

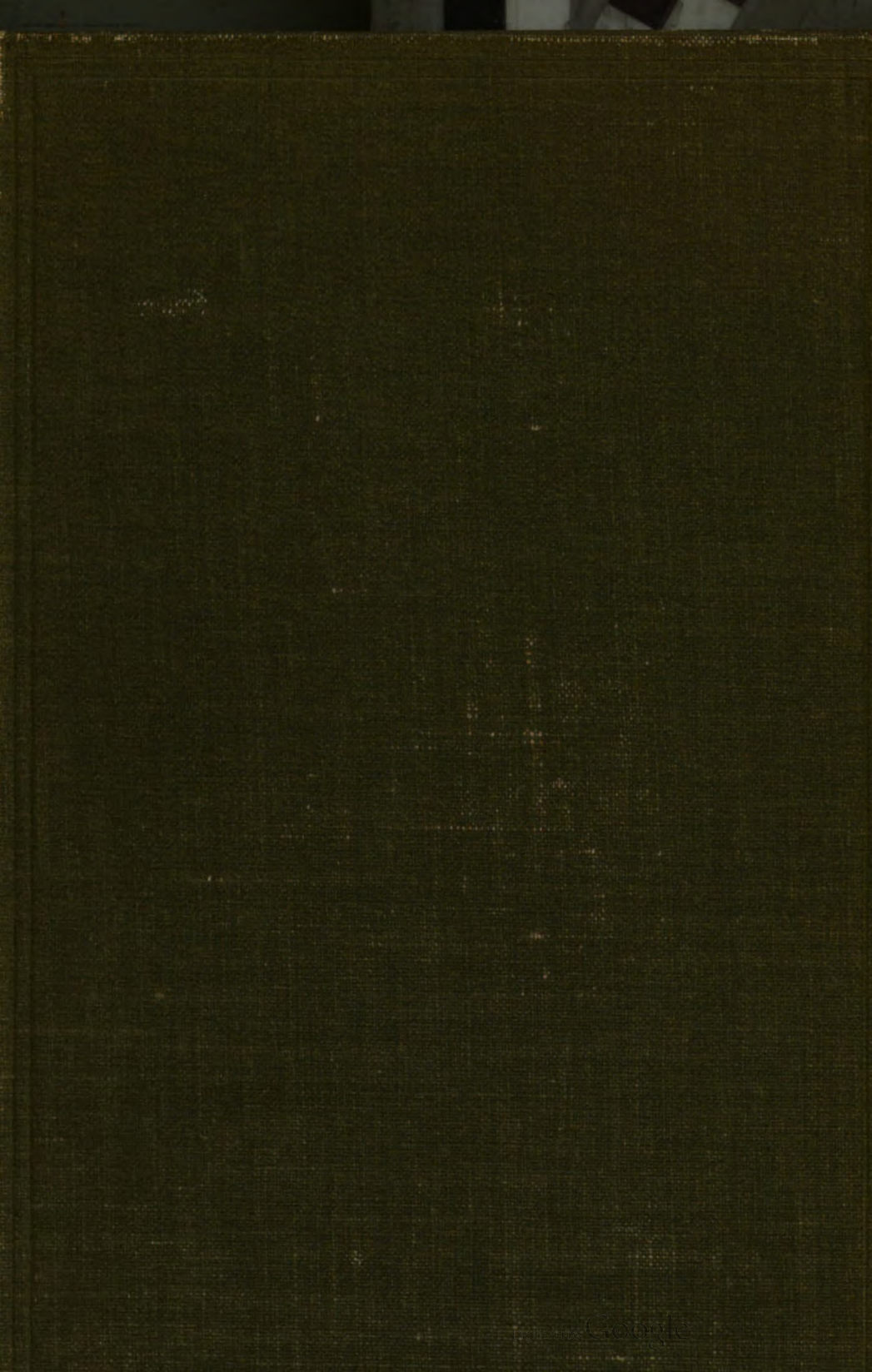
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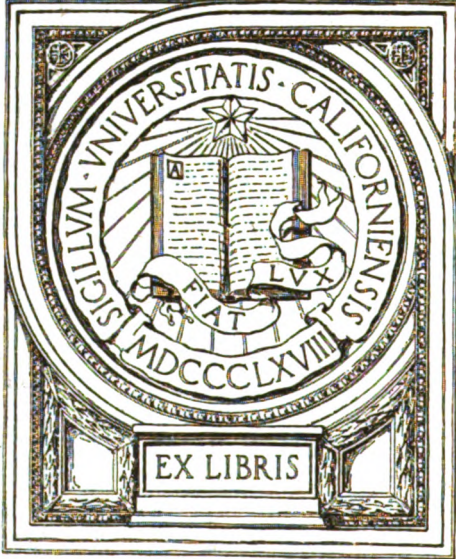
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**NOTES ON THE  
EARLY HISTORY OF THE  
VULGATE GOSPELS**

**BY**

**DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B.**  
"

Univ. of  
California

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## PREFACE

THIS essay does not aim at any form of completeness, and is published only in the hope that it may be found suggestive. Having no opportunity of working new material, I have tried to do my best with the riches amassed by Bishop Wordsworth and the late M. Samuel Berger. I know the result must be full of errors ; but I hope the search for these will lead others to further stages on the same road. More comprehensive and more certain conclusions will be reached when not only the whole New Testament but the Old Testament too have been critically edited from a large number of manuscripts.

After writing the last page of the last chapter this morning, I saw in the *Times* the announcement that Pope Pius X has ordered a new edition of the Vulgate to be undertaken, and has confided the work to the Benedictine Order. My labour has therefore perhaps been more to the purpose than I expected. It is by accident that I have dealt with the Vulgate, my former studies having, on the contrary, delighted in the Old Latin versions and the Greek text. It was in reviewing Dr. Künstle's *Antipriscilliana* that the idea struck me that Priscillian must be the author of the Monarchian Prologues. The paper I published on the subject is reproduced in this volume as Chapter xiii. It met with a kindly reception from specialists in England and Germany ; but it was necessary to determine how such heretical documents managed to attach themselves to the Vulgate of St. Jerome, or (as a great



scholar phrased it) 'how did Saul come among the prophets?' The attempt to solve this question has produced all the other chapters of the book, and I think they are the more interesting the more they wander from the original investigation. I have been led into the discussion of various lectionary systems, and I hope the results will be acceptable to liturgical scholars. I have not tried to study these thoroughly, but only in so far as was necessary for the history of the texts to which they belong.

So far I wrote on May 21, 1907. It has taken longer to get the work through the press than it took to write it. If many errors have been removed, this is principally due to the kind friends who have read the proofs for me. I have to thank for this ungrateful task my Father, Archdeacon Chapman, the Rt. Rev. Abbot Gasquet, Dom Donatien De Bruyne, Dom Lambert Nolle, and especially Mr. C. H. Turner, who by his detailed annotations has saved me from innumerable obscurities or repetitions, and from many blunders, due to carelessness or ignorance, and has also provided valuable information. I have also had a few criticisms on the early chapters from Dr. Sanday and the Rev. F. J. Bacchus. I have thanked others in the course of the book. Last, not least, I have to express my gratitude to the Delegates of the University Press for their kindness in printing this volume, and to the Secretaries and others for the trouble they have taken with the proofs.

I have given a list of the signs used to denote the MSS., to assist those readers who may not know them by heart. As the argument is involved and hard to follow, I have made the Table of Contents and the Index rather full, so that I hope it will not be difficult to look up cross-references.

It will perhaps be as well to set down shortly the results which seem to have been obtained for the restoration of St. Jerome's text of the Gospels. The following are the lines which seem to me to be pointed out by the evidence.

In the first place the readings of the venerable codex possessed by Eugipius are to be determined by the witness of the Northumbrian family AΔH\*SUX<sup>corr</sup> Reg (P\*) on the one hand, checked by the independent testimony of F on the other. Where the reading remains doubtful, the witness of OX\* may perhaps be of some weight. The restored text of Eugipius will not be infallibly right, even when it is certain, but it will serve as a standard with which the other independent families can be compared.

The Irish family will deserve no attention wherever its readings are supported by the Old Latin. An apparently good Vulgate reading in one or two members of the family will have little weight. But the combined testimony of the family against all Old Latin witnesses will be presumably a Vulgate reading older than 432.

The Gallican or probably Gallican MSS. deserve more study, and need comparing with the probably Gallican text of the Irish tribe.

The Italian JMP, especially M (and no doubt also the ancient St. Gall codex which Mr. Turner is publishing), will furnish a most valuable corrective to the claims of the AF text.

The Spanish MSS. need to be edited. From CT alone it is hardly possible to reach with security an early Spanish text.

The outcome of such a system of restoration would not, I imagine, differ substantially from the text given us by Wordsworth and White. But in some difficult places the

verdict might be altered, or (what is just as important) confirmed by stronger reasons. But the study of the whole of the Bible in the light of careful collations is what is needed most of all for the perfect editing of any part of it.

ERDINGTON ABBEY,  
BIRMINGHAM.  
*May 5, 1908.*

NIHIL OBSTAT.

✠ F. AIDANUS GASQUET, O.S.B.  
ABB. PRAESES CONG. ANGL.  
CENSOR DEPUTATUS.

IMPRIMATUR.

✠ EDUARDUS  
EP. BIRMINGHAM.

*May 8, 1908.*

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

- A. Codex Amiatinus, *c.* 700; Florence, Laurentian Library, MS. 1.
- B. Bigotianus, 8th-9th cent., Paris lat. 281 and 298.
- C. Cavensis, 9th cent., Abbey of Cava dei Tirreni, near Salerno.
- D. Dublinensis, 'the book of Armagh,' A.D. 812, Trin. Coll.
- E. Egerton Gospels, 8th-9th cent., Brit. Mus. Egerton 609.
- F. Fuldensis, *c.* 545, preserved at Fulda.
- G. San-Germanensis, 9th cent. (in St. Matt. 'g'), Paris lat. 11553.
- H. Hubertianus, 9th-10th cent., Brit. Mus. Add. 24142.
- I. Ingolstadiensis, 7th cent., Munich, Univ. 29.
- J. Foro-Julienensis, 6th-7th cent., at Cividale in Friuli; parts at Prague and Venice.
- K. Karolinus, *c.* 840-76, Brit. Mus. Add. 10546.
- L. Lichfeldensis, 'Gospels of St. Chad,' 7th-8th cent., Lichfield Cath.
- M. Mediolanensis, 6th cent., Bibl. Ambrosiana, C. 39, Inf.
- O. Oxoniensis, 'Gospels of St. Augustine,' 7th cent., Bodl. 857 (Auct. D. 2. 14).
- P. Perusinus, 6th cent. (fragment), Perugia, Chapter Library.
- Q. Kenanensis, 'Book of Kells,' 7th-8th cent., Trin. Coll., Dublin.
- R. Rushworthianus, 'Gospels of McRegol,' before 820, Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 19.
- S. Stonyhurstensis, 7th cent. (St. John only), Stonyhurst, near Blackburn.
- T. Toletanus, 10th cent., Madrid, National Library.
- U. Ultratrajectina fragmenta, 7th-8th cent., attached to the Utrecht Psalter, Univ. Libr. MS. eccl. 484.
- V. Vallicellanus, 9th cent., Rome, Vallicella Library, B. 6.
- W. William of Hales's Bible, A.D. 1294, Brit. Mus. Reg. I. B. xii.
- X. Cantabrigiensis, 7th cent., 'Gospels of St. Augustine,' Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, 286.
- Y. 'Ynsulae' Lindisfarnensis, 7th-8th cent., Brit. Mus. Cotton Nero D. iv.
- Z. Harleianus, 6th-7th cent., Brit. Mus. Harl. 1775.
- Æ. Beneventanus, 8th-9th cent., Brit. Mus. Add. 5463.
- Δ. Dunelmensis, 7th-8th cent., Durham Chapter Library, A. ii. 16.
- Ϙ. Epternacensis, 9th cent., Paris lat. 9389.
- Θ. Theodulfianus, 9th cent., Paris lat. 9380.
- +—Ϡ. Martino-Turonensis, 8th cent., Tours Library, 22.

Burch. 'Gospels of St. Burchard,' 7th-8th cent., Würzburg Univ.  
Library, Mp. Th. f. 68.

Reg. Brit. Mus. Reg. i. B. vii, 7th-8th cent.

**First Class:**

Northumbrian family, AΔH*SUX <sup>corr</sup> YReg(ℙ*).	} These three families are closely related.
South Italian, F.	
Canterbury, OX (Roman?).	
North Italian, JM(P).	

Italian (?), Z.

**Second Class:**

Irish family, DELQR(ℙ)\*ℙmg.  
Gallican, BFG.  
Spanish, CT.

**Recensions:**

Theodulfian, H<sup>corr</sup>⊖ (fundamentally Spanish).  
Alcuinian, KVℙ (mainly Hiberno-Northumbrian).  
Mediaeval, W.

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CHAPTER I  
PRELIMINARY

§ 1. *The Northumbrian text of the Vulgate Gospels  
is said to be from South Italy.*

IT is well known that the best text of the Vulgate Gospels is handed down by the MSS. written in Northumbria, AΔSY, and in a few others closely connected with these. No one is likely to contest the verdict of Bishop Wordsworth that these famous and beautiful codices have on the whole preserved a purer Hieronymian strain than has any other family, while perhaps the next best are those nearest to them, such as the yet more ancient New Testament of Fulda. The history of this Northumbrian family is therefore of the first interest from a textual point of view, apart from the historical interest derived from its connexion with great names such as those of Cuthbert and Ceolfrid and Bede and Willibrord and Boniface and Burchard.

It is agreed that it is in origin a text of South Italy. But the reasons given for this belief are vague and inconclusive, and in part incompatible with one another. I propose to examine the evidence more closely in order to arrive at more definite results. For this purpose it is necessary shortly to summarize what has been already said by others, and to estimate the value of their arguments.

Consequently the whole of this preliminary chapter will be devoted to a short review of the evidence which has up till now been put forward for the history of the Northumbrian text. It will appear that a number of different lines converge upon South Italy:

The first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus* (A), written in Northumbria, has a close connexion with the *Codex grandior*

## THE VULGATE GOSPELS

of the Old Latin version, which was written by order of Cassiodorus in the extreme South of Italy (§ 2).

In the Lindisfarne Gospels (Y) are found lists of Gospels for the year's festivals according to the use of Naples (§ 3).

Both Northumbrian and South Italian saints are found as additions in the Martyrology of St. Willibrord. Similarly the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, which was composed in the North of England, contains a set of Capuan saints, whose names were borrowed from Sacramentaries used in England. The *Codex Fuldensis*, written at Capua, probably once belonged to an Englishman, St. Boniface. The Echternach Gospels, which either belonged to St. Willibrord or were copied from a MS. brought by him from England, contain a curious note relating to the library of the Neapolitan abbot Eugippius (§ 3).

Now these data are not easy to reconcile with one another, nor is any clear evidence to be deduced from any of them, as the rest of this chapter will show.

### § 2. *The Codex Amiatinus and the Codex grandior of Cassiodorus.*

There are few more interesting figures in history than the long-lived Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, the great Roman Prime Minister of the Gothic king Theodoric. In the first years of the sixth century his high birth gave him a place in public affairs while scarcely more than a boy, and he continued to play a leading part in politics until after 540. Always a man of letters as well as a statesman, he had wished to assist Pope Agapetus in founding a school of Christian learning at Rome. Though this was not possible in those troublous times, yet something was accomplished when Cassiodorus himself retired from the world into a monastery which he founded at Scyllacium on the southern coast of the toe of Italy.<sup>1</sup> There his Abbey of Fishponds (*Vivaria*) was intended to be a seminary of letters as well as of holiness. His large library is so well described in his writings that Franz

<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of Squillace as it is now will be found in *By the Ionian Sea*, by the late George Gissing (1905).

has been able to make a catalogue of a great part of its contents. There the aged Senator<sup>1</sup> passed peacefully the latter part of his days, correcting the text of Holy Scripture, collecting commentaries upon it, and himself commenting upon the Psalms and the Catholic Epistles. To the history of his own times contained in the documents published in his *Variarum* and to his History of the Goths he added in later life a compilation of ecclesiastical history known as the 'Tripartite history'. His useful labours closed at an age not very far short of a hundred years. Though he died in the odour of sanctity, his religious community had no future. St. Benedict, whom he must have known, died about the year of Cassiodorus's retirement to Squillace, and his legislation and no other governed the monastic life of the following centuries. Yet the literary labours of Cassiodorus bore much fruit, and his *Institutiones*, written merely for his own monks, became a guide for many ages in Scriptural learning.

The reasons for connecting the *Codex Amiatinus* (A) with Cassiodorus are too well known to need repetition in full. A history of De Rossi's famous discovery of the origin of that codex, and of the literature which arose around it, has been well written by Mr. H. J. White in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii.<sup>2</sup> It is only necessary here to put together what seem to be the most probable results of the voluminous discussions of the subject.

The chief treasure with which Cassiodorus endowed his *Vivariense monasterium* on the Gulf of Squillace was a collection of the commentaries of the Fathers in Latin on the various books of the Bible. These were bound in nine large volumes, each volume containing in the first place those books of Scripture to which the subsequent commentaries referred. The contents of these volumes are enumerated in Cassiodorus's work *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, capp. i-ix. The text of Scripture given in them was that of St. Jerome, edited and emended by the aged statesman himself, who was careful

<sup>1</sup> Senator seems to be a honorific family surname, and not a title of office.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford, 1890, pp. 273 foll. A complete list of the literature is given by C. R. Gregory in his *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf, pp. 983-4.

(he says) even to preserve the Hieronymian line divisions *per cola et commata*, and to correct the spelling according to the most approved authorities.

Besides these volumes he provided a 'Pandect' (or complete Bible), written in a small hand, in fifty-three gatherings of six, for convenience of handling: 'hunc autem pandecten propter copiam lectionis minutiore manu in senionibus<sup>1</sup> quinquaginta tribus aestimavimus conscribendum, ut quod lectio copiosa tetendit, scripturae densitas adunata contraheret' (ibid. xii). This Pandect followed the order of books which Cassiodorus describes as that of St. Jerome. In c. xiii he gives also the order of St. Augustine from *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 8.

A third list of the books of the Bible in another order, *secundum antiquam translationem*, was written out, with the others, 'in codice grandiore littera clariore conscripto, qui habet quaterniones nonaginta quinque; in quo septuaginta interpretum translatio veteris testamenti in libris quadraginta quatuor continetur; cui subiuncti sunt novi testamenti libri viginti sex, fiuntque simul libri septuaginta, in illo palmarum numero fortasse praesagati, quas in mansione Elim invenit populus Hebraeorum. Hic textus multorum translatione variatus, sicut in prologo Psalmorum positum est, patris Hieronymi diligenti cura emendatus compositusque relictus est' (cap. xiv).

It is evident that this *Codex grandior* contained three lists, and that its text corresponded to the third list, that of the *antiqua translatio*. It contained the Old Latin version of the Old Testament, with the 'corrections of St. Jerome' wherever that Father had edited a translation from the Septuagint, as in the case of the Psalms, Job, Chronicles, and the books of Solomon.<sup>2</sup> The New Testament was probably what we should to-day call an 'Italian text'.

Cassiodorus also informs us that at the beginning of this *Codex grandior* were pictures of the Tabernacle and of the

<sup>1</sup> So the Bamberg MS. for *quaternionibus*, see Zahn, *Gesch. des N. T. Kanons*, ii. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus evidently believed St. Jerome to have revised the whole, as St. Jerome indeed implies, c. *Ruf.* ii. 24, and Ep. lxxi. 5; cxii. 19. See White in Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible*, iv, p. 875.

Temple, as described by a blind man called Eusebius (c. v, and *Expos. Ps.* xiv).<sup>1</sup> These are mentioned by the Venerable Bede as having been seen by him ; but his words may perfectly well be taken in the sense that he saw a copy :

‘Quomodo in pictura Cassiodori senatoris, cuius ipse in expositione Psalmorum meminit, expressum vidimus.’—*De Tabernaculo*, ii. 12.

‘Has vero porticus Cassiodorus senator in Pandectis, ut ipse Psalmorum expositione commemorat, triplici ordine distinxit . . . Haec, ut in pictura Cassiodori reperimus distincta, breviter annotare curavimus.’—*De Templo Sal.* 16.

Now De Rossi discovered that the *Codex Amiatinus* (A) was written by order of Ceolfrid, St. Bede's own abbot, and was taken by him to Rome in 715. It contains the very picture of the Tabernacle to which Bede refers,<sup>2</sup> though not that of the Temple. The first quaternion, of which this picture forms a part, is at present disarranged. It contains also (with some differences) the three lists to which Cassiodorus refers, elaborately adorned, each taking one page, the dedication verses of St. Ceolfrid on another page ; also a purple leaf, containing an introduction on the one side and the contents of the actual codex on the other ; and finally, a picture described (perhaps by a later hand) as Ezra writing the law.<sup>3</sup> The back of every picture is blank, with the exception of that of the list of the *antiqua translatio*, which is adorned with somewhat mysterious circles representing the Pentateuch, painted in colours which are said not to be found in the other pictures. (These may be a later addition.) Evidently the purple leaf, which has apparently no conjugate leaf and which alone is written on both sides, is the only one which has any necessary connexion with the actual text of the rest of the codex. The three lists correspond pretty accurately with those placed by Cassiodorus in his *Codex grandior*, when the bad text of his work is taken

<sup>1</sup> His words are in the former place ‘in Pandecte Latino corporis grandioris’, and in the latter ‘in pandectis maioris capite’.

<sup>2</sup> With only a slight discrepancy, due either to the copyist of the picture, or to Bede's forgetfulness.

<sup>3</sup> I have not given the actual order, which is a disarrangement by a modern binder.

into account.<sup>1</sup> The Tabernacle picture is his, while the figure of Ezra is in all probability, I suggest, a portrait of the aged senator himself, with an aureole perhaps placed there not by the original artist at Vivarium, but by the copyist at Jarrow. The figure sits before the *Armarium* which contains the nine great volumes of commentaries.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the whole quaterfion seems to have been cut out of the copy of the *Codex grandior* and bound into the magnificent Vulgate intended for the Pope. An exception has to be made, of course, for the purple leaf, which was perhaps put in the place of the picture of the Temple, as Bishop Browne suggested.<sup>3</sup> But it seems that Corssen was right in suggesting that the Prologue on this leaf is the work of Cassiodorus.

In fact we know that an important Pandect of the *vetusta translatio* (notice the Cassiodorian wording) was preserved at Jarrow. The Venerable Bede writes of his Abbot Ceolfrid :

'Bibliothecam utriusque monasterii, quam Benedictus abbas magna coepit instantia, ipse non minori geminavit industria ; ita ut tres Pandectes novae translationis, *ad unum vetustae translationis quem de Roma adtulerat*, ipse super adiungeret ; quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utrique monasterio reliquit.'—*Hist. Abbatum*, cap. 15 (pp. 379–80, Plummer).

Further details are given in the anonymous *Historia Abbatum* ; this work was written by some fellow monk of St. Bede, but somewhat earlier than that holy doctor's work (731), which is based upon it :

'Et bibliothecam, quam de Roma vel ipse vel Benedictus adtulerat, notabiliter ampliavit, ita ut inter alia tres Pandectes faceret describi, quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in aecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere voluissent, in

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. H. J. White, *The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace* (*Studia Biblica*, vol. ii), pp. 292–7, where a rather better text of Cassiodorus is given from Brit. Mus. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> So Samuel Berger, in *Les Préfaces*, p. 22. A photograph of the Ezra from a water-colour drawing will be found in J. Willis Clark, *The Care of Books*, frontispiece. Garrucci gives an outline.

<sup>3</sup> So that Bede wrote of the Temple picture *reperimus* in the present, for it remained at Jarrow, but of the view of the Tabernacle *expressum vidimus*, for it had gone to Rome. So Bishop Browne.

promptu esset invenire quod cuperent; tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro Apostolorum principi offerre decrevit' (cap. 20, Plummer, vol. i, p. 395).

The three Vulgate Pandects were therefore written not in Italy but at Jarrow or Wearmouth by order of Ceolfrid.<sup>1</sup> Bede carefully distinguishes from these the Old Latin copy which Ceolfrid had brought from Rome. Seven of the leaves which we now find in *Codex Amiatinus* (which is the third Vulgate Pandect) are either copies from the first quaternion of the Old Latin Pandect, or actually leaves detached from it and bound into the enormous Bible intended for the Prince of the Apostles.

The two Pandects which Ceolfrid placed in the Churches of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth are lost to us. But ΔSY and Brit. Mus. Reg. i. B. vii. are presumably copies of them.

St. Benet Biscop founded the Abbey of St. Paul at Jarrow in 681 or 682, and made Ceolfrid its Abbot. Ceolfrid had accompanied Benet to Rome on his fourth journey in 678. It will have been on this occasion that he brought back the *antiqua translatio*. The three Pandects of the Vulgate were written between 681 and 715, when Ceolfrid started on his last journey. If the Stonyhurst St. John (S) was really buried with St. Cuthbert (and there is nothing to be urged against this tradition), it must have been written before 687, the date of the death of the great Bishop of Lindisfarne. It must have come to him as a purchase or a present from Jarrow or Monkwearmouth, as the writing is Italian not Irish. The Durham Gospels (Δ) are said by tradition to have been written by St. Bede himself.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This would have been anyhow a probable conclusion from the fact that much the same Italian writing as that of A is found in the fragments of St. Luke in the Durham MS. A. ii. 17, and in the fragments of St. Matthew and St. John bound into the Utrecht Psalter. S is of the same school, only on a small scale and of great delicacy.

<sup>2</sup> A hand of c. 1300 has written in S: 'Euangelium Iohannis, quod inuentum fuerat ad capud beati patris nostri Cuthberti in sepulcro iacens Anno Translacionis ipsius,' but the tradition is older, for this note was copied from a somewhat earlier one at the head of the Gospel, now erased. The opening of the coffin was in 1104;



It is thus clear that the Northumbrian Gospel text belongs equally to the Abbeys of Biscop and to that of St. Cuthbert ; it lies before us both in the exquisite Italian hand of AΔS and in the still more beautiful Irish hand of Y, the 'Gospels of Lindisfarne', while S seems a link between the two communities.

But all this has given no result with regard to the origin of the Northumbrian text, for the Cassiodorian leaves at the beginning of A do not belong to the Vulgate text which follows, but are interpolations from the *Codex grandior* of the Old Latin. No evidence has been brought to determine whether the archetype of AΔSY was at Jarrow or at Lindisfarne. Still less has it been proved that it was brought from Italy by Ceolfred together with the *Codex grandior*.

### § 3. *The Lindisfarne Gospels and Naples.*

The 'Holy Island' of Lindisfarne was the centre of the Irish missionary activity in Northumbria from the time of St. Aidan's arrival in 635, for it was at once the Abbey of the missionary monks and the Bishop's see. In 676 the Irish monks and thirty of their English brethren, together with the Abbot-Bishop Colman, retired to Iona, and later to Ireland, in consequence of the decision of the Synod of Whitby that the Roman calculation of Easter was everywhere to be observed in England. From that time, under Abbot Eata and his Prior St. Cuthbert, the monastery tended to become as wholly Italo-Saxon as the neighbouring twin-abbeys of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which Benet Biscop, the former Abbot of the wholly Italian abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, founded in c. 674 and 682 on the Wear and the Tyne.

The Irish school of writing, however, naturally continued to flourish in the island, and its finest production is the famous manuscript known as the Lindisfarne Gospels or as the

the evidence is therefore satisfactory enough, though not quite contemporary. As to Δ, whether it was written by Bede himself or not, it gives at any rate a link between A and Y, since it is said to be close to A in the fourth Gospel, but nearer to Y in the other three. Wordsworth gives a collation of it for St. John only.

Evangeliarium of St. Cuthbert, a book which rivals in beauty the Book of Kells, the masterpiece of the Mother house, Iona, or of some abbey in Ireland. The codex (called Y by Wordsworth) was written and illuminated in Holy Island during the Episcopo-Abbacy of Eadfrith (698-721)—who was himself the scribe, the illuminator being Oethilwald, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne 725-40—to the honour of God, St. Cuthbert, and all the saints.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore precisely contemporary with the *Codex Amiatinus*, which, as we saw, was written at Jarrow by order of Abbot Ceolfrid, doubtless under the direction of the Venerable Bede, and taken by the Abbot in 715 on his last journey to Rome as a present to the Pope.

The holy isle of Aidan and Cuthbert was closely united to the double abbey of St. Benet Biscop by mutual bonds of respect and affection. These three abbeys were in one diocese until its division by St. Theodore in 681. The island monastery had clearly become quite Benedictine under St. Cuthbert, and St. Bede wrote the life of that saint. Bede visited Lindisfarne, and the Bishop promised to inscribe his name on the roll of his community, *album congregationis*, as a participator in their common prayers. We are therefore not surprised to find that the splendid Irish round hand of Lindisfarne has preserved for us substantially the same text of the Gospels that the not less beautiful Italian hand of Jarrow has set down in A.

The British Museum contains another English MS. of the Gospels, belonging to the same date, MS. Reg. i. B. vii.<sup>2</sup> I shall hereafter refer to this codex as 'Reg' for short. Its text is very close to that of Y. Scrivener says: 'The Rev. G. M. Youngman, who has examined this MS. carefully, says the text is very interesting though rather mixed; has been corrected throughout.' The card lying upon it in the show-

<sup>1</sup> So we are informed at least by Aldred the glossator (tenth cent.) in his well-known note. The jewelled binding, which no longer exists, was made by an anket, St. Billfrið.

<sup>2</sup> So Dom Morin dates it, and Scrivener (*Introduction*, 1894, vol. ii, p. 75) and the Brit. Mus. catalogue, and the paper which lies on it in the show-case. Berger, however, says: 'Très-belle écriture saxonne, paraissant du IX<sup>me</sup> siècle,' p. 386.

case in which it is exhibited says: 'The text is closely akin to that of the celebrated Lindisfarne Gospels, and belongs to the best school of Vulgate MSS.' It has the same summaries as AHVY.<sup>1</sup> I have collated its text of the four Prologues, and I find in these also the closest connexion with Y, even in mistakes and in spelling.

In these two MSS., Y and Reg, are four lists, one before each Gospel, of liturgical feasts, entitled *capitula*.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Edmund Bishop noticed that these feasts are given in the order in which their Gospels occur in the sacred text, and that they belong to a complete liturgical system of Gospel pericopae from Advent to Pentecost. He attempted with considerable success to restore the exact pericopae intended. The lists are shown to be Neapolitan by the feast of St. Januarius with vigil, the dedication of the basilica of St. Stephen (the old Cathedral of Naples); while the dedication of a font and of St. Mary, and the feast of St. Vitus may also fit in with Naples. Dom Germain Morin published Mr. Bishop's results in the *Revue Bénédictine* (vol. viii, 1891, pp. 477-94, and 529-37), giving the lists in full (Y after Skeat).

Dom Morin was fortunate enough to discover soon afterwards the same lists in the margin of the 'Gospels of St. Burchard', a codex of the eighth century at Würzburg. The *incipits* and *explicitis* are marked in it by small crosses in the text, so that the pericopae can in almost all cases be exactly recovered. A number of additional feasts have, however, been inserted, of Roman type, and in a few cases have superseded (or shifted perhaps) an original Neapolitan lesson. The whole of these marginal notes were published by Dom Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. x, 1893, pp. 113-26. St. Burchard was an Englishman, and the liturgical notes have evidently the same origin as those in Y and Reg.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V is the Vallicella MS. of Alcuin's revision. It was natural that Alcuin should find the Northumbrian summaries in the books he had at York and sent for to France.

<sup>2</sup> These lists, together with other preliminary matter, were omitted in the edition of Y and Reg by Waring and Stevenson (*Surtees Soc.*, 1857, &c.), but are given in Professor Skeat's edition (1871-74-78-87).

<sup>3</sup> Berger discovered another MS. containing the lists, Rheims, Public Library, No. 41, tenth century (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1895, p. 392).

Further, in restoring the original form of the two books of the Venerable Bede's homilies on the Gospels of feast days, Dom Morin pointed out that one or two unusual pericopae used by Bede are found in the Naples lectionary. The evidence suggests (though it is not enough to do more) that the Neapolitan pericopae of the Lindisfarne codex may have influenced the liturgical use of Jarrow.

From all these interesting observations it may seem likely that the text of Y Reg came from Naples. But be it observed that no necessary connexion between the text of these MSS. and their liturgical lists has been established. Evidently the proper position of these is in the margin of a text, as in St. Burchard's Gospels. At the beginning of the Gospels where they stand they are perfectly useless. It might be supposed that the original marginal notes have been thus gathered into lists in order to free the margin from disfigurement. But since the lists are not in A, it might equally be held that they have been copied in from some other codex, especially as the text of Y Reg is rather more mixed than that of A. We have therefore not arrived so far at any proof that the AY text came from Naples.

How did the Neapolitan lists themselves come to the North? The received explanation has been up till now that which was proposed by Dom Morin in 1891 in the first article in which he drew attention to the lists in Y and Reg. He suggested that these lists owed their origin to some lectionary brought to England by St. Hadrian, Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, who had formerly been Abbot of Nisita or Nisida, the little island close to Naples, just beyond Posilipo, well known to tourists.<sup>1</sup> Hadrian had refused the Archbishopric

<sup>1</sup> It is in reality extremely uncertain whether Hadrian the African was Abbot of Nisida at all; but the point is unimportant, as he certainly came from near Naples. Smith's edition of Bede has: 'Erat autem in monasterio Hiridano [*al.* Niridano], quod est non longe a Neapoli Campaniae, abbas Hadrianus, vir natione Afer,' &c. (Migne, *P. L.* 95, 171), with the note: '*Hiridano*, ita codex Mori, sed codices primaevae auctoritatis in hac voce differunt. Alii enim habent Niridano, et quidem recte. Locus est iuxta montem Cassinum.' Is it? But that is not near Naples. Moberly's edition (Oxford, 1881, Bk. iv. 1) has: '*Hiridano*, unidentified,' and quotes Smith; adding as conjectures: '*Nisidano*, on the island of Nisida, by Mazzocchi; *Aretiano*, by Caraccioli; *Hadriano*, by Hussey. See Greg. *Epist.*

of Canterbury for himself, and had recommended for the office his friend Theodore of Tarsus. Pope Vitalian accepted the latter, but made Hadrian accompany him to England. This was in 668. Theodore made Hadrian Abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul (afterwards called St. Augustine's) without the walls of Canterbury, and the Abbot accompanied the Archbishop in his visitations, even to the extreme North, when he consecrated the wooden Cathedral of Lindisfarne which St. Aidan had built.

This hypothesis has been accepted without hesitation, and by such authorities as Berger, Wordsworth, Duchesne, &c. It might be improved, I think, by the suggestion that it was not Hadrian himself who took the book to Northumbria. St. Benet Biscop was on his third visit to Rome at the time of St. Theodore's appointment, and he accompanied the new Archbishop to England. Theodore made him Abbot of St. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, but after two years substituted St. Hadrian in his place,<sup>1</sup> when the latter arrived from

xiii. 3.<sup>1</sup> (But this last place, mentioned by St. Gregory, was in Sicily!) In Mayor and Lumby's edition (Cambridge, 1881, p. 292) Smith's note is quoted without comment. Finally Plummer's excellent edition has the following critical note (vol. i, p. 202): 'Niridano] sic B. C. AS. O<sub>1</sub>. O<sub>2-11</sub>. O<sub>14-16</sub>. D. R<sub>1</sub>; hiridano M. N. A<sub>1</sub>; iridano H<sub>1</sub>,' and (vol. ii, p. 202) he comments: 'NIRIDANO, this is the right reading; v. critical note. "Locus est iuxta Montem Cassinum," Smith; N and H are very easily confused in MSS. "Nisaidano" in Holder's text is a pure conjecture, and has no MS. authority; Elmham has "Hiridano," p. 202.' It must be admitted that the conjecture is an extremely plausible one. Dom Morin (*Rev. Bénéd.* 1891, p. 482) has said: 'Mazzocchi a identifié ce lieu avec la petite île de Nisita, entre Naples et Pouzzoles, la Nesis des anciens, mentionnée dans le *Liber Pontificalis* parmi les donations faites par Constantin à l'Église de Naples (Mazzocchi, *De cathedr. eccl. Neap. vicibus*, pp. 215-19; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 200, note 118). Il y eut effectivement dans cette île un monastère qui a laissé ça et là quelques traces dans l'histoire du septième au treizième siècle.' This seems indeed to be the most probable solution. Bede himself may have written the name wrong. But the matter remains uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> So says Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, cap. 4 'duobus annis monasterium rexit'; while in the *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 1 fin. he has: 'Qui [Hadrianus] statim ut ad illum [Theodorum] venit, dedit ei monasterium beati Petri apostoli, ubi archiepiscopi Cantiae sepeliri . . . solent.' Unless *statim* is very loose and incorrect, Hadrian must have been detained more than one year in Gaul by the famous mayor of the palace Ebroin (though we should have supposed from iv. 1 that he was only delayed a few months). This seems to be the right way of harmonizing these two passages, though it does not appear to have been proposed before.

Gaul where he had been forcibly detained on suspicion of having an embassy from the Emperor. What more natural than that Biscop, who loved books so much, should have received a present from Hadrian, his supplanter, as a peace-offering? Thus would the liturgy of Naples have come to Jarrow.

Plausible as this may seem, I believe it to be entirely mistaken.

A grave difficulty is caused by the fact that all the evidence for Neapolitan influence comes from Northumbria, and none of it from Canterbury. It is true that St. Burchard was very likely a southerner like St. Boniface, who was probably born at Crediton and was certainly a monk at Nutshell near Southampton. But even St. Boniface in the matter of books is connected perhaps with Jarrow rather than with Canterbury, as will be seen further on, while the text of St. Burchard's Gospels is near to A and not to the Canterbury Gospels X.<sup>1</sup> It is true that X has been corrected throughout so as to agree very closely with A, and this was no doubt done at Canterbury. But we cannot infer from this that A was a Canterbury text in origin, and not Northumbrian. If we did infer this, then at least the connexion of the text of A with Cassiodorus would have to be given up; for the *Codex grandior* with its pictures was brought from Italy by Ceolfrid, and not from Canterbury.

If on the other hand we prefer to say that the AY text is indeed Northumbrian, but the lists of Gospels in Y are insertions, copied from a lectionary brought to the North by St. Hadrian, we are met by the difficulty that this lectionary seems from St. Bede's Homilies to have exercised some influence at Jarrow, but cannot be shown to have any connexion with the South. The liturgical notes in O have no resemblance whatever to the Neapolitan notes in Y; and O has a text very close to that of the Canterbury X, and may itself have been at Canterbury.

In just the same way the Capuan 'Mass-books' and calendars used in England c. 700 were not at Canterbury but

<sup>1</sup> The so-called 'Gospels of St. Augustine' at Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge.

in the North, and had presumably no connexion with Abbot Hadrian, although his Abbey near Naples was necessarily not far from Capua. Thus Dom Morin's hypothesis proves less simple upon further examination than it seemed at first sight, and it is quite insufficient to prove that the AY text belonged to South Italy, even if it were accepted as an explanation of the appearance of a Neapolitan system of Gospel lessons in the North of England.

It should be added that we are not told by Bede that Hadrian or Theodore brought books to England, though they may very likely have done so.

We shall eventually see that the Neapolitan lists came to England by a more circuitous route.

#### § 4. *Other connexions between England and South Italy.*

It was Mgr. Duchesne<sup>1</sup> who pointed out that the Martyrology of Echternach (brought thither from the North of England by St. Willibrord) contains additional saints interpolated in England, some being English (chiefly Northern), others being from South Italy. He naturally connected these saints of South Italy with the Neapolitan liturgy which Dom Morin believed to have been brought to Lindisfarne by Abbot Hadrian of Canterbury. I hope to show that this is not so, and that the origin of these additions is Capuan and not Neapolitan. In all probability these Capuan saints were not introduced by Abbot Hadrian, nor did they come from Cassiodorus, nor have they any real relationship with the AY text of the Gospels or with the Neapolitan lists in Y.

Lastly we have the note at the end of the Echternach Gospels (P). This MS. by its Irish-Saxon writing and its presence at Echternach connects itself with St. Willibrord, the Northumbrian Apostle of North Germany and Holland. The note states that the text (of a parent MS.) was corrected in the year 558 by a codex belonging to the Library of Eugipius<sup>2</sup> (no doubt the Abbot of Lucullanum at Naples, who

<sup>1</sup> In *Acta SS. Nov.* vol. ii; see chapter VIII, pp. 149-51.

<sup>2</sup> The form *Eugipius* as given in P is preferred by Max Büdinger as the earliest, Eugepius, Engippius, and Eegyppius being later (*Eugipius, eine Untersuchung*, in

had probably then been dead some years), a codex which was reputed to have belonged to St. Jerome himself. But Bishop Wordsworth laments that the text of the codex does not correspond to its promise. From what ancestry did it get this note? I think we shall see that in the answer to this is the key to the whole history of the Northumbrian text, though this note has until now been the most puzzling enigma of all.

We have now to start afresh from these points, and add what further evidence can be found, combining the data as best we can, in hopes of more definite results.

*Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akad. der Wiss.*, Wien, vol. xci, 1878, p. 795). Migne's edition has *Eugyppius*; but Knöll always writes *Eugippius*. As Büdinger gives his reasons and Knöll does not, I follow Büdinger.



## CHAPTER II

### THE CASSIODORIAN ORIGIN OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN TEXT

#### § 1. *The text of the Codex Amiatinus is Cassiodorian.*

WE have now to investigate the important question whether or no the only Cassiodorian portion of A is the portion interpolated out of the *Codex grandior* of Cassiodorus.

Two insufficient arguments may first be noticed, as they are at least suggestions of the true solution.

1. The arrangement of the text *per cola et commata* after the example of St. Jerome himself is not peculiar to A, but the divisions seem to have been particularly well preserved in it.<sup>1</sup> Now Cassiodorus had been careful with regard to this very point, as he tells us in his Preface to the *Institutio*. Hence Mr. White has given this point as in favour of the Cassiodorian origin of the text of A.<sup>2</sup>

2. The anonymous author of the *Historia Abbatum* and the Venerable Bede both use the word *Pandectes* of A and its fellows in the passages quoted above (pp. 4, 5, 6). Now *Pandectes* is precisely the word used by Cassiodorus for a complete Bible.

But neither the preservation of the *cola et commata* nor the use of a word like *Pandectes* can prove anything, as they are not unique but ordinary circumstances.

3. Let us turn to the order of the books in A and in the list of its contents on the purple leaf of its first quaternion, and compare this order with the order observed by Cassiodorus in his corrected text.

<sup>1</sup> They are followed in Wordsworth's edition. Tischendorf omitted to reproduce them in his rather unsatisfactory edition of A.

<sup>2</sup> In Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. 'Vulgate', vol. iv, p. 878; also Wordsworth, p. xxxiii.

Cassiodorus, in his Preface to the *Institutio*, makes it clear that the Vulgate text so carefully emended by him in his old age was that contained in his nine great volumes of texts and commentaries on the whole of the Bible. The order of the books in these volumes is given by him in the first nine chapters of his *Institutio*; it is also found thus on the backs of the volumes seen in the cupboard behind the figure of Ezra in the picture already spoken of:

OCT LIB	REG
HEST <sup>1</sup> LIB	PSALM LIB
SALOMON	PROPH
EVANG IIII	EPIST AP XXI
ACT APOSTOL APOCA	

Let us compare the nine volumes and the Ezra list with that of the *antiqua translatio* (as found in A and *Inst.* xiv) and with the nine volumes described *Inst.* i-ix:

<i>Ezra.</i>	<i>Antiqua translatio.</i>	<i>The nine volumes.</i>
1. Oct. lib.	1. Octateuch.	1. Octateuchus.
2. Reg.	2. Kings iv, Paral. ii.	2. Regum (iv + Paral.).
3. Hest. lib.	3. Psalms.	3. Prophetarum.
4. Psalm lib.	4. Solomon v.	4. Psalterium.
5. Salomon.	5. Prophets.	5. Salomon (v).
6. Proph.	6. Hagiographa.	6. Hagiographorum.
7. Evang. iiiii.	7. Gospels.	7. Evangelia.
8. Epist. Ap. xxi.	Acts.	8. Epistolae Apostolorum.
9. Act. Apostol. Apoca.	8. Epistles. 9. Apocalypse.	9. Actus et Apocalypsis.

The HEST (or HIST) LIB in Ezra's cupboard evidently means the 'Hagiographa' of the Institutes; but 3 is in the place of 6, and 6 is in the place of 3. This is a double difference. The central column is a mean between the two. If we shift the Hagiographa to the third place in that column, we get the order of the first column; if we shift the Prophets to the third place, we get the order of the third column. (See Additional Note, p. 29.)

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. H. J. White (*Stud. Bibl.*, ii, p. 291) gives HEST. Mr. Willis Clark (*The Care of Books*, p. 42) gives HIST. He also omits APOCA and AP after EPIST. It seems safe to follow Mr. White, who however gives REG LIB, PSAL LIB, SAL . . . PROP . . . , EVANGEL IIII. These readings are quite unimportant for my present purpose.

Now turn to the purple leaf of A, which gives on its reverse the list of contents of the codex. We find precisely the same groups, only that naturally the artificial arrangement, by which Acts was bound up in one volume with the Apocalypse, is not preserved. I insert asterisks to divide the groups.

‘ In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui testamenti Libri N̄ lxxi.

Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth\*, Samuhel, Malachias, Paralypomenon\*, Lib. Psalmorum\*, Pro-uerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Lib. Sapientiae, Ecclesiasticum\*, Esaias, Hieremias, Hiezechiel, Danihel, Osec, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Michas, Naum, Habacuc, Soffonias, Aggeus, Zaccharias, Malachias, \*Iob, Thobias, Iudith, Hester, Ezras, Machabeorum lib. duo.

\*Euangeliium secundum Mattheum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem\*, Actus Apostolorum\*, Epistulae Paulli Apost., ad Romanos i, ad Corintheos ii, ad Galatas i, ad Ephesios i, ad Philippenses i, ad Colosenses i, ad Thessalon. ii, ad Timotheum ii, ad Titum i, ad Philimon i, ad Hebreos i, Epist. Iacobi i, Petri i, Iohannis iii, Iudae i\*, Apocalypsis Iohan. Amen.’

There follow verses addressed to St. Jerome. The order of the groups of books is that of the *antiqua translatio*. The number of books enumerated (if we remember that there are two books each of Samuel, Kings, Paralipomena, and Esdras) come to forty-three for the Old Testament and twenty-six for the New, i. e. LXIX. The scribe has wrongly counted LXXI, (= Augustine). But *Petri i* is a slip for *Petri ii*, as in the actual text both Epistles are found. The prologue which precedes, on the other side of the same purple leaf, announces correctly that there are to be seventy books (as in the *antiqua translatio*).

We have arrived at the following results :

a. The nine volumes of Cassiodorus took their nine groups from the *antiqua translatio*; such grouping is unknown in other Vulgate codices than A. Cassiodorus must have adopted it with a view to uniformity of size for the nine volumes. He shifted Acts to vol. ix for the same reason.

β. The variation in the order of the groups as given in the *Institutio* must be an oversight, since there is a different variation in the picture of Ezra. Therefore Cassiodorus intended to reproduce not merely the groups of the *antiqua translatio*, but the order of the groups.

γ. In A we find both the groups and the order of the groups preserved correctly.

4. We must now examine the order of the books themselves.

In A, the titles within the groups differ from those in the *antiqua translatio* list. The second group is not of 'Regum libri iiii, Paralipomenon duo', but gives the Hieronymian forms 'Samuhel, Malachias (a slip for Malachim), Paralipomenon'; for we are dealing with a Hieronymian text in an artificial grouping. Again, the *antiqua translatio* gives for Solomon the order *Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Canticle*; whereas the Amiatine list and the text of the codex itself have again the Hieronymian order *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle*, followed by the deuterocanonical *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus*. These are enumerated in the same order by Cassiodorus in his description of his fifth volume (c. 5). But he names the minor prophets in the order in which he found them in the Commentaries, whereas the Amiatine list has the order of St. Jerome's 'Prologus galeatus' (in the Hieronymian list of Cassiodorus and of the codex the order of the twelve prophets is not given). The *antiqua translatio* has a totally different order. In the New Testament the usual order, that of St. Jerome, is followed, the *antiqua translatio* being again deserted; and Hebrews is supplied.

The Amiatine list, then, is a list of the books in St. Jerome's version, arranged in the same nine groups as those of the *antiqua translatio* and of the nine volumes of Cassiodorus. But the interior order of the groups is that of St. Jerome. We know that in Cassiodorus's nine volumes this was the case in the volume of Solomon; and in the volume of Epistles he certainly put those of St. Paul first, and not last as in the *antiqua translatio*. But the number of books is counted as seventy with that list, and not as forty-nine with St. Jerome.

It seems to be plain that this grouping in the codex can only be due to one cause, viz. that its text is derived from that of the nine volumes of Cassiodorus. In these the grouping was obviously due to the necessity of fitting the commentaries into volumes of more or less equal size. It would not have

arisen independently in a codex which contained the Hieronymian Vulgate only without the commentaries.

5. Be it noted that the nine volumes in the picture of Ezra are very large, in fact very much the size of the great *Codex Amiatinus*, which again is the same size as was the *Codex grandior* of the Old Translation.

It seems that we have a right to conclude that the great Bible A is probably a copy of the Biblical text contained in the nine volumes of Cassiodorus.

§ 2. *The Prologue on the purple leaf of A is the introduction to the nine volumes.*

The beautiful prologue to the study of Holy Scripture on the *recto* of the purple leaf of the first quaternion of A—the same leaf which on its *verso* gives the contents of the codex—is connected by its position on this leaf not with the seven leaves interpolated from the *Codex grandior*, but rather with the actual contents of A itself. It has been recognized by Corsen and others as probably a composition by Cassiodorus.

Now it is not only on the same leaf as the table of contents, but it explicitly refers to a *corpus* which gives the number of books as seventy. As it is unlikely to be referring to the *antiqua translatio*, it is fairly certain that it refers to the codex itself and its table of contents. This is an indication that the table of contents and the contents of A must be Cassiodorian; and our former results are confirmed.

The table of contents we have seen to be that of the nine volumes of texts and commentaries. The Prologue seems therefore to be nothing less than Cassiodorus's Preface to the nine volumes—an introduction and exhortation to the study of Holy Scripture, which is to be entered upon with a pure heart, a good will and perseverance, and will then give a foretaste of heaven to the student:

'Si diuino ut dignum est amore flammati ad ueram cupimus sapientiam peruenire, et in hac uita fragili aeterni saeculi desideramus imaginem contueri, Patrem luminum deprecemur ut nobis cor mundum tribuat, actionem bonae uoluntatis inperiat, perseuerantiam sua uirtute concedat,

ut Scripturarum diuinarum palatia, ipsius misericordia largiente, possimus fiducialiter introire, ne nobis dicatur: "Quare tu enarras iustitias meas, et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum?" sed inuitati illud potius audiamus: "Uenite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego uos reficiam." Magnum munus, inaestimabile beneficium, audire hominem secreta Dei, et quemadmodum ad ipsum ueniatur institui. Festinemus itaque, fratres, ad animarum fontem uiuum, salutaria remedia iussionum. Quisquis enim in terris Scripturis talibus occupatur, paene caelestis iam regni suauitate perfruitur.<sup>1</sup>

Such a paragraph was not written by *le premier venu*, but by a man of holy thoughts and practised pen. The address to *fratres* is just what we expect from Cassiodorus, just what we find in the *Institutio* and *de Artibus*; and in fact the nine volumes, like those books, were carefully prepared for the use of the monks of Vivarium. *Diuinae scripturae* is a favourite phrase of Senator. The Prologue continues:

'Nec uos moueat quod pater Augustinus in septuaginta unum libros testamentum uetus nouumque diuisit; doctissimus autem Hieronymus idem uetus nouumque testamentum xlviii sectionibus comprehendit. In hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus (*sic*)<sup>2</sup> quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum. Nam licet haec calculo disparia uideantur, doctrina tamen patrum ad instructionem caelestis ecclesiae concorditer uniuersa perducunt. Amen.'

The seventy palm-trees of Elim (Exodus xv. 27) are quoted by Cassiodorus (as we have already seen) in his fourteenth chapter with reference to the seventy books of the *antiqua translatio*<sup>3</sup>. Here it is clear that the reference is to the list of contents of A, which gives really seventy books as I said; for that list incontinently follows on the other side of this same purple leaf. The mention of the various lists in con-

<sup>1</sup> I copy from Mr. White in *Studia Biblica*, ii, pp. 289-90, adding punctuation in order to make the beauty of the passage more evident.

<sup>2</sup> We must obviously read *praesagatum*.

<sup>3</sup> The passage was quoted in chapter i, p. 4. It is repeated at the end of the *antiqua translatio* list of A, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. Notice the identity of wording:

A (*list*): 'in illa palmarum numerum fortasse praesagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum.'

*Instit.* xiv: 'In illa palmarum numero fortasse praesagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum.'

A (*Prol.*): 'in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum.'

nexion with the table of contents both connects the prologue with Cassiodorus, and the contents of the codex with the prologue. We need surely not hesitate to recognize Cassiodorus as the author of the prologue, and the prologue as the introduction to the contents of the *Codex Amiatinus*, i. e. of the nine volumes.

In confirmation of these natural conclusions we may note that this second part of the prologue is an explanation of the unusual order found in the MS. 'Do not be surprised,' says Senator, 'that there are seventy books in my collection, whereas Augustine enumerates seventy-one, and Jerome counts forty-nine, for these are only different methods of counting.' He admits that the arrangement is an unusual one for a copy of St. Jerome's text, and justifies it by the seventy palm-trees. It is evident that this passage was penned earlier than the chapters of the *Institutio* in which the various lists are given. Those chapters describe the lists as inserted in the *codex grandior antiquae translationis*. The sequence seems to be as follows:—First, Cassiodorus arranges the books of the Bible in nine groups for his nine volumes according to the order of groups in the *antiqua translatio*, though leaving St. Jerome's order within each group. Secondly, he writes the above preface to declare that this unusual order is not inconsistent with the authority of Augustine and Jerome, though he gives no explanation. Thirdly, when he has the *antiqua translatio* copied in a large volume, he thinks it useful to put beside the list of its contents the lists of Augustine and of Jerome for comparison. Fourthly, in his *Institutio* he relates what he has done, and enumerates the contents of the nine volumes and of the three lists, thus demonstrating what he had merely asserted in the Preface, viz. that all are quite in harmony with each other.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The three lists of A and those of *Inst.* xii, xiii, and xiv are printed conveniently in parallel columns by Mr. White, l. c., pp. 292-9, with remarks. The chief differences are in the *ant. transl.* list. Some variations are doubtless due to errors, intentional and unintentional, of the scribes of A and of its immediate parent. Others may be due to alterations made by Cassiodorus himself when he wrote the *Institutio*, or to carelessness on his part, venial in a man of his great age. The most curious point is the remark in A at the end of the *ant. transl.*

The Preface is therefore probably a Prologue to the nine volumes of text and commentary, and the *Codex Amiatinus* a copy of the text of the nine volumes, without the commentaries. The purple page gives the Prologue to the nine and their contents. The rest of the first quaternion was detached from a copy of the *Codex grandior* and bound into the volume, to enhance its value as a gift 'to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles'. It is possible that the idea of doing this was suggested by the mention in the Prologue of the lists of Augustine and Jerome; the thought of adding these would be followed by the perception that the pictures which accompanied them would be a worthy addition to the incomparable MS. which the aged Ceolfrid was to take to Rome. No doubt the work was superintended by the Venerable Bede himself.

How did the archetype of A come to Jarrow? The answer is not difficult. As the archetype of the Cassiodorian *antiqua translatio* with its pictures was brought by Ceolfrid, and as we now see that the archetype of A and of its two fellow pandects was presumably Cassiodorian, it would seem that both were brought by Ceolfrid to Jarrow at the same time, probably, as was said above, in 678, when Ceolfrid accompanied Biscop on the latter's third journey to Rome.

§ 3. *The Neapolitan lessons were marked in the margin of the archetype of A.*

It was pointed out in the first chapter that the Neapolitan lectionary lists in Y and Reg have been made up out of list: 'Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti, sicut diuidit sanctus Hilarius (Hilarius, *m. p.*) Romanae urbis antistes et Epiphanius Cyprius, quem latino fecimus sermone transferri, Libri lxx, in illo palmarum numerum,' &c.; whereas Cassiodorus in the corresponding passage (c. xiv) has: 'Unde licet multi sancti patres, id est, sanctus Hilarius Pictauiensis urbis antistes, et Rufinus presbyter Aquileiensis, et Epiphanius episcopus Cypri et Synodus Nicaena et Chalcedonensis non contraria dixerint sed diuersa; omnes tamen per diuisiones suas libros diuinos sacramentis competentibus aptauerunt.' The suggestion that any of the different computations can be mystically explained reminds us of the apologetic tone of the end of the Prologue. The scribe of A has transformed St. Hilary of Poitiers into Pope Hilarius, but the statement that Cassiodorus had a translation of St. Epiphanius made is important—though apparently only his list is meant. We should not gather from the *Institutio* that Epiphanius and Hilary, any more than Rufinus and the two councils, gave the preceding list. It is a coincidence that Epiphanius was the name of the translator employed by Senator (*Inst.* 8).



marginal notes in an earlier MS., and that Burch (let us so call the 'Gospels of St. Burchard' for convenience) has preserved them in their original position, though in an interpolated form. As Y Reg certainly have a common ancestor with A (and it can hardly be doubted that the common ancestor was the Cassiodorian Vulgate Bible which we have just gathered to have existed at Jarrow, brought thither by Ceolfrid), it is of the first importance to know whether there are any traces of these liturgical notes in A; and it is to me very surprising that no one (so far as I am aware) has examined this point. The four lists of Y Reg are, of course, not to be found in A, nor are the marginal notes of Burch. But Y Reg have a few additional liturgical notes, belonging beyond doubt to the same system, and these have been carefully noted by Dom Morin after Skeat for Y. I add those of Reg from my own notes:<sup>1</sup>

1. In Y Reg is found after the eighty-seventh *capitulum* of the summary of St. Luke an interpolation, '*quod prope pascha legendum est.*' It is rubricated in Reg.

2. After the last *capitulum* (94) of the summary of Luke in Y Reg is a note, '*Haec lectio in ebdomada pascae,*' &c.<sup>2</sup> In Reg it is written like the summaries in black with red capitals.

3. In Y, after the fifteenth *capitulum* of the summary of John, is found '*legenda pro defunctis.*'

4. In Y, after the eighteenth *capitulum* of John, is found '*legenda in quadragesima.*'<sup>3</sup>

5. In Y Reg, after the forty-fifth *capitulum* of John, is found a note, '*Quae lectio cum in natale,*' &c. (see p. 63). In Reg the first eighteen words are red.

It seems that when some scribe copied out the marginal notes of his exemplar into four lists, he omitted these few notes as clearly meaningless when no longer placed over against the passages to which they refer, so inserted them after the corresponding *capitulum* of the summary.

<sup>1</sup> The position of these notes in Y is wrongly described by Dom Morin (l. c.). They are all among the *capitula* of the summary, and not in the margin; nor is 2 in the margin of the Gospel itself. They are given in capitals by Skeat.

<sup>2</sup> The full text will be found in the notes to the reprint of the lists in ch. iv, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> I did not notice 3 and 4 in Reg.

Let us turn to A.

Like Y, at the fifteenth *capitulum* of the summary of John A has '*legenda pro defunctis*'; at the nineteenth (not eighteenth) it has '*legenda in quadragesima*'. It has also preserved two other notes which are not found in Y Reg; at the seventeenth *capitulum* of the John summary is the vague '*legenda circa pascha*', and at the eighty-ninth *capitulum* of the Luke summary is the convenient direction, '*quae lectio potest quolibet tempore dici*.' These two notes were apparently thought too indefinite to be worth copying by the scribes of Y and Reg. The four notes in A are rubricated.

I have taken them from Tischendorf's edition of the codex (1850), p. xxv. He says they are written '*antiquissima quadam manu rubris litteris*'. He does not say that they are in the margin of the summaries, but that they are '*capitulis . . . immixtae*'. If this means that they are among the *capitula*, as in Y Reg, they must be by the original hand. But Tischendorf is not clear. It is most unlikely *a priori* that these fragmentary survivals of a complete system should be additions by a later hand. It is evident that the lists as found in Y Reg and even the utilizable marginal notes in their original form were not likely to be inserted in A. It was written for the Pope, and Ceolfrid would not purposely have presented at Rome a table of lessons belonging to some other church. The four rubrics which have survived are fortunately sufficient to attest that the archetype had the complete system of lessons.

Thus we have arrived at the important result that the Neapolitan lectionary belonged to the archetype of the Gospel text of A Y Reg.

Now the text of A is apparently Cassiodorian. There is no reason to suppose that the Gospels are not as Cassiodorian as the rest, or that they are insertions from another source. Consequently the Neapolitan liturgical notes were almost certainly in the great Cassiodorian Vulgate Bible which Ceolfrid brought to Jarrow. Only we have not so far seen whether this text came from Cassiodorus to Jarrow through Naples, or from Naples to Jarrow through Cassiodorus.

§ 4. *The Echternach Gospels have a Northumbrian element, to which the note about Eugippius may well belong.*

The splendid 'Gospels of Echternach' (Æ) now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (lat. 9389) are written in a semi-uncial Saxon hand of the eighth century. The codex belonged to the Abbey of Echternach (in Latin *Epternacum*), which was founded by the Northumbrian Apostle Willibrord, who died in 739. The Northumbrian character of the Martyrology and Kalendar which belonged to him<sup>1</sup> is very marked. The manuscript of the Gospels in question may be early enough to have been brought by him from England; or it may have been written at Echternach by one of his Saxon scribes, or brought thither in the course of the century.

The Italian writing and the Cassiodorian text of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were in close relation to the Irish monastery of Lindisfarne. We have seen that an Italian text in an Italian hand, presumably of Jarrow, was buried with St. Cuthbert. Similarly in the Lindisfarne Gospels at the British Museum we have a purely Italo-Northumbrian text without Irish admixture, but the scribe wrote an Anglo-Irish hand of unsurpassed beauty. The Echternach Gospels also show an Anglo-Irish hand, but the text is more Irish than Italian. The decorations are in the Irish taste, as usual in the eighth century.

But yet the text is not wholly Irish, like that of DLQR or even E, though the corrector (Æ<sup>m</sup>) used an Irish MS. Bishop Wordsworth writes:

'Amicus quidem noster S. Berger (pp. 52, 53)<sup>2</sup> Hibernicum uel potius Scoticum esse textum huius codicis asserit, et cum forma Kenanensi (Q) maxime consentire. Multae sunt tamen lectiones in eo proditae quae aliam formam ostendant. Exempla quippe in praefatione nostra collecta (pp. xxxiv-xxxvi), pro documento sunt quomodo et manus prima et corrector non solum apud Matthaeum sed etiam per omnia Euangelia uacillent, et interdum cum AY interdum cum Z in partes eant. Quod ad codices Hiberno-Britannos attinet, cum formula DEFLQR non raro in notulis

<sup>1</sup> See ch. viii, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. *Histoire de la Vulgate*, (Paris, 1893), to be frequently referred to.

nostris appareat, orthographiae potius proprietatem quam lectiones tangit; et in lectionum uarietatibus  $\mathfrak{P}^{ms}$  saepius quam  $\mathfrak{P}^*$  cum DELQR congruit. Considerantibus autem nobis omnia quae de huius codicis indole obseruata sint, cum familia B-Z potius quam cum aliis facere uidetur, saepius certe quam antea ferme creditum est' (p. 712).

