated by means of messengers: I come not against you, but I fight against another house, against which the Lord has commanded me to go.

Jeremiah proclaimed: Do not defend the fugitives of God.

Likewise: The fugitives of God who fled to Egypt were annihilated, but the Egyptians who received them, likewise.

On the contrary: Not only did Abraham defend Lot the just and released him from the kings' captivity, but also the Sodomites, the enemies of God.

Likewise: Rahab the prostitute, defending Joshua's spies, the enemies of Jericho, is saved with all the members of her household.

Likewise: Joshua defends the Gabaonites, the enemies of God, and he is praised.

For we know that the city of refuge does not only defend the just, but also the unjust, that his case may be heard.

66.6 Concerning punishing theft severely and, on the contrary, leniently

Exodus: If any man steal an ox or a sheep, and kill or sell it; as far as: Being convicted of guilt, shall be put to death.

Solomon, on the contrary: The fault is not so great when a man has stolen; for he has stolen to fill his hungry soul.

Paul: He who stole, let him now steal no more, but labour with his hands, that he may have something to repay those in want.

66.7 Concerning dissolving an oath and, on the contrary, not dissolving it

If a woman, a girl in age, being in her father's house, bind herself by an oath, if her father knew the vows and immediately gainsaid them, both her vows and her oaths shall be void, and she shall not be culpable.

Saul vowed that Jonathan would be killed, and he was not killed, nor was he blamed for this, for he vowed according to his own will, not God's.

Avoid all iniquity, oppression, and injustice, for it is blood judgement; although it may not slay by the sword, it kills by means of the will; nor does it take heed of evil. For happy is the conscience that neither listens to nor looks at evil, and which displays its perfection more fully. For he says that he attains sublimity only on fortifications of unmovable rocks,⁶⁰⁷ namely in Christ; and that he has received the bread of the apostles and the waters of faith, namely God's law.⁶⁰⁸

Thus far Cú Chuimne of Iona and Ruben of Dairinis.⁶⁰⁹

Commentary

¹The omission of *plura... adserens* in HV is consistent with the injunction found in these copies (p. 120 ln. 12, p. 285 ln. 11, p. 286 ln. 1 of the present edition) against interpreting the Bible freely. See also nn 95, 183, 184.

²For other translations of the preface see N. Wright *apud* Dumville, 'Ireland, Brittany, and England', 92, and D. R. Howlett, 'The Prologue to the *Collectio*', 146.

³The foregoing Isidorian passsages have strained the interpretative faculties of many a medieval reader. Emendations by later readers were common, as with *Hib*'s replacing of the original *com-cilium* with *concilium* and Gratian's rendering of the same as *consilium* (*Decretum*, D. 15 c. 1: 7).

⁴This addition to the Isidorian text seems superfluous.

⁵For Isidore's interpretation of the word *princeps*, see *Etymol.* 9.3.21, cited here on p. 255 ln. 1. He does not use it exclusively to denote 'emperor'. For *principes* in the Irish church, see n 44.

⁶The dedication to bishop Stephen of Salona is from the so-called second recension of the *Dionysiana*.

⁷Here and throughout, *Sardinensis* was translated 'Sardican', because the reference is to the Council of Sardica of 343. *Hib* sometimes gives the correct form, but only in MS V.

⁸A *sacerdos* may well have been, as Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle*, 2:9, defined him, 'the chief resident priest in charge of a church, and especially perhaps its liturgical life', in both Ireland and Wales.

⁹The difference between presbyters and bishops, both of which are also designated *sacerdotes*, and between other members of the clergy, is developed in a citation from *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* in chap. 3.3, where some are said to have had a *sacerdotium* and others, like deacons, a *ministerium*. According to Isidore, cited here and in chap. 2.4, the main difference is that a *presbyter* does not ordain clerics. For Isidore's understanding of the sacramental grades more generally, see *Etymol.* 7.12.

¹⁰Here and elsewhere, ‘law’ is synonymous with the Old Testament.

¹¹See n 20.

¹²Lit. ‘fruits of firstfruits’. The readings *poma addom* in V and *pomma addomus* in D only make sense if one takes *adom* in its literal Hebrew sense, meaning ‘red’. The original text in the Apostolic Canons reads *ad domum*.

¹³To judge by the next sentence, which suggests that a bishop can be absent once but not twice, we may want to interpret the phrase *per unum dominicum* as a Latinisation of an Irish phrase with the Old Irish preposition *iar* (‘across’, ‘along’, but also ‘after’, ‘beyond’) meaning literally ‘beyond one Sunday’. This interpretation is consistent with *Hib* 2.25, which states: *Sinodus Hibernensis decreuit ut sacerdos una tantum die ab æclesia defuerit*.

¹⁴The exegesis in this case is odd because according to Luke 3:23 Christ began preaching in his thirtieth year and did not live to be forty. However, the compilers may have been alluding to Numbers 4:3, *a tricesimo anno et supra usque ad quinquagesimum annum omnium qui ingrediuntur ut stent et ministrent in tabernaculo foederis*. It is further unclear in what sense *sacerdos* (on which see n 8) is meant to be understood. Following H (*sacerdos id episcopus*) and the Isidorian text on p. 4 ln. 17, a *sacerdos* can mean bishop, which is what the compilers might have had in mind. Indeed, the phrase about the *sacerdos* is out of sync with the chronology and appears to have been added at the end as an afterthought.

¹⁵See n 113.

¹⁶For Gildas, *sacerdotes* might simply have been another word for priests. *Hib*'s compilers, however, have employed the term with another sense in mind (nn 8, 9), hence here and elsewhere I preferred to retain the Latin untranslated.

¹⁷I.e. as one who confessed the faith during and despite persecution.

¹⁸Lit. ‘how much more he ought to...’ Perhaps what is meant is that the bishop’s responsibility towards his community obliges him to ensure continuity in the episcopal office.

¹⁹This is a statement supporting the idea of a collective stake in running the ecclesiastical settlement.

²⁰In an Irish context, a *parochia* or *paruchia* was an area or people served by a monastery or church settlement. See Sharpe, ‘Some problems’, 243–247.

²¹In Cormac's Glossary Old Irish *póc* is glossed: *quasi páx i.e. a páce, ar is airidhe sída in phóc* 'as though it were peace, namely from "peace" for the kiss is the sign of peace'.

²²On priests, see n 8.

²³I.e. pre-Christian law. See n 71.

²⁴Preferring the reading *nunc* in DHOV, even though P's *sicut* and B's *sic* both serve the analogy but translate awkwardly into English.

²⁵See n 9.

²⁶This being the English verb that the Catholic Church uses for this action nowadays. However, the Latin verb employed by the latest edition of the Code of Canon Law is *conficio*. For both, see *Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition. New English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1998) §900.

²⁷Lit. 'killer'. However, since it comes at the end of the list, it is unlikely to have been the sense intended here.

²⁸An alternative translation, following the reading *in curam* found in most manuscripts (but appears inconsistent with the grammar) would be: 'he does not offer care to the poor without the bishop's consent'.

²⁹I.e. pre-Christian law. See n 71.

³⁰The Hiberno-Latin use of *immolare* in the sense of 'to offer', can be paralleled in writings of church Fathers and doctors, like Ambrose and Isidore. See Davies, 'Celtic charter tradition', 277; Stevenson, 'Literacy in Ireland', 30.

³¹See n 30.

³²See n 102.

³³Namely the presbyter.

³⁴The variant in V, *apperuit*, seems like an attempt to form a subjunctive, giving the sense 'should not' as in my translation.

³⁵Namely the presbyter.

³⁶On Hiberno-Latin *ius* as the equivalent of Old Irish *dligid*, see Charles-Edwards, 'Dliged', 71.

³⁷Old Irish *airchinnech* 'head of the church'. See n 44.

³⁸All copies of *Hib* depart from the Gregorian text to such an extent that the logic of the original argument is difficult to recover. I chose to follow P with minimal emendations.

³⁹This appears to be the meaning intended in P, even though an *ab* is missing before *altaribus*. The Gregorian letter reads *admoendus*.

⁴⁰The noun appears sometimes as *sedatium* (neut) and sometimes as *se-datio* (fem). Ó Corráin, Breathnach, and Breen, *Laws of the Irish*, 396, translate this ‘mortuary tax’. However, Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 240, 273, holds that ‘a priest is entitled to a proportion of the property of every deceased person by way of what is called a *sedatium*, apparently a payment for administering the last sacrament’. He prefers not to render it ‘mortuary tax’ because ‘it seems to be distinguished from the *pretium sepulchri*’, which occurs here on p. 107 ln. 19 (*app. crit.*), p. 108 ln. 17. For *sedatium communis* or *communionis* as payment for administering the last sacrament, see chap. 2.16. The only other occurrence of *sedatium* in a Hiberno-Latin text known to me is in the canons of an Irish synod (Bieler, *Penitentials*, 170 §6), where it appears to denote compensation for physically harming a bishop.

⁴¹But according to DHV it was a Hibernian synod. The two attributions, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The Irish Augustine, in the preface to *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, dedicates his work to *uenerandissimis urbium et monasteriorum episcopis et presbyteris maxime Carthaginensium* ‘the most venerated bishops and presbyters of the cities and monasteries, especially of the Carthaginians’ (PL 35:2149). Grosjean, ‘Sur quelques exégètes’, 69–76, argued that the Carthaginians were the followers of St. Carthach (Mo Chutu) of Rath an Co. Offaly. The Chronicle of Ireland gives the obit of a Saint Carthach in 637. In the Chronicle of Ireland, Carthach is said to have been expelled from Rath an in 636 and the Annals of Inisfallen add that he founded Lismore (Les Mór) in Co. Waterford in the same year. How much credence can be given to the annalistic record when it cannot be corroborated by independent sources is open to debate. However, it is clear that the tradition associating Carthach with Lismore dates from at least 833 (but no later than 911, the year in which the Chronicle of Ireland ends) for in that year the Chronicle of Ireland reports ‘the burning of Lismore of Mo Chutu’.

⁴²The implication seems to be that the charge is levied off the deceased’s property alone, even if he was a *frater* himself. If this was the case, then a *frater* should probably be understood here as a property-owning *manach* (see n 115). The verb *aufugio* ‘to shun, flee from’ in its transitive form is difficult to translate in the present context. I have chosen to interpret it metaphorically.

⁴³The eucharist given to the dying.

⁴⁴In an Irish ecclesiastical context *princeps* corresponds to Old Irish *airchin-nech* and denotes the head of an ecclesiastical institution, who can be either a layman or in orders. See Davies, 'Clerics as rulers'; Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 50–59, 63–67.

⁴⁵This is the only place-name in *Hib* which may be Irish, except for Armagh, which occurs only in BO (p. 460 ln. 4). For the possibility that it could, perhaps, be identified with Ferns, Co. Wexford, I owe thanks to Dr Fiona Edmonds. The orthography is not a problem, because the letter *n* in a parent text could easily have been mistaken for the letter *u*: a very common scribal blunder. For mention of a synod at Ferns in early medieval Ireland we have only hagiography to go by. The Latin Life of St. Maedoc tells of a synod that was purportedly convened by king Brandub (d. 605) of Leinster for the purpose of ordaining Maedoc archbishop and elevating Ferns to the status of a metropolitan see. However, Richard Sharpe's study of the relationship between the various recensions of the Life of Maedoc, conclude that the account of the synod and its decision to consecrate Maedoc archbishop, were interpolated in the thirteenth century. See his *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, 365.

⁴⁶The following translation is adapted from Bieler, *Penitentials*, 185.

⁴⁷I preferred 'service' to 'ministry' because of the technical meaning that the latter is given in *Hib* 3.3.

⁴⁸For the distinction between *sacerdotium* and *ministerium*, see *Hib* 3.3.

⁴⁹The second clause, from *ut* to *honorent*, does not appear in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*.

