

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE LATIN ACTS OF PETER

THE *Acts of Peter* in the original Greek, though not actually the oldest, was among the oldest of the Apocryphal Acts of Apostles, and can hardly have been put together later than the end of the second century. The only quite considerable fragment of these Acts that has come down to us is part of a Latin version, which because it is preserved in a unique MS in the Chapter Library at Vercelli (CLVIII, not CVIII, as Lipsius and Reifferscheid wrongly give it), and because the Acts are there incomplete at the beginning, is generally known under the name of *Actus Petri cum Simone Vercellenses*. Together with other Apocryphal Acts in Greek and Latin, they were edited by R. A. Lipsius in 1891.

The editor ascribed the MS to the seventh century, the version preserved in it to the fifth or sixth. For both version and MS I believe his date to be too late. Dr E. A. Lowe tells me that the MS is of saec. vi-vii; I more than suspect the version to have been made in the third or fourth.¹ Anyhow the Latinity is rough and unclassical, and the text corrupt. Much was done in Lipsius's edition by the editor himself, by the notes of the collator, G. Gundermann, and still more by the conjectures of Max Bonnet, towards the improvement of the text. But much remains to be done: and several years ago I set myself to contribute what I could to this task. The last proof of the pages that follow bears date in 1925: I laid it aside, I think, because I hoped to say something also on the date of the version. Perhaps that may come some day: but I am nowadays reluctant to leave more than I can help in proof, and what I have to say about text and interpretation may I hope be found to be worth saying, even if it stands alone. Most of the suggestions as to punctuation will, I think, commend themselves: Prof. Bywater used to say that more could be done for the improvement of the text of Aristotle by new punctuation than by new readings.

ACTUS PETRI CUM SIMONE (VERCELLENSES)

ed. R. A. Lipsius, 1891, pp. 45-103

p. 45 l. 6. *cod* Quartus **permansit** Paulo ut ubi uellet iret ab urbe.

Read **permisit** (the editor suggests 'persuasit').

¹ There is, as it seems to me, no real reason to suppose with Lipsius, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii, that the translator made any use at all, however limited, of the Vulgate.

- ll. 9, 10. *cod* uidit itaque uisionem, dicentem sibi dominum: Paule, surge et qui in Spania sunt **corpori tuo** medicus esto.
Read **constituti** 'be a physician to those who live in Spain'. I feel reasonably certain that this emendation is right, because it makes simple and obvious sense, and qui constituti sunt is a regular equivalent in this sort of Latin for οἱ ὄντες in Greek: we must assume that the exemplar was partly illegible—if it gave co***itu**, 'medicus' would suggest 'corpori tuo'.
- l. 17. *cod* quod saepius Paulus . . . conuicisset eos **Christus enim** in quem patres uestri manus inmiserunt et sabbatu(m) eorum dissoluebat et ieiunia . . .
Read **Christum esse eum**: instead of putting a colon after 'eos', put it after 'inmiserunt', so that Paul is nominative still to 'dissoluebat'. For 'Christum' the archetype may have had some compendium which did not properly distinguish the cases, as in *k* of the Gospels.
- p. 46 l. 14. *cod* in quibus contigit **quendam** nomine **Rufinam** uolens **itaque** et ipsa eucharistiam de manibus Pauli percipere cui Paulus . . .
Read contigit **quedam** nomine **Rufina**, uolens **utique** et ipsa . . .
- l. 18. *cod* contribulato **corde** tuo.
Read perhaps **corpore**, cf. the details in l. 25: contribulare is the regular O.L. for συντριβεῖν in the literal sense, see *Theo. Ling. Lat.*
- l. 23. *cod* si autem non paenitueris cum adhuc in corpore es accipiet te ignis. . . .
The editor's punctuation, a comma after 'paenitueris', makes havoc of the sense. Transfer the comma to es; 'if you do not repent while alive, you will suffer for all ages.'
- p. 47 l. 14. *cod* qui uinculum inligatum omni saeculo induxisti gratiae tuae.
Comparison with 55. 29 suggests that the devil bound men with the chain: God then must loose it. If we may assume a loss by similarity of 'homini' and 'omni', we might read 'qui uinculum inligatum (**homini confregisti, qui lumen**) omni saeculo. . . .'
- p. 48 l. 2. *cod* plurima turba mulierum . . . **sed** Dionisius et Balbus ab Asia.
Read **sed et**, with full-stop after 'splendidi uiri' in the next line.
- l. 11. *cod* quo audito fratres ascenderunt in urbem **referentibus** fratribus qui in urbe manserant.