He then gives examples to show that  $\mathfrak{P}^{ms}$  rather than  $\mathfrak{P}^*$  agrees with the Irish MSS. Still it remains that the first hand of the codex used Irish spelling as well as Irish embellishments, and that he has imported a certain amount of Irish contamination into the text itself. That the parentage of the codex is really Irish is finally demonstrated by the additional matter it contains. The summaries or *capitula* of the Gospels are the Irish summaries, as found in the Book of Armagh (D), the Book of Kells (Q), also in the Sangermanensis ( $g^1$  and G), and some Old Latin MSS. The text of the Prologues is the pure and ancient Irish text of DQ, and the text of St. Jerome's letter *Novum opus* is also Irish in character. It is therefore surprising that the Gospel text itself should be only moderately Irish, though the spelling is consistently that of DELQR.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand we have to remember that it is a Northumbrian MS., and as the text of Alcuin at a later date is a compromise between the Irish influence from Iona and the South Italian influence from Jarrow, so this codex exhibits a mixed text—Irish in foundation, in all probability, but largely corrected by the AY text of Jarrow and also by some text of the B-Z family. For there is no doubt that it does sometimes agree with AY, and such agreement in a Northumbrian codex cannot be regarded as purely fortuitous.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The spelling agrees especially with D. There are occasional agreements, rare but remarkable, with the Northumbrian spelling; e.g. Luke vii. 38 *ungento*  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}^*\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}^o$ , *ungebat*  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}^o$  *vg*; 46 *ungento*  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}^*\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}^{*ol} o$ ; John ii. 8-9 *archetriclinus*, 1<sup>o</sup>  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$ , 2<sup>do</sup>  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$ , 3<sup>o</sup>  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$ ; Luke ix. 34 *nubis*  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$  (Irish DER have *nubs* with GT *a b c d l aur*, the rest *nubes*).

<sup>2</sup> I have not gone into this question exhaustively, as it has seemed to me too obvious, in spite of the large agreement of  $\mathfrak{P}$  with the Irish and with the Z contingent and others. The following examples of the agreement of  $\mathfrak{P}$  with AY against all the Irish witnesses are taken at random from the four Gospels:

Matt. xviii. 26 *orabat* (for *rogabat*)  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{Y}$ ; xix. 10 *muliere* (for *uxore*)  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}^*\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{X}^o\mathfrak{Y}$ ; 12 *castrauerunt*  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{Y}$  *b c d e f f<sub>1</sub> f<sub>2</sub> h d vg*.

Now at the end of the Gospels of Echternach is found a note of great interest on fol. 222 *v* in the writing of the original scribe:

' + proemendauī ut potui secundum codicem de bibliotheca eugipi prae-  
spiteri quem ferunt fuisse sc̄i hieronimi indictione . UI . p̄ . coñ . bassili  
. ŪC . anno septimo decimo.<sup>1</sup>

The date intended is 558, long before this eighth-century codex was written, long before any MSS. had reached the then heathen Saxons of Northumbria. The original of this note must have existed in some book brought to Ireland or to Northumbria from South Italy, for 'Eugipius' is obviously

Mark ii. 26 *domum* A<sup>PH</sup>\*MMO\*YI, *licet* A<sup>PO</sup>\*Y, omit *solis* A<sup>P</sup>\*H<sup>OKMV</sup>.  
WXYZ a d ff<sub>2</sub> i (all in one verse); ix. 15 *stupefactus est expauerunt* A<sup>P</sup>\*FH\*Y;  
x. 19 *adulteris* A\*<sup>PH</sup>\*OYZ\*; 46 *hierichum* ABC<sup>P</sup>\*KOVXYZ; xi. 11 *uespere*  
(for -ra) A<sup>P</sup>\*HIX (-ae) Y; xiii. 9 *conciliis* (for *in conciliis*) ABC<sup>P</sup>\*H\*JTY.

Luke xi. 28 *quippini* A<sup>P</sup>\*<sup>Q</sup>\*MMOPXY Reg *aur*; xiii. 21 add *et cui* A<sup>PHX</sup>\*Y.  
John ii. 13 *properabat* (for *prope erat*) A<sup>G</sup>Δ<sup>P</sup>\*SX\*Y; iii. 10 omit *in* before  
*israhel* A\*<sup>P</sup>FJMSY b e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q δ; 23 *ueniebant* Δ<sup>P</sup>JKOTVWX\*Z *vg a b d (e)*  
*q r aur*; iv. 16 omit *huc* ΔΔ<sup>P</sup>FHSY *aur*; v. 4 <sup>P</sup> agrees with ΔΔ<sup>FH</sup>\*MSXY.

If the question is asked how the mixing took place in <sup>P</sup>, I must give as my own opinion that the agreements with AY against the Irish look like survivals rather than corrections. I suggest that the action of the corrector (<sup>P</sup><sup>ms</sup>) is merely the continuation of a process that had been at work before; that the MS. is very much Hibernicized, especially in spelling, with some contamination from Z (or some similar text); but I think the basis was Northumbrian. The agreements with that text where supported by a part of the Irish family are very numerous, but especially remarkable are the constant agreements with D (the 'Book of Armagh') and the AY text together, against the rest of the Irish. I suggest that <sup>P</sup> descends from an AY text corrected to considerable uniformity with a D text; and D itself has from some good Vulgate source got many readings similar to those of AY. These have remained in <sup>P</sup>\*, together with a certain number of AY readings (such as those given above) which are not in D or any Irish MS. Whether this conjecture, that the basis (of which little is left) of <sup>P</sup> is the AY text, be true or not, at any rate the connexion is quite certain. But I cannot think that some of the readings just given were introduced as corrections; notice how frequently the other MSS. have been corrected as to these very peculiarities. Such variants as *stupefactus est expauerunt* and *quippini* would never be introduced by a corrector. Still this point is of no importance to my argument in the text. The note about Eugipius might be a survival from an archetype; it might equally have been introduced from a copy used to correct by. We cannot *a priori* decide which was the case.

<sup>1</sup> I copy from Wordsworth, p. 649 (on p. xii he gives the words less exactly). But Scrivener (*Introd.*, ii. 80) reads *dextimo*, and so does Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, p. 52.

the well-known student of Holy Scripture and abbot of the Lucullanum at Naples. On this Berger remarks (p. 53):

‘Puisque nous savons qu’un manuscrit de Cassiodore, ou la copie de ce manuscrit, est venu de Vivarium à Jarrow, que Lindisfarne avait reçu un livre d’Évangiles venant de Naples même, nous ne pouvons nous étonner de rencontrer, dans un manuscrit anglo-saxon venu probablement d’York, un texte corrigé sur l’original du célèbre écrivain napolitain.’

But Berger had his doubts, because he looked upon the text of  $\mathfrak{P}$  as Irish; yet he concludes (*ibid.*):

‘Il n’en reste pas moins prouvé, par la souscription du manuscrit d’Echternach, qu’il se conservait, dans les environs d’York, un manuscrit napolitain du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Peut-être était-ce l’original du manuscrit de Lindisfarne.’

M. Berger is referring to the known presence at Jarrow of a Cassiodorian *Codex grandior*, and to the Neapolitan lists in Y. We have arrived at the result that the archetype of A, of its two lost companion pandects and of Y Reg was a copy of the text of Cassiodorus’s nine volumes, and that the Neapolitan lists were in the Gospel margins of that archetype. Consequently the AY text did actually come from Naples. Hence M. Berger’s conjecture is strongly reinforced.

We may ask the question in this form: ‘ $\mathfrak{P}$  had ancestry of a DLQR type, of a B-Z type, and of an AY type—to which of these lines of descent does  $\mathfrak{P}$  owe the note about the library of Eugipius?’ We cannot but reply: ‘In all probability to the AY line of ancestry, since that line leads us to Naples and Squillace.’

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—Mr. C. H. Turner sends me an important confirmation of my argument on p. 17 as to the order of the groups in the nine volumes. He writes of the Bamberg MS. of the *Institutio* (it is the oldest—eighth century): ‘The MS. keeps the same order of the chapters as the printed texts: 1. de octateucho. 2. de libris Regum. 3. de Prophetis. 4. de Psalterio. 5. de salomone. 6. de Hagiographis. Yet the text in chh. iii-v indicates that the order of these chapters is not the order of the nine volumes. For in ch. iii it begins: “Ex omni igitur prophetarum codice quinto”; in ch. iv: “Sequitur psalterii codex tertius” (though it has “bis binum locum tenet in ordine”, meaning the order of description in the *Institutio*); in ch. v: “Quartus codex est Salomonis”; in ch. vi: “Sequitur Agiographorum codex sextus.” In other words the true order of Cassiodorus’s nine volumes is what you have rightly conjectured to be the proper order, namely that of the *antiqua translatio*.’

## CHAPTER III

### CASSIODORUS AND EUGIPIUS

§ 1. *It was not St. Victor of Capua who collated the Codex of Eugippius.*

THERE is at first sight a remarkable likeness between the note in  $\mathfrak{P}$  (above, p. 28) and the autograph notes made by Victor, bishop of Capua, in the *Codex Fuldensis* (F).

At the end of Acts he has written :

+victor famulus xpi et eius gratia episc capuae legi non. mai. d. ind.  
nona quinq. ꝑc basilii uc

At the end of James :

legi meum +

At the end of the Apocalypse and of the whole book :

+ victor famulus xpi et eius gratia | episc capuae legi apud | basilicam  
consta . . . ianam | d. xiii. kal. maias ind. nona | q . . m ꝑ c basilii u c  
cos | Iterato legi ind. x die prid. iduum April.

When we come to a closer comparison the resemblance is really only in the dating by indictions and *post cons. Basilii u. c.* which was unavoidable at that period. Victor gives his name and title and the day. The note in  $\mathfrak{P}$  is anonymous and does not give the day of the month; and its *ut potui* with regard to so easy a task remains unexplained.

Anyhow that note cannot be Victor's, for he died *iii non. April. ann. xiii p. c. basilii u. c. indictione secunda* according to his epitaph printed in M. Monaco's *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, in Ughelli's *Italia Sacra*, and by Cardinal Pitra in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 102, col. 1123. The note in  $\mathfrak{P}$  was made four years later.

One is glad to have so absolute a proof that we have nothing but a mere coincidence in the fact that Eugippius's codex was

the parent (as we shall see) of F as well as of A, and in the fact that F was perhaps once at Jarrow.

§ 2. *The note in the Echternach Gospels was written by Cassiodorus.*

Since it was not Victor who wrote the note, who was it? If it belongs, as it probably does, to the AY element in  $\mathfrak{P}$ , it belonged originally to the Cassiodorian exemplar which contained the Neapolitan lectionary notes. Why should not Cassiodorus himself have been the author of the note? He was a diligent corrector of the text, the date is right, and the very dating by indictions and *post consulatum Basilii uiri clarissimi* (though of course all his contemporaries dated in this way) makes us think of him, for the rules for calculating the year of the indiction, of A. D., and of the consulship of Basil are given in the little tract *Computus Paschalis*, written apparently in 562, four years later than the note in  $\mathfrak{P}$ , and attributed by its first editor to Cassiodorus.

Let us examine the note itself :

I. The words UT POTUI would be more natural in a case of conjectural and not mechanical emendation. Was the corrector in a hurry, or ill? The answer is easy now that we know on the one hand that the *Codex Amiatinus* represents the text given in the nine volumes of Cassiodorus, and on the other hand that the note about Eugipius was most probably found in the archetype of the *Codex Amiatinus*. We have but to refer to the Preface to the *Institutio divinarum litterarum*. There we read as follows in the passage where the author describes the manner in which he prepared the text of his nine volumes :

‘Quos ego cunctos nouem codices auctoritatis diuinae, UT SENEX POTUI, sub collatione priscorum codicum, amicis ante me legentibus, sedula lectione transiui. Ubi me multum laborasse, Domino adiuuante, profiteor, quatenus nec eloquentiae modificatae deessem, nec libros sacros temeraria praesumptione lacerarem.’

Therefore ‘as best I could’ implies ‘considering my great age’,<sup>1</sup> an explanation which would suggest itself to every

<sup>1</sup> Nearly the same expression occurs again in the *Institutio*, c. 30, where he



disciple of the old Senator, when the date 558 was noted ; for Cassiodorus was then at least sixty-eight years of age or even much more. But he was doubtless well able to continue his labours, for he did not die until many years later ; and he wrote his *de Orthographia* at the age of ninety-three ! Besides we learn that he made the labour of correction lighter by getting his friends to read the codices aloud to him, *amicis ante me legentibus*.

2. Both scribes and correctors frequently sign their name in a codex. An example is found in A, where at the beginning of Leviticus is found ΟΚΥΡΙC CΕΡΒΑΝΔΟC ΑΙΠΟΙΗCΕΝ (ὁ κύριος Σέρβανδος ἐποίησεν). We are not surprised to find that an *antiquarius* at Squillace knew Greek. A corrector's signature which occurs to me is 'Justinus emendavit Romae' in Codex M of St. Cyprian, and we have just considered the signatures set by Victor of Capua in the *Codex Fuldensis*.

But in P we have the surprising case of a corrector who not only describes the codex he has used and its origin, but gives the date and speaks in the first person, yet gives no name. He supposes that his identity will be obvious and his *ut potui* will be understood. I know of no other explanation than that we have here Cassiodorus addressing his monks as usual.

3. *Proemendavi* I cannot translate. I suppose *praemendavi* to be intended, with the meaning : 'I have previously corrected the codex from which this copy was to be made.'

If the Preface to the *Institutio divinarum litterarum* was written earlier than 558 we have two alternatives. Either we may suppose that Cassiodorus procured the codex from the library of his old friend Eugipius after the nine volumes were completed, and thereupon corrected the text of the Gospels in vol. vii in order that a new pandect might be made ; or else we may suppose that the nine volumes were not really completed when the Preface was first written, for the present text

mentions his book *De Orthographia*. He is therefore adding to the earlier book when ninety-three years old, or more : 'Quos ego [orthographos antiquos], quantum potui, studiosa curiositate collegi.' He might here mean simply 'so far as I have been able to obtain their works'.

of the *Institutio* contains additions written many years later than the first draft.

But it seems to me more probable that the *Institutio* was not written until after 558. The usual date given for its composition is 543-4, after Franz, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* (Breslau, 1872). But this date is quite impossible, as I shall proceed to show, though it is followed without question by Zahn, Rüdinger, Wandinger (in *Kirchen-Lexicon*), Bardenhewer, &c. It will appear that 558 is just about the date which suits the completion of the seventh of the nine volumes containing the four Gospels; consequently it is probable that the note in  $\mathfrak{P}$  represents a note made by Cassiodorus in his seventh volume, and that the passage just quoted from the Preface to the *Institutio* was written subsequently.

I need not apologize for thus dragging in a discussion of the chronology of Cassiodorus, as the subject is in itself interesting.

### § 3. On the date of Cassiodorus's *Institutio*.

The *Institutio divinarum litterarum* and the *de Artibus ac Disciplinis liberalium litterarum* are one work in two books, written not merely after Cassiodorus had retired to Squillace, but after his monastery was in full working order, and when the library, in particular, was complete.

The date of that retirement is uncertain. Dom Garett puts it in 538-9 (*Prolegomena*, pars i, § lx), Mabillon mentions it under 545 (*Annales Bened.*, i, p. 112), Franz gives 540-1, and places the *Institutio*, and as I have said, in 543-4.<sup>1</sup>

Now in three years we are to place all these labours of the retired statesman. First, the Library; the collection of the best commentaries on all the books of the Bible, and their transcription by his scribes into nine volumes; the

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus was consul in 514, *Magister officiorum* c. 525-7, *Praefectus praetorio* 533-7 (Mommson, *Mon. Germ., Auct. Antiq.*, 4<sup>to</sup>, 1894, vol. xii, p. x). He wrote the *Chronica* in 519, the *Historiae Gothicae* after the death of Theodoric (Aug. 30, 526—Usener and Hodgkin say 'before') c. 526-33, and the *Liber de Anima* after the death of Witigis in 540. This was before his retirement, which was consequently, I think, after 540.

correction of the text of the whole Bible with the best MSS. of St. Jerome's version, and the emendation of its orthography. This must surely have been a labour of many years, *ubi me multum laborasse profiteor*. Then the Vulgate Bible in fifty-three gatherings of six, the large Itala Bible, and the Greek Bible were written; then the writings mentioned in caps. x *seqq.* were collected and perhaps copied (though a number of them may have been already in the Senator's possession before he left Ravenna). Then there are the illustrations to the *Codex grandior* and the great map (cap. 25), the Greek books in a special cupboard (cap. 8). Then a large number of translations were made for Cassiodorus by a certain Epiphanius and others from the Greek: Didymus on Proverbs, St. Epiphanius on the Song of Songs, Homilies of Origen on Esdras, Clement and Didymus on the Catholic Epistles. On several books of Holy Scripture commentaries were written expressly for the nine volumes by the Priest Bellator; there was a collection of writers on the liberal arts. For all this labour even ten years is surely a very small calculation.

Then it seems from cap. iv that the whole of Cassiodorus's commentary on the Psalms was complete, and written into the fourth of the nine volumes.<sup>1</sup> But in the same chapter

<sup>1</sup> The words of Cassiodorus are: 'Sequitur Psalterium codex quartus, qui nobis primus est in commentatorum labore, sed bis binum locum tenet in ordine. Hunc in quibusdam Psalmis beatus Hilarius, beatus Ambrosius et beatus Hieronymus, in omnibus tamen beatus Augustinus studiose nimis latiusque tractavit. Ex quibus iam duas decadas, Domino praestante, collegi; a quo (ut fieri solet) mutans lumen de lumine, aliqua de ipso, Domino largiente, conscripsi; ut illud in me dictum Mantuani uatis ueraciter impleretur: "et argutos inter strepit anser olorea."'

The text is perhaps corrupt; at least the Latin is bad. *Hunc* means *hunc codicem Psalterii*, where we should expect *hoc*. Lower down *de ipso* clearly means *de ipso Psalterio*; just before it *a quo* means *ab Augustino* beyond doubt. As to *ex quibus* it ought to mean 'out of these four writers', but the following *a quo* seems to limit it, and it means 'out of these Homilies of St. Augustine on the Psalms'. Franz understands *duas decadas* to mean 'twenty Psalms'; and explains that, using the former commentators, Cassiodorus had already made a commentary on the first twenty Psalms. It cannot be said that this is the obvious meaning of *ex quibus iam duas decadas collegi*. But I think it plain that Cassiodorus's commentary was copied into this fourth volume. This is implied in the quotation from Virgil, and lower down when he says: 'Quem post tales uiros fortasse si aliquis dignatus fuerit relegere, cognoscet,' &c. In the same volume it was followed by the *libellus Athanasii de libro Psalmorum*,

we learn that this was the first of the nine volumes to be taken in hand. It may have been some years, therefore, before one volume of the nine was completed.

I know it is commonly said that the Commentary on the Psalms was begun before the *Institutio*, but finished after that work, on the ground that the *Institutio* is referred to as already complete, in the Preface to the Commentary, cap. xv: 'De cuius eloquentiae modis multi Patres latius prolixiusque dixerunt, quorum nomina in libris introductoriiis commemoranda perspeximus.' Similarly, on Psalm xcvi, verse 4, he refers to his book on Geometry. But this is insufficient proof, for I have already remarked that in his *Institutio* (caps. 15 and 30) he twice refers to his *de Orthographia*, in which book he distinctly states that the *Institutio* was an earlier work:

1. Post commenta Psalterii, ubi praestante Domino conversionis meae tempore primum studium laboris impendi,
2. deinde post institutiones quemadmodum diuinae et humanae debeant intellegi lectiones, duobus libris (ut opinor) sufficienter impletis, ubi plus utilitatis inuenies quam decoris,
3. post expositionem epistolae quae dicitur ad Romanos . . . ,

therefore one might presume the commentary was complete, although it was in the first written of all the nine volumes. But in fact there is no doubt whatever that Cassiodorus means: 'Of these *Enarrationes in Psalmos* of St. Augustine I have now managed to collect two decades'; for they were anciently divided into 'decades', as Cassiodorus himself tells us in the Preface to his own commentary: 'Quocirca, memor infirmitatis meae, mare ipsius quorundam Psalmorum fontibus profusum, diuina misericordia largiente, in riuulos uadosos compendiosa breuitate deduxi: uno codice tam diffusa complectens, quae ille in decades quindecim mirabiliter explicauit.' Of this ancient (but not original) division the Benedictine editors found traces in three MSS. only, 'uno Jolyano Ecclesiae Parisiensis, qui in fronte praefert: *Incipit liber decada domini Augustini a Psalmo i, Beatus uir, usque 51, et duobus Colbertinis, quorum alter enarrationis psalmi quadagesimi haec subdit: beati Aurelii Augustini episcopi fuit decada de libro primo. Alter uero compendium totius operis complectens, uersus quosdam in capite uoluminis exhibet, qui cum praefationibus ac elogis infra edendis locum habeant non indignos. In his autem isthuc pertinet is uersus: Ter quinis decadis grande peregit opus*' (*Pref. to Tom. iv, P. L., 36, col. 14*). If Cassiodorus had only obtained two out of fifteen decades, why does he not explain that he has sent everywhere to obtain the rest, as in the case of the commentaries of St. Jerome on St. Paul? He had certainly not obtained all the fifteen (he says *quorundam*) when he wrote the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms. I expect *duas* is a clerical error for *xi* or some larger number; for the text of the whole is very corrupt. The Preface is addressed to a Pope, for, *pace* Dom Garet, 'Pater apostolice' can mean nothing else. Whether Vigilius (+ 555) or Pelagius I (+ 559) is meant is not easy to decide.

4. post codicem in quo artes Donati . . . et librum de Etymologia . . . collegi . . . ,
5. post librum titulorum, quem de diuina scriptura collectum, Memorialem uolui nuncupari . . . ,
6. post complexiones in Epistolas Apostolorum et Actibus eorum et Apocalypsi . . . ,
7. ad amantissimos orthographos discutiendos anno aetatis meae nonagesimo tertio, Domino adiuuante, perueni.

Dom Gareth thought this was a chronological list, but that it only gave the dates when these various works were begun.<sup>1</sup> Yet the revision of Pelagius's commentary on Romans, here no. 3, is referred to in the *Institutio* as completed (cap. 8). The old man probably set down the names as he happened to remember them, and his list is not exhaustive. It must have been at Vivarium that he arranged into a Tripartite History the translations he had caused to be made of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, but he does not mention this troublesome work.<sup>2</sup>

It is at any rate clear that our present text of the *Institutio* contains additions made after Cassiodorus was ninety-three. It was not intended to be published to the world. It was a testament in which the old man describes all he was leaving to his monks—the library, the baths, the fishponds, the automatic lamps and all. So far it would seem that the earliest redaction of the work implies a stay in the monastery of ten to twelve years as a minimum; and this minimum surely implies very hard work, and yet leaves twenty-six or twenty-eight years before the composition of the *de Orthographia*, which was written about 578, if we place Cassiodorus's birth as early as 485.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, ii, § xli, in Migne, *P. L.*, 69, 478.

<sup>2</sup> The great collection of *Variarum* and the lost *History of the Goths* are always supposed to have been compiled before Cassiodorus's retirement from public life.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the date even of the birth of Cassiodorus is uncertain. Franz thought (*l. c.*, p. 3) that the first batch of his official letters referred to matters later than the accession of Theodoric (493) and earlier than 498. Franz argues that if we suppose he became secretary to the king at twenty-five years old, he was born about 470. This would make him no less than eighty-eight in 558, an age, however, at which he would still be able to correct MSS. with the help of his friends reading aloud to him, as even at eighty-eight he was five years younger than when he composed his book on Orthography. But most authorities assume that he was born about 477 (so Wandinger in *Kirchen-Lex.* of Welter und Wetz,

But the *Institutio* implies a complete monastery with many monks, besides the hermits on the mountain, and two abbots (cap. 32), one for the hermits and one for the cenobites. All this was the formation of many years. If the 'conversion' of Cassiodorus was c. 540 and the *de Orthographia* in 578, I do not feel inclined to put the first composition of the *Institutio* before 560 at the earliest.

But it need not be later in order to suit the date of 558 for the correction of the seventh volume which contained the Gospels. For Cassiodorus took the Psalms first, because of his special interest in them, and the commentary he was writing on them. He also took a special interest in the Prophets and in the Epistles of the Apostles: 'in Psalterio tamen et Prophetis et Epistolis' Apostolorum studium maximum laboris impendi, quoniam mihi visi sunt profundiores abyssos commouere, et quasi arcem totius Scripturae diuinae atque altitudinem gloriosissimam continere' (*Praef.*). On the Epistles, and also on Acts and the Apocalypse, he eventually composed short commentaries or *complexiones*. We may perhaps infer that he was likely to take the Prophets, Epistles, and Acts with Apocalypse, before the other volumes. If he took the remainder in order, the volume containing the Gospels would be dealt with last of all. In this case the date 558 in the

and so Bardenhewer, &c.) and became secretary of Theodoric at the age of twenty. But there has been a confusion of Cassiodorus with his father. The biographical fragment, discovered by Holder and published by Usener since Franz wrote, has the following words: 'iuuenis adeo, dum patris Cassiodori patricii et praefecti praetorii consiliarius fieret et laudes Theodorichi regis Gothorum facundissime recitasset, ab eo quaestor est factus, patricius et consul ordinarius,' &c. (*Anecdota Holderi*, by H. Usener, Bonn, 1877, pp. 3-4.) What does *iuuenis adeo* imply? Cassiodorus was not consul until 514, when he was thirty-seven if born in 477, or forty-four if born in 470. This was not young for a man of Cassiodorus's parentage and talents. I should compare Boethius, born apparently about 480, whose two sons were both consuls in 522, when one can hardly suppose the younger to have been more than twenty, if as much. Dr. Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, 1885, vol. iii, p. 315, and *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, 1886, p. 9) thought 480 certain as an approximation; he upholds the dates given by Trithemius (479-80, to 575, age 95). But Mommsen (l. c.) rightly despises Trithemius, and establishes that Cassiodorus was *quaestor* not earlier than 507 nor later than 511. He cannot have been *consiliarius praefecti praetorio* to his father before 501, since his father became prefect only in 500. Mommsen suggests 490, or somewhat earlier, for his birth. Let us say 485-90; death c. 580-5.

note at the end of the Gospels would in fact be that of the completion of the correcting of the whole Bible.

All this is necessarily uncertain, and the note about Eugippius may after all refer to a new correction of the Gospel text, carried out later, after the completion of the nine volumes. But then so may the passage *ut senex potui* in the Preface to the *Institutio* be later. That sentence might quite well be a posterior insertion by the author himself, parallel to the interpolated references to the *de Orthographia* in caps. 15 and 30. Anyhow it could hardly have been written in 543-4; for it is difficult to imagine that a man of 53-59 who had still some forty years of life before him should have found that old age made it difficult for him to collate correctly even with the aid of friends.<sup>1</sup>

If there were no interpolations in the *Institutio*, the mention of the condemnation of Origen by Pope Vigilius would be a most important factor in determining its date. We find in cap. 1 the following remark about Origen: 'Hunc licet tot Patrum impugnet auctoritas, praesenti tamen tempore et a Vigilio Papa uiro beatissimo denuo constat esse damnatum.' The decree of Justinian against Origen is placed by Hefele, following the Ballerini, in 543, though Baronius gave 538, Garnier 539 or 540.<sup>2</sup> A council of Constantinople in 543 dutifully followed the emperor's lead. According to Liberatus (*Breviarium*, 23),<sup>3</sup> this decision was accepted and subscribed by Pope Vigilius and by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> If this contemporary but biased authority is followed, we must at least put the *Institutio* as late as 544. But the formal wording *a Vigilio Papa uiro beatissimo* may suggest that Vigilius was dead (in similar language Pope Agapetus is referred to in the first sentence of the *Institutio*, *cum beatissimo Agapito Papa urbis Romae*, after his death).

<sup>1</sup> The reference to age in cap. 8 also suggests something more than fifty-three, though it does not necessitate it, for it may be again a later addition.

<sup>2</sup> Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, Eng. tr., vol. iv, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Franz refers to Migne, *P. L.*, 61, 1064; the column should be 1046.

<sup>4</sup> In the fifth session of the fifth General Council Theodore Ascidas stated that Vigilius had condemned Origen (Mansi, ix. 272; Franz refers to Hardouin, iii. 122, for the same passage). See on this Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, Eng. tr., iv. 310.

This would place the *Institutio* (or at least the remark about Origen, which Cassiodorus might have interpolated later) after January 5, 555, the date of Vigilius's death at Syracuse. The words *praesenti tempore* are quite vague, and mean only 'in our own day' as opposed to the age of the Fathers.

On the whole, then, I conclude that the *Institutio* was composed about 560, or even later, and that the aged author added to it from time to time. The note in  $\mathfrak{P}$  reproduces a note made by Cassiodorus himself at the end of the text of the four Gospels in the seventh volume of the nine. This note was found in the copy of the Biblical text of those nine volumes which was brought by St. Ceolfrid from Rome to his double monastery in Northumbria. It was not copied into A, nor into the parent of Y Reg (which was probably one of the two sister Pandects to A), but has survived by some chance in  $\mathfrak{P}$ , itself a mixed text. It is not a bit surprising that these anonymous words should have been omitted in such magnificent codices as A and Y. It is extremely surprising that even in one descendant they should have by chance survived to preserve to us a most interesting link in the genealogy of the Northumbrian family.

#### § 4. *Eugipius and his friends.*

The only writing of Eugipius himself is his interesting life of his spiritual father St. Severinus, with a prefatory letter to the Roman deacon Paschasius. But his great work was the collection of 348 excerpts from the works of St. Augustine. These works have been carefully edited by Knöll (*CSEL.*, ix, 1885-6). In the life of St. Severinus there are scarcely any citations from the New Testament; so that it is impossible to discover what kind of text the writer used. I have found only the following (I give pages and lines of Knöll's edition):

Matt. v. 14-15 (p. 18<sup>20</sup>); Matt. vi. 3 (pp. 5<sup>2</sup> and 46<sup>2</sup>);

Matt. xx. 28, not Mark x. 45, as Knöll has it (p. 46<sup>1</sup>).

These are mere references. Knöll gives six references to the Epistles, to which I add Hebr. xi. 8 (p. 60<sup>10</sup>) and xiii. 7 (p. 60<sup>9</sup>). Only one quotation really calls for comment. It is from Acts xx. 32 (p. 61<sup>20</sup>):



'et nunc commendo uos deo et uerbo gratiae eius, qui potens est conseruare uos et dare haereditatem in omnibus sanctificatis.'

eius, cum e gig Hieron (vii. 542); ipsius *ceteri omnes*.

conseruare uos, Eugip. *solus*; aedificare *ceteri*.

in omnibus sanctificatis (all Knöll's MSS. apparently, as he gives no note), Eugip. *solus*; in sanctificationibus, Eugip. ap. Migne, (*P. L.*, 62, 1196) and D (the Book of Armagh); in sanctificatis omnibus, *ceteri*.<sup>1</sup>

Probably Eugipius was quoting by heart.

He was a man much esteemed in his own day, as we learn from his many friends, St. Fulgentius, St. Paschasius, Dionysius Exiguus, Ferrandus of Carthage, and Cassiodorus. His excerpts from St. Augustine became extremely popular, as it was difficult to procure the complete works of so voluminous a writer: 'nam omnia illius habere uel inuenire quis possit?' as Eugipius says in his dedicatory epistle to Proba. He himself had to borrow many of them from friends: 'quae praestantibus amicis integra legeram.' Still this implies that he had a very good library, or he would not thus explain that he did not possess all.<sup>2</sup> He declares, however, that the complete works from which he gives extracts were to be found (all of them?) in Proba's own library, which was clearly a notable one: 'cum bibliothecae uestrae copia multiplex integra de quibus pauca decerpsi contineat opera, placuit tamen habere decerpta.' Eugipius certainly collected books. Dionysius the little sent him a translation of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου*; St. Fulgentius sent him a copy of his three books *Ad Monimum*. He also had at Lucullanum a staff of trained *antiquarii*, for St. Fulgentius asks him to have some books copied: 'obsecro ut libros quos opus habemus serui tui describant de codicibus uestris' (Ep. 5 ad Eug. fin.).

<sup>1</sup> The same reading in *sanctificationibus* is found in the Theodulphian MS. of Le Puy (see Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.*, p. 175), where it is evidently a clerical error, since that MS. is but a contemporary copy of Θ, which has the usual reading.

<sup>2</sup> Büdinger says: 'Das Material zu der grossen und noch lange gepriesenen Arbeit fand er in Proba's Bibliothek in Rom.' This is very likely true to some extent, and would give a reason for the dedication. But Eugipius does not say so. He does not even say that Proba's library was in Rome! A Roman lady might well have lived in the country or at Naples.

The date of Eugippius's birth is not recorded. It is placed after 455 by Herold and Büdinger.<sup>1</sup> He aided St. Severinus in his apostolic labours in Pannonia and was present at the saint's death, Jan. 8, 482, and at his exhumation in 488, and he helped to bring the body into Italy. At the invitation of a noble lady named Barbaria, and by order of Pope Gelasius, the body of St. Severinus was placed in a mausoleum in the little island of Lucullanum (now the Castel dell' Uovo) by Victor, bishop of Naples.<sup>2</sup> A monastery was started in the tiny island (part of which was occupied by a village for some centuries); the first abbot was Lucillus, the second Marcianus, and the third Eugippius himself. He was already abbot when he wrote the life of St. Severinus in 511, but not yet when he composed the *Excerpta* some years earlier. The two letters of Ferrandus to him give the latest date at which he is heard of. The former is just after the death of St. Fulgentius (Jan. 1, 533); the second is probably before the outbreak of the war with the Ostrogoths in the autumn of 535. Eugippius may have died soon after this.

From Cassiodorus alone we learn that Eugippius was a great student of Holy Scripture. Senator had seen him, but evidently this was many years before.<sup>3</sup> We know that Cassiodorus sent in every direction for the books he wanted.<sup>4</sup> If the library left by Eugippius contained an especially valuable MS. of the Gospels, we cannot doubt that he would hear of it, and procure it as a loan or by purchase.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the following facts see Büdinger, *Eugippius, eine Untersuchung, Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Vienna, 1878, vol. xci.

<sup>2</sup> This took place necessarily after March 492, when Gelasius became Pope; his death was in 496.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quem nos quoque uidimus' implies this. It is another reason for placing the *Institutio* at a late date.

<sup>4</sup> Of the commentaries of St. Jerome on some Epistles he says (*Institutio* 8): 'Quas tamen continuo de dinersis partibus, ubi direximus inquirendas, suscepturos nos esse Domini miseratione confidimus; et ideo studiose sustinere debemus quod nobis transmittendum esse cognouimus . . . quod si forsitan senectus nostra, prorsusquam haec compleantur iussione Domini cum remissione peccatorum (sicut nos orare deprecor) uotiuo fine transierit, ad uos, ut credere dignum est, quandoque res sperata perueniet.' He had evidently sent to very great distances.

<sup>5</sup> It is not improbable that the monastery at Naples may have lent the MS. to Cassiodorus. 'There is abundant evidence of the existence of a system of lending

The words of Cassiodorus are as follows (*Inst.* 23) :

‘Conuenit etiam ut presbyteri Eugippii opera necessario legere debeatis, quem nos quoque uidimus, uirum quidem non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum, sed Scripturarum diuinarum lectione plenissimum. Hic ad parentem nostram Probam uirginem sacram ex operibus sancti Augustini ualde altissimas quaestiones ac sententias ac diuersas res deflorans, in uno corpore necessaria nimis dispensatione collegit, et in trecentis triginta octo capitulis collocauit. Qui codex, ut arbitror, utiliter legitur, quando in uno corpore diligentia studiosi uiri potuit recondi, quod in magna bibliotheca uix praeualet inueniri.’

The last sentence shows that Cassiodorus had been looking at Eugippius’s Preface. Since Proba was a relation of Cassiodorus, his connexion with Eugippius is the closer.

We note the title *presbyteri Eugippii* and compare it with the *Eugipi praespiteri* of  $\mathfrak{P}$ .

#### § 5. *The Manuscript of Eugippius and St. Jerome.*

The position of the note on the last page of the Echternach Gospels shows that the codex from the library of Eugippius contained no more than the four Gospels.

It was said to have been St. Jerome’s : *ferunt fuisse sci hieronimi*. Was this true ?

1. The Vulgate Gospels were published by the saint in Rome in the year 382, only a century before Eugippius. The Roman grandees to whom St. Jerome was a spiritual father, and especially that Anician family whose greatness he celebrates,<sup>1</sup> will certainly have furnished themselves with copies of the first edition. Nay, to some of them, especially to the great ladies, and doubtless to his friend Proba, the author must have given presentation copies. The later Proba, to whom Eugippius dedicated his principal work and with whom

MSS. from one monastery to another for the purpose of transcription and comparison,’ says Mr. Plummer (*Bede, H. E., Introduction*, p. xix), and he gives some instances in a note : Alcuin to Abbess Gisla, *Mon. Ak.*, p. 599 ; Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 18 (where John the Archcantor brings to England the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649, evidently by order of the Pope, and lends them to the Abbey of St. Benet Biscop to be copied) ; Pertz, *Mon. Ger.*, xiv. 313, on the borrowing of MSS. from St. Martin’s at Tournai, &c. But Cassiodorus may have bought the MS. from the community ; he would be able and willing to offer a large sum.

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of Proba, Ep. cxxx, 7, p. 981 (*P. L.*, 22, 1111), *ad Demetriadem*.

St. Fulgentius corresponded, was of the same Anician gens, which furnished most of the consuls of that day. She was probably closely related (perhaps daughter or sister) to the Probinus who was consul in 489. It is likely that her great library was inherited; and if so, nothing is more natural than that she should have possessed a presentation copy of St. Jerome's Gospels handed down from some ancestor or ancestors who had known Jerome.

2. This is but guesswork. Anyhow it is not surprising that Eugippius should have possessed such a volume, whether by gift or legacy from Proba or otherwise. And supposing he was mistaken as to its origin from St. Jerome himself, it will at least have been an old copy at the beginning of the sixth century, and of Roman parentage.

3. Cassiodorus wrote '*fertur*'—he was not certain, perhaps. But it seems that the *Codex Amiatinus* is a very careful copy of a good copy of Cassiodorus's codex which he corrected by the codex attributed to St. Jerome. *The incomparable excellence of A as a witness to Hieronymian tradition is a very strong confirmation of the truth of that attribution.*

4. Let us notice that the Cassiodorian text in A is frequently a very good one, in the Old and New Testaments, but it never reaches elsewhere (so far as I know) the unique position of authority which it holds in the Gospels. In Acts, for instance, the five *codices primarii* are ranked in order of merit thus by Wordsworth and White: GCAFD. It is true that A has in Acts received some occasional corrections from the strange Old Latin of the *Codex Laudianus*, *e*,<sup>1</sup> and these were probably introduced at Jarrow, where the latter MS. was apparently used by the Venerable Bede. But apart from these peculiarities, the text of A is no longer unique and supreme, as B is in Greek. This is surely a proof that the excellence of the Cassiodorio-Northumbrian text in the Gospels is due to its correction by a particularly good MS. of the Gospels.

We now know how the Neapolitan lectionary came to Jarrow. It came from the Gospel codex of Eugippius, and

<sup>1</sup> Blass's E, and in Greek E<sup>401a</sup> (Bodl. Laud. Gr. 35).

it must represent the use of the abbey of Lucullanum at Naples earlier than the year 558, when one of Cassiodorus's scribes copied these liturgical notes into the margin of the Gospel text in volume vii of the great nine. It was rather a useless thing to do, but perhaps the scribe thought they were St. Jerome's own annotations! Anyhow the old Cassiodorus did not know what his scribe was about, for he did not read the codex himself, but his friends read it aloud to him.

The lectionary therefore comes to England by Ceolfrid, through Cassiodorus, from the tiny island of the 'Castle of the Egg' at Naples, and not by Hadrian from the tiny island of Nisida close by, and it dates before 558, not merely before 668. The slight difference of place is unimportant enough, but the date is seen to be far earlier than Hadrian.

And in fact we might well be surprised that Abbot Hadrian in the second half of the seventh century should be so far behind Roman development in liturgical matters. The Neapolitan lectionary is so poor in feasts as to be in some points archaic. It is not astonishing to find that it is anterior to Gregory the Great.

Was this system in general use in Naples or in Campania at large? Or was it rather a monastic use? We must devote the next chapter to an examination of the Kalendar laid down and of the corresponding pericopae. Eventually we shall learn much about the Vulgate text as well as about liturgical history.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NEAPOLITAN LECTIONARY IN NORTHUMBRIA

#### § 1. *The Gospels of St. Burchard contain a fundamentally English text.*

SOMETHING has already been said about Y and Reg, the MSS. in which the liturgical lists are found, and of A, in which traces of them remain. It is necessary to say a few words also about the MS. in which the items of the lists appear in their proper positions as marginal notes.

The fine Gospels in the University Library of Würzburg, Mp. th. f. 68, which are traditionally said to have belonged to St. Burchard, are catalogued as sixth century, but Dom Morin shows reason for thinking that they were written later. In fact the codex was probably written in England in the seventh century. The liturgical notes are inscribed in its margin in an exquisitely delicate small uncial, and the commencement of each pericope is indicated by a tiny cross. These notes are attributed by Dom Morin to the very first years of the eighth century. They are therefore exactly contemporary with A Y Reg.

There is no particular reason for doubting the tradition that this MS. belonged to St. Burchard. This saint was an Englishman, who joined St. Boniface in his apostolic work in Germany about the year 725, and was made by him Bishop of Würzburg. The traditional origin of the codex is strongly supported by its contents. Schepss says of the character of its text: 'The text shows indeed for long stretches a great likeness with the Amiatinus, but often breaks loose from the latter, and exhibits (as it seems to me, particularly in the Gospel of St. John) a rich wealth at all events of Itala readings' (*Die ältesten Evangelien-Handschriften der Würzburger Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Würzburg, 1887, p. 14).

Herr Schepss has also given a collation of large parts of the MS., using the Clementine Vulgate as a basis, and adding the readings of Old Latin MSS. These are quite useless in the case of the Synoptic Gospels, as most of the variations of Burch. from the Clem. Vg assimilate it to Wordsworth's text and that of AY. I give almost all the cases where the readings quoted by Schepss differ from Wordsworth in St. Matthew, and I add a good number from the other Gospels. I have added the MSS. cited in Wordsworth's edition and a few Old Latin MSS. It will therefore be easy to see in what direction Burch. varies from the AY text, which is pretty constantly followed by Wordsworth.

## MATT.

- 1 i. 2 om autem HKMXZ ff<sub>1</sub>  
 2 ii. 6 regat EP<sup>o</sup>H<sup>o</sup>ΘJRTWX\* *corr nat mg a b f g<sub>1</sub> aur vg*  
 3 11 + in (after intrantes) D a b f  
 4 14 secessit DJLRW vg ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub>  
 5 23 prophetam (H) Z\* a b f ff<sub>1</sub> aur  
 6 v. 22 + sine causa BEO *uett (not aur)*  
 7 x. 12 + dicentes pax huic domui BCDEP<sup>o</sup>FFHΘJKLMO<sup>o</sup>QRTVWX  
 YZ *vg a b c d f ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub> h q aur*  
 38 *omitted by homoecol., as in Würzburg cod. of St. Chilian, and in Cod. Bezas*  
 8 xx. 34 om eorum (added by 2nd hand above line) ET  
 9 xxi. 4 + totum (but erased) ERW gat g<sub>1</sub> q  
 10 28 om quidam ABP<sup>o</sup>FFH<sup>o</sup>JLOYZ\* (added in mg with CDEP<sup>o</sup>H<sup>o</sup>Θ  
 KMMQRTVWXZ<sup>o</sup> *vg uett exc. d aur*)  
 11 31 + ei after dicunt BDEP<sup>o</sup>KMMRV *aur vg*  
 12 nouissimus (for primus) ABCPFFH<sup>o</sup>JLORTXYZ<sup>o</sup> a b d e ff<sub>1</sub>, g<sub>1</sub> h  
 r r<sub>2</sub> *aur (apparently the true reading, against Wordsw.) (but 1st hand has erased, and substit. primus DEH<sup>o</sup>ΘKMMVWZ<sup>o</sup> gat c f q d cor nat &c.)*  
 13 xxiv. 41 + duo in lecto . . . BEH<sup>o</sup>ΘORTXZ (later hand has deleted) *uett*  
 14 xxv. 11 nouissimae (for -me) BQX b  
 15 + uero W ff<sub>1</sub> vg  
 16 uenerunt P<sup>o</sup>ORW f  
 17 14 om peregre CFH<sup>o</sup>JXZ\* g<sub>1</sub> (added later)  
 18 xxvii. 1 consilium fecerunt BLO<sup>o</sup>QR a f  
 19 2 duxerunt E a  
 20 5 secessit DE a b *aur*  
 21 6 princeps H\* (Q) a  
 22 8 + hoc est BH<sup>o</sup>ΘJKMMOVWX\*Z *vg a d ff<sub>1</sub> aur*  
 23 14 om ad (added later) T a b f ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub> *aur*  
 24 16 habebant EΘKLM a b f *aur*  
 25 om tunc EQZ\* b *aur*

## MATT.

- 26 xxvii. 16 + unum BEKMO°RVWX°Z g<sub>2</sub>  
 27 20 princeps ACFH°MXY f h q  
 28 29 + habe BCHO°T a b f  
 29 31 clamidem BEFFQR°  
 30 32 uenientem obuiam sibi BEP°ILO°RX°V°Z (E, ΘH°Q) a b c ff<sub>2</sub> h  
 31 35 + ut inpleatur . . . sortem ABEP°H°ΘKMO°QWXYZ cor nat  
*uett pl.*  
 32 37 om ih̄s (added above line) om DEE°HQW a b ff<sub>1</sub> q  
 33 40 + ua BDP°ILO°QR a b aur (uah EH°ΘKMO°VZ vg)  
 34 44 fixi A°CH°TXYZ° g<sub>1</sub>  
 35 46 me derel. EJLO°RT (DQ) a b f ff<sub>1</sub> aur  
 36 55 a longe + uidentes DE uett pl  
 37 65 custodes J uett pl  
 38 xxviii. 5 + dñi BEH°ΘOXZ°  
 39 9 habete BCP°HOT a b f aur  
 40 20 om eos after docentes M (added above line)

## MARK

- 1 ii. 23 coepissent ΘZ  
 2 iii. 12 + quia O f aur  
 3 14 om euangelium (added smaller by 1st hand, with AD°FGH°LM  
 OXY uett pl)  
 4 iv. 6 aestuauit BEOX°Z\* (CTL) aur  
 5 7 in spinis ACH°IMWY a f gat  
 6 29 adest tempus messis H°Θ aur  
 7 v. 6 autem a longe ihm O b  
 8 occurrit FH°ΘZ aur  
 9 13 mari CDEP°ΘIMORTVWX°Z b f<sub>2</sub> vg  
 10 14 in ciuitate CD°P°FLT b aur  
 11 15 + qui habuerat legionem BH°ΘMO aur  
 12 18 + a (before daem.) CDEP°ΘKMTVWZ\* b f aur vg  
 13 19 et non (corr into ih̄s autem ΘKVZ b ff<sub>2</sub> aur)  
 14 admisit (corr into permisit Θ c ff<sub>2</sub> aur)  
 15 29 corpori BCGIKTXZ aur  
 16 31 illius CP°KLQRTVZ  
 17 34 ille (corr into ih̄s with DP°ΘMO a b f)  
 18 40 ingrediuntur DEH°ΘIKMORVWZ aur  
 &c.

## LUKE

- 1 vii. 1 + in before Caph. BD°PIJKOXZ a  
 2 10 languebat FQX gat f  
 3 13 super eam P°FGHJMOQTVWZ vg b c e q r δ  
 4 22 renuntiate BD°PKMTOVWXZ vg (corr into nuntiate with A°FCF  
 H°IJMQY b f q aur)  
 5 27 praeeparauit BCFGOTZ° a b f aur  
 ix. 9 audio talia f l  
 6 45 illum KMOVZ aur  
 7 62 respiciens GR vg b d f l q δ  
 &c.





even where Wordsworth has deserted them. It shows no special affinity with the Irish family as a whole, and has little likeness to the purest Irish MSS. DLQ. It is nearer to the later type R, and of all MSS. it is nearest to E, an Irish MS. written on the Continent,<sup>1</sup> and to *aur*. B Z are also near. If we look at Matt. Nos. 10, 12, it will seem that the reading of A has been corrected to that of E; similarly Matt. No. 32 and Mark No. 3 the reading of E has been corrected to that of A.<sup>2</sup> I think the scribe had a codex which like E was contaminated with readings of the BZ family, and that he often followed it, sometimes changing his mind after making his choice. But the correspondence of the corrections in Mark v. 19 and 34 with Θ are also noticeable.

In St. John the coincidences are with the Old Latin. Those with Vulgate MSS. are of no importance, as they are roughly in proportion to the Old Latin element in the various codices. The results may be thus tabulated :

A	Δ	H*	S	Y;	F;	D	E	℞ <sup>mo</sup>	L	Q	R;	J	M;	O	X;				
o	o	i	o	o	i	4	5	2	o	i	2	2	o	2	4				
C	T	Θ;	G	B	Z;	W.	a	b	c	d	e	f	ff <sub>2</sub>	l	m	q	r	δ	<i>aur</i>
3	4	1	3	1	2	2	10	12	8	7	9	5	12	6	4	5	10	2	17

<sup>1</sup> E is the 'Egerton Gospels' or 'Gospels of Marmoutier', called mm by Tischendorf. Though apparently written at Tours (in an Irish hand) the text is so fundamentally Irish that I regard it with Wordsworth simply as one of the Irish family DELQR. But none of these are purely Irish, and E has more admixture than DLQ. This admixture is roughly of the type called by Wordsworth the B-Z family, though perhaps 'tribe' would be a better name. The origin of this type seems to me extremely obscure. Z seems to be Italian, while the Irish character in B may be a real survival of the early Gallican text from which I believe the Irish text to be derived. That E should derive its Irish character from Old Gallican texts seems to me quite impossible. Its text is as definitely from Ireland as its script. The prologues have been elaborately corrected throughout to agree with the OXYZ type, the Irish text scarcely appearing except in the Prologue to John, where there is a conflation of the two types. This suggests that the variations in the Gospels from the Irish text are due to the use of a codex closely related to Z. The archetype may have come from England just as well as from Ireland, and the Egerton MS. may be a copy of an Anglo-Irish MS. brought by Alcuin. In fact this seems to me the most probable view. But I do not claim to have made any special study of this MS., and I speak with diffidence. It should be remembered that Alcuin had a large library at York, which he sent for to Tours. Alcuin's own text is mainly a mingling of Northumbrian and Irish readings—that is to say, a really Northumbrian mixture, for the Christianity of Northumbria was a mixture of the Irish type of Aidan and Cuthbert, with the Roman type of Benet Biscop and Wilfrid.

<sup>2</sup> In Luke No. 4, E has a lacuna.

The readings are of European type, *a b ff*<sub>3</sub>, especially the last being very close. But the coincidences with the *codex aureus Holmiensis* are not merely the most numerous of all, but also the most striking. That well-known manuscript was bought by 'Alfred the alderman' for the use of Christ Church, Canterbury, 'from the pagans,' when Alfred was king and Ethelbert archbishop (871-89). It had probably been looted from some English monastery by the Danes, and may have been written in England in the eighth century, not much later than Burch. It is a Vulgate text, with many Old Latin readings.

The Eusebian canons occupy the first nine pages of Burch. It has also the Prologues, and its summaries have the following number of titles: Matt. 75, Mark 46, Luke 77, John 36. These must be the Old Latin summaries, found in *ff*<sub>3</sub> and *aur*, as well as in *c g*<sub>1</sub> *h r*, and the Irish D $\Phi$ Q—the numbering varies slightly in different MSS. There are no summaries in E. Those in *aur* are added by a later hand.

Now E belonged to St. Martin's famous monastery of Marmoutier near Tours, and it has a certain family likeness to two other MSS. of Tours, that of St. Gatien (*gat*, Bibl. Nat. 1587) and the Gospels of St. Martin on which the kings of France used to take the oath as canons of that basilica. I have just pointed out that there is no reason to doubt that the mixed Irish text of E came to Tours with Alcuin's library from York.

The principal elements in the text of Burch. seem therefore to be of the three types AY, E, and *aur*. St. Burchard was an Englishman, but it is not known from what part of England. AY and the liturgical annotations take us to Jarrow, while E may suggest York.

§ 2. *The Naples lectionary and the Northumbrian summaries.*

The lists of feasts in Y Reg reappear in Burch. as marginal notes, referring to accurately indicated pericopae. These notes were published in full by Dom G. Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine* in 1893 (vol. x, pp. 113 foll.). He has italicized those notes which do not appear in Y Reg. The additions of Burch. are Roman, including the ferias of Lent with the Roman *statio* named, and some Roman saints. The manuscript is so well preserved that it cannot have been much used.

The notes belonged originally to the codex of Eugippius, and accompanied his text to Squillace and to Jarrow—this follows from what we have proved in former chapters. But we may go on to discover a very close relationship between the text and the notes in its margin. To the AY text belongs a particular set of Gospel summaries. They are found in AY Reg, in the semi-Northumbrian, semi-Theodulphian H (for Mark, Luke, John—for Matthew H keeps with Θ), in the Northumbrian fragment U (for Matthew), and in a few other early MSS, all having derived them from the one Cassiodorian archetype at Jarrow.

If we compare these summaries with the Neapolitan pericopae, we shall find that they march together in a surprisingly exact manner, as will be seen in the following table, in which the numbers and divisions of the Northumbrian summaries are placed side by side with the pericopae as found in the Gospels of St. Burchard. The Roman additions interpolated in that MS. are italicized in the list. The few notes found in AY Reg but omitted in Burch. are added.

I give the divisions of the summaries from Skeat's edition of Y; but in some cases the figures are omitted in the margin of that MS., and occasionally the marginal indication is evidently wrong, when the passage is compared with the summary itself.

In the first column I give the numbers of the AHVY summaries from Wordsworth and White; and against them I have set the passages of the Gospels to which they refer. The third column gives Dom Morin's numbering of the Naples pericopae of Y Reg; the fourth column gives his numbering of those in Burch. The fifth column gives the incipits of the pericopae as marked in Burch. The sixth column gives the notes from the margin of Burch.; those which are not in Y Reg are *italicised*; those of Y Reg which are omitted by Burch. are added in SMALL CAPITALS. The corresponding pericopae are, of course, conjectural for these last. Burch. is cited as B; Y Reg are cited as N (= Naples). The variants of N (or of Y or Reg separately) from Burch. are given at foot.

The lists in Y are given in Skeat's edition of that codex, but not in the earlier Surtees Society edition. Dom Morin gave them with the variants of Reg in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, pp. 485-93, and without variants in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. i, pp. 426-35. The list extracted from Burch. was published by him in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1893, pp. 118-26.

## ST. MATTHEW.

Summary of AVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
i	i. 1				
ii	18	1	1	i. 18	<i>In vigiliis de natale domini</i>
iii	ii. 1	2	2	ii. 1	In stilla domini ad missa puplica
iiii	13	3	3	13	Innocentum
		4	4	19	<i>In vigiliis de Theophania</i>
v	iii. 1	4	5	iii. 1	Post ii dominica feria iiiii de aduentum
vi	13	5	6	13	In stilla domini nocte
vii	iv. 1	6	7	iv. 1	In XLgissima pascae
viii	12	7	8	12	In ieiunium de silla domini
ix	18	8	9	18	In ieiunium sancte Andreae
x	23				
xi	v. 1	9	10	v. 1	In sanctorum de beatitudinem
xii	13	10	11	13	Cottidiana
xiii	17	11	12	17	In XLgissima feria ii
			13	20	<i>Ebdomada ii post natale apostolorum</i>
			14	27	<i>Cottidiana</i>
xiiii	25				
xv	31				
xvi	43	12		43	POSTSEC. DOMINICA XLGISIMA FERIA II
xvii	vi. 1				
xviii	7	13		vi. 7	DOMINICA IIII QUANDO ORATIONEM ACCIPIANT N
xix	16	14	15		Post sec. dominica XLgissima feria vi

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—i. 18 *Pridie natale domini* ii. 1 *missa Reg* publica iii. 1 *secunda* iii (for iiiii) iv. 1 *XLgissima Reg (regularly)* iv. 12 *stella Reg* iv. 18 *sancti Andreae Reg* v. 15 *cottidiana* v. 17 *In] De vi. 16 secunda.*

N 12. It is impossible to say whether this title belongs to v. 25, 31, 43, or vi. 1, as it is omitted by B. B 15. The + is wanting. The marginal note corresponds with vi. 16, an obvious lesson for Lent.

Summary of AVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
xx	vi. 22		16	vi. 25	<i>In XLgesima feria vi</i>
xxi	vii. 1	15	17	vii. 1	Cottidiana
xxii	6		18	7	Cottidiana
			19	12	Cottidiana
xxiii	13		20	15	Cottidiana
xxiiii	21		16	21	In dedicationem
			17	22	Cottidiana
xxv	viii. 1		18	23	viii. 5 Cottidiana de puerum centurionis
xxvi	5		19	24	Cottidiana
xxvii	14		20	25	Cottidiana
xxviii	19		21	26	ix. 1 Cottidiana
xxix	23	19	24	23	Cottidiana
xxx	28	20	25	28	Cottidiana
xxxi	ix. 1	21	26	ix. 1	Cottidiana
xxxii	9	22	27	9	Cottidiana
		23	28	10	DE XLGISIMA FERIA VI Post penti. feria vi in ieunium
xxxiii	18	25	29	18	Cottidiana
xxxiiii	27	26	30	27	Cottidiana
xxxv	35	27	31	35	In sancti Viti et in apostolorum
		28	32	x. 7	In ordinatione episcopi et in sanctorum
xxxvi	x. 16	29	33	16	In apostolorum et in natale sancti Syxti
		30	34	23	In natale sanctorum Proti et Iacynthi
		30	35	26	In unius confessoris et in natale sancti Cyriaci
xxxvii	34		36	34	Natale sancti Gordiani
			37	37	In uigilias sancti Laurenti
xxxviii	xi. 2	31	38	xi. 2	Dominica secunda de aduentum
			39	16	Cottidiana
xxxix	20		40	25	Cottidiana et in natale martyrum
xl	25		41	xii. 1	Cottidiana per messes
xli	xii. 1	32	42	9	Item alia
xlii	9	33	43	14	Cottidiana
xliii	22		34	38	POST V DOMINICAS DE XLGISIMA FERIA SECUNDA (?)
xliv	38	34	44	46	In martyra
xlvi	xiii. 1	36	45	xiii. 1	In XLgesima pascae

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—vii. 1 Cottidiana (et sic saepe Reg), but t added above  
line in Y here and elsewhere viii. 23 Item alia ix. 10 penticosten x. 26  
confessores xi. 2 omit secunda xii. 38 Post quinque Reg xii. 46  
martyras Y martiras Reg xiii. 1 pascae Y pascha Reg

B 16. This seems a substitution by B for N 23 below. N 34. Perhaps the same  
lesson as 24 was meant. Verses 14-15 refer to fasting. N 34. This seems the  
best point to introduce this N lesson omitted by B. Matt. xii. 34 is now read on  
Ember Wed. of Lent



Summary of AVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
lxxiii	xxi. 33	55	74	xxi. 33	Dominica v quando symbulum accipiunt
lxxiii	xxii. 1		75	xxii. 1	In LXXgisima ebd. iii feria vi in Vestine
lxxv	15				
lxxvi	23		76	23	Cottidiana
lxxvii	35		77	35	Cotidiana
lxxviii	41				
lxxix	xxiii. 1		78	xxiii. 1	In LXXgisima ebd. iii feria iii ad sancta Balbina
lxxx	29	56	79	29	In sancti Stephani
lxxxi	xxiv. 1		80	34 <sup>2</sup>	Item alia
		57	81	xxiv. 3	Post secunda dominica de aduentum feria vi
		58	82	23	Post iii dominica de aduentum feria iiiii
		59	83	34	Post iii dominica de aduentum feria vi
lxxxii	42		84	42	In natale sancti Eusebii
			85	45	In sancti Grigori
		60	86	xxv. 1	In martyra
lxxxiii	xxv. 14	61	87	14	In nat. sancti Ianuari
lxxxiiii	31	62	88	31	In LXXgisima ebd. ii feria ii ad Vincula B DOMINICA V QUANDO SYMBULUM ACCIPIUNT N
lxxxv	xxvi. 1	63	89	xxvi. 1	Ebd. vi die dominico ad Lateranis legitur passio dñi B DIE SABBATI PRIMA PASSIONEM DOMINI NOSTRI IHESU XPI N
lxxxvi	30				
lxxxvii	xxviii. 1	64	90	xxviii. 1	In sab. sancto ad missa
lxxxviii	16	65	91	16	Feria vi pascae ad Martyres B DOMINICA SANCTA PASCHA AD MISA PUBLICA N

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—xxi. 33 symbulum Reg    xxiv. 3 feria iii    xxiv. 23 dominicas    xxiv. 34 tertias dominicas    xxv. 31 symbulum Reg    xxviii. 1 Sabbato sancto ad zero

lxxxv. This number has been omitted in the margin of Y.



## ST. MARK.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch. s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
v	i. 29		92	i. 29	<i>Cottidiana</i>
vi	40		93	40	<i>Cottidiana</i>
vii	ii. 13				
viii	23		94	ii. 23	<i>Cottidiana</i> * * * * *
xv	vi. 1		95	vi. 1	<i>Cottidiana</i>
xvi	7				
xvii	14		96	14	<i>Depositio Helisei et sancti Iohannis baptistae</i>
xviii	30		97	34	<i>Cottidiana</i>
xix	46				
xx	vii. 1				
xxi	24		98	vii. 24	<i>Cottidiana</i>
xxii	31	66	99	32	In sabbato sancto mane
xxiii	viii. 1		100	viii. 1	<i>Ebdomada iii post natale apostolorum</i>
			101	10	<i>Post octabas apostolorum feria vi</i>
xxiii	11			*	* * * * *
xxvii	ix. 14		67	102	ix. 16 <i>Post pentecosten in ieiunium feria iiii</i> * * * * *
xxxii	x. 17		103	x. 17	<i>Post octabas apostolorum feria iiii</i>
xxxiii	32				
xxxiiii	46	68	104	46	<i>Cottidiana</i>
xxxv	xi. 1				
xxxvi	11		105	xi. 11	<i>Cottidiana</i> * * * * *
xlii	xiii. 1				
xliii	32		106	xiii. 18	<i>iiii ebd. de aduentum</i>
xliiii	xiv. 3		69	107	xiv. 1 <i>Die dominico de indulgentia passio dñi ñi ihesu xpi</i>
xliv	26				
xlvi	xvi. 2		108	xvi. 1	<i>Dominicum pascae ad sancta Maria</i>
		70	109	8	<i>Feria vi de albas pascae</i>
			110	14	<i>Feria v in ascensa domini</i>

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—vii. 32 *omit* in xiv. 1 *dominica* Y xvi. 8 *pascae*

xxii. This number is at v. 31 in Y, not at 32. B 100. Rougher writing. B 104-5. It is impossible to say which of these two *cottidianas* is the Naples one. B 106. N has not this entry; but Dom Morin conjectures that B's entry is Neapolitan, since the Naples list has nothing for the fourth week of Advent.