⁵⁰The word *Nazareni* (or variants thereof) does not occur in Ezra.

⁵¹The following chap. is loosely based on an Isidorian text, which *Hib* modified extensively.

⁵²The reference here is to *κλῆρος* and *sors*, both of which were used in late antiquity to denote 'land-share'. For the Greek see Liddell, Scott, and Jones *Greek-English Lexicon*, and for the Latin see Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon*. These terms were ubiquitous in documents dealing with land in the fifth century. See Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 90.

⁵³The pseudo-historical prologue to the *Senchas Már* §§4–6 (ed. and tr. Carey, 11–12/18) speaks of the church's right to defer judgement in cases of homicide to secular judges, who would judge according to traditional

Irish law. The pseudo-historical prologue does not say explicitly that the church itself should order capital punishment, but it suggests that the church is expected to condone it. Hagiography, however, makes an explicit reference to an ecclesiastical council condemning a thief to death. In the Life of Colmán Élo §30 (ed. Heist, 218) it is said that a *synodus monasteriorum* apprehended a thief and led him to the gallows, but he was eventually spared through the saint's intervention.

⁵⁴Translation is adapted from Winterbottom, *Gildas*, 80–81.

⁵⁵The word *peregrinatio* had diverse connotations in Ireland. The word *peregrinus* did not necessarily denote one who left the island or fulfilled the ascetic ideal. See Charles-Edwards, 'Social background to Irish *peregrinatio*', esp. 46, 57. Penitential *peregrinatio* is also well attested, e.g. in Adomnán's Life of Columba, 1.21, 1.30, 2.39. Some of these penitents would have been criminal offenders carrying out their sentence. See Geltner, '*Detrusio*'.

⁵⁶There are 91 references in *Hib* to *Hibernenses*, *Synodus Hibernensis* and variants thereof. For a complete list, see table on p. 151*. Scholarship has tended to associate *Hibernenses* with a reactionary party within the Irish church, which resisted liturgical and institutional innovations that the churches in the south of Ireland began to introduce in the second third of the seventh century. *Hibernenses* are thus defined in opposition to their supposed adversaries, the *Romani* (on which see n 162), who acknowledged Rome as the highest authority within Christendom, and adopted the Victorian computistical reckoning in lieu of the 84-year calendar which the *Hibernenses* clung to until 716 when (according to Bede, *HE* 5.22) Iona was reformed. Mention of *Hibernenses* in early medieval Insular sources other than *Hib* is scant. The term occurs only in the titles of two penitentials: *De disputatione Hibernensis* and *Sinodus Hibernensis* (Bieler, *Penitentials*, 160, 170). For more on *Hibernenses* and Irish synods, see introduction, p. 70*.

⁵⁷Sixth-century bishop of Hadrumetum in north Africa, who wrote a commentary on *Revelations*, ed. A. W. Adams, CCSL 92 (1985).

⁵⁸Translation adapted from *Etymologies*, tr. Barney *et al.*

⁵⁹See previous note.

⁶⁰See previous note.

⁶¹On the concept of 'natural law' in Irish legal culture, see n 71.

⁶²Translation adapted from *Etymologies*, tr. Barney *et al.*

⁵⁸⁹Translation adapted from *Etymologies*, tr. Barney *et al.*

⁵⁹⁰The Gregorian original reads: *in quo dilationis damno quid aliud innuitur.*

⁵⁹¹See p. 522.

⁵⁹²See p. 759.

⁵⁹³The original Augustinian passage reads: *tres syllabae sunt: peccavi. Sed in his tribus syllabis flamma sacrificii cordis ascendit in coelum.*

⁵⁹⁴The texts that follow, which emerge straight out of seventh-century Armagh propaganda, bolster the primacy of the see of Armagh and edify a kin group that claimed its descent from a certain Díchu, who is said by Muirchú (Bieler, *Patrician texts*, 78) to have been the first nobleman in Ireland to have been converted by Patrick. The prerogative of saints to leave *petitiones* ‘requests’ to be fulfilled after their death appears to be a hagiographical convention. It is also found in the three *petitiones* of Colmán Élo, on which see the Life of Colmán Élo §50 (ed. Heist, 223).

⁵⁹⁵Perhaps an allusion to Armagh.

⁵⁹⁶My translation is tentative. In HV we find a different version of the final ‘request’ (see *app. crit.*): ‘that in judgement, when a dispute arises between a cleric and a layman, the layman should seek a cleric who may dispute with the cleric’. In other words, the laymen may not debate directly with the cleric, but only via a representative who is himself a cleric.

⁵⁹⁷Translation adapted from Bieler, *Patrician texts*, 116.

⁵⁹⁸Translation adapted from Winterbottom, *Gildas*, 80–81.

⁵⁹⁹A fast was normally observed on the fourth rather than the fifth day, but perhaps a different reckoning of days is used here.

⁶⁰⁰See n 108.

⁶⁰¹For *causae* as ‘sources’, see *caussa* in *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*.

⁶⁰²The passage is not entirely clear to me.

⁶⁰³For Hiberno-Latin *urbs* see Bieler, *Penitentials*, 243 n 9.

⁶⁰⁴The translation of this chapter follows in part Charles-Edwards, ‘The construction’, 209–210. For *mendacium* as the equivalent of Old Irish *gáu*, see *ibid.* 231.

⁶⁰⁵Cf. Charles-Edwards, ‘Construction’, 220.

⁶⁰⁶*Recte Nechoao.*

⁶⁰⁷Cf. *Gúbretha Caratniad* (CIH 2199.5–6 = ZCP 15 [1925]: 361 §46), where a plaintiff's oath is upheld if an *ail anscuichthe* 'immovable rock' overswears with him. One of the glosses on the text takes the expression to mean written evidence, with reference to ogham inscriptions on rocks. See *GEIL*, 204; Herbert, 'Before charters', 108.

⁶⁰⁸This is the best I could do with what appears to be a garbled paraphrase of Isaiah and Jerome's commentary thereon.

⁶⁰⁹On the authorship of *Hib*, see section 1.1 in the introductory chapters.

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	c p. 158 ln. 16	
Caput 12	d p. 158 ln. 17	p. 162 ln. 16
p. 153 ln. 6		
Caput 13	Caput 19	Caput 2
	a p. 159 ln. 5	
a p. 154 ln. 2	b p. 159 ln. 7	p. 163 ln. 14
b p. 154 ln. 9		
Caput 14	Liber XXVI	Caput 3
a p. 155 ln. 8	Caput 1	p. 163 ln. 18
b p. 155 ln. 19	a p. 159 ln. 11	
c p. 156 ln. 1	b p. 159 ln. 13	Caput 4
Caput 15	Caput 2	p. 164 ln. 2
a p. 156 ln. 13	a p. 160 ln. 4	
b p. 156 ln. 17	b p. 160 ln. 5	Caput 5
	c p. 160 ln. 6	
Caput 16		p. 164 ln. 6
a p. 157 ln. 2	Caput 3	Caput 6
b p. 157 ln. 3	a[b] p. 160 ln. 12	
c p. 157 ln. 5	b p. 160 ln. 14	p. 164 ln. 16

Caput 7	Caput 12	Caput 17
a p. 166 ln. 22	a p. 174 ln. 2	p. 177 ln. 14
b p. 167 ln. 1	b p. 174 ln. 3	
c p. 167 ln. 2	c p. 174 ln. 4	Caput 18
d p. 167 ln. 4	d p. 174 ln. 6	
	e p. 174 ln. 8	p. 178 ln. 5
Caput 8	f p. 174 ln. 10	Caput 19
a p. 168 ln. 13	g p. 174 ln. 11	
b p. 168 ln. 15	h p. 174 ln. 13	a p. 179 ln. 16
c p. 168 ln. 17	i p. 174 ln. 15	b p. 179 ln. 18
d p. 169 ln. 1	k p. 174 ln. 17	c p. 180 ln. 1
e p. 169 ln. 3	Caput 13	d p. 180 ln. 4
f p. 169 ln. 5	a p. 175 ln. 3	e p. 180 ln. 5
Caput 9	b p. 175 ln. 12	f p. 180 ln. 6
	c p. 175 ln. 14	g p. 180 ln. 8
p. 169 ln. 8	d p. 175 ln. 17	Caput 20
Caput 10	Caput 14	a p. 180 ln. 12
		b p. 180 ln. 14
p. 171 ln. 11	p. 176 ln. 2	c p. 180 ln. 16
Caput 11	Caput 15	d p. 181 ln. 3
a p. 172 ln. 15	a p. 176 ln. 13	e p. 181 ln. 5
b p. 172 ln. 16	b p. 176 ln. 17	f p. 182 ln. 12, p. 182 ln. 13, p. 182 ln. 16
c p. 172 ln. 17	c p. 177 ln. 1	Caput 21
d p. 173 ln. 1	d p. 177 ln. 2	a p. 181 ln. 17
e p. 173 ln. 3	Caput 16	b p. 181 ln. 19
f p. 173 ln. 5		c p. 181 ln. 20
g p. 173 ln. 7	p. 177 ln. 5	

Caput 22	Caput 4	Caput 12
a p. 182 ln. 2	p. 185 ln. 17	a p. 189 ln. 4
b p. 182 ln. 4		b p. 189 ln. 7
	Caput 5	c p. 189 ln. 9
Caput 23	a p. 186 ln. 8	Caput 13
a p. 182 ln. 6	b p. 186 ln. 11	a p. 189 ln. 13
b p. 182 ln. 17		b p. 189 ln. 14
	Caput 6	c p. 189 ln. 15
Caput 24	p. 186 ln. 4	d p. 189 ln. 18
a p. 183 ln. 2		e p. 190 ln. 1
b p. 183 ln. 4	Caput 7	f p. 190 ln. 2
Caput 25	a p. 186 ln. 16	Caput 14
	b p. 187 ln. 1	a p. 190 ln. 9
p. 183 ln. 8		b p. 190 ln. 11
	Caput 8	c p. 190 ln. 11
Caput 26	p. 187 ln. 8	d p. 190 ln. 15
p. 183 ln. 14	Caput 9	Liber XXIX
	a p. 187 ln. 13	
Caput 1	b p. 187 ln. 16	Caput 1
		p. 191 ln. 7
p. 184 ln. 13	Caput 10	
Caput 2	a p. 188 ln. 2	Caput 2
a p. 185 ln. 2	b p. 188 ln. 5	p. 192 ln. 3
b p. 185 ln. 4	c p. 188 ln. 7	
	Caput 11	Caput 3
Caput 3		a p. 192 ln. 19
		b p. 193 ln. 8
p. 185 ln. 13	p. 188 ln. 12	

Caput 4	Caput 2	Caput 2
a[b] p. 193 ln. 11	a p. 200 ln. 2	a p. 205 ln. 4
b p. 193 ln. 14	b p. 200 ln. 4	b p. 205 ln. 6
c p. 200 ln. 6		
Caput 5	d p. 200 ln. 8	
p. 194 ln. 4	Caput 3	Caput 3
		p. 205 ln. 8
Caput 6	a p. 201 ln. 6	
p. 196 ln. 2	b p. 201 ln. 17	
		Caput 4
	Caput 4	a p. 205 ln. 16
Caput 7	a p. 202 ln. 2	b p. 206 ln. 3
p. 196 ln. 10	b p. 202 ln. 5	
Caput 8	Caput 5	Caput 5
a p. 196 ln. 18	a p. 203 ln. 2	a p. 206 ln. 6
b p. 197 ln. 1	b p. 203 ln. 4	b p. 206 ln. 8
c p. 197 ln. 5	c p. 203 ln. 5	
Caput 9	d p. 203 ln. 7	
a p. 197 ln. 4	e p. 203 ln. 11	Caput 6
b[c] p. 197 ln. 6	f p. 203 ln. 15	p. 206 ln. 19
c p. 197 ln. 12	Caput 6	
	p. 203 ln. 19	Caput 7
Liber XXX		a p. 207 ln. 10
Caput 1	Liber XXXI	b p. 207 ln. 12
a p. 198 ln. 10	Caput 1	c p. 207 ln. 18
b p. 199 ln. 3	a p. 204 ln. 19	d p. 207 ln. 20
c p. 199 ln. 4	b p. 205 ln. 1	e p. 207 ln. 21