- Read, in spite of the editor's caveat, **referentes**. The following 'fratribus' has attracted it wrongly into its case.
- p. 49 l. 8. *cod* et non minime fratres scandalizabantur ad inuicem, **praeterea** quod non esset Romae Paulus.
The translator regularly rendered *μάλιστα*, 'especially', by **praeterea**, cf. l. 11 'praeterea qui nuper cathechizati erant', 73. 10 'praeterea uolentium credere', and 85. 16 'praeterea diligens eas'.
- ll. 21-23. *cod* iam instruebat deus in futurum Petrum in Hierosolymis adimpletis duodecim annis quod illi praeceperat **dominus Christus** ostendit illi uisionem talem dicens . . .
Transfer of course the editor's comma from after 'dominus' to after 'Christus', 'the Lord Christ had commanded him': perhaps also change his full stop after 'Hierosolymis' to a comma after 'Petrum'—'the time of 12 years ordered by Christ being completed at Jerusalem'.
- p. 50 l. 18. *cod* Petrus per quem et tu et ceteri ex **inspirato cursu** sine ulla iniuria salui eritis.
Read ex **inspirato casu**: cf. l. 5 'in incerto casu'.
- l. 24. *cod* unianimem in fidem et dignum **diaconum** per conuersationem eius didicisset . . .
Read dignum **diaconii**, comparing 51. 4 'gratias egit domino qui eum dignatus fuisset sancto ministerio suo'.
- l. 28. *cod* intingas in signo domini: cf. 51. 7 'in tuo nomine mox lo[cu]tus et signatus est'.
Note that besides baptizare (50. 30, 51. 1) we have intingere and lauare of the act of baptism, signum and signare for the Seal or Confirmation. Both 'intingas' and 'lotus' suggest a very early date.
- p. 51 l. 26. *cod* dicebat enim Aristhon, ex **eo** Paulus profectus est ad Spaniam, non fuisse neminem de fratribus ad quem refrigerare.
ed. 'ex quo profectus', rightly as to the sense, but the archetype doubtless had **co**—if indeed the MS itself does not give it. *co* for *quo* is a type of orthography not uncommon in early MSS: for the converse see *iniquias* for *incipias* in 46. 5.
- l. 27. *cod* praeterea Iudaeum quandam inrupisse in Urbem, nomine Simonem, magico carmine . . . omnem fraternitatem dissoluit.
Insert **qui** between 'Simonem' and 'magico'.
- p. 52 l. 8. *cod* in domino Iesu Christo deo nostro qui **per te** aduentum **suum** nobis ostendit . . . qui te aduentare nobis iussit (Ariston is addressing Peter).

Read certainly *aduentum tuum*; and *aperte* for *per te*: cf. 51. 31 'rettulerat enim Paulus de eo (*sc* Petro) et ego in uiso multa uidens', and 52. 16.

1. 11. *cod* nuntio.

Note the very early and rare use of 'nuntius' for angel, as in the old Latin version of *Hermas*. The editor (see note at the foot of p. 52) seems wrongly to understand nuntius of Peter.

1. 19. *cod* **etiam quam** infirmem carnem portans.

ed *quamquam* for *etiam quam*; but I think *etiam* is right, and perhaps *quam infirmem* is positive for superlative.

1. 26. *cod* *praeoccupauit nos qui temptat orbem terrarum per angelos suos; sed extinguet seductiones ipsius . . .*

Insert apparently **deus** (*d̄s*) in the last clause.

p. 53 ll. 3-9. *cod* *si autem contingat mihi (*sc* Petro) cum inimico domini nostri **lapidem molarem suspendi**, sicut dominus meus dicebat ad nos si quis de fratribus scandalizasset et in profundo mergi. fiet autem non tantum lapis molaris, sed quod deterius est, **contrarium longe ab eis qui in dominum Iesum Christum crediderunt**, in hunc persecutorem seruorum suorum consummari.*

A very difficult and corrupt passage, in which apparently two transpositions of text must have taken place. In the first place 'lapidem molarem suspendi' must be brought down and put in between 'si quis de fratribus scandalizasset' and 'et in profundo mergi'. In the second place the closing part of the clause ought to run straight on, 'fiet autem non tantum lapis molaris sed quod deterius est in hunc persecutorem seruorum suorum consummari', and the words 'contrarium longe ab eis qui in dominum Iesum Christum crediderunt' cannot easily be given a tolerable sense in their present connexion. As Peter is protesting against the attempt to delay him even for a day from going on to oppose Simon in Rome, these latter words may, I think, refer to the idea of his remaining 'far from those who have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ', and should perhaps therefore be moved to the beginning of the clause. I have nothing better to suggest than **conmorari me** for **contrarium**: 'that I should stay on here far from these believers in their peril! but if I can meet this enemy of our Lord . . . then not only the millstone but what is worse shall come to be accomplished on this persecutor of his servants.' But the true restoration of the whole passage is still to be found.