## ST. LUKE.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. perit.	Number of Burch. 3 perit.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
i	i. 1				
ii	5	71	111	i. 5	In ieiunium sancti Iohannis baptistae
iii	26	72	112	26	Dominica iii de aduentum
			113	39	<i>Feria vi ad Apostolos</i>
iiii	57	73	114	57	In natale sancti Iohannis baptistae
v	ii. 1	74	115	ii. 1	In natale dñi ad missa publica
			116	13	<i>Dominica post natale dñi</i>
vi	15		117	15	<i>Natale dñi nocte</i>
vii	21	75	118	21	In octabas dñi
			119	33	<i>Dominica i post natale dñi</i>
viii	42	76	120	42	Dominica iiiii post epiphania
ix	iii. 1	77	121	iii. 1	Dominica iiiii de aduentum dñi fñ ihesu xpi
x	19				
xi	iv. 1				
xii	14	78	122	iv. 14	v dominica de aduentum
			123	23	<i>In xlgisima ebd. iii feria ii ad sanctum Marcum</i>
xiii	31	79	124	31	Cottidiana
xiv	38	80	125	38	In ieiunium apostolorum
xv	v. 1	81	126	v. 1	Cottidiana
xvi	12		127	12	<i>Cottidiana</i>
xvii	17		128	17	<i>Cottidiana</i>
			129	18	<i>Post pentecosten feria vi ad Apostolos</i>
xviii	27	82a	130	27	Cottidiana
xix	vi. 1	82b	131	vi. 1	Per messes
xx	6	83	132	6	Post pentecosten in ieiunium die sabbati
xxi	12	84	133	12	In apostolorum
		85	134	17	In sanctorum
xxii	20		135	36	<i>In lactania maior ad sanctum Petrum</i>
xxiii	37	86		37	POST III DOMINICAS XLGISIMA FERIA II
xxiiii	vii. 1				
xxv	11	87	136	vii. 11	Cottidiana
xxvi	24				
xxvii	36	88	137	36	Cottidiana

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—i. 5 omit in Y baptistae Reg ii. 1 missa publica Reg ii. 21 domini nostri ihesu xpi ii. 42 Post dominica iiiii de epiphania iii. 1 Dominica prima domini nostri iv. 14 Post v dominicas vi. 1 per messes Reg pentecosten Reg 87-8 in one line in Reg

B 113. Rougher writing. B 116-17. Dom Morin suggests that these may have been omitted by mistake in the Naples list. B has 116 again at 119. But ii. 13-15 cannot be a pericope. B 119. Rougher writing. B 121. The iiiii is written over an erasure where *prima* seems to have stood as in N. xxi. In Y this number is wanting in the margin, and xxi is written against vi. 20, xxii against vi. 31. This does not correspond with the words of the *capitula*. N 86. The place of this notice is uncertain; somewhere between 85 and 87. xxvi. This number is not in the margin of Y; perhaps it was forgotten, because no lesson corresponded with it.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
xxviii	viii. 1	89	138	viii. 1	In martyras
			139	4	In LXGISIMA ad sanctum Paulum
xxix	16	90?	140	16?	Cottidiana
xxx	22		141	22	Cottidiana
xxxi	26				
xxxii	40	91?	142	40	Cottidiana et post octabas pentecosten feria vii
xxxiii	ix. 1	92?	143	ix. 1	Cottidiana et in sanctorum
xxxiiii	7				
xxxv	12		144	12	Post octabas pentecosten feria iii
xxxvi	18				
xxxvii	23		145	23	In sanctorum
xxxviii	37	93?	146	37	Cottidiana
xxxix	43 <sup>b</sup>				
xl	51				
			147	57	In ordinatione diaconi
xli	x. 1		148	x. 1	In sanctorum
xlII	21				
			149	23	Cottidiana
xlIII	25		150	25	Cottidiana
xlIIII	38	94	151	38	In martyras
xlV	xi. 1	95?	152	xi. 1	Cottidiana
xlvi	5		153	5	In laetania maior ad sanctum Petrum
xlviI	14		154	14	In XLGISIMA ebd. iii ad sanctum Laurentium martyrem
xlVIII	27	95?	155	27	Cottidiana
xlIX	33				
l	37				
			156	47	In natale sanctorum Cornili Cipriani
li	xii. 1	96	157	xii. 1	In ieiunium sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli
		97	158	9	In unius confessoris
lii	13	98	159	13	Cottidiana
			160	22	Cottidiana
liii	32	99	161	32	Post i dominica de aduentum feria iii
			162	35	In natale sanctorum sancti Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatrici
			100	39	Post i dominica de aduentum feria vi
		101	164	42	In natale episcopi et in ordinatione presbyteri

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—viii. 1 in martyras viii. 16. B cross (+) is wanting  
 xii. 9 confessoris Y xii. 32 prima om. dominica in ieiunium feria iii  
 xii. 39 prima

N 90-3. We have to insert for N between 89 and 94 (the place of these is certain), 90 Cottidiana, 91 Cottidiana, 92 In sanctorum, 93 Cottidiana. Of these, 92 will coincide with B 143, 145 or 148; one cannot guess which, and then the cottidiana must be fitted in accordingly. On the whole it will be best to identify N 92 with the double notice B 143, and N 91 with the double notice B 142. Thus N 93 = B 146. In each case there is agreement with the divisions of the summary. xxxvii. The margin of Y has xxxvii at ix. 27, not at 23; but this does not correspond with the wording of the summary. N 95. Another doubtful ascription. li. In Y this number is found against xl. 45, but this does not correspond with the words of the cap.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
liiii	xii. 49				
lv	xiii. 1				
lvi	18	102?	165	xiii. 10	Cottidiana
lvii	31		166	22	Cottidiana
lviii	xiv. 1	103?	167	xiv. 1	Cottidiana
lix	16	104	168	7	In natale sancti Laurenti
lx	25	105	169	16	In ieiunium sancti Laurenti
lxi	xv. 1	106	170	25	In unius martyris et in nat. sancti Timothei
lxii	11	107	171	xv. 1	Post octabas pentecosten feria vi
		107	172	11	In LXXgisima ebd. iiii feria vii ad sanctum Petrum et Marcellinum et cottidiana
lxiii	xvi. 1	108	173	xvi. 1	Cottidiana
lxiiii	13				
lxv	19	109	174	19	Cottidiana
lxvi	xvii. 1				
lxvii	5				
lxviii	11	110	175	xvii. 11	In XLgisima pascae
lxix	20				
lxx	xviii. 1	111	176	xviii. 1	Cottidiana
lxxi	9	112	177	10	Post iiii dominica XLgisima feria iiii
lxxii	15				
lxxiii	18				
lxxiiii	31	113	178	31	In Lgisima ad sanctum Petrum B FERIA III DE EBDOMADA MAIORA N
lxxv	35				
lxxvi	xix. 1	114	179	xix. 1	Cottidiana
lxxvii	12		180	12	Cottidiana
lxxviii	29				
lxxix	41				
lxxx	xx. 1		181	xx. 1	Cottidiana
lxxxi	9		182	9	In natale sanctorum Marcellini Petri
lxxxii	20				
lxxxiii	27				
lxxxiiii	41				
lxxxv	xxi. 5				
lxxxvi	20				
lxxxvii	28 b	115	183	xxi. 25	De aduentum et cottidiana

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—xviii. 10 dominicas post tertia Reg xxi. 25 item alia (or higher up) xxi. 28 b after lxxxvii N has QUOD PROPE PASCHA LEGENDUM EST

N 102-3. Two cottidiana's to be fitted as we please to B 165-6-7, or thereabouts. lvi. Wrongly marked in Y at xiii. 6. lxxi. Y gives v. 9, whereas Burch. (*teste Dom Morin*) gives v. 10. N 113. This is evidently the place intended. N 114. This cottidiana may be anywhere between B 178 and B 183. N 115 is probably represented by the double notice B 183.

N 115. In Y *Quod prope*, &c. is at the top of fol. 135 b before lxxxviii. In Reg the words occur in the column after lxxxvii, but are distinguished by being rubricated.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
	xxii. 1		184	xxii. 1	<i>In XLgesima ebd. vi feria iiii legitur bassio dñi B</i>
lxxxviii	2	116			FERIA V MANE IN CENA DOMINI AD MISSA. PASSIO DOMINI NOSTRI IHU XPI
lxxxix	24	117	185	24	<i>In apostolorum et in nat. sancti Apollinaris</i>
xc	39				
xc	xxiii. 34				
xcii	xxiv. 1	118	186	xxiv. 1	Die sabbato de albas pascae
xciii	13	119	187	13	<i>Feria ii pascae ad sanctum Petrum B</i> FERIA III DE ALBAS PASCAE N
xciiii	36	120	188	36	<i>Feria iii pascae ad sanctum Paulum B</i> FERIA V DE ALBAS PASCAE N
		121	189	44	<i>In ascensa dñi ñi ihu xpi</i>

## ST. JOHN.

i	i. 1	122	190	i. 1	In sancti Iohannis euangelistae
ii	19		191	19	<i>Ebd. i ante natale dñi</i>
		123	192	29	Post epiphania dominica i
iii	35	124	193	35	Post epiphania dominica ii
iiii	ii. 1	125	194	ii. 1	In uelanda
v	12	126	195	12	<i>In LXXgesima ebd. v feria ii ad iiii Coronatus et in dedicatione sanctae Mariae</i>
vi	iii. 1	127	196	iii. 1	Dominica ii XL pascae et in pasca annotina et in octabas de pentecosten
		128	197	16	Post octabas dñi ab is et post pentecosten feria ii
vii	22	129a	198	22	Post epiphania dominica iiii
viii	iv. 1	129b	199	iv. 1	DE MULIERE SAMARITANAE N
	5			5	<i>In LXXgesima ebd. iiii feria vi in Lucina</i>
ix	46	130	200	46	De XLgesima feria iiii

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—xxii. 1 *misa Reg* xxii. 24 At tit. lxxxix is found in A *quae lectio potest quolibet tempore dici* xxiv. 1 sabbati pasce Y pasche Reg xxiv. 13 pasce Reg xxiv. 36 pasce Reg JOHN i. 1 apostoli et euangelistae (-ista Y) i. 29 prima i. 35 secunda ephifania Y iiii. 1 XLgesima paschae iiii. 16 domini nostri ihu xpi iiii. 22 Post iiii dominicas de ephifania

N 120-1. After the last cap. of the summary in Y Reg is found the following: 'Haec lectio in ebdomada paschae dum legitur finitur in loco ubi ait "quoadusque induamini uirtutem ex alto". Cum autem in ascensione legitur alio loco incoanda est quo dicit discipulis "haec sunt uerba quae locutus sum uobis cum athuc essem uobiscum" usque in finem euangeli.' (In Reg black with red initials to *Haec* and *Cum*, as in the case of the capitula after which it stands.) N 122. After *in* Y has an illegible sign (= *natale?*). B 191. Coarser writing. B 197. Though *ab [A]is* is not in N, it probably belongs to N, as in N 161 and 163 below. ix. Here Y gives v. 44, perhaps wrongly, for 46.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
x	v. I	131-2	201	v. I	In LXXgisima ebd. ii feria vi ad Apostolos et in dedicationem fontis B IN SANCTI ANGELI et in dedicatione fontis N Ad missa defunctorum
xi	I9		202		
xii	31	133	203		Item alia B COTTIDIANA N
xiii	vi. I	134	204	vi. I	In LXXgisima ebd. v die dominico in Suxurio et nat. sancte Andreae
xiv	22	135	205	16?	Cottidiana
xv	35	136 <sup>a</sup>	206	36?	Post iiiii dominica XLgisima feria iiiii LEGENDA PRO DEFUNCTIS
xvi	41	[136 <sup>b</sup> ]			
			207	43	Post pentecosten feria iiiii ad sancta Maria et cottidiana
		137	208	51	Post iiiii dominica XLgisima feria iiiii
		138 <sup>a</sup>	209	55	Post iiiii dominica XLgisima feria ii
xvii	63				
xviii	vii. I	138 <sup>b</sup>	210	vii. I	In LXXgisima ebd. vi feria iii ad sanctam Cyriacum B LEGENDA IN QUADRAGESIMA N
xix	31	139	211	14	Post iiiii dominica XLgisima die sabbati
		140	212	32	In LXXgisima ebd. vi feria ii ad sanctum Crisogonum B POST V DOMINICA XLGISIMA FERIA III
		141	213	40	Sabbato sancto pentecosten
xx	viii. I		214	viii. I	In LXXgisima ebd. iiiii feria vii ad sancta Susanna
xxi	12	142	215	12	In LXXgisima v ebd. feria iiiii ad sanctum Paulum B POST V DOMINICA XLGISIMA FERIA IIIII
xxii	21		216	?	In LXXgisima iii ebd. feria ii ad sanctum Clementem
xxiii	31	143	217	31	Post v dominica XLgisima die sabbati
xxiiii	51				

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—vi. I In natale sancti Andreae (Andrae Reg, andrae Y) vi. 51 feria iiiii Y vi. 63 LEGENDA CIRCA PASCHA A (teste Tisch.) viii. 31 dominicas Y

N 133. Cottidiana anywhere between 132 and 134. B 205. The cross is not given. B 206. Dom Morin gives vi. 36, but this seems a strange beginning. Is not v. 35 meant? N 136<sup>b</sup>. This note is found at the fifteenth number of the summary in AY. Was v. 18 meant? Or the modern Gospel for *Missa quotidiana*, vi. 48-55? N 138<sup>b</sup>. Found at the eighteenth number of the summary in Y; at the nineteenth in A. B 215. The addition of *ad S. Paul.* to the Naples notice is probably an error. The composer of the later system ought to have omitted it, since he has introduced a new lesson for the same day 218. B 216. Dom Morin has marked no verse.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
xxv	ix. I	144	218	ix. I	<i>In LXXgesima v ebd. feria iiii ad sanctum Paulum</i> POST III DOMINICAS XLGISIMA FERIA VI
xxvi	x. I		219	x. I	<i>Post pentecosten feria iiii ad sancta Anastasia</i>
		145	220	II	<i>De XLgisima post iiii dominicas sabmane post scrutinium</i>
xxvii	17		146	22	<i>In LXXgesima vi ebd. feria iiii ad sanctum Marcellum</i> A XLGISIMA POST III DOMINICAS DIE SABBATI IN IEIUNIUM
		147	222	30	<i>Post iiii dominicas XLgisima feria vi</i>
xxviii	xi. I	148	223	xi. I	<i>In LXXgesima v ebd. feria vi ad sanctum Eusebium</i> POST V DOMINICAS DE XLGISIMA FERIA VI DE LAZARUM
		149	224	25	<i>In agendas</i>
xxix	47	150?	225	47	<i>In LXXgesima vi ebd. feria vi ad sanctum Stephanum</i> B
		150		55?	<i>DOMINICA VI DE INDULGENTIA</i>
		151	226	xii. I	<i>In LXgisima i ebd. feria ii ad sanctos Nereum et Archilleum</i> B Feria ii de ebdomada maiorem
xxx	xii. 12				
xxxi	20	152	227	20	<i>In natale sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli</i>
xxxii	27		153	33	<i>In ieiunium sancti Ianuari et nat. sancti Laurenti</i>
xxxiii	xiii. I	154	229	xiii. I	<i>In LXgisima iiii ebd. feria vi ad sancta Prisca</i> FERIA V IEIUNIUM DE CENA DOMINI
xxxiiii	16		155	33	<i>Feria i de ebdomada maiore</i>
xxxv	xiv. I	156	231	xiv. I	<i>Post octauas pascae dominica v</i>
xxxvi	15	157	232	15	<i>Sabbato sancto pentecosten</i>
			233	23	<i>Dominica sancta pentecosten</i>
			234	27	<i>In natale sanctorum Philippi et Iacobi</i>
xxxvii	xv. I	158	235	xv. I	<i>Post albas pascae i dominica et in nat. sancti Vitalis</i>
			236	5	<i>Nat. sancti Hadriani</i>
			237	7	<i>In ebd. post ascensa dni feria iiii</i>
			238	12	<i>In sanctorum</i>

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—ix. I XLgisima Y x. II sabbato x. 30 iiii dom. xi. 25 agendis Y xiii 33 iiii (rightly) maiorem xiv. I Post albas pascae dominica ii xiv. 15 Dominica sancta pentecosten xv. I dominica prima

B 218. Same as 215. B 229. The cross was originally wanting, but has been supplied in a coarse hand. B 232. Dom Morin observes that the words *Sabbato sancto* are written over an erasure, and conjectures that the scribe had originally written *Dominica sancta*, because he found these words here (and not at v. 23) in N.

Summary of AHVY Reg		Number of Neapol. peric.	Number of Burch.'s peric.	Lessons.	Notes in Gospels of St. Burchard.
	Section.				
xxxviii	xv. 17	159	239	xv. 17	<i>In natale sancti Pancrati [et] post ascensa dñi</i>
		160	240	26	Post albas pascae dominica iii
		241		xvi. 5	<i>Ebdomada iiii post pascha</i>
		242		15?	<i>Post albas pascae iiii dominica</i>
xxxix	xvi. 16	161		16	POST III DOMINICAS XLGISIMA FERIA IIII AB HIS ET
		162	243	23	Post albas pascae v dominica
		163			POST III DOMINICA DIE SABBATI AB HIS ET
		164			POST ALBAS PASCAE DOMINICA IIII
xl	xvii. 1	165	244	xvii. 1	Feria ii post albas pascae <i>et in uigiliis de ascensa dñi</i>
				11	<i>Post albas pascae feria iiii</i>
xli	xviii. 1	166	245	xviii. 1	<i>In ebd. maiore feria vi ad Hierusalem legitur passio dñi</i> B FERIA VI DE EBDOMADA MAIORE PASSIO DOMINI NOSTRI IHU XPI N
			246		
xlii	xx. 1	167	247	xx. 1	Feria ii pascae
			248	11	<i>Feria v pascae ad Apostolos</i>
xliiii	19		249	19	<i>Feria vii pascae ad Lateranis</i>
		168	250	24	Die dominico octabas pascae
xliv	xxi. 1	169	251	xxi. 1	Feria iiii pascae <i>ad sanctum Laurentium</i>
		170	252	15	<i>In natale sancti Petri et Pauli</i>
	15	171	253	19	<i>In adsumptione sancte Iohannis euangelistae</i>

NEAPOLITAN VARIANTS.—xv. 17 domini xv. 26 pascae xvi. 23 elbas dominica iiii Reg Dominica v Y xvii. 1 om. pascae xx. 1 secunda feria xx. 24 om. die octabo xxi. 19 assumptione Y sancti acuanelistae Y

B 239. *et* is added above the line. B 241. Coarser writing. N 159-65, B 239-44. I have here identified N 162 with B 243; but so N 163-4 have no lesson. The real order I shall explain presently. xxxix. In Y this number is wrongly written at xvi. 15, on account of the homoeoteleton of vv. 14 and 15. B 245. Dom Morin conjectures that this lesson was accidentally omitted in N. xlv. This number has been accidentally omitted in the margin of Y. N 171. At the forty-fifth cap. of the summary in YReg is found: 'Quae lectio cum in natale sancti petri legitur a loco incoatur [indicatur Reg] quo ait "Dicit simoni petro iesus simon iohannis diligis me plus his" usque ad locum ubi dicit "significans qua [quo Y] morte clarificaturus eset deum". Cum uero in natali (natale Y) sci iohannis euangelistae inchoanda est a loco quo ait "dicit ei" hoc est dominus simoni petro "sequere me" usque ubi dicit "et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius".' (In Reg all is rubricated as far as *simon* inclusively.)

It will be seen in the above table that the Naples lessons always coincide with the divisions of the summaries in the Synoptists except in about eighteen cases, not a very large number out of 121 lessons. In some cases we cannot be



certain that the codex of St. Burchard has preserved the original Naples *incipit*; for this may have been altered into the Roman use.

On the other hand, out of about 68 Roman additions in St. Burchard's MS., no less than 34, or half, do not agree with the chapters of the summary. The commencements of Matthew and Luke in the table should be inspected, for the sake of observing the contrast between N and B.

It seems, therefore, that the *capitula* of the summaries for the first three Gospels are founded on the Neapolitan system of lessons.<sup>1</sup> These are carefully composed, and are somewhat longer and more literary than other summaries.

Those for the fourth Gospel are clearly in the same style and by the same author. But the correspondence with the Naples lectionary is far less exact, for there are 18 divergences—as many as in the other three Gospels together—but on only 50 lessons. The additions of Burchard, about 14 in number, show 10 divergences. These phenomena might be explained by two considerations: first, the author of the *capitula* had grown lazy, and has only given 45 numbers, as against 88 for Matthew, 94 for Luke, and 46 even for Mark; secondly, he has followed the divisions of the older summaries to some extent, as may be seen by merely turning over the pages of Wordsworth's parallel edition of them. These are sufficient reasons for the moment. The real explanation will appear in chapter vi, p. 121.

If we look at his page 18 (supplemented by p. 676) we shall see no less than eleven types of summary, nine from MSS., one from St. Hilary, and one from Rhabanus Maurus. Yet a careful inspection shows that all these, except the first column, go back to one original of which they are varieties. They have

<sup>1</sup> The reader may suggest the alternative that the lessons were marked out according to the divisions of the summary. This is *a priori* unlikely, for the lessons are in many cases traditional and far more ancient than the Northumbrian summaries can possibly be. In ch. vii, p. 136, we shall see that it was the original method of reference to the lessons which suggested the advisability of composing new summaries; and also that the small number of *capitula* of the summary of John is on account of the originally very small number of pericopæ from that Gospel.

been rewritten, redivided, and altered in the course of centuries, and there are great differences between them ; but there are yet more remarkable coincidences, which demonstrate that they are recensions of a single archetype. The Irish variety is in close relation with the divisions of the Codex Vaticanus, so that it evidently came to the Old Latin from the Greek. They seem also to bear some relation to the Latin lectionaries.<sup>1</sup>

But the first column of Wordsworth, the Northumbrian summary, is very different in character, as a very short inspection will show. It is edited by Wordsworth from AHUVY,<sup>2</sup> and is found also in Reg and in other MSS. enumerated by Berger (*Hist. Vulg.*, p. 355, ii). It may possibly have been adopted by Alcuin, as it is in V, though not in K. The place and date of origin will appear later on.

### § 3. *The Naples liturgy in use at Farrow.*

In 1892 Dom G. Morin published an article on the 'recueil primitif des homélies de Bède sur l'Évangile',<sup>3</sup> in which he showed that the Venerable Doctor followed a liturgical system which has interesting coincidences with the Neapolitan lists of Y Reg. Dom Morin had not then discovered the liturgical notes in the Gospels of St. Burchard ; his work needs therefore some completion.

He has shown that the collection of fifty homilies of Bede (known to Paul Warnefrid, and obviously identical with the *Omeliarum Evangelii libri II* of which Bede himself speaks in the last chapter of his *History*) has been preserved in certain MSS. A Cluny MS. gives the homily on St. Benet Biscop in the last place, where Paul the deacon found it ; but Dom Morin is inclined to prefer the order given by a Boulogne

<sup>1</sup> So Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, p. 311: 'Il y a peut-être rapport entre l'original de cette division ancienne et les Évangiles des dimanches et fêtes de l'Église romaine (le *Comes*) qui sont, probablement, en grande partie antérieurs au pape saint Léon le Grand. Il paraît en être de même des liturgies gallicane et mozarabe.' (I doubt whether any edition of the *Comes* is purely Roman.)

<sup>2</sup> H has the common form of summary for Matthew (thus agreeing with Θ) but in the other Gospels agrees with AY. U exists only for Matthew.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Bénédictine*, 1892, pp. 316 foll.

MS. used by Giles, where that homily occurs in the twelfth place, according to the date of St. Benet Biscop's feast, January 12, the day before the Octave day of the Epiphany. Most people will agree with him that it was natural outside England to shift this outlandish saint to the last. I add that the Boulogne MS. shifts the homily on the Midnight Mass of Christmas to the last place; in the MS. of Cluny it is sixth. Now Bede perhaps followed the common custom (in South Italy we find it in the letter of pseudo-Jerome to Constantius, though not in the Capuan pericopae of St. Paul in Cod. Fuld:) of beginning the ecclesiastical year with Christmas. It was thus perfectly natural to look upon the Christmas Midnight Mass as the last, as well as the first, of the year.

The order of both codices seems to me to be disturbed.<sup>1</sup> The first two lessons are for Advent, and the third for Christmas Eve. But on the other hand the forty-ninth, or last but one, and the forty-eighth are also for Advent. Now this division of Advent between the beginning and the end of the fifty homilies is comprehensible if we suppose that the transference of the homily on St. Benet Biscop was only one of many alterations made to suit a Roman use. We may conjecture that Bede had put all the Advent homilies at the end, and that some of them were shifted to the beginning by a copyist or editor who followed the practice of beginning the year with Advent. If this be so, the original collection commenced with 5 and 6, the homilies on the second and third Masses of Christmas. Of course the converse—viz. that all the Advent homilies were originally at the beginning—is also possible, and such an arrangement might be disturbed in Italy.

Again, the second book opens with the twenty-sixth homily, for Easter Eve; but the nineteenth homily (on Mark vii. 31) was certainly also for Easter Eve, while those before it and after it are certainly for Lent. This seems to be a dislocation made by a copyist who had never heard of the Gospel for the rite of *Effetatio* on Holy Saturday. Consequently we should pay little attention to the occasional coincidences with the Roman order of the Gospels, for these may be later adapta-

<sup>1</sup> See the table further on, p. 68.

tions ; whereas deviations from it will be important, as likely to be original.

The lists (*capitulationes*) published by Mabillon from two MSS. of De Thou (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 90, col. 30) give an order possibly still more Romanized, for the last two homilies of the second book according to the order of the Boulogne and Cluny MSS. have here become first and second, so that the four Advent homilies open the collection. The titles given in these lists are interesting, but are in many cases adaptations, and cannot express Bede's own intention. Their agreement with B or N is shown by small capitals in the following list.

It will be seen that I have utilized Dom Morin's excellent table (*Revue Bénédict.*, l. c.). In the last column italics signify an addition of B, while small capitals stand for a note of N omitted by B, as in the former table.

## BOOK I.

<i>Boulogne MS.</i>	<i>Order of Mabillon.</i>	<i>Giles's edition.</i>	<i>Column of Migne, P. L. 94.</i>	<i>Mabillon's MSS.</i>	<i>Roman Missal.</i>	<i>Naples. St. Burchard's title for pericope.</i>
1	i.	48	Mark i. 4-8	De adventu Domini		
2	4	49	John i. 15-18			
3	5	50	Matt. i. 18-21	IN VIGILIA DOMINI	= Christmas Eve	<i>In vigiliis de natale domini</i>
4	6	51	Luke ii. 15-20	In natali Domini	= Christmas 2nd Mass	<i>117 Natale dñi nocte</i>
5	7	52	John i. 1-14	In natali S. IOANNIS EUANG.	= Christmas 3rd Mass	<i>190 In sancti Iohannis euangelistae</i>
6	8	53	John xxi. 19-24		= St. John Evang.	<i>= 253 In adsumptione sancte Iohannis euangelistae</i>
7	9	54	Matt. ii. 13-23	In natali INNOCENTII	= H. Innocents	<i>= 3 Innocentium</i>
8	10	55	Luke ii. 21	IN OCTABAS DOMINI	= Circumcision	<i>= 21 In octabas dñi</i>
9	11	56	Matt. iii. 13-17	Die sancto Theophaniae		<i>6 In stilla domini nocte</i>
10	12	57	John ii. 1-11	Dominica ii post Theophania		<i>194 in uelanda</i>
11	13	58	Luke ii. 42-52	DOMINICA prima post Theophania	= 2nd S. after Epiph.	<i>120 Dominica iii post epiphania</i>
12	14	59	Matt. xix. 27-9	In natali S. Benedicti		<i>29 Post Epiphania dominica i</i>
13	15	60	John i. 29-34	DOMINICA iii post Theophania		
14	16	61	Luke ii. 22-35	In Purificatione S. Mariae		
15	17	62	John i. 43-51	Post Theophania		
16	18	63	Matt. xvii. 1-9	Dominica ii in Quadragesima	= Purific. (32-32)	
17	19	64	Matt. xv. 21-8	Dominica iii in Quadragesima	= Ember Sat. and 2nd S. Lent	<i>= 46, 58 In Lxxvissima ebd. ii fer vii . . . et cottidiana B. IN DEDICATIONE N</i>
18	20	65	John viii. 1-12	FERIA II IN QUADRAGESIMA		<i>42, 53 Cottidiana = 214 In Lxxvissima ebd. iii fer vii ad S. Susannam</i>
19	ii.	66	Mark vii. 32-7			<i>66, 99 In sabbato sancto mane = 226, 195 In Lxxvissima ebd. v. feria ii . . . et in dedic. S. Mariae</i>
20	i.	67	John ii. 12		= Mon. after 4th S. Lent	

21	16	54	83	John v. 1-17		Ember Fri. Lent	= 131-2, 201 <i>In Lxxvissima ebd. ii. feria vi. . . . IN SANCTI ANGELI et in dedic. fontis</i>
22	21	20	110	John vi. 1-14	IN QUADRAG.	= 4th S. Lent	= 134, 204 <i>In Lxxvissima ebd. v die dominico et nat. S. Andree</i>
23	24	43	125	John xi. 55-xii. 11	In Palmis	= Blessing of Palms	150 DOMINICA VI REINDULGENTIA
24	23	21	121	Matt. xxi. 1-9	In COENA DOMINI	= Ad mandatum	72 <i>In Lxxvissima ebd. ii ad S. Anastasia</i>
25	25	59	130	John xiii. 1-15			154 Feria v ieiunium de cena domini

BOOK II.

ii. 1	ii. 1	4	133	Matt. xxviii. 1-10	In uigilia Paschae	= Easter Eve	= 64, 90 <i>In sabbato sancto AD SERO (ad missa)</i>
2	4	55	149	Lk. xxiv. 1-9(12?)	FERIA III in PASCHA	= Easter Tues.	118, 186 Diesabbato de albas pascae
3	2	5	139	Luke xxiv. 36-47	FERIA VI in PASCHA	= Easter Fri.	= 120, 188 <i>Feria iii. pascae FERIA V DE ALBAS PASCE</i>
4	3	6	144	Matt. xxviii. 16-20	In Dominica ii post octabas PASCHAE	= 3rd S. after Easter	= 95, 91 <i>Feria vi. pascae DOMINICA S. PASCHA AD MISA PUBLICA</i>
5	5	1	154	John xvi. 16-22	TERTIA DOMINICA POST PASCHA	4th S. after Easter	= 162, 242 Post albas pascae dominica v (N), iv B
6	6	2	158	John xvi. 5-15	IN LAETANIA MAIORE	5th S. after Easter	= 160, 240 Post albas pascae dominica iii
7	7	3	163	John xvi. 23-30	IN ASCENSA DOMINI	In litanis mal. et min.	= 164, 243 Post albas pascae dominica iii (N), v B
8	8	59	168	Luke xi. 9-13	Dominica POST ASCENSA DOMINI	= S. after Ascension	= 153 <i>In laetania maior ad sanctum Petrum (= xl. 5-13)</i>
9	9	57	174	Luke xxiv. 44-53	In Vigilia PENTECOSTEN	= Whitsun Eve	221, 189 <i>In ascensa domini nostri ihu xpi</i>
10	10	8	181	John xv. 26-xvi. 4			159, 239 Post ascensa domini
11	11	9	189	John xiv. 15-21			= 157, 232 <i>Sabbato sancto Pentecosten B (DOMINICA SANCTA PENTECOSTEN N?)</i>

## BOOK II (continued).

Boulogne MS.	Order of Mabillon.	Giles's edition	Column of Mabillon, P. L. 94	Mabilion's MSS.	Roman Missal.	Naples. St Burchard's title for pericope.
ii. 12	ii. 12	16	197	IN OCTAV. PENTECOST.		127, 196 Dominica ii XL pascae et in pasca annotata et in octabas de pentecosten
13	13	39	202	IN Vigilia S. IOANNIS	= Vig. of S. J. Bapt.	= 71, 111 In ieiunium sancti Ioannis Baptistae
14	14	32	210	IN NATIVIT. S. IOANNIS BAPT.	= Feast of S. J. Bapt.	= 73, 114 In natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae
15	16	27	219	IN NATALE Apost. PETRI et Pauli	= SS. Peter and Paul	= 44, 56 In natale sancti Petri
16	15	26	214	IN uigilia Apost. PETRI ET PAULI	= Vig. SS. P. and P.	= 170, 252 In natale sancti Petri et Pauli
17	18	41	228	IN NATALE S. Iacobi Apost.	= F. of S. James	50, 70 In natale sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli
18	20	29	237	IN DECOLLATIONE S. IOANNIS BAPT.		38, 49 In decollatione sancti Iohannis Baptistae
19	21	31	243	IN dedicatione ecclesiae		[148, 223 In LXXGISIMA vi ebd. fer. s. v. A. LXXGISIMA POST IIII DOMINICAS DIE SABB. IN IEIUNIUM] [207 Post pentecosten feria iiii . . . et cottidiana]
20	—	42	433			22, 27 Cottidiana (23 De quadrag. fer. vi, N7)
21	22	30	249	IN natale S. Matthaei	= F. of S. Matth.	72, 112 Dominica iii de aduentum
22	23	34	256	IN natale S. Andreae	Vig. of S. Andr. (35-51)	= 113 Feria vi ad Apostolos (i. e. of Advent, Ember day)
23	i. 1	47	9		Ember Wed. Adv.	
24	2	40	15		Ember Fri. Adv.	= 74, 115 In natale dñi ad missa publica
25	—	44	334		Christmas night	

It will be seen from the table that Bede most certainly agrees with the Neapolitan lectionary against the Roman system in all the following cases. (On the first three see Dom Morin, l. c., pp. 322-3.) I cite other lectionaries thus : Lux. = Lectionary of Luxueil (Mabillon); Comic. = Liber Comicus of Toledo (ed. Morin, 1893); Bob. = Bobbio Missal (Mabillon); Moz. = Mozarabic use; *q* = marginal notes in the Old Latin codex, Munich lat. 6224 (see p. 102, note), &c. More will be said about these feasts in chapter vi.

Hom. i. 9. Epiphany. This pericope is not now in use, but occurs in Lux. Bob. *q*.

i. 19. Holy Saturday. This is the Gospel for the rite of *Effetatio* performed on the Catechumens, as in Comic.<sup>1</sup>

ii. 9. Ascension Day. This pericope is unknown to the Roman use, but is ascribed by Bede and by the Neapolitan lists to Ascension Day, with Bob. Comic. Ambros. *q*.

ii. 16. The homily on John xxi is for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and not for the vigil, as it explicitly declares : 'Verum quia cum memoria beati Petri etiam coapostoli eius Pauli hodie natalitia celebramus.' Mabillon's lists have given the Roman attributions to 15 and 16, and have reversed the order accordingly. The order of the Cluny and Boulogne MSS. implies that 15 (on Matt. xvi, the Roman Gospel for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and for both feasts of St. Peter's chair) was intended for the vigil, and there is nothing in the homily to contradict this implication; the homily would apply, however, far more suitably to the feast of the Cathedra. The Naples list gives *In natale S. Petri* for John xxi, which St. Burchard's MS. emphasizes by the addition of *et Pauli*, and for Matt. xvi it also has *in natale sancti Petri*—probably *de cathedra* is to be understood. At all events ii. 16 is in agreement with NB, if not ii. 15 also.

ii. 17. In this homily there is nothing whatever about the feast of St. James, and nothing in honour of that Apostle particularly. It seems hardly possible that Bede (who has so much about the saint celebrated in his homilies on SS. Peter and Paul, Matthew and John Baptist) should have meant this

<sup>1</sup> On this ceremony see Dom Férotin, *Liber ordinum*, col. 27, note 1.



homily for St. James's day.<sup>1</sup> It is far more reasonable to suppose that it was for the feast of SS. John and Paul, as in N and B. There was no occasion for mentioning these two martyrs in explaining the Gospel. (The feast of St. James is not in N, nor even in B.)

ii. 18. The decollation of St. John Baptist: the Gospel is that of NB, with Bob. Lux. Com. *g*; it is unknown to the Roman use.

These instances might in themselves merely prove that Gallican influence had affected the liturgy of Jarrow. But as we know already that the archetype of our various copies of the Neapolitan list belonged to that abbey, there is hardly room for doubt that the influence is not Gallican, but directly from the Neapolitan use of Eugippius.

#### § 4. *The feasts in St. Bede's Homilies.*

There are probably further likenesses between Bede and NB; but I prefer to give them separately, because they are not necessary to my argument. I do not intend, however, to give a full liturgical commentary on the system of Bede, I merely offer a few suggestions.

1. CHRISTMAS. The list will begin with the second and third Mass of Christmas, viz. hom. i. 4 and 5. The title in B (No. 117) for Luke ii. 15-20 *Natale domini nocte* is an obvious slip; the scribe had retained in No. 115 (Luke ii. 1-14) the title found in N, *In natale dñi ad missa publica*, and taking this for the Aurora Mass, placed the Midnight Mass after it, instead of reversing the places. But N had only one Christmas Mass. B evidently means three, like Bede, but has not marked the third at John i. 1.

2. EPIPHANY. The Purification is not found in NB, but we are not surprised to find it added by Bede. Roman identifications give sermons for second and first Sundays after Epiphany, and for the Octave. The order is absurd; Mabillon's lists give the first before the second. We see that the order of Boul. and Cluny is not wholly Roman, or not wholly

<sup>1</sup> It would be far more suitable for the ancient feast of SS. James and John after Christmas. The Gospel is the right one.

Romanized. The lesson for the Octave is said to be for the third Sunday by Mabillon's list, evidently on account of its position after the first and second. But the Gospel for the Epiphany, as we saw, is not Roman; and i. 15 (John i. 43-51) is not Roman, except as the second half of the Gospel for the Vigil of St. Andrew. The former half is found in ii. 22, and is called in Mab. lists *In natale S. Andreae*, but there is no panegyric of that Apostle, on the contrary much more is said about St. Peter. The whole pericope in N is attributed to the second Sunday after Epiphany. Now in N there is no third Sunday, for the *post Epiphania dominica iii* (No. 98) of B appears as *post iii dominicas de Epiphania* (No. 76). It looks as though the change in B was made on purpose, in order to supply a pericope for the third Sunday. If we assume that John i. 43-51 (the second half of N's long pericope i. 35-51 for the second Sunday) was used at Jarrow for the third Sunday, we get the following symmetrical scheme :

	<i>Bede.</i>	<i>Naples.</i>	<i>Mabillon.</i>	<i>Roman.</i>
i. 9. Matt. iii. 13-17	Epiphany	Epiphany	Epiphany	—
i. 13. John i. 29-34	i Sunday	i Sunday	iii Sunday	Octave
ii. 22. „ i. 35-42	ii „	} ii „	Vig. St. Andr.	} Vig. St. Andr.
i. 15. „ i. 43-51	iii „		'Post Theophania'	
l. 11. Luke ii. 42-52	iiii „	iiii „	i Sunday	i Sunday

There remains i. 10 on John ii. 1-11, which is marked by N *In uelanda*. The homily does not seem intended for a wedding occasion; though it praises virginity, and says much of Christ the Bridegroom. The *pericope* naturally follows after those for the first, second, and third Sundays, all from John i. The marriage in Cana is so well known as one of the Epiphany mysteries that it is natural that Bede should have added it to the Naples Gospels for that period. We may presume that at Jarrow it was added for the fifth Sunday, or interpolated as the fourth in its natural sequence. Or it is equally possible that it was the Gospel for the octave day, which is not given in N. If all this restoration seems too bold, yet it should be remembered that it is based on the fact that the Epiphany Gospel of Bede is the Naples one, and on the difficulty of explaining i. 15 and ii. 22. The work I ascribe to the editor of Boul. and Cluny is simple. If 10 was, in Bede, for the octave,

he left it (changing only the title) and the feast of St. Benet Biscop after it, but before the latter he naturally put what he believed to be the first Sunday, and after it the third Sunday. i. 15 and ii. 22 puzzle him. The latter he takes to be suitable for the feast of St. Andrew, the former he leaves where he found it, with the vague designation *Post Theophania*.

3. LENT. i. 19, for Easter Eve, is obviously out of place. For the rest it seems that the Roman use is followed in Lent, as by St. Burchard, the Naples directions being rather confused. We get the following list :

- 16 Ember Saturday B Rom (and 2nd Sunday Rom, Mab.)
- 17 Cottidiana BN, but 2nd Sunday *Alcuin*
- 18 Saturday before 4th Sunday B Rom, but 3rd Sunday Mab.
- { 19 Holy Saturday BN
- { 20 Monday after 4th Sunday B Rom, *et in Ded. S. Mariae* BN
- { 21 Ember Friday B Rom, *in sancti angeli* (N) *et in ded. fontis* (BN)
- 22 4th Sunday B Rom (for 4th Sunday N has Gospel of Lord's Prayer)
- 23 Palm Sunday N
- 24 Palm Sunday (at Blessing of Palms) Rom
- 25 Holy Thursday, *ad mandatum*, BN Rom

It will be seen that 19, 20, 21 are out of place, but that the rest are in order, if we accept Alcuin's Gospel for the second Sunday (which has the same Gospel as the Saturday in the Roman use). We get

- { 1. Sat. bef. 2nd Sunday
- { 2. 2nd Sunday
- { 3. Sat. bef. 4th Sunday
- { 4. 4th Sunday
- { 5. 6th Sunday, 'de Indulgentia'
- { 6. 6th Sunday, 'In Palmis'
- 7. Holy Thursday

A very methodical arrangement. There are similarly a pair of sermons for Holy Saturday: i. 19 and ii. 1. To all these must be prefixed i. 21, for Ember Friday, which will come in well before Ember Saturday; while i. 20 comes immediately after No. 4. Thus we get triplets instead of couples :

- |                              |       |                                    |       |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|
| { 1. Ember Friday            | i. 21 | { 7. Palm Sunday, 'De Indulgentia' | i. 23 |
| { 2. Ember Saturday          | i. 16 | { 8. Blessing of Palms             | i. 24 |
| { 3. 2nd Sunday              | i. 17 | { 9. Washing of Feet, Thursday     | i. 25 |
| { 4. Sat. bef. 4th Sunday    | i. 18 | { 10. Easter Eve, morning          | i. 19 |
| { 5. 4th Sunday              | i. 22 | { 11. Easter Eve, vigil            | ii. 1 |
| { 6. Monday after 4th Sunday | i. 20 | { 12. (Easter Day)                 | ii. 4 |

The symmetry is inexact, and the large gaps are curious; but the arrangement looks intentional rather than accidental.

4. EASTER. The reviser of Mabillon's lists has twice been puzzled, and has left two blanks; furthermore, he has got no sermon for Easter Day! The second of his blanks is an accident, but the former is not against a Roman lesson, and is actually at the Easter Gospel of Gallican and Bobbio uses, which N has for Saturday *in Albis*. This is surely another agreement, not with Bobbio and Gaul, but with N against Rom. But more remarkable is the fact that ii. 4, which Rom, Mab, and B all agree in ascribing to Friday after Easter, is actually the Easter Gospel in N. St. Bede's sermon is apparently for Easter Day itself: 'Euangelica lectio, fr. c., quam modo audiuimus, et iuxta litteram gaudio plena refulget, quia triumphum Redemptoris nostri simul et redemptionis nostrae dona plano sermone describit.' This was not an obvious remark to make, had the preacher not been determined to find Easter joy in Matt. xxviii. 16-20, where the Resurrection is not even mentioned. The enumeration which he gives of the appearances of the risen Christ are also suitable to the first of a series of Easter sermons. As for Easter Day we cannot follow Rom, and ought evidently to prefer N to Gaul or Ireland, let us try to restore Bede's Easter lectionary with the help of N, as corrected in a future chapter (p. 117). We get a complete sequence:

}	i. 19	Mark vii. 32-7	In Sabbato sancto mane N
	ii. 1	Matt. xxviii. 1-10	In Sabbato sancto ad sero N
	ii. 4	" " 16-20	Dominica s. pascha ad missa publica N
	ii. 3	Luke xxiv. 36-47	Feria v de albas pasce N
	ii. 2	" " 1-9	Die Sabbato de albas pasce N
	ii. 6	John xvi. 5-15	Post albas pascae dominica iii N
	ii. 7	" " 23-30	" " " iiii N
	ii. 5	" " 16-22	" " " v N
	[ii. 8	Luke xi. 9-13	<i>In laetania maior</i> B]
	ii. 9	Luke xxiv. 44-53	In ascensa domini nostri ihu xpi N
	ii. 10	John xv. 26-xvi. 4	Post ascensa domini N
	ii. 11	John xiv. 15-21	Dominica sancta pentecosten N?

The last point confirms (or rather, it suggested) that N had this lesson for Whit Sunday, and not xiv. 23 with B Rom, for if we suppose St. Bede meant his homily for the eve (with

B Rom), he has provided no homily for the feast itself. There remains one homily, ii. 12, which gives difficulty. For in N this Gospel is set down for the second Sunday of Lent; but it does not seem that Bede usually follows N in Lent, and he apparently had another homily for that Sunday, viz. i. 17. B has two entries, *in pascha annotina et in octabas de pentecosten*. The latter corresponds with Alcuin and with many ancient lectionaries; and the inscription of Mabillon's list *In octav. Pentecost.* is presumably a remains of the original heading, since for a wonder it is not the Roman *pericope*.<sup>1</sup>

5. DEDICATIONS. The two sermons, ii. 19, 20, placed after the Decollation of St. John Baptist and before St. Matthew, imply feasts between Aug. 29 and Sept. 21. Dom Morin remarks that this does not suit Jarrow, for the Church of that monastery was dedicated on April 23.<sup>2</sup> But all the same it seems obvious to suppose that the Churches of the double monastery of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow are intended. The date of the former is unknown. We may assume that it was in September, and that the sermon for the dedication of the daughter abbey of Jarrow was placed next after it.

We thus get the following conjectural restoration of the collection of St. Bede's Homilies. Much of it, here and there, must remain uncertain. But it seems beyond cavil that most of it is based on the Neapolitan use, as Dom Morin acutely guessed :

i. 1	<i>Advent</i>	i. 10	Epiphany, octave?
i. 2	"	i. 13	" 1st Sunday after
ii. 23	" 3rd Sunday	ii. 22	" 2nd "
ii. 24	" Ember Friday	i. 15	" 3rd "
i. 3	Christmas Eve	i. 11	" 4th "
ii. 25	" 1st Mass	i. 14	Purification
i. 4	" 2nd "	i. 21	Lent, Ember Friday
i. 5	" 3rd "	i. 16	" " Saturday } i. 17 " 2nd Sunday } i. 18 " 3rd Saturday } i. 22 " 4th Sunday } i. 20 " 4th Monday }
i. 6	St. John Evang.		
i. 7	H. Innocents		
i. 8	Circumcision		
i. 9	Epiphany		

<sup>1</sup> As to Advent it may be remarked that possibly Bede intended three Sundays, as in N.

<sup>2</sup> Dom Morin wrongly gives 24th, after Mabillon; but the existing inscription has viiii kl not viii kl—it is reproduced in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and, from a photograph, in Plummer's *Bede*, vol. ii, p. 361.

- |        |                           |   |        |                                       |
|--------|---------------------------|---|--------|---------------------------------------|
| i. 24  | Lent, Blessing of Palms   | } | ii. 1  | Pentecost                             |
| i. 23  | „ Ephphetha, Sunday       |   | ii. 12 | „ octave ?                            |
| i. 25  | „ Washing of feet, Thurs. |   | l. 12  | Feast of St. Benet Biscop             |
| i. 19  | Easter Eve, morning       |   | ii. 15 | Feast of St. Peter's Chair ?          |
| ii. 1  | „ „ evening               |   | ii. 13 | Vigil of St. John Baptist             |
| ii. 4  | „ Day                     |   | ii. 14 | Nativity of St. John Baptist          |
| ii. 3  | „ Thursday                |   | ii. 17 | Feast of SS. John and Paul            |
| ii. 2  | „ Sat. in Albis           |   | ii. 16 | „ „ SS. Peter and Paul                |
| ii. 6  | „ 3rd Sunday after        |   | ii. 18 | „ „ Decollation of St. J. B.          |
| ii. 7  | „ 4th „ „                 |   | ii. 19 | Dedication (of Wearmouth<br>Church ?) |
| ii. 5  | „ 5th „ „                 |   | ii. 20 | Dedication (of Jarrow Church ?)       |
| ii. 18 | Rogation litanies         |   | ii. 21 | Feast of St. Matthew                  |
| ii. 9  | Ascension Day             |   |        |                                       |
| ii. 10 | „ after the               |   |        |                                       |

## CHAPTER V

### THE CODEX FULDENSIS AND EUGIPIUS

#### § 1. *Victor of Capua possessed a Greek Diatessaron.*

BEFORE we enter upon the consideration of Eugippius's lectionary use, we must give our attention to a MS. older than the Northumbrian texts, indeed half a century older than Anglo-Saxon Christianity. The Codex of Fulda is said to have been placed in that abbey by St. Boniface, and it remains in the library at Fulda to the present day, though there is an abbey there no longer. It was written at Capua under the direction of Victor, who was bishop from 541 to 554. The Gospels in it are arranged in a Diatessaron, and this arrangement has produced considerable mixture in the passages from the Synoptists; but yet the text is seen to be a good one, and to have a close relationship with the Northumbrian text, which we may now call the Cassiodorio-Eugipian text. An examination of this famous MS. will show us further points of contact with the AY family, and will lead us to very important results.

Victor of Capua showed considerable critical acumen when he decided that the Diatessaron which he discovered was that of Tatian rather than that of Ammonius. But what did he discover? A Latin Diatessaron, according to Zahn,<sup>1</sup> probably put together not earlier than 500. It will be remembered that the *Codex Fuldensis* was read through by Victor on April 19, 546, and again on April 12, 547.<sup>2</sup> The writing of it will have been begun later than his accession to the episcopate of Capua in 541. But if Victor found a Latin Diatessaron ready made, the difficulty concerning its origin is only shifted a little further back. It is indefinitely unlikely that it should

<sup>1</sup> *Forschungen*, i, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> St. Victor's notes were given above, ch. iii, § 1.

have been composed directly from a Syriac model. It is extremely likely that Greek copies would have occasionally been made, although we do not happen to possess a record of any.

Victor begins his Preface thus :

‘Dum fortuito in manus meas incideret unum ex quatuor euangelium compositum, et absente titulo, non inuenirem nomen auctoris, diligenter inquirens quis gesta uel dicta domini et Saluatoris nostri, euangelica lectione discreta, in ordinem quo se consequi uidebantur, non minimo studii labore redergit, reperi Ammonium quemdam Alexandrinum . . . sicut Eusebius episcopus Carpiano cuidam scribens, in praefatione editionis suae qua canones memorati euangelii edidit, refert. . . . Ex historia quoque eius comperi quod Tatianus uir eruditissimus, et orator illius temporis clarissimus, unum ex quatuor compaginauerit euangelium, cui titulum Diapente imposuit.’

There is nothing here to tell us whether the book found by Victor was in Latin or not. But it is quite evident that he expected to find that it was composed by a Greek writer. He certainly has no idea that it came from a Syriac original, or he would not have suggested Ammonius. His words are evidently consistent with its having been a Greek work which he found. Further on he does not tell us that he translated it.<sup>1</sup> But then, in any case, he did not translate it, but adapted a very good Vulgate text to the scheme he found. We cannot infer that he did not transfer this scheme from Greek to Latin, because he does not say so ; just as we cannot infer that he did not simply have it copied, because he does not say so. As a fact he merely tells us that he added the Ammonian sections. But his Preface placed at the beginning of the volume shows us that he had the present copy made under his careful supervision, while we may fairly infer that the Preface implies by its very existence that Victor looked upon the work as his own in its present form.

<sup>1</sup> The following words of Victor in his Preface are ambiguous : ‘Verumtamen uel si iam heresiarches huius editionis auctor exstitit Tatianus, uerba Domini mei cognoscens, libenter amplector interpretationem ; si fuisset eius propria, procul abicerem.’ By *interpretatio* he might mean ‘translation’ ; but it does not appear whether he embraces so willingly a translation which he discovered, or whether he rather means ‘I willingly set myself to the work of translating’. Perhaps he means that he knew the Greek he found to be a translation from the Syriac. But he may also mean Tatian’s ‘interpretation’ or arrangement.



Now it is certain that Victor knew Greek. It is also certain that he occupied himself a good deal with Holy Scripture, for a great many of his scholia have been preserved in catenae or by Smaragdus. What is especially important is the fact that he quoted a great many early Greek writers whose works are lost to us, Polycarp, Origen, Severus Gabalitanus, Diodorus of Tarsus, as Cardinal Pitra has shown by the fragments he published.<sup>1</sup> Especially famous are the five fragments of pseudo-Polycarp published by Feuardent.<sup>2</sup>

Victor of Capua is therefore just the man who was likely to stumble upon a Greek recension of Tatian's 'Gospel of the mixed'. To shift the difficulty back some forty years with Zahn will not help us to find an individual so likely to have known such a writing or to have adapted it as Victor.

The care with which Victor corrected the whole MS. (which is a complete New Testament) is in character with the minute accuracy with which the mosaic of the Diatessaron is adjusted.

If this view is right—and I can see no real ground for Zahn's view—it follows that St. Victor of Capua had in his possession a very good Vulgate text of the Gospels, and one which was closely related to the text which Cassiodorus borrowed from the library of Eugippius at Naples. The resemblance between Victor's codex and that of Eugippius is unlikely to be fortuitous.

### § 2. *St. Germanus of Capua and the Diatessaron.*

How did Victor happen to come across so many early fragments of Greek Christian literature? His age was not one for much learning. Dionysius the Little was indeed a Greek scholar, but then he was not an Italian but a Scythian. Cassiodorus had many works translated from the Greek by a certain Epiphanius, and provided Greek books 'in the eighth cupboard' for such as could read them, as well as a Greek Pandect. But such knowledge was rare; and at the end of

<sup>1</sup> See his words in Migne, *P. L.*, 102, col. 1122; the fragments will be found in *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. 1, and *Analecta sacra et classica*, vol. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The form of them is obviously Victor's own style. The matter I believe to be Papias not Polycarp.

the same century St. Gregory the Great was able to pass several years at Constantinople without learning Greek at all.

St. Victor of Capua was the successor, and no doubt the disciple and friend, of a bishop of Capua who knew the East well. St. Germanus of Capua had been the head of the embassy sent by Pope Hormisdas in 519 to the Emperor Justin for the reunion of East and West after the death of the heretical Emperor Anastasius. We possess the instructions taken with them by the legates, and many letters of the Pope to them.<sup>1</sup> We have also many reports sent to Rome by St. Germanus<sup>2</sup> and by the deacon St. Dioscorus.<sup>3</sup> St. Germanus lived on until 541, if we may trust the epitaph of Victor printed by Ughelli.<sup>4</sup> His death was revealed to St. Benedict, who saw his soul go to heaven in a globe of light.<sup>5</sup>

Now when St. Victor tells us that he found the Diatessaron by chance we do not gather that he bought it by chance. Rather he found it among some books he had about him at Capua. It is natural to suppose that he found it in the same collection of Greek Christian writers upon which he drew for his scholia on the Pentateuch and for other writings. It is probable that he did not form this collection himself, as he did not know what it contained.

It is obvious, therefore, to hazard the guess that he inherited from his predecessor St. Germanus a library of Greek Fathers which that bishop had collected while in the East. Victor's knowledge of Greek will not surprise us, since he could have learnt it from Germanus or in his entourage.

### § 3. *The Gospel text in the Codex Fuldensis is derived from that of Eugipius.*

The text of this Latin Diatessaron is mixed, where the same passage occurs in more than one Gospel. I take, for an instance, the passage cited by Mgr. Kaulen (*Vulgata*, p. 221) from

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, vol. 8, pp. 441 and 460-1, 467-8, 471, 474-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 449-50, 453, 475, 480, 482, 488.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 454, 479, 486, 490. Also in Migne, *P. L.*, lxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Italia Sacra*, cited by Pitra, in Migne, *P. L.*, cii, 1123.

<sup>5</sup> St. Gregory, *Dial.*, ii. 35.

cap. cvi, representing Matt. xix. 16, Mark x. 17, and Luke xviii. 18.

Et cum egressus esset in uiam procurrens quidam genu flexu ante eum . rogabat eum—*Mark*.

Magister bone . quid boni faciam ut habeam uitam aeternam . qui dixit ei . quid me interrogas de bono.—*Matthew*.

nemo bonus . nisi unus deus.—*Mark*.

Si autem uis ad uitam ingredi . serua mandata . dixit illi . quae . ihesus autem dixit.—*Matthew*.

non occides.—*Luke*.

non adulterabis.—*Matthew*.

non furtum facies.—*Luke*.

non falsum testimonium dices.—*Luke and Matthew*.

honora patrem tuum et matrem.—*Luke and Mark*.

et diligis proximum tuum sicut teipsum . Dicit illi adulescens . Omnia haec custodiui—*Matthew*.

a iuuentute mea—*Mark and Luke*.

quid adhuc mihi deest.—*Matthew*.

This is an extremely elaborate mosaic, hardly adequately described by Bishop Wordsworth in these mild words: 'Huius codicis indoles non facile aestimatur cum euangelium unum ex quatuor exhibeat; unde scriba per similitudinem locorum a recta uia abduci potuit' (p. 711). One may well say boldly that Victor has carefully weighed every word, supplied every expression which was wanting in one Gospel but found in another, e.g. (above) 'Et diligis (*sic*) proximum,' &c. [Mark and Luke omit]; 'quid adhuc mihi deest' [Mark and Luke omit]; 'a iuuentute mea' [Matthew omits]; he chooses the better wording ('non occides' for 'ne occidas' or 'non homicidium facies'; 'non furtum facies' for 'non facies furtum' or 'ne fureris'). He prefers the longer, harder, and more pregnant phrase to the simpler ('Quid me interrogas de bono?' rather than 'quid me dicis bonum?'). The harmonizing is exceedingly well done; indeed it would be difficult to improve upon it in this involved passage. It is clearly the work of the learned and acute critic who wrote the preface to the harmony.

Bishop Wordsworth continues in the same passage: 'Sed stat plerumque sine dubio cum familia Northumbria AY. Non tamen ita arcte cum illis sociatur ut libertate non frua-

tur. Tres ergo AFY simul iuncti duobus AY praeferendi sunt.' The chief differences are in spelling, such as will be seen from the examples I give in the note below.<sup>1</sup> Most of these are due to carelessness; but sometimes, we cannot doubt, AY will reflect the theories of orthography taught by Cassiodorus. Of the differences of reading in the note, *uiderant* is a clerical error of F. But *omnibus* (=Greek) in Luke i. 3 (*mihi adsecuto a principio omnibus*) may well have been rejected by Cassiodorus as unintelligible or ungrammatical, even though he found it in Eugippius's copy.

Thus it is clear that AFY form one family in the Gospels; and this means that they are descended from a common ancestor. The Fuldensis is earlier than the collation by Cassiodorus of Eugippius's codex in 558, which was the origin of the Northumbrian text of the Gospels. Therefore it is the codex of Eugippius and F which had a common parent. *But this is impossible if the Eugipian MS. was so old as to be supposed a copy of St. Jerome's first edition. It remains that F must be a derivative of Eugippius's codex.*

This is not in itself a difficult supposition. Capua is the nearest large town to Naples on the main road to Rome, whether by the Latin or the Appian Way. Somewhat further on towards Rome lay St. Benedict's monastery of Montecassino on the Latin Way, where that saint tells us guests were never wanting.<sup>2</sup> If travellers constantly mounted that steep ascent when journeying along the Via Latina they certainly stopped, and more easily, at Capua, where that road joined the Appian

<sup>1</sup> I give from Wordsworth's edition the points where F is opposed to A, adding the readings of Y (i. e. I give AY < F and A < FY, but not AF < Y) in Matt. i. 1-16: zara F (*cum gr.*), zarad AY; rachab F, racab AY; obed F, obeth AY; autem om. FY; abia abia FY, abiam abia A; manassen F, manassē A, manassem Y; in transmigratione F, -nem AY; salathiel F, salathiel AY; matthan matthan FY, matthan mattham A. Again Luke i. 1-22: completae F, completae AY; uiderant F (*solus*), uiderunt AY (*coeteri*); omnibus F (*plures*), omnia AY (*pauci*); theofyle F, theofile A, theophile Y; iudae F, iudaeae AY; auia F, abia AY; elisabeth F, elisabet AY (*et sic pluries*); quaerella FY, querella A; sterilis F, sterelis AY; zaccharia(s) quater F, zacharia(s) semel F, semper AY; depraecatio FY, deprecatio A. This comparison suggests that F has to some extent preserved the spelling of the codex of Eugippius, whereas A has to some extent preserved the corrected spelling introduced by that professor of orthography Cassiodorus.

<sup>2</sup> St. Bened., *S. Reg.*, cap. 53.

Way, and where the Campanian Way branched off. Eugipius was in communication with all the learned men of his day. He cannot have been unacquainted with St. Benedict's friend St. Germanus, or with Victor, who was probably deacon or priest under the latter. Eugipius himself may have been dead when Victor became bishop in 541.

The composition of the Diatessaron was a work demanding great care. Victor must have used a codex in which he marked the extracts to be made, and by means of which he compared and fused the parallel passages. This can hardly have been Eugipius's own precious book, but was probably a copy of it made by that abbot's practised scribes, of whom St. Fulgentius told us.

We are obliged, I think, to conclude that Victor had a Greek text of the Diatessaron before him. It seems impossible that he should have taken so much trouble to re-edit an Old Latin Diatessaron according to St. Jerome's translation. With this Greek Diatessaron and a copy of Eugipius's codex—the four Gospels bound separately to make comparison possible—Victor could compose the Diatessaron of the Codex Fuldensis, but (it seems to me) not otherwise.