Caput 8	Caput 13	Caput 18
a p. 208 ln. 3	a p. 210 ln. 11	p. 213 ln. 12
b p. 208 ln. 5	b p. 210 ln. 16	
c p. 208 ln. 7	c p. 210 ln. 17	Caput 19
d p. 208 ln. 9	d p. 210 ln. 18	
e p. 208 ln. 10	e p. 210 ln. 19	a p. 214 ln. 2
f p. 208 ln. 11	f p. 211 ln. 4	b p. 214 ln. 4
g p. 208 ln. 12		c p. 214 ln. 7
h p. 208 ln. 13	Caput 14	
i p. 208 ln. 15	a p. 211 ln. 7	
Caput 9	b p. 211 ln. 9	a p. 214 ln. 17
a p. 209 ln. 2	c p. 211 ln. 10	b p. 214 ln. 19
b p. 209 ln. 4	Caput 15	c p. 215 ln. 1
	a p. 212 ln. 3	d p. 215 ln. 4
Caput 10	b p. 212 ln. 5	Liber XXXII
a p. 209 ln. 7	c p. 212 ln. 7	Caput 1
b p. 209 ln. 9		p. 215 ln. 9
c p. 209 ln. 10	Caput 16	
	a p. 212 ln. 10	Caput 2
Caput 11	b p. 212 ln. 13	a p. 216 ln. 10
a p. 209 ln. 13	c p. 212 ln. 14	b p. 216 ln. 11
b p. 209 ln. 17	d p. 212 ln. 16	Caput 3
c p. 209 ln. 18	e p. 213 ln. 1	
Caput 12	f p. 213 ln. 3	p. 217 ln. 3
a p. 210 ln. 6	Caput 17	Caput 4
b p. 210 ln. 7	p. 213 ln. 7	p. 217 ln. 8
c p. 210 ln. 8		

Caput 5	Caput 12	Caput 18
	a p. 220 ln. 6	a p. 225 ln. 21
	b p. 221 ln. 6	b p. 226 ln. 1
Caput 6	c p. 221 ln. 9	c p. 226 ln. 2
	p. 217 ln. 12	d p. 226 ln. 3
		e p. 226 ln. 5
	Caput 13	
Caput 7	p. 221 ln. 11	Caput 19
	p. 218 ln. 10	a p. 226 ln. 9
		b p. 226 ln. 11
	Caput 14	c p. 226 ln. 13
Caput 8	p. 222 ln. 21	
	p. 218 ln. 13	Caput 20
		p. 227 ln. 16
Caput 9	Caput 15	
	a p. 223 ln. 3	
p. 219 ln. 3	b p. 223 ln. 7	Caput 21
	c p. 223 ln. 9	a p. 228 ln. 9
Caput 10	d p. 223 ln. 17	b p. 228 ln. 13
a p. 219 ln. 8	e p. 223 ln. 20	
b p. 219 ln. 9,		Caput 22
p. 219 ln. 10,		p. 228 ln. 16
c p. 219 ln. 11	Caput 16	
d p. 219 ln. 12	a p. 224 ln. 7	Caput 23
e p. 219 ln. 13	b p. 224 ln. 11	a p. 229 ln. 3
f p. 219 ln. 14	c p. 224 ln. 13	b p. 229 ln. 7
g p. 219 ln. 15		c p. 229 ln. 11
	Caput 17	
Caput 11	a p. 225 ln. 7	Caput 24
	b p. 225 ln. 17	p. 318 ln. 2

Liber XXXIII	Caput 6	Caput 12
Caput 1		
a p. 231 ln. 3	a p. 234 ln. 16	a p. 236 ln. 20
b p. 231 ln. 4	b p. 234 ln. 18	b p. 237 ln. 1
c p. 231 ln. 5	c p. 234 ln. 19	c p. 237 ln. 2
d p. 231 ln. 6	d p. 235 ln. 1	d p. 237 ln. 4
e p. 231 ln. 8		e p. 237 ln. 6
f p. 231 ln. 10	Caput 7	f p. 237 ln. 7
Caput 2	p. 235 ln. 4	Caput 12
a p. 231 ln. 13		a p. 236 ln. 9
b p. 231 ln. 14		
c p. 231 ln. 16		
d p. 232 ln. 2		
Caput 3	Caput 9	Caput 1
a p. 232 ln. 8	p. 235 ln. 16	a p. 237 ln. 17
b p. 232 ln. 18		b p. 237 ln. 18
c p. 232 ln. 19		c p. 237 ln. 19
d p. 232 ln. 20	Caput 10	d p. 237 ln. 19
e p. 233 ln. 1	a p. 236 ln. 2	Caput 2
Caput 4	b p. 236 ln. 4	a p. 238 ln. 2
p. 233 ln. 6	c p. 236 ln. 9	b p. 238 ln. 3
Caput 5	Caput 11	Caput 3
a p. 234 ln. 2	a p. 236 ln. 12	p. 238 ln. 8
b p. 234 ln. 6	b p. 236 ln. 14	Caput 4
c p. 234 ln. 7	c p. 236 ln. 15	p. 238 ln. 12
d p. 234 ln. 14		Caput 5
		p. 239 ln. 2

Caput 6	Caput 3	Caput 9
a p. 239 ln. 9	p. 242 ln. 19	p. 246 ln. 10
b p. 239 ln. 13		
c p. 239 ln. 15	Caput 4	
d p. 239 ln. 17	a p. 243 ln. 4	Caput 10
Caput 7	b p. 243 ln. 6	p. 246 ln. 17
p. 240 ln. 2	c p. 243 ln. 7	
	d p. 243 ln. 9	Caput 11
Caput 8	Caput 5	p. 247 ln. 2
a p. 240 ln. 8	a p. 243 ln. 13	Caput 12
b p. 240 ln. 10	b p. 243 ln. 17	p. 247 ln. 6
Liber XXXV	c p. 244 ln. 4	
a p. 240 ln. 13	d p. 244 ln. 5	Caput 13
b p. 241 ln. 11	e p. 244 ln. 6	
c p. 241 ln. 13	f p. 244 ln. 8	a p. 247 ln. 13
d p. 241 ln. 16	g p. 244 ln. 18	b p. 247 ln. 16
e p. 241 ln. 18	h p. 245 ln. 1	
f p. 241 ln. 19	i p. 245 ln. 4	Caput 14
g p. 241 ln. 20	Caput 6	p. 248 ln. 2
h p. 241 ln. 22	a p. 245 ln. 7	
Caput 2	b p. 245 ln. 9	Liber XXXVI
a p. 242 ln. 2	c p. 245 ln. 15	Caput 1
b p. 242 ln. 7	Caput 7	p. 248 ln. 12
c p. 242 ln. 8	p. 245 ln. 18	
d p. 242 ln. 9	Caput 8	Caput 2
e p. 242 ln. 11	p. 246 ln. 5	p. 249 ln. 3
f p. 242 ln. 15		

Caput 3	Liber XXXVII	Caput 9
	Caput 1	p. 260 ln. 9
p. 249 ln. 9		
Caput 4	p. 255 ln. 8	
	Caput 2	
p. 249 ln. 15		a p. 262 ln. 2
Caput 5	p. 255 ln. 15	b p. 262 ln. 3
	Caput 3	c p. 262 ln. 5
p. 250 ln. 9		d p. 262 ln. 6
Caput 6	p. 257 ln. 16	e p. 262 ln. 7
	Caput 4	f p. 262 ln. 9
p. 250 ln. 12		
Caput 7	a p. 258 ln. 2	Caput 11
a p. 250 ln. 15	b p. 258 ln. 6	
b p. 250 ln. 17	c p. 258 ln. 15	a p. 262 ln. 13
c p. 251 ln. 1	d p. 258 ln. 18	b p. 262 ln. 15
	e p. 258 ln. 20	
Caput 8	Caput 5	Caput 12
		p. 263 ln. 3
p. 252 ln. 13	a p. 259 ln. 2	
	b p. 259 ln. 6	
Caput 9	Caput 6	Caput 13
		p. 263 ln. 7
p. 253 ln. 2	p. 259 ln. 14	
Caput 10	Caput 7	Caput 14
		p. 264 ln. 4
p. 254 ln. 2	p. 259 ln. 17	
Caput 11	Caput 8	Caput 15
		p. 264 ln. 8
p. 254 ln. 11	p. 260 ln. 2	

Caput 16	Caput 23	Caput 31
a p. 264 ln. 12	p. 269 ln. 3	p. 272 ln. 5
b p. 264 ln. 19		
	Caput 24	Caput 32
	a p. 269 ln. 7	a p. 272 ln. 10
Caput 17	b p. 269 ln. 9	b p. 272 ln. 11
p. 265 ln. 2	c p. 269 ln. 10	c p. 272 ln. 13
Caput 18		Caput 33
p. 265 ln. 5		a p. 272 ln. 16
	Caput 25	b p. 272 ln. 18
	a p. 269 ln. 18	
Caput 19	b p. 270 ln. 1	
p. 265 ln. 10	c p. 270 ln. 2	Caput 34
		p. 273 ln. 8
	Caput 26	
Caput 20	p. 271 ln. 3	Caput 35
a p. 265 ln. 14		p. 273 ln. 11
b p. 266 ln. 3		
c p. 266 ln. 5	Caput 27	Caput 36
d p. 266 ln. 6	p. 271 ln. 7	p. 273 ln. 15
Caput 21	Caput 28	Caput 37
p. 266 ln. 16	p. 271 ln. 11	p. 274 ln. 12
Caput 22	Caput 29	Caput 38
a p. 267 ln. 3	p. 271 ln. 15	p. 276 ln. 3
b p. 267 ln. 8		
c p. 267 ln. 13	Caput 30	Caput 39
d p. 268 ln. 3	p. 271 ln. 18	p. 277 ln. 12

Liber XXXVIII	Caput 5	Caput 11
Caput 1	a p. 280 ln. 8 b p. 280 ln. 10 c p. 280 ln. 12 d p. 280 ln. 15 e p. 280 ln. 19 f p. 281 ln. 1	a p. 283 ln. 3 b p. 283 ln. 6
a p. 277 ln. 17 b p. 277 ln. 18 c p. 278 ln. 1 d p. 278 ln. 6 e p. 278 ln. 8 f p. 278 ln. 13	Caput 6 a p. 281 ln. 10 b p. 281 ln. 12 c p. 281 ln. 13 d p. 281 ln. 15	Caput 12 p. 283 ln. 10
Caput 2 a p. 278 ln. 15 b p. 278 ln. 17	Caput 7 a p. 281 ln. 18 b p. 281 ln. 21	Caput 13 a p. 283 ln. 15 b p. 283 ln. 18
Caput 3 p. 279 ln. 3	Caput 8 a p. 282 ln. 5 b p. 282 ln. 10 c p. 282 ln. 12	Caput 14 a p. 284 ln. 6 b p. 284 ln. 7 c p. 284 ln. 9
Caput 4 a p. 279 ln. 6 b p. 279 ln. 9 c p. 279 ln. 10 d p. 279 ln. 11 e p. 279 ln. 12 f p. 279 ln. 14 g p. 279 ln. 16 h p. 279 ln. 18	Caput 9 a p. 282 ln. 10 b p. 282 ln. 12	Caput 15 a p. 284 ln. 12 b p. 284 ln. 16
	Caput 10 p. 282 ln. 17	Caput 16 p. 284 ln. 19
		Caput 17 p. 285 ln. 2
		Caput 18 p. 286 ln. 21