- l. 15. *cod* fama peruolauit in Vrbem ad dispersos fratres Petrum **dicentem domi** uenisse Simonis causa.

Read quite certainly **discentem dñi** 'the disciple of the Lord'. The editor proposes confidently 'dicentium Romae': but discens for discipulus, and dñs for dominus are both characteristic Old Latin usages. For discens, which is actually found in our document 103. 5 'abstinuit manus suas a discentibus dei et Christi', see the references collected by Souter in *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei* p. ci, and add from the Vulgate Lc. xix 37, Jo. xxi 12 (Wordsworth and White), and Acts i 15 from Augustine's *Acta cum Felice Manichaeo* i 4 (ed. Bened. VIII 474 A): the unfamiliar phrase was changed according to the context into descendentium, discumbentium, audientium, but dicentium was the simplest change of all. I have not, it is true, found any example of the singular 'discens', but the plural is common and the singular might easily be used by analogy. dñs is an older abbreviation than dñs—or at any rate as old—and one would not be surprised to find it, sporadically at least, in our Vercelli MS. Unfortunately there is, in the elaborate account of the MS in the editor's prolegomena, pp. xxxiv–lii, nothing at all, so far as I see, about its usage in the *compendia* for the Sacred Names: it shews how far palaeography has progressed, under Traube's guidance, during the last generation, that a book published in 1891 is silent on so important and significant a matter.

- l. 24. *cod* uolens omne scandalum et omnem ignarantiam et omnem inergaema[m] diaboli . . .

Insert, to make sense, some such word as 'tollere' or 'auferre': it was presumably lost at the end of the line after 'uolens'.

- ll. 29 sqq. *cod* misit filium suum in saeculo, cui ego interfui; et super aquas ambulauit, cuius testis ipse ego permaneo, tunc saeculo operatum esse per signa et prodigia, quae omnia fecit. interfuisse me fateor, fratres carissimi; fui abnegans eum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, et non tantum semel, sed et ter: erant enim qui me circumuenerant canes improbi sicut prophetas domini.

The editor gives us no help beyond a misleading punctuation, which I have reproduced, and the note 'ambulauit *corruptum ex* ambulauit'. He has forgotten that Peter too 'walked upon the waters', and that in 58. 4 Simon Magus is reported to have called him faithless 'in aquas dubitantem'. The last half of the passage quoted is relatively simple to deal with:

put certainly a full stop before 'fateor' (what Peter 'confessed' to the brethren was obviously his denial): add the reference to Ps. xxi (xxii) 17—the psalmist was regularly cited in early Christian literature as a prophet: supply *ait* after *sicut*: and possibly write 'prophetes' for 'prophetas'. In the earlier clause *interfuisse me* must certainly go with what precedes: the sentence could no doubt do without it; but 'cuius testis ipse ego permaneo . . . interfuisse me' is parallel to 'cui ego interfui' of the beginning of the sentence. Presumably for 'quae omnia fecit' we should write 'omnia quae fecit'. *eum* before *dominum* doubtless (like 'ille' in St Cyprian's bible) represents the Greek article: more commonly our translator uses 'hunc', as 54. 28 'praeter hunc contemptum et contumeliatum a Iudaeis, hunc Nazorenium cruci fixum'.

p. 54 l. 5 *cod.* *conuersus ad me.* Luc. xxii 61.

p. 55 l. 9. *cod* *mea essent, si mihi eam custodires: nunc autem, quia non sunt mea, cui uis ea dona.*

The editor rightly corrects *eam* to *ea*, and *dona* to *donas*: but we must also transpose '*non sunt mea quia*'. 'They would be mine, if you kept them for *me*: but now they are not mine, because you give them away to whomsoever you will.'

l. 23. *cod* *Petrus autem haec uidens percussus dolore malo dixit . . .*

For 'dolore malo' the editor records a conjecture of Usener's 'dolore magno': but the change wanted is much smaller, *maledixit* (*ἀνειδίσειν*¹) for *malo dixit*. Cf. 61. 14 'maledicens dicebat ei' (Marcellus to Simon Magus), 71. 18 'nos a te hoc audito malediximus te' (Peter and Paul to Simon).

p. 56 l. 6. *cod* *improbe inimice omnium, cathatema ab eius aeclesia fili dei.*

Read (for *cathatema*) *catathema*. *κατάθεμα* is apparently known only in Apoc. xxii 8 *πάν κατάθεμα*, *Didache* xvi 5 *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος* (in Ps-Justin *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos* 121 *κατάθεμά ἐστι τὸ συνθέσθαι τοῖς ἀναθεματίζουσι* we should surely read *καταθεματίζειν* in reference to Mt. xxvi 74). It is not distinguishable from *ἀνάθεμα*, and the meaning must be 'thou shalt be anathema'. For *ab eius aeclesia* could we not therefore read *eris ab aeclesia*? The parallel clause which

¹ In Mark xv 34 Burkitt has shewn that *k** gave *maledixisti*, where D has *ἀνειδίσας*.

follows has a future, 'et tamquam titio de foco eiectus extingueris a seruis domini nostri Iesu Christi'.