§ 4. *The Northumbrian summaries were composed by Eugipius and are quoted in F.*

It was impossible for St. Victor to insert in his codex such summaries as he found in the codex of Eugipius, for four summaries of four Gospels would not be suitable to a Diatessaron. He therefore composed a single summary and prefixed it to the Diatessaron, heading it *Praefatio*. In Migne's very untrustworthy edition<sup>1</sup> the whole Diatessaron is broken up into chapters, each with its own title from this summary; the titles are emendated and altered; wherever the first word is *ubi* (as it generally is), it is omitted. Ranke in his excellent edition of the Codex (Marburg, 1868) has printed them carefully in their proper position. As Wordsworth and White have not given them I reprint them here from Ranke, since his little book is not always accessible.

<sup>1</sup> *Patr. lat.*, vol. 68, coll. 251 foll.

## PRAEFATIO.

- i. In principio uerbum deus apud deum per quem facta sunt omnia  
 ij. de sacerdotium zacchariae  
 iij. ubi angelus gabriel . ad mariam loquitur  
 iiij. Natiuitatem iohannis baptistae  
 v. de generationem uel natiuitate Christi  
 vj. ubi angelus apparuit pastoribus  
 vij. ubi ihesus <sup>1</sup> ductus est a parentibus ut circumcideretur  
 viij. de magis qui uenerunt ab oriente  
 viiij. ubi infugatus ihesus et parentes eius in aegypto  
 x. ubi herodes interfecit pueros  
 xj. ubi ihesus reuocatur ab aegypto  
 xij. ubi ihesus remansit in templo hierosolymis  
 xij. ubi iohannes baptista apparuit in israhel  
 xiiij. ubi ihesus baptizatur ab iohanne  
 xv. ubi ihesus ductus est ab spiritu in deserto  
 xvj. ubi duo discipuli iohannis secuti sunt ihesum  
 xvij. de philippo et de nathanahel  
 xvij. ubi ihesus in synagoga legit librum esaiae  
 xviiij. Ubi ihesus uocauit petrum et andream . iacobum et iohannem  
 xx. Ubi ihesus uocauit mattheum publicanum  
 xxj. Ubi ihesus audiens quod iohannes traditus esset recessit in finibus  
 zabulon et nephthalim  
 xxij. Ubi ihesus circumibat omnes regiones . et sedens in monte elegit xii  
 discipulos et docuit eos de beatitudinem regni caelorum et quae secuntur  
 xxij. Increpatio diuitem  
 xxiiij. Ubi dicit uos estis sal terrae  
 xxv. uos estis lux huius mundi et iterum comparationes de praeceptis legis  
 xxvj. iracundiae  
 xxvij. de relinquendo munus ad altare  
 xxviiij. de adulterio concupiscentiae  
 xxviiij. de repudio  
 xxx. de iuramento  
 xxxj. de oculum pro oculo  
 xxxij. de diligendo proximum  
 xxxiiij. de occulta elemosyna  
 xxxiiij. de secreta oratione  
 xxxv. de occulto ieiunio  
 xxxvj. de non thesaurizando super terram  
 xxxvij. quia nemo potest duobus dominis seruire  
 xxxviiij. non debere solliciti esse de esca uel de indumento  
 xxxviiij. non debere quemquam iudicare uel condemnare

<sup>1</sup> Ranke writes in full *ihesus*, though the manuscript itself has simply *ih̄s*. See Wordsworth on Matt. i. 1.

xl. parabola de amico uel de tribus panibus petendum quaerendum pulsandum

xlj. de cauendo a falsis prophetis

xliij. non hi intrabunt in regno caelorum qui tantum dicunt domine domine

xliij. comparatio in his omnibus de sapiente et insipiente aedificatoribus

xliiij. ubi ihesus mittit xii discipulus suos docere et curare omnes infirmitates

xlv. ubi ihesus in chanan galileae aqua uinum fecit

xlvj. ubi ihesus mundat leprosum

xlvij. ubi ihesus puerum centurionis paralyticum curauit

xlviiij. ubi socrum petri a febris sanauit

xlviiiij. ubi ihesus in ciuitatem naim mortuum resuscitauit

l. ubi omnes infirmitates curat . ut adimplerentur scribiturae prophetarum

lj. ubi uolenti eum sequi dixit . uulpes foueas habent

lij. ubi nauigans increpauit tempestati et cessauit

liij. Ubi curauit trans fretum daemoniacum qui in monumentis manebant

liiij. Ubi curauit paralyticum quem deposuerunt per tectum

lv. Ubi filium subreguli absentem curauit

lvj. Ubi leui publicanus conuiuium ei fecit. Et dicentes scribae et pharisaei discipulis quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat uester

lvij. Ubi scribae signum petunt ab eo et eis multa dicit

lviiij. Ubi quaedam mulier de turba . clamauit ad ihesum beatus uenter qui te portauit

lviiiij. Ubi nuntiatur ihesu . quia mater tua et fratres tui uolunt et uidere

lx. Ubi ihesus mulierem quae fluxu sanguinis patiebatur curauit et filiam iahiri principis synagogae mortuam suscitauit

lxj. Ubi dos caecos curauit et daemonium . surdum et mutum eicit

lxij. Ubi pharisaei dicunt de ihesu in behelzebub hic eicit daemona

lxiiij. Ubi marta susceperit ihesu in domo sua

lxiiiij. Ubi iohannes de carcere misit ad ihesum interrogare eum

lxv. Ubi exprobrat ciuitatibus in quibus factae sunt plurimae uirtutes

lxvj. Ubi apostoli reuertuntur ad ihesum de praedicationem

lxvij. Ubi ihesus elegit alios lxxii discipulos et adiungens parabolam turrem aedificantis et regis ad proelium parantis

lxviiij. Ubi die sabbato in synagoga curauit manum aridam

lxviiiij. Ubi ihesus in montem orat et iuxta mare turbis et discipulis suis plurima in parabolis locutus est

lxx. Ecce exiit qui seminat seminare

lxxj. De eo qui seminauit bonum semen in agro suo et de zizania

lxxij. De grano sinapis

lxxiiij. De fermento quod abscondit mulier et alia multa discipulis

lxxiiiij. Ubi discipulis disseret parabolam seminantis

lxxv. Qui seminat semen et uadit dormitu uel surgit et discipulis parabolam zizaniorum agri disserit

lxxvj. de thesauro abscondito in agro et negotiationem margaritarum. sarena missa in mare et de patre familias qui profert de thesauro suo noua et uetera

lxxvij. Ubi adcontra ihesum ciues eius indignati sunt dicentes unde huic tanta sapientia

lxxviii. Ubi de herodis conuiuio et de iohannis interfectione exponit

lxxviiiij. Ubi ihesus in deserto de quinque panibus v milia hominum saturauit

lxxx. Ubi ihesus supra mare pedibus ambulauit . et petrum mergentem liberat

lxxxj. Ubi transfretantes uenerunt in terram gennesar . et turbae secutae sunt trans mare de manna in deserto

lxxxij. de murmuratione iudaeorum . eo quod ait ihesus ego sum panis uiuus

lxxxiiij. Ubi quidam pharisaeus rogauit ihesum ad prandium et cogitabat quare non fuerit baptizatus

lxxxiiij. de apostolis quare non lotis manibus manducarunt

lxxxv. de muliere syrophonissa quae pro filia sua petebat

lxxxvj. Ubi ihesus super puteum iacob . mulieri samaritanae locutus est

lxxxvij. Ubi ihesus surdum et mutam curauit

lxxxviiij. Ubi hierosolymis infirmum curauit . qui xxxviiij annis iacuit infirmitate et multa cum iudaeis eius occasione disputauit

lxxxviiiij. Ubi ihesus de vij panes . et paucos pisces iiij hominum saturauit et precepit apostolis cauere a fermento pharisaeorum

xc. Ubi ihesus interrogat apostolos . quem me dicunt homines esse et quae secuntur et dicit petro scandalum mihi es

xcj. Ubi ihesus dicit et quidam astantibus non gustare mortem et in monte transfiguratur

xcij. Ubi pharasaei dicunt ad ihesum . discede hinc quia herodes uult te occidere et curauit lunaticum

xciiij. Ubi ihesus de passione sua . discipulis patefecit et capharnaum pro se . et Petro didragma exactoribus reddit

xciiiij. Ubi ihesus interrogatus a discipulis suis . quis maior erit in regno caelorum instruit eos his exemplis ut humilient se sicut paruulus

xcv. Non debere prohiberi eos qui faciunt signa in nomine ihesu

xcvj. Non debere contemnere unum de pusillis adiungens similitudinem de oue perditam et de dragma

xcvij. De filio qui substantiam patris deuorauit

xcviiij. De remittendo fratribus ex corde

xcviiiij. Similitudo de rege qui posuit rationem cum seruis suis

c. Ubi ihesus interrogator a pharisaeis si liceat uxorem dimittere quamcumque ex causa

cj. Ubi ihesus imposuit manum infantibus et pharasaei murmurant de ihesu quod sic recepit peccatores

cij. Ubi ihesus sanat in synagoga mulierem aridam et curbatam



- cij. Ubi ihesus ascendit hierosolyma in die festo scenoepgiae  
 cijj. Ubi ihesus instruit eos qui annuntiauerunt ei de galilaeis . quos  
 interfecit pilatus adiungens similitudinem arboris fici in uinea  
 cv. Non debere prohiberi eos qui faciunt signa in nomine ihesu  
 cvj. Non debere contemnere unum de pusillis adiungens similitudinem  
 de oue perdita et de dragma  
 cvij. de diuite et lazaro  
 cvijj. de uilico infidele  
 cviiij. de patre familias qui exiit primo mane conducere mercennarios in  
 uineam suam  
 cx. Ubi in domo pharisaei sanat ihesus hydropicum et instruit eos qui  
 primos accubitus in conuiuuiis elegebant  
 cxj. Ubi ihesus x leproso mundauit  
 cxij. Ubi ihesus de passione sua discipulis suis iterum indicauit et mater  
 filiorum zebedaei rogat pro filiis suis  
 cxijj. Ubi ihesus responsum dat dicenti sibi domine pauci sunt qui  
 salui fiant  
 cxijj. de zaccheo publicano  
 cxv. Ubi ihesus iterum duos caecos curauit  
 cxvj. Ubi ihesus asinum sedens hierosolyma ingreditur  
 cxvij. Ubi ihesus eicit de templo ementes et uedentes et dat responsum  
 pharisaeis  
 cxvijj. Ubi ihesus praetulit ceteris uiduam propter duo aera minuta .  
 adiungens parabulam de pharisaeo et publicano contra eos qui se extollunt  
 cxviiij. de nicodemo qui uenit ad ihesum nocte  
 cxix. de muliere a iudaeis in adulterio deprehensa  
 cxxj. Ubi ihesus maledixit ficulneam et aruit  
 cxxij. Ubi ihesus dicit parabulam ad discipulos propter orandi instantiam  
 de iudice duro et uidua  
 cxxijj. Ubi ihesus interrogatur a principibus sacerdotum in qua potestate  
 haec facis . adiungens parabulam de duobus filiis in uineam missis  
 cxxiij. parabulam de patre familias . qui uineam suam locauit agricolis  
 cxxv. Simile est regnum caelorum homini regi qui fecit nuptias filio suo  
 cxxvj. Ubi pharisaei mittunt ad ihesum dolo interrogantes si licet  
 tributum reddere caesari  
 cxxvij. de sudducaeis qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem et interrogant  
 de vij fratribus qui unam uxorem habuerunt  
 cxxvijj. Ubi, scribe interrogat ihesum quod mandatum maximum est  
 in lege  
 cxxviiij. Ubi docente ihesu in templo miserunt pharisaei eum com-  
 prehendere  
 cxxx. Ubi ihesus interrogat pharisaeos . cuius filius est christus  
 cxxxj. Ubi ihesus docet . ego sum lux mundi  
 cxxxij. Ubi ihesus faciens lutum de sputo ponens super oculos caeci  
 nati curauit eum

ccxxij. Ubi ihesus agnitus est eidem caeco et contendit multa cum iudaeis  
 ccxxiiij. Ubi interrogatur ihesus a iudaeis si tu es christus dic nobis  
 manifeste

ccxxv. Ubi ihesus resuscitat lazarum a mortuis et principes concilium  
 faciunt ut interficerent ihesum

ccxxvj. Ubi non receptus in ciuitate samaritana . iohannes et iacobus  
 dicunt ad ihesum si uis dicimus ut ignis discendat de caelo

ccxxvij. Ubi ihesus uenit in bethaniam et multi iudaeorum euntes  
 propter lazarum crediderunt in eum

ccxxviiij. Ubi maria fudit alabastrum ungenti in capite ihesu . et increpat  
 pharisaeo

ccxxviiij. Ubi hierosolymis graeci uidere uolunt ihesum

cxl. Ubi pharisei interrogant ihesum quando uenit regnum dei

cxlj. Ubi ihesus loquitur ad turbas et discipulos de scribis et phariseis

cxlij. Ubi ihesus lamentat super hierusalem

cxliij. Ubi multi ex principibus crediderunt in eum et non confitebantur  
 ne de synagoga eicerentur

cxliiiij. Ubi ostendunt discipuli ihesu structuram templi

cxlv. Ubi sedente ihesu . in montem oliueti interrogant eum discipuli .  
 quod signum erit aduentus tui uel eorum quae dixisti . et praedicat eis . de  
 euerione hierusalem et signis et prodigiis

cxlvj. de parabola ficulneae

cxlvij. Ubi ihesus diem iudicii aduersus tempora noe et loth adsimi-  
 lauit et de fidele et prudente dispensatore

cxlviiij. de decem uirginibus

cxlviiij. de eo qui peregre proficiscens talenta seruis suis distribuit

cl. Ut lumbi semper praecincti sint et lucernae ardentes

clj. de eo qui peregre accipere sibi regnum proficiscens x mnas seruis  
 suis dedit

clij. Cum uenerit filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae

clij. Ubi iterum consilium faciunt principes et uadit iudas ad eos

cliiij. Ubi ihesus lauat pedes discipulorum

clv. Ubi ihesus mittet discipulos praeparare sibi pascha et dicit eis quod  
 unus ex uobis tradit me

clvj. Ubi ihesus tradet de sacramento corporis et sanguinis sui

clvij. Ubi ihesus dicit ad petrum . expetiuit satanas ut uos uentilet . et  
 omnes hodie in me scandalizamini

clviiij. Ubi ihesus hortatur discipulos suos ut non pauefiat cor uestrum

clviiij. Ubi ihesus dicit discipulis suis qui quod habet baiulet

clx. Ubi ihesus dicit . ego sum uitis et uos palmites

clxj. Ubi ihesus uenit in gesemani et orat ut transferat calicem istum

clxij. Ubi iudas uenit cum turbis comprehendere ihesum

clxiiij. Ubi adulescens quidam indutus sindone sequebatur ihesum

clxiiij. Ubi interrogat princeps sacerdotum ihesum de discipulis et de  
 doctrina eius

- clxv. Ubi falsi testes aduersus ihesum quaerebantur  
 clxvj. Ubi principes sacerdotum adiurat ihesum . si tu es christus dic nobis  
 clxvij. Ubi traditur pilato ihesus et paenitetur iudas  
 clxviiij. Ubi pilatus audit inter iudaeos et dominum et mittit eum ad haerodem  
 clxviiiij. Ubi uxor pilati misit ad eum dicens nihil tibi sit et iusto illi  
 clxx. Ubi pilatus dimisit barabban . et tradidit christum ad crucifigendum  
 clxxj. Ubi duo latrones cum christo crucifigi ducuntur . et ubi ihesus de cruce de matre sua dixit ad discipulum quum diligebat . ecce mater tua  
 clxxij. Ubi ioseph petit corpus ihesu a pilato et sepelet una cum nicodemo  
 clxxiiij. Ubi iudaei signant monumentum  
 clxxiiiij. Ubi prima die sabbati suscitatur ihesus a mortuis  
 clxxv. Ubi custodes monumenti annuntiauerunt sacerdotibus . de resurrectione christi  
 clxxvj. Ubi ihesus apparuit mulieribus post resurrectionem  
 clxxvij. Ubi ihesus duobus euntibus in castellum apparuit  
 clxxviiij. Ubi ihesus apparuit discipulis suis  
 clxxviiiij. Ubi ihesus iterum apparuit thomae  
 clxxx. Ubi iterum apparuit ihesus discipulis super mare tiberiadis  
 clxxxj. Ubi ihesus ter dicit petro diligis me  
 clxxxij. Ubi discipuli euntes in galilaeam uiderunt et adorauerunt dominum et assumptus est in caelis coram eis

A comparison with the many summaries printed by Wordsworth before each of the Gospels and in his Epilogue is a laborious work. I have carried the comparison as far as the sixtieth chapter of F. The result is that I find no striking likeness in F to any of the various summaries, except at the beginning, where Victor has used the Northumbrian summaries. His first heading ('In principio uerbum deus apud deum per quem facta sunt omnia') is taken verbally from the first Northumbrian heading to St. John (Wordsworth, p. 492): 'In principio uerbum deus apud deum per quem facta sunt omnia et iohannes missus refertur ante eum qui recipientes se facit filios dei per gratiam suam.'

Victor has determined that all his headings shall be very short. He has quoted the beginning of the AHVY summary, but his omission of the main verb *refertur* has spoilt the construction.

The second heading, 'De sacerdotium zacchariae,' is from

AHVV to Luke, No. 2 (Wordsworth, p. 274): 'Sacerdotium iusti zacchariae refertur et uisio in templo,' &c. Again Victor has adopted the first words, and has omitted the verb and all that follows. It is important to notice that none of the other types of summary have anything at all which corresponds with these first two headings of F.

The third: 'Ubi angelus Gabrihel ad Mariam loquitur,' corresponds to AHVV Luke, No. 3: 'Missus angelus ad Mariam nasciturum loquitur Salvatorem,' &c. After this the coincidences are but slight. It would seem that Victor found it far less trouble to compose short headings for himself than to turn up with great difficulty the corresponding number in one of the four summaries in Eugippius's codex. Among the occasional coincidences I will signalize the following:—

No. 4. 'De generationem uel natiuitate Christi.' Victor may have taken the first words of the first and second heading of the AUVV summary to Matthew: 'i. Generationum quadraginta duarum . . . ii. Natiuitas Iesu Christi . . .' *Uel* means 'and'.

No. 40. 'Parabola de amico uel de tribus panibus petendum quaerendum pulsandum.' The AUVV summary to Matthew (Wordsworth, p. 22) No. 22 has: 'Sanctum canibus porcisque nondandum, sed *petendum quaerendum pulsandumque* praeficit'; the Spanish C also has 'VI iii. Petendum querendum et pulsandum', while the ordinary summaries (BA@JT, &c.) have 'De margaritis ante porcos non mittendis petendum quaerendum et pulsandum' (Wordsworth, *ibid.*). It appears that by chance Victor referred to the summary here and there, though he usually invented his own headings.

This proof that Victor had the AHVV summaries before him—though he could not incorporate them, as they were, in his codex—is of great importance.

1. In the first place it shows that the summaries were not composed at Jarrow nor even by Cassiodorus<sup>1</sup>, but were older yet.

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus composed summaries for certain books of Holy Scripture, and he is careful to tell us which; his reason being that he found none for those books. This reason could not apply to the Gospels, and we might *a priori* be certain that he composed no Gospel summaries.

2. Their intimate connexion with the Neapolitan lectionary system forces us to conclude that they came to Cassiodorus, like the lectionary notes, in the codex of Eugippius.

3. Thus our former conclusion is made practically certain, that Victor of Capua employed a copy of Eugippius's codex for the formation of his Diatessaron.

Conjecture may carry us somewhat further. As the Northumbrian summaries are found in no other early family, we have a right to assume that they are not much older than F. The codex of Eugippius was an old one in his day, so that it is unlikely the summaries should have originally belonged to it. It is more probable that they were inserted by him, and in fact composed by him. We have already learned from Cassiodorus that Eugippius was a great Scriptural scholar; possibly this reputation was partly based upon these Gospel summaries, which are in some ways by far the best that have come down to us.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the Neapolitan lectionary notes were certainly added to the MS. at Naples, and, of course, under the supervision of Abbot Eugippius himself. The summaries are based upon the lectionary division, therefore they also were composed at Naples.

In chapter vii we shall see what reason induced Eugippius to compose them and in ch. vi why he keeps less accurately to the lectionary divisions in the fourth Gospel.

#### § 5. *The introductions to the Gospels in the Codex Fuldensis and the Codex Amiatinus.*

There are no introductions, prefaces or prologues to the Gospels in the Codex Fuldensis.

The form of the Gospels, being a Diatessaron, did not admit any of the usual prefatory matter, and Victor has simply substituted a preface of his own about his discovery, together with the Eusebian canons and the Diatessaric summary which was given above.

But he had prefatory matter before him.

1. To begin with, he knew the letter of Eusebius to

Carpianus, which is found in Y Reg, but not in A. But it is astonishing to note that his citation of it implies the use of a different translation, or more probably of the original Greek, since he knew Greek :

Y.

Ammonius quidem Alexandrinus magno studio atque industria unum nobis pro quatuor euangeliis dereliquit.

F.

Ammonius quidem Alexandrinus multum, ut arbitror, laboris et studii impendens, unum ex quatuor nobis reliquit euangelium.

Victor immediately afterwards proceeds to quote from Eusebius's *History*, but then he clearly uses Rufinus's translation of iv. 29, as his expression *unum ex quatuor* shows, for these words are not represented in the Greek, but are added by Rufinus. The rest of the passage is freely paraphrased.

2. Together with the letter of Eusebius to Carpius (which Victor quotes a second time to show that Ammonius made St. Matthew his standard Gospel), Victor had a series of Ammonian sections before him. If he had the letter of Eusebius in Greek, we might expect him to take the numbers from a Greek codex. But he expressly tells us he used the Vulgate : ' Ipsos quoque numeros in unum pariter congregatos in modum quo eos sanctus Hieronymus digessit, curavi describere.' He inserts them immediately after his preface, and he tells us that he did so because the Diatessaron which was his model had them incorrectly written in the margin. He therefore took the Eusebian canons out of his Latin Gospels, no doubt from those of Eugippius.

3. His explanation of them seems to show that he had also before him St. Jerome's explanation given in his letter to St. Damasus *Novum opus* (Wordsworth, p. 1). Why does he not give the letter in his codex? Evidently because the explanation he has given in his own Preface seems to him sufficient.

We have reason therefore to presume that the codex used by Victor contained the letter *Novum opus*, the table of canons, as well as the AHVY summaries, but not the letter to Carpius. This is just what we find in the Codex Amiatinus, which has not the letter of Eusebius to Carpius, though this is found in Y and Reg. But A as well as Y Reg con-

tains the Preface of St. Jerome from the Commentary on St. Matthew *Plures fuisse*, and also the four 'Monarchian' Prologues of Priscillian. Were these also in Eugippius's manuscript?

4. Victor prefixes to Acts and Apocalypse the usual Prologues, which are made up out of the 'Monarchian' Prologues to Luke and John. Consequently Victor probably knew the latter also. Now we shall see in chapter xv that the compiler of the Prologue to Acts has also used as a source St. Jerome's letter to Paulinus, from which he has borrowed a few words, and the Prologue to the Apocalypse similarly shows some similarity to the *Plures fuisse* in the insertion of the words *apostolus et euangelista* and *ut in caena super pectus eius recumberet*, neither of which expressions occurs in the Prologue to John. It is obvious, therefore, that Victor might have known the Monarchian Prologues and the *Plures fuisse*.

Further, it is certain that the compiler of the Northumbrian summaries—no doubt Eugippius himself—had the Monarchian Prologues before him, for he actually quotes them. The fourth capitulum of the AHVY summary of John runs thus:

iiii. In nuptiis aquam conuertit in uinum quo facto cognoscitur quod ubi ipse fuerit inuitatus uinum necesse sit deficere nuptiarum.

This is from the Prologue to John, as Wordsworth has pointed out:

'ut ostendens quod erat ipse legentibus demonstraret quod ubi dominus inuitatur deficere nuptiarum uinum debeat, ut ueteribus inmutatis noua omnia quae a Christo instituuntur appareant.'

Again, the Prologue to Matthew lays stress on the thrice fourteen generations. The AHVY summary almost alone of all summaries mentions forty-two generations: 'Generationum quadraginta duarum ab abraham usque ad Christum ordo narratur.' The older forms of summary omit the genealogy altogether and begin with the Nativity. The Prologue to Luke emphasizes the genealogy which runs backwards and ends in God, 'introitu recurrentis in deum generationis admissio.' Accordingly alone of all summaries to Luke that of AHVY gives 'X. Herodes carceri dat iohannem et xxx annorum baptizato domino trinitatis in baptismo mysterium decla-

ratur generationum lxvii a Christo SURSUM UERSUS AD DEUM ordo contextitur'. In the Prologue to Mark we find 'Iohannem filium Zachariae in uoce angeli adnuntiantis emissum', and correspondingly the first cap. to the AHVY summary of Mark has: 'Esaias testimonio iohannes angelus id est nuntius appellatur et praedicatio eius baptismusque refertur.' As Eugippius thus used the Prologues, and apparently valued them, we may assume that he added them to his codex with the summaries.

There is consequently reason to believe that Victor knew and deliberately omitted the Prologues and the *Nouum opus*, probably also the *Plures fuisse*, all of which are found in the Codex Amiatinus. He did not, however, know the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus in Latin, though he had it in Greek. This letter is not in A, though it is in Y and Reg.

On the other hand Eugippius had the Prologues before him.

I conclude that it is highly probable that the whole collection of Prefaces in A (viz. (1) *Nouum opus*, (2) Canons, (3) *Plures fuisse*, and before each Gospel (4) Monarchian Prologues, (5) Summaries) were in Eugippius's codex, besides the liturgical notes in the margins. The first, second, and third of these documents were perhaps prefixed by St. Jerome himself, and were pretty sure to be in the codex before it came to Eugippius. The summaries Eugippius seems to have composed himself, basing them on the liturgical divisions, and quoting the Prologues in them.

But the letter to Carpianus was not included. This seems to confirm the suspicion that the translation is not St. Jerome's, and that he did not himself prefix it to the Vulgate Gospels. The absence in so many MSS. is one argument; its contents supply another—Jerome had given all that mattered of them in his letter *Nouum opus*, which is the dedication of his work to St. Damasus; he did not, therefore, intend to add the letter of Eusebius which says the same things over again.



## CHAPTER VI

### EUGIPIUS AND THE GALLICAN LITURGY

#### § 1. *The connexion of Eugipius with Lerins.*

EUGIPIUS thus opens his dedicatory letter to Proba, which he prefixed to his Treasury of Excerpts from St. Augustine: 'Excerptorum codicem quem de nonnullis operibus sancti Augustini, cohortante domino meo Marino abbate uel ceteris sanctis fratribus, quomodocunque conpegeram, continuo transferri uobis, sancto quo polletis studio, uoluistis.' At this date *uel* means 'and', as (for instance) in the contemporary Rule of St. Benedict. We should naturally suppose Marinus and the holy brethren to be the abbot and community of Lucullanum. But though Eugipius was not yet abbot himself, we know that his predecessors were first Lucillus the priest<sup>1</sup> (*Vita S. Severini*, c. 41), to whom St. Severinus had committed the care of bringing his body to Italy, and then Marcianus, who was succeeded by Eugipius before the year 511 (*ibid.*, c. 45, 'Marcianum monachum, qui postea presbyter ante nos monasterio praeuit'). Büdinger has argued that the words *domino meo* must imply that Eugipius had lived some time in another monastery under the rule of this Marinus, though the words might be simply honorific. The only Marinus (or Marianus) mentioned by Eugipius elsewhere is the *primicerius cantorum* of the Church of Naples (*ibid.*, 60) who was cured of violent headache by the merits of St. Severinus.

But the ingenuity of Mabillon solved the difficulty by the suggestion that this Marinus was the Abbot of Lerins who is commemorated as a saint on the first of January. The date harmonizes, for this St. Marinus was the founder of the monastery of St. Maurice (Agaunum) in 515 (*Ann. Ord. S. Ben.*, vol. i, p. 176). The only other mention of him is at the end of the life of St. Eugendus or Augendus (in French St. Oyand),

<sup>1</sup> So Eugipius himself is regularly called '*Presbyter*', apparently a honorific title for the Abbot, who was probably the only priest in the community.

the third abbot of Condat in the Jura, who died between 510 and 517. The contemporary author of the lives of the first three abbots of Condat ends his life of the last of them by referring his readers to another book he has written: 'instituta quoque quae de formatione monasterii nostri Agaunensis coenobii, Sancto Marino presbytero, insulae Lirinensis abbate, compellente, digessimus.'<sup>1</sup> This passage is curiously parallel to that of Eugippius. The date is almost the same. It is natural to infer that the same Abbot Marinus of Lerins who founded the Abbey of Agaunum, and recommended the anonymous monk to write an account of the foundation, must have been the same as the Abbot Marinus who urged Eugippius to make his collection of extracts from St. Augustine. If so, we must suppose, with Büdinger, that the acquaintance of Eugippius with the abbot was made at Lerins, and that Eugippius had passed some time in that famous retreat. St. Severinus had given no written rule to his disciples, nor was there any in Eugippius's time at Lucullanum, although St. Isidore informs us that Eugippius, at his death, bequeathed a written rule to his monks. In those days the abbot was the living rule, for it was only in the last years of Eugippius that his famous neighbour penned at Montecassino the short code which was to be for centuries the law of all the religious of the western world. Until St. Benedict it was customary to learn perfection by travelling to some famous teacher or to some well-known monastery; and next to St. Martin's monastery in the caves of Marmoutier, by far the most famous school of asceticism was the lovely island of St. Honoratus. From Lerins had proceeded numberless holy bishops throughout the fifth century, some of whom like Honoratus himself and Hilary, Germanus and Lupus, Eucherius and his two sons, Veranius and Salonius, were famous everywhere. But these had been in former days; the glories of Lerins were being now renewed in the great St. Caesarius, who was but at the beginning of his long episcopate (502-42). Imitations of Lerins had caused the Mediterranean to be fringed with island monasteries. Nisida and Lucullanum

<sup>1</sup> *Acta SS.*, Jan., vol. i, p. 54. Notice the use of *presbyter* for the abbot, as by Eugippius.

at Naples are among these.<sup>1</sup> At all events there was no place which Eugipius was more likely to visit than Lerins in order to learn the traditions of religious life.

A direct connexion between Lerins and the disciples of St. Severinus was pointed out by Dom Mabillon, in the person of Blessed Antonius of Lerins, of whom all that is known is contained in a vague and fulsome panegyric by Ennodius.<sup>2</sup> Antonius was born of noble parents in Pannonia, but they died when he was eight years old. He came then to St. Severinus, and after the death of that saint he became a candidate for the clerical state under his uncle Constantius, bishop of Laureacum.<sup>3</sup> When the country was ravaged by the Franks, Heruli, and Saxons, Antonius was taken by servants (he was evidently still a boy) to Italy. At first he gave himself to the guidance of a holy priest called Marius; then he became a hermit; finally, out of humility, he retired to Lerins, where he died two years later. The date is not given, but the account by Ennodius was probably written before the author became bishop of Pavia about 513, like all his letters and most of his other opuscula.<sup>4</sup> Antonius must have been well known to Eugipius in Pannonia, evidently having lived as a boy in the community in which Eugipius was a monk.<sup>5</sup> If Lerins was the monastery of his choice, it may well have been the chosen school of Eugipius also. Direct proof, however, that Eugipius was ever at Lerins or that he borrowed any customs from thence is wanting. But Mabillon's conjecture is very strongly supported by the fact that his monastery used an elaborate Gallican liturgy, as will now be proved.

<sup>1</sup> So in the North, the Mont S. Michel, Iona, Lindisfarne, Innisboffin, &c., rise to the memory.

<sup>2</sup> *P. L.*, 63, 239.

<sup>3</sup> Ennodius has: 'qui [Constantius] eum inter ecclesiasticos exceptores iussit ordiri,' which seems to mean 'ordered him to make a beginning among the ecclesiastical scribes or notaries'; but he did not become an ecclesiastic, for he left Marius to avoid receiving Orders.

<sup>4</sup> It was written at the request of a certain abbot Leontius, to whom a letter is addressed Bk. V, Ep. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Eugipius dedicated his life of St. Severinus to St. Paschasius the Roman deacon, who was the leader of the opposition to Pope Symmachus. The life of St. Severinus's other disciple, Antonius, is written on the contrary by the Pope's chief defender, Ennodius!

§ 2. *Eugipius and his Gallican lectionary.*

Since the whole system of Gospels for the liturgical year as used in the Lucullanum has been preserved to us, it becomes necessary to inquire whence this use took its origin. Did Eugipius, or did the abbots, his predecessors, simply take the liturgy they found in use in the city of Naples? The contemporary of Eugipius, St. Benedict, half-way between Naples and Rome, composed a Breviary office in which he borrowed from the Roman office, but which was mainly his own. We do not know whether he used the Roman Mass without alteration; but it is probable that the Gospels (which were sung at Mattins as well as at Mass) were at least not so immutably fixed that the abbot could not vary them. It seems likely, if we judge by later times, that monasteries even in the sixth century would have their own liturgical uses, borrowed rather from some model monastery than from the diocese in which they happened to be.

It is clear that Eugipius's Kalendar adopted local feasts, for it is from these that Mr. Bishop was able to discover the home of the Lindisfarne lists to be Naples. The feast of St. Januarius with its vigil and the Dedication of St. Stephen (the Cathedral of Naples) are certainly local; so is the feast of St. Vitus; and Dom Morin is probably right in supposing the *Dedicatio sanctae Mariae* to be that of the Basilica called *Ecclesia Maior*, built by the contemporary bishop of Naples, Pomponius, whose episcopate was c. 514-36; and further, the *Dedicatio fontis* may refer to the great baptistery built by Bishop Soter towards the end of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

There is no peculiarity in the fact of the celebration of the feasts of St. John, St. Peter, St. John Baptist's nativity, St. Laurence, SS. John and Paul, though there are peculiarities with regard to the manner of celebrating some of these feasts, to which we shall recur later. But among the special holy days two famous Gallican feasts strike the eye, the Invention of Holy Cross and the Decollation of St. John Baptist. The former is found in the Berne and Wolfenbüttel MSS. of the

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Bénédict.*, 1891, p. 491.

Hieronymian Martyrology (i. e. Gaul, seventh century), in the Bobbio and Gothic (Autun) Missals, and in the Gelasian sacramentary. Duchesne has remarked that it may have been introduced in Gaul no earlier than the seventh century. But now we find it at Naples in the sixth. The Beheading of the Baptist is in the Hieronymian Martyrology (c. 590-600), and in the Luxeuil, Bobbio, Gothic uses, &c., though the day seems to have varied on which it was kept in the late summer. Far earlier than this we find it ordered to be kept with a Vigil by Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, c. 480.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to suppose that these feasts originated in Naples. On the other hand in chapter iv we observed some remarkable points of contact between the Naples use and the oldest Gallican books. We are driven to the hypothesis that the system employed by Eugippius is Gallican, and that he borrowed it for his abbey from Lerins<sup>2</sup>—the monastery whence he had also probably taken the model of religious discipline for his house. To verify this hypothesis we must search through the Gospels of the Neapolitan lists. We will begin with the two feasts just mentioned.

1. For the Invention of Holy Cross (37) we find the Gospel, Matt. xiii. 44, as in the Bobbio Missal, but not (I think) elsewhere.

2. For the Decollation (38) we find Matt. xiv, with the Bobbio Missal, the Luxeuil lectionary (Paris ?), the *Liber Comicus* of Toledo, and *q*<sup>3</sup>; whereas Rom has the corresponding Mark vi. (Henceforward I shall use abbreviations, Goth, Bob, Lux, Comic, &c.)

These two coincidences with ancient Gallican lessons are encouraging at the commencement of our quest.

3. *In stilla domini nocte* (6), Matt. iii. 13; so Bede, Lux, Bob, *q*<sup>4</sup> (in Ambros. for Vigil of Epiph.). Unknown to the Roman use.

4. Palm Sunday (150), John xi. 55-xii. 13; Bede, Lux, Bob,

<sup>1</sup> St. Greg. Turon., x. 31, 6.

<sup>2</sup> For it is unlikely that it was the system used by St. Severinus in Pannonia.

<sup>3</sup> On the old Latin text *q* (Munich *lat.* 6224) see p. 102, note, below.

<sup>4</sup> In *q* is found 'lege in apparitionem dñi', in the hand of the original scribe.

Moz, Comic, Ambr. From this Gospel of the anointing St. Ildephonsus calls this Sunday the *dies unctionis* (*De Cogn. Bapt.*, 34). The Blessing of Palms may have been unknown to Eugippius, though it was introduced in St. Burchard's lectionary, but the pericope presumably began at xi. 47 and was continued to xii. 20, thus including the entry into Jerusalem.

5. *In Sabbato sancto mane* (66), Mark vii. 32; Bede, Comic. A very peculiar and interesting use.

6. Ascension Day (121), Luke xxiv. 44; Bede (for Bob, Comic, (Lux), Ambros, 9, see p. 115). This pericope is wholly unused in the Roman liturgy.

7. Pentecost, John xiv. 15-22; Lux, Bob, Ambros. In the Roman use this Gospel is for the Vigil, and it has been shifted in B accordingly.

These are a striking series of coincidences with Gaul for great feasts. We have only to add Easter (Matt. xxviii. 16—only Naples and Bede) and Christmas.

8. In the latter case we have only one Mass, as in all early forms of the Gallican use, and the Gospel is Luke ii. 1, as in a fragment of an ancient Paris lectionary (see *Revue Bénédict.*, 1893, p. 440), Lux, Comic, 9. It may be objected that the entry (74) for this, *In natale dñi ad missa publica*, implies a night Mass also; just as on the Epiphany we find *nocte* as well as *ad missa publica*. But it seems that this does not follow; for at Easter (65) we find *Dominica sancta pascha ad missa publica*, and yet there is no other Mass provided.

Some further detailed coincidences are interesting.

9. *In dedicationem* (16), Matt. vii. 24 = Comic: *in sacratione basilicae*.

10. *In dedicationem* (46), Matt. xvii. 1 (the Transfiguration) = Bob [Dedication of] St. Michael; cf. 9 *In dedecation*, Mark ix. 2-8, the parallel passage.

11. *In uelanda* (125), John ii. 1 (the Marriage in Cana), for the bridal veiling = Comic: *De nubentibus*.

All these coincidences have been pointed out already by Dom Morin, either in his notes to the Naples lists or in those to his discussion of Bede's homilies. But now that they are united we see that they amount to a complete proof that the

Neapolitan lists are based upon a system borrowed from Gaul.

I say a complete proof—for a minuter comparison of the *proprium de tempore* is quite impossible. The Bobbio order for Lent is quite poor and vague, and offers no parallel to the elaborate Naples system. That of Luxeuil is lost. The Lent of the *Liber Comicus* is peculiar, all the Gospels being taken from St. John and the Epistles from the Catholic Epistles. Similarly with Advent and Easter, we can make no real comparisons between the fragments of Gallican uses and the very full Naples system. This system of Eugipius for Lent is probably unique like that of the *Liber Comicus*.

But precisely the regular weekday Masses in Advent (Wednesday and Friday) and Lent (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday ; at the end of Lent Tuesday and Saturday also) suggest that the use is not for a parish or a diocese, but for a monastery where the liturgical functions were multiplied as far as possible. Even were the date of the system not proved, it would be impossible to take this fullness of Lent and Advent to be a sign of later date, for there are other signs of a very early date. There is, for instance, no feast of our Lady, neither the Gallican feast in January nor the Purification, though both were of early introduction. The former was already celebrated in the sixth century, and, since it is unknown to Eugipius, we seem to have before us an extremely early Gallican use.

The date of the introduction of this liturgy into the monastery of Lucullanum lies between the first arrival of the monks in the island, c. 492-6, and the collation by Cassiodorus of Eugipius's codex in 558. The use may have begun with the beginning of the monastery. Probably, however, it will have been commenced by Eugipius himself when he became abbot, and therefore c. 510-35.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Old Latin codex *q* (Munich, 6224) contains some curious liturgical notes, which were published by Mr. H. J. White in his edition of the MS. (*O. L. Biblical Texts*, liii, p. liii), and again rather more fully by Dom G. Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine*, 1893, p. 246 foll. The system is not complete; and it appears sometimes to agree with Gaul, sometimes with Milan, sometimes with Rome. The agreements with N are as follows :

§ 3. *Neapolitan additions to a Gallican lectionary.*

Can we discover how much was added at Naples to the liturgy brought from Lerins? No doubt we cannot discriminate in every case, but in many instances we shall see that it is possible to discover the Italian interpolations.

Let us first take numbers 150 and 151. The former is the Gallican Palm Sunday lesson, John xi. 55-xii. 13. The latter is for the following day, John xii. 1-20, and is the Roman pericope for that day, *feria ii de ebdomada maiorem*. It is quite impossible that the same passage should have been read two days running; and the coincidence with a Roman lesson is very rare. It seems unavoidable to assume that the Monday lesson was introduced at Naples.

Now we noticed that most of the additions made in St. Burchard's lectionary did not coincide with the divisions of the Northumbrian summaries. It is the same with this Roman lesson for the Monday of Holy Week. Let us turn to the certain Neapolitan interpolations: (54) *In dedicatione basilicae*

A. The two notes by the original scribe (7th cent.):

- |                                    |               |                    |
|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>In natiuitate domini</i>     | Luke ii. 1    | = Christmas        |
| 2. <i>Lege in apparitionem dñi</i> | Matt. iii. 13 | = stilla dñi nocte |

The second is noticeable.

The remaining notes are in hands of 8th-9th cent.

- |   |                       |                        |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>de aduenso</i>  | Luke iii. 1-7         | = Dom. i adu.          |
| 2. " "  | " i. 26-9             | = Dom. iii adu.        |
| 3. <i>Initium lect. de natiuitate dñi</i>   | Matt. i. 18-22        | = Fride. nat. dñi      |
| 4. <i>In natale dñi</i>   | Luke ii. 1            | = Christmas (as above) |
| 5. <i>In octaba dñi</i>   | " ii. 21              | = In oct. dñi          |
| 6. <i>in die sc̄o epefanie lectio prima</i>   | Matt. ii. (1-)13      | = stilla dñi ad missa  |
| 7. <i>lectio in uigiliis pasce per altare</i>   | " xxviii. 1-8         | = Sabb a. ad sero      |
| 8. <i>in die ascensionis dñi nostri ih̄u xpi secundum carnem lectio ewangelii secundum luca</i> | Luke xxiv. 44-ad fin. | = In ascens.           |

The lessons for Lent, Easter week, and Sundays after Easter do not agree.

- |   |                  |                            |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| 9. <i>lectio sc̄i iohannis baptiste</i> | Matt. xiv. 1-15  | = In Decoll. S. J. Bapt.   |
| 10. <i>lectio sc̄i iohanni</i>          | Luke i. (57-)67  | = In Nat. S. J. Bapt.      |
| 11. <i>in timothei et in . . .</i>      | Matt. xvi (21-?) | = In unius mart. (xvi. 24) |

The first seven coincidences are all rather obvious. But 8 and 9 seem to have a Gallican origin. The codex *q* belonged to the Abbey of St. Corbinian at Freisingen.



*stephani* does not coincide, nor does (153) *in ieiunium s. ianuarii*. But (61) *in natale s. ianuarii* does, for its pericope Matt. xxv. 14 (the Parable of the Talents) could not have been passed over in any lectionary. In the original Gallican system it may have been *in sanctorum* or (as in Lux) *de uno confessore*; in Bob it is for St. Martin. Again (126) *in dedic. S. Mariae* corresponds to a title of the summary, but (132) *in dedicatione fontis* is added to *in sancti angeli*, and is consequently very likely to be an addition. *Sancti angeli* may perhaps mean the (dedication) feast of St. Michael found in Bob.

It has been said above that the Northumbrian summaries were based on the lectionary. From these new facts we should gather that the summaries were composed before the Naples additions were interpolated. With this hypothesis let us examine the *proprium de tempore* of the Neapolitan lists. We will begin with Advent and Christmas. In the following table an asterisk signifies that the beginning of the lesson does not coincide with that of a title of the summary. We shall see that the hypothesis verifies itself with a regularity that is almost uncanny.

## ADVENT

Dom. i de aduentum d. n. I. C.	77	Luke iii. 1
Post i de adu. in ieiunium feria iiii	99	" xii. 32
" dom. de adu. feria vi	100*	" xii. 39
Dom. [ii] <sup>1</sup> de aduentum	31	Matt. xi. 2
Post ii dom. feria iiii de adu.	4	" iii. 1
" " de adu. feria vi	57*	" xxiv. 3
Dom. iiii de aduentum	72	Luke i. 26
Post iiii dom. de adu. feria iiii	58*	Matt. xxiv. 23
" " " " vi	59*	" xxiv. 34
[iiii <i>ebd.</i> de aduentum <sup>2</sup>	[106 B*]	Mark xiii. 18]
Post v dominicas de aduentum	78	Luke iv. 14

It is clear that we have a complete system for an Advent of three weeks, with two liturgical fast-days for each week. But four of the six weekday Gospels are asterisked, as not corresponding with the summary. On the other hand we find the remains of a fifth week *Post v dominicas de aduentum*.

<sup>1</sup> *Secunda* is omitted in Y Reg, but is supplied by Burch.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Y Reg; but was thought by Dom Morin to belong to N, though in Burch. only; but this is most improbable, for it has no Wed. and Fri.

It seems that originally there was a longer Advent. The weekdays are apparently Neapolitan additions. We may suppose an original Advent of many Sundays, and only a weekday or two *ad libitum*, of which 99 or 4 may be remains.

The Gospel for the second Sunday is suspicious, for the word *Secunda* occurs in Burch. only, and *it is the only agreement throughout Advent with the Roman use.*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it was originally the Gospel for the fourth, fifth, or sixth Sunday, and was used at Naples for the second, the original number having been expunged in the marginal note.

*Post v dominicas* seems to be the only indication of original weekdays definitely recognized; perhaps corresponding to the Ember days in the week preceding Christmas week. In this case the original number of Sundays must have been six.

This is precisely the ancient Gallican system for Advent. Among the fasts regulated by Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, c. 480, we find: 'a depositione domni Martini usque Natale Domini terna in septimana ieiunia'; but this sentence is absent from one MS. of St. Gregory of Tours (Bk. X. 31, 6) according to Ruinart, so that it cannot quite be depended upon. But the same rule is given (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from Martinmas) by a synod of Tours in 563, and by one of Mâcon in 581.<sup>2</sup> This is further developed than the Naples custom, which has Wednesday and Friday only. The essence is a short forty days before Christmas, a Christmas Lent corresponding to the 'Quadragesima Paschae'. The mention of St. Martin is accidental, and is owing to the use having originated at Tours. The six Sundays are an imitation of the six Sundays of Lent, and provide a length of thirty-six days, or forty-two, if we count the Sundays. The lost commencement of Lux contained six Masses for Advent, corresponding to the six Sundays given in the fragment of a Paris lectionary,<sup>3</sup> but these have no weekday Masses. The Ambro-

<sup>1</sup> This Gospel is also the only one which corresponds with those given in the fragment of a seventh-century Paris lectionary, published by Dom G. Morin. The Paris note gives this Gospel for the third Sunday; it is the description given by our Lord of St. John Baptist.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét.*, art. 'Avent,' col. 3223-4 (1906), by Abbot F. Cabrol.

<sup>3</sup> So Dom Morin pointed out, *Revue Bénéd.*, 1893, p. 441.

sian and Mozarabic rites similarly give six Sundays. The Liber Comicus has five, the Gregorianum also. Alcuin had the Roman number of four.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the Gallicanum uetus, like the Bobbio Missal, had but three Sundays. Dom Cagin believes this part of the Bobbio Missal to be as old as the former half of the fifth century, and therefore earlier than the introduction into Gaul of the long Advent. But see Cabrol, *Mabillon et les ét. lit.* p. 17 (Ligugé, 1908).

## CHRISTMAS

Pridie natale Domini	1	Matt. i. 18
In natale domini ad missa publica	74	Luke ii. 1
In sci Stephani	56	Matt. xxiii. 29
In sci Iohannis apost. et euan.	122	John i. 1
In adsumptione sci Iohannis euan.	171*	„ xxi. 19
Innocentum	3	Matt. ii. 13
[ <i>Dominica post natale dñi</i>	[116 B]*	Luke ii. 13]
In octabas d. n. I. C.	75	„ ii. 21
Post octabas d. n. I. C. <i>ab is</i>	128*	John iii. 16

In the Christmas season three asterisks occur. But one of these is attached to a note found in Burch. only; I have inserted it because Dom Morin attributes it to N. It is true that B has lower down at Lk. ii. 33, 119 *Dominica i post natale Dñi*, but this is a correction in the later coarse hand, which is found just in places where the earlier scribe had made a mistake. And the entry at Lk. ii. 13 is manifestly a mistake, for no pericope could begin at that verse, whereas ii. 33 is the correct Roman Gospel. I take it that B 116 is not only Neapolitan, but that it is simply an error of the scribe of Burch., the right entry being supplied by the later hand.

Two asterisks remain. The former shows that the usual Roman Gospel for the feast of St. John (John xxi. 19) is an addition by Eugipius. The Gospel at Lerins was the Prologue of the Saint's own Gospel, a peculiar and interesting use. We thus learn that the long note attached to the last *capitulum* of the summary is from the pen of Eugipius:

‘Quae lectio cum in natale sancti Petri legitur, a loco incoatur quo ait “Dicit Simoni Petro Iesus, Simon Iohannis, diligis me plus his” usque ad locum ubi dicit “significans qua morte clarificaturus esset Deum”. Cum

<sup>1</sup> See Dom Morin in *Rev. Bénédict.*, 1892, p. 494.

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uero in natali s̄ci iohannis euangelistae, inchoanda est a loco quo ait "dicit ei" (hoc est Dominus Simoni Petro) "sequere me" usque ubi dicit "et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius".

The reason for the note is now clear. There was but one title of the summary for both lessons. It was therefore needful to point out accurately where the lesson for St. John began. The title of the summary runs as follows (Wordsworth, p. 506):

'xliv. Usque tertio dicit petro amas me quia ter eum negauerat et pascendas oues aequae tertio commendans extensione manuum significat ei quod crucis morte foret martyrio coronandus.'

All is concerned with St. Peter, not a word of St. John. Thus our conclusion is confirmed that the Gallican Gospel for St. Peter's feast (at Rome it would have been called SS. Peter and Paul, as it is in Burch.) was the original one, the Roman Gospel for St. John's feast being an addition later than the summary.

The other asterisk is at the note of N *Post octabas dñi nostri ihu xpi* (128), which appears in B thus: *Post octabas dñi ab is et post penticosten feria ii.* The words *ab [h]is* imply at first sight that the lesson had not the same *incipit* as the Roman lesson for Whit Monday, John iii. 16, with which it is coupled. But there appears to be no indication in the MS. of another *incipit*. The same *ab his* occurs N 161-2 and 163-4 (B 242-3), where there are also coupled feasts. Perhaps this pericope began iii. 14. Anyhow it cannot correspond with a division of the summary, and it is therefore Eugipian not Gallican.

The next table is for Epiphany tide.

EPIPHANY		
In ieiunium de stella domini	7	Matt. iv. 12
In stella domini nocte	5	,, iii. 13
,, ,, ,, ad missa publica	2	,, ii. 1
Post epiphania dominica i	123*	John i. 29
,, ,, ,, ii	124	,, i. 35
,, ,, ,, iii	129	,, iii. 22
,, ,, ,, iiil	76	Luke ii. 42

Only one asterisk appears. But this Gospel happens to be the only one of the four for Sundays which coincides with the Roman use. Surely it is a Naples alteration.

It is difficult to suppose that there were two Masses for the Epiphany at Lerins, when there was only one for Christmas and one for Easter. We saw that Matt. iii. 13 is the old Gallican Mass. Matt. ii. 1, the Roman Mass, is probably a Neapolitan interpolation. This Gospel of the three kings had perhaps been read at Lerins on the Sunday within the octave; for by this hypothesis we can explain why a new pericope, John i. 29, had to be introduced for that day by Eugipius, and why Matt. ii. 1 is not asterisked.

We now come to Lent. There is no good Gallican parallel to employ, for the Bobbio Missal gives nine Masses only, and these are in disorder; Lux is wanting up to Palm Sunday; the Liber Comicus is peculiar in giving all the Lent Gospels from St. John.<sup>1</sup>

## LENT.

FIRST WEEK		
In XLgesima paschae	36	Matt. xiii. i
" "	110	Luke xvii. 11
" "	6	Matt. iv. 1
De XLgesima feria ii	11	" v. 17
" " iiii }	48*	" xviii. 1
" " " }	130	John iv. 46 <sup>2</sup>
" " vi }	23*	Matt. ix. 9
" " " }	43	" xv. 29
SECOND WEEK		
Dominica ii XLgesima paschae	127	John iii. i
Post sec. dom. XLgis. feria ii	12	Matt. v. 43?
" " " iiii	47	" xvii. 14
" " " vi	14	" vi. 25
THIRD WEEK		
Dominica iii quando Psalmi accipiunt	52	Matt. xx. 1
Post iii dom. XLgesima feria ii	86	Luke vi. 41?
" " " iiii }	112*?	" xviii. 9-10
" " " " ab his }	161*?	John xvi. 16?
" " " vi	144	" ix. 1
De XLg. post iii dom. sabb. mane post scrutinium	145*	John x. 11
De XLg. post iii dom. die sabb. in ieiunium }	146*?	" x. 22?
Post iii dñica die sabb. ab his }	163*?	" xvi. 23

<sup>1</sup> The Roman use has all the Gospels from St. John in the fourth or fifth weeks; except for the Thursdays, the Masses for which are later additions.

<sup>2</sup> Here Y gives iv. 44, not 46, for the capitulum, probably wrongly.

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FOURTH WEEK

Dnica iiii quando orationem accipiunt	13	Matt. vi. 7
Post iiii dnica XLgis. feria ii	138*	John vi. 55
" " " iii	137*	" vi. 51
" " " iiii	136	" vi. 36
" " " vi	147*	" x. 30
" " die sabbati	139*	" vii. 14

FIFTH WEEK

Dnica v quando symbulum accipiunt }	55	Matt. xxi. 33
" " " " }	62	" xxv. 31
Post v dnica de XLg. feria ii	34	" xii. 38?
" " " iii	140*	John vii. 32
" " " iiii	142	" viii. 12
" " " vi	148	" xi. 1
" " die sabbati	143	" viii. 31
Die sabbati prima passionem d. n. I. C.	63	Matt. xxvi. 1

HOLY WEEK

Dom. vi de indulgentia	} 150*?	John xi. 55?
" " Passio d. n. I. C.		Mark xiv. 1
Feria ii de ebdom. maiorem	151*	John xii. 1
" iii " "	113	Luke xviii. 31
" iiii " "	155*	John xiii. 33
" v mane in cena domini ad missa. }	} 116	Luke xxii. 1?
Passio d. n. I. C.		John xiii. 1
Feria v in ieiunium de cena dñi	154	" xviii. 1
" vi de ebd. maiore, passio d. n. I. C.	166	Mark vii. 32 <sup>1</sup>
Sabbato sco mane }	} 66	Matt. xxvii. 1
" " ad zero }		64

It is difficult to deal with the first three entries. *In XLgisima paschae* seems to mean the first Sunday of Lent, and the first week is called *de XLgisima*. Matt. iv. 1 is the obvious lesson (the forty days' fast of Christ), as in the Roman, Ambrosian, Bobbio, and Comic lectionaries. Dom Morin has suggested that the two other lessons are for the preceding Sundays, Quinquagesima and Sexagesima. This is confirmed by the fact that Matt. xiii. 1, the Parable of the Sower, is read (in honour of St. Paul—for this see later, p. 196) on Sexagesima Sunday in Ambros; also in the marginal notes of O, where it is named *in sci pauli*, see ch. x, p. 196; the parallel, Luke viii, is used in

<sup>1</sup> In Y verse 31 is marked, not verse 32, but the difference seems to be accidental. The Gospel is undoubtedly Gallican.

Rom, &c. But there exist no Quinquagesima and Sexagesima in Bob, Lux, Comic.<sup>1</sup> So far as I know it is only in Gaul that we hear of Quinqu. and Sex. without Sept. The Codex Fuldensis has this peculiarity it is true, but then this will be one among the many proofs to be given in the next chapter that the list of Pauline pericopae in it is not wholly Italian, but is Gallican in origin. The contemporary council of Orleans in 541 condemns the practice of keeping Quinquagesima and Sexagesima, but has evidently never heard of Septuagesima: 'Hoc etiam decernimus obseruandum ut quadragesima ab omnibus ecclesiis aequaliter teneatur; neque quinquagesimam aut sexagesimam ante Pascha quilibet sacerdos praesumat indicere' (*Can.* 2).<sup>2</sup> No bishop (*sacerdos*) is to order this extension of Lent. If I am right in attributing Eugippius's use to Lerins (and also that of the *Codex Fuldensis*, as we shall see later), then we have in it not an episcopal ordinance, but a monastic observance. Some of the many bishops who had been monks of Lerins or of some other monastery might perhaps be inclined to enforce their own habits on their flocks, a severity which the synod of 541 rebukes.

Now as all three Gospels correspond with the summaries and have no asterisk, it would seem that they are not Eugipian but Gallican. We have therefore arrived at a probable solution of our difficulty. They are the Gospels for Quadragesima, Quinquagesima, and Sexagesima in a Gallican monastic use. Since Quinqu. and Sex. were unknown in Italy in the sixth century, the scribes of Eugippius or of Cassiodorus wrote *XLgisima* thrice by mistake.

The first week of Lent is very easy to understand. The two Gospels each for Wednesday and for Friday are at first sight startling enough. We now see plainly that (48) and (23), which do not correspond with the summary, are the

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne says: 'It was about this time [seventh century] also that the *stational Masses* for the three Sundays in *Septuagesima*, in *Sexagesima*, and in *Quinquagesima* were instituted.' He has forgotten the *Codex Fuldensis* (*Origines*, Eng. tr., p. 244).

<sup>2</sup> Mansi, ix. 113: see Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 245, note; Eng. tr., p. 245, note. The pages are always the same in these two editions, a most admirable arrangement.

Neapolitan Gospels, while the original Lerins pericopae are (130) and (43).

The second week is at first sight untouched.

In the third week the Wednesday Gospel (161) is evidently an interpolation, for it is joined to a Gospel for the fifth Sunday after Easter, which begins (as we shall see) at xvi. 16 and coincides with the summary; but it is distinguished by the words *ab his*, which clearly show that it had a different commencement, and therefore did not coincide. Another *ab his* occurs on the Saturday (163), and we must reject it also, (though the Sunday Gospel (164) to which it is attached does not coincide with the summary); for it is obvious by now that every case of *ab his* is an Eugipian interpolation.

But on the other hand (145) and (146) must certainly go; for the summary has but two titles in John, ch. x, viz. v. 1 and v. 17. We must suppose that three Gospels were interpolated at Naples on the same Saturday.

In the fourth and fifth weeks the Tuesdays are seen to be Eugipian additions. The Saturday of the fourth week is certainly also an interpolation, and in consequence the Saturday of the fifth week is suspicious (the Passion according to St. Matthew). Its *incipit* is uncertain, as it is omitted by B.

The Mondays for all these five weeks cause some difficulty. The lesson for the first Monday agrees with the summary—this may be by chance. That for the fourth week is asterisked; those for the second, third, and fifth weeks are doubtful, for they are not in B. It seems pretty certain that we must accept the indication given by the fourth week, and account all the Mondays Neapolitan. Consequently the original Gallican system will have provided in Lent for Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays only.

In the fourth week (147) for the Friday is an interpolation, and there is no other lesson for this day. Why has the original lesson disappeared in this case only? I think it has, in fact, survived. After the eighteenth title of the summary of St. John in Y and at the nineteenth in A we find *legenda in quadragesima*. As this entry belongs to the capitulum of the



summary, it is probably an original Gallican note. The Gospel indicated in Y is John vii. 1, and it clearly fits in here perfectly, after John vi. 36.

On the fifth Sunday *quando symbolum accipiunt*, there may have been really two Gospels, one for the ceremony of giving the creed, the other for the Mass.

In Holy Week several asterisks occur. On Palm Sunday this happens, because in the table (above, p. 109) I have put the commencement of the Gospel at John xi. 55 as in Comic, Ambros. But in Lux it begins at xii. 1. As the Gospel is clearly Gallican not Eugipian, it must have begun at Lerins at xi. 47, where the summary has the division.

If we must take away the lessons for Monday and Wednesday, we ask ourselves what was read at Lerins, since these are Eugipian. As before, we find that the original pericopae have been placed among the capitula of the summaries, with vague directions only. One of them is at the eighty-seventh capitulum of the summary of Luke in Y Reg: 'quod prope Pascha legendum est'; it is admirably adapted to introduce Holy Week; Luke xxi. 28: 'His autem fieri incipientibus respicite et leuate capita uestra quoniam appropinquat redemptio uestra,' with the parable of the fig-tree. (At this point probably belongs N 115 *item alia*, sc. *cottidiana*, being a Neapolitan lesson substituted when the older lesson for the Monday of Holy Week was turned out and consigned to the summary; see note p. 59.)

The other lesson wanted is found at the seventeenth capitulum of the summary of John in A: 'legenda circa pascha,' viz. John vi. 63: 'Spiritus est qui uiuificat,' with the prophecy of the betrayal by Judas—a most natural and suitable choice for the Wednesday of Holy Week.

The reading of the four Passions is given for Saturday, Sunday, Thursday, and Friday. Burch. has omitted the titles of N for Saturday, Thursday, and Friday, substituting the Roman use. But the original Sunday title (Mark) has remained. This pericope ought to have been assigned to Tuesday according to the present Roman use.

NAPLES.	BURCH.
63. Die sabbati prima passionem domini nostri ihesu xpi.	89. Ebd. vi die dominico ad Lateranis legitur passio dñi Matt. xxvi. 1
69. Die dominico de indulgentia passio dñi filii ihesu xpi.	107. <i>as N.</i> Mark xiv. 1
116. Feria v mane in coena domini ad missa. Passio domini nostri ihu xpi.	184. In XLgesima ebd. vi feria iiii legitur passio dñi Luke xxii. 1
166. Feria vi de ebdomada maiore passio domini nostri ihu xpi.	246. In ebd. maiore feria vi ad Hierusalem legitur passio dñi John xviii. 1

Burch. gives the Roman incipits. We cannot infer even in the case of Mark that he has preserved the earlier beginnings. Now in the summaries the four Passions are clearly indicated:

Matt., cap. 86 : Series passionis enarratur, &c.	xxvi. 30—end of xxvii
Mark, cap. 45 : Traditionis ac passionis eius gesta narratur, &c.	xiv. 26—xvi. 1
Luke, cap. 90 : Passionis eius gesta narratur, &c.	xxii. 39—xxiii. 33 ?
John, cap. 41 : Traditionis ac passionis eius per ordinem gesta narratur, &c.	xviii. 1—end of xix

In the first three cases the incipits thus indicated are different, and probably give the Gallican use. We cannot tell whether even before Burch. the Roman incipits had been introduced by Eugipius into the list.