Caput 19	Caput 8	Liber XL
a p. 287 ln. 14	p. 295 ln. 13	Caput 1
b p. 287 ln. 16		a p. 298 ln. 7
Liber XXXIX	Caput 9	b p. 298 ln. 14
	p. 295 ln. 18	c p. 298 ln. 16
Caput 1	Caput 10	d p. 299 ln. 1
p. 288 ln. 3		
Caput 2	a p. 296 ln. 3	Caput 2
p. 288 ln. 7	b p. 296 ln. 5	a p. 299 ln. 5
		b p. 300 ln. 4
Caput 3	Caput 11	
a p. 289 ln. 2	p. 296 ln. 8	Caput 3
b p. 291 ln. 5		a p. 300 ln. 7
c p. 292 ln. 1	Caput 12	b p. 300 ln. 8
Caput 4	a p. 296 ln. 12	
a p. 292 ln. 10	b p. 296 ln. 14	Caput 4
b p. 292 ln. 12		p. 300 ln. 10
c p. 292 ln. 15	Caput 13	
Caput 5	p. 297 ln. 3	Caput 5
p. 293 ln. 15		a p. 301 ln. 2
Caput 6	Caput 14	b p. 301 ln. 13
p. 294 ln. 2	p. 297 ln. 9	
Caput 7	Caput 15	Caput 6
p. 294 ln. 7	p. 297 ln. 13	a p. 301 ln. 16
		b p. 302 ln. 3
Caput 7	Caput 16	Caput 7
	p. 298 ln. 3	p. 302 ln. 6

Caput 8	Caput 15	Caput 5
	a p. 302 ln. 9	a p. 309 ln. 11
	b p. 305 ln. 19	b p. 309 ln. 17
Caput 9	c p. 306 ln. 1	c p. 309 ln. 19
p. 302 ln. 13	d p. 306 ln. 5	
		Caput 6
Caput 10	Caput 16	a p. 310 ln. 13
	p. 307 ln. 2	b p. 310 ln. 16
a p. 302 ln. 17		
b p. 303 ln. 2	Liber XLI	Caput 7
		a p. 310 ln. 19
Caput 11	Caput 1	b p. 311 ln. 1
	a p. 307 ln. 7	
a p. 303 ln. 8	b p. 307 ln. 9	Caput 8
b p. 303 ln. 10	c p. 307 ln. 12	p. 311 ln. 8
Caput 12	d p. 307 ln. 13	
p. 303 ln. 14	Caput 2	Caput 9
	a p. 308 ln. 2	p. 311 ln. 12
Caput 13	b p. 308 ln. 3	
a p. 303 ln. 18		Caput 10
b p. 303 ln. 19	Caput 3	p. 312 ln. 2
c p. 304 ln. 1	a p. 308 ln. 6	
d p. 304 ln. 6	b p. 308 ln. 9	Liber XLII
Caput 14	c p. 308 ln. 11	
a p. 304 ln. 10	Caput 4	Caput 1
b p. 304 ln. 14	a p. 308 ln. 16	p. 313 ln. 12
c p. 304 ln. 15	b p. 309 ln. 1	
d p. 305 ln. 6	c p. 309 ln. 6	Caput 2
		p. 313 ln. 15

Caput 3	Caput 8	Caput 13
a p. 314 ln. 8	p. 318 ln. 2	a p. 320 ln. 17
b p. 314 ln. 9		b p. 320 ln. 18
c p. 314 ln. 11		c p. 320 ln. 19
d p. 314 ln. 13		d p. 321 ln. 1
	Caput 9	e p. 321 ln. 2
	a p. 318 ln. 9	f p. 321 ln. 4
Caput 4	b p. 318 ln. 12	g p. 321 ln. 6
a p. 314 ln. 16	c p. 318 ln. 16	
b p. 314 ln. 18		Caput 14
c p. 315 ln. 1		a p. 322 ln. 5
d p. 315 ln. 4	Caput 10	b p. 322 ln. 10
e p. 315 ln. 6	a p. 319 ln. 2	c p. 322 ln. 13
f p. 315 ln. 9	b p. 319 ln. 5	
g p. 315 ln. 14	c p. 319 ln. 6	Caput 15
h p. 315 ln. 17	d p. 319 ln. 7	p. 322 ln. 18
	e p. 319 ln. 8	
Caput 5		Caput 16
a p. 316 ln. 2		a p. 323 ln. 2
b p. 316 ln. 3	Caput 11	b p. 323 ln. 11
c p. 316 ln. 4	a p. 319 ln. 11	c p. 323 ln. 14
	b p. 319 ln. 19	
Caput 6		Caput 17
a p. 316 ln. 10	Caput 12	p. 323 ln. 18
b p. 316 ln. 12	a p. 320 ln. 2	
c p. 316 ln. 12	b p. 320 ln. 9	Caput 18
d p. 316 ln. 14	c p. 320 ln. 11	p. 324 ln. 3
e p. 316 ln. 15	d p. 320 ln. 12	
	e p. 320 ln. 13	Caput 19
Caput 7	f p. 320 ln. 14	p. 324 ln. 16
p. 317 ln. 2		

Caput 20	Caput 28	Caput 5
p. 325 ln. 11	p. 328 ln. 17	p. 337 ln. 15
Caput 21	Caput 29	Caput 6
a p. 325 ln. 16	p. 328 ln. 22	p. 338 ln. 3
b p. 325 ln. 20	Caput 30	Caput 7
Caput 22	p. 329 ln. 9	p. 339 ln. 3
p. 326 ln. 8	Caput 31	Caput 8
Caput 23	p. 329 ln. 19	a p. 339 ln. 18
p. 326 ln. 15	Caput 32	b p. 340 ln. 1
Caput 24	p. 330 ln. 2	c p. 340 ln. 5
p. 326 ln. 18	Liber XLIII	Liber XLIV
Caput 25	Caput 1	Caput 1
a p. 327 ln. 6	p. 335 ln. 19	p. 340 ln. 8
b p. 327 ln. 9	Caput 2	Caput 2
c p. 327 ln. 14	a p. 336 ln. 5	a p. 340 ln. 12
Caput 26	b p. 336 ln. 9	b p. 340 ln. 18
a p. 327 ln. 17	Caput 3	c p. 341 ln. 1
b p. 328 ln. 1	p. 336 ln. 14	d p. 341 ln. 3
Caput 27	Caput 4	e p. 341 ln. 5
p. 328 ln. 11	p. 337 ln. 4	f p. 341 ln. 6
		g p. 341 ln. 8
		h p. 341 ln. 9

Caput 3	Caput 10	Caput 19
a p. 341 ln. 15	a p. 345 ln. 23	a p. 349 ln. 6
b p. 341 ln. 16	b p. 345 ln. 25	b p. 349 ln. 11
c p. 341 ln. 18		
	Caput 11	Caput 20
Caput 4	p. 346 ln. 2	a p. 349 ln. 16
p. 342 ln. 7		b p. 349 ln. 19
	Caput 12	
Caput 5	p. 346 ln. 5	Liber XLV
p. 342 ln. 12		
	Caput 13	Caput 1
Caput 6	p. 346 ln. 10	p. 350 ln. 10
a p. 343 ln. 14		
b p. 343 ln. 17	Caput 14	Caput 2
c p. 343 ln. 19	p. 346 ln. 16	a p. 351 ln. 6
d p. 343 ln. 20		b p. 351 ln. 8
	Caput 15	
Caput 7	p. 347 ln. 2	Caput 3
a p. 344 ln. 11		p. 351 ln. 12
b p. 344 ln. 12		
c p. 344 ln. 14	Caput 16	Caput 4
d p. 344 ln. 15	p. 347 ln. 10	a p. 351 ln. 19
e p. 344 ln. 17		b p. 352 ln. 1
	Caput 17	c p. 352 ln. 4
Caput 8	p. 348 ln. 9	d p. 352 ln. 7
p. 344 ln. 19		
	Caput 18	
Caput 9	a p. 348 ln. 18	Caput 5
p. 345 ln. 19	b p. 349 ln. 1	p. 352 ln. 12

Caput 6

p. 352 ln. 18

Caput 7

- a p. 353 ln. 2
- b p. 353 ln. 4
- c p. 353 ln. 12
- d p. 353 ln. 14
- e p. 353 ln. 16

Caput 8

p. 353 ln. 19

Caput 9

- a p. 354 ln. 2
- b p. 354 ln. 5

Caput 10

p. 354 ln. 15

Caput 11

p. 355 ln. 2

Caput 12

- a p. 355 ln. 5
- b p. 355 ln. 10

Caput 13

p. 355 ln. 13

Caput 14

p. 355 ln. 16

Caput 15

p. 356 ln. 4

Caput 16

p. 356 ln. 7

Caput 17

a p. 356 ln. 11

b p. 356 ln. 12

Caput 18

a p. 356 ln. 16

b p. 356 ln. 17

Caput 19

p. 357 ln. 2

Caput 20

p. 357 ln. 8

Liber XLVI**Caput 1**

p. 357 ln. 13

Caput 2

p. 357 ln. 16

Caput 3

p. 358 ln. 9

Caput 4

p. 359 ln. 2

Caput 5

p. 359 ln. 10

Caput 6

a p. 361 ln. 7

b p. 361 ln. 10

c p. 361 ln. 12

Caput 7

p. 362 ln. 2

Caput 8

p. 363 ln. 16

Caput 9

p. 364 ln. 2

Caput 10

p. 364 ln. 7

Caput 11

- a p. 365 ln. 5
- b p. 365 ln. 7
- c p. 365 ln. 10

Caput 12

p. 365 ln. 13

Caput 13

- a p. 365 ln. 18
- b p. 366 ln. 1

Caput 14

p. 366 ln. 8

Caput 15

p. 366 ln. 14

Caput 16

p. 367 ln. 19

Caput 17

p. 368 ln. 16

Caput 18

- a p. 369 ln. 2
- b p. 369 ln. 4

Caput 19

- a p. 369 ln. 9
- b p. 369 ln. 11
- c p. 369 ln. 14

Caput 20

p. 370 ln. 12

Caput 21

p. 370 ln. 17

Caput 22

- a p. 371 ln. 7
- b p. 371 ln. 9

Caput 23

p. 371 ln. 15

Caput 24

p. 372 ln. 6

Caput 25

p. 372 ln. 8

Caput 26

p. 372 ln. 12

Caput 27

- a p. 373 ln. 3
- b p. 373 ln. 5

Caput 28

- a p. 373 ln. 10
- b p. 373 ln. 13

Caput 29

p. 373 ln. 16

Caput 30

- a p. 374 ln. 6
- b p. 374 ln. 7
- c p. 374 ln. 14

Caput 31

p. 375 ln. 2

Caput 32

- a p. 375 ln. 7
- b p. 375 ln. 10
- c p. 375 ln. 15

Caput 33

p. 375 ln. 18

Caput 34

p. 376 ln. 5

Caput 35	Caput 4	Caput 10
a p. 376 ln. 9	a p. 383 ln. 10	a p. 386 ln. 10
b p. 376 ln. 11	b p. 383 ln. 14	b p. 386 ln. 17
c p. 376 ln. 14	c p. 383 ln. 16	
d p. 377 ln. 3	d p. 383 ln. 20	
Caput 36	Caput 5	Caput 11
p. 377 ln. 6	a p. 384 ln. 2	a p. 387 ln. 2
	b p. 384 ln. 11	b p. 387 ln. 10
	c p. 384 ln. 13	
Caput 37	Caput 6	Caput 12
p. 378 ln. 2	a p. 384 ln. 16	a p. 387 ln. 16
	b p. 384 ln. 18	b p. 388 ln. 13
Caput 38	c p. 385 ln. 1	c p. 388 ln. 15
a p. 379 ln. 13	Caput 7	
b p. 379 ln. 16	p. 385 ln. 4	
Liber XLVII	Caput 8	Caput 13
Caput 1	a p. 385 ln. 7	a p. 392 ln. 4
p. 380 ln. 6	b p. 385 ln. 9	b p. 392 ln. 8
	c p. 385 ln. 10	
	d p. 385 ln. 12	
Caput 2	e p. 385 ln. 16	
p. 380 ln. 20	Caput 9	Caput 14
	a p. 386 ln. 2	p. 392 ln. 14
Caput 3	b p. 386 ln. 4	
p. 382 ln. 2	c p. 386 ln. 6	
		Caput 15
		a p. 391 ln. 6
		b p. 391 ln. 9
		Caput 16
		p. 393 ln. 6
		Caput 17
		a p. 393 ln. 15
		b p. 393 ln. 17