- l. 15 *cod* habeto tu tibi **tunicas** tenebrarum : sine causa pulsas aliena ostia quae non sunt tua sed Christi Iesu qui ea cus(to)dit.

What in the world are 'tunics of darkness', and how can they be related to 'knocking at doors which are not yours but another's'? Read surely **ianuas**¹ tenebrarum: 'your gates of darkness are enough for you; it is in vain that you try to get through the doors that are guarded by Christ.' For 'sine causa' (= *εἰκῆ* or *μάρτυς*) see Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 306.

- l. 30. *cod* siue interdus siue noctu **adque hora** quae uenerit, dic quoniam non sum intus.

The sense is obviously 'Whether he comes by day or night, and at whatever hour, say I am not at home': we may either take **adque** as 'and', reading **adque hora qua(cum)que** uenerit, or take ad as preposition, reading **ad quam(cum)que horam** uenerit.

- p. 57 l. 6. *cod* et **loco** currens canis introiuit . . .

Why not **ilico**?

- p. 58 l. 18. *cod* quidquid autem periiit aut errat, tu solus conuertere potes **uniuersos**. te depraecamur, domine pastor ouium . . .

I should prefer to put a full stop after potes, and to read **uniuersi** te depraecamur . . .

- p. 59 l. 7. *cod* et tu itaque quicumque es daemon . . . exi a iuvene . . . ostende te omnibus adstantibus. hoc audito **iuuenis** expulit se, et statuam magnam marmoream . . . adpraehendens eam calcibus conminuit.

Clearly it was the demon who, being ordered to make himself visible to the bystanders, seized the statue and trod it in pieces: the demon, therefore, is the subject of 'expulit se', and **iuuenis**, if right, must be a genitive translated direct from the Greek: otherwise write **iuueni**.

- l. 20. *cod* Marcellus autem nihil dubitans, sed credens ex toto corde, antequam acciperet aquam manibus suis sursum adtendens dixit . . .

With some perverseness the editor has put a comma after aquam,

¹ See too pref. p. xxxvi l. 12 'permutatio litterarum a et u, quae interdum occurrit', i.e. in the MS.

oblivious of the apostle's direct injunction four lines higher up 'excipe desalientem aquam manibus tuis et ora dominum'. Transfer of course the comma after suis.

p. 60 l. 16. *cod* haec autem locutus est canis **angelo et apostolo** dei uer[i]: Petre . . .

Comparing 70. 5 'apostole Christi Petre', I propose with some confidence **Angele et apostole** dei ueri Petre

l. 31. *cod* in nomine tuo Iesu Christe **quousque adhuc** non creditur . . .

Read '**quo usque adhuc** non creditur' 'in which they still fail to believe'.

p. 61 l. 6. *cod* ut undique adduceret turbas et ostenderet sardam piscem factum, usque adeo ut quidam de populo panem illi mittere(n)t et totum **eum uidebant**.

Peter has changed an ornament in the shape of a fish into a live fish swimming in the tank, and it looked so real that some of the crowd threw in bread to it. Read, I think, et totum **comedebat**, 'and it ate it all up'.

l. 21. *cod* alii autem uasa . . . super caput eius effuderunt, qui propter eum dominum suum **effuderant** et multo tempore ligati fuerant.

When Marcellus was convinced that Simon was an impostor, he encouraged his slaves to turn on him and hustle him out of the house. Refuse was poured over him by those slaves in particular who through him had got into trouble with their master. That is obviously the sense: and obviously the second **effuderant** is a corrupt echo of the first, having displaced some presumably similar word. The editor notes 'scribe effugerant': but a simpler and more appropriate word is **offenderant**.

p. 62 l. 11. *cod* animas innocentes quas euertebas et contristabas **in** Christo.

Read, I think, **a** Christo.

l. 22. *cod* iam plurima turba fraternitatis reuersa est per **me** et per **quem** signa fecisti in nomine meo.