In the Saturday of the third week, above, the distinction of *mane* and *in ieiunium* appeared to be Eugipian, not Gallican. This fact casts some suspicion on the same distinction where it occurs on Maundy Thursday. Possibly the Gallican use had the Passion only, and the Roman Gospel (John xiii. 1, both for the Mass and for the *Mandatum* or 'Maundy', as our fathers called it) may be a Neapolitan addition. Perhaps at the washing of the feet at Lerins the Gospel was not sung, but only the usual antiphons.<sup>1</sup>

Again on Holy Saturday Mark vii. 32 is Gallican as we saw, whereas Matt. xxviii is the Roman Gospel. The latter may possibly be a Eugipian addition ; but it is probably

<sup>1</sup> The contemporary of Eugipius, St. Benedict, enjoins that after the washing of the feet of strangers (during the ceremony the usual antiphons and hymn were doubtless sung) the brethren shall sing *Suscipimus Deus misericordiam Tuam in medio templi Tui*. He does not mention the singing of a Gospel (*S. Regula*, 53) ; but then this was not for Maundy Thursday.

Gallican, for the same Gospel is found in Lux, *g*, Bob,<sup>1</sup> Comic, Ambros, &c.

EASTERTIDE		
Dom. sca Pascha ad missa publica	65	Matt. xxviii. 16
Secunda feria paschae	167	John xx. 1
Feria iii de albas paschae	119	Luke xxiv. 13
"    iiii    "    "	169	John xxi. 1
"    v    "    "	120	Luke xxiv. 36?
"    vi    "    "	70*	[Mark xvi. 8]
Die sabbati de albas paschae	118	Luke xxiv. 1
Dominico octavo paschae	168*	John xx. 24
Feria ii post albas	165	"    xvii. 1
[Post albas paschae feria iiii]	B 245*	"    xvii. 11]
Post albas paschae dom. i	158	"    xv. 1
"    "    "    ii	156	"    xiv. 1
"    "    "    iii	160*	"    xvi. 5
"    "    "    iiii	164*	"    xvi. 23?
"    "    "    v	162	"    xvi. 16
In ascensa d. n. I. C.	121*?	Luke xxiv. 44
Post ascensa Dni	159	John xv. 17

Easter week shows but one asterisk. But the cause of this one is not far to seek. In Burch. we find :

108. Mark xvi. 1 *Dominicum pascae ad sancta Maria.*  
 109. "    8 *Feria vi de albas pascae (= N 70).*  
 110. "    14 *Feria v in ascensa domini.*

That is to say, Burch. has introduced the Roman Gospel for Easter Day = xvi. 1-7, and the Roman Gospel for Ascension Day = xvi. 14, and has therefore shifted the Naples title to the intervening space. It did not matter to this interpolator that he thereby introduced an utterly impossible lection xvi. 8-14, for his own Gospel for that day was (91) Matt. xxviii. 16. But it is obvious for us that 8-14 could not be used as a Gospel, and that the chapter was read from v. 2 to the end on Easter Friday, both at Lerins and at Naples.

The query against (120) will be explained by looking at the asterisk against Ascension Day (121). In Burch. we find :

- Luke xxiv. 36. 188 *Feria iii pascae ad S. Paulum* [Feria v de albas pascae N 120].  
 "    44. 189 *In ascensa d. n. I. C. (= N 121).*

<sup>1</sup> Bob has *Mane*, Matt. xxvii. 62, and *ad Missam*, Matt. xxviii to end.

The pericope xxiv. 44-53 is the Neapolitan one for the Ascension ; it was used by St. Bede (above, p. 71), and is found in *g* ; but it is otherwise unknown. The Gallican Gospel in Bob, Comic, Ambros is xxiv. 36-53.<sup>1</sup> Verse 36 corresponds with the last division of the summary of Luke. We infer that the Lerins Gospel for the Ascension was exactly that of Bob, Comic, Ambros, that there was no Gospel for the Thursday after Easter, and that Eugippius divided the Gospel of Ascension Thursday in order to supply the omission. Hence the unique Gospel of N and Bede.

The Thursdays in Lent were without station, not only at Lerins and Naples, but even in the Roman system of Burch. It will be less surprising to find none on the Thursday after Easter at Lerins, if we remember that up to the present day the Mass of Whit Sunday is repeated on the Thursday following, except for the Epistle and Gospel, which are now proper.

Thus we have an explanation of the long note in the margin of Y, Luke xxiv, and after the last *capitulum* of the summary in Reg :

‘ Haec lectio in ebdomada pascae dum legitur, finitur in loco ubi ait “ quoadusque induamini uirtutem ex alto ”. Cum autem in ascensione legitur, alio loco incoanda est, quo dicit discipulis “ haec sunt uerba quae locutus sum uobiscum ” usque ad finem euangelii.’

It is a note by Eugippius, when he divided the older Gospel for the Ascension, and gave the first half of it to the Thursday after Easter, which till then had been ‘ aliturgical ’.

The asterisk for Low Sunday (168) is due to B, which divides the usual pericope, John xx. 19, between Saturday and Sunday. The summary gives xx. 19, and doubtless this was the commencement of the Sunday Gospel both at Lerins and at Naples ; it is also that of Rom. Of course the passage is unavoidable for Low Sunday in any system.

On *feria ii post albas* something will be said in chapter vii, p. 140. It evidently represents the *Pascha annotinum*. The next title, *post albas pascae feria iii*, looks like a division of the former lesson by Eugippius ; though it is found only in

<sup>1</sup> Lux, after its fashion, has a Gospel compounded of John xiii. 33-5, *ibid.*, xiv. 1-14, and Luke xxiv. 49-53.

Burch. But as a fact it certainly does not belong to N at all, for it is found in the thoroughly Roman systems of Spires and Rheinau (p. 122). The apparent connexion with N 165 is therefore misleading. We shall see in the next section how close a connexion there is between Burch. and these two German systems of pericopae.

The Sundays after Easter demand special attention, for they have clearly got shifted in Burch. :

NAPLES.	BURCH.	John
156 Post albas paschae dominica ii	231 Post octavas pascae dominica v	xiv. 1
157 Dominica sancta pentecosten	232 Sabbato sancto pentecosten	xiv. 15
	233 Dominica sancta pentecosten	xiv. 23
158 Post albas paschae dominica prima	235 Post albas pascae i dominica	xv. 1
	237 In ebd. post ascensa dñi feria iiii	xv. 7
159 Post ascensa dñi	239 In natale sancti Pancrati [et] post ascensa dñi	xv. 17
160 Post albas paschae dominica iiii	240 Post albas pascae dominica iii	xv. 26
	[241 Ebdomada iiii post pascha	xvi. 5]
161-2 Post iii dominicas XLgtsima feria iiii ab his <sup>1</sup> et post elbas pascae dominica v	242 Post albas pascae iiii dominica	xvi. 15
163-4 Post iii dominica die sabbati ab his <sup>1</sup> et post albas pascae dominica iiii	243 Post albas pascae v dominica	xvi. 23

It is evident that xv. 26-xvi 5 ought to be read after the Ascension in preparation for Pentecost. The *et* in Burch. (239) is above the line, and ought never to have been inserted; the feast of St. Pancras alone should have xv. 17, while *post ascensa* should have been placed against xv. 26, and consequently *post albas pascae dom. iii* should be against xvi. 5. A later scribe saw this last point, and wrote in a coarse hand the equivalent *ebdomada iiii post pascha* against that verse. Thus we get the pericopae settled; but the numbers of the Sundays vary in N and B.

N.	B.	John
Post albas dom. ii	dom. v	xiv. 1
" " i	" i	" xv. 1
" " iiii	" iiii	" xvi. 5
" " v	" iiii	" " 16
" " iiii	" v	" " 23

<sup>1</sup> *Ab his* in N 162-4 seems to denote that the Lenten lessons began at v. 15 and v. 23, whereas the Easter lessons certainly began at v. 16 and v. 23<sup>b</sup>. B 237 is not now a Roman pericope, and Dom Morin has attributed it to N. But it is certainly an insertion by B, for it is in the system of Rheinau and Spires.

In B the sequence iii, iiiii, v is suspicious, and there is no second Sunday. We must clearly follow N. Thus we get :

Post albas dom. ii	156	John xiv. 1		i. e. 3rd after Easter
„ „ i	158	„ xv. 1		2nd „
Post ascensa dñi	159*	„ xv. 26	= R	S. after Asc.
Post albas dom. iii	160*	„ xvi. 5	= R	4th after Easter
„ „ v	162	„ xvi. 16 <sup>1</sup>	(= R	3rd „ )
„ „ iiiii	164*	„ xvi. 23	= R	5th „

Observe the result. There are three asterisks, and in just these three cases the lesson coincides with R. These are evidently Eugipian insertions.

But the *post albas dom. v* is surprising. There are only five Sundays after Easter, so that this fifth *post albas* is the Sunday after Ascension day. But *post Ascensa dñi* is probably meant for the same day, for it can hardly be for a ferial Mass. We may think (162) to be the Lerins Gospel, superseded by Eugipius's (159). But another solution is possible. The pericope xvi. 16 is in R for the second Sunday *post albas*. If Eugipius inserted it for that Sunday, it would not be astonishing if a scribe, finding the second Sunday twice over, should change ii into v, thus introducing a sixth Sunday after Easter. In B ii has twice been altered into v, probably in the former place to avoid the double ii, while the sequence iii, iiiii, v was a subsequent correction. If this conjecture be adopted, Eugipius gave Roman Gospels for all the Sundays after Easter, except for the second Sunday, the pericope for which should be John x. 11 : this was already the lesson for a Saturday of Lent.

PENTECOST

Sabbato sancto penticosten	141*	John vii. 40
Dominica sancta „	157	„ xiv. 15
Post penti. in ieiunium feria iiii	67*	Mark ix. 16
„ feria vi in ieiunium	24*	Matt. ix. 10
„ in ieiunium in die sabbati	83	Luke vi. 8

The Gospel for Whit Sunday agrees with Lux, Bob, Ambros, but in the Roman system is the Gospel for the Vigil ; B gives the Vigil against xiv. 15, and the feast (as R) against xiv. 23 ; but the scribe has written the words *Sabbato sancto* over an

<sup>1</sup> The division of the summary in Y is at verse 15, and the note in B is also at the same point. But v. 16 is right for the summary, and the lesson has followed its mistake.

erasure, so that Dom Morin is evidently right in assuming that he had at first written *Dominica sancta*, which he found in his copy of N, and changed it.

The asterisk shows that there was no Gospel for the Vigil of Pentecost at Lerins; we find the same omission in Lux, Bob, q, Goth. Nos. 67 and 24 begin only one verse later than the corresponding title of the summary. But this is probably enough to enable us to reject them as not Gallican, and consequently 83 with them. Thus there were perhaps no proper Masses for the Octave of Pentecost at Lerins, just as there are none in Bob, Lux, Comic, Ambros. But the four insertions by Eugipius are not Roman. That for the vigil could not be, for the Roman pericope was taken by the feast. But we remember that Eugipius did not introduce *Quatuor Tempora* for Advent or Lent, and did not Romanize Lent itself. Perhaps we may infer that the Gospels for the Roman station days were not yet fixed in his time.

We now come to the *Proprium Sanctorum*. We have already spoken of several feasts. There remain the following:

In sancti Viti . . . . .	27 . . . . .	Matt. ix. 35
In ieiunium S. Iohannis Bapt. . . . .	71 . . . . .	Luke i. 5
„ natale „ „ . . . . .	73 . . . . .	Luke i. 57
In ieiunium SS. Iohannis et Pauli . . . . .	96 . . . . .	Luke xii. 1
„ natale „ „ . . . . .	53* . . . . .	Matt. xx. 20
„ „ „ „ . . . . .	152 . . . . .	John xii. 20
In ieiunium S. Petri . . . . .	51* . . . . .	Matt. xix. 27
„ natale „ . . . . .	44 . . . . .	Matt. xvi. 13
„ „ „ . . . . .	170 . . . . .	John xxi. 15
In ieiunium S. Laurenti . . . . .	105 . . . . .	Luke xiv. 16
„ natale „ . . . . .	104* . . . . .	Luke xiv. 7
In ieiunium S. Andreae . . . . .	8 . . . . .	Matt. iv. 18
„ natale „ . . . . .	134 . . . . .	John vi. 1

St. Vitus is a Naples addition: 'Saint Vit y fut honoré avant d'être transporté à Saint-Denis et de là à Prague' (S. Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.*, p. 40).

One of the two Gospels for SS. John and Paul is Eugipian, as we should expect. St. Laurence is naturally Roman.

But both Gospels for St. Peter remain; (44) is no doubt for St. Peter's Chair 'natale S. Petri de cathedra', and (170) for June 29; to make this clear Burch. has added '*et Pauli*'. The Roman use has the Gospel of St. Matthew for both feasts; but

Bob has the same arrangement as Naples, only it prefixes two verses from St. Mark (i. 16-17) on June 29.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand the Gospel for the Vigil is Neapolitan. But then there is no Vigil of SS. Peter and Paul in Lux, Bob, Goth, Comic.

Still it is strictly possible that the Feast of the Chair was introduced at Naples, and that in the Lerins order Matt. xvi. 13 was the Gospel for the Vigil, June 28, as in Ambros. But I do not think this likely, for the parallel with Bob is far more important, and the February feast is so prominent in Lux that the Sundays are counted from it.

We come to the *Commune Sanctorum*, including those which have been discussed above, p. 101.

In dedicationem . . . . .	16*	. . . . .	Matt. vii. 24
" "	46	. . . . .	" xvi. 28?
In ordinatione episcopi . . . . .	28*	. . . . .	" x. 7
In natale "	101*	. . . . .	Luke xi. 42
In ieiunium apostolorum . . . . .	80	. . . . .	" iv. 38
In apostolorum . . . . .	29	. . . . .	Matt. x. 16
" "	84	. . . . .	Luke vi. 12
" "	117*?	. . . . .	" xxii. 24
In martyras . . . . .	35	. . . . .	Matt. xii. 46
" "	89	. . . . .	Luke viii. 1
" "	94	. . . . .	" x. 38
In martyra . . . . .	60*	. . . . .	Matt. xxv. 1
In unius martyrís . . . . .	45*	. . . . .	" xvi. 24
" "	106	. . . . .	Luke xiv. 25
In unius confessoris . . . . .	30*	. . . . .	Matt. x. 26
" "	97*	. . . . .	Luke xii. 9
In sanctorum . . . . .	85*	. . . . .	" vi. 17
" "	92	. . . . .	?
" " de beatitudinem . . . . .	9	. . . . .	Matt. v. 1
In uelanda . . . . .	125	. . . . .	John ii. 1
In agendas . . . . .	149*	. . . . .	" xi. 25

In this table it is not one of a pair that disappears, but whole categories. The ordination of a bishop and the anniversary of it go out together (28, 101). The whole of *in unius*, whether of martyrs or confessors, must be Eugipian substitutions for the Gospels *in martyras*, and the coincidence of (106) with a title of the summary is a mere chance. Apparently only one *in sanctorum* is an addition and one *in*

<sup>1</sup> Lux combines both Gospels for the Feast of the Chair. Comic has Matt. xvi for that feast; neither gives either of these Gospels for June 29.



*apostolorum*.<sup>1</sup> Though the pericope for (92) cannot be identified, it is unlikely not to have coincided with one of the many vacant titles of the summary near it. It is not surprising that *in agendas* should be Neapolitan, for *agenda* (feminine singular) is used by Eugippius's neighbour and contemporary St. Benedict in his Rule to mean a 'service'. Here it means a funeral, *agenda mortuorum*. One of the two *in dedicationem* is Eugipian, perhaps both.

The *legenda pro defunctis* noted at the fifteenth number of the summary to St. John is presumably the earlier Gallican Gospel for the dead, on account of its connexion with the summary.

Among the lessons marked 'Cottidiana' some have to be asterisked: possibly some others coincide only by chance with the summary. For (115) see above, p. 112.

Cottidiana . . . . .	10 . . . . .	Matt. v. 13
" . . . . .	15 . . . . .	" vii. 1
" . . . . .	17* . . . . .	" vii. 28
" de puerum centurionis . . . . .	18 . . . . .	" viii. 5
Item alia . . . . .	19 . . . . .	" viii. 23
Cottidiana . . . . .	20 . . . . .	" viii. 28
" . . . . .	21 . . . . .	" ix. 1
" . . . . .	22 . . . . .	" ix. 9
" . . . . .	25 . . . . .	" ix. 18
" . . . . .	26 . . . . .	" ix. 27
" per messes . . . . .	32 . . . . .	" xii. 1
Item alia . . . . .	33 . . . . .	" xii. 9
Cottidiana . . . . .	39 . . . . .	" xiv. 13
" . . . . .	40 . . . . .	" xiv. 22
" . . . . .	41 . . . . .	" xv. 1
" . . . . .	42 . . . . .	" xv. 21
" . . . . .	49 . . . . .	" xix. 1
" . . . . .	50 . . . . .	" xix. 16
" . . . . .	68 . . . . .	Mark x. 46
" . . . . .	79 . . . . .	Luke iv. 31
" . . . . .	81 . . . . .	" v. 1
" . . . . .	82a* . . . . .	" v. 27
Per messes . . . . .	82b . . . . .	" vi. 1
Cottidiana . . . . .	87 . . . . .	" vii. 11
" . . . . .	88 . . . . .	" vii. 36

<sup>1</sup> In *Apostolorum* (117) Luke xxii. 24 corresponds with the summary, but I have asterisked it because it is a Eugipian interpolation which has ousted the note preserved by A only at this (the eighty-ninth) title of the summary: '*quae lectio potest quolibet tempore dici.*'

Cottidiana . . . . .	90 . . . . .	Luke viii. 16?
” . . . . .	91 . . . . .	” viii. 40?
” . . . . .	93 . . . . .	” ix. 47?
” . . . . .	95 . . . . .	” xi. 1?
” . . . . .	98 . . . . .	” xii. 13?
” . . . . .	102 . . . . .	” xiii. 10?
” . . . . .	103 . . . . .	” xiv. 1?
” . . . . .	107 . . . . .	” xv. 11
” . . . . .	108 . . . . .	” xvi. 1
” . . . . .	109 <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	” xvi. 19
” . . . . .	111 . . . . .	” xviii. 1
” . . . . .	114 . . . . .	” xix. 1?
” . . . . .	133 <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	John v. 24?
” . . . . .	135 <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	” vi. 16?

It seems that no *cottidiana* was taken from St. John at Lerins. Eugipius added only two. His additions do not seem to have been very numerous in general. Perhaps not more than half a dozen other *cottidiana*e are his.

In conclusion it must be noted that we have now discovered why the lessons and the summary so often disagree in the fourth Gospel. It is simply that there were much fewer lessons from St. John than from St. Luke and St. Matthew in the Lerinese use, while Eugipius added more in St. John than elsewhere. He made the summaries (as we said) before he inserted the additions; hence in the fourth Gospel he frequently followed the divisions of the older summaries, because he had no guidance from any Lerins pericope. It is interesting to remark that there must consequently have been an older summary in the copy of the Gospels he received from Lerins. Why he superseded it by a new composition of his own we shall learn in chapter vii (p. 136).

§ 4. *St. Burchard's additions to the Neapolitan use.*

When Dom Morin published the liturgical notes found in the 'Gospels of St. Burchard' he contented himself with pointing out that the additions made in that MS. to the Neapolitan list of lessons were Roman in character, without troubling to extract them and arrange them in liturgical order. It will, however, be worth our while to do this, as it is a simple matter.

The following tables give the additions of Burch., which

were italicized in the former table (above, pp. 52-63). In these tables, on the contrary, the words italicized belong to the Neapolitan original. The numerals in the first column refer to the fourth column of the former table. The additions by a somewhat later hand in coarse writing are put in square brackets. R means 'Roman'.

## ADVENT AND CHRISTMAS

183	De aduentum . . . . .	Luke xxi. 25	R
38	<i>Dominica secunda de aduentum</i> . . . . .	Matt. xi. 2	R
191	[Ebd. 1 ante natale dñi . . . . .	John i. 39]	R
	[Feria vi ad Apostolos . . . . .	Luke i. 19]	R
114	<i>Dominica iiii de aduentum d. n. I. C.</i> . . . . .	" iiii. 1	R
1	In uigilias de natale domini . . . . .	Matt. i. 18	R
117	Natale dñi nocte . . . . .	Luke ii. 15	
116	Dominica post natale dñi . . . . .	" ii. 13	
119	[Dominica 1 post natale dñi . . . . .	" ii. 33]	R
4	In uigilias de theophania . . . . .	Matt. ii. 19	R
38	Dominica de aduentum N	114	Dominica prima de adu. d. n. I. C. N.
	1		Pridie natale domini N

The whole Advent system is intended to be Roman. It was incomplete, and the later hand has filled up and corrected. Ember Wednesday is omitted. The entry of N remains at its Gospel, Luke i. 26, *Dom. iiii de adu.*, and the third Sunday had to be supplied by the later hand. As Christmas occurs in the fourth week of Advent (or at latest on the following Sunday) *ebd. i ante nat. dñi* means the third week, as in the lectionaries of Rheinau and Spires. These two Gospel lists were reprinted by E. Ranke in his work *Das kirchliche Pericopensystem* (Berlin, 1847) from Gerbert's *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae*, tom. i, p. 418. We shall see that they often show a close agreement with Burch.

The single Mass of N for Christmas had the Roman midnight lesson. In error the Roman Mass of Aurora has been added by B, and called *nocte*, because that of N was *ad missa publica*. One of N's lessons for Epiphany was Roman, but the Roman lesson for the vigil is now given. It was pointed out (p. 106, above) that 116 was a mere slip of the scribe, 119 being the right lesson. No Sundays after Epiphany are given, none of N's being omitted, though only one of them is Roman.

# EUGIPIUS AND THE GALLICAN LITURGY 123

## SEPTUAGESIMA AND LENT

68	In LXXgesima die dominico ad S. Laurentium . . .	Matt. xx. 1	R
139	In LXgesima ad S. Paulum . . . . .	Luke viii. 4	R
178	In Lgisima ad S. Petrum . . . . .	„ xviii. 31	R
7	In XLgesima pascae (N) . . . . .	Matt. iv. 1	R
88	In LXXgesima ebd. ii feria ii ad Vincula . . . . .	„ xxv. 31	R
72	„ „ „ [feria iii] ad S. Anastasia . . . . .	„ xxi. 1	
	[Wed. wanting]		
201	„ „ „ „ vi ad Apostolos . . . . .	John v. 1	R
58	„ „ „ „ vii ad S. Petrum . . . . .	Matt. xvii. 1	R

[Sunday has Gospel of S. t. repeated in R]

216	In LXXgesima iii ebd. feria ii ad S. Clementem . . .	John viii. (21)	R
78	„ „ ebd. iii „ iii ad S. Balbina . . . . .	Matt. xxiii. 1	R
69	„ „ „ „ iii ad S. Cecilia . . . . .	„ xx. 17	R
75	„ „ „ „ vi in Vestine . . . . .	„ xxii. 1	
172	„ „ „ „ vii ad S. Petrum et Marcellinum	Luke xv. 11	R
154	In XLgesima ebd. iii ad S. Laurentium martyrem . . .	Luke xi. 14	R
123	„ „ „ „ feria ii ad S. Marcum . . . . .	„ iv. 23	R
62	In LXXgesima ebd. iiiii „ iii ad S. Podentiana . . .	Matt. xviii. 15	R
52	„ „ „ „ iiiii ad S. Syxtum . . . . .	„ xv. 1	R
199	„ „ „ „ vi in Lucina . . . . .	John iv. 5	R
214	„ „ „ „ vii ad S. Susanna . . . . .	„ viii. 1	R
204	„ „ ebd. v die dominico in Suxurio . . . . .	„ vi. 1	R
195	„ „ „ „ feria ii ad iiiii Coronatus . . . . .	„ ii. 12	R
	[Tues. wanting]		
218	„ „ v ebd. „ iiiii ad S. Paulum . . . . .	„ ix. 1	R
223	„ „ „ „ vi ad S. Eusebium . . . . .	„ xi. 1	R
215	„ „ „ „ [iiii ad S. Paulum] . . . . .	„ viii. 12	R

88. So Spir. *Feria ii ad Vincula* without *ad S. Petrum*.

72. I have supplied feria iii. The Roman lesson is xxi. 10. This is a mere slip of B.

216. The + to denote the verse is wanting in B.

75. The Roman pericope is really xxi. 33. The *titulus Vestinae* (from the name of its foundress) is called in the present R Missal by the name of the patron, S. Vitalis. It was the title assigned to the martyred Bp. Fisher (Via Nazionale). Rhein. has *ad Apostolos in titulo Vestinae*.

154, 123. The *quadagesima* is curious; correctly called third week.

204. *in Suxurio*, so Rhein. also, for *Sessoriana*, i. e. Sta Croce in Jerusalemme.

215. This is the right pericope for Saturday *Sitientes*; but the scribe has written Wednesday against it. He should have said *Feria vii ad S. Laurentium* according to Spir. and Rhein., but the modern Missal has *ad S. Nicolaum in carcere*. Passion Sunday (*ad S. Petrum*, John viii. 46) is also omitted, and the following Saturday, where again Rhein. differs from the Roman Missal. The latter has *ad S. Ioannem ante portam latinam*, John xii. 10; Rhein. has 'datur fermentum in consistorio Lateranense', Mark xiv. 10-16, and a later hand has substituted John xvii. 11. It is curious that the omission of these two Saturdays in B should coincide with the differences between the German MSS. and the R Missal.

## [Passion Sunday wanting]

212	In LXXgesima ebd. vi feria ii ad S. Crisogonum . . .	John vii. 32	R
210	" " " " iii ad S. Cyriacum . . .	" vii. 1	R
221	" " vi ebd. " iii ad S. Marcellum . . .	" x. 22	R
225	" " " " vi ad S. Stephanum . . .	" xi. 47	R

## [Saturday wanting]

## HOLY WEEK

89	Ebd. vi die dominico ad Lateranis legitur passio dñi . . .	Matt. xxvi. 1	R
226	In LXgesima i ebd. feria ii ad SS. Nereum et Archilleum . . .	John xii. 1	R
229	" " " " iii ebd. feria vi ad S. Prisca . . .	" xiii. 1	
184	in XLgesima ebd. vi feria iiiii legitur passio dñi . . .	Luke xxii. 1	R
	[Thursday wanting]		
246	In ebd. maiore feria vi ad Hierusalem legitur passio dñi . . .	John xviii. 1	R
90	In sab. sancto ad missa N . . . . .	Matt. xxviii. 1	R

226. So Rhein. The R Missal and Spir. have *ad S. Praxedem*. We must of course read *In LXXgesima vii ebd.* or *in XLgesima vi ebd.*, and the same for 229.

229. Read feria iii. Rhein. and Spir. give this lesson; the R Missal gives the Passion according to St. Mark, which is left unregad in Rhein. Spir. Burch. There is consequently no pericope for the Thursday. Rhein. Spir. indeed repeat xiii. 1, but B has even omitted N's 'feria v in ieiunium de cena dñi'. N 64 serves for B 90 also. The + to mark 229 is in a later coarse hand.

We see that throughout Lent the stations are the same as in the Roman Missal, except Saturday in fourth week and Tuesday of Holy Week; the lessons are given wrongly only twice. The name Septuagesima is curious; it seems to mean seven weeks, and in fact seven weeks are counted, yet the first week is passed over in silence. But the week following the first Sunday could hardly be called the second week, unless Lent already began, as it now does, on the Wednesday of the week before. The older and more usual reckoning is used for the preceding Sundays, which appear as LXX, LX, and Lgesima, while the first Sunday of Lent retains its title from N 'XLgesima pascae'.

In Holy Week the lesson for the Tuesday (see note) is remarkable. The Thursdays throughout Lent have no station, as always before Gregory II. But we shall find one for Thursday after Easter; and Maundy Thursday had two Gospels in the much older N. The omission of a Gospel for that great day is curious; probably John xiii. 1 is to be repeated as in the German MSS.

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## EASTER

108	Dominicum pascae ad sancta Maria . . . . .	Mark xvi. 1 R
187	Feria ii pascae ad S. Petrum . . . . .	Luke xxiv. 13 R
188	" iiii " ad S. Paulum . . . . .	" xxiv. 36 R
251	" iiii " ad S. Laurentium . . . . .	John xxi. 1 R
248	" v " ad Apostolos . . . . .	" xx. 11 R
91	" vi " ad Martyres . . . . .	Matt. xxviii. 16 R
249	" vii " ad Lateranis . . . . .	John xx. 19
250	<i>Die</i> dominico octabas pascae . . . . .	" xx. 24
245	Post albas pascae feria iiii . . . . .	" xvii. 11
196	In pasca annotina . . . . .	" iii. 1
[241	Ebd. iiii post pascha . . . . .	" xvi. 5] R
244	et in vigillis de ascensa dñi . . . . .	" xvii. 1 R
110	Feria v in ascensa dñi . . . . .	Mark xvi. 14 R
237	In ebd. post ascensa dñi feria iiii . . . . .	John xv. 7

249. So Rhein, Spir. The latter adds the Roman Gospel, John xx. 1. R has xx. 19 for the Sunday, but Rhein, Spir. give John xx. 24. Again an omission in B corresponds with a difference between the German MSS. and R.

245, 196, 237 are not liturgical days in R Missal; but all three are found with these lessons in Rhein, Spir. The *Comes* published by Pamelius (Ranke, p. lii) gives the same for 196 and 237.

## PENTECOST

232	Sabbato sancto <i>pentecosten</i> . . . . .	John xiv. 15 R
233	Dominica sancta pentecosten . . . . .	" xiv. 23 R
197	et post pentecosten feria ii . . . . .	" iii. 16 R
219	Post pentecosten feria iiii ad S. Anastasia . . . . .	" x. 1 R
207	" " " iiii ad S. Maria . . . . .	" vi. 43 R
129	" " " vi ad Apostolos . . . . .	Luke v. 18 R
	[Sat. wanting]	
196	et in octabas de pentecosten . . . . .	John iii. 1
144	Post octabas de pentecosten feria iiii . . . . .	Luke ix. 12
171	" " " vi . . . . .	" xv. 1
142	" " " vii . . . . .	" viii. 40

In R the Mass of Pentecost is repeated on Thursday, but a new Epistle and Gospel are given; these are not yet given in B Rhein, Spir. The Gospel 196 is not that of R. Again Rhein, and Spir. disagree with R, giving two Gospels for the Saturday, Matt. xx. 29 and Luke vi. 36 (R has Luke iv. 38), and for the Sunday, John iii. 1 as B.

144, 171, 142 are not liturgical days in R, but are found in Rhein, Spir.

## SAINTS' DAYS

Aug. 6.	33 S. Sixtus	Matt. x. 16	Rh S
Sept. 11.	34 SS. Protus and Hyacinthus	" x. 23	Rh S
Aug. 8.	35 S. Cyriacus	" x. 26	Rh S
May 10.	36 S. Gordianus	" x. 34	[Matt. v. 17 Rh S]
Aug. 9.	37 Vigilia S. Laurentii	" x. 37	[ " xvi. 24 Rh S]

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### SAINTS' DAYS

Aug. 14.	84 S. Eusebius	Matt. xxiv. 42	Rh S
Mar. 12.	85 S. Gregorius	„ xxiv. 45	[xxiv. 42 Rh, not in S]
Sept. 16.	156 SS. Cornelius et Cyprianus	Luke xi. 47	Rh S
July 29.	162 SS. Felix, Simpl., Faust., Beatrix	„ xii. 35	Rh S
Aug. 22.	170 S. Timotheus	„ xiv. 25	Rh S
June 2.	182 SS. Marcellinus et Petrus	„ xxi. 9	Rh S
July 23.	185 S. Apollinaris	„ xxii. 24	Rh S
Aug. 10.	228 S. Laurentius	John xii. 33	[xii. 24 R Rh S]
May 1.	234 SS. Philippus et Iacobus	„ xiv. 27	[xiv. 1 R Rh S]
Apr. 28.	235 S. Vitalis <sup>1</sup>	„ xv. 1	Rh S
Sept. 8.	236 S. Hadrianus	„ xv. 5	[xv. 1 Rh S]
May 12.	339 S. Pancratius	„ xv. 17	Rh S
Aug. 29.	96 Depositio Helisaei et S. Io- hannis baptistae	Mark vi. 14	

Notice how the days are grouped into a very few chapters. It is remarkable that on no Saint's day does B agree with R. On the other hand I have marked in the table its agreements with Rhein. and Spir. Most of these days have a Gospel from the common of martyrs in the modern Roman Missal. If it is surprising that B has not even got the Roman Gospel for St. Laurence, it is still more remarkable that it has left the Gallican Gospels for St. Peter (*and Paul* he has added to the title), No. 252, besides retaining nearly all the feasts of N with their Gospels.

On the one feast that is not Roman (which I have therefore put separately), Dom Morin remarks (*Rev. Bén.*, 1893, p. 96): 'La mention du prophète Élisée conjointement avec saint Jean au 29 août se retrouve dans un certain nombre de martyrologes et de lectionnaires, entre autres dans le bel évangélaire sur pourpre, ms. latin 9451 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Saint Jérôme nous apprend que l'on conservait, à Sébaste, les reliques de ces deux saints personnages (Ep. 108, p. 13; Migne, 22, 889). Il y a donc lieu de croire que cette seconde fête de saint Jean au mois d'août est originaire de la Palestine.'

135	in laetania maior ad S. Petrum	Luke vi. 36	
153	„ „ „	„ xi. 5	R
51	et in octabas apostolorum	Matt. xiv. 22	R Rh S
103	post „ „ feria iiii	Mark x. 17	Rh S

101	post octabas apostolorum feria vi	Mark viii. 10	Rh S
13	ebd. ii post natale apostolorum	Matt. v. 20	(R)
[100	„ iii „ „ „	Mark viii. 1]	(R)

Here we see that at least the octave day of the Apostles (July 6) has a Roman pericope. No. 13 and No. 100 are the Roman Gospels for the fifth and sixth Sundays after Pentecost, which would roughly come about July 6. In Rh S they have been calculated to come two weeks earlier, as we find them called first and second Sundays *post natale Apostolorum*.

It is not worth while to collect the *commune sanctorum* and *cottidianae* of B. I will note only

202	Ad missa defunctorum	John v. 18
203	Item alia	„ v. 24

The first Roman Mass has v. 25.

We have no difficulty now in describing the general characteristics of B's system of lessons. It is not a syncretistic combination of N with B. On the contrary, nearly all N is superseded; but the Roman additions are not complete. Even in Lent a few days are omitted. Two of the Sundays after Easter were not Roman in N, yet no substitution is made. No new Sundays after Epiphany have been introduced, and only two after Pentecost, viz. ii and iii 'after the octave of the Apostles'. Of saints those were copied who were found together in certain chapters of the copy—five in Matt. x, two in xxiv, &c. No doubt many have been omitted.

The Roman use will have been inscribed in the parent in a different hand from that which wrote N; all are copied into Burch. by a single scribe, though a coarser hand has supplied an omission here and there. The use itself is later than St. Gregory (whose feast appears) and than the dedication of the Pantheon, c. 607. But it acknowledges as yet no feast of our Lady; is this accident? It has no Thursday office for Lent and Pentecost (not even for Maundy Thursday), but it gives the Thursday after Easter. We cannot be sure that the writer did not know the September Ember days; but we note that the Ember Friday of Advent is in the later hand.

It is difficult, therefore, to see in this list a copy of one obtained by St. Boniface at Rome in the first half of the eighth century; he would have obtained one more up to date.



It is far more likely that the original was, like that of the N portion, a Roman use introduced into England at the end of the seventh century, or at least (as Dom Morin says) not many years later than 700.

But the same use seems certainly to be at the base of the two lists of Rheinau and Spire. Whether they are really derived or not from some system introduced by St. Boniface or one of his companions, such as St. Burchard, at least they are considerably later than B. They give Thursday Masses all through Lent, four feasts of our Lady (*Hyppante*, Annunciation, *Pausatio* and Nativity), &c., but not the feast of All Saints on Nov. 1, though Rhein. has *Dedicatio ecclesiae S. Mariae ad Martyres* on May 14. The absence of All Saints' day suggests an origin earlier than c. 730. The four feasts of our Lady were not known at Rome in St. Gregory's time, but were introduced in the course of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> Therefore I presume that B represents, on the whole, a Roman use of c. 650 rather than c. 700.<sup>2</sup>

We saw that Burch. has an AY element in its text ; its AY ancestor brought to it the Neapolitan lectionary notes, whose English home was at Jarrow.

We saw that it had another element very close to the *Codex aureus Holmiensis*, which was once at Canterbury. The Roman lectionary notes may perhaps be from this source, and may have come from Canterbury, which is quite certain to have kept up a Roman use from St. Augustine's time onward. But we must notice that neither this use nor N is Anglicized ; they have no English saints, not even St. Augustine is in B, nor are St. Paulinus and St. Benet Biscop in N. Consequently they are copied from evangeliaries which, like Burch. itself, had not been used as liturgical books, but had preserved an Italian use unaltered.

<sup>1</sup> These four feasts first appear in the West at the end of the seventh century. There was scarcely any intercourse between East and West from the time of the condemnation of the *tytus* of Constans at the Lateran Council of 649 until the sixth General Council in 680. I venture to suggest that the feasts may have been brought into the West by the Greek monks who had settled at Rome and in Sardinia, and presented a petition at the Lateran Council.

<sup>2</sup> The Spire MS. was said to be eighth century ; that of Rheinau tenth century.

One very important point in B is the proof it affords of the antiquity of the Sunday and Lenten pericopae of the Roman Missal. Dom G. Morin has noted<sup>1</sup> that in the same Würzburg library there is a seventh- or eighth-century MS. in Irish writing, containing a list of the stations, followed by the corresponding Epistles and Gospels (Mp. th. f. 62). As I am writing on the Vulgate text and not on feasts, I have made no inquiries about this interesting volume. It is to be hoped it will soon be published.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Bénédict.*, 1893, p. 116, note.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE PAULINE LECTIONARY OF THE CODEX FULDENSIS

#### § 1. *The list of lessons from St. Paul in F.*

MENTION has already been made of the list of lessons prefixed to the Epistles of St. Paul in the Codex Fuldensis. At first sight it has little resemblance to the Neapolitan lectionary of Eugipius; but a more minute examination reveals a very close correspondence.

Besides the list there are usually marginal notes and crosses in the text to show where the lessons begin. The latter have been printed over against the corresponding titles of the list by Dom Germain Morin in an appendix to his edition of the *Liber Comicus (Anecd. Mareds., vol. i, p. 436)*, and he has added the *incipits* and *explicits* of the lessons. I subjoin an abridgement of his table.<sup>1</sup>

<i>List.</i>	<i>Marginal references.</i>
<b>DE ADVENTU</b>	
1 ad romanos sub titulo xviii	<i>De aduentu Domini</i> Rom. viii. 3-17
2 " " " " xxxviii	" " " " xi. 25-36
3 ,, Galatas ,, ,, xiii	<i>De aduentu Domini lectio cotidiana</i> Gal. iii. 15-26
4 ,, thessall. i ,, ,, xxi	<i>De aduentu Domini</i> 1 Thess. v. 14-23
5 PRIDIE NATALE DOMINI	<i>Pridie natale domini . et</i> Phil. iv. 4-9
ad phillipp. sub titulo xiii	<i>in noctu sancta</i>
	[ <i>Lect. in noctu sancta</i> ,, iii. 1- ]
	<i>mane et pridie natale domini (tit. ix)</i>
6 IN NATALE DOMINI	<i>In natale domini</i> Heb. i. 1-
ad hebreos principium epistulae	
7 IN NATALE SANCTI IOHANNIS	<i>In natale sancti Iohannis</i> 2 Tim. iii. 16-iv. 8
ad timotheum ii sub titulo xvii	

<sup>1</sup> I have verified it from E. Ranke's *Codex Fuldensis*, pp. 165-8, whence Morin drew his materials. Nearly all the numbers in the MS. show traces of correction after erasure. Some are still incorrect. Evidently the list was already an old one, and had been copied several times, in Victor's day.

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8	IN NATALE INNOCENTUM ad romanos sub titulo xi	<i>In natale Innocentum</i>	Rom. v. 1-5
9	DE CIRCUMCISIONE DOMINI ad romanos sub titulo li	<i>De circumcissione in octabas domini</i>	Rom. xv. 8-14
10	DE EODEM DIE CONTRA IDOLA ad corintheos sub titulo xxxviii [xxxviii]	<i>Lectio in octabas domini contra idola</i>	1 Cor. viii. 1-ix. 22
11	DE EODEM DIE ad corintheos i sub titulo xlvii	<i>Item de circumcissione</i>	1 Cor. x. 14-33
12	IN IEIUNIO EPIFANIORUM ad colossenses sub titulo ii	<i>In ieiunio epifaniorum</i>	Col. i. 9-19 <sup>1</sup>
13	IN EPIFANIA MANE ad corintheos ii sub titulo x	<i>In epifania mane</i>	2 Cor. iv. 6-18
14	IN EODEM DIE EPIFANIORUM ad titum sub titulo iiiii	<i>Lectio in epifania</i>	Tit. ii. 11-iii. 6
15	IN EODEM DIE EPIFANIORUM ad galatas sub titulo x [xvi]	<i>Lectio in Epifania</i>	Gal. iii. 27-iv. 7
16	COTTIDIANA POST EPIFANIA ad romanos sub titulo xliii	<i>Lectio cotidiana</i>	Rom. xii. 6-16
17	COTTIDIANA ad hebreos sub titulo xii	<i>Lectio cotidiana</i>	Heb. xii. 25-28 a

There follow nine more times *cottidiana*, with *lectio cotidiana* in margin. Then:—

27	IN SEXAGESIMA ad timotheum i sub titulo viiii	<i>Lectio in Sexagesima</i>	1 Tim. iii. 16-iv. 8
28	COTTIDIANA ad corintheos i sub titulo xliii	<i>Lectio post Sexagesima</i>	1 Cor. ix. 24-27
29	IN QUINQUAGESIMA ad romanos sub titulo xlviii	<i>Lectio in Quinquagesima</i>	Rom. xiv. 10 b-19 a
30	IN QUADRAGESIMA ad corintheos sub titulo xliii (read ad Cor. ii sub t. xvii)	<i>Lectio in caput Quadra- gesime</i>	2 Cor. vi. 2 a-10
31	IN IEIUNIO I IN QUADRAGESIMA ad romanos sub titulo xvi	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima ieiunio primo</i>	Rom. vi. 12-23
32	IEIUNIO II IN QUADRAGESIMA ad romanos initium sub titulo xl	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima secundo ieiunio</i>	Rom. xii. 1-5
33	IN QUADRAGESIMA DOMINICA II ad romanos sub titulo xliiii	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima secunda deminica</i>	Rom. xiii. 8 a-xiv. 4
34	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO III ad galatas sub titulo xxviii	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima ieiunio tertio</i>	Gal. v. 14-vi. 2
35	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO IIII ad ephesios sub titulo xvi	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima ieiunio iiiii</i>	Eph. iv. 17-22
36	IN QUADRAGESIMA DOMINICA III ad ephesios sub titulo xvii	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima dominica iii</i>	Eph. iv. 23-32
37	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO V ad ephesios sub titulo xx	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima ieiunio v</i>	Eph. v. 1-5
38	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO VI ad ephesios sub titulo xxx	<i>Lectio in Quadragesima ieiunium vi</i>	Eph. vi. 10-17

<sup>1</sup> The cross is between the words *inhabitare* and *corporaliter* (added in F from ii. 9).

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39	IN QUADRAGESIMA DOMINICA III ad galatas sub titulo iiii	<i>Lectio in quadragesima dominica iiii</i>	Gal. i. 11-24
40	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO VII ad thessall. i sub titulo xiii	<i>Lectio in quadragesima ieiunio vii</i>	1 Thess. iv. 1-9
41	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO VIII ad thessall. ii sub titulo vi	<i>Lectio in quadragesima ieiunio viii</i>	2 Thess. iii. 4-16
42	IN QUADRAGESIMA DOMINICA V ad colossenses sub titulo v	<i>Lectio in quadragesima dominica v</i>	Col. ii. 4-10
43	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO VIII ad romanos sub titulo l	<i>Lectio in quadragesima ieiunio viiii</i>	Rom. xiv. 19-23 (or xv. 6)
44	IN QUADRAGESIMA IEIUNIO X ad corintheos ii sub titulo vii	<i>Lect. in quadragesima ieiunio x</i>	2 Cor. iii. 2-17
45	DOMINICA ANTE OCTO DIES PASCHAE ad corintheos ii sub titulo v <sup>1</sup>	?	?
46	IN EBDOMA MAIORE ad corintheos ii sub titulo xxv [xxvi]	<i>Lectio de indulgentia</i>	2 Cor. xi. 19-31
47	IN SECUNDA FERIA ANTE PASCHA EBDOMA MAIORE ad galatas sub titulo vii [viii]	<i>Lectio post indulgentia feria ii</i>	Gal. ii. 19-iii. 6
48	IN TERTIA FERIA ANTE PASCHA ad galatas sub titulo viiii	<i>Lect. post indulgentia feria iii</i>	Gal. iii. 7-14
49	IN QUARTA FERIA ANTE PASCHA ad ephesios sub titulo vii	<i>Lectio post indulgentiam feria iiii</i>	Eph. ii. 13-iii. 12
50	IN QUINTA FERIA ANTE PASCHA ad corintheos i sub titulo xxiii	<i>Lect. in cena domini mane</i>	1 Cor. v. 6 b-vi. 11
51	IN QUINTA FERIA AD UESPERAM CENAM DOMINI ad corintheos i sub titulo lvi	<i>Lectio in cena domini ad sero</i>	1 Cor. xi. 20-32
52	IN SEXTA FERIA ANTE NOCTU MAGNA ad philippenses sub titulo v	<i>Lect. in sexta feria ante noctu sancta</i>	Phil. ii. 5-11
53	IN NOCTU SCA. MANE ad philippenses sub titulo xiii	<i>Pridie natale domini . et in noctu sancta</i> [ <i>Lect. in noctu sancta mane et pridie natale domini (tit. ix)</i>	Phil. iv. 4-9 Phil. iii. 1- ]
54	IN NOCTU SCA. NOCTU ad corintheos i sub titulo xliiii	<i>Lect. in nocte sancta ad sero</i>	1 Cor. x. 1-4
55	IN SCM. PASCHA ad colossenses sub titulo xi	<i>Lect. in sanctum Pascha dominico</i>	Col. iii. 1-11
56	IN SECUNDA FERIA PASCHAE ad romanos sub titulo xv	<i>Lect. in secunda feria Paschae</i>	Rom. vi. 3-11
57	IN TER FERIA PASCHAE ad romanos sub titulo xii	<i>Lect. in tertia feria Paschae</i>	Rom. v. 6-11 a

<sup>1</sup> The title 2 Cor. v is ch. ii. 1-11, which seems unsuitable. There is no corresponding marginal note there or elsewhere.

58	IN QUARTA FERIA PASCHAE ad ephesios sub titulo iiii	<i>Lect. in quarta feria Pasche</i>	Eph. ii. 4-10
59	IN PASCHA ANNOTINA ad ephesios sub titulo xiii	<i>Lect. in Pascha anno- tinum</i>	Eph. iv. 1-13
60	IN NATALE SCORUM PETRI ET PAULI ad romanos sub titulo xxxii	<i>Lect. in natale sancti Petri et Pauli</i>	Rom. x. 11-
61	IN IEIUNIUM SCI. LAURENTI ad timotheum ii sub titulo xxiii	<i>Lect. in ieiunio sancti Laurenti</i>	2 Tim. iv. 16-18
62	IN NATALE EODEM ad corintheos ii sub titulo xxii	<i>In natale sancti Laurenti</i>	2 Cor. ix. 6-9
63	IN IEIUNIO SCI. ANDREAE ad timotheum ii sub titulo v	<i>Lect. in ieiunio sancti Andree</i>	2 Tim. ii. 4-10 a <sup>1</sup>
64	IN NATALE SANCTI ANDREAE ad corintheos i sub titulo vii	[no marginal note]	[1 Cor. ii. 1-8]
65	DE MARTYRIBUS ad hebreos sub titulo xii	<i>Lect. de martyrib.</i>	Heb. x. 32-9
66	DE MARTYRIBUS ad hebraeos sub titulo xii	<i>Lect. de martyribus</i>	Heb. xi. 33-40
67	DE MARTYRIS GENERALIS FEMI- NINI ad corintheos ii sub titulo xxiii	<i>Lect. in natale martyris</i>	2 Cor. x. 17-xi. 2
68	DE MARTYRIBUS ad hebreos sub titulo xii	[no third marginal note]	
69	DE MARTYRIBUS ad timotheum ii sub titulo ii	[no marginal note]	[2 Tim. i. 8-12]
70	DE MARTYRIBUS ad romanos sub titulo xxi	<i>Lect. in natale martyrum</i>	Rom. viii. 28-39
71	IN DEDICATIONE ad corintheos i sub titulo xi	<i>Lectio in dedicatione</i>	1 Cor. iii. 8-17
72	IN DEDICATIONE ad hebreos sub titulo ii [iii]	<i>Lect. in dedicatione</i>	Heb. iii. 1-6
73	IN DEDICATIONE ad ephesios sub titulo vi	[no marginal note]	?Eph. ii. 11-22
74	DE NATALE EPISCOPI ad hebreos	[no marginal note]	(Heb. v. 1?)
75	DE ORDINATIONIBUS ad timotheum i sub titulo viii	<i>Lect. de ordinationib.</i>	1 Tim. iii. 8-15
76	DE ORDINATIONIBUS DIACO- NORUM	<i>Lect. de ordinationib.</i>	1 Tim. iv. 9-16
77	DE AGENDIS ad thessall. i sub titulo xvii <sup>2</sup>	<i>Lect. de agendis</i>	1 Thess. iv. 13-17

<sup>1</sup> The ending is marked before the words *in gloria caelesti*, no doubt in order to get as final words the conclusion *in Chr. Iesu*.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the references to Hebrews, it must be remarked that the Epistle is divided into 125 chapters (a unique division), with no corresponding list at the commencement. Another system of division is also given, which reaches xii at ch. ix. 11, and goes no further. The *tituli* referred to in the list of lessons are these latter, and consequently all the lessons from the later chapters

I find the following agreements with the Liber Comicus of Toledo, the Ambrosian, Bobbio, Luxeuil, and Roman uses (=C, A, B, L, R):

1. De adventu B	65. De (plur.) mart. R (Heb. x. 32)
2. " " AC	66. " " R (Heb. xl. 34-9)
4. " " C	67. De virgine CR
5. Christmas Eve B	69. (De sanctis) C
6. " Day ABCLR	71. Dedication ACBL
9. Circumcision C	73. " L
11. " CL	74. De natale episcopi? L (Heb. xii. 82-xiii. 21)
14. Epiphany (A)BCL	75. De ordinationibus (diac.) L
30. 1st Sunday Lent ABCLR	77. De agendis AR
51. Maundy Thursday ABR	
62. St. Laurence CR	

There are also a few casual agreements of feasts with the common of ACR, and of the common with feasts. The eight coincidences with R are unimportant. Those with C and L are more important, e.g. 9, 11, 14; and the system is clearly rather Gallican than Roman, but not purely so.

In Lent, except in the case of the first Sunday, there are no agreements. The Lent of Lux is lost; in Rom only the Sunday Epistles are from the New Testament, in Ambr only those of Saturday and Sunday. But we may notice that (33) second Sunday = Ambr Saturday before second Sunday, and (37) third Monday = Ambr Saturday before third Sunday, while (40) fourth Monday = Ambr fourth Sunday. On the whole the Lent of F appears to be a private venture.<sup>1</sup>

The Mass *contra idola* for the first of January is Spanish and probably Gallican, not Roman. Sexagesima without Septuagesima we saw above (p. 110) to be Gallican. The

of the Epistle are given under *tit. xii*. A corresponding *capitulatio* of thirteen sentences, numbered up to x only, precedes the Epistle. The same list is found in Corsen's R (Tommasi's *Reg. Succ.* 9) and has been printed by Tommasi. On the connexion between F and R see p. 282. The *cottidianae* (which I have omitted above) from Hebrews are *sub tit. xii* (xii. 25-8), *sub tit. viii* (vi. 9-15), and *sub tit. xii* (xii. 29-xiii. 8).

<sup>1</sup> It is astonishing to find a lesson from St. Paul on the feast of St. John (7) instead of the usual 1 John i. If we turn to Ambros we find the same passage (2 Tim. iii. 16-iv. 8) on the previous day, the feast of St. Stephen. Is the note in F an error? On the other hand, the passage of 2 Tim. is more suitable to the Evangelist than to the Protomartyr; while the lesson for St. Stephen would naturally be from Acts, as in Lux, Comic, Rom. The question therefore remains open.

Epistle for Sexagesima to be Roman should have been all about St. Paul, for at Rome this was his feast.<sup>1</sup> The *Pascha annotina* is also Gallican, but it seems to have been celebrated in places which derived their liturgy from Rome.

§ 2. *Eugipius and the Capuan St. Paul.*

1. We saw that the additions made by Eugipius to his Gospel lectionary were Roman additions to a Gallican original. Presumably, therefore, the liturgy used in the city of Naples was Roman. Similarly at Montecassino St. Benedict ordered the canticles for ferial Lauds to be sung *sicut psallit Romana ecclesia*. We should expect the liturgy of Capua to be Roman also. But we have found it to be decidedly Gallican. There is nothing to connect it with Capua—none of the Capuan saints represented (see ch. viii) in the yet earlier apse of San Prisco—nor is there St. Januarius to connect it with Naples.

2. Now we have seen in chapter v that Victor of Capua used a copy of Eugipius's Gospel codex for the formation of his Diatessaron, and immediately after the Diatessaron in F come the Epistles of St. Paul followed by Acts. This very unusual order suggests investigations. We have seen that St. Victor probably had before him precisely the same set of introductions, &c., to the Gospels which we find in A (p. 95). Now for the Epistles of St. Paul (except Hebrews) A and F have just the same (1) text-divisions throughout, (2) Prologues (Marcionite), (3) Summaries (except the first twenty-three chapters of Romans in F), (4) Introductions (i. e. *Primum quaeritur . . . Romani qui ex Iudaeis . . .* and canons). On the other hand for Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse A and F have almost always different text-divisions, summaries, and introductions; in particular A, unlike F, has not the three ordinary Prologues to Acts, Cath. Epp., Apoc.<sup>2</sup> Now as Cassiodorus probably got all the Gospel introductions, &c., in A from Eugipius, it is *a priori* not unlikely that those to St. Paul in A and F came to Victor and to Cassiodorus respectively from the same source. The text of St. Paul in A and F differs very much, it is true. But that of F is funda-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> The Prologues to James and 1 Peter are the same in A and F.



mentally an Old Latin text.<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus may well be supposed to have procured a better text, represented by A, but to have preserved the text-divisions, summaries, and introductions of Eugippius.

3. The Gospel codex of Eugippius had marginal lectionary notes. Cassiodorus's scribe copied these; Victor's scribe could not do so, for he had cut up the Gospel text into a mosaic of scraps. But he did find lectionary notes to St. Paul in his copy, and he copied them; and there are no other notes of the kind in any other part of F. We shall see presently that the notes in F seem to represent the same system as those of Eugippius, in fact to be Eugipian; for the moment we are merely going through the *a priori* evidence that they ought to turn out Eugipian.

4. Another consideration will, I think, raise this antecedent probability to a very high degree.

The method of reference in the list of F is a peculiar one: *ad romanos sub titulo xviii*, and so on. The lessons are found under such and such a title of the summaries. The summaries themselves are the common ones (except the first twenty-three titles of that to Romans), found in the largest number of MSS.<sup>2</sup> They are very much older than the Vulgate, and perhaps of very early date. The summary of Romans in particular is famous for its omission to give any account of the last two chapters. Now the divisions of these summaries do not in the least correspond with the divisions of the lessons. This suggests an explanation for the fact that Eugippius composed a new summary for the Gospels. The codex he received from Gaul, or brought from Gaul, will have had the liturgical Gospels marked in the margin, and these were probably collected in a list at the beginning of the book, which referred to the titles under which the lessons would be found. When Eugippius transferred these liturgical directions to the codex of St. Jerome—which had presumably no summaries

<sup>1</sup> So P. Corssen, *Epist. ad Galat.* (Berlin, 1885), p. 21: 'Non tantum Vulgata corrupta quam antiquior quaedam uersio ad Vulgatam accommodata.'

<sup>2</sup> Enumerated by Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.*, p. 357. The summaries will be found in Ranke's edition of F and (substantially) in Tommasi, *Opp.*, vol. i (1747), pp. 388, 442, 448, &c., and in Tischendorf's *Codex Amiatinus*.

and divisions into titles—he thought it would be more convenient if he made a new division, with a new and more literary series of summaries, which should correspond exactly to the liturgical lessons. He subsequently added to the lists.

In F the old summaries of St. Paul do not at all correspond to the incipits and explicits of the lessons. They are Old Latin summaries belonging to the Old Latin text they accompany. Why did Eugippius not compose new ones? Clearly because he had no venerable codex of St. Jerome's to which he had to transfer them; he left them with the text with which he found them.

5. We have conjectured that Eugippius got his lectionary from Lerins. Now the text of the Pauline Epistles in F is precisely the sort of text we should expect him to get from Lerins—an Old Latin text, corrected according to the Vulgate, in Corssen's opinion—of just the same character as the Gospel texts used not long before by Faustus of Riez, and earlier by Eucherius, and by St. Patrick, all monks of Lerins.<sup>1</sup>

These five points have, I think, established a well-grounded *a priori* expectation that the liturgical list of Epistles in F may be Eugippian.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3. *The liturgical notes of F compared with those of Eugippius.*

The preceding *a priori* arguments make a detailed examination necessary with regard to the correspondence of F with the Naples lectionary (N).

At first sight I confess I supposed the differences to be very great. A detailed examination shows the resemblances to be very remarkable.

In the first place the list in the Codex Fuldensis is a complete one. It is true that it stops abruptly at the Wednesday after Easter and the *Pascha annotinum*. But this merely means that there were no lessons from St. Paul from then till Pentecost.

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this statement will be given at length in chapter ix.

<sup>2</sup> It may be worth remarking that the list in F has all the names of feasts rubricated: 'Omnes hae inscriptiones tum minio tum uncialibus maioribus atque rigidioribus quam quibus alibi utitur scriba, exaratae sunt' (Ranke, *Cod. Fuld.*, p. 475). Now we saw that the names of feasts inserted in the summaries of A Reg are rubricated. In Y they are in larger letters, and also red, I think.

This is not surprising. The list has given far more lessons from the Apostle in Lent than are found in Rom and Ambr, as we saw. In Easter week again it has more. All this time Comic has had none, but has used only the Apocalypse and the Catholic Epistles. So after Easter Lux has no lessons from St. Paul from Easter to Pentecost inclusively; Comic has only a lesson from Ephesians on the Sunday after Ascension, and one from Corinthians on the Vigil of Pentecost, all the other days having Acts or Apocalypse or both. Bob has no Pauline lessons for Easter or Pentecost. Ambr has indeed a certain number of lessons from St. Paul after Easter, but it stands alone; for in the Roman use there are no lessons from St. Paul from Easter Day till the Saturday after Pentecost exclusively, except on the Vigil of the Ascension, a day not recognized in Eugippius's Kalendar.

1. The Capuan list is therefore perfect so far as St. Paul is concerned, but the full system clearly contained no provision for Sundays after Pentecost; and herein is the first agreement (and a noticeable one) with the Neapolitan use. The *cottidianae* are all inserted after Epiphany.

2. ADVENT. We find three Sundays and one *lectio cottidiana*. The three weeks give a remarkable agreement with Eugippius, and a disagreement with the five or six weeks of the Gallican original. But the single Epistle for a weekday contrasts with the Wednesday and Friday Gospel for each week added in N. It may be the original Gallican Epistle for Advent ferias *ad libitum*, while it is quite possible that the Neapolitan Masses for Wednesdays and Fridays had lessons from Isaiah, and none from the New Testament. The Gospels provided are concerned in five cases out of the six with the second Advent; the corresponding lessons may equally, therefore, have been from the Apocalypse, or St. Peter, &c.

3. CHRISTMAS. A vigil and a single Mass, agreeing with N in this. St. John and Holy Innocents next, St. Stephen<sup>1</sup> being omitted, not having a lesson from St. Paul but from Acts. The wording *pridie* and *natale domini* are the same as in N, but these are obvious expressions.

<sup>1</sup> Or St. John? See above, p. 134, note.

The first of January is called the Circumcision (the Gospel in N was of this mystery), but also as in N 'octabas domini'. Three epistles are given; but all may have been read at one Mass at Naples.

4. EPIPHANY. The name *stella domini* does not occur, but *Epifania*, a name N also employs. We find as in N a vigil and more than one Mass, though Christmas had only one. *In Epifania mane* corresponds to *in stilla domini nocte*. The two other lessons were perhaps both read at the *missa publica*, or one may be Lerinese and the other Eugipian. There cannot have been three Masses. No Sundays after Epiphany are given. If they existed in the full Kalendar, they must have had lessons from some other part of the New Testament.

5. SEXAGESIMA AND QUINQUAGESIMA. These are apparently to be supplied in N<sup>1</sup>; and if so, the coincidence in the absence of Septuagesima is very noticeable.

6. LENT. It should be noticed that *quadragesima* means the first Sunday, as in N. Except in Holy Week, only the Wednesdays and Fridays have Epistles, just as in the Gallican system before the Eugipian additions.<sup>2</sup>

7. HOLY WEEK. The use of *indulgentia* for Palm Sunday is a very striking correspondence. Notice also *ebdomada maior* in both, and the likeness of *mane in cena domini* N to *in cena domini mane* F, and of *sabbato sancto mane* and *ad sero* to *in noctu sancta mane* and *ad sero*. But the correspondence of the offices is really remarkable. Eugipius's revised kalendar gives two lessons for Palm Sunday, two for the Thursday, two for the Saturday, and only one for each of the other days. F gives exactly the same allowance. When we take into account the identity of nomenclature, it is clear that the two lists belong to one another.

8. EASTER. There is one Mass only for the feast, as in N.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> We must remember that in Eugipius's list of Gospels he left the disused references, so that we frequently find two Gospels for one day, one Lerinese, one Eugipian. Consequently it is possible that Eugipius provided a new and complete set of Epistles for Lent, none of them from St. Paul—possibly all from the Catholic Epistles, as in the *Liber Comicus*; or that he used only Old Testament lessons, as in the modern Ambr and Rom, so that F's lessons would be survivals.

The first three ferias have lessons from St. Paul. The rest of the week was doubtless supplied from Acts.

At first sight *Pascha annotinum* (that is to say the celebration of the date of the Easter of the preceding year) seems to be wanting in N. But this feast naturally fell as often as not in Lent, and was therefore either often or always celebrated on the first free day, viz. the Monday after Low Sunday.<sup>1</sup> This explains the otherwise unaccountable and unique entry in N: '*Feria ii post albas*, John xvii. 1.' It is clearly nothing else than the *Pascha annotinum*.