Caput 18	Liber XLIX	Caput 9
	Caput 1	p. 401 ln. 3
	a p. 397 ln. 15	
Caput 19	b p. 397 ln. 17	Caput 10
p. 394 ln. 6		p. 401 ln. 6
	Caput 2	Caput 11
Caput 20	a p. 398 ln. 2	p. 401 ln. 12
p. 394 ln. 13	b p. 398 ln. 4	
	Caput 3	Caput 12
Liber XLVIII	p. 398 ln. 13	a p. 402 ln. 3
Caput 1		b p. 402 ln. 6
p. 395 ln. 6	Caput 4	Caput 13
	p. 398 ln. 18	p. 402 ln. 12
Caput 2		
p. 396 ln. 2	Caput 5	Caput 14
	p. 399 ln. 7	p. 402 ln. 16
Caput 3	Caput 6	Caput 15
p. 396 ln. 8	p. 400 ln. 8	p. 403 ln. 3
Caput 4	Caput 7	Liber L
p. 396 ln. 15	p. 400 ln. 11	Caput 1
Caput 5	Caput 8	a p. 403 ln. 11
p. 397 ln. 2	p. 400 ln. 15	b p. 403 ln. 13
		c p. 403 ln. 14

Caput 2	Liber LII	Caput 2
a p. 403 ln. 19	Caput 1	a p. 412 ln. 11
b p. 404 ln. 1	p. 407 ln. 12	b p. 412 ln. 12
c p. 404 ln. 3		c p. 412 ln. 13
Caput 3	Caput 2	d p. 412 ln. 15
a p. 404 ln. 7	p. 408 ln. 2	e p. 412 ln. 18
b p. 404 ln. 10		f p. 413 ln. 2
c p. 404 ln. 11	Caput 3	Caput 3
Liber LI	p. 408 ln. 5	p. 413 ln. 5
Caput 1	Caput 4	Caput 4
p. 404 ln. 15		p. 413 ln. 12
Caput 2	Caput 4	
p. 405 ln. 2	p. 409 ln. 2	Caput 5
Caput 3	Caput 5	p. 413 ln. 17
p. 405 ln. 8	p. 409 ln. 9	Caput 6
Caput 4	Caput 6	p. 414 ln. 19
p. 405 ln. 11	p. 409 ln. 17	Caput 7
Caput 5		p. 414 ln. 22
p. 405 ln. 18	Caput 7	
Liber LIII	p. 410 ln. 10	Caput 8
Caput 6		p. 415 ln. 7
p. 406 ln. 4	Caput 1	Caput 9
	p. 412 ln. 7	p. 415 ln. 10

Liber LIV	Caput 9	Liber LV
Caput 1	p. 419 ln. 14	Caput 1
p. 415 ln. 17		a p. 423 ln. 15
	Caput 10	b p. 423 ln. 17
Caput 2	p. 419 ln. 17	c p. 423 ln. 18
p. 416 ln. 18		
	Caput 11	Caput 2
Caput 3	a p. 420 ln. 6	a p. 424 ln. 10
p. 416 ln. 21	b p. 420 ln. 10	b p. 424 ln. 19
Caput 4	Caput 12	Caput 3
p. 417 ln. 3	a p. 421 ln. 2	a p. 424 ln. 21
	b p. 421 ln. 5	b p. 425 ln. 2
Caput 5		c p. 425 ln. 7
p. 417 ln. 6	Caput 13	d p. 425 ln. 10
	a p. 421 ln. 9	
Caput 6	b p. 421 ln. 11	Caput 4
p. 417 ln. 11		p. 425 ln. 12
	Caput 14	
Caput 7	p. 422 ln. 1	Caput 5
p. 418 ln. 2		p. 425 ln. 15
	Caput 15	
Caput 8	p. 422 ln. 17	Caput 6
a p. 418 ln. 14		p. 425 ln. 15
b p. 418 ln. 16	Caput 16	
c p. 418 ln. 18	p. 423 ln. 6	Caput 7
		p. 426 ln. 6

Liber LVI	Caput 4	Liber LIX
Caput 1	a p. 431 ln. 15 b p. 431 ln. 18 c p. 432 ln. 1	Caput 1 a p. 435 ln. 5 b p. 435 ln. 7
	Caput 5	Caput 2 p. 435 ln. 9
Caput 2	a p. 432 ln. 4 b p. 432 ln. 6	Caput 3 p. 435 ln. 14
a[c] p. 429 ln. 2 b p. 429 ln. 7 c p. 429 ln. 12	Caput 6 p. 432 ln. 9	Caput 4
Caput 3 p. 430 ln. 2	Liber LVIII	a p. 436 ln. 2 b p. 436 ln. 4
Caput 4	Caput 1 p. 432 ln. 14	Caput 5 a p. 436 ln. 6 b p. 436 ln. 8
a p. 430 ln. 8 b p. 430 ln. 14 c p. 430 ln. 16	Caput 2 p. 433 ln. 13	Liber LX
Liber LVII		Caput 1 p. 437 ln. 16
Caput 1	Caput 3 p. 434 ln. 2	Caput 2 p. 437 ln. 20
p. 431 ln. 3		Caput 3
Caput 2	Caput 4 p. 434 ln. 15	a p. 438 ln. 7 b p. 438 ln. 12
p. 431 ln. 7		
Caput 3	Caput 5 p. 434 ln. 19	
p. 431 ln. 11		

Caput 4	Liber LXII	Caput 5
p. 439 ln. 3	Caput 1	p. 452 ln. 7
Liber LXI	p. 444 ln. 8	Caput 6
Caput 1	Liber LXIII	p. 452 ln. 10
a p. 440 ln. 4	Caput 1	Caput 7
b p. 440 ln. 6	p. 449 ln. 25	p. 452 ln. 14
c p. 440 ln. 9	Caput 2	Caput 8
Caput 2	a p. 450 ln. 7	p. 453 ln. 2
p. 440 ln. 17	b p. 450 ln. 9	Liber LXV
Caput 3	c p. 450 ln. 11	Caput 1
a p. 441 ln. 3	d p. 450 ln. 14	a p. 453 ln. 13
b p. 441 ln. 5	Liber LXIV	b p. 454 ln. 1
c p. 441 ln. 6	Caput 1	Caput 2
Caput 4	p. 451 ln. 4	p. 454 ln. 18
a p. 441 ln. 8	Caput 2	Caput 3
b p. 442 ln. 4	p. 451 ln. 13	p. 455 ln. 2
c p. 442 ln. 6	Caput 3	Caput 4
Caput 5	p. 451 ln. 18	p. 455 ln. 2
p. 442 ln. 12	Caput 4	Caput 5
Caput 6	p. 452 ln. 2	a p. 455 ln. 15
p. 443 ln. 18	Caput 4	b p. 455 ln. 18

Caput 6	Caput 6	Caput 15
p. 456 ln. 2	p. 460 ln. 15	p. 465 ln. 13
Caput 7	Caput 7	Caput 16
a p. 456 ln. 15		p. 465 ln. 18
b p. 456 ln. 21	p. 461 ln. 8	
Caput 8	Caput 8	Caput 17
p. 457 ln. 5	p. 461 ln. 13	p. 466 ln. 2
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Caput 1		a p. 466 ln. 7
a p. 458 ln. 2		b p. 466 ln. 9
b p. 458 ln. 5	Caput 10	Caput 19
Caput 2		a p. 466 ln. 11
p. 458 ln. 10	p. 462 ln. 2	b p. 466 ln. 13
Caput 3	Caput 11	Liber LXVII
	p. 462 ln. 7	Caput 1
a p. 458 ln. 18		a p. 469 ln. 19
b p. 458 ln. 20		b p. 469 ln. 20
c p. 458 ln. 22		c p. 470 ln. 1
d p. 459 ln. 1	Caput 12	Caput 2
Caput 4		a p. 470 ln. 4
	Caput 13	b p. 470 ln. 5
p. 459 ln. 6	p. 464 ln. 14	c p. 470 ln. 6
Caput 5	Caput 14	d p. 470 ln. 7
p. 459 ln. 20	p. 464 ln. 18	e p. 470 ln. 10
		f p. 470 ln. 11

Caput 3

p. 471 ln. 1

Caput 7

a p. 473 ln. 14

b p. 473 ln. 17

Caput 4

a p. 471 ln. 4

b p. 471 ln. 5

c p. 471 ln. 6

d p. 471 ln. 7

e p. 471 ln. 8

f p. 471 ln. 9

g p. 471 ln. 11

h p. 471 ln. 13

i p. 471 ln. 15

k p. 471 ln. 16

l p. 471 ln. 19

m p. 471 ln. 20

n p. 471 ln. 21

o p. 472 ln. 1

p p. 472 ln. 3

q p. 472 ln. 4

Caput 5

a p. 472 ln. 12

b p. 472 ln. 14

c p. 472 ln. 17

d p. 472 ln. 18

e p. 473 ln. 1

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Caput 6

a p. 473 ln. 7

b p. 473 ln. 9

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Bible and Apocrypha

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1:28 → p. 419 ln. 9	14 → cf. p. 182 ln. 10, cf. p. 472 ln. 20	25:33 → cf. p. 100 ln. 10, cf. p. 219 ln. 9
1:29 → cf. p. 416 ln. 1	14:18–20 → cf. p. 21 ln. 9, cf. p. 23 ln. 13, cf. p. 319 ln. 18	26:18 → cf. p. 90 ln. 6
2:19 → p. 225 ln. 22	14:24 → cf. p. 301 ln. 3	26:26 → cf. p. 301 ln. 5
2:24 → p. 376 ln. 12, p. 377 ln. 11	15:2 → cf. p. 264 ln. 12	26:26–28 → p. 241 ln. 3
3:17 → p. 225 ln. 21, p. 397 ln. 17, p. 432 ln. 14	17:19–21 → cf. p. 304 ln. 17	26:30–31 → p. 241 ln. 3, cf. p. 301 ln. 6
3:22 → cf. p. 175 ln. 12	18:1–22 → cf. p. 429 ln. 2	27:9–36 → cf. p. 100 ln. 10, cf. p. 219 ln. 9
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4:1–2 → cf. p. 304 ln. 16	18:16 → cf. p. 427 ln. 21	29:31–35 → cf. p. 304 ln. 19
4:7 → p. 225 ln. 22	18:22–27 → cf. p. 181 ln. 3	30:1–24 → cf. p. 304 ln. 19
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5:5 → cf. p. 175 ln. 3	19:15–17 → cf. p. 305 ln. 12	31:43–45 → p. 240 ln. 19
5:32 → cf. p. 304 ln. 18	19:24 → cf. p. 172 ln. 3	31:53 → p. 240 ln. 19
6:21–23 → cf. p. 432 ln. 14	21:10 → p. 369 ln. 22, p. 374 ln. 11	34 → cf. p. 179 ln. 1
7:1 → cf. p. 305 ln. 11	23:9 → cf. p. 107 ln. 19	34:1–3 → cf. p. 352 ln. 18
7:13 → cf. p. 301 ln. 2	24:1–3 → p. 240 ln. 13	34:6 → cf. p. 352 ln. 18
9:5 → p. 181 ln. 8	24:2 → cf. p. 263 ln. 14	37:18–36 → cf. p. 304 ln. 19
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9:7 → cf. p. 226 ln. 1	25:5 → p. 219 ln. 8, cf. p. 260 ln. 13	38:24 → p. 164 ln. 10
11:1–9 → cf. p. 172 ln. 2	25:5–6 → p. 220 ln. 21	39:4 → cf. p. 263 ln. 17
11:10–26 → cf. p. 223 ln. 10	25:19–34 → cf. p. 304 ln. 18	41:40–44 → cf. p. 135 ln. 2, cf. p. 263 ln. 16, cf. p. 395 ln. 6
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 42:25–26 →
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 47:20–27 →
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 47:26 → cf. p. 151 ln. 12 19:12 → cf. p. 343 ln. 14 22:26 → p. 236 ln. 9
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 48:5–6 → cf. p. 219 ln. 10,
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 48:13–20 →
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 p. 211 ln. 2 23:1 → p. 86 ln. 17
 48:22 → p. 217 ln. 8 20:15 → p. 191 ln. 7 23:2 → p. 88 ln. 9
 49:7 → cf. p. 218 ln. 10 20:17 → p. 191 ln. 10,
 p. 319 ln. 9 23:2–3 → p. 124 ln. 8
 50:24 → p. 105 ln. 7 21:12 → p. 163 ln. 16 23:6 → cf. p. 124 ln. 13