Our Lord appears in a vision to St Peter and addresses him in the above words. Read perhaps reuersa est per (te ad) **me** et per **quae** signa fecisti . . .

p. 63 l. 11. *cod* cui nomen est autem **nomen** domini.

A leaf ends before autem: and the editor suspects that words

have fallen out. That is of course possible: but we might also read **numen** domini (the word occurs in 47. 13 'deus numinis inenarrabilis', unless indeed we ought to read 'nominis' there, 'the ineffable name'), corresponding to ἡ Δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ of Acts viii 10.

- ll. 26, 27. *cod* inueni illam sedentem, conscissa ueste, crinibus dissipatis lugentem: cui dixi(t): Eubola, surge a **luctu** et reconpone faciem tuam . . .

I suggest 'surge a **lecto**'. If it is objected that beds were for lying on, not sitting on, I would compare Hermas *Vis.* v 1 προσευξαμένου μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ καθίσαντος εἰς τὴν κλίνην, Latin 'sedissem super lectum'. Yet compare 64. 10, 'in luctum morari'.

- p. 64 l. 1. *cod* et postquam perceperis ea, fac ut te **inueniat**.

Read, perhaps, ut te **inuenias**, comparing l. 23 'et nunc tu lucrare animam tuam': Mt. xvi 25, 26 εὐρήσει αὐτήν . . . κερδήσει.

- l. 5. *cod* uidebunt duo iuuenes satyrisicum aureum . . . quod offerent uenale.

Insert (after iuuenes) **habentes** or some similar word.

- p. 65 l. 1. *cod* tamquam inspiciendo et **inlaudando** opus artificis.

Since inlaudare does not seem to exist, read perhaps **laudando** or **conlaudando** (cf. 83. 21).

- l. 30. *cod* in sabbato enim **equidem** nolentem adducet eum.

Read **et quidem** nolentem.

- p. 68 ll. 3 sqq. *cod* tempore adparentem et in aeternum utique inuisibilem; que(m) manus humana non de(t)inuit, et tenetur a seruientibus, quem caro non uidit et **uidet** nunc, quem non obauditum sed nunc cognitum, obauditum uerbum et nunc est tamquam **nosset passionem exterum**, castigatum numquam sed nunc castigatus, qui ante saeculum est et tempore intellectus est . . . speciosum sed inter nos **humilem, fedum uisum** sed prouidum.

The punctuation is the editor's and is not always right, though the passage is not easy in detail, however clear in its general drift. For **uidet** read **uidetur**, parallel to tenetur just before. obauditum must here mean 'heard' not 'obeyed' (for obauditum = ἀκοή see Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 90), and the two occurrences of obauditum must balance one another, so that the punctuation needs change: read perhaps 'quem non obauditum sed nunc cognitum **et** obauditum uerbum' 'who

was not heard but now is a word heard and known'. For the next clause I can only suggest a transposition '**passionum exterum** et nunc est tamquam **nos**', παθῶν ἀλλότριον καὶ νῦν ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς or καθ' ἡμᾶς, though παθητόν seems to have dropped out: but I think **exterum** will stand, and the editor's '*scribe extremam*' does not at all improve matters. The last words are wrongly punctuated, even if we were to accept the senseless suggestion '*fedum pro fidum*'. **fedum** (foedum) is certainly right, and forms the proper contrast to speciosum; **uisum** sed prouidum (δρόμενον καὶ προορώντα) must form a clause to itself. Read presumably '*speciosum sed inter nos humilem et foedum, uisum sed prouidum*'—unless indeed humilem should be dropped as a gloss.

11. 16–19. *cod* surrexerunt reddere orationem. et ecce subito de senioribus uiduae Petro ignorante sedentes ab oculis non **credentes**, exclamauerunt dicentes ad Petrum: In uno sedimus, Petre . . .

ab oculis = ἀπόματοι 'blind', as in 69. 7. I think the point is not that the blind widows did not believe, but that they did not move with the rest of the congregation, and that, just as later on they remained standing when every one else was prostrate (69. 6), so here they remained seated when the rest rose for prayer. If so, read 'sedentes ab oculis, non **surgentes**'.

11. 25–28. *cod* hii oculi iterum **cludentur**, nihil aliud uidentes nisi homines et boues et muta animalia et lapides et ligna: sed Iesum Christum **non omnes** oculi uident.

For **cludentur** ought we not to read **recludentur**, referring to the miracle that was to follow? 'These eyes shall be opened again, the eyes that see only earthly things: Jesus Christ is seen by—**non omnes** oculi'. But we want something parallel to *sensus* and *animus* of lines 24 and 25: the point is not that 'not all' eyes see Christ, but that he is seen by the vision of the heart. I propose with some hesitation '*Iesum Christum interiores oculi uident*'.¹

- p. 69 l. 10. *cod* quae dixerunt: Quoniam seniore[m] uidimus, speciem habentem qualem tibi enarr(ar)e non possumus.