9. PROPRIUM SANCTORUM. We find SS. Peter and Paul without a vigil, as in N. St. Peter's Chair would have a lesson from 1 Peter. We find St. Laurence and St. Andrew each with a vigil. The other saints in N presumably had lessons not taken from St. Paul.

10. COMMUNE SANCTORUM. We find two epistles for martyrs, then one for a female martyr, then three more for martyrs. Similarly in N we have two *in unius martyris*, one *in martyra* (feminine, it seems), and three Gallican survivals *in martyras*. The correspondence is strangely exact.

But the three Neapolitan Gospels for Apostles, with one for their vigils, the two for confessors, and three for 'saints', have no counterpart in F. We are driven to suppose that they all had lessons from some other part of the New Testament than St. Paul.<sup>2</sup>

N. has two *in dedicationem*, whereas F has three; one of these may stand for the *dedicatio sanctae Mariae* or *basilicae Stephani*—by adding in these, N has four; the fourth would perhaps have the obvious lesson from Apoc. xx.

*In natale episcopi* appears in both lists. The *de ordinationibus* (75) of F is shown by the lesson, 1 Tim. iii. 8-15, to

<sup>1</sup> An interesting note will be found in Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Mittelalters*, vol. i, s. v. '*Pascha annotinum*', p. 150, who quotes from *ordines* of Cambrai, Chartres, Farfa, and Paris. Those of Chartres and Paris enjoin the Monday after *Quasimodo*.

<sup>2</sup> To-day we should suggest Wisdom and Eccles.; but I presume that Eugippius would have both a lesson from the Old Testament and one from the Epistles, Acts or Apocalypse, on feast days. I have suggested that on *ferias* (and *ferias* only) an Old Testament lesson may have sufficed.

be for deacons ; but (76) *de ordinationibus diaconorum* seems to have an Epistle (1 Tim. iv. 9-16) meant for bishops—the two references have perhaps been interchanged. If so (76) will correspond to N (28) *in ordinatione episcopi*. It is certainly unaccountable that no *in ordinatione diaconorum* should be found in N, unless we suppose that this title was added in F by the Bishop of Capua. It should be remembered that *in natale episcopi* and *in ordinatione episcopi* in N appeared to be additions made at Naples by Eugippius to the Gallican monastic use.

There is no Epistle for N (125) *in uelanda*, which presumably had the lesson from 1 Peter about 'amazement', well known to the modern Englishman.

• *In agendas*, for funerals, reappears with a suitable Epistle.<sup>1</sup>

I think we sum up this examination by observing that the only certain discrepancy between the two lists is in the fact that N has no Gospel for the ordination of deacons. Possibly the *contra idola* for the first of January was also a separate Mass, for which a Gospel would be expected in N, as in Comic. It may have been omitted by Eugippius.

That there are no Pauline lessons after Easter week, and none for Apostles or Confessors, nor for St. John Baptist and one or two other Saints, is less remarkable on the whole than that there are so many Pauline lessons for Lent and Easter week.

The disagreements so far have always been easy to explain. On the other hand the chief agreements are inexplicable as mere coincidences, especially the three weeks of Advent, one Mass for Christmas, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima without Septuagesima, the exact correspondence in Lent and Holy Week, no vigil for SS. Peter and Paul, the precise parallel in the common of martyrs. Even had we no proof of Victor having used a codex from the library of Eugippius, we could not have doubted a connexion between a Gallican use at Capua and a contemporaneous Gallican use at Naples.

<sup>1</sup> The expression, though not uncommon = *agenda mortuorum*, is curious. St. Benedict uses it in the singular for a 'service', *agenda uespertina* = Vespers. On the analogy of the word 'undertaker' one might render it 'undertaking'! So in French 'service' commonly means the Office and Mass of the Dead.

Thus it seems that the list of F is Eugipian, and that it acknowledges Eugipius's Roman additions. Let us therefore note that we found in F four Roman epistles which were not also Gallican: 65 (R) *de martyribus*, 66 (R) *ditto*, 67 (CR) *de martyris gener(al)is feminini*, and 77 (AR) *de agendis*. Now we saw that the common of martyrs is divided in F into two groups, 65 and 66 *de martyribus*, then (after 67, female martyrs) 68, 69, 70 *de martyribus*, exactly answering to N which has twice *in unius martyris*, thrice *in martyras*, and once *in martyra* (with Gospel of Virgins). We saw (p. 119) that the three *in martyras* were probably Gallican, the two *in unius martyris* and the female martyr probably additions by Eugipius. We may now note that in F the pair of martyrs (65, 66) and the female martyr have Roman epistles.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the 'Agenda' is an addition by Eugipius, and both Gospel and Epistle are Roman.

One other Epistle in F has CR against it, that for St. Laurence. Now in N the Gospel for St. Laurence does not coincide with the summaries, and we therefore had to put it down as a Roman addition by Eugipius, though it is not the modern Roman Gospel. But at least the Epistle is Roman.

Thus we conclude that the list of F is certainly Eugipian, and that it confirms our former inferences that Eugipius made Roman additions to a Gallican use. N carried us back to Eugipius, c. 530; the Lerins original carried us back to Abbot Marinus, c. 510.

So far liturgical results. For the history of the Vulgate we get the conclusion that the Vulgatized Old Latin of the Pauline Epistles in F was very likely copied from a Lerinese codex borrowed by Victor from Eugipius; that the text-divisions, Prologues (Marcionite), summaries, and introductions to the Pauline Epistles in A are from the same source, though a far better text of the Epistles has been substituted by

<sup>1</sup> Though it is possible that one of the two pericopæ from Hebrews given to 65 and 66 belongs to 68. The Gospels for the two *in unius m.* and the one *in martyra* in N are Roman also (i. e. in the Masses, *Statuit, Sacerdotes Dei*, and *Loquebar* or *Dilexisti*); the three Epistles are for the Mass *Salus autem, an alia Epistola* for this Mass, and for *Dilexisti*. Thus the first two Gospels are now for 'one Martyr Pontiff', the two Epistles are for 'Many martyrs'.

Cassiodorus.<sup>1</sup> Further, we see that the Prologues to the Gospels in A are all probably derived from the Hieronymian Gospel codex of Eugippius, and that Eugippius probably had them copied into that codex out of the Gallican codex to which the liturgical lists originally belonged. But the *Plures fuisse*, letter to Damasus, and canons may quite well have belonged to the Hieronymian codex itself, and not have come from Gaul.

<sup>1</sup> The text of St. Paul in F has been corrected throughout according to a codex resembling Corsen's R (see p. 282), and from it the summary of Hebrews was borrowed by Victor. Evidently the references of the list to that summary must have been inserted by Victor's scribe. The Christmas lesson (6) is not referred to the summary, but is simply *principium epistulae*. I note that, besides (65) and (66), (74) is Engipian (= N 101\*) and probably also 72 (= N 16\*). The same may be true of the *cottidianae* from Hebrews.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CAPUAN MASS-BOOKS OF NORTHUMBRIA

#### § 1. *Capuan Saints in English books.*

THIS chapter will have nothing whatever to do with the text of the Vulgate, except negatively. But it cannot be omitted, for it is necessary to show that the presence of South Italian saints in certain English Martyrologies, Kalendars, and Sacramentaries has no real connexion with the Neapolitan liturgy which we found at Jarrow and at Würzburg. Still, when we have seen that these saints came to England from Capua and not from Naples, we may hazard a guess that they accompanied the Codex of Fulda to Northumbria, if that book did come (as I think it did) to England.

The National Library at Paris contains a precious volume in which St. Willibrord's Kalendar and his Martyrology are bound together (10837, *olim* Suppl. lat. 1680). Both books were brought from Northumbria to Echternach by St. Willibrord himself. The Kalendar has never been published in full. The Martyrology has been carefully edited by De Rossi in *Acta SS.*, November, vol. ii, pp. [1]-[156] (1894). The Kalendar was written in Northumbria, c. 702-6; in 728 St. Willibrord wrote in it in his own hand the record of his episcopal consecration at Rome in 695. It contains many English and especially Northumbrian saints. The Martyrology was written later, say 712, by a scribe named Laurentius, who wrote three diplomas for St. Willibrord in the years 704, 710, and 711, and also signed in his old age the Gospels of St. Arnoul, belonging to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein.<sup>1</sup>

This horribly corrupt but deeply interesting book is not merely the oldest MS. of the so-called Hieronymian martyro-

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne (*Act. SS.*, l. c., p. [viii]), Berger, *Vulgate*, p. 52.

logy, but it gives the oldest of the forms of it extant. I have suggested elsewhere that the ancestor of this venerable book may have been brought by St. Augustine from Autun to England.<sup>1</sup> The Echternach copy is derived from a Northumbrian exemplar. It has five English saints added: Augustine, Paulinus, Cuthbert, Oswald, Oidiwald. The first named was inevitable. The other four connect it with the North, and indeed with Lindisfarne. But it is more to our purpose that it has received no less than twelve additional South Italian saints.<sup>2</sup> This Gallican martyrology cannot have come to England from Italy, where only the Fontenelle revision (after the middle of the eighth century) was ever in all probability known. We must therefore suppose that these saints of South Italy formed a part of the Northumbrian additions, and that they were taken from a Neapolitan Kalendar existing in Northumbria. They are not notices such as the ninth-century historical martyrologies would give, but mere names, such as might be found in a Kalendar: *In Brundi(sio) Leuci, In Vulturno Castrensis, &c.*

It was natural that Mgr. Duchesne in editing the Echternach Martyrology should connect these additions, undoubtedly made in England, with the Neapolitan lists in the Lindisfarne Gospels, and assume that they had a common origin from St. Hadrian. I hold on the contrary that neither has any connexion with St. Hadrian, and that the additions to the Martyrology are not Neapolitan at all, but Capuan.

In the first place there is the Kalendar to be remembered. It has never been published, but I am able to give its saints of South Italy from a copy kindly communicated to me by my *confrère* Dom Quentin of Appuldurcombe (see p. 151).

In the second place there are the curious citations from 'Mass-books' in the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology. My attention was drawn to these by the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J., in this connexion; had it not been for this suggestion of his I should certainly have gone off on a wrong tack altogether,

<sup>1</sup> In an article *A propos des martyrologes*, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1903, tom. xx, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne in *Acta SS.*, l. c., p. [lx].

We will consider this Martyrology first of all, on account of the clearness of its evidence.

§ 2. *The 'old Mass-books' cited in the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology were Capuan.*

The Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, first published by Cockayne in *The Shrine*, and carefully edited from the MSS. for the Early English Text Society<sup>1</sup> by Dr. George Herzfeld, is found in ninth- and tenth-century codices. According to Dr. Herzfeld its Anglo-Saxon text cannot be later than 900, probably about 850 is the date, and this on linguistic grounds. The matter is probably a composition of c. 750, for the latest death entered is that of Abbot Hygebald, about 740, while St. Boniface is not inserted, though a synod under Cuthbert of Canterbury, held almost immediately after St. Boniface's death in 755, decreed that his feast should be celebrated in England. At all events this Old English Martyrology is a most venerable document, and contains some most interesting evidence in certain short notices which occasionally serve instead of the life of a saint. In these rare cases no historical notice is given, and evidently nothing is known to the author about the saints mentioned, except the fact that a Mass was given for them in the old or the new Missals.<sup>2</sup> I cite these entries from Herzfeld's English translation.

JUNE 1. To the first day of the month belong two mass-songs. The former is in the old *sacramentorium*, that is in the old mass-book, to the memory of St. Priscus' the martyr; the second is in the new book to the memory of St. Nicomedes the martyr.

JUNE 17. On the seventeenth day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Nicander, whose memory is to be celebrated with mass-songs, and his mass is appointed in the older mass-books.

<sup>1</sup> No. 116, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> In *J. T. S.*, vol. iii, p. 429 (April, 1902), Mr. W. C. Bishop has attempted, but without definite result, to trace these Masses in Roman and in later English Sacramentaries. He speaks of the notices in the A.-S. Martyrology as 'instructions as to the Mass to be said on the days in question'. This does not seem to me to be likely. I prefer to think that the compiler simply used the 'old' and 'new' Mass-books as quarries for the enlargement of the Martyrology he was copying, and that he is sufficiently conscientious and intelligent to name his source. I cannot imagine that the Martyrology was meant to be used as a Kalendar.

AUGUST 18. On the eighteenth day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Agapetus in Rome, whose service can be found by him who looks for it in the later sacramentary, that is in the new mass-book.

AUGUST 19. On the nineteenth day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Magnus, whose service is met with in the older mass-books.

AUGUST 27. On the twenty-seventh day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Rufus, whose mass is found in the older mass-books.

AUGUST 29. On the same day is the festival of the woman St. Sabina at Rome, whose mass is found in the later books.

SEPTEMBER 1. On the first day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Priscus, whose mass is to be found in the older mass-books.

SEPTEMBER 5. On the fifth day of the month is the festival of the confessor of God St. Quintus, whose mass is found in the older mass-books.

SEPTEMBER 7. On the seventh day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Synotus, whose mass is found in the older mass-books.

OCTOBER 15. On the fifteenth day of the month is the festival of the martyr St. Lupulus, whose mass is found in the older mass-books.

The new Mass-books need not detain us ; they are clearly Roman sacramentaries. The saints added from them are Roman : St. Sabina of the Aventine, and St. Agapetus of Praeneste, the former being found in the Gregorian Sacramentary, the latter in the Gelasian also. St. Nicomedes on June 1 is the dedication of his Church in Rome, as in the Gregorian Sacramentary, and the Martyrologies, Florus, Ado, *Romanum paruum*, Usuard, &c.

As to the 'new Mass-books' Dr. Herzfeld says in his Introduction, p. xxxiii: 'It may be observed that most of the saints whose names we find in the mass-books come from Campania, and that Cockayne is certainly right in remarking that the books were probably imported by Theodorus and Hadrianus, the latter having been abbot of a monastery near Capua.' Whether Hadrian came from near Capua or not (and Bede says 'near Naples' and not 'near Capua'), it is at any rate certain that the 'old Mass-books' came from Capua, as Father Thurston pointed out to me. Eight saints are given, or rather seven, for Priscus, June 1, is doubtless the same person as Priscus, September 1. Of these Nicander belongs to Venafrum, some 60 kilometres to the north of Capua; St. Magnus was venerated (according to the Echternach Martyrology) at Fabrateria, not far from Aquinum on the

Latin Way; the five remaining saints were all Capuan—Priscus, Rufus, Quintus, Synotus, Lupulus. We shall find that precisely these five saints are represented in the ancient apse of the Church of San Prisco in old Capua, now the village of S. Maria di Capua, at a short distance from the modern town. These mosaics are figured in Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte cristiana*, vol. iv, p. 64, and with less precision in Michael Monachus, *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (1630), p. 132. The latter drawing is reproduced in the *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. vii, pt. 1, p. 7.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen figures are represented in the following order :

7 6 5 4 3 2 1—8 9—10 11 12 13 14 15 16.

Of these 8 and 9 are children between St. Peter and St. Priscus, patron of the Church :

1. Peter	8. Quartus	10. Priscus
2. Laurence	9. Quintus	11. Lupulus
3. Paul		12. Sinotus
4. Cyprian		13. Rufus
5. Susius		14. Marcellus
6. Timotheus		15. Augustine
7. Agnes		16. Felicitas

The connexion between the seven saints of the older Mass-books and the mosaics of San Prisco is obviously very close. The days given in the older Mass-books are the same as in martyrologies and kalendars, except St. Priscus, June 1. Why two feasts for this saint, unless June 1—unique, as it seems—is the dedication of his Church? For the moment this is but a guess.

The name *Susius* should be noticed. Garrucci reads *Sustus* (i. e. Sixtus or Xystus), but Sosius or Sossius, the deacon, of Misenum, was specially venerated at Capua, as we shall see, and Michele Monaco, who was a canon of Capua, is apparently right in his reading of the mosaic inscription: but see the list on p. 153. Note also Augustine and Felicitas.

<sup>1</sup> The date of this apse (and of the dome to be mentioned later) can only be roughly determined. Both were destroyed in 1766 on the occasion of the restoration. Garrucci gives an inscription showing that the basilica of St. Priscus was begun under Zeno (died 491), and finished under Gelasius (492-6), but consecrated only under Symmachus in 506. Presumably the mosaics are to be placed c. 490.

As to the seven saints in detail :

1. ST. PRISCUS is given by M. Monaco as two persons, one a bishop and martyr, the other a bishop and confessor, both September 1 ; probably groundlessly. The one was called the first bishop of Capua, the other was said to be an exiled African bishop. At any rate the body of one at least was in old Capua at San Prisco. See also *Acta SS.*, September, vol. i.

2. ST. RUFUS, August 27, is called a bishop of Capua and martyr (*Acta SS.*, August, vol. vi, p. 9).

3. ST. QUINTUS, martyr, September 5, is coupled with St. Quartus by M. Monaco also ; he is also joined to Arcontius and Donatus (*Acta SS.*, September, ii, p. 526). He is always connected with Capua.

4. ST. SYNOTUS, September 7, was argued to be second bishop of Capua by Michele Monaco (*Sanct. Cap.*, p. 134), on very poor grounds (*Acta SS.*, September, iii, p. 5).

5. ST. LUPULUS, martyr, October 15, is coupled with St. Modestus (*Acta SS.*, October, vii, pp. 6-7), and is a Capuan saint.

All the above five saints figure in nearly all martyrologies and kalendars, and as Capuan saints.

6. ST. MAGNUS, August 19, bishop and martyr, translated from Fundi on the Appian Way to Verulae, in the hills north of the Latin Way. *Fabrateria noua* and *vetus* are just between those two towns. The translation is said to have taken place under John VIII, or in consequence of incursions of the Saracens. The saint was later translated to Anagni (*Acta SS.*, August, vol. iii, p. 701).

7. ST. NICANDER, June 17, with St. Marcian was venerated at Atina and Venafrum, but also at Capua ; for his name is found in all the four ancient Capuan kalendars printed in the *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, and his life was written by Adenulphus, archbishop of Capua before 1056. His arm is said to have been preserved at Capua.

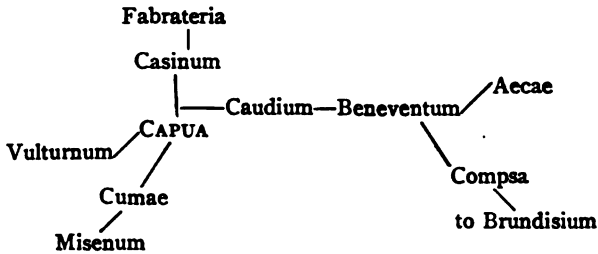
### § 3. *The Echternach Martyrology.*

This venerable document is the oldest codex, as we have said, of the so-called 'Martyrology of St. Jerome', and has been

carefully edited by De Rossi with the MSS. of Berne and Weissenburg in parallel columns.<sup>1</sup> Where these three agree we are in the presence of a French edition of the Martyrology belonging to the last years of the sixth century. Each MS. has additions of its own. Those in St. Willibrord's copy are few—saints from the North of England and from the South of Italy, all evidently added in Northumbria. In Mgr. Duchesne's introduction to Comm. De Rossi's edition the Italian additions are cited as follows (op. cit., p. [ix]):

<i>vj id ian.</i> In Brundi[sio] Leuci	<i>k sept.</i> In Casino Constanti
<i>iiij id feb.</i> In Vulturno Castrensis	<i>iiij non sept.</i> In Caudis Vitaliani
<i>xiiij k mart.</i> In Camp[ania] Cumbas	<i>viiiij k oct.</i> In Miseno Sossi
nat Iulianae	<i>iiij k nov.</i> In Comsa Maximi
<i>xiiij k aug.</i> In Casino Severi	<i>non nov.</i> In Ecas Marci episcopi
<i>xiiiij k sept.</i> In Fabrateria Magni	<i>xvij k dec.</i> In Capua Augustini et
<i>k sept.</i> In Apulia Feliciset Donati	Felicitatis

It was natural that Mgr. Duchesne should think of Naples. Capua is mentioned but once. Augustine and Felicitas we saw in the Capuan mosaics. *Cumbas* seems to be an error, for no veneration is known of St. Juliana in that place, while her connexion with Cumae is well established. Cumbae is also further off, while Cumae is close to Misenum and not far from Naples and Capua. This last city, on the junction of the Via Latina and the Via Appia, is a centre to all the rest geographically:



It should be noted that St. Castrensis was venerated at Capua as well as at Vulturnum, which latter place was in the diocese of Capua and its port at the mouth of the river Vulturnus. St. Sosius of Misenum had also a cultus at Capua, and we

<sup>1</sup> In *Acta Sanctorum*, November, vol. ii, pp. [1]–[156], 1894.

saw that he was represented in the apse of San Prisco. But there is only a single coincidence with the Capuan saints of the 'older Mass-books', and this is St. Magnus, just the only one of these who is not represented in the mosaics and had no particular connexion with Capua. How can we connect the Echternach saints with Capua, since none of the five Capuan saints have been added? The answer is very simple. They could not be added, for they were already in the Martyrology when it was brought to England. In fact Priscus, Rufus, Quintus, Synotus, are all found on their proper days in all copies of the Martyrology of St. Jerome. St. Lupulus is in all but the Echternach MS., where he is omitted by an error of the scribe, who has been even more careless and incorrect than usual just about that place.

Further examination shows additional evidence. On September 1, where St. Constantius and SS. Felix and Donatus have been added, St. Priscus has been placed between them, instead of occupying the less prominent position he holds in Bern. and Wiss. MSS. Again, on August 27, Rufus has been transferred to the first place in the *laterculus* for that day.

Thus the connexion of the Italian additions to the Echternach Martyrology with the Capuan saints of the 'older Mass-books' seems to be most probable. It will be made practically certain by the evidence of the Echternach Kalendar that the two sets of saints had a common origin.

#### § 4. *Capuan Saints in the Echternach Kalendar.*

I have copied the following saints roughly from Dom Quentin's MS. transcript. He tells me that the various hands in the original are difficult to distinguish and that he has not as yet sufficiently studied them (March, 1907); but he has marked nearly all the following notices as being additions in a different hand or different hands:

iii id Feb. Castrensis mār  
 xiiij kl mar. nat scae iulianae  
 kl iuñ. ad sc̄m̄ priscum et sc̄ae teclae virḡ  
 xv kl iul. sci nicandri mār  
 kl sept. sc̄i prisci in capua  
 nonas sept. quinti confēs



vij idus sept. sergii pap̄ romae sinoti mar  
 viiiij kl oct. sossi mart  
 idus oct. sc̄i lupuli  
 xvj kl decem. agustini et felicitatis

The close connexion with the Echt. Mart. is presupposed, but notice that in both lists St. Juliana alone among the Capuan saints has *nat.* added, though of course *nat.* is common enough in both documents, and the spelling *sossi* is repeated. Four of the Echternach additions reappear, viz. 1. Castrensis, 2. Juliana, 3. Sosius, and 4. Augustine-Felicitas. Of these four the last two are just those names of the Echt. Mart. where it is supported by the apse of San Prisco, and the first (Castrensis) we saw to be Capuan. The agreement with the 'older Mass-books' is equally close; the hitherto unique mention of St. Priscus on June 1 reappears, and we have Priscus again, Nicander, Quintus, Synotus, Lupulus. Only Rufus and Magnus are forgotten. Thus the Kalendar is a link between the Anglo-Saxon and Echternach Martyrologies.

An important point is June 1 *Ad Sanctum Priscum*, that is to say, a festival at the Church of St. Priscus. Our conjecture that this second feast of St. Priscus was the dedication of his Church was suggested by the close connexion between the saints of the 'older Mass-books' and the mosaics of the apse. The expression in the kalendar confirms it. We thus get an explanation of the omission of St. Priscus on that day in the Echternach Martyrology, for that codex invariably omits dedication feasts.<sup>1</sup>

It should further be noticed that we cannot infer that SS. Castrensis and Juliana were absent from the 'older Mass-books', for the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology is defective in the month of February. As for St. Sosius he was doubtless in the Mass-books, but a short life of him is given in the A.-S. Martyrology, and consequently nothing is said there about the Mass-books, which are only brought in when a saint had a Mass in them but nothing else was known of him. Consequently there is no certain omission in the 'older Mass-books'

<sup>1</sup> As Dom Quentin<sup>o</sup> has pointed out, *Le martyrol. hiérom. et les fêtes de St. Benoît, Revue Bénédict.*, 1903, p. 359 (Octobre).

of any Capuan saints found in the Capuan apse or added in the Echternach Kalendar, except only SS. Augustine and Felicitas. But it is probable that the Anglo-Saxon compiler omitted to mention these two because he identified them with St. Augustine of Hippo and St. Felicitas of Rome or of Carthage. Perhaps he was right. But Michele Monaco makes Augustine a bishop of Capua.

Another mosaic from San Prisco in old Capua is also figured in Garrucci (plate 155), and by M. Monaco in the *Sanctuarium Capuanum*. In the lower circle of a dome are eight pairs of saints :

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>St. Priscus.</i>    | <i>St. Felix.</i>      |
| 2. <i>St. Lupulus.</i>    | <i>St. Rufus.</i>      |
| 3. <i>St. Augustine.</i>  | <i>St. Marcellus.</i>  |
| 4. <i>St. Hippolytus.</i> | <i>St. Canio.</i>      |
| 5. <i>St. XYSTUS.</i>     | <i>St. Cyprian.</i>    |
| 6. <i>St. Festus.</i>     | <i>St. Desiderius.</i> |
| 7. <i>St. Eutices.</i>    | <i>St. Sosius.</i>     |
| 8. <i>St. Artimas.</i>    | <i>St. Aesimus.</i>    |

I add this Capuan witness to the following table for completeness. An asterisk shows where in the Echternach Martyrology the scribe found the saint already in the archetype, and where the Anglo-Saxon had Sosius in his authority for the lives of the saints.

		<i>Echt. Mart.</i>	<i>Echt. Kal.</i>	<i>Mass- books.</i>	<i>Apse S. Prisco</i>	<i>Dome S. Prisco</i>
Jan. 8	Leucius	—	—	—	—	—
Feb. 11	Castrensis	—	—	[ ]	—	—
„ 16	Juliana	—	—	[ ]	—	—
June 1	Priscus (Dedic.)	—	—	—	—	—
„ 17	Nicander	*	—	—	—	—
July 20	Severus	—	—	—	—	—
Aug. 19	Magnus	—	—	—	—	—
„ 27	Rufus	*	—	—	—	—
Sept. 1	Priscus	*	—	—	—	—
	Felix and Donatus	—	—	—	—	—
	Constantius	—	—	—	—	—
„ 3	Vitalian	—	—	—	—	—
„ 5	Quintus	*	—	—	—	—
„ 7	Synotus	*	—	—	—	—
„ 23	Sosius	—	—	*	—	—
Oct. 15	Lupulus	[ ]	—	—	—	—
„ 30	Maximus	—	—	—	—	—
Nov. 5	Marcus	—	—	—	—	—
Dec. 16	Augustine and Felicitas	—	—	—	—	—

I think this table will have made my argument clear :

1. The Mass-books were certainly from Capua, probably from San Prisco.

2. The Echternach Kalendar has used the Mass-books.

3. The Echternach Martyrology has also used the Mass-books.

4. The additional saints in the Echternach Martyrology who are not quoted by the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology as being in the Mass-books presumably come from the Mass-books, for ( $\alpha$ ) we need not invent a second source, ( $\beta$ ) they are geographically connected with Capua, ( $\gamma$ ) the Kalendar strengthens this hypothesis in the case of Castrensis, Juliana, Sosius, Augustine-Felicitas.

5. But the Mass-book saints of the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology were those who had special Masses provided, as that book expressly informs us. Those added in the Echternach Martyrology were presumably found in the Kalendar at the beginning of the Mass-book, for the *place* is given with each. This would always be so in a Kalendar and never in the heading of a special Mass in a Sacramentary. An ancient Sacramentary had regularly a Kalendar at the commencement, though it has frequently been lost, owing to the destruction of the first pages.

6. Castrensis and Juliana were very probably in the lost pages of the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology. Sosius is in that Martyrology, and was pretty certainly in the Mass-books. But the Anglo-Saxon martyrologist happened to possess a life of him.

#### § 5. *The origin of the 'older Mass-books'.*

The citations from the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology given above, pp. 146-7, lapse from August 27 onwards into a stereotyped formula: 'On such a day is the festival of such a saint, whose Mass is to be found in the older Mass-books.' August 19 had the same, with the exception of 'service' (i. e. *mæssesang*) instead of simply *mæsse*. The earlier notices vary. On June 1 we have the explanation 'the old *sacramentorium* (*sic*), that is the old Mass-book', and similarly on August 18 'the later *sacramentorium*, that is the new Mass-

book'. Again 'two Mass-songs belong to' June 1; the memory of St. Nicander 'is to be celebrated with Mass-songs, and his Mass is appointed in the older Mass-books'. The Mass-song of St. Agapetus 'can be found by the curious in the later sacramentary'.

The older sacramentary was Capuan. It had been supplemented or (more probably) supplanted lately by a new one from Rome. We may be sure that the new book was really Roman, because it calls the Praeneste martyr Agapetus 'of Rome', that is to say, it contains his feast because it was kept somewhere in Rome, not because it was kept at Praeneste.

The Capuan books, besides the feasts of great saints whose lives are given in the Martyrology, contained special Masses for the eight feasts, i. e. five Capuan saints, *plus* the dedication of St. Priscus, St. Nicander of Venafrum near Capua, and St. Magnus of Fabrateria (later known as St. Magnus of Anagni). Like other Sacramentaries the Capuan book evidently contained a Kalendar at the beginning. Besides the saints for whom special Masses are provided, the Kalendar would mention the feast days of other saints well known at Capua, and venerated in neighbouring cities. Perhaps their feasts were celebrated with lessons *de communi*. (We saw that the Gospel system of Eugipius provided a common of apostles, of male and female martyrs, one or many, *in apostolorum, in martyras, in martyra, in sanctorum*.) The Kalendar gave the place as well as the saint; the heading of the special Mass did not. The Echternach Martyrology has used the Kalendar; the Anglo-Saxon one has only drawn upon the special Masses; the Echternach Kalendar again has given the saints who had special Masses, adding the place only in the case of St. Priscus.

So much for the contents of the old Sacramentary. As for its place of origin it was undoubtedly Capua, and perhaps the Church of St. Priscus.

What was the date of the books?

The translation of St. Magnus does not help us. The date of St. Severus of Casino *may* be early fourth century, but is quite uncertain. St. Mark, bishop of Luceria, but born and

buried at Aecae, may be of the same date. St. Juliana gives a more useful clue, if I was justified in reading *Cumas* for *Cumbas*. She is said to have been martyred at Nicomedia, and translated to Puteoli. She was again translated after 568 (so it is said) to Cumae, and at length in 1207 to Naples. (See *Acta Sanctorum*, February, vol. ii, pp. 885-8.) If my conjecture is correct and if the date is right the Mass-books are later than 568.

St. Constantius gives a certain *terminus a quo*. The day, Sept. 1, shows that the bishop of Aquino twice mentioned by St. Gregory is meant: 'qui nuper praedecessoris mei tempore beatae memoriae Ioannis Papae defunctus est' (*Dial.*, iii. 8). No doubt John III is meant, whose reign began in 561. Constantius was bishop already before the death of St. Benedict, c. 543 (*ibid.*, ii. 16). St. Gregory relates that Constantius prophesied of the bishops who should follow him:

Post Constantiūm milionem, post milionem  
Fullonem, O te, Aquine, et hoc habes.

I fancy these are elegiacs. If so, even *Commodian* would have been ashamed of them. The successor of Constantius was in fact his deacon Andrew, who had really been ostler in the posting stables; and after him came Jovinus, a fuller. In his time Aquinum was so devastated that no bishop succeeded him. So St. Gregory (*Dial.*, iii. 8).

Here we seem to find the explanation of *in Casino Constanti*, where we should have expected *in Aquino*. Aquinum was ruined, so the feast of Constantius was celebrated in Casinum, the nearest town.<sup>1</sup> If this was on the same occasion (c. 589) when the monastery of Montecassino was destroyed, we should be surprised if the town at the foot of the mountain was spared when the abbey on the summit was plundered. One may conjecture that Casinum was restored earlier than Aquinum. Both must have continued at least as posting stations on the much frequented Latin Way.

<sup>1</sup> Aquinum is just half-way between *Fabrateria noua* and Casinum. The latter was later called San Germano, and still had this name when I passed it in 1882. But the modern Italians have ordered it to be called Cassino, preferring the unimportant classical memories connected with the name to the Christian recollection of the legate of Pope Hormisdas and friend of St. Benedict.

However this may be, the Mass-books are at any rate later than 561, and probably not earlier than 600. But they are earlier than 700, for the Echternach Kalendar was written before 706.

We could have no temptation to connect them with Eugippius or Cassiodorus. Nor can we connect them with Montecassino, in spite of the twofold mention of Casinum; for the monastery was in ruins till the eighth century.

How did they get to England?

§ 6. *The Capuan Mass-books and the Codex of Fulda.*

On the fifteenth- or sixteenth-century binding of the Codex Fuldensis is inscribed *Sanctus boni | facius presenti | libro functus | est dñi uixit.* There is no reason to doubt that the MS. has actually been at Fulda ever since the monastery was founded by St. Boniface.<sup>1</sup> An Anglo-Saxon hand of the eighth century has added a gloss to the Epistle of St. James; and this is traditionally said to be the saint's own handwriting. Though it is impossible to prove this, it is in itself quite likely, according to Ernest Ranke.<sup>2</sup>

Did St. Boniface bring it from Italy? England was in his time as literary as Italy, with its splendid schools of Italian writing at Canterbury and Jarrow, and its Irish school developing a native hand at Lindisfarne and elsewhere. Abbeys were numerous and books plentiful. St. Willibrord had brought his Kalendar, his Martyrology, his Gospels from Northumbria at an earlier date. St. Boniface's companion Burchard brought an Evangelium. Presumably it was from England that St. Boniface brought the codex which had belonged to Victor of Capua.

From what part of England? From Wessex? From Nutshell?

A. There is another book which seems to have been taken to Germany by St. Boniface, the well-known Codex Laudianus of Acts, which is proved by inscriptions which exist in it

<sup>1</sup> The foundation cross was planted by St. Sturm in 744 on behalf of his leader.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to his edition, p. xvi.

to have been in Germany at an early date (at Würzburg, Mr. Turner thinks). But in St. Bede's time it was at Jarrow, for it was proved by Mill and afterwards by Woide<sup>1</sup> that it served that saint for the corrections made in his *Retractations* on Acts. We are not surprised to find that the *Codex Amiatinus* was corrected by it in the same way, no doubt under Bede's direction.<sup>2</sup> Again, we have seen that St. Burchard took to Germany an Amiatine text of the Gospels, containing the Neapolitan notes in its margin. This also came from Jarrow, mediately or immediately.

It is natural to suppose that the *Codex Fuldensis* came from England, and like the *Codex Laudianus* and St. Burchard's Gospels (or at least their archetype) from Jarrow or Wearmouth.

<sup>1</sup> References are given by Scrivener, *Introd.*, i. 170 (1894), and by Gregory *Proleg.*, p. 412 (1894).

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Wordsworth says (*Acts*, p. ix) of the *Codex Laudianus*: 'Fuit ut uideatur inter libros quos Theodorus Tarsensis Archiepiscopus Cantuar. secum Angliam apportauit A. D. 668.' [did he bring any?] 'Ibi usque ad Northumbriam peruenit' [begged, borrowed or stolen?] 'ubi uenerabilis Beda eum uidit et in commentariis suis ('Expositione' sc. et 'Retractatione' in Actus) saepe citauit; et forsitan scriba codicis Amiatini textum suum ad eius auctoritatem interdum correxit. Postea Bonifacius uel quidam ex discipulis eius in Germaniam exportauit ubi aliquantulum moratus est codex ut testantur notae etc. in ultimis paginis manu Teutonica scriptae.' At an earlier period the codex was in Sardinia. It will be remembered that there were Greek monks in Sardinia in the seventh century who played a part in the Monothelite controversy. There is no summary in the codex, but divisions of the text are marked in the margin by a hand which may be tenth century, but is difficult to date. It is probably German, for the divisions bear no relation to any of the summaries printed by Wordsworth except to the Donatist summaries from MS. Munich lat. 6230, Bamberg A. 1. 7, and Metz 7. The first eighteen divisions are as follows:

1	i.	1	7	ii.	38	13	v.	12
2		12	8	iii.	1	14		34
3		15	9		11	15	vi.	1
4	ii.	1	10	iv.	1	16	vii.	1
5		14	11		19	17		54
6		22	12		32	18	viii.	5

These divisions seem to run almost exactly (if not quite) with the Donatist divisions. At viii. 5 A has reached its twentieth title, and so have the great number of MSS. with F, while the Spanish CT and V have only got to the fifteenth. It is a great pity that Bp. Wordsworth should not have added to all the summaries he has published the text-divisions corresponding to them as found in the MSS.

B. On the other hand the Capuan Mass-books come from Northumbria. This is easily shown.

1. The Echternach Kalendar has Northumbrian saints as well as Capuan. It does not admit Mellitus, Justus, and Laurentius, so that it has no possible connexion with Canterbury. This is what we should expect in the case of St. Willibrord the Northumbrian.

2. The Echternach Martyrology is exactly in a similar case, as was said above, p. 145.

3. The Anglo-Saxon Martyrology is possibly, or rather probably, Mercian in its present ninth-century form; at least its dialect is considered to be Mercian. But its composition in the eighth century takes us further north. Augustine is the only southern saint contained in it except St. Ethelburga of Barking. Her name has no doubt been taken from Bede's *History*, to which the compiler is greatly indebted and to which he repeatedly refers. He has also used material from St. Gregory, St. Aldhelm, and Adamnan. Of East Anglian saints we find St. Furse of Burgh Castle in Norfolk, St. Etheldreda of Ely, St. Guthlac of Croyland and his sister St. Pega, St. Hygebald of Bardney. These last have suggested to Dr. Herzfeld that the present edition of the Martyrology hails from Lincolnshire. The proof is insufficient. For Hygebald the writer appeals to Bede. Guthlac and Etheldreda were too famous to be omitted in any list; while the latter was wife of Egfrid of Northumbria.

If we turn to the northern saints we find Columchille from Iona; Aidan, Cuthbert, Ethelwald, Eadbercht, all from Lindisfarne; Benet Biscop, Eastorwine and Ceolfrith of Wearmouth and Jarrow; Yorkshire gives John of Beverley, Hilda, Cedd; Northumbria gives Wilfrid of Hexham and King Oswald, whose relics are said to be at Bamborough, Lindsey, and Bardney.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to say precisely where the compiler lived. But he is clearly in close relation with both Wearmouth and Lindisfarne.

The simplest hypothesis is that the Mass-books from Capua

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Herzfeld in his Introduction thinks the reference to relics of St. Aidan at Glastonbury to be a later insertion, p. xxx.



had their home in Benet Biscop's double monastery.<sup>1</sup> The Capuan Masses were probably not actually used; but the rest of the book would give an ordinary Italian use of the early seventh century, and would be employed at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and copied for other monasteries.

Such a Sacramentary must have been originally the property of a Church at Capua. The Codex Fuldensis also probably was bequeathed by St. Victor to his successors. Both books must have come into the market as plunder. There is no reason to suppose two different occasions upon which these books were looted from Capua, nor to invent two different roads by which they came to England. Neither has any connexion with the South of England, and therefore neither was brought by St. Hadrian. And as a fact St. Bede never mentions any books having been brought to England by that learned man. Had the Codex Fuldensis or the Gospels of Eugippius been brought to the North by Hadrian, had the Codex Laudianus been the property of Theodore (as Scrivener and others and Wordsworth have thought) and lent or given to Jarrow, surely Bede would have said something about the introduction by them into England of such precious volumes. But according to Bede it was the Englishmen, Benet Biscop and Ceolfrid, who imported the most valuable books they could find.

I am rather inclined to the view that the Laudianus and the Fuldensis were not brought to Germany by St. Boniface himself, but that they had been already taken there by St. Willibrord, who will have presented them to St. Boniface; for St. Willibrord was the more likely of the two to receive handsome presents from Jarrow for his mission. The Northumbrian text of the Gospels of Burchard, Boniface's disciple, shows indeed a connexion with the North. But then no one knows what part of England gave birth to St. Burchard. He may have been a northerner.

Our general conclusions are therefore that the Capuan saints in the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, the Echternach

<sup>1</sup> Another possibility is evidently that St. Wilfrid brought them from Italy, and that they were used at Hexham or Ripon.

Martyrology, and the Echternach Kalendar were introduced into them from certain Sacramentaries in use in the North of England. The archetype of these Mass-books seems to have belonged to the Church of San Prisco at Capua, c. 600-50. It may have been among the books bought in Italy by St. Benet Biscop. As the Codex Fuldensis, like the Codex Laudianus of Acts and the Gospels of St. Burchard, probably came to Germany from the North of England, it is probable that it was plunder obtained from Capua at the same time as the Sacramentary, and that they were sold together to an English buyer.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE IRISH TEXT OF THE VULGATE GOSPELS

#### § 1. *The Vulgate and St. Patrick.*

IT seems to be an accepted opinion among experts that the Vulgate must have been introduced into Ireland later than St. Patrick's time, since that saint used an Old Latin version. Whitley Stokes urges in proof of the authenticity of the *Confessio* and of the letter to the subjects of Coroticus the quotations in both documents from an ante-Hieronymian Bible.<sup>1</sup> Monsignor Kaulen showed that St. Patrick used the Old Latin by referring to his citation of Isaiah xxxiii. 4;<sup>2</sup> and indeed it seems unquestionable that he did employ the Old Latin in the Old Testament.

But we are now concerned with his use of the Gospels. The following table is compiled from Whitley Stokes's edition. The MSS. cited are from Wordsworth and White's Vulgate. I will remind the reader that the principal Irish MSS. are DLRQ with E $\mathfrak{P}$ \* and  $\mathfrak{P}^{m\eta}$ , while the Alcuinian KMTV have also apparently much Irish blood in their veins. I have added the readings of *a b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> q* wherever Wordsworth has not cited the Old Latin witnesses. 'Vulg.' means the reading of Wordsworth and White's text, whereas *vg* means the Clementine Vulgate.

*From the Confession of St. Patrick:*

1. p. 359. Matt. xiii. 36 = Vulg. (otlossum D).
2. p. 363. Matt. x. 20 = Vulg.
3. p. 366. Matt. xxiv. 14 = Vulg.
4. p. 368. Matt. viii. 11 (and Luke xiii. 29): 'Venient ab oriente et occidente et ab austro et ab aquilone et recumbent cum Abraam et Issac et Iacob' (for multi ab or. et occ. uenient, *solus*). aquil. et austro *is introduced (in reversed order) from Luke. recumbent as Matt. (Luke has accumbent, except CEM recumb.)* Issac D.

<sup>1</sup> *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, 1887 (Rolls Series), pp. xciii and cl.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der Vulgata*, 1868, p. 195.

- 5. p. 368. Matt. iv. 19 = Vulg.
- 6. p. 368. Luke vi. 17 = Vulg. (copiosa D).
- 7. p. 368. Matt. xxviii. 19: 'Euntes ergo nunc docete omnes gentes, bapuzantes eas in Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.'  
+ nunc DELQR a b. bap. DÆLRT. eas (for eos) DR.
- 8. p. 369. Mark xvi. 5 = Vulg.
- 9. p. 369. Matt. xxiv. 14: 'Praedicabitur hoc euangeliu[m] regni in uniuerso mundo in testimoniu[m] omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet finis.'  
mundo E (for orbe). (in is omitted in Migne's ed. of the Conf., so D.)  
finis f q (for consummatio, from xxiv. 6 and 1 Cor. xv. 24).

I add from Acts :

- 10. p. 368. Acts xiii. 47: 'Posui te lumen in gentibus, ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae.' lumen in gentibus DΘ; and
- 11. p. 360. 'ut sis . . . ad ultimum terrae,' ultimum d gig.
- 12. p. 369. Acts ii. 17-18 = Vulg. (exc. filii for iuuenes, solus).
- 13. p. 370. Acts xx. 22 = Vulg.

From the Epistle to the subjects of Coroticus :

- 14. p. 376. John viii. 32: 'Qui facit peccatum seruus est [peccati].' (MS. Cotton of St. Patr. omits peccati, with b d and D<sup>67</sup>.)
- 15. p. 376. Matt. xvi. 19: 'Quos ligarent super terram ligatos esse et in celis.' + et EFP<sup>69</sup>H<sup>1</sup>ΘQRW vg b g<sub>1</sub>f (in Matt. xviii all have alligaveritis and et in caelo, except et in caelis EFP<sup>69</sup>Qf and in caelo a ff<sub>1</sub> q).
- 16. p. 377. Matt. xvi. 26 (Mark viii. 27): 'Quid prodest homini ut totum mundum lucretur et ut animae suae detrimentu[m] patiatu[r]?'  
ut (for si) solus. totum mundum (for uniuersum m.) R a f (Mark has mundum totum).
- 17. p. 377. Matt. xii. 30 = Vulg.
- 18. p. 379. Matt. viii. 11: 'Veniet ab oriente et occid.' &c. (for multi ab or. et occ. venient) solus, as 4, above.
- 19. p. 380. Mark xvi. 16 = Vulg. (condempnabitur PFGHΘ).

As the Confession is edited from the Book of Armagh (D) by Stokes, the agreement in spelling with the Gospels in the same MS. is not surprising. The only quotations to be considered are 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16. The witness may be thus tabulated :

15. Matt. xvi. 19	H <sup>1</sup> ΘW	EFP <sup>69</sup>	QR	b f g <sub>1</sub>
16. " xvi. 26			R	a f
9. " xxiv. 14		DE		
7. " xxviii. 19		DE	LQR	a b
"		D	R	
14. [John viii. 32				d]
10. Acts xiii. 47	Θ	D		
11. [ " "				d gig]

The important point to notice is that five out of six readings in Matthew are supported by the Old Latin ; but equally five out of six by the Irish Vulgate MSS. On this meagre evidence it is obviously a tenable hypothesis that St. Patrick used an Irish Vulgate, rather than an Old Latin copy unaffected by the Vulgate.

§ 2. *The Gospel citations of St. Vincent of Lerins.*

It is apparently highly probable that St. Patrick was for a time at least in the famous monastery of Lerins, then recently founded by St. Honoratus. Professor Bury supposes him to have been there from 411 or 412 until 414 or 415, to have returned to Britain for a year, and then to have stayed at Auxerre until consecrated bishop in 432 by St. Germanus. The arguments for the long stay at Auxerre are ingenious, but not wholly convincing. Presumably Patrick became a monk at Lerins, in which case he was hardly likely to live sixteen years as a deacon at Auxerre.<sup>1</sup> St. Germanus became bishop of that see in 418, and it is far more likely that it was this famous monk of Lerins who attracted Patrick to his diocese. It was in 429 that St. Germanus and another Lerinese, St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, made their well-known visit to Britain. One might rather have guessed that it was not until after this that Patrick came to Germanus. He was still only a boy when he returned to Britain to his parents. Why should he have left them to return to Gaul? The vision of Victoricus might have made him desire the clerical state, but this he would receive more naturally in his own country. The desire to emigrate was usually connected in those days with the call of Abraham, 'Egrederere de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui,' and meant the wish to embrace the religious life. One would imagine that if the saint was at Lerins he would be likely to persevere there for a longer time than two years. When he speaks in his Confession of his willingness to return to Britain he says: 'Et libentissime paratus irem, quasi ad patriam et parentes :

<sup>1</sup> Whitley Stokes, p. 561, cites from *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 4, col. 1: 'Patrick went southwards to learn, and he read the canon with Germanus.'

non id solum, sed etiam usque ad Gallias uisitare fratres et ut uiderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei.' One would naturally understand *fratres* to mean 'religious brethren', for it will not mean simply 'friends', and would hardly suggest 'clerical brethren'. And who were the 'saints of God'? Hardly the holy bishops he had known, such as Germanus and Lupus, for he will have been aware that they were dead. Surely it will mean the holy monks who lived to God in their tiny island cut off from the world.<sup>1</sup>

However this may be—and the life of St. Patrick is altogether vague and misty—at least his text of the Gospels would in all probability be brought by him either from the Lerinese St. Germanus or from Lerins. It is for this reason that, on noticing the similarities of his citations to the Irish

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Healy, in his recent *Life and Writings of St. Patrick*, is inclined to accept the various traditions, that St. Patrick was at Marmoutier under St. Martin, at Lerins, at Arles, and with St. Germanus at Auxerre (chapter v). At first sight it looks somewhat as if legend had tried to bring St. Patrick into relation with the most famous persons and places of his time. But on the other hand, it was but natural for a fervent religious of those days to seek instruction both from St. Martin and from St. Honoratus, and the local tradition about St. Patrick at Tours is very strong (Healy, p. 75; cp. Berger, *Vulgate*, p. 47).

Professor Bury's argument (*Life of St. Patrick*, 1905, pp. 347–8 and 336–8) is drawn from the statement of Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni that St. Patrick was consecrated bishop after the death of Palladius *ab Amatorege sancto episcopo* (Whitley Stokes, p. 273), whom Professor Bury identifies with St. Amator, predecessor of St. Germanus. As St. Amator cannot have consecrated St. Patrick, for he died in 418, he must have ordained him deacon; therefore Patrick must have remained at Auxerre from c. 416–18 till 432. This is merely hypothesis. *Amatorege* is just as likely to be a corruption of *Autissiodorensis*, mistaken for a proper name. I take it that St. Patrick stopped at Lerins before returning to Britain. When he had seen his relations after his long absence and captivity, he returned there as a monk. Thence St. Germanus (who had been a monk there with him) summoned him to Auxerre, perhaps with a view to his going to Britain or to Ireland. This explanation is at least simple, and more in accordance with the practice of those days and with the saint's own words. Lerins was fruitful of bishops just then, and St. Celestine complained that it was a *seminarium episcoporum* (unless he means Tours). One would think that Germanus and Lupus would have been certain to choose a monk of Lerins for consecration, if the choice in any way lay with them. I am glad to see that Professor Bury agrees that the *insola Aralansensis* of Tirechan (Whitley Stokes, p. 302, whose suggestion *Arelatensis* is hardly acceptable!) was Lerins; Tirechan says he was there thirty years, *michi testante Ultiano episcopo*, an exaggeration perhaps, but it suggests a stay of many years, necessarily after the return from Britain; for when in Britain he was still a boy, addressed as 'sancte puer' in his vision.

Vulgate, I turned to the contemporary writings of Lerinese monks to investigate the nature of the Gospel text used by them. As St. Vincent of Lerins wrote his *Commonitorium* two years after St. Patrick went to Ireland, it was natural to take him first. Unfortunately he scarcely ever quotes the Gospels. Mr. White, following Kaulen,<sup>1</sup> rightly states that Vincent used the Vulgate, but the very scanty evidence shows that he used a very impure Hieronymian text of the Gospels. But then he writes half a century after the publication of St. Jerome's edition, and it is certain that the great types of text of any much copied work arise within the first century (or even half century) of its existence. This is, for instance, conspicuously true of the Greek text of the New Testament, of St. Cyprian's writings, and (Abbot Butler once told me) of Palladius. There are only two Gospel citations in the *Commonitorium* worth mentioning; and the evidence is less clear in that the editions are not trustworthy. These two texts are cited from Migne (vol. 50):

c. xxv. Matt. vii. 15: 'Attendite uobis a pseudoprophetis, qui ueniunt ad uos in uestitu ouium, ab intus autem sunt lupi rapaces; ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.'

+ uobis D<sup>P</sup>m<sup>o</sup>LQR *b g*<sub>1</sub> pseudo proph. (*for falsis proph.*) *solus*  
 uestitu (*for uestimentis*) *a b f g*<sub>1</sub>  
 ab intus (*for intrinsecus*) *a q* (*intus b g*<sub>1</sub>)  
 ex (*for a*) BD.

c. xxvi. Matt. iv. 5: 'Tunc assumpsit illum diabolus, et statuit illum super pinnaculum templi, et dixit ei: si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum; scriptum est enim quod angelis suis mandauit de te ut custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis; in manibus tollent te, ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.'

illum *solus* super (*for supra Vulg. vet.*) D<sup>P</sup>WZ\* *vg.*  
 quod (*for quia*) *b*  
 + ut custodiant te E<sup>P</sup>R *a* (*om. Vulg. vet. vell.*)  
 + in omnibus uis tuis <sup>PR</sup> (*om Vulg. vet.*)  
*om. et (before in manibus) solus.*

<sup>1</sup> H. J. White, art. 'Vulgate' in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iv, p. 887 a; Kaulen, *Vulg.*, p. 198.

The first text might be simply from the Old Latin; *uestitu* and *ab intus* are only Old Latin, *ex* is only Irish, whereas *uobis* has the whole Irish contingent for it and two Old Latin.

The second citation is more important. *Pinnaculum* is the reading of St. Jerome in all MSS. (except  $\mathfrak{P}^{m\theta}$ ) while *pinnam* is that of all the Old Latin, so that Vincent is apparently using the Vulgate; *super* is Irish and not Old Latin, and the addition of *ut custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis* is characteristically Irish, without any Old Latin witness, except *a* for part of it.

It is clear that on the whole St. Vincent of Lerins affords a close parallel to St. Patrick, and encourages an investigation of the more copious and certain evidence supplied by the Lerinese writers Faustus and Eucherius, whose works have fortunately been recently re-edited for the Vienna *Corpus*.

### § 3. *The Vulgate Gospels and Faustus of Riez.*

In the year which intervened between the consecration of St. Patrick in 432 and the composition of St. Vincent's *Commonitorium* in 434 Faustus became abbot of Lerins. Though it seems he was already in the monastery before the death of St. Honoratus in 426, he must have been a very young abbot, as he wrote *De Gratia* c. 473, and some of his letters in exile are of c. 480. He became bishop of Reii before 462, perhaps in 452. He had thus been a younger contemporary at Lerins with Vincent and with Patrick, who was his countryman, for Faustus was a Briton by birth. In the following tables I use Engelbrecht's text of his treatises *De Gratia* and *De Spiritu Sancto*, his Sermons and his Epistles. I give the pages and lines of that edition (*CSEL.*, vol. 21). The MSS. are cited from Wordsworth. I have added the testimony of *a b f ff g<sub>1</sub> q* wherever Wordsworth omits it, *a b ff<sub>1</sub>* from Bianchini, *f* from Wordsworth, *ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> q* from *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, parts i and iii. I have not troubled to give the arbitrary *c* or *d* or the African *ek*. The sermons are mainly by Caesarius, but embody fragments of Faustus.



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ST. MATTHEW.

<i>Work cited.</i>	<i>Page and line.</i>	<i>Chapter and verse.</i>	
1 Ep. 7	202 <sup>a</sup>	i. 23	concipiet E ( <i>as in Isaiah</i> ) [in utero concipiet a b ff <sub>1</sub> g <sub>1</sub> ]
2 Ep. 5	187 <sup>a</sup>	iii. 12	in horreum suum BTX <sup>a</sup> Z <sup>a</sup> ff <sub>1</sub> g <sub>1</sub>
3 Serm. 11	263 <sup>1a</sup>	v. 5	lugent + nunc DEPLRY <sup>a</sup> <i>but Serm. 16, p. 286<sup>1a</sup> nunc is omitted</i>
4 Gra. i. 4	19 <sup>1a</sup>	v. 16	bona opera uestra D (Gra. i. 4) <i>but opera uestra bona EPLOQTW vg a b f g<sub>1</sub> q (Serm. 17)</i>
Serm. 17	289		omnibus hominibus solus; est in caelis BFHØY
Serm. 3	235 <sup>1</sup>	v. 23-4	1 <sup>o</sup> offers ( <i>or offeris cod. D</i> ) Faustus: offers H <sup>a</sup> VW vg f ff <sub>1</sub> , offeris DÆPR g <sub>1</sub> 2 <sup>o</sup> offeres (offeris cod. D) Faustus: offeres DEHØKMTØ <sup>a</sup> Q <sup>a</sup> TVWYvg c d h, offeris Q <sup>a</sup> R. reconciliari ( <i>but -are cod. D of Faustus = Wordsw. et codd. pl.</i> ) F <sup>a</sup> FH <sup>c</sup> ØORW
5 Serm. 17	291 <sup>a</sup>	vi. 4	absconso B <sup>a</sup> DJLMQR a b f g <sub>1</sub> q
	226 <sup>b</sup>	vi. 12	(demitte cod. D = BFHKMTØ <sup>a</sup> VY 226 and 308, and demittimus in 308 = B <sup>a</sup> KMTLO <sup>a</sup> VXZ <sup>a</sup> ) <i>the rest of the codd. of Faustus have dimitte, and all in Serm. 24, 319<sup>2a</sup></i>
6 Serm. 24	320 <sup>b</sup>	vi. 14	peccata ( <i>for delicta as in v. 15</i> ) E om. et after dimittet DLR a b f g <sub>1</sub> q <i>but has et 234<sup>1a</sup></i>
7 Serm. 3	234 <sup>1a</sup>	vi. 14	
8 Serm. 3	234 <sup>1a</sup>	vi. 15	dimittet + uobis DEF <sup>ms</sup> LQRW vg a b f ff <sub>1</sub> g <sub>1</sub> q. debita ( <i>for peccata</i> ) solus + ab ( <i>before hominibus</i> ) EF <sup>ms</sup>
9 Serm. 17	290 <sup>a</sup>	vi. 17-18	ergo DEQR a b f g <sub>1</sub> ( <i>for autem</i> )
10 Serm. 17	291 <sup>2a</sup>	vi. 33	praestabuntur D b g <sub>1</sub>
11 Serm. 6	245 <sup>2a</sup>	vii. 3	stipulam ( <i>solus, but also e in Lk. vi. 41</i> ). <i>But in commenting Faustus has fistucam. The spelling fist. is found in Matt. in DPHL<sup>a</sup>QR (fyst. E), in Luke in DÆPGX (v. 41) and in DÆP (v. 42 bis)</i>
12 Serm. 25	327 <sup>2a</sup>	vii. 12	+ ita BDEJQ a b g <sub>1</sub> q (+ bona ita F <sup>ms</sup> LRW)
13			illis DEFKMTORVWX <sup>a</sup> Z <sup>a</sup> vg a b f ff <sub>1</sub> g <sub>1</sub> q ( <i>eis ceteri</i> ) + similiter solus
14 Ep. 5	192 <sup>2a</sup>	vii. 22-3	in nominetuo ter AY vg ( <i>bis</i> ) DTX <sup>a</sup> a b ff <sub>1</sub> q
15 Sp.S.ii.4	141 <sup>a</sup>	viii. 20	nidos ACHØKMTØVWX <sup>a</sup> Y g <sub>1</sub> vg Hier [EFJRQT a b c h q (ff <sub>1</sub> ) add ubi requiescant (-cent)] + suum EPQT a b g <sub>1</sub> ( <i>but not Ep. 7, p. 204<sup>2a</sup></i> )
16			
17 Gra. i. 9	27 <sup>2a</sup>	ix. 12-13	sanis BHX <sup>a</sup> a b g <sub>1</sub> q qui male habent solus

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<i>Work cited.</i>	<i>Page and line.</i>	<i>Chapter and verse.</i>	
18 Gra. i. 9	27 <sup>28</sup>	ix. 12-13	+ ad paenitentiam HΘQ g <sub>1</sub>
19 Serm. 13	274 <sup>34</sup>	x. 19	om dabitur . . . loquamini QZ* g <sub>1</sub> . praemeditari <i>solus</i>
20 Ep. 6	199 <sup>14</sup>	xi. 12	diripiunt BFKMOTVXZ a b c d g <sub>1</sub> h k l
21 Gra. ii. 5	69 <sup>10</sup>	xii. 43-5	perambulat ff <sub>1</sub> ( <i>but</i> ambulat, 294 <sup>12</sup> )
22 Serm. 18	294 <sup>12</sup>		inueniet CT b ff <sub>2</sub> inuenietis) <i>but</i> 294 <sup>12</sup> quaerit ( <i>solus</i> ) et non inuenit
23 Gra. i. 12	43 <sup>30</sup>	xiii. 12	illi D ff <sub>1</sub> . superabundauit <i>solus</i>
24 Gra. ii. 5	68 <sup>2</sup>	"	etiam ( <i>for</i> et) E
Gra. ii. 5	69 <sup>30</sup>	xiii. 15	clausurunt ( <i>for</i> clus.) <i>plures</i>
" "	70 <sup>28</sup>	"	ne forte <i>solus</i>
25 Serm. 12	270 <sup>12</sup>	xiii. 43	eorum ( <i>for</i> sui) BCDEP <sup>m</sup> ΘHΘJKLMQ
Serm. 20	304 <sup>1</sup>	"	RTVW <i>vg</i> a b ff <sub>1, 2</sub> l q
26 Ep. 6	199 <sup>19</sup>	xvi. 24	seipsum sibi LQ q ( <i>seipsum</i> ER) <i>for</i> semetipsum ( <i>se</i> sibi a b ff <sub>2</sub> g <sub>1</sub> )
27 Gra. i. 9	29 <sup>5</sup>	xvi. 27	opera EΘJLQRTW <i>vg</i> a b f ff <sub>2</sub> g <sub>1</sub> q
28 Serm. 12	267 <sup>8</sup>	"	sua ( <i>for</i> eius) R
Gra. 3	17 <sup>5</sup>	xvii. 21	+ daemouii a c ( <i>an explanation only?</i> )
29 Serm. 12	270 <sup>12</sup>	xxii. 30	erunt <i>for</i> sunt DEJQR g <sub>1</sub> ( <i>Bianch.</i> , <i>but</i> sunt <i>Wordsw. O. L. Textis</i> , i. p. 35)
30 Gra. 18	57 <sup>9</sup>	xxiii. 37	sicut <i>for</i> quemadmodum DE a
31			alas + suas DEP <sup>m</sup> ΘLQT a b g <sub>1</sub> q
32 Serm. 5	243 <sup>12</sup>	xxv. 34	percipite <i>Cyprian</i>
33 Serm. 12	271 <sup>17</sup>	"	regnum quod uobis paratum est DR <i>Cypr</i>
34			ab origine (272 <sup>1</sup> , not 243 <sup>12</sup> ) DER c d ff <sub>1</sub> θ
35 Serm. 25	325 <sup>1 and 2</sup>	xxv. 35, 43	( <i>bis</i> ) fui ( <i>for</i> eram) <i>Cypr</i>
36			suscepistis ( <i>for</i> collegistis) <i>solus</i>
37		" 40, 45	ex minimis istis ff <sub>2</sub> 2 <sup>do</sup>
38		" 41	paratus ( <i>for</i> praepar.) BCDEΘJO*WZ* <i>vg f</i>
39 Serm. 16	288 <sup>22</sup>	xxvi. 41	ne ( <i>for</i> ut non) LR ( <i>see on</i> Mark xiv. 38 below)
Sp. S. i. 8	114 <sup>22</sup>	xxviii. 19	ite baptizate <i>solus</i> ( <i>but</i> Serm. 31, 346 <sup>22</sup>
Sp. S. ii. 4	138 <sup>9</sup>	"	cuntes baptizate)

ST. MARK.