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 5:1 → p. 28 ln. 10,
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 p. 471 ln. 18
 19:26 → p. 406 ln. 12
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20:10 → p. 374 ln. 2
 20:10–21 → p. 166 ln. 5
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 22:11 → cf. p. 95 ln. 9
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 25:24 → cf. p. 250 ln. 12
 25:29–30 → p. 253 ln. 2
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 5:7 → p. 235 ln. 17
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 16:36–40 →
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 18:18 → p. 24 ln. 14
 18:20 → cf. p. 42 ln. 5
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 27:1–4 → p. 226 ln. 13
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 30:3 → p. 245 ln. 7
 30:4–6 → cf. p. 100 ln. 17,
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 30:11–15 →
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 6:6–9 → p. 73 ln. 13
 6:10–12 → p. 469 ln. 9
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 13:8–9 → p. 167 ln. 2
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 30:5–6 → cf. p. 100 ln. 14
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 1:16–18 → p. 260 ln. 3
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 9:5 → cf. p. 256 ln. 5
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 4:11 → cf. p. 176 ln. 4
 6:3 → cf. p. 231 ln. 4
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 8:10–17 → p. 153 ln. 6
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 16:13 → cf. p. 261 ln. 9,
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 26:16 → p. 150 ln. 6
 27:5–7 → p. 253 ln. 8
 30 (*sic*) → cf. p. 433 ln. 15
 30:24 → p. 463 ln. 2
 30:26–31 →
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 31:6 → cf. p. 153 ln. 18
 31:7–13 → cf. p. 79 ln. 12

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 5:14–16 → p. 333 ln. 13
 6:1–7 → cf. p. 176 ln. 5
 6:7 → p. 172 ln. 17
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 12:1–4 → p. 470 ln. 14
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20:42 → cf. p. 179 ln. 16,
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2:9 → cf. p. 74 ln. 7
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 4:15 → cf. p. 219 ln. 11
 4:43 → cf. p. 433 ln. 15
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4:5 → p. 168 ln. 6
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ed. L. Holste (Rome, 1661)
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Canones in causa Apiarii**c. 420**

ed. C. Munier, CCSL 149 (1974), 101–49

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Canones Adomnani

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 176–80

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Cassian

De institutis coenobiorum
ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17 (1888), 3–231

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| <i>Epist. 4, Ad episcopos per Viennensem et Narbonensem prouincias (J³ 821)</i> | 6.6 → p. 213 ln. 7 | |
| ed. P. Constant, <i>Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum</i> (Paris, 1721), 1065–72 | 7.37 → p. 67 ln. 12,
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Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canones-sammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 31–8

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Council of Arles 314

ed. C. Munier, CCSL 148 (1963), 9–24

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Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canones-sammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 70–85

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ed. C. Munier, CCSL 149 (1974), 230–2

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Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canones-sammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 98–105

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Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canones-sammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 41–4

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Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canonesammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 52–60

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23 → p. 318 ln. 9

Council of Neocaesarea 315

Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canonesammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 38–40

EOMIA 2:12–14, 116–141

2 → p. 376 ln. 14,
cf. p. 377 ln. 1

Council of Sardica 343

ed. G. Voellus & H. Justel, *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici* (Paris, 1661), I

Repr. PL 56:773–84

EOMIA 1:452–544

15 → p. 11 ln. 2

Council of Nicaea 325

Dionysiana I, ed. A. Strewe, *Die Canonesammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion* (Berlin, 1931), 24–31

EOMIA 1:103–273

13 → p. 387 ln. 14

16 → cf. p. 296 ln. 3

Council of Vaison 442

ed. C. Munier, CCSL 148 (1963), 96–104

4 → p. 97 ln. 21,
p. 314 ln. 13

9 → p. 203 ln. 19

10 → p. 203 ln. 19

Cumméne

Paenitentiale, ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 108–34
 9.13 → cf. p. 435 ln. 9

De canibus sinodus sapientium

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 174
 1 → p. 413 ln. 17
 2 → p. 414 ln. 19

De duodecim abusiis saeculi

ed. S. Hellmann, *Ps. Cyprian. De XII abusiis saeculi*, Texte und Untersuchungen 34.1 (Leipzig, 1909), 32–60
 9 (pp. 51–3) → p. 148 ln. 8
 9 (pp. 52–3) → p. 147 ln. 14

Dionysius Exiguus

Praefatio ad Stephanum Episcopum
 ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 85 (1972), 38–42
 4–5 → cf. p. 3 ln. 8

Eucherius

Instructionum ad Salonium libri duo
 ed. C. Mandolfo, CCSL 66 (2004), 77–216
 1 (p. 92) → p. 125 ln. 17
 1 (p. 97) → p. 56 ln. 2
 1 (p. 173) → p. 74 ln. 15
 1 (p. 179) → p. 418 ln. 8

Eusebius

Chronicon (tr. Jerome)
 ed. R. Helm, GCS 47 (1956)
Olymp. 162 (pp. 145–6^h) → p. 307 ln. 12
Olymp. 184 (p. 158^f) → p. 156 ln. 5
Olymp. 195 (p. 169^k) → p. 348 ln. 14
Olymp. 210 (pp. 182–3^k) → p. 348 ln. 16
Olymp. 212 (p. 187^a) → p. 183 ln. 14,
 p. 189 ln. 16,
 p. 347 ln. 5
Olymp. 219 (pp. 192–3^d) → p. 230 ln. 6
Olymp. 239 (pp. 207–8^{d–f}) →
 p. 156 ln. 8
Olymp. 256 (p. 217^d) → p. 450 ln. 11
Ecclesiastica Historia (tr. Rufinus)
 ed. E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen,
 GCS 9 (Berlin, 1903)
 1.3.17 → p. 47 ln. 11
 1.7.7–10 → p. 333 ln. 16
 3.31.3 → p. 105 ln. 17
 4.14.6 → p. 304 ln. 1
 4.14.7 → p. 304 ln. 6
 5.3.2–3 → p. 65 ln. 15
 6.5.5 → p. 243 ln. 9
 6.8.7 → p. 16 ln. 3
 6.11.1–2 → p. 16 ln. 6
 6.19.7 → p. 117 ln. 11
 6.44.1–6 → p. 387 ln. 16
 7.30.20–21 → p. 16 ln. 10
 9.10.11 → p. 102 ln. 10,
 p. 252 ln. 4,
 p. 318 ln. 12
 10.2 → p. 15 ln. 10,
 p. 137 ln. 11
 10.5 → p. 201 ln. 6

Eutropius

Breuiarium ab urbe condita
ed. C. Santini, MGH Auct. ant. 2
(Berlin, 1978), 4–182

8.18.1 → p. 147 ln. 2

4 → p. 293 ln. 15,
p. 294 ln. 7

5 → p. 15 ln. 13,
p. 294 ln. 2,
p. 295 ln. 18

6 → p. 272 ln. 5

7 → p. 15 ln. 15,
cf. p. 276 ln. 3,
p. 276 ln. 6

8 → p. 140 ln. 13

9 → p. 259 ln. 6

10 → p. 295 ln. 11

Excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*,
SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 136–48

26 → cf. p. 426 ln. 6

27 → cf. p. 195 ln. 4

47 → cf. p. 360 ln. 17

59 → cf. p. 360 ln. 20

60 → cf. p. 360 ln. 23

Gregory I*Dialogi*

ed. de Vogüé, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues*, SC 251, 260, 265 (1978–80)

1.1.6 → p. 256 ln. 18

1.4.19 → p. 256 ln. 21

1.5.6 → p. 256 ln. 23

1.9.18 → p. 413 ln. 2

1.10.7 → p. 257 ln. 4

1.12.4 → p. 438 ln. 15

2.3.10 → p. 257 ln. 7

2.23.2 → p. 257 ln. 14

2.23.4–5 → p. 78 ln. 6

2.24.1–2 → p. 78 ln. 11

2.34.2 → p. 111 ln. 3

3.15.7 → p. 442 ln. 6

3.15.9–10 → p. 442 ln. 12

3.15.17 → p. 76 ln. 2

3.26.8 → p. 403 ln. 3

3.37.20 → p. 283 ln. 10

Gennadius

Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum
ed. C. H. Turner, *J Theological Studies* 7
(1905/6): 89–99

22 → p. 384 ln. 13

40 → p. 398 ln. 4

46 → p. 387 ln. 2

Gildas

Fragmenta Gildae
ed. M. Winterbottom, *Gildas. The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents* (London, 1978), 143–5

1 → p. 301 ln. 2

2 → p. 61 ln. 18

3 → p. 48 ln. 11

- 4.12.3 → p. 377 ln. 9
 4.19.1 → cf. p. 424 ln. 21
 4.25.2–4.26.1 → p. 456 ln. 15
 4.26.1 → p. 456 ln. 21
 4.27.14 → p. 177 ln. 2
 4.30.4–5 → p. 456 ln. 2
 4.42.3 → p. 79 ln. 2
 4.44.10 → cf. p. 78 ln. 17
 4.50.2–6 → p. 406 ln. 4
 4.53.1–2 → p. 109 ln. 16
 4.53.3 → p. 110 ln. 15
 4.54.1–2 → p. 110 ln. 1
 4.55.2–3 → p. 110 ln. 7
 4.55.4 → p. 109 ln. 11,
 p. 110 ln. 17
 4.56.1–2 → p. 110 ln. 11
 4.57.14 → p. 78 ln. 15
Homiliae in Euangelia
 ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141 (1999)
 6.6 (pp. 43–4) → p. 285 ln. 6
 7.4 → p. 462 ln. 10
 14.2 → p. 287 ln. 16
 15.2 → p. 394 ln. 6
 17.5 → p. 267 ln. 20
 17.7 → p. 277 ln. 18,
 p. 278 ln. 1
 17.8 → p. 274 ln. 2,
 p. 274 ln. 4
 18.2 → p. 462 ln. 14
 18.4 → p. 462 ln. 17
 22.9 → cf. p. 8 ln. 1
 23.2 → cf. p. 429 ln. 7
 26.5 → p. 14 ln. 18,
 p. 169 ln. 5,
 p. 471 ln. 13
 27.7–8 → p. 441 ln. 13
 39.2 → p. 26 ln. 4
 40.3 → p. 49 ln. 4,
 p. 458 ln. 5
Homiliae in Hiezechihalem Prophetam
 ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (1971)
 9.14 → p. 159 ln. 7,
 p. 299 ln. 5
 9.22–23 → p. 339 ln. 3
 11.10 → p. 267 ln. 8
 11.12–15 → p. 286 ln. 21
Moralia in Iob
 ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (1979)
 5.11 → p. 467 ln. 17
 32.15 → p. 398 ln. 18
Registrum epistularum
 ed. D. Norberg, *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum*,
 CCSL 140–140A (1982)
Epist. 1.24 (p. 23) ad Iohannem *et al.*
 (J^3 2099) → p. 279 ln. 18
Epist. 9.219 (pp. 783–4) ad Suagrium
et al. (J^3 2863) → p. 25 ln. 12
Epist. 9.219 (p. 786) ad Suagrium *et al.*
 (J^3 2863) → p. 269 ln. 10
Epist. 9.219 (p. 787) ad Suagrium *et al.*
 (J^3 2863) or *Epist. 11.46* (p. 943) ad
 Brunigildam (J^3 2964) → p. 27 ln. 11,
 cf. p. 28 ln. 9
Regula pastoralis
 ed. F. Rommel, CS 381–2 (1992)
 1.2 → p. 27 ln. 12
 1.10 → p. 256 ln. 14
 1.11 → p. 256 ln. 14
 2.2 → p. 128 ln. 16