The editor's punctuation as printed above obscures the fact that *quoniam* is the regular idiom of much early Christian Latin

¹ I now notice that in the Coptic fragment of the Acts of Peter, given by Dr M. R. James in his *Apocryphal New Testament*, we find the phrase (p. 302 l. 15) 'Then did he see with the eyes of his flesh and with the eyes of his soul'.

for quod = 'that'. 'They said that "we saw . . ." It is so used not infrequently in these Latin Acts.

- l. 17. *cod* maior **constans** deus cogitationibus nostris.

Surely an echo of 1 Jo. iii 20 'God is greater than our heart'.

That being so, I think we should read 'maior **constat** deus . . .', though I do not know any authority for **constat** in the Latin texts of the Epistle.

- p. 71 ll. 9, 10. *cod* uidetis enim hunc se repraehensum esse **modi**, tacentem me eum exfugasse a Iudaea.

Obviously corrupt: the editor records his own and other conjectures, none of them really satisfactory. Perhaps 'hunc se repraehensum **esse amodo**, tacentem . . .'

- p. 72 ll. 4, 19. *cod* et alius profeta dicit . . . et iterum **non minimum praestare uobis agonem** ecce in utero concipiet uirgo.

The editor, unfamiliar with the LXX text of Isaiah, transposes the words **non minimum . . . agonem** to another context fifteen lines further on, and puts them in the mouth of Simon. But what has happened is just that words have fallen out, perhaps by *homoeoteleuton* after **agonem**: Isa. vii 13 *μη μικρόν ὑμῖν ἄ γῶνα παρέχειν ἀνθρώποις; (καὶ πῶς Κυρίῳ παρέχετε ἀγῶνα; διὰ τοῦτο δώσει Κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον) ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.*

- l. 21. *cod* praefectus autem patientiam **ab his** uoluit prestare ne quid uideretur in **pie gere**.

The editor would restore *gerere* for **gere**, and suspects that **ab his** conceals *ambis* (for *ambobus*). But **ab his** is rather from a misreading of *ἀπαιτῶν* as *ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, and **geri** is better than *gerere*.

- p. 73 l. 9. *cod* **ille** autem hoc **uidens** cecidit.

Read **illa** autem hoc **audiens** cecidit.

- l. 26. *cod* non temptatur deus neque extimatur, sed **dilectis|simus** ex animo colendus exaudiet qui digni sunt.

Read, I think, **dilectis suis** ex animo colendus.

- p. 74 l. 12. *cod* postea autem mihi **uagauis altiis** ministrans diaconi ac episcopi (sor)te.

The editor rightly corrects to **uacabis**: for **altiis** he suggests *altius*, *Usener altariis*. But since the *lad* is to act deacon to Peter as bishop, I think **ad latus** may be right: cf. 71. 4.

p. 75 l. 31. *cod* accessit Simon ad caput mortui, et inclinans se, **per ter erige se** ostendit populo eleuasse caput et agitare et oculos aperiente(m) et inclinante(m) se Simonem **molli**. statim ligna . . .

I suggest very tentatively **inclinans se ter, ter erigens se** (in this I see that M. Bonnet anticipated me), and for **molli** (connected now with the next sentence) **illi** statim ligna.

p. 76 ll. 6 sqq. *cod* nunc uideo uos . . . fatuos et uanos esse quamdiu oculi uestri et aures uestrae et praecordia ex(cae)cate sunt.

The editor, punctuating with comma before quamdiu and full stop after sunt, apparently would translate 'you are fools, as long as your eyes are blinded': but surely this and the succeeding clauses are interrogative. 'How long are your eyes blinded, and your sense darkened? don't you see that you have been put under enchantment . . .?'

pp. 77 l. 30, 78 l. 1. *cod* nunc ergo qui conuenistis ad spectaculum, si **non** conuertamini ab his malis uestris . . . percipite communicationem Christi credentes.

I think the text may stand without the assumption of a lacuna, if for **non** we read **nunc**.

p. 79 l. 4. *cod* Petrus autem constituerat die dominico **id** Marcellum. Perhaps i(re a)d Marcellum.

l. 17. *cod* adloquente Petro fratribus et **orante** ut perseuerarent.

Even without the help of the Greek *προτρέποντος*—the *Martyrium Petri*, a paraphrastic form of the original Greek, commences just here—it would have been possible to guess that (h)or-(t)ante must be replaced in the text.

p. 81 l. 5 ne non bene acceperis paecuniam. The Greek οὐ κακῶς should, I think, be corrected to οὐ καλῶς (a statement) or μή οὐ καλῶς (a question).

l. 7. *cod* dicitur enim fornicatam illam esse neque **ullum** uirum relinxisse.