40 Gr. i. 16	52 <sup>5</sup>	ix. 24	credo + domine BFH*ΘIKMOQTVW XZ <i>vg</i> a b c f (q) θ aur
41 Sp. S. i. 7	111 <sup>22</sup>	xiii. 11	uos estis ( <i>for</i> e. u.) DPMRTW a ff <sub>2</sub> <i>vg</i>
42 Gr. i. 3	17 <sup>2</sup>	xiv. 38	ne a f ( <i>ut</i> ne P <sup>m</sup> ΘL) <i>for</i> ut non ( <i>cp. on</i> Matt. xxvi. 41 <i>above</i> )

ST. LUKE.

Ep. 3	178 <sup>12</sup>	i. 19	dominum ( <i>for</i> deum) <i>cod. S of Faustus</i> , with DG b ff <sub>2</sub>
Serm. 2	228 <sup>9</sup>	i. 35	obumbravit <i>cod. D of Faustus</i> D*GO* b

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<i>Work cited.</i>	<i>Page and line.</i>	<i>Chapter and verse.</i>	
43 Ep. 7	202 <sup>a</sup>	i. 35	+ ex te BDGHΘMMO <sup>c</sup> PT <sup>c</sup> W <i>vg a c e r</i>
44 Sermon. 2	231 <sup>11</sup>	i. 38	+ sum D
45 Sp. S. ii. 7	148 <sup>1</sup>	i. 68	plebis ( <i>for plebi</i> ) ΘFDE <sup>m</sup> ΘJKLMMQRVWX <i>vg</i> <i>b c f ff<sub>2</sub> q r aur</i>
46 Sermon. 25	324 <sup>a</sup>	ii. 14	in excelsis DE <sup>m</sup> ΘGLOP <i>a f l q r δ aur</i>
47 Sp. S. ii. 7	148 <sup>a</sup>	ii. 26	a ( <i>for ab</i> ) DE <sup>m</sup> ΘJKLMMQRVWY <i>a ff<sub>2</sub> q vg</i>
48 Sp. S. i. 8	115 <sup>1</sup>	iii. 22	conplacui ( <i>for conplacuit mihi</i> ) <i>f q δ (cp.</i> DKVZ <sup>c</sup> (W) conplacui mihi)
49 Sermon. 4	238 <sup>12</sup>	vi. 37	dimittetur uobis ( <i>for dimittimini</i> ) JKOVX <sup>*Z</sup> <i>c e r aur</i>
50 Gra. i. 8	25 <sup>11</sup>	ix. 23	+ sibi <i>c</i>
51 Gra. i. 9	28 <sup>10</sup>	ix. 24	et qui ( <i>for nam qui</i> ) R a ; ( <i>inneniet solus</i> )
52 Sp. S. i. 8	113 <sup>12</sup>	xi. 20	+ ego <i>c ff<sub>2</sub> d (q)</i> (daemones <i>solus</i> )
53 Sp. S. i. 7	112 <sup>1</sup>	xii. 11	om̄ aut quid respondeatis CMT
54		xii. 12	illa ( <i>for ipsa</i> ) <i>c ff<sub>2</sub></i>
55 Ep. 5	188 <sup>1</sup>	xvi. 28	hunc locum ( <i>for l. h.</i> ) BCGKT <i>vg a c d e ff<sub>2</sub></i> <i>l m r</i>
56 Gra. i. 16	51 <sup>10</sup>	xviii. 12	quaecumque ( <i>for quae</i> ) <i>a e ff<sub>2</sub> i q δ</i>
St. JOHN.			
57 Sermon. 7	250 <sup>a</sup>	ii. 1	tertia ( <i>for tertio</i> ) I <sup>*K</sup> QRYXZ <sup>3</sup> <i>vg velt roll</i> siebant <i>a l</i>
58		ii. 10	om̄ tunc <i>a e ff<sub>2</sub>* l q</i>
59	251 <sup>a</sup>		+ vero ER <i>ff<sub>2</sub> l aur</i>
60			nunc ( <i>for adhuc</i> ) D <sup>*q</sup> ( <i>but adhuc p. 252<sup>a</sup></i> )
61			+ sancto CDERTW <i>a ff<sub>2</sub> m r aur</i>
62 Sp. S. ii. 4	144 <sup>12</sup>	iii. 5 }	intrare ( <i>for introire</i> ) B a r
63 „ ii. 7	149 <sup>14</sup>	„ }	
64 Sp. S. ii. 4	140 <sup>a</sup>	iii. 13	de caelo descendit D <sup>c</sup> EHZ <sup>3</sup> <i>vett (ex c.)</i>
65 Sermon. 18	295 <sup>10</sup>	v. 14	ne quid tibi deterius E a b (d) <i>e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r</i> <i>Iren Cypr</i> ( <i>but 68<sup>12</sup> ne deterius tibi aliquid as Vulg.</i> )
Gra. ii. 5	68 <sup>12</sup>		iam sanus ( <i>bis</i> ) <i>solus</i>
66 Gra. i. 16	50 <sup>10</sup>	vi. 51	+ quam ego dabo <i>f q δ</i>
67 Gra. i. 16	53 <sup>12</sup>	vi. 66	ex discipulis <i>a b f q</i>
68			cum illo non Θ <i>d f ff<sub>2</sub> q aur</i>
69		68	autem <i>b d</i> ; ( <i>om̄ simon solus</i> )
70		69	credimus CDEFGJKORTVWY <sup>*Z</sup> <i>c e ff<sub>2</sub> l r δ</i> <i>aur Tert Cypr</i>
Sp. S. ii. 4	106 <sup>17</sup>	viii. 25 }	+ ego sum <i>solus (not in 170<sup>21</sup>)</i>
71 Ep. 3	170 <sup>11</sup>	}	principium quod DE <sup>m</sup> ΘGΘM <i>f ff<sub>2</sub> l q δ gat</i>
72 Sermon. 26	330 <sup>a</sup>	x. 38	si mihi non creditis <i>δ (with many Gk.)</i>
Sermon. 15	284 <sup>a</sup>	xii. 35	currite ( <i>for ambulate</i> ) <i>solus (so in Reg. S. Benedi-</i> <i>dicti, Prologue)</i>
73 Sp. S. i. 7	112 <sup>12</sup>	xii. 40 }	cor eorum <i>vg a b c e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r Aug (but eorum</i> <i>cor. 67<sup>12</sup> as Vulg.)</i>
Gra. ii. 5	67 <sup>12</sup>	}	obduravit ( <i>bis</i> ) <i>solus</i> ; (+ Jesus ( <i>bis</i> ) <i>solus</i> )
74 Sp. S. i. 2	105 <sup>a</sup>	xiv. 1	credite ( <i>for creditis</i> ) DE <i>vett (exc. f) Aug</i>

<i>Work cited.</i>	<i>Page and line.</i>	<i>Chapter and verse.</i>	
75 Sp. S. i. 6	109 <sup>20</sup>	xiv. 9	uidet ( <i>for uidit bis</i> ) B?DEJMRW <i>ug ð Tert Iren?</i>
Serm. 30	34 <sup>2</sup>	"	
76 Sp. S. i. 10	120 <sup>9</sup>	xiv. 17	+ hic ( <i>before mundus</i> ) <i>vett pl</i>
77 Sp. S. i. 9	116	xvi. 20	tristes eritis ( <i>for con tristabimini</i> ) G a b e f g r
78			conuertetur GM <sup>o</sup> R a b r
79 Serm. 10	261 <sup>1</sup>	xvi. 33	+ hoc ( <i>before mundo</i> ) b c f ff <sub>2</sub>
Serm. 13	274 <sup>2</sup>	"	
80 Sp. S. i. 9	116	xx. 22	dxit ( <i>for dicit</i> ) CHØT <i>cor nat mg f q Aug</i>
81 Serm. 31	345 <sup>10</sup>	"	<i>om eis q</i>

Engelbrecht, in his *index scriptorum*, gives a list of 70 citations of St. Matthew, 8 of St. Mark, 41 of St. Luke, and 47 of St. John. Out of these I have 32 of St. Matthew, 3 of St. Mark, 15 of St. Luke, and 17 of St. John. The rest all have the readings of Wordsworth exactly. Omitting numbers 4, 15, 32, 35-6, we have 34 variant readings in St. Matthew, of which 15 are not from the sermons. The MSS. appear as follows, the second number being pure Faustus, i. e. not counting the sermons:

D E F F<sup>mo</sup> L Q R; B Z; K M V; J M; C  
 16.4 17.6 6.3 3.3 9.3 12.5 13.3; 7.3 4.1; 3.1 3.1 3.1; I I; 4.1  
 T; O X; A F H Y, Ø. a b f ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub> q  
 5.5; 3.1 4.3; 1.1 0 6.3 1.1 6.3. 13.6 14.5 6.1 8.3 15.6 10.4

Only Nos. 21, 22, 37 are supported by no Irish witness. Nos. 3, 4, 24, 28, 29, 39 are not witnessed by the Old Latin so far as I have quoted it. So that the general testimony of Faustus is an exact parallel to the scanty evidence from St. Patrick and St. Vincent.

If we inquire into more detail, we must remember that the correspondence with AY is far closer than the numbers suggest, for in pretty well all the passages I have not had cause to cite, the exact agreement of Faustus with Wordsworth means an agreement with AY. The agreement with the Alcuinian KMTV, the North Italian JM, the Spanish CT, and the Canterbury OX is insignificant, except (naturally) where they agree with AY and Wordsworth.

Among the Irish Codices DE are the nearest to Faustus, and QR follow them closely. The Old Latin text on which

that of Faustus was founded was clearly 'European' (*a b ff<sub>2</sub>g<sub>1</sub>q*), though mixed with 'Italian' elements (*f*). This again agrees with the scanty evidence from Vincent (*a, b, g<sub>1</sub>* each thrice, *f q* each once); (Patrick *a b f* each twice, *g<sub>1</sub>* once).

The text used by Faustus was thus in Matthew mixed Vulgate and European Latin; viz. either a Vulgate text spoilt by recollections of a European text, or (far more probably) a European text corrected considerably, but incompletely, from St. Jerome's revision. I take the Irish text to be explained in the same way; it is a 'European text' corrected considerably by the revision of St. Jerome, and all existing MSS. of it have been still further revised, some more, some less. The remarkable point is that nearly all the 'European readings' found in the Lerinese writers we have examined are still attested in some at least of our Irish MSS.

The evidence from Mark and Luke is scantier, but not in discord. Out of seventeen places the Old Latin is alone in as many as five. Three of the remaining readings, Nos. 49, 53, 55, are supported by no Irish MSS.; but 53 is unimportant, and the other two places have the semi-Irish witness of KV or BGK. In the remaining nine places D appears seven times, R four times:

D P P<sup>ms</sup> L Q R; B F G Z; K M V; J M;  
 7.4 2.1 2.2 3.2 3.3 4.4; 3.3 1.1 4.2 2.1; 5.4 5.5 5.3; 3.3 3.3;  
 C T; O X; A F H Y; Θ.  
 2.2 4.4; 4.1 3.2; O 1.1 1.1 1.1; 2.2.

The Alcuinian KMTV are more Irish than they appeared in Matthew. This is mere chance.

*a b c d e f ff<sub>2</sub> q r δ*  
 9.8 4.2 8.7 2.2 4.3 5.4 8.7 6.4 5.3 3.3

Now that *g<sub>1</sub>*<sup>1</sup> has disappeared *a* takes the lead.

When we turn to St. John everything changes. Every single text has an Old Latin witness. Nine out of twenty-five have no other witness. D and R still take a prominent place, but evidently on account of the large Old Latin element they contain. One cannot venture on this evidence to say that Faustus used

<sup>1</sup> This MS. everywhere but in Matthew is Vulgate and called G.

simply an Old Latin text of St. John. But one must at least affirm that it was more full of Old Latin elements than was his text of the Synoptists. The Old Latin elements are slightly more Italian and less European than before :

D E P P<sup>mo</sup> Q R; B F G Z; K M V; J M  
 6.5 8.6 o 1.1 2 6.3; 1.1 1.1 4.2 1.1; 2.1 2.1 1.1; 2.2 1.1;  
 C T Θ; O X; A F H S Y  
 3.3 3.2 2.2; 1 1; o 1.1 2.2 o 2.1

a b c d e f ff<sub>2</sub> i l m q r s aur  
 12.6 11.5 5.3 5.4 9.4 10.7 12.7 3.2 9.5 4.3 13.8 10.6 8.6 6.5

§ 4. *The Vulgate Gospels and St. Eucherius of Lyons.*

The founder of the monastery of Lerins, St. Honoratus, was joined in 410 by Eucherius, who became in 429 bishop of Lyons, and died about 450-5. Eucherius and Patrick must have been companions in monastic life.

Eucherius is commonly said to have used the Vulgate, but not exclusively (cp. *Instr.*, xli, p. 97<sup>20</sup>). It is difficult to estimate the nature of his text, from the fact that he cites very freely. One would guess that he had an excellent memory, and was wont to quote even long passages by heart. In the following list none of the passages where he agrees with Wordsworth are given, and of apparently free quotation only specimens are included, especially those cases where the reading looks as though it may have been really found in a MS. I give pages and lines of Wotke's edition (*CSEL.*, xxx, part i) of which the second volume has not appeared. Pp. 3-62 refer to the *Formulae Spiritalis Intellegentiae*, pp. 65-139 to the *Instructiones*, Book I. In Book II there are no citations, and there are none of importance in the *Passio Agaunensium martyrum* and *De laude eremi*.

ST. MATTHEW.

Page and line.	Chapter and verse.	
1 14 <sup>13</sup>	iii. 9	potens est ( <i>for potest</i> ) BEH*ΘJKMTWX*(V*) <i>ab fff<sub>1</sub> qvg</i>
107 <sup>13</sup>	iii. 11	<i>see</i> Luke iii. 16.
15 <sup>20</sup>	iii. 12	[ <i>Codex S of Eucherius omits suum and reads in horreo suo; compare in horreum suum Faustus BTX*Z* ff<sub>1</sub> 81.</i> ]
45 <sup>13</sup>	v. 15	nemo accendit solus ( <i>free</i> )

174 IRISH TEXT OF THE VULGATE GOSPELS

<i>Page and line.</i>	<i>Chapter and verse.</i>	
2 45 <sup>9</sup> 46 <sup>12</sup>	v. 16 vii. 5	lumen uestrum ( <i>for lux uestra</i> ) <i>d k q</i> tum ( <i>for tunc</i> ) <i>solus</i> fistucam (so spelt) <i>Faustus</i> D $\Phi$ HL*QR ( <i>fyst. E</i> )
3 119 <sup>16</sup> 4 5	vii. 24-5	similis est <i>a b g<sub>1</sub></i> super 1° D $\Phi$ *LQRZ* (2° <i>Euch. has supra with Vulg.</i> ) aduenerunt ( <i>for uenerunt</i> ) <i>a b g<sub>1</sub> q</i> <i>om flauerunt uenti solus</i>
34 <sup>11</sup>	viii. 22	sine mortui sepeliant <i>a</i> ( <i>remitte mortuos sine mortui sepeliant</i> ) <i>q</i> ( <i>sine mortuos sepelire</i> ) <i>for dimitte m. sepelire</i>
39 <sup>9</sup> 108 <sup>24</sup>	xi. 21 xi. 30	cinere et cilicio ( <i>for cin. et cil.</i> ) <i>solus</i> lene ( <i>for suane</i> ) <i>solus</i>
6 61 <sup>4</sup> and 31	xiii. 8	dabunt ( <i>for dabant</i> ) <i>bis</i> EQ <i>g<sub>1</sub> k q</i> [centensimum, <i>spell so EZ* b</i> ; sexagens. <i>bis</i> CEPZ* <i>b q</i> ; tricens. CPFZ* <i>b</i> ]
7 14 <sup>18</sup>	xiii. 38	+ hic ( <i>before mundus</i> ) DE $\Phi$ *QR <i>a b f g<sub>1</sub> q</i> ( <i>Eucherius has est hic mundus with D<math>\Phi</math>*Q a b f g<sub>1</sub> q</i> ; <i>om est R</i> ; <i>hic m. est E</i> )
27 <sup>9</sup>	xxi. 7	+ eius ( <i>after pullum</i> ) BEH* $\Theta$
8 129 <sup>11</sup>	xxii. 30	<i>om dei</i> ( <i>after angeli</i> ) EZ* <i>b f q</i>
9 35 <sup>1</sup>	xxiii. 27	foris ( <i>for aforis</i> ) FH* $\Theta$
10 24 <sup>18</sup>	xxiii. 37	sicut ( <i>for quemadmodum</i> ) <i>Faustus</i> DE <i>a</i>
11		alis suis FR <i>f</i> ( <i>for alas Vulg.</i> ; <i>but Faustus</i> DE $\Phi$ $\Theta$ LQT <i>a b g<sub>1</sub> q</i> <i>alas suas</i> )
12 109 <sup>9</sup> 22 <sup>10</sup> 120 <sup>10</sup>	xxiv. 20 xxiv. 28 xxv. 1-3	ne ( <i>for ut non</i> ) R ubi ( <i>for ubicumque</i> ) <i>solus</i> assimilabitur <i>solus</i>
13		lampadas ( <i>for-des</i> ) BFH*OX*Z* <i>f q</i> ; <i>ex illis</i> ( <i>for ex eis</i> ) <i>solus</i> ; <i>sapientes</i> ( <i>for prudentes</i> ) <i>solus</i> ( <i>f. liturg. antiph.</i> <i>'haec est virgo sapiens et una de numero prudentum'</i> ) <i>fatuae autem q</i>
14		+ suis ( <i>after lampadibus</i> ) DE $\Phi$ *R <i>b f</i> adsumperunt ( <i>for sump.</i> ) <i>solus</i> <i>om prudentes . . . oleum solus</i> ( <i>but ff<sub>1</sub> has in uasis after secum, continuing prudentes . . . oleum secum</i> )
15		+ suis ( <i>after lampadibus</i> 2°) DE $\Phi$ *Q <i>b q</i> ( <i>but om before lampad.</i> )
45 <sup>6</sup>	xxv. 7	parauerunt ( <i>for ornauerunt</i> ) <i>solus</i>
16 50 <sup>17</sup>	xxv. 33	statuit ( <i>for statuet</i> ) OR
17 109 <sup>12</sup>	xxvi. 29	quo ( <i>for cum</i> ) LQ
18 109 <sup>18</sup> 67 <sup>6</sup>	xxvi. 64 xxviii. 19	ad dexteram ( <i>for a dextris</i> ) $\Phi$ *LR <i>a b f q</i> ite baptizate <i>as Faustus</i>
ST. LUKE.		
19 40 <sup>24</sup> } 121 <sup>10</sup> }	i. 15	siceram ( <i>for sicera</i> ) CD $\Phi$ GH $\Theta$ IJKMO*QRTVWZ <i>vg</i> <i>b c ff<sub>1</sub> 1° r d auv</i>
14 <sup>6</sup>	iii. 4	collis et mons ( <i>for mons et collis</i> ) <i>solus</i> ( <i>b om mons et</i> )
20 107 <sup>10</sup>	iii. 16	<i>om in before Spiritu</i> B ( <i>not Matt. iii. 11</i> )

<i>Page and line.</i>	<i>Chapter and verse.</i>	
21 61 <sup>18</sup>	iv. 1-2	in deserto ( <i>for in desertum</i> ) C̄P̄GH̄Θ̄IM̄TOT̄XZ a b d ff <sub>2</sub> q r δ aur
46 <sup>8</sup>	v. 4	mitte ( <i>for laxate, al. laxa, d mitte</i> ) solus om uestra solus
22 33 <sup>14</sup>	v. 31	sani ( <i>for qui sani sunt</i> ) P a f δ male habentes ( <i>for qui male habent</i> ) solus
42 <sup>9</sup>	v. 38	mitti debet solus ( <i>fres</i> )
23 30 <sup>4</sup>	x. 19	super ( <i>for supra</i> ) CEGPQR a c d e f i q
24 121 <sup>18</sup>	x. 30	suscipiens D̄P̄HOP̄QY a d ff <sub>2</sub> l <sup>o</sup> q r δ aur gig Wordsw. ( <i>the rest is freely cited but note cum uidisset e f</i> )
25 47 <sup>8</sup>	xi. 25	ueniens ( <i>for cum uenerit</i> ) c d f δ + uacantem f l r
27		+ et ornatam ERW a <sub>2</sub> b f ff <sub>2</sub> i q r δ cor uat
28 41 <sup>17</sup>	xii. 33	ueterascant ( <i>for -cunt</i> ) solus
29 45 <sup>9</sup>	xii. 35	accincti c
30 122 <sup>11</sup>	xv. 11-13	iunior c e ( <i>for adulescentior</i> ) om ex illis patri e (illi c); <i>the rest is free</i>
31		manu ( <i>for manum, and so one cod. of Euch.</i> ) F̄CEḠΘ̄M
32 47 <sup>18</sup>	xv. 22	MTW a b c f i l q r aur
33 33 <sup>22</sup>	xvi. 20	pauper ( <i>for mendicus</i> ) uett pl
34 113 <sup>11</sup>	xvi. 23	uidit ( <i>for uidebat</i> ) F̄ĒP̄ḠΘ̄IK̄M̄OV̄WZ vg b f i q δ de longe ( <i>for a l.</i> ) E m r
35		

ST. JOHN.

36 23 <sup>18</sup>	i. 32	sicut ( <i>for quasi</i> ) (E)QR (a b e r) <i>but E a b e r have the order sicut col. desc., while Euch. QR have Vulg. order</i>
88 <sup>18</sup>	iii. 18	quia ( <i>for qui</i> ) solus
114 <sup>28</sup>	iii. 34	deus dat ( <i>for dat deus</i> ) solus
37 41 <sup>8</sup>	iv. 34	me misit ( <i>for misit me</i> ) F̄CḠM̄T a b d e ff <sub>2</sub> l m q + patris l
115 <sup>8</sup>	vii. 8	om festum i <sup>o</sup> loco, solus
38 115 <sup>28</sup>	vii. 30	eum ( <i>for illum</i> ) F̄ <sup>m</sup> QR
138 <sup>10</sup>	viii. 18	perhibuit ( <i>for perhibet</i> ) solus om ipso ( <i>after me</i> ) a b d e l Tert
39 116 <sup>10</sup>	viii. 44	diabolo patre ( <i>for patre diab.</i> ) E
40 13 <sup>20</sup>	ix. 11	linuit ( <i>for unxit</i> ) d (linuit) [cp. superliniuit b (f) l r] + ante me d gat foss Lucif Hier <sup>A</sup>
41 58 <sup>8</sup>	x. 8	fuerunt ( <i>for sunt</i> ) solus
86 <sup>2</sup>	xii. 40	cor eorum ( <i>for eor. cor</i> ) uett ( <i>but not p. 85<sup>28</sup></i> )
42 138 <sup>14</sup>	xv. 26	om a patre D q
43		perhibet ( <i>for perhibebit</i> ) OQRZ c δ
44 137 <sup>28</sup>	xix. 35	exiit BCD̄P̄M̄T
45 134 <sup>28</sup>	xx. 23	remittentur ADM̄RSX e ff <sub>2</sub> q r ( <i>but codd. AV of Euch. have -tuntur</i> )
46		retenta erunt E aur

A large number of the above cases are very uncertain.



It is always possible that Eucherius may have had an Old Latin copy of the Gospels almost by heart, while he sometimes referred to a Vulgate copy before him. But it seems more likely that, like Faustus, he used an Old Latin copy largely corrected to the Vulgate; for the general testimony of the table is closely parallel to what we learned about Faustus.

Out of forty-six readings, thirty-seven are Old Latin, thirty are Irish. In twenty-three cases (exactly half) the Old Latin and Irish coincide:

Old Latin  $\frac{37}{46}$ ; Irish  $\frac{30}{46}$ ;

Old Latin only  $\frac{14}{46}$ ; Irish only  $\frac{7}{46}$ .

In twenty cases other MSS. appear (but only one MS. in four of these cases, viz. Nos. 4, 8, 22, 28), and in a few cases the reading is a widespread one (viz. 1, 13, 19, 21, 32). In fifteen out of the twenty cases the other MSS. are with both Irish and Old Latin (viz. 1, 4, 8, 11, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 28, 32, 34, 37, 43, 45). In only two cases (9, 20) are readings supported merely by non-Irish and non-Old Latin MSS.; the former case is unimportant (*foris* for *aforis*); the second is supported by one MS. only (B, semi-Irish) and is probably a slip. The various MSS. appear as follows, offering an exact parallel to Faustus in the case of the Vulgate:

D	E	F	F <sup>ms</sup>	L	Q	R;	B	F	G	Z;	K	M	V;	J	M;																																																												
		6	5																																																																								
10	13	11		3	11	14;	4	3	6	7;	3	8	2;	2	2;																																																												
C	T;	O	X;	A	F	H	Y																																																																				
6	5;	6	4;	1	3	5	1																																																																				
<table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left; padding-right: 5px;"></th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">a</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">b</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">c</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">d</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">e</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">f</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">ff<sub>2</sub></th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">g<sub>1</sub></th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">i</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">l</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">q</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">r</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">s</th> <th style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">aur</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="text-align: left; padding-right: 5px;"><i>Mark, Luke, John</i></td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">7</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">7</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">7</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">8</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">7</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">9</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">6</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">—</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">5</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">5</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">8</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">6</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">6</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: left; padding-right: 5px;"><i>Matt.</i></td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">6</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">8</td> <td colspan="2"></td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">7</td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">4</td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">9</td> <td colspan="4"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: left; padding-right: 5px;">Total</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">13</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">15</td> <td colspan="2"></td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">16</td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; padding-right: 5px;">17</td> <td colspan="6"></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>																	a	b	c	d	e	f	ff <sub>2</sub>	g <sub>1</sub>	i	l	q	r	s	aur	<i>Mark, Luke, John</i>	7	7	7	8	7	9	6	—	5	5	8	6	6	5	<i>Matt.</i>	6	8			7		4		9						Total	13	15			16		17							
	a	b	c	d	e	f	ff <sub>2</sub>	g <sub>1</sub>	i	l	q	r	s	aur																																																													
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On the Vulgate MSS. no remarks need be made, as there is nothing to be said which was not said with regard to Faustus. As to the Old Latin, the evidence for Matthew is too scanty to make the unimportance of *g*<sub>1</sub> noticeable. But *f* (that is the 'Italian' element) is fairly prominent, much more so than it was in the text of Faustus. But this is not enough to offer any real contrast to the evidence from Faustus,

whose Matthew text seemed to be more European, and his John text less Irish, and indeed hardly Vulgate at all. We should expect some considerable difference between the codices used by the two Lerinese monks, whether we regard them as two Gallic texts or even as two books copied at Lerins. But the general witness is certainly practically the same, and the important point is that it harmonizes perfectly with the scantier witness from St. Vincent of Lerins and from St. Patrick.

The passages where Faustus and Eucherius meet are few; see Matt. iii. 12; vii. 5; and John xii. 40, where there are actually coincidences though unimportant ones. But Matt. xxviii. 19 is really remarkable, for Eucherius, like Faustus, quotes 'ite baptizate omnes gentes' for 'euntes docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos'. Did their codices really present them with this possibly unexampled corruption of a well-known text?

§ 5. *The origin of the Irish text was from Lerins.*

To sum up. 1. The Irish text of the Vulgate Gospels is a text containing three elements: first, a strain of pure Hieronymian readings which place it in the front rank of witnesses, and which show that it branched off from the other families at a very early date; secondly, a considerable admixture of Old Latin elements, neither purely 'Italian' nor purely 'European'; thirdly, certain well-known Irish characteristics,<sup>1</sup> many of which may have arisen in Ireland.

2. Similarly, the writers of Lerins in the first half of the fifth century use a Vulgate text which largely agrees with the true text restored by Wordsworth, as their early date would lead us to expect. But there is also a large element of Old Latin readings or reminiscences in their quotations, larger than in the Irish text. Still the greater number of these variants are actually found in the Irish text as well, and they exhibit other variants which are attested by some or all of our Irish MSS., but by no known Old Latin copies. On the other hand

<sup>1</sup> Viz. 'redundantia locutionum' and 'verborum inversio', see Wordsworth and White, pp. 713-14, who give under five heads what I have summed for convenience under three.

these writers show no affinities whatever in their text with any other Vulgate families than the Irish.

3. St. Patrick, probably a monk of Lerins, shows in his writings just the same phenomena which we have observed in Vincent, Faustus, and Eucherius. His relationship to the Irish text is naturally explained by the supposition that he introduced that text into Ireland in 432.

The evidence is in itself by no means conclusive; but the solution to which it points is one so obvious and expected that the uncertainty of the evidence is of less moment. The independent and ancient character of the Irish text is strongly in favour of this hypothesis, which isolates it already at the beginning of the fifth century. We shall find a still stronger confirmation when in chapter xv, p. 279 we consider the Irish text of the Prologues to the Gospels, a text which alone of all others has preserved the original readings, whereas all the remaining families, Northumbrian, Canterbury, Spanish, &c., exhibit varieties of a single later recension of the Prologues.

Further, we have seen that a thoroughly corrupt Vulgate text can hardly be presumed at Lerins so early as 410-30; the mixed text of Eucherius and Faustus is surely an Old Latin text corrected to the Vulgate, not a Vulgate text corrupted by the Old Latin. And this is in itself a natural presumption. St. Jerome made no new translation of the Gospels, but a revision only. The Old Latin copies in use would be simply corrected according to his revision. The Lerins text (or shall we say the text of South Gaul?—I think not) was systematically but not thoroughly corrected. It seems that in Faustus's copy the corrector grew lazy when he arrived at the fourth Gospel.

St. Patrick's copy may have been rather better corrected (unless we prefer to think that Faustus and Eucherius had the Old Latin in their memories); but anyhow the Irish MSS. which we possess to-day have received fresh revision according to the Vulgate (and even according to the Greek) in varying measure. In consequence of this they exhibit fewer Old Latin readings than we found in Eucherius and Faustus; and whereas some of the readings of those Fathers are found in all

our Irish witnesses, there are others which have survived in only one or two of them. Let us remember that the oldest of our Irish MSS. are nearly three hundred years younger than St. Patrick's mission; L and Q are seventh to eighth century, D<sup>1</sup> E  $\mathfrak{P}$  eighth to ninth, R was completed before 820. If we judge by the evidence of Eucherius and Faustus, L is the most altered from the original type. This is the less to be wondered at if Bradshaw was right in his view that it came originally from Llandaff to Lichfield.  $\mathfrak{P}$  has become a better witness through its marginal corrections. Of DEQR on the whole D seems to have preserved the Old Latin element with the greatest fidelity; and this is the more interesting because this famous 'Book of Armagh' contains a *Corpus Patricianum* of the highest importance, and adds at the end of the Confession of St. Patrick the interesting words: 'Huc usque uolumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad caelos.'

A further indication that the Irish Gospel text is fundamentally an Old Latin text vulgatized may be found in the Irish summaries, as found in D $\mathfrak{P}$ Q *durm.* These are essentially Old Latin summaries in the earliest form, and are thus found in *c ff*<sub>2</sub> *g*<sub>1</sub> (Matt.) *g*<sub>2</sub> (Mark, Luke, John) *h r aur*, &c. The usual form (BJ and CTH $\Theta$ , &c.) is a later and improved edition, though it is as early as St. Hilary; unless we regard the Irish and *c ff*<sub>2</sub> *g h* form as an adaptation of the usual form to the Greek divisions as found in the Codex Vaticanus. At any rate the Irish form is found in comparatively few Vulgate MSS., and these have mostly got it from the Irish family.

On the other hand B,  $\mathfrak{F}$ , and G (in Matt. = *g*<sub>1</sub>) are probably Gallican MSS.<sup>2</sup> I do not think it by any means certain that they have Irish contamination. It is quite possible that they are descendants of MSS. somewhat of the kind used by Eucherius and Faustus in the fifth century.

NOTE.—The view that St. Patrick probably introduced into Ireland the

<sup>1</sup> Some part of D was written in 807; see Whitley Stokes, *Tripert. Life*, p. xci.

<sup>2</sup> On  $\mathfrak{F}$  see Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.*, pp. 91-2, who is obviously right in thinking this Benevento codex to be Gallican in its sympathies, whatever its ultimate origin.

Vulgate Gospels as used at Lerins may suggest further connexions. I hazard one suggestion. The Irish tradition with regard to the authorship of the *Te Deum* by Niceta may have come from Lerins. Dom Cagin has established the fact that in many of the most ancient Irish liturgical MSS. this attribution is not given. But it is found in later MSS. in very different places, and their agreement carries us back to a very early date. The tradition is probably true, on other grounds ; and it is evident that Lerins was a place where the truth might well be known in St. Patrick's time. Niceta's friend Paulinus had constant relations with Southern Gaul. This conjecture is not, so far as I know, susceptible of proof, but it may suggest some line of inquiry.

## CHAPTER X

### THE BODLEIAN 'GOSPELS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'

#### § 1. *The Gospel books brought by St. Augustine to England.*

THE Venerable Bede tells us that when St. Gregory the Great sent to St. Augustine a number of helpers, of whom the principal were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, he sent by them all that was necessary for the worship of the Church, and very many books :

'Et per eos generaliter uniuersa quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiae necessaria, uasa uidelicet sacra et uestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia uel clericalia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias nec non et codices plurimos' (*H. E.*, i. 29).

This passage is quoted by John the deacon in his life of St. Gregory, ii. 37, and (what is more to the purpose) by Thomas of Elmham in his history of the monastery of St. Augustine of Canterbury, *titulus ii* (Rolls Series, p. 94). Writing about the year 1414, this monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, gives a list of the remains of the presents sent by St. Gregory, or of what were in his day considered to be such. In the sixth paragraph he gives the names of the books then preserved :

1. *Biblia Gregoriana.* The Gospels in the British Museum, Reg i. E vi, are considered by some to be a fragment of the second volume of this Pandect. This book did belong to St. Augustine's.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Psalterium Augustini.* Elmham gives a complete list of its contents. These first two books were in the library.

3. *Textus euangeliorum*, in the *uestiarium*, 'in cuius principio x. canones annotantur; et uocatur textus sanctae Mildredae,

<sup>1</sup> A more common, but less probable, identification is with the Bible Reg i. E vii-viii, of the ninth or tenth century.

eo quod quidam rusticus in Thaneto, super eundem textum falsum iurans, oculos amittere perhibetur.'

4. *Psalterium*, kept on the High Altar; the contents are enumerated by Elmham. They correspond with those of the 'Psalter of St. Augustine', Cotton. Vesp. A 1.

5. *Textus euangeliorum* 'in quo x canones praeponuntur, cum prologo, qui sic incipit "Prologus Canonum" '.

6. On the High Altar a book of the Passions of the Apostles.

7. Also on the High Altar a *Passionarium Sanctorum*.

8. *Expositio super epistolas et euangelia*, also on the High Altar. The books thus placed were in splendid bindings of engraved silver or adorned with jewels.

Thomas ends: 'et haec sunt primitiae librorum totius ecclesiae Anglicanae.' On this Plummer (on Bede i. 29) remarks that the *primitiae* were the books brought by Augustine himself, and not those sent later by Mellitus and his companions. But Elmham is speaking of surviving books, and probably did not intend to assert positively that these individual books were all brought by Mellitus and not by St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup>

It is not certain whether any of these books can be now identified. The Gospels Reg i. E vi are attributed to the eighth century. The so-called Psalter of St. Augustine (Brit. Mus. Cotton. Vesp. A 1) is of the ninth. It is often assumed

<sup>1</sup> Egbert, Archbishop of York (732-66), mentions two books as sent with St. Augustine by St. Gregory, the Antiphony and the Missal of that Pope: 'Nos autem in ecclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis ieiunium (ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius in suo antiphonario et missali libro per paedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum) indifferenter de prima hebdomada quadragesimae seruamus . . . secundum ieiunium quarti mensis . . . hoc autem ieiunium idem beatus Gregorius per praefatum legatum, in antiphonario suo et missali, in plena hebdomada post Pentecosten, Anglorum ecclesiae celebrandum destinavit. Quod non solum nostra testantur antiphonaria, sed et ipsa quae cum missalibus suis conspeximus apud apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina' (*De institutione catholica dialogus, Resp.* xvi. 1 and 2, P. L. 89, col. 441; Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. xii. 487). Mr. Martin Rule understands the last words of this passage to refer to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury (*Missal of St. Augustine's, Cant.*, 1896, p. ix). This is, of course, quite impossible. The *limina apostolorum* implied then what they signify now—Rome. Egbert means to say that his own Missals at York were in accordance with those sent by St. Gregory with St. Augustine, and he proves it by saying that those he had seen at Rome gave the same witness.

that Wanley was right in identifying the two *textus euangeliorum* with the since famous 'Gospels of St. Augustine' at Corpus Christi, Cambridge (cclxxxvi), and in the Bodleian (Bodl. 857 or Auct. D 2, 4). The former certainly belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, a thousand years ago, and they are not later than the seventh century.

But it is more in fashion to say that they were written in England. In the first place we have the opinion of Samuel Berger. Of the Cambridge volume he says: 'Néanmoins le manuscrit ne vient très-probablement pas de Rome. Son texte est un texte un peu mêlé, exempt des grandes interpolations irlandaises, et qui paraît admettre certaines leçons espagnoles remarquables, mais qui, dans le détail, semble tenir par bien des points aux textes irlandais et anglo-saxons.' And in a note: 'Je renvoie pour les preuves à l'édition de M. Wordsworth, et je me borne à citer Matth. i. 17\*: *Omnes itaque generationes . . . sunt xlii* et Luc xi. 2\*: *Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra.*' Of the Oxford codex he says: 'Le manuscrit n'est pourtant copié, quant à son texte, ni sur le manuscrit de *Corpus* ni sur son modèle, mais il contient plusieurs leçons qui paraissent irlandaises, et il est certainement parent du manuscrit de *Corpus*, auquel le rattache plus d'une particularité. Ainsi Matth. xxii. 19, l'un et l'autre ont, pour *nomisma*, la singulière leçon *nouissima*. Le texte de ces deux manuscrits paraît être à la base du développement du texte anglo-saxon. Après ce qui vient d'être dit, nous comprendrons que si nos manuscrits portent le nom de St. Augustin, c'est qu'ils proviennent de l'abbaye qui est consacrée au souvenir du grand missionnaire' (*Hist. de la Vulg.*, pp. 35-6). The last sentence is incorrect. The two MSS. in recent years received the name of St. Augustine because they were believed to be identical with those which, in his monastery, bore his name in the first years of the fifteenth century.

Mr. H. J. White has adopted Berger's view. Of the Bodley MS. he writes: 'From the point of view of *age* the MS. might well have been brought to Canterbury by some of the later followers of Augustine, but the *text* shows it to be of



native origin; it is fairly near to Amiatinus, but has a large number of characteristics partly Irish, partly early Anglo-Saxon; as Berger says (p. 36) it may be placed at the base of the Anglo-Saxon type of text, and must owe its name not to being the personal property of Augustine, but to belonging to the abbey at Canterbury, which was consecrated to his memory' (in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, 1902, art. 'Vulgate', p. 887 a). Mr. White was capable of giving a far more valuable judgement than was M. Berger, but we see that he has contented himself with paraphrasing the French writer, and has adopted his mistake. I may note that the monastery called 'St. Augustine's' was 'consecrated to the memory of' St. Peter and St. Paul.

Mr. White continues of the Corpus MS.: 'It was, according to tradition, sent by Pope Gregory to Augustine; but the text does not bear out this supposition; it closely resembles that of the preceding MS., and is really Anglo-Saxon, though it has been corrected throughout in accordance with a MS. of the Amiatinus type'. In fact X<sup>o</sup> is a good AY text, but this does not help us to discover the origin of X\*; it only shows that it was early recognized by the Canterbury monks that the Eugipio-Cassiodorian text of Jarrow was better than their own.

Bishop Wordsworth wrote more carefully and prudently in the epilogue to his Vulgate (1898): 'Codices OX, qui Cantuarienses sunt, ex Roma facile ab Augustino aut quodam alio sub finem s. vii. [*sic*] aduecti credebantur, uel postea a Gregorio Magno transmissi; uide Baedam . . . Lectiones autem in iisdem proditae huic opinioni non fauent, ut iudicat S. Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, pp. 35-6. Mixtae enim sunt, et una cum lectionibus antiquis Hieronymianis Hiberna quaedam additamenta et ueterum Latinorum traditiones ostendunt. Iudicium de horum codicum origine maxime difficile est. Non enim penitus a missione Romana separandos credimus: sed opinionem probabilem de eis proferre non possumus' (p. 706). It is plain enough that the bishop does not think M. Berger's arguments convincing, and that he is only prevented from disagreeing with them because of the

difficulty of establishing the view to which he inclines, with all the certainty he could wish.

I am constitutionally less cautious, and I will say boldly that I think the late M. Berger's arguments are valueless.

The examples he gives do not prove his point, and perhaps he meant them merely as curiosities. Of the Corpus MS., X, he says: 'Je me borne à citer Matth. i. 17\*: *Omnes itaque generationes . . . sunt xlii*, et Luc. xi. 2\*: *Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra.*'

1. Matt. i. 17 has this addition in DHΘX\*, but in X\* *sunt* (*teste Wordsworthio*) is omitted; the addition is also in the Old Latin *b c* and the Aethiopic. It is not likely that Theodulf (HΘ) got it from the Irish, as only one Irish MS. has it. Surely it is simply an O. L. reading in X, and it has many such.

2. Luke xi. 2. This interpolation from St. Matthew is in nearly all Greek MSS., as every one knows, and in all O. L. copies except *ff*<sub>2</sub> (*a* has only *fiat uoluntas tua*, *b* has the African form). It is found in the Vulgate MSS. B<sup>6</sup>F<sup>6</sup>D<sup>6</sup>F<sup>6</sup>\*OPQRTX\* Reg<sup>oor</sup>Δ. It is therefore in all the Irish MSS., and this is not surprising, as they have an Old Latin basis. But there is no more reason for supposing X to have borrowed from the Irish than to suppose it of P.

Of the Oxford MS., O, Berger has: 'Je citerai seulement deux passages de ce MS. Matt. xx. 15\*: *quod uolo facere de rem meam.*—*ib.* 28: *Vos autem quaeritis de modico crescere et de maximo minui. Cum autem introeritis,*' &c.

3. Matt. xx. 15. Wordsworth quotes X as reading  
*quod uolo facere de re mea*, so also *ff*<sub>2</sub>  
*dare* (sic) *mea quod uolo facere* QR  
*quod uolo facere . . . meis a*  
*facere de meum quod uolo f*  
*facere quod uolo in propriis meis q.*

Here we clearly have an Old Latin reading, not an Irish one, for the two Irish MSS. do not agree with X, whereas the Italian-African *ff*<sub>2</sub> does.

4. Matt. xx. 28. This famous and lengthy interpolation is found (with many varieties) in no Irish MSS., but in the Theodulphian H<sup>m</sup>9Θ as well as in O, and in nearly all the

Old Latin copies: *a b c d e ff<sub>1, 2</sub> (g<sub>1</sub> partly, g<sub>2</sub> partly) n r*. The same form as in H<sup>m</sup>gΘO is found in the gorgeous Gospels of St. Emmeran at Munich (14,000, *Cimelie* 55).<sup>1</sup> Has this MS. been influenced by O or by Θ?

But it is worth while to gauge more closely what Berger thought to be Irish or Anglo-Saxon readings. From the *Biblia Gregoriana* above mentioned (Reg i. E vi) he cites five passages.

5. Matt. v. 5 *lugunt*. It is in AYZ *f q*. Not Irish certainly. But are we to call AY 'Anglo-Saxon'? As this volume is later than St. Augustine without doubt, it might have been influenced by the spelling of AY, but *f q* are more probable relations.

6. Matt. x. 29 *Sine patris uoluntate*. This is the reading of Cyprian (*Ep.* 59, 5) and Tertullian (*sine dei uolunt.*, freely) *Res.* 35; *sine cuius uol.* *Scorp.* 9, *Fug.* 3, *Cast.* 1; Rönsch. *N.T. Tert.* p. 97); *k* however has been corrected to the Vulgate (*sine patre uestro*) and *d* likewise. We find also

*sine patris uestri uol.* D Iren

*sine uol. patris uestri* Θ *a f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>*

*sine uol. patris uestri qui est in caelis b*

*sine uol. dei patris uestri qui in caelis est* Q.

Here the *Bibl. Greg.* does not agree with the Irish, but with an older reading.

7. Matt. xiii. 55. *Nonne hic est fabri filius?* This is the reading of nearly all MSS. Does M. Berger mean that *Bibl. Greg.* omits the words, with X\*Z\*? I think this likely, as a coincidence with Z\* is probable. Or did he forget to add *Joseph*? This addition is found in the Irish contingent DPQR with *a b ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> h gat*—another O. L. reading.

8. Matt. xxvi. 9: *praetio multo*, with DL *ff<sub>2</sub>*. The Vulgate has *multo* only, with *d k g<sub>1</sub>*; BEJY<sup>o</sup> *f* have *multo praetio*; *a b q* have simply *praetio*. No one will think J borrows from the Irish text.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This MS. is one of the Bibles of Charles the Bald, and was written 870, after his death passing to Saint Denys and to St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, where it was sumptuously bound before c. 900. Possibly copied at Corbie, it anyhow belongs to the school of Alcuin.

<sup>2</sup> For J is sixth or seventh century, and Irish influence at Milan or thereabouts is

9. Matt. vi. 16: *demoliuntur* (for the *exterminant* of nearly all MSS.). Wordsworth reads *demoliuntur* on the ground that Jerome declares it in his commentary to be the right reading; probably on the same ground it has been inserted in EPKO\*(Q)R(Z\*?).<sup>1</sup> There is no more reason for thinking that Q borrowed from the Irish than that Z did. Still this passage, which I have given last, is the only one of the nine in which the likeness to the Irish MSS. is at all striking.

Now as to the 'Anglo-Saxon' element: 'Le texte de ces deux manuscrits paraît être à la base du développement du texte anglo-saxon.' No doubt. But Berger writes almost as if he supposed these two MSS. could have borrowed from Anglo-Saxon MSS. earlier than St. Augustine!<sup>2</sup> If they did not become contaminated with Irish readings they must have remained pure; for there was no indigenous element in the seventh century by which they could have been tainted. They are certainly too early to have been influenced by the Cassiodorian Bible brought by Benet Biscop to Wearmouth. Probably they were written before Theodore and Hadrian came to England; and we do not know that these holy men brought libraries with them. O and X may be the archetypes but cannot be the children of an 'Anglo-Saxon text'. Consequently there is no meaning in M. Berger's final conclusion: 'Les textes qui se réclament du nom de St. Augustin sont de beaux textes et des textes très-anciens, mais ce sont déjà des

most improbable at so early a date. It is true that the summaries (*capitula*) of Mark in J are the same as in the Irish, but then the corresponding summaries of J for the other Gospels are based on these Irish-Old Latin summaries. On this question see p. 215.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot but think that Jerome left *exterminant*, in spite of his strongly expressed opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Some light is thrown on Berger's idea of an 'Anglo-Saxon' text by his words about A: 'Quant au texte lui-même (*of A*), celui qui doterait de son caractère anglais n'a qu'à étudier les variantes que M. Wordsworth a réunies dans son édition des Évangiles, il y verra que le *Codex Amiatinus* se plaît en la compagnie des manuscrits anglo-saxons et particulièrement des fragments d'Utrecht et du *Book of Lindisfarne*. Nous avons déjà constaté, et nous verrons par de nouveaux exemples, que les copistes saxons ne savaient pas copier un texte étranger sans lui donner, pour ainsi dire, la couleur locale des textes de leur pays.' It seems never to have struck M. Berger that the 'local colour' could not possibly be indigenous, and that precisely it was derived from such foreign MSS. as the parent of A!

textes saxons, ce ne sont plus de purs textes romains.' On the contrary, they are either foreign texts, or else they are foreign texts with Irish readings introduced. The second of these alternatives is certainly not proved.

Lastly, the explanation that these two books are called 'Gospels of St. Augustine' because they belonged to his monastery is not really false (as we saw), but it is misleading; for it disguises the fact that these two books were supposed to be two of those which in 1414 were traditionally believed in that monastery to have come down from St. Augustine. The Codex Fuldensis and the Codex Laudianus of Acts are possibly two of the volumes brought to Northumbria by St. Benet Biscop, and they still survive. There is no reason why some of the books brought by St. Augustine should not survive also, and they need not be so ancient as E<sup>acts</sup> and F (sixth century). It is true that Mr. Coxe is said to have declared that O was not written before 650;<sup>1</sup> but even so great a palaeographer is not infallible; and we have just heard Mr. White state emphatically that both codices might well, so far as age is concerned, have been brought by Mellitus and his companions. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson declares that O might be of the late sixth century.

I am not concerned to prove that the tradition is true. It seems unlikely, however, that none of the eight volumes revered at St. Augustine's should have been genuine. The four whose bindings destined them to grace the High Altar on Feast days might more easily gain a fictitious importance and a legendary history.<sup>2</sup> The two noble volumes of Gospels are old enough to be what they were believed to be; and I do not think the internal evidence of their readings can be shown to make this impossible.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Plummer's *Bede's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 56, from Dr. Bright.

<sup>2</sup> Westwood had a theory with regard to the Psalter of St. Augustine (at the end of his description of it, in *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*—a book in which neither the plates nor the pages are numbered—this plate is near the end) that the leaves written in rustic Roman capitals are really of Roman origin, while the text of the Psalter (in Roman uncial, with Saxon illuminated capitals) has been supplied because the original Psalter was worn out. But his view seems not to have been accepted.

§ 2. *The home of the Bodleian 'Gospels of St. Augustine'.*

But it is said to be a mistake to suppose that O (the Bodleian codex) belonged to Canterbury. In its show-case it is now labelled: 'Uncial 7th cent. written by a Gallican scribe, and perhaps given to Lichfield about 669 by St. Wilfrid.' This is a conjecture based solely on an inscription in a rather early Irish hand upside down at the bottom of fol. 149<sup>v</sup>:

'Elegit ē dñs sacerdotē sibi ad sacrificandum ei h(ostiam) | laudis ic est sacerdos magnos qui in diebus suis placuit | dō confessor scī et sacerdos magni beati scē ceadda.'

Now *elegit . . . laudis* is a versicle and response, and *hic est* (= *ecce*) . . . *deo* part of an antiphon, both from the common of Confessor Pontiffs, which any monk would know by heart; the remainder *confessor . . . ceadda* is pure nonsense; it is evident that a scribe was trying his pen or showing another his style of writing. Either St. Chad was his special patron or he was writing on St. Chad's day. But we cannot infer that the codex was given to Lichfield about 669 by St. Wilfrid, or that it had any connexion whatever with Lichfield.

On the other hand Macray (*Annals of Bodl. Libr.*, ed. 2, p. 30) suggested that O belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, and Dr. M. R. James approves of this (*Ancient Libraries of Cant. and Dover*, p. lxviii), on account of some writing on a loose leaf now bound in at the end of the volume. It is half the height of the other pages, and the writing is of the eleventh or twelfth century in English. It runs somewhat as follows:

Das bocas haueð Salomon p̄st . þis þecodspel traht  
 & þe martyrluia . & þ al[leluia] & þoeglisce saltere  
 & þe cranc (?) ðe troþere  
 & Wulfmercild (?) . þe at te leuau . & pistolari . & þe . . .  
 5 & ðe innere & ð captelari . . . & þ spel boc .  
 Sigar p̄st . þ lece boc . & Blake had boc  
 oeilmer the grete sater do  
 & ðe litle troþer . for beande . & donatum  
 .xv. bocas

Ealfric . Aeilwine . Godric .  
10 & Bealdewuine abb . & freoden . & hu[. . .] & ƿuregisel.

2. *Isinia* has been erased. 3, 4, 5. Italics show where a word has been written over an erasure. 4, 5. Erasures after *ƿe* and *capitulari*. 8. *do* written above *donatum*.

This fragment greatly resembles another list of Mass vestments and books in the possession of monks at Bury in the time of Abbot Leofstan (1044–65), part of which is given by James (*On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, 1895, p. 6). The portion about books runs thus :

'Blakere haefð i. winter raeding boc Brihtric haefð i maesse reaf calix & disc & i maesse boc . & winter raeding boc . & sumer boc . Smerdus haefð an maesse reaf & an maesse boc . and Leofstan an handboc . Aeperic an maesseboc & capitularia . Durstan an psalter . Oskytel haefð an maessereaf & an maesseboc & an Ad te leuauí.'

If Baldwin is really the Abbot of Bury (1065–1097/8), Ealfric and Ailwyne will be the two bishops of Elmham (1039 and 1032) who were great benefactors of the Abbey.<sup>1</sup> Who Godric, Freoden, Hugh, and Thuregisilus may have been I do not know.

On the other side of the fragment is a prayer, preceded by *ƿ* and *ƿ*, for use before the door from the cloister to the church on returning from the lustration of the monastery with holy water—at least we use the prayer so to-day.<sup>2</sup>

The leaf was probably found in the binding of the MS., when its present modern binding was made. If the earlier binding was post-Reformation we can only infer that the fragment came from Bury, not that the codex itself was ever in that monastery.

We are therefore reduced to the internal evidence of the codex itself. Now a seventh-century MS. is more likely to have been at Canterbury than at Bury. The close connexion between O and X is strongly in favour of Canterbury. For X, the C.C.C.C. MS., contains two Charters of St. Augustine's Abbey, one of 844, the other of 949,<sup>3</sup> inscribed

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1821), iii. 99 and iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Rituale Monasticum sec. usum Congr. Beuron.*, Tournai, 1895, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> The former of these is printed in Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*.

on pages which had been left blank. Nothing has ever shaken the extreme probability of the identification of this MS. with one of the two evangeliaria mentioned by Thomas of Elmham. The similarity of the text of O certainly goes far to establish the view that it was the other. It is improbable that either MS. was written in England; it is consequently highly probable that they were imported together.

Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson thinks there is great resemblance between O and Z (Harl. 1775), though Z is more delicately written and may be somewhat earlier. He attributes both to a Gallican scribe on account of the split horizontal strokes of F. But a Gallican hand might be written in England or at Rome.

§ 3. *The early lectionary annotations in O.*

There are three sets of liturgical annotations in O, all of which I copied some years ago from the MS. Having mislaid this transcript, however, I have copied them once more, with the advantage of using a transcript made by the librarian, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, which he kindly lent me, of the earlier sets of notes. Without this assistance I should probably have overlooked one or other of them.

1. The earliest annotator has made but six notes in small and very neat uncials in the margin. The ink is the same faded brown ink which the scribe of the whole codex has used, and the writing seems to betray the same hand, beyond all doubt, in spite of the difference of size. I have asterisked them in the following lists, and have given the notes in small capitals.

2. The second annotator writes in a scrawling and inclined uncial, especially inclined when he writes in the inner margin; it is therefore clear that the book was bound when he wrote, and somewhat tightly and newly bound. His ink is very pale yellow. A good many of the letters of his notes have been cut off when the pages have been sheared. These I have supplied in italics. His date is apparently the seventh century.

3. The third annotator has corrected St. Matthew nearly to the end, and has made coarse crosses to divide the Gospel into



sections. At first sight some of the writing looks like eighth century, and the forms of the letters vary considerably. But Mr. F. Madan has convinced me that the uncial forms are imitative, and that the writer's own handwriting is seen in his note on the interpolation Matt. xx. 28, where he exclaims: 'Mirum unde istud additum,' &c.<sup>1</sup> His ink is very dark brownish black, and his date probably tenth century. I have copied his notes, since a tenth-century English use, though only extant for St. Matthew, is of some interest in itself.

I shall cite these three annotators as O\*, O<sup>a</sup> and O<sup>b</sup> respectively. In the following table of O\* and O<sup>a</sup> the *incipit* of the lesson is not always certain within a line or two, as the marginal Ammonian sections (inserted by the original scribe) have prevented the marginal liturgical notes from being exactly against the commencement of the pericope. Most of the notes are headed by a cross, but no cross is given in the text. Wherever a pericope agrees with the modern Roman use (modern but very ancient) I have added R. The Gallican liturgy of Eugippius is designated by N; the additions by Eugippius himself to the Gallican original are signified by E. B means St. Burchard's Roman additions to the Naples lectionary. G means that the pericope is the subject of a homily by St. Gregory the Great.

(The beginning of the MS. is lost, as far as iv. 14, and viii. 29-ix. 18.)

<i>fol.</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>St. Burchard.</i>	<i>Naples.</i>	<i>St. Greg. Homil.</i>	<i>Roman Missal.</i>
1	Matt. iv. 18			G	R
7 <sup>v</sup>	" x. 1			(G)?	
8	" x. 16		(N)		
8 <sup>v</sup>	" x. 32				R
9	" xi. 2		N	G	R
10	" xii. 1				
12	" xiii. 3 <sup>b</sup>		(N)	(G)	(R)
15 <sup>v</sup>	" xiv. 23	B			R
17 <sup>v</sup>	" xvi. 13		N		R
18	" xvi. 24		(E)	(G)	R
23	" xx. 17	(B)		(G)	(R)
24	" xxi. 10		(E)		
28 <sup>v</sup>	" xxiii. 34	(B)			R

<sup>1</sup> The note is given by Wordsworth *in loco*.

<i>fol.</i>	<i>Incipit</i>		<i>St. Bur-</i> <i>chard.</i>	<i>Naples.</i>	<i>St. Greg.</i> <i>Homil.</i>	<i>Romans</i> <i>Miscal.</i>
30 <sup>v</sup>	Matt. xxiv. 45	<i>in confessorum</i>	(B)			R
"	" xxv. 1	<i>de martyras</i>		E	G	R
31	" xxv. 14	<i>in martyras</i>		(E)	G	(R)
38	" xxviii. 1	<i>in nocte sc̄a</i>		N		R
64	Mark xiv. 1	<i>pas</i>		N		R
69	" xvi. 1	<i>in dōwica sc̄a</i>	B		G	R
70	" xvi. 15	<i>in ascensa</i>	B		G	R
73	Luke i. 5	<i>In uigillis sc̄i iohannis ba-</i> <i>ptiste</i>		N		R
74	" i. 26	<i>de aduentu</i>		N		R
"	" i. 39	<i>aduentus</i>	B			R
75	" i. 57	<i>in natale sc̄i ioh̄</i>		N		R
*76	" ii. 1	<i>IN NATALE DNI</i>		N	G	R
"	" ii. 1	<i>in nat̄ dñi</i>		N		R
76 <sup>v</sup>	" ii. 21	<i>in octabas dñi</i>		N		R
78	" iii. 1	<i>de aduentu</i>		N	G	R
87 <sup>v</sup>	" vii. 19	<i>ad n n (aduentum?)</i>				
125 <sup>v</sup>	" xxiv. 1	<i>in secunda feria</i>		(N)		
"	" xxiv. 13	<i>in tertia feria</i>		N	G?	
130	John i. 1	<i>in natale dñi</i>				R
130 <sup>v</sup>	" i. 19	<i>de aduentu</i>	B		G	R
131	" i. 29?	<i>in uigillis sc̄i andree</i>				R
*144	" vii. 14	<i>IN MEDIO PENTECOSTE</i>				
*152	" x. 22	<i>IN DIDICATIONE</i>				
*160 <sup>v</sup>	" xiv. 15	<i>IN SABBATO PĒTECOSTE</i>	B			R
*161	" xiv. 23	<i>IN PENTECOSTE</i>	B		G	R
*161 <sup>v</sup>	" xviii. 1	<i>PASSIO</i>		N		R

NOTES.

- Matt. x. 1. St. Greg. Hom. iv, on x. 5-10.  
 " x. 16. In apostolorum N.  
 " xiii. 3 δ. In XLgesima pascae N (read LX?) xiii. 1. On Luke viii. 4 G.  
 " xvi. 24. In unius martyris E (on Luke ix. 23 G).  
 " xx. 17. In LXXgesima ebd. iii feria iii B (on Luke xviii. 31 G).  
 " xxi. 10. In ded. S. Stephani E.  
 " xxiii. 34. Item alia B (after xxiii. 29 In S. Stephani N).  
 " xxiv. 45. In sancti Grigori, B.  
 " xxv. 14. In nat. S. Ianuarii, E. For Confessors R.  
 Mark xvi. 15. Begins at 14 BGR.  
 Luke xxiv. 1. (For the Saturday N; Bede has a homily for this pericope.)

1. The six notes by O\* show two divergences from the Roman use. John x. 22 *in didicatione* is paralleled by the Gallican, Lux, and Bob, and by Ambros. Are we to conclude

that the scribe was Gallican, as Mr. Nicholson suggested? <sup>1</sup> The attribution was at all events very obvious: 'Facta sunt autem ENCAENIA in Ierosolymis.'

Luke ii. 1 *in natale dñi* is common to all uses. John xviii *passio* is equally inevitable. But it should be noted that the Gallican, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic liturgies are inclined to read scraps and centos rather than the whole Passion from each evangelist.

The three Pentecost notes are more definite. The Vigil of Pentecost is unknown to Lux, Bob, *g*, Goth; we saw that Eugipius introduced it into his Gallican lectionary; it seems therefore to be not early Gallican. The lessons for feast and vigil are the Roman lessons, whereas for Whit Sunday Lux, Bob, Ambros, *M*, *r*, Naples, have the Roman pericope of the vigil.

John vii. 14 *in medio pentecoste* is very interesting. This pericope, 'iam autem die festo mediante,' is in the middle of Lent in the Gallican use,<sup>2</sup> viz.:

Saturday after fourth Sunday	Naples (Eugipius).
Fourth Sunday	Mozar, Comic.
Tuesday after fourth Sunday	Modern Roman.

But the Greek use, at least as early as the fifth century, placed this pericope on the twenty-fifth day after Easter. Traces of this use are found in the West. An early Ambrosian list gives the Wednesday after the third Sunday after Easter <sup>3</sup>; the feast is given also in *M* (seventh to eighth century, Milan or thereabouts) and *l* (eighth century, Aquileia). But it is

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> See more on this question by Mr. C. L. Feltoe and Mr. F. E. Brightman in *J. T. S.*, vol. ii, p. 130 (Oct. 1900), especially on the Saturday of the *medians hebdomada* as an Ordination day.

<sup>3</sup> That published by Pamelius, *Liturg. Lat.*, i, pp. 368-9. In the note just mentioned on *In mediante die festo* in *J. T. S.*, p. 134, Mr. C. L. Feltoe mentions three Ambrosian Sacramentaries described by Ebner (*Quellen und Forschungen*, pp. 76, 93, 110) of the ninth to the twelfth centuries containing a Mass after Easter for this feast, with the Gospel John vii. 14. Of these Sacramentaries, one places the feast between the second and third Sundays after the Octave of Easter; in another it occurs in a gap after the second Sunday after Easter, but is followed by the Thursday after Easter; in the third it is between the third and fourth Sundays after Pentecost. (See the references given by Mr. Feltoe.) The occurrence of the feast in the notes to *M*, *O*, and *l* was not known to Mr. Feltoe.

above all interesting to note with Dom Morin that the eighty-fifth sermon of St. Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna, was preached on the *media Pentecostes*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, though we have no proof that it was known at Rome, at least it is not Gallican or Spanish, but was early in the use of Milan and Aquileia, and was kept at Ravenna in the fifth century. We must conclude that the six notes by the original scribe of O are rather Italian than Gallican. As O has an element of likeness to J, these notes may have been derived from a North Italian archetype, but it is more natural to suppose that the scribe himself followed a more or less Roman use.