- 2.7 (pp. 220–2) → p. 19 ln. 18,
p. 136 ln. 3
 2.10 (p. 250) → p. 257 ln. 12
 3.2 → p. 302 ln. 3
 3.4 → p. 259 ln. 2
 3.14 (p. 348) → p. 459 ln. 1
 3.23 (p. 414) → p. 121 ln. 8

Hermas

See Bible and Apocrypha

Pseudo-Hilary

Commentary on Catholic Epistles
ed. E. McNally, CCSL 108B (1973)

II John 1:10 → cf. p. 276 ln. 4,
p. 298 ln. 16

Innocent I

For the decretals below see also *Dionysiana* version,
ed. C. Justel, *Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Dionysii*
Exiguī (Paris, 1628) §§ 10, 13, 22, 23, 24. Repr. PL 67:238–62

- Epist. 2, Ad Vicitricium* (J³ 665)
ed. P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum* (Paris, 1721), 746–58
- 2.6 → p. 113 ln. 13,
p. 114 ln. 7
- Epist. 6, Ad Exsuperium* (J³ 675)
ed. P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum* (Paris, 1721), 789–96
- 6.6 → p. 388 ln. 13
 6.8 → p. 45 ln. 10
 6.10 → p. 379 ln. 13,
p. 379 ln. 16
 6.11 → p. 45 ln. 14
 6.13 → cf. p. 111 ln. 7

Isidore

Chronica
ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auct. ant. 11
(1894), 424–88

252, 255 → p. 156 ln. 1
 272–3 → p. 155 ln. 19
 325, 327, 329–30 → p. 102 ln. 16,
p. 252 ln. 9,
p. 318 ln. 16,
p. 390 ln. 10

390, 395–6 → p. 103 ln. 4

De ecclesiasticis officiis
ed. C. M. Lawson, CCSL 113 (1989)

- 1.35.1–4 → p. 350 ln. 2,
p. 401 ln. 12
- 1.37 [36].4–5 → p. 57 ln. 18
 1.43 [42].3 → p. 60 ln. 16
- 1.45.1 → p. 415 ln. 17,
p. 416 ln. 10
- 1.45.2 → p. 418 ln. 14
- 2.1.1 → p. 42 ln. 14
- 2.4.1–2 → p. 407 ln. 12
- 2.4.3 → p. 409 ln. 2
 2.4.4 → p. 409 ln. 9
- 2.5.1 → p. 20 ln. 5
 2.5.2 → p. 6 ln. 2
 2.5.3 → p. 6 ln. 6
 2.5.5 → p. 6 ln. 8
- 2.5.7 → p. 256 ln. 7
 2.5.8 → p. 4 ln. 9,
p. 4 ln. 12,
p. 4 ln. 17
- 2.5.9 → p. 6 ln. 12
 2.5.10 → p. 13 ln. 5

- 2.5.11 → p. 7 ln. 8
 2.5.12 → p. 7 ln. 17,
 cf. p. 8 ln. 9,
 p. 8 ln. 11
 2.5.13 → p. 8 ln. 14
 2.5.15 → p. 5 ln. 7,
 p. 10 ln. 9
 2.5.16 → p. 10 ln. 10,
 p. 10 ln. 12
 2.5.17–19 → p. 9 ln. 11
 2.5.19 → p. 124 ln. 11
 2.6.1 → p. 8 ln. 3
 2.7.1 → cf. p. 19 ln. 13,
 p. 20 ln. 2,
 p. 134 ln. 16
 2.7.1–2 → p. 20 ln. 14
 2.7.4 → p. 19 ln. 13
 2.8.1 → p. 32 ln. 2
 2.8.3–4 → p. 33 ln. 8
 2.8.4 → p. 34 ln. 2
 2.8.5 → p. 33 ln. 3
 2.10.1 → p. 35 ln. 3,
 p. 36 ln. 2
 2.10.2 → p. 35 ln. 6
 2.11.1 → p. 36 ln. 8
 2.11.2 → p. 37 ln. 2
 2.11.5 → p. 37 ln. 8
 2.12.1, 2 → p. 41 ln. 2
 2.13.1, 3 → p. 37 ln. 14
 2.15 [14].1 → p. 38 ln. 12,
 p. 39 ln. 2
 2.16.1 → p. 288 ln. 7
 2.16.2–9 → p. 289 ln. 2
 2.18.11 → p. 357 ln. 8
 2.20.4 → p. 365 ln. 18
 2.20.9 → p. 368 ln. 9,
 p. 368 ln. 11
 2.20.12 → p. 364 ln. 7
Epist. ad Massonam
 PL 83:899–902
 2–3 → p. 52 ln. 3
 7–9 → p. 51 ln. 10
 10–11 → p. 52 ln. 13
Etymologiae
 ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis*
episcopi etymologiarum siue originum libri
 XX, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911)
 2.10.1–3 → p. 53 ln. 8
 2.10.4 → p. 54 ln. 2
 2.30.14–16 → p. 83 ln. 7
 5.1.1–3 → p. 56 ln. 9
 5.2.1 → p. 54 ln. 10
 5.3.1–2 → p. 54 ln. 15
 5.3.3 → p. 53 ln. 8
 5.4.1–2 → p. 54 ln. 19
 5.5 → p. 55 ln. 3
 5.6 → p. 55 ln. 5
 5.20.1 → p. 54 ln. 6
 5.21 → p. 55 ln. 15
 5.24.2 → p. 83 ln. 4,
 p. 90 ln. 13
 5.24.3 → p. 91 ln. 6
 5.25.2–3 → p. 55 ln. 8
 5.26.1 → p. 192 ln. 16
 5.26.18 → p. 191 ln. 3
 5.27.4 → p. 164 ln. 14,
 p. 165 ln. 11
 5.39.35–6 → cf. p. 102 ln. 16

- 6.16.5–9 → p. 2 ln. 8
 6.16.11–13 → p. 1 ln. 16
 6.19.65 → p. 57 ln. 3,
 p. 59 ln. 19
 6.19.67–68 → p. 59 ln. 19
 6.19.70 → p. 59 ln. 19
 7.12.1–2 → cf. p. 42 ln. 3,
 cf. p. 42 ln. 9
 7.12.11 → p. 4 ln. 10
 7.12.22 → cf. p. 31 ln. 17
 8.1.1 → p. 313 ln. 7
 8.3.1–2 → cf. p. 431 ln. 2
 8.11.15–16 → p. 452 ln. 14
 9.3.1, 3 → p. 145 ln. 7
 9.3.5 → p. 147 ln. 5
 9.3.21 → p. 255 ln. 3
 9.4.5 → p. 331 ln. 13
 9.4.7 → p. 330 ln. 9
 9.5.2 → p. 230 ln. 21
 9.5.3, 15, 16 → p. 204 ln. 4,
 p. 230 ln. 14
 9.5.17 → p. 204 ln. 13
 9.5.20 → p. 230 ln. 8
 9.6.1 → p. 331 ln. 6
 9.6.2 → p. 331 ln. 9
 9.6.29 → p. 331 ln. 2
 9.7.28 → p. 368 ln. 9
 9.7.29 → p. 368 ln. 11
 12.2.1 → p. 412 ln. 3
 12.1.5 → p. 420 ln. 8
 12.2.25–6 → p. 414 ln. 4
 15.2.1–3 → p. 184 ln. 8
 15.15.1–7 → p. 112 ln. 13
 18.15.1–2 → p. 347 ln. 13
 18.15.2 → p. 115 ln. 9
 18.15.9 → p. 83 ln. 19
*Historia Gothorum, Wandalorum,
 Sueborum*
 ed. T. Mommsen,
MGH Auct. ant. 11 (1894), 267–302
 81–2 → cf. p. 103 ln. 4
Quaestiones de veteri et nouo testamento
PL 83:201–7
In Leuit. 6.1 → p. 22 ln. 7
In Exod. 50.2 → p. 305 ln. 6
Sententiae
 ed. P. Lazier, CCSL 111 (1998)
 1.12.1 → p. 455 ln. 15
 1.12.4 → p. 457 ln. 5
 2.14.1 → p. 340 ln. 5
 2.30.1 → p. 84 ln. 13,
 p. 86 ln. 6
 2.31.1, 2 → p. 242 ln. 2
 2.31.2 → p. 242 ln. 7
 2.31.4, 5 → p. 245 ln. 18
 2.31.6, 7 → p. 246 ln. 10
 2.31.8 → p. 246 ln. 5
 2.31.9 → p. 243 ln. 17
 2.31.10 → p. 247 ln. 6
 2.42.7 → p. 60 ln. 13
 2.44.3 → p. 60 ln. 10
 2.44.8 → p. 61 ln. 11
 2.44.13 → p. 63 ln. 2
 2.44.15 → p. 63 ln. 2
 2.44.16 → p. 63 ln. 2
 3.8.1–2 → p. 75 ln. 2
 3.8.3 → p. 75 ln. 8
 3.37.4 → p. 280 ln. 19

- 3.37.5–6 → p. 281 ln. 1
 3.52.10 → p. 128 ln. 4
 3.52.13 → p. 128 ln. 9
 3.52.14 → p. 128 ln. 12
 3.52.16 → p. 128 ln. 12
 3.54.7 → p. 127 ln. 2
 3.55.2 → p. 84 ln. 10
 3.55.6 → p. 86 ln. 11
 3.56.1–2 → p. 129 ln. 9
- 11:2 → cf. p. 316 ln. 12
Commentarii in iv epistulas Paulinas (Ad Galatas, Ad Ephesios, Ad Titum, Ad Philemonem)
 PL 26:307–618
Ephes. 2.3 (PL 26:490) → cf. p. 61 ln. 9
Tit. 2:9–10 (PL 26:585) → p. 192 ln. 3
Tit. 3:1–2 (PL 26:590) → p. 151 ln. 5
Commentarii in Esaiam
 ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 73 (1963)
- 23:1–4 (p. 308) → p. 320 ln. 4
 33:13–19 (pp. 414–16) → cf. p. 473 ln. 22

Iunilius

- Instituta regularia diuiniae*
 ed. H. Kihn, *Theodor... und Junilius Africanus* (Freiburg, 1880), 465–528
- 2.28 → p. 125 ln. 20,
 p. 286 ln. 12

- Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei
 ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen,
 CCSL 77 (1969)
- 5:13 → p. 132 ln. 1,
 p. 281 ln. 12,
 p. 284 ln. 14