Since the Greek has οὐ προσέχει ἐνὶ ἀνδρί, I think we might read neque **unum** uirum, in the sense of unum solum, 'she has left more than one husband'.

p. 83 l. 20. *cod* tunc eum lapadantes omnes fidentes et conlaudantes dominum. *Gr.* τότε αὐτὸν λιθοβολήσαντες εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἀνεχώρησαν, Πέτρῳ τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες πειθόμενοι.

A line of the exemplar of our MS or its ancestor has fallen out :

supply before *fidentes* something like **in sua reuerterunt Petro.**

- p. 87 l. 5. *cod* neque in eodem lecto maneret. *Gr.* οὐδὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς κλίνης καθέιδει.

The Latin represents ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κλίνης, of course rightly. Our translation is an illiterate one, but it is sometimes nearer the original Acts of Peter than the metaphrastic and paraphrastic Greek, to which the editor, I am inclined to think, shewed undue deference.

- l. 12. *cod* de Petro qui istas suasit **christianas fieri.** *Gr.* ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίσαντος τὴν γυναῖκά μου Πέτρον.

The translator read *χριστιανίσαντος* (*χρῖανίσαντος*) for *χωρίσαντος*, rightly or wrongly: and in the next line, **hoc passus, ταῦτα** for *ταῦτὰ πεποιθέναι.*

- p. 91 l. 3. *cod* minister est paternae aenergiae et traditionis illius. *Gr.* διάκονος γάρ ἐστὶν τῆς πατρικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργείας· καὶ πάντως τοῦτο γίνεται κτλ.

I think that *et traditionis* represents *καὶ παραδόσεως* and is genuine, cf. 47. 1 'paterne traditionis': the Greek has perhaps corrupted *παραδόσεως* into *πάντως*.

- p. 93 l. 13. *cod* conuersus ad eos qui eum suspensuri erant dixit ad eos: **capite, deorsum me cruci figite**; et propter quam causam sic peto **figi**, audientibus dicam.

The editor wrongly prints **crucifigite** as one word: *figi* in the next line is enough to shew that *figi* alone means 'crucify', and *cruci* may or may not be added, but it should in early writers be treated as a separate word.¹ More important,

¹ I do not know whether this use has ever been adequately discussed, so it may be well to collect some instances. Tert. *Praescr.* 13 *fixum cruci* (all earlier editions). *h* (cod. Bobiensis) Mark xv 13 *cruci eum fige*, 14 *cruci eum fige*, 15 *tradidit figendum cruci*, 20 *abduxerunt eum ad figendum*, 24 *et cruci eum fixerunt*: and so cod. *d*, xv 13, 14 *cruci adfige eum*, 15 *ut cruci adfigeretur*, 24 *et cruci adfixerunt eum*. Cyprian *Test.* ii 14 title *Quod cruci illum fixuri erant Iudaei* (Hartel 87. 14 = 61. 6). Ps. Cyp. *de rebaptismate* 9 (Hartel, appendix, 81. 6) from Luke xxiv 20 *tradiderunt sacerdotes et principes nostri in damnationem mortis et cruci eum fixerunt*: and so cod. *e* ad loc. Ambrosiaster *Quaest.* cxv 67 (Souter 341. 17, who in his index *s.v.* adds Iren. iv 28. 3 [44. 3] and Hilary) *antea cruci homines figebantur*. Comm. in *symbolum Nicaenum* (in my *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Antiquis.* i p. 335) vii 160 age, *fixus fuisset deus cruci si . . . non humana membra portaret?* Even in the Vulgate it is I think certain that St Jerome at Matt. xxvii 44 wrote *latrones qui fixi erant cum eo* for *οἱ συνσταυρωθέντες*: so A C H T X Y Z and the St Gall fragments. I think it not unlikely that later writers, like Ambrosiaster and Jerome, reserved the compound *crucifigere* for Christ.

because directly affecting the sense, is the comma inserted in the printed text after *capite*: the editor was doubtless influenced by the Greek text ὦρα . . . παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν. ἀπολάβετε οὖν κτλ. But that the Latin translator meant **capite deorsum** to go together is proved to demonstration by 95. 5 'capite deorsum missus'. The meaning is, and can only be, 'crucify me head downwards'.

- p. 97 ll. 5-10. *cod* quid enim est uerbum nisi hoc lignum in quo cruci fixus sum? **clauum** autem de plagio, hominis figura est; clauus autem qui continet [et] in directo ligno **ligno plagio** in medium, conuersio et paenitentia[m] hominis est.

The editor has rightly seen that for **ligno plagio** in the third line we must replace **lignum plagium**, and that **et** must be struck out. He has not seen that **clauum** is corrupt: it has apparently replaced **lignum**. Probably with ὀρθόν of most Greek MSS we should add **directum** after lignum in line 1. But the sense, however perverse, is quite clear: the upright post of the cross represents the divine nature; the transverse post, τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου, represents humanity; the nail which fastens the transverse post at its middle point to the upright post is the conversion of man, that is to say, the reconciliation of man with God. Counsel is only darkened by the editor's attempt to interweave in the Latin the further complications of the thought introduced by the Greek Metaphrast.

- l. 13. *cod* non labiis istis . . . neque lingua . . . neque uerbo hoc qui **partes** uarias **hominem** qui per **humorem** (e)ius producitur.

The editor makes the excellent suggestion of **per artes** for **partes**, though possibly **per partes** might also do; I should like to suggest for the rest of the line first **hominum** and then per **rumorem oris**. *rumore* is, in modern Italian, 'noise': and the contrast that follows is 'qui per silentium intellegitur'. In 56. 6 I have suggested *eris* for *eius*: it looks as though *ri* and *iu* were not unlike in the exemplar. So 75. 3, where *mutuorum* of the MS should of course be *mortuorum*.

- p. 99 ll. 1-3. *cod* silentio uocis tuae, quod est in me, **Christum** te diligens, tibi loquens et te uidens, tibi referens, qui **solutus** spiritus. **omnia tibi cognita sunt**. *Gr.* σιγῇ φωνῆς ἢ (so editor, but the evidence rather suggests the insertion of σῆς and omission of ἦ, i.e. σιγῇ σῆς φωνῆς) τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεῦμα σὲ φιλοῦν καὶ σοὶ λαλοῦν καὶ σὲ ὀρών ἐντυγχάνει. σὺ καὶ μόνω πνεύματι νοητός . . .

The editor makes no contribution to the restoration of the Latin,

except the obvious **solus** for solutus. And it is true that translator or scribes, both Greek and Latin, have been puzzled by the queer theology of the prayer: but τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεῦμα seems to dictate quod est in me **spiritum** (s̄p̄m for x̄p̄m): nor does it seem doubtful that **cognita** of the Latin somehow corresponds to νοητός of the Greek. **Omnia** indeed is unrepresented in our present Greek, but (comparing too the Linus version [18. 23] 'quia tu **toto** et modesto tantum spiritu intelligibilis es') I think the Greek of the original Acts must have been something like σὺ [καὶ] μόνῳ πνεύματι νοητός, σὺ πάντα, which the translator misread as νοητὰ σοὶ πάντα, and so rendered **solo tu spiritu es**, omnia tibi cognita sunt.

- l. 5. *cod* et omnia in te et quidquid tu. *Gr.* σὺ τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐν σοί, καὶ τὸ ὄν σὺ.

Read et omnia **tu et omnia** in te et quidquid **est tu: tu et omnia** having been omitted by *homoeoteleuton*.

- p. 101 l. 4. *cod* Marcelle **quomodo** audisti uerbum. *Gr.* Μάρκελλε, ἤκουσας τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος.

The Greek gives the right sense: either **quomodo** conceals dñi = domini, or else a word for 'remember' has dropped out after Marcelle.

- p. 103 l. 4. *cod* abstine ergo manus tuas a seruis meis, **minus ne senties** si me contempseris. *Gr.* ἀπέχου ὄν τὰς χεῖρας ἀπ' αὐτῶν (omitting the second clause).

Read **minusne, senties** . . . Minusne, like si quominus, represents a Greek εἰ δὲ μή: 'if you do not, you will find out whether you have despised me.'

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Δαίμων and Cognate Words

THESE notes on δαίμων and the cognate words are part of the material compiled for the proposed *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*, the editor of which (Dr Stone, Pusey House, Oxford) is always glad to receive suggestions.

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δαίμων, derived (a) from *δάω, *learn, know*, cf. Plat. *Crat.* 398 B (quoted Theod. *Gr. aff. cur.* 8 p. 915), *Etym. Magn.* = δαήμων, which Ëus. rejects *P. E.* 4. 5 p. 142 B τὸν μέντοι δαίμονας . . . οὐχ, ἢ περ' Ἑλληνισι δοκεῖ, παρὰ τὸ δαήμονας εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμονας, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ τὸ δειμαίνειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν: or (b) from δαίω, *to divide, arrange*,