Jerome

- Aduersus Iouinianum*
 PL 23:211–338

- 1.14 → p. 353 ln. 4
 2.6 → p. 420 ln. 14
 2.15 → p. 59 ln. 12,
 p. 60 ln. 3
 2.37 → p. 142 ln. 2

- Commentarii in Danielem
 ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75A (1964)
- 4:24 (pp. 816–7) → p. 70 ln. 16
 5:17 (pp. 824–5) → p. 135 ln. 7
- Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*
 ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 72 (1959),
 250–361
- 10:12 → p. 282 ln. 12

- 5:22 → p. 424 ln. 17
 13:30 → p. 124 ln. 18,
 p. 379 ln. 19
 15:32 → p. 280 ln. 4
 17:26 → p. 152 ln. 2
 17:27 → p. 153 ln. 2
 21:13 → p. 324 ln. 9
 22:21 (p. 204) → p. 150 ln. 13
 25:40 → p. 70 ln. 5
 26:57 → p. 133 ln. 5
 26:61 → p. 85 ln. 3,
 p. 285 ln. 15
 27:5 → p. 382 ln. 16
 28:12–15 → p. 103 ln. 11,
 p. 103 ln. 14

- Commentarii in Ezechielem*
ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75 (1964)
- 9:1 (p. 103) → p. 168 ln. 13
44:22–31 (p. 669) → p. 267 ln. 13
- Commentarii in Hieremiam prophetam*
ed. S. Reiter, CCSL 74 (1960)
- 22:3 → cf. p. 168 ln. 17
32:11 → cf. p. 239 ln. 17
- Commentarii in Prophetas minores*
ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 76–76A (1969–70)
- Osee 7:11 → p. 315 ln. 6
Iona 1:4 → p. 183 ln. 4,
p. 460 ln. 15
Iona 1:7 → p. 160 ln. 14
Zachar. 2:8 → p. 56 ln. 6
Epistulae
ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54–6 (1910–18)
- 6.1 → p. 84 ln. 13,
p. 86 ln. 6
14.9 → p. 5 ln. 11,
p. 258 ln. 15,
p. 267 ln. 17
16.1 → p. 382 ln. 2
22.9 → p. 59 ln. 15
22.13–14 → p. 351 ln. 12
22.17 → p. 63 ln. 10
22.27 → p. 49 ln. 2,
p. 458 ln. 2
22.34 → cf. p. 292 ln. 1
36.5 → cf. p. 172 ln. 1
36.6 → cf. p. 171 ln. 19
52.12 → p. 63 ln. 17
53.3 → p. 281 ln. 18
53.7 → p. 120 ln. 13,
p. 286 ln. 2

- 54.4 → p. 392 ln. 12
64.4 → p. 212 ln. 14,
p. 213 ln. 1,
p. 301 ln. 16
107.10 → cf. p. 63 ln. 8
126.1 → p. 453 ln. 13
Vita S. Hilarionis
ed. A. Bastiansen, *Vite dei Santi*
(Rome, 1975), 4:72–142
46 (PL 23:52) → p. 399 ln. 14

Lactantius

- De opificio Dei*
ed. S. Brandt, CSEL 27 (1893), 3–64
12 (pp. 46–7) → p. 428 ln. 6

Leo I

- Decreta (J³ 1098)*
Dionysiana version, ed. C. Justel, *Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Dionysii Exiguui* (Paris, 1628). Repr. PL 67:277–362
- 18 → p. 369 ln. 11,
p. 369 ln. 14
19 → p. 369 ln. 9
23 → p. 388 ln. 18
24 → p. 359 ln. 14
25 → p. 360 ln. 2

Muirchú

- Vita Patricii*
ed. L. Bieler, *Patrician Texts*,
SLH 10 (Dublin, 1979), 61–122
II.5, 6 → p. 460 ln. 3

Old-Irish Penitential

tr. D. A. Binchy *apud* Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*,
SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 259–74

36 → p. 365 ln. 1,
p. 365 ln. 5

Origen

In Genesim homiliae
ed. W. A. Baehrens, GCS 29
(1920), 1–144

4.4 (p. 54) → p. 370 ln. 12

Orosius

Historia aduersus paganos
ed. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, *Histoires contre les païens*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1990–1991)

prolog. 3–4 → p. 414 ln. 12

prolog. 5 → p. 414 ln. 15

prolog. 7 → p. 414 ln. 16

4.13.17–18 → p. 192 ln. 11

5.15.3 → p. 230 ln. 11

7.4.4 → p. 157 ln. 5,
p. 157 ln. 8

**Passion of St. Peter
(Pseudo-Abdias)**

See Bible and Apocrypha

Pelagius

Expositiones XIII epistularum Pauli
ed. A. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*
(Cambridge, 1922–31)

Rom. 2:4 → p. 175 ln. 17

I Cor. 6:7 → p. 315 ln. 1

I Cor. 6:18 → p. 361 ln. 19

Liber de induratione cordis Pharaonis
ed. G. de Plinval, *Essai sur le style et la langue de Pélage suivi du traité inédit De induratione cordis Pharaonis*
(Freibourg, 1947)

2 (p. 139) → p. 1 ln. 5

Liber de uita Christiana

PL 40:1031–46 (CPL §730)

(also attributed to Fastidius. See *BCLL* §1179)

6 → p. 49 ln. 19

14 → p. 47 ln. 20,
p. 459 ln. 6

Patrick

Epistola ad milites Corotici
ed. L. Bieler, *Libri Epistolarum*
(Dublin, 1952), 1:91–102

8 → cf. p. 10 ln. 2,
cf. p. 29 ln. 5,
cf. p. 29 ln. 14,
cf. p. 291 ln. 7,
cf. p. 313 ln. 15

Prouerbia Grecorum

ed. D. Simpson, ‘The ‘Prouerbia Grecorum’’, *Traditio* 43 (1987): 1–22

References here are to other secondary witnesses to the *prouerbia*

I 1 → p. 286 ln. 16

I 2 → p. 286 ln. 17	<i>Statuta ecclesiae antiqua</i>
I 65 → p. 300 ln. 1	ed. C. Munier, CCSL 148 (1963), 164–88
I 69 → p. 317 ln. 13	1 → p. 7 ln. 13, p. 9 ln. 5, p. 11 ln. 9
IV 1 → p. 146 ln. 13	2 → p. 11 ln. 12
	3 → p. 11 ln. 10
	4 → p. 11 ln. 14
	5 → p. 11 ln. 16
	6 → p. 11 ln. 18
	7 → p. 12 ln. 1
75 → p. 314 ln. 3	8 → p. 12 ln. 3
83 → p. 336 ln. 18	9 → p. 12 ln. 4
118 → p. 324 ln. 16, p. 348 ln. 2	10 → p. 12 ln. 9
122 → p. 132 ln. 9	11 → p. 12 ln. 7
	12 → p. 12 ln. 14
	14 → p. 12 ln. 11
	15 → p. 12 ln. 15
	16 → p. 12 ln. 17
	20 → p. 393 ln. 6
	22 → p. 82 ln. 15, p. 391 ln. 6
9 → p. 397 ln. 2	25 → p. 46 ln. 7
	26 → p. 44 ln. 6
	27 → p. 44 ln. 8
	28 → p. 44 ln. 9
	29 → p. 44 ln. 11
	30 → p. 136 ln. 8
	32 → p. 90 ln. 10
9 → p. 13 ln. 8	34 → p. 44 ln. 13
10 → cf. p. 13 ln. 2, p. 13 ln. 13	36 → p. 353 ln. 19
	40 → p. 302 ln. 6

42 → p. 44 ln. 15
 44 → p. 46 ln. 1
 46 → p. 84 ln. 7
 50 → p. 18 ln. 14
 52 → p. 85 ln. 13
 57 → p. 34 ln. 7
 58 → p. 34 ln. 10
 60 → p. 34 ln. 5
 61 → p. 34 ln. 13
 65–7 → p. 394 ln. 13
 71 → p. 44 ln. 17
 72 → p. 46 ln. 4
 74 → p. 46 ln. 6
 75 → p. 45 ln. 1,
 p. 438 ln. 12
 76 → p. 45 ln. 3
 77 → p. 68 ln. 7,
 p. 466 ln. 11
 79 → p. 45 ln. 7
 80 → p. 45 ln. 5,
 p. 303 ln. 18
 82 → p. 303 ln. 19
 86 → p. 97 ln. 21
 88 → p. 45 ln. 8
 90 → p. 7 ln. 3
 91 → p. 20 ln. 9
 92 → p. 32 ln. 14
 93 → p. 35 ln. 12
 94 → p. 40 ln. 14
 95 → p. 38 ln. 6
 96 → p. 36 ln. 12
 97 → p. 39 ln. 6
 98 → p. 41 ln. 12
 102 → p. 353 ln. 16

Sulpicius Severus

Dialogi
 ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 (1866), 152–216
 3.11 → p. 181 ln. 5
 3.14 (p. 212) → p. 29 ln. 16

Symmachus

Epist. 15, Ad Caesarium (J³ 1460)
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 15.2 → p. 98 ln. 15

Synodus episcoporum

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*,
 SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 54–8
praef. → p. 466 ln. 7
 1 → p. 327 ln. 14
 3 → p. 296 ln. 8
 4 → p. 327 ln. 17
 5 → p. 327 ln. 17
 6 → p. 410 ln. 10,
 p. 410 ln. 13
 8 → p. 238 ln. 3,
 p. 240 ln. 10
 11 → p. 296 ln. 5
 12 → p. 302 ln. 9
 13 → cf. p. 72 ln. 15
 14 → p. 188 ln. 7
 15 → p. 196 ln. 18
 17 → p. 391 ln. 16
 20 → p. 231 ln. 8
 24 → p. 337 ln. 4

27 → cf. p. 302 ln. 13

28 → p. 302 ln. 13

31 → p. 46 ln. 11

34 → p. 296 ln. 8

Synodus Luci Victorie

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 68

4 → cf. p. 435 ln. 9

Synodus Patricii

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 184–96

2 → p. 29 ln. 11

3 → p. 385 ln. 12

4 → cf. p. 18 ln. 17,
p. 298 ln. 16

9 → p. 190 ln. 15

10 → p. 50 ln. 12

11 → p. 392 ln. 1

12 → p. 81 ln. 19

14 → p. 66 ln. 6

24 → p. 92 ln. 6,
p. 248 ln. 6,
p. 464 ln. 10

25 → p. 376 ln. 11

30 → cf. p. 252 ln. 7,
p. 252 ln. 13

Synodus Sapientium de decimis

ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin, 1963), 166–8

1 → p. 97 ln. 12

8 → cf. p. 117 ln. 10

Theodore, *Canones*

ed. P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929), 239–334

D 19–22, 168 → p. 422 ln. 1

D 22 → p. 421 ln. 11

D 23 → p. 421 ln. 2

D 79 → p. 19 ln. 3

U i.11.2 → cf. p. 466 ln. 11

U i.11.3 → cf. p. 68 ln. 7

U i.14.24 → cf. p. 365 ln. 7

U ii.14.1 → cf. p. 400 ln. 11

Vinnian, *Penitential*

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25 → p. 197 ln. 1

43–5 → p. 367 ln. 12,
p. 375 ln. 10,
p. 375 ln. 20

Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, *Epitomae*

ed. B. Löfstedt, *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Munich, 2003), 103–245

11 (p. 230) → p. 412 ln. 7

Vitas Patrum

ed. H. Rosweyde (Antwerp, 1615), vols.
5, 6. Repr. PL 73:855–1022

9.11 → p. 23 ln. 16

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Virtutes Iohannis

See Bible and Apocrypha

Zosimus

Decreta (J³ 745)

Dionysiana version, ed. C. Justel, Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Dionysii Exiguui (Paris, 1628). Repr. PL 67:261–78

3 → p. 13 ln. 2