2. The system of O<sup>a</sup> is incomplete, but perfectly Roman. There is only one coincidence with N alone, Luke xxiv. 13, and on all the great feasts N and O<sup>a</sup> are at variance.

For Advent six lessons are given, if Luke vii. 9 is for Advent; but this lesson is a mere duplicate of Matt. xi. 2. The remaining five are the actual Roman Gospels for Advent, omitting the first Sunday, viz. second Sunday, Matt. xi. 2; third Sunday, John i. 19; Ember Wednesday, Luke i. 26; Ember Friday, Luke i. 39; Ember Saturday and fourth Sunday, Luke iii. 1. The coincidence is interesting, as showing the antiquity of our present scanty Advent Masses.<sup>2</sup> St. Luke is not annotated from iii. 1 to xxiv. 1 (except for the incorrect note at vii. 9), so that the absence of Luke xxi. 25 for the first Sunday is probably accidental. There are Homilies of St. Gregory for Luke xxi. 25, Matt. xi. 2, John i. 19, and Luke iii. 1, i. e. for the four Sundays.<sup>3</sup>

Two of the Christmas Masses are marked by O<sup>a</sup>, viz. the first and third. But when he wrote *in nat dñi* under O<sup>a</sup>'s *in natale dñi* a little after, ii. 1, he probably made a blunder, intending to mark the *incipit* of the second Mass Gospel a few lines further on, at ii. 15. The Roman Gospel for St. Stephen

<sup>1</sup> Dom G. Morin in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1889, p. 201 (*L'antique solennité du médiant die festo*).

<sup>2</sup> We saw that St. Burchard's Advent was incomplete.

<sup>3</sup> Hom. i, vi, vii, xx. The later titles call them homilies for the second, third, fifth Sundays, and Ember Saturday; i and vii were preached in St. Peter, vi in SS. Marcellinus and Peter, xx in the Lateran. The *statio* for the third Sunday is, in fact, in St. Peter's, but the others do not correspond.

is given, and the inevitable Gospel for the octave of Christmas (called in Gaul 'Circumcision', but not at Rome). The Gospels for Christmas Eve, Epiphany, and Holy Innocents were no doubt duly marked in the lost pages at Matt. i. 18, ii. 1, and ii. 13. But the feast of St. John (or of James and John) is absent.

Lent is non-existent. But the Passion is set down in Mark and John, and the Roman pericopae are duly set down for Easter Eve and Easter. It is impossible to say whether the system was contented with lessons for the two great feasts after Easter, Monday and Tuesday; for the rest of the week may have been supplied from Matt. xxviii and John xx-xxi which are not annotated. But the use differs from the Roman; for the Roman lesson for Easter Monday, Luke xxiv. 15, appears on Tuesday<sup>1</sup>—an almost solitary agreement with the Naples use; and the Monday lesson, xxiv. 1, is not in the Roman Missal. Ascension Day, however, has the Roman (not the Gallican) pericope, Mark xvi. 15 (14). The notes of O\* for Pentecost and its vigil, being Roman, were probably accepted by O\*.

St. Andrew and St. John Baptist with their vigils have the Roman lessons, not the Gallican as Eugippius had, and the same is true of St. Peter and his octave. Probably the vigil of St. Peter, like the feast of St. John, should be marked with R in John xxi, where the annotator has not worked.

The pericope for St. Paul seems at first sight unique. But it is not meant for the feast of January 25, which was not Roman but Gallican in origin, but for Sexagesima Sunday, the Collect for which is of St. Paul, while the Epistle recounts his labours.<sup>2</sup> The Gospel is now (and was in St. Gregory's time, cp. Hom. xv) Luke viii. 14, the Parable of the Sower, most suitable to the great Apostle who sowed the Word of God among the

<sup>1</sup> St. Gregory's twenty-third homily is on this Gospel, but the inscription *in crastino paschae* is later.

<sup>2</sup> Mgr. Duchesne (*Origines du Culte Chrét.*, p. 281, note) explains the absence of an early Roman feast of St. Paul alone by saying: 'We must bear in mind, however, that the Roman mass for Sexagesima is really a mass in honour of St. Paul.' But I think this is the first time an order has been published in which it is actually called *in sancti Pauli*.

Gentiles. O<sup>a</sup> simply substitutes the parallel passage of St. Matthew, xiii. 3. Thus we get a parallel for the addition by Eugippius of Matt. xiii as *in XLgisima pascae* (we should read Sexagesima) to his Gallican liturgy, and so O<sup>b</sup> and Ambros.

The dedication feast is not in the Roman office to-day, Matt. xxi. 10 ; it is another parallel to Eugippius's additional feasts (*in dedicatione S. Stephani*). *In ordinatione episcopi* is paralleled by a homily of St. Gregory (iv, *de Apostolis*), but he begins only at verse 5, after the enumeration of the Apostles is completed. It may have been preached at an ordination, for the Pope first thunders against simony among the clergy, and then turns to the people, 'Vos, fratres carissimi, quos saecularis habitus tenet, cum quae sint nostra cognoscitis, mentis oculos ad uestra reuocate.'

Three pericopae are given as *in sanctorum*, Matt. x. 16, 32, xvi. 24. All these are very obvious and usual. The Roman pericopae for Martyrs are x. 26, 34, and xvi. 24, while the passage of St. Luke x. 1 corresponding to Matt. x. 16 is for Evangelists and Confessors. For Confessors Matt. xxiv. 45 (?) is found in the Roman Missal as Matt. xxiv. 42, which may be meant here.

Of two pericopae, *de martyras* xxv. 1 and 14, the former is evidently for Virgins, as in the Roman use ; the latter is now used for Confessors.

I subjoin a table of the agreements with the *pericopae* used by St. Gregory.<sup>1</sup>

	O <sup>a</sup> .	St. Greg.	No. of Hom.
Second Sunday of Advent	Matt. xi. 2		vi
Third " "	John i. 19		vii
Fourth " "	Luke iii. 1		xx
Christmas Day	" ii. 1		viii
Sexagesima (in S. Pauli)	Matt. xiii. 3b = Luke viii. 4		xv
Quinquagesima (de passione)?	" xx. 17 = " xviii. 31		ii
Easter Day	Mark xvi. 1		xxi
Easter Tuesday (Monday?)	Luke xxiv. 13		xxxiii

<sup>1</sup> It looks as though certain *pericopae* had been purposely shifted from Luke to Matthew in the archetype, in order to avoid using a volume containing Luke, or because part of that Gospel was damaged or lost. But Matt. xiii is paralleled in Ambros N and O<sup>b</sup>, as above.

	O <sup>o</sup> .	St. Greg.	No. of Hom.
Ascension Day	Mark xvi. 15	(v. 14)	xxix
Pentecost (O <sup>o</sup> )	John xiv. 23		xxx
St. Andrew	Matt. iv. 18		v
Consecration of a bishop	„ x. 1	(v. 5)	iv
Martyrs (St. Agnes)	„ xxv. 1		xii
Martyrs (St. Silvester Conf.)	„ xxv. 14		ix
Martyrs (in scōrum)	„ xvi. 24 = Luke	ix. 23	xxxii

The remaining homilies of St. Gregory offer no divergences from O<sup>o</sup>, and no agreements; the only discrepancies in the table are those for Quinquagesima (?) and Sexagesima. Where we can be certain of St. Gregory's use, it agrees like O<sup>o</sup> with R.

To sum up: we found St. Burchard's codex supplementing the Neapolitan lectionary with a Roman use; we now find a Roman use inscribed in O in the seventh century. It agrees with the rare interpolations made by Eugipius in his Gallican lectionary, and with the Homilies of St. Gregory the Great. It is therefore a Roman use of the sixth century. The octave of St. Peter suggests Rome itself, and so does the name of 'St. Paul's day' given to Sexagesima Sunday, for the solemn station of that day was held in San Paolo fuori le mura.

Only the inevitable St. Stephen and St. John Baptist appear among the saints, together with the ancient feast of St. Andrew, with its vigil. No Roman martyrs appear, (not even St. Laurence), nor St. John, the vigil of St. Peter and his chair—all these and some martyrs (for whom a *commune sanctorum* is provided) and confessors (e.g. St. Silvester) were kept as certainly as Lent was kept, but the entries are incomplete. But let us note that *all the principal days* are given (the page containing the Epiphany is lost). We might infer that St. Andrew, with vigil, was one of the greater feasts; but it is perhaps going rather far to suggest the conclusion that the list originated in the mother abbey of the English Church, St. Andrew's on the Caelian!

But at least we have arrived at two probable conclusions:

1. O<sup>o</sup>, the original scribe of the codex, wrote not in Gaul but in Italy or England; or at least took his six liturgical notes from an Italian exemplar.

2. O\*, not long afterwards, inserted a purely Roman liturgical use in the margin.

These points cannot in any way prove that the MS. O has any connexion with the mission of St. Augustine; but they are perfectly in harmony with such a supposition. O\* may perfectly well have lived in a Roman abbey. O\* may quite easily have been a seventh-century monk of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury. Consequently we may sum up the probabilities or possibilities as follows:

O and X are descended from a common progenitor, judging by the coincidences in their text. In the Prologues also they show close relationship. X belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. O may quite well have belonged to the same library; at any rate it is closely related to the Canterbury MS.

There is no reason for thinking that either has any Irish contamination in its text. Though related to the AY text, their date is too early to have been contaminated by it in England.

An Italian or Roman origin is postulated for the archetype of X by the classical ornamentation of its picture of St. Luke. The liturgical notes by the original scribe of O are Italian, if not Roman. The seventh-century notes of O\* give a purely Roman system of lessons.

The writing of Z resembles that of O. The Prologues in O, X, and Z are extremely close in type. The Gospel text of Z is dissimilar, but may have influenced O.

#### § 4. *The later lectionary annotations in O.*

The tenth-century annotations by O<sup>b</sup> are all between Matt. viii. 23 and Matt. xxv. 1, except for a solitary note on fol. 158, which runs thus: 'hoc euangelium legitur in cena dñi ad colationem . sicut consuetudines docent;'. A large + before John xvii. 1 and another at the end of the chapter define the portion to be read. This note shows that O<sup>b</sup> was a monk.

I do not vouch for the following table as absolutely complete; it is difficult also to be sure of the *incipits*. 'R' points out identity with the Roman lessons. In most cases I have left the lessons for verification by professed liturgiologists.



6 <sup>v</sup>	Matt. viii. 23	Doñ iiii p' theoph̄ (iiii above line)	R
7	" ix. 23	FR vi	
"	" ix. 27	in sa . . . xii †	
"	" ix. 32	FR	
8	" x. 16	de martyr .	
"	" x. 22	FR	
"	" x. 25 <sup>δ</sup>	unius m̄r <sup>1</sup>	
9	" xl. 1	doñ de aduentu dni <sup>2</sup>	(xi. 2) R
10	" xl. 25 <sup>?</sup>	de sapientia	
12	" xlii. 3 <sup>δ</sup>	doñ . in . LX .	(R)
13	" xlii. 24	FR xxiii	
13 <sup>v</sup>	" xlii. 31	FR	
14	" xlii. 44	de uirginib. <sup>3</sup>	R
15 <sup>v</sup>	" xiv. 22	in octabas ap̄ta petri et pauli	R
16 <sup>v</sup>	" xv. 21	m in . ii . et in XL	
18		unius mar	
18 <sup>v</sup>	" xvii. 1	sabb̄ . i . XL <sup>4</sup>	R
19	" xvii. 14	in xii † <sup>5</sup>	
19 <sup>v</sup>	" xvii. 24	FR	
"	" xviii. 1	de sc̄o mihaele	R
20	" xviii. 15	i . XL FR . iii ~ ebd. iii <sup>6</sup>	R
20 <sup>v</sup>	" xviii. 23	doñ . xxii . p' pent]	(xxxi R)
21 <sup>v</sup>	" xix. 13	ad paruulos	
22	" xix. 27	in festo sc̄i petri	
22 <sup>v</sup>	" xx. 1	in dom . LXX	R
23	" xx. 17	FR iiii in . XL	
23	" xx. 20	de iac[obo]	R
23 <sup>v</sup>	" xx. 29	in sabb̄ . xii . † p' pent̄.	
24		doñ . i . in aduentu dni	
24	" xxi. 10	in . i . FR . i . . . in . x . . .	
24 <sup>v</sup>	" xxi. 18	FR	
"	" xxi. 23 <sup>?</sup>	FR	
25	" xxi. 33	FR . vi . in XL . in . ii .	R
26	" xxii. 1	doñ xx . p' pen	(xix R)
26 <sup>v</sup>	" xxii. 18	doñ . xxv p' p̄t̄	(xxii R)
27	" xxii. 34	BB . xviii . doñ -p' p̄tn	(xvii R)
29	" xxiv. 1	de martib;	
29 <sup>v</sup>	" xxiv. 26	FR vi	
30 <sup>v</sup>	" xxv. 1	de uirginib;	R

The Lenten system is correctly Roman. The fourth Sunday after Epiphany is also right, and so are some minor points. But *Dom. prima in aduentu Domini*, about the end of

<sup>1</sup> A + after 32 and after 33 (by homoeotel.).

<sup>2</sup> A + at xi. 1; *dom* and *dni* are added by this annotator to the uncial *de aduentu* of the earlier liturgist, who meant xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A + after 52.

<sup>4</sup> A + after 13.

<sup>5</sup> A + after 20 a (*uestram*).

<sup>6</sup> A + after 10, another after 14.

xx or beginning of xxi, is strange ; and so is xix. 27 *in festo S. Petri*.

The Sundays after Pentecost are not quite in harmony with the Roman usage. The English use preserved the *officium* (introit, &c.) of the Roman Missal, but introduced new Collects, Epistle, and Gospel for the third Sunday, and shifted all the others one place. The introduction of Trinity Sunday in the eleventh or twelfth century shifted all the Sundays one place further. Thus in the Sarum Missal and in the Benedictine Westminster Missal the numbers run with R for the Gospels, Matt. xviii. 23, xxi. 1, and xxi. 34, but they are counted from Trinity Sunday and from the Octave of Pentecost respectively, not from Pentecost. O<sup>b</sup> represents an intermediate stage, i.e. Matt. xviii. 23 = R twenty-first Sunday = O<sup>b</sup> twenty-second = Westminster twenty-third after Pentecost, and so forth. In the eleventh-century Leofric Missal (Exeter) and in the twelfth-century Missal of St. Augustine's at Canterbury the Gospels are not given, but by the 'Octave of Pentecost' the Saturday after Pentecost is meant. In the latter book, therefore, the numbers should tally with O<sup>b</sup>, but that there is a disturbance in the order from the seventeenth Sunday onwards. In the Leofric Missal the Masses are shifted by the interpolation of a new Mass for the first Sunday. From the eighteenth Sunday onwards we find the same disturbance as in the Canterbury book, only one Sunday later, and the Roman Collects for the twenty-first Sunday appear on the twenty-fifth, thus suggesting that there was a chance coincidence in the Gospel, Matt. xxii. 15, with O<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Possibly *ad paruulos* (xix. 13) is a direction for private reading, and also *de sapientia* (xi. 25). There is a Mass 'ad impetrandam sapientiam' in the Missal of St. Augustine's and in the Leofric Missal.

Matt. xvii. 1 for the first Saturday of Lent is Roman, but

<sup>1</sup> The Roman collects for the twenty-third Sunday appear at Canterbury on the seventeenth (Leofr. eighteenth); there are new collects for the eighteenth; then R sixteenth appears on C nineteenth, R seventeenth on C twentieth, &c., but R twenty-fourth on C twenty-fifth, R twenty-second being omitted. In O<sup>b</sup>'s time there was no disturbance until after the twenty-second Sunday.

the other Ordination Saturdays are not, viz. Matt. ix. 27 *in sa . . . xii l.*, xvii. 14 *in xii l.* If these could mean *in sancto duodecim lectionum* the explanation would be simple, for semi-doubles and doubles have twelve lessons in the monastic office, for the Roman nine. But they seem to be meant for the Ember Saturdays of Advent and September. The fourth is xx. 29, *in sabb. xii. l. p' pent.*, and this lesson is found for that day in the Westminster Missal. These Saturdays were called 'of twelve lessons', because (as Amalarius explains, *De Eccl. Off.*, ii. 1) the six lessons at the Mass were once read in Greek also. Note that ix. 27 like xx. 29 is the account of the healing of two blind men.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE VULGATE TEXT OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT

§ 1. *Analysis of the text used by St. Gregory in his Homilies.*

To the forty homilies of St. Gregory the Great are prefixed the Gospels on which he comments. The Benedictine edition of these appears on the whole fairly to be relied on. The editors have given some various readings in the notes, and the comments in the homilies themselves are able to establish certain readings with security.

The following table gives pretty well all the readings which differ from Wordsworth's text. Where the Old Latin evidence is omitted by Wordsworth, I have supplied *a b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> q*, and sometimes *d k* and others.

#### BOOK I.

- Hom. i. Luke xxi. 25-32  
 1 27 in nubibus  $\text{FH}\Theta\text{Z}$  *c e f ff<sub>2</sub> i l q r Ambr*
- Hom. ii. Luke xviii. 31-44  
 2 31 duodecim + discipulos *a (-lla) b f ff<sub>2</sub> i r cor uat\** (ex Matt. xx. 17)  
     + suos *Greg solus* (?)  
     Hierosolymam (*for -ma*) (*fero omnes*)  
 3 34 erat autem (*for et erat*)  $\text{KOVWX}^*\text{Z}$  *aur*  
 4 38 exclamavit (*for clamavit*) *a d e f ff<sub>2</sub> r*  
 5 42 et dixit illi Iesus *Greg* et respondens d. i. I *a b c ff<sub>2</sub> i l*
- Hom. iii. Matt. xii. 46-50  
 6 49 discipulos + suos  $\text{BDEPFH}^{\Theta}\text{JKLMR}$  (suo)  $\text{TVWX}^*\text{Z}$  *vg a b c d f*  
     *ff<sub>1,2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> h k q*  
 7 50 *om* et *before* frater  $\text{DEKLQWX}^*\text{Z}$  *vg a d f g<sub>1</sub> h q*
- Hom. iv. Matt. x. 5-10  
 8 10 est enim (*for enim est*)  $\text{CEPHJKTY}$  *a b d f g<sub>1</sub> q*
- Hom. v. Matt. iv. 18-22  
 Hom. vi. Matt. xi. 2-10  
 9 2 ex (*for de*)  $\text{D}$  *g<sub>1</sub> ff<sub>1</sub>*  
 10 10 est enim (*for enim est*)  $\text{BDEP}^{\Theta}\text{KLMQRTVWX}^*\text{Z}$  *vg f ff<sub>1</sub> q*

## Hom. vii. John i. 19-28

- 11 26 nescitis (for non scitis) CDEGHRT *vg cor uat mg, c f l q d aur Aug*  
 12 27 om ego DERX\* q *Cypr*  
 13 soluere (for ut soluam) a b e f q r *Cypr*

## Hom. viii. Luke ii. 1-14

- 14 2 a praeside (for praeside) BCD<sup>o</sup>PH<sup>o</sup>EIKL<sup>o</sup>MTO<sup>o</sup>QRTVWYZ *vg b c ff<sub>2</sub> l<sup>o</sup> d aur*  
 15 4 + in before ciuitatem a b c d e ff<sub>2</sub> l q r  
 16 7 ei (for eis) <sup>o</sup>FD<sup>o</sup>PKLW  
 17 8 super (for supra) BD<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>LPW *vg a*  
 18 13 caelestis + exercitus DL (cp. cor uat)  
 19 14 hominibus (for in hom.) <sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>PH<sup>o</sup>EIKL<sup>o</sup>M<sup>o</sup>PQRTWY *vg a b c e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r aur*

## Hom. ix. Matt. xxv. 14-30

- 20 17 similiter + et DHLQW *vg a f (ff<sub>2</sub>) g<sub>1</sub> q*  
 21 20 tradidisti mihi (for mihi trad.) <sup>o</sup>PRTW *vg (so antiph. for Conf.)*  
 22 om. et before ecce CDEH<sup>o</sup>EKLQR<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>TVWX\*Z *vg a b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> q (so antiph.)*  
 23 21 super (2<sup>do</sup>, for supra) ABCDE<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>JLOQRTVWY *vg a b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>*  
 24 23 super (2<sup>do</sup>, for supra) CDE<sup>o</sup>PH<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>JLMTQRVW *vg b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>*  
 25 24 om et (after ea) BCDEJKL<sup>o</sup>MRTVWXZ *vg a b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>*  
 27 dare (for mittere) f (but three MSS. of Greg. have committere with DF<sup>o</sup>LOQRVWX\*Z a b f q)  
 26 ego ueniens (for uen. ego) KR f ff<sub>2</sub>

## Hom. x. Matt. ii. 1-12

- 27 1 Iudae (for Iudaeae) CDKLMQRVWXZ\* f  
 28 5 Iudae (for Iudaeae) CDFHKL<sup>o</sup>MTRVWZ f g<sub>1</sub> k<sup>o</sup>  
 29 6 regat <sup>o</sup>E<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>H<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>JRTWX\* *corr uat mg Hieron vg a b d f g<sub>1</sub> q*

## Hom. xi. Matt. xiii. 44-52

- 30 47 + piscium ABDE<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>KM<sup>o</sup>T<sup>o</sup>QRTVWXYZ *vg a b c e f ff<sub>1,2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> h q r<sub>2</sub>*  
 31 51 utique (for etiam) a b f g<sub>1</sub> q

## Hom. xii. Matt. xxv. 1-13

## Hom. xiii. Luke xii. 35-40

- 32 35 + in manibus nestrīs EW *vg cor uat\* c Cypr*  
 33 39 quoniam (for quia) A<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>H<sup>o</sup>M<sup>o</sup>QWXY *vg cor uat mg*  
 40 + ideo *Greg solus (?)*  
 34 ueniet (for uenit) AB<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>GH<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>JKQT<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>VWX\*Y *vg d*

## Hom. xiv. John x. 11-16

- 35 11 ponit (for dat) KOQX\*Z a e f l *aur cor uat ('graeus, antiqui') Tert (Cypr) Lucif Cal Ambr*  
 36 + suis <sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>E<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup>KOQT<sup>o</sup>VWXZ *vg b e ff<sub>2</sub> r aur cor uat*  
 37 12 + autem T *vg Cypr uett exc a aur*  
 38 14 + oues c e f *aur cor uat\* (not mg.)*  
 39 15 + meis CDEG\*H<sup>o</sup>EIKMMOQSTVWXZ *vg uett exc a d d*

## Hom. xv. Luke viii. 4-15

- 9 interrogant (? *misprint*) *Greg solus*  
 40 12 quod (for quī) e f

- 41 hi sunt qui EHGX<sup>3</sup>WZ *vg a b c e ff<sub>2</sub> l q r Orig*  
 42 13 quod (*for* qui) e  
 43 + hi sunt f ff<sub>2</sub> q (r) *asr*  
 44 15 + cecidit c (f)  
 Hom. xvi. Matt. iv. 1-11  
 45 6 mandavit (*for* mandabit) ABDEPFLQRWXYZ<sup>3</sup> a b d f ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub> k  
*Hieron*  
 8 assumpsit *paene omnes (exc AFMY)*  
 46 9 omnia tibi (*for* tibi omnia) EQRTWZ<sup>3</sup> *vg a b d f ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub> k*  
 Hom. xvii. Luke x. 1-9  
 47 6 illum (*for* illam) PT<sup>3</sup> *cor nat<sup>3</sup> (et in mg<sup>1</sup> alii illam<sup>3</sup>) vg a d f q*  
 Hom. xviii. John viii. 46-69.  
 48 46 arguet (*for* -it) CGΘJKTWX *vg uett rell (exc δ)*  
 49 47 ex deo est (*for* est ex d.) QR *vg a ff<sub>2</sub> q r*  
 50 49 inhonorastis (*for* -atis) Δ(E)P̄FHΘIK(M)RTVWX<sup>3</sup>Z *vg e l δ Aug*  
 51 50 quaerat et iudicet (*for* -it et -at) CH<sup>3</sup>ΘIKOTWX<sup>3</sup> *vg a c e f ff<sub>2</sub> p<sup>3</sup> q*  
*asr Aug (cp. H<sup>3</sup>MQZ<sup>3</sup>)*  
 52 52 mortem non gustabit (*for* non gust. mor.) M̄ (e) l *Aug*  
 Hom. xix. Matt. xx. 1-16  
 53 4 dixit illis (*for* illis dixit) P̄OR *vg a ff<sub>2</sub>*  
 54 + meam C̄PHΘJL̄M̄OQRTW a f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>  
 55 7 + meam BEP̄<sup>3</sup>ΘLOQRTWX a b f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>  
 56 16 enim sunt (*for* sunt enim) CEHΘKOQTW *vg f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub>*  
 57 uero (*for* autem) EP̄<sup>3</sup>HO<sup>3</sup>QR *vg ff<sub>2</sub>*  
 Hom. xx. Luke iii. 1-11  
 58 2 domini (*for* dei) D̄P̄GHΘIJKL̄M̄R̄V̄W̄XY *vg c d ff<sub>2</sub> q r asr Ambr*  
 59 8 potens est (*for* potest) H̄ΘKMX *vg a c d e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r Iren (ter) Ambr*  
 60 9 arboris (*for* arborum) KXZ  
 61 + bonum P̄CD̄P̄H<sup>3</sup>ΘIJKL̄M̄R̄T̄V̄W̄Z *vg b c d e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r δ*  
 62 excidetur P̄CD̄P̄H<sup>3</sup>ΘIJK̄M̄OP̄QRT̄V̄W̄Y *vg a b c d e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r δ asr Iren*  
 63 mittetur P̄CD̄P̄H<sup>3</sup>ΘIJK̄M̄P̄QRT̄V̄W̄Z<sup>3</sup> *vg a b c e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q δ asr Iren*

BOOK II.

- Hom. xxi. Mark xvi. 1-7  
 64 4 uiderunt P̄<sup>3</sup>H<sup>3</sup>ΘIK̄M̄OQR̄V̄W̄X<sup>3</sup>Z *vg p<sup>3</sup> q δ*  
 65 6 dixit (*for* dicit) di<sup>3</sup>lt X dixit L d k  
 66 7 praecedet (*for* -dit) H̄ΘW  
 Hom. xxii. John xx. 1-9  
 67 1 uidit (*for* uidet) DEPHΘIJKVW *vg cor nat b q r δ asr gat Aug*  
 2 dixit (*for* dicit) *Greg solus*  
 (*diligebat? with d ff<sub>2</sub> gat*)  
 68 4 prior (*some MSS., and so text of homily, for* primus) CTW a b c d f ff<sub>2</sub>  
 q r *asr*  
 69 9 scripturas (*for* -am) T (f) *asr*  
 70 oporteret ΔDEP̄<sup>3</sup>HŌĪJ̄RSWX<sup>3</sup>Y *f cor nat*

## Hom. xxiii. Luke xxiv. 13-35

- 71 16 illorum CGΘIJKORTVWX'Z *vg ff<sup>3</sup> l aur*  
 72 20 tradiderunt eum (for eum trad.) BCDPΘJKOQRTVWX\*Z δ *aur*  
 73 21 + est (before hodie) BFEHΘKMOQT'VWXZ *vg cor nat a b f l aur*  
 74 24 inuenerunt (MSS. pl, but two MSS. uiderunt as Vulg) AEPFGHΘIK  
 MM'O (in *super lin.*) VWXY *vg*  
 75 25 illos E a f  
 76 26 om ita F a c d e ff<sub>2</sub> r δ  
 77 28 + se (after finxit) A\*HOR<sup>ms</sup>Y b c f ff<sub>2</sub> *aur*  
 78 31 ab oculis (for ex oc.) Greg. solus (?)  
 79 34 quia (for quod) f

## Hom. xxiv. John xxi. 1-14

- 80 1 + discipulis suis a b c d f q r  
 81 4 om iam after autem c e r  
 6 + et Greg solus  
 82 prae (for a) BΘKOVWX\*Z *vg a b e f q r aur*  
 83 7 + ergo E d e q  
 84 12 discumbentium ABFCDEPFFH'ΘIKMOSTVWXYZ *vg c aur Aug*  
 85 14 discipulis + suis BPIORTW *vg b c d f r Aug*

## Hom. xxv. John xx. 11-18

- 86 14 uidit (for uidet) BDEP'FG\*HΘIKMMRTVW *vg c q δ aur Aug*  
 87 17 om et before deum meum CEΘ *vg a e f ff<sup>3</sup> Aug*

## Hom. xxvi. John xx. 19-31

- 88 19 die illa (for die illo) a b f r δ *Aug*  
 89 + congregati BEHΘIKM'OTVWXXZ<sup>3</sup> *vg c f r δ Aug*  
 90 in medio + eorum M *gat*  
 91 20 cum hoc (for hoc cum) BFAEPKVWX\*Z *vg c e f ff<sub>2</sub> Aug*  
 92 22 dixit (for dicit) CHΘT *cor nat mg f q Aug*  
 93 24 de (for ex) EP<sup>ms</sup>MR a c r *aur*  
 29 me + Thoma *cor nat mg (sed cancellatum est in codice . . .) vg (cp. antiph.*  
*for feast of St. Thomas)*

## Hom. xxvii. John xv. 12-16

- 94 13 ponat quis (for quis ponat) GΘM *vg Aug (so antiph.)*  
 95 15 dicam (for dico) SWY<sup>3</sup> (ut uidetur) q Iren *codd (Massuet)*  
 faciat (for facit) BCE (faciet) P'FΘJKMQRTVWXZ *vg a c e f q r*  
 δ Iren *Aug*

## Hom. xxviii. John iv. 46-53

- 96 47 ueniret (for aduen-) Greg solus  
 97 53 quia (for quod) [all but AΔEPHMQSXY quod, and a b d quoniam]  
 dixerat (for dixit) solus

## Hom. xxix. Mark xvi. 14-20

- 98 14 eorum DPMQY *vg*  
 99 crediderunt (for -rant) DPLMQR *vg*  
 100 18 aegros (for aegrotos) BDIJKOQRVWX\*Z *vg*  
 101 19 quidem + Iesus BH'ΘKLM'OTVWXXZ *vg c o q δ aur*  
 102 sedet (for sedit) BKLW

## Hom. xxx. John xiv. 23-31

Hom. xxxi. Luke xiii. 6-13

- 103 8 dicit (*for dixit*) *vg f q*  
 104 copinum stercoris (*for stercora*) *M vell (exc e d δ)*  
 105 12 uideret (*for uidisset*) *CDP<sup>m</sup> IJMQRZ<sup>n</sup> vg cor uat b ff<sub>2</sub> i l*

Hom. xxxii. Luke ix. 23-7

- 106 24 et (*for nam*) *R a*  
 saluam eam faciet (*for saluam faciet illam*) *Greg solus [eam DR*  
*d f ff<sub>2</sub> r δ]*  
 107 25 prodest homini (*for proficit homo*) *c f (b d e l prodeest) si totum*  
 mundum lucretur *Greg solus (totum a c d e) om ipsum b ff<sup>2</sup> l r*

Hom. xxxiii. Luke vii. 36-50

- 108 36 Pharisaeus (*for ex Pharisaeis*) *G a b ff<sub>2</sub> l q r aur*  
 37 [quod + Iesus (*some MSS. of Greg.*) *E r cor uat<sup>o</sup> Ambr]*  
 109 accubisset (*for recub-*) *FKM<sup>o</sup>OVXZ δ cor uat<sup>o</sup>*  
 110 39 qualis + est *FKM<sup>o</sup>VWZ vg a q r aur (after mulier HØX b c f cor uat<sup>o</sup>)*  
 111 41 quingentos + et *DKOP(?)QVWYZ vg a f ff<sub>2</sub> l q r aur*  
 112 42 diligit (*for diliget*) *FEHØIJKMOPTVW vg d f ff<sub>2</sub> l q aur (dilegit*  
*D<sup>o</sup>PQ)*  
 113 44 lacrimis + suis *D b c f q*  
 114 47 remittuntur (*for -tentur*) *F<sup>o</sup>DEJKM<sup>o</sup>OVWZ vg a r δ aur*  
 115 48 peccata + tua *E gat f ff<sub>2</sub> l*  
 Hom. xxxiv. Luke xv. 1-10  
 116 7 agente (*for habente*) *FEF<sup>o</sup>Ø (post ras) IKM<sup>o</sup>RVWX<sup>o</sup>Z vg c d ff<sub>2</sub><sup>o</sup> r aur*  
 117 8 decem + et *E a d e l r*  
 [euertit *cum codd. paene omnibus*]  
 118 inueniat + eam *c r*

Hom. xxxv. Luke xxi. 9-19

- 119 13 contingent *BDG*  
 haec uobis *Greg solus [uobis haec D (l r) s]*  
 120 17 omnibus + hominibus *Q c f ff<sub>2</sub> i q r gat cor uat<sup>o</sup>*

Hom. xxxvi. Luke xiv. 16-24

Hom. xxxvii. Luke xiv. 25-35

- 121 26 esse discipulus (*for disc. esse*) *AEPGØIMQRWXY vg aur*  
 122 28 habeat (*for habet*) *B<sup>o</sup>FJKM<sup>o</sup>OVZ vg a*  
 123 29 uiderint (*for uident*) *f*

Hom. xxxviii. Matt. xxii. 1-13

- 124 4 occisa + sunt *Q a b f ff<sub>2</sub>*  
 125 6 contumellis (*for -ella*) *BH<sup>o</sup>Ø vg f cor uat mg*  
 13 ligatis manibus eius et pedibus (*for ligatis ped. eius et man.) corr uat*  
 [man. et ped. eius *B vg*; man. et ped. *DELR*]  
 126 14 enim (*for autem*) *RW vg f ff<sub>2</sub> q*

Hom. xxxix. Luke xix. 42-7

Hom. xl. Luke xvi. 19-31

- 127 21 + et nemo illi dabat *KTW l m (from xv. 16)*  
 128 23 uidit (*for uidebat*) *FEFPGØIKM<sup>o</sup>OVWZ vg b f i q δ aur*  
 129 28 in hunc locum (*for in locum hunc*) *BCGKT vg a c d e ff<sub>2</sub> l m r*



§ 2. *St. Gregory's influence on the Vulgate.*

From very early times St. Gregory's homilies have been read in the liturgy of the Church, and in the Roman Breviary a part of most of them still appears. They have consequently exercised an effect on the history of the Vulgate, such as no other external influences have been able to exert. The above table supplies some interesting instances of this.

1. To begin with the latest, the sign *vg* occurs oftener than the name of any MS., except *W* and *f* (*vg* 63, *f* 67, *W* 64). In Wordsworth and White's edition this stands for the agreement of the Sixtine and Clementine Vulgates, and the editions of Stephanus (1546) and Hentenius (1547). It represents, therefore, the current text, which is based upon that of the later middle ages. I think no one will hesitate to decide that the agreement with St. Gregory is not fortuitous but intentional. The authority of the great Pope (and also the frequent repetition in the Office of his sermons, so that both scribes and correctors had them by rote) caused the text he used to be revered and accepted as a standard.

2. If proof is needed, let us note the extraordinarily frequent occurrence of the sign *cor uat*—twice in the homilies on Matthew, ten times in Luke, eight times in John. This refers to the *correctorium* in MS. Vat. lat. 3466 (called *N* by Vercellone) of the thirteenth century. It is quite clear that the corrector habitually noted (sometimes in the margin) where the reading of St. Gregory disagreed. If we assume that the current Clementine Vulgate roughly represents the Paris *correctoria* of the same century, we shall be in a position to infer that the correctors of the Paris University exhibited a similar respect for what they might well consider to be the Roman official text of c. 600 A.D.

3. Similarly in *W*—the codex of William of Hales, of Salisbury, written in 1254—we find, as I have said, no less than sixty-four agreements with St. Gregory against Wordsworth, and this cannot be the result of chance.

4. It is by no means astonishing that we are able to trace the same phenomenon in earlier ages. A corrector of the

ninth century, Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, did the same that his successors did in the thirteenth—he corrected his Vulgate text to the norm of St. Gregory the Great. He had a Spanish text to work upon. Now our Spanish MSS. C and T give twenty-five and forty-one agreements with St. Gregory, so that in the latter codex some accidental influence of St. Gregory's homilies is already to be assumed. But St. Theodulph's MS. Θ gives no less than forty-eight agreements. The Theodulphian MS. H has a Northumbrian (AY) text of the Gospels on the whole, but it gives twenty-nine agreements, and the Theodulphian corrector has added ten more, making thirty-nine, as against nine in A and sixteen in Y.

5. The Alcuinian codices K<sup>M</sup>V give fifty-three, thirty-four, forty; their basis is Northumbrian and Irish. The Irish (that is, the Old Latin) element in them necessitated a considerable agreement with St. Gregory, but it is wholly by chance; except, obviously, in K, the Bible of Grandval, called also *Codex Carolinus*, where we find a most evident assimilation to St. Gregory's readings.

These extremely interesting facts are paralleled by another of equal interest. It will be seen that in the case of the homilies on St. John there are no less than fifteen agreements of St. Gregory with St. Augustine; yet the evidence of the Old Latin MSS. shows that St. Gregory's text has otherwise the same character in St. John as elsewhere. It may be urged that it is in the fourth Gospel alone that we can adequately restore the text used by the bishop of Hippo; and this is no doubt true. But yet St. Augustine's Old Latin text is conspicuously more African than the Italian text of St. Gregory.<sup>1</sup> It is, on the other hand, certain that St. Gregory's theology

<sup>1</sup> St. Gregory agrees with *e* very often, but then *e* is not a purely African, but a late Italianized African text. The agreement with Cyprian in Hom. xiv is a case where all the Old Latin agree. In Hom. vii, of the three agreements with Cyprian not only *nescitis* is in Augustine, but *soluere* also; for the Benedictine text of *Tract. iv in Ioann.*, 9 gives *ut soluam* once and *soluere* once. Similarly it gives *cuius ego non sum dignus* once, and *non sum dignus ego* once; but this may be St. Augustine's own alteration. After all the text of both doctors is uncertain; but the coincidences of St. Gregory with St. Cyprian are merely accidental.

was modelled upon Augustine, and that his exegesis is profoundly influenced by him. It is evident that the Pope has used St. Augustine's tractates on St. John in composing his own homilies, and that he has modified his text to suit that of the earlier doctor.

§ 3. *St. Gregory and the 'Canterbury Gospels'.*

We must now analyse the results of the table of readings. There are extremely few readings which are not supported by one or two at least of the Old Latin copies. On the other hand four of the homilies offer practically no variant from the text of Wordsworth and White (viz. v, xxx, xxxvi, xxxix), four show but one variant each (i, iv, xii, xvii), and two have two variants (iii, xxxv). St. Gregory's well-known statement that the Roman Church accepted both the Old Latin and St. Jerome's version is exemplified by his practice, for he mingles the two elements.

The following table gives the totals for the four Gospels of the appearances of the various MSS. :

	A	Δ	H	S	Y	F	O	X	Z	J	M	P
Matthew . . .	3		7 <sup>4</sup>		5	4	5 <sup>2</sup>	9 <sup>1</sup>	8 <sup>2</sup>	7		
Mark . . . . .			1 <sup>2</sup>		1		3	4	3	1	1	
Luke . . . . .	5		13 <sup>2</sup>		8	2	13	13 <sup>2</sup>	17 <sup>1</sup>	11	4	7
John . . . . .	2	3	8 <sup>2</sup>	4	3 <sup>1</sup>	4	8	12 <sup>1</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	4	6 <sup>1</sup>	
Total	10	3	29 <sup>10</sup>	4	17 <sup>1</sup>	10	29 <sup>2</sup>	38 <sup>4</sup>	35 <sup>4</sup>	23	11 <sup>1</sup>	7
(Luke and John)	7	3	21 <sup>4</sup>	4	11 <sup>1</sup>	6	21	25 <sup>3</sup>	24 <sup>2</sup>	15	10 <sup>1</sup>	7

	D	E	Ɔ	L	Q	R	B	Ɔ	G	K	M	V	Θ	C	T	W	vg
Matthew . . .	13	15	11 <sup>2</sup>	13	14	18 <sup>1</sup>	8			11	8	9	11	9	13	19	17
Mark . . . . .	3		2 <sup>1</sup>	4	4	3	3			4	3	3	3		1	5	4
Luke . . . . .	15	11	13 <sup>1</sup>	7	12	13	8	16	9	25	17	18	19	8	13 <sup>1</sup>	24	26
John . . . . .	7	15	5 <sup>2</sup>		5	9	5	5	5	13	6	10	15	8	14	16	16
Total	38	41	31 <sup>2</sup>	24	35	43 <sup>1</sup>	24	21	14	53	34	40	48	25	41 <sup>2</sup>	64	63
(Luke & John)	22	26	18 <sup>2</sup>	7	17	22	13	21	14	38	23	28	34	16	27 <sup>1</sup>	40	42

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	a	b	c	d	e	f	ff <sub>2</sub>	g	h	i	k	l	q	r	(8)	aur
Matthew . . .	16	13	2	6	1	23	14	18	2		5		10			
Mark . . . .		2	1	1						1	o <sup>1</sup>	2		2	1	
Luke . . . .	23	15	21	13	17	25	16		6	20 <sup>1</sup>	20	23	7	18		
John . . . .	13	11	16 <sup>1</sup>	6	16	19	15				6 <sup>2</sup>	17	14	11	12	
Total	52	41	40	26	34	67	45	18	2	6	6	26 <sup>1</sup>	49	37	20	31
(Luke and John)	36	28	37	19	33	44	31		6		26 <sup>2</sup>	37	37	18	30	

A small figure (thus 7<sup>1</sup>) means corrections by a later hand, e. g. H<sup>1</sup> or H<sup>2</sup>.

The Old Latin MSS. are only fully given in Luke and John, but the *Codex Brixianus f*, the typical 'Italian type', always takes the lead; *a c e q r* are not far behind; *ff<sub>2</sub>* would be almost by the side of *f* in all probability, were it not for its *lacunae*.

In considering the Vulgate families we will put aside W, *vg*, H<sup>1</sup>Θ, K, as being influenced by St. Gregory's text. The same is perhaps the case with E in St. John, as its extraordinary agreement here only is otherwise inexplicable. The sudden rise of *ϕ* in Luke is less remarkable.

The Eugipian families AΔSYF do not appear often, because they are so near to Wordsworth's text. The North Italian J is more prominent.

We expect the Irish family DEϕLQR to show a large proportion of agreements with St. Gregory, on account of its Old Latin element; but in spite of this the family is not more prominent than the Spanish T and the Canterbury OX. It will be remembered that in the case of Faustus and Eucherus the numbers attached to the symbols of the Irish MSS. were far larger than the rest, and equalled the most prominent of the Old Latin codices. Further we were able to infer a decided connexion between those writers and the Irish text, not only by the coincidence of both parties with the Old Latin, but by their agreement in a large number of readings which are not found in any existing Old Latin MS. In the present case the fairly large agreement of St. Gregory with the Irish text is simply due to the fundamentally Italian character of that text.

But O, X, and Z showed little agreement in the case of Faustus and Eucherus. In the present case these three MSS.

are as prominent as the Irish, in spite of the fact that they contain a smaller Old Latin element. When we have put aside WΘKT as being all more or less influenced by St. Gregory's Homilies, OX and Z take their place by the side of the Irish MSS. in the first place. That is to say, such Old Latin elements as OXZ contain are very much those which are found in St. Gregory.

In other words, there is no reason to suppose that the Old Latin element in O and X is borrowed from Irish MSS., but they have it in common with St. Gregory, though far less of it than the Pope has.

On the other hand it is now O, now X, alone, which agrees with St. Gregory; they had a common ancestor; it seems to be the most plausible hypothesis to conjecture that the common grandfather of both had a far larger Old Latin element than either, and therefore had a far nearer resemblance to St. Gregory's text. The actual numbers (omitting E) are as follows:

	O	X	Z	D	Ɔ	L	Q	R
Matthew	5	9	8	13	11 <sup>2</sup>	13	14	18
Luke and John	21	25	24	22	18		17	22

In Matthew the two Canterbury MSS. agree but little with St. Gregory, but in Luke and John they surpass the Irish, and indeed all (not counting W, K, Θ, E) except T and V. This phenomenon is best explained by supposing that the archetype (or the immediate parents) of both MSS. have been corrected according to St. Jerome in the first Gospel, but much less in the others. There is no reason for thinking that (on the contrary) the later Gospels have received Irish interpolations.

If the two Canterbury MSS. have a text in Luke and John which retains considerable traces of the mixed Vulgate and Old Latin used by St. Gregory, then the same is true of Z. There is so much textual resemblance here and there between X and Z that I cannot help suspecting some link between them. It has already been pointed out that O and Z are similar in the style of writing,<sup>1</sup> and that the text of the Pro-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 191.



umbria. The fact at least is incontestable; the agreement of both O and X\* with AY is frequent and striking.

Now X has actually been corrected into agreement with AY after it was written. But it is inconceivable that OX should have been written in England so late that their parents had already been corrected in England according to the AY text, for the Cassiodorian archetype of that text was only brought to Monkwearmouth by St. Benet Biscop in the year 678. Allowing a few years for the fame of the Northumbrian text to spread to Canterbury, we should have to place the writing of these two MSS. not earlier than 700, a date at which one would expect some English (i.e. Irish) influence would be traceable in the writing of the Canterbury school, either in the letters or at least in the ornamentation, for the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul had then flourished a hundred years.

But influence from the AY text is natural enough at Rome. Both Eugippius and Cassiodorus had an immense reputation. When a half-Old Latin MS. was to be corrected at St. Andrew's on the Caelian, we should not be surprised if a Eugipian or a Cassiodorian codex was employed for comparison. It is a simple hypothesis to suppose that the respective parents of O and X received their AFY element in this way. X especially has also been contaminated by the JZ family—an Italian family—very likely by Z itself.

These conjectures receive strong support from the text of the Prologues, where Z and O and X are so close together, and so close to Y. We shall see<sup>1</sup> that it is the Y Reg text of the Prologues, and not that of A, which must represent the Cassiodorian text, a text which Cassiodorus presumably obtained from Eugippius. Now the likeness of the Gospel text of OX to that of AY need not be dissociated from the likeness of the Prologue text of OX to that of Y. Since the text of OX is fundamentally Old Latin, corrected into a good Vulgate text by a codex of the AY type, the Old Latin ancestor would not have had the Prologues, and we know that they are wanting in the Italian J and Z, as in M. It remains therefore

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xv, pp. 279-80.

that the parent of OX received the Prologues from the AY codex according to which it was corrected to the Vulgate.

To sum up these conjectures, whose only merit is that they appear to fit the facts :

1. O, X, and Z are closely connected, since O and X must be derived from a single ancestor, X and Z have readings in common, and O and Z belong to the same school of calligraphy.

2. As X was already at St. Augustine's at Canterbury as early as 844, and as none of the three MSS. was probably written in England, it is likely that all three came at one time from one place, and all to Canterbury.

3. This would naturally be with Augustine or Mellitus, who are known to have brought books. The date tallies, since the consensus of opinion seems to place O and X about the year 600, and Z perhaps somewhat earlier.

4. The general agreement of St. Gregory's text of the Gospels with OX confirms this, and the classical figure of St. Luke in X is in favour of a Roman origin.

5. The likeness of OX to AY—often so striking—cannot be explained by contamination in England, so that it is most probable that the ancestor of OX was an Old Latin codex, corrected to the Vulgate by means of a codex of the AY text, obtained either from the workshop of Eugippius or that of Cassiodorus, and from this MS. the Prologues of XZ, so like those of Y, were borrowed.

6. The common parent of OX probably greatly resembled the text used by St. Gregory. The immediate parent of each has received independent correction (that of X partly by Z or by a relation of Z).

These, I have said, are conjectures, and are very far from being proved. I put them forward as a contribution towards the solution of a problem which interests me greatly.

**ADDITIONAL NOTE on the summaries of J and OX.** The summaries for Matthew are lost in O and X. J has two sets of summaries. The one set is called *capitula* in Matthew and *breues* in the other Gospels; the other set is called *breues* in Matthew and *capitula* in the other Gospels.

1. The latter are in J only, so far as I know. They are based upon the



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Old Latin and Irish summaries found in *c ff, h r g, g, s*, and in D P Q and the Gospels of MacDurnan (of course in Mark, Luke, and John of G); but these Old Latin summaries have been rewritten and greatly improved in J. I have remarked in an earlier chapter that these summaries are almost unknown in Vulgate MSS., except the Irish, and that this helps us in our view that the Irish MSS. are fundamentally Old Latin, and only superficially Vulgate.

2. The other set of summaries in J is very often found, and is diffused in many countries. It is known in two forms in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, of which the second is mainly Spanish. The MSS. giving a revised form are in brackets in the following table. St. Hilary gives a summary very close indeed to the revised form :

<i>Matthew</i>	J ( <i>cap</i> )			B	(C)	T	Θ
<i>Mark</i>	J ( <i>breu</i> )	O	X		(C)	T	Θ
<i>Luke</i>	J ( <i>breu</i> )	O	X	B	(C)	T	Θ
<i>John</i>	J ( <i>breu</i> )	O	X	Ⓕ	C	T	Θ

To these may be added more Spanish MSS., such as *leg<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, aem, osc, compl<sup>2</sup>*, also *Paul*, of course *puy*; and of the Old Latin, *ff<sub>1</sub>* for Matthew only. Long lists of MSS. will be found in Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.*, pp. 355-6, iii. 1 and 2 (many of the latter list have a different summary for John, *Pharisaeorum leuitae*). Thus we find these summaries in Gaul (Ⓕ?, B, Hilary), in Spain, in Theodulph, and in Italy (JOX). They are closely related to the Irish-Old Latin ones; all seem to be from one original. On their connexion with the Greek see Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-12.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE FOUR PROLOGUES: THEIR TEXT AND THEIR MEANING

#### § 1. *The text of the Prologues.*

IN discussing the history, the authorship, the meaning of the 'Monarchian' Prologues, it will be so often necessary to refer to their text and the MS. readings that for convenience I print them here at length, with a selection of variants from the Critical Notes of Wordsworth and of Corssen.<sup>1</sup> I have restored roughly the Irish text found in D $\Phi$ Q and also in A, but not in E. We shall see that this text has almost always preserved the true reading, more often even than Bishop Wordsworth thought. Where the Irish reading is obviously a mistake or a correction I have italicized it, giving in the note the true reading in capitals. The MS. evidence will be fully discussed in Chapter XV.

#### ARGUMENTUM MATTHEI.

Mattheus ex Iudaeis<sup>1</sup> sicut in ordine primus ponitur, ita<sup>2</sup> euangelium in Iudaea primus scripsit, cuius uocatio ad *dominum*<sup>3</sup> ex publicanis actibus fuit, duorum in generatione Christi principia praesumens, unius cuius prima circumcisio in carne<sup>4</sup>, alterius cuius secundum cor electio fuit; et ex utrisque in patribus Christus<sup>5</sup>. Sicque<sup>6</sup> quaterno denario<sup>7</sup> numero triformiter posito, principium a credendi fide in electionis tempus porrigens, et ex electione<sup>8</sup> in transmigrationis diem dirigens, atque a transmigratione usque ad<sup>9</sup> Christum definiens, decursam<sup>10</sup> aduentus domini ostendit generationem, ut et numero

<sup>1</sup> The corrections made by Wordsworth in his list of errata, pp. 739 foll., are taken into account. I have not used Corssen's additional MSS., because I do not know enough about their general text, relationships, and history.

satisfaciens et tempori<sup>11</sup> et se<sup>12</sup> quod esset ostenderet<sup>13</sup>, et dei in se opus monstrans, etiam in his<sup>14</sup>, quorum genus posuit, Christi operantis a principio testimonium non negaret. Quorum omnium rerum tempus, ordo, numerus, dispositio<sup>15</sup> uel ratio, quod fidei necessarium est, deus Christus est; qui factus<sup>16</sup> est<sup>17</sup> ex muliere, factus sub lege, natus ex uirgine, passus in carne, omnia in cruce fixit,<sup>18</sup> triumphans ea in semetipso, resurgens in corpore, ut patris<sup>19</sup> nomen in patribus filio, et filii nomen patri restitueret<sup>19</sup> in filiis<sup>20</sup>, sine principio, sine fine, ostendens unum se cum patre esse, quia unus est. In quo euangelio utile<sup>21</sup> (est)<sup>22</sup> desiderantibus deum sic prima uel media uel perfecta cognoscere, ut et uocationem apostoli et opus euangelii et dilectionem dei in carne nascentis, per uniuersa legentes, intellegant, atque id in eo in quo<sup>23</sup> adprehensi sunt et adprehendere expetunt recognoscant. Nobis enim hoc in studio<sup>24</sup> argumenti fuit, et fidem factae rei tradere, et operantis dei intellegendam<sup>25</sup> diligenter esse<sup>26</sup> dispositionem quaerentibus non tacere.

1. ex iudaeis D̄P̄Q ex iudaea B̄C̄H̄Θ in iudaea ĀȲZ om̄ ĒK̄M̄V 2. + ita B̄C̄P̄H̄Θ̄Q om̄ c̄st 3. dominum D̄P̄Q DEUM c̄steri 4. in carne ABCD̄P̄ H̄Θ̄Q carnis ĒK̄M̄V̄ȲZ c̄ 5. + est ADV 6. sicque ACD̄P̄K̄V̄Q sitque BEH̄Θ̄M̄ȲZ 7. quaterno denario CD̄P̄Q quaternario denario BEH̄Θ̄K̄M̄V̄Z quaterdenario AY 8. ex electione ABCD̄P̄(H)̄Θ̄K̄Q (electione C) electio EM̄V̄ȲZ 9. usque ad DĒP̄K̄M̄V c̄ usque in ABCH̄Θ̄Q̄ȲZ\* 10. decursam ABD̄P̄H̄Q̄V c̄ decursum CĒΘ̄\*̄K̄M̄ȲZ 11. numero satisfaciens et tempori ABCD̄P̄H̄Q n. satisfaceret et K̄M̄V c̄ numerositatis et temporis ĒΘ̄\*̄ȲZ 12. et se AC̄P̄Θ̄K̄M̄Q̄V̄Z\* se D esse BEHY et se esse c̄ 13. ostenderet ABCD̄P̄H̄Q ostendens ĒΘ̄K̄M̄V̄ȲZ c̄ 14. om̄ in his EYZ 15. dispositio] disputatio BCH 16. factus] natus BCD 17. om̄ est D 18. triumphans . . . ut patris D̄P̄] ut triumphans . . . et patris roll 19. restitueret ABCD̄P̄H̄Q restituens ĒΘ̄K̄M̄V̄ȲZ c̄ 20. in filiis] et filii EZ et in filiis Θ̄Y 21. utile] ut ille DEQ 22. est ABC̄P̄Θ̄H̄Q̄K om̄ DEM̄V̄ȲZ 23. id in eo in quo AD̄P̄Q in eo in quo V in eo quo BCEH̄Θ̄K̄M̄Z c̄ (quod CH) quo Y 24. hoc in studio BD̄P̄H̄Θ̄K̄Q in hoc st. A hoc st. CEM̄V̄ȲZ c̄ studium BCH 25. intellegendam] intellegentiam EYZ c̄ 26. om̄ esse BCK̄M̄V.

### ARGUMENTUM IOHANNIS.

Hic est<sup>1</sup> Iohannes euangelista, unus ex discipulis dei, qui uirgo electus a deo est, quem de nuptiis uolentem nubere uocauit<sup>2</sup> deus. Cui uirginitatis<sup>3</sup> in hoc duplex testimonium in euangelio datur, quod et prae ceteris dilectus a deo<sup>4</sup> dicitur,

et huic matrem suam iens<sup>6</sup> ad crucem<sup>6</sup> commendauit deus<sup>7</sup>, ut uirginem uirgo seruaret. Denique manifestans in euangelio quod erat ipse, incorruptibilis uerbi opus inchoans, solus uerbum caro<sup>8</sup> factum esse, nec lucem<sup>9</sup> a tenebris comprehensam<sup>9</sup> fuisse, testatur, primum signum ponens quod in nuptiis fecit deus<sup>10</sup>, ut<sup>11</sup> ostendens quod erat ipse<sup>12</sup>, legentibus demonstraret, quod ubi dominus inuitatur<sup>13</sup>, deficere nuptiarum uinum debeat, ut<sup>14</sup> ueteribus immutatis, noua omnia quae a Christo instituuntur appareant; <sup>15</sup> de quo singula quaeque in ministerio<sup>16</sup> acta uel dicta euangelii ratio quaerentibus monstrat<sup>15</sup>. Hoc autem euangelium scripsit in Asia, posteaquam<sup>17</sup> in Pathmos insula apocalypsin scripserat, ut cui<sup>18</sup> in principio canonis incorruptibile<sup>19</sup> principium in Genesi et incorruptibilis finis per uirginem in apocalypsi redderetur, dicente Christo 'Ego sum A et Ω'. Et hic est Iohannes, qui sciens superuenisse diem recessus sui, conuocatis discipulis suis in Epheso, per multa signorum experimenta conprobans<sup>20</sup> Christum, descendens in defossum sepulturae suae locum, facta oratione, positus est ad patres suos, tam extraneus a dolore mortis quam a corruptione carnis inuenitur alienus. <sup>21</sup> Qui etsi post omnes euangelium scripsisse dicitur, tamen dispositione canonis ordinati post Mattheum ponitur; quoniam in domino, quae nouissima sunt, non uelut extrema et abiecta numero sed plenitudinis opere perfecta sunt; et hoc uirgini debebatur.<sup>21</sup> Quorum tamen uel scriptorum<sup>22</sup> tempore dispositio uel librorum ordinatio ideo per singula a nobis non exponitur, ut, sciendi<sup>23</sup> desiderio conlocato<sup>24</sup>, et quaerentibus fructus laboris, et deo magisterii doctrina, seruetur.

1. hic est CDEPKQTVW c om AFE<sup>6</sup>\*MOYZ<sup>6</sup> aur 2. uocauit] reuocauit  
 ΘMTQY 3. uirginitas FMOXYZ 4. deo] domino FEKO 5. iens]  
 moriens E pendens KVV 6. de cruce EΘIM c aur in cruce KVV 7.  
 deus] dominus EIOX c om dens M<sup>8</sup> aur 8. carnem ΘIX c 9. lucem  
 D̄PQW lumen *rell*, and comprehensam D̄P aur comprehensum *rell* 10.  
 deus] dominus FIKO c om A\*X 11. ut AD̄POQX aur et CEΘKMZ c om  
 FVWY 12. erat ipse F̄CDEP̄ΘKM̄TOQWY ipse erat AVXZ<sup>12</sup> c 13.  
 inuitatur AD̄P̄ΘKQVW aur inuitatus F̄CEIM̄TOXYZ c 14. ut AD̄P̄MTQ  
 ut et F̄EIOX et ΘWY ac CKVZ c 15. de quo . . . monstrat ADEP̄MTQ  
 om F̄C̄ΘIKOVWXYZ c aur 16. mysterio] ministerio P̄MTQ 17.  
 postquam AD̄ΘY 18. cui F̄CDEP̄ΘKM̄TOVWZ c aur cum AQXY 19.  
 corruptibile F̄\*Q 20. conprobans D̄P̄Q promens *rell* 21. *Wordsworth*

*inserts here et hoc uirgini debebatur without MS. authority.* Qui etsi . . . debebatur DPKMQ: Tamen post omnes euangelium scripsit et hoc uirgini debebatur AFCEIOVXYZ *c aur* (E combines both readings, W has an elaborate alteration) 22. scriptorum DΠIΘKMQVW scripturarum AFCEIOXYZ 23. sciendi DPKQVW *c aur* scienti AFCEIΘKMQXYZ 24. conlocato CDPKVW *c conlocata AFCEIΘKMQ\*YZ collata X conlocatio IQ*

#### ARGUMENTUM LUCAE.

Lucas Syrus, natione<sup>1</sup> Antiochensis, arte medicus, discipulus apostolorum, postea<sup>2</sup> Paulum secutus usque ad confessionem<sup>3</sup> eius, seruiens deo<sup>4</sup> sine crimine. Nam neque uxorem umquam habens<sup>5</sup> neque filios<sup>6</sup>, .LXXIII.<sup>7</sup> annorum obiit in Bithynia, plenus Spiritu Sancto. Qui cum iam descripta<sup>8</sup> essent euangelia, per Mattheum quidem<sup>9</sup> in Iudaea, per Marcum autem in Italia, Sancto instigante Spiritu in Achaiae partibus hoc scripsit euangelium, significans etiam ipse in principio ante alia esse descripta. Cui extra ea quae ordo euangelicae dispositionis exposcit, ea maxime<sup>10</sup> necessitas fuit laboris<sup>11</sup>, ut primum Graecis fidelibus, omni perfectione<sup>12</sup> uenturi in carnem<sup>13</sup> dei manifestata<sup>14</sup>, ne iudaicis fabulis intenti<sup>15</sup> in solo legis desiderio tenerentur, uel ne<sup>16</sup> hereticis fabulis et stultis sollicitationibus seducti excederent<sup>17</sup> a ueritate, elaboraret; dehinc ut in principio euangelii<sup>18</sup>, Iohannis natiuitate praesumpta, cui euangelium scriberet, et in quo electus scriberet, indicaret, contestificans<sup>19</sup> in se completa esse quae essent ab aliis inchoata. Cui ideo, post baptismum filii dei, a perfectione generationis in Christo impletae *et*<sup>20</sup> repetendae a principio natiuitatis humanae potestas permissa est, ut requirentibus demonstraret in quo adprehendens erat<sup>21</sup>, per Nathan filium introitu recurrentis in deum generationis admissio<sup>22</sup>, indispartibilis<sup>23</sup> deus<sup>24</sup> ut<sup>25</sup> praedicans in hominibus Christum suum, perfecti opus hominis redire in se per filium faceret, qui per Dauid patrem uenientibus iter praebat in Christo. Cui Lucae non inmerito etiam scribendorum apostolicorum Actuum potestas in ministerio<sup>26</sup> datur, ut deo in deum pleno, ac<sup>27</sup> filio perditionis<sup>28</sup> extincto, oratione ab apostolis facta, sorte domini electionis numerus compleretur, sicque Paulus<sup>1</sup> consummationem apostolicis Actibus daret,

<sup>1</sup> The right reading is certainly *Paulum*, as in the Prologue to Acts. See later, p. 255.

quem diu contra stimulos recalcitrantem dominus elegeret. Quod legentibus ac requirentibus deum etsi per singula expediri a nobis utile fuerat, scientes<sup>29</sup> tamen quod operantem agricolam oporteat de fructibus suis edere, uitamus<sup>30</sup> publicam curiositatem, ne non tam demonstrare<sup>31</sup> uolentibus deum uideremur quam fastidientibus prodidisse.

1. natione ADΦHΘKQVX *c* (nat. Syr.) *om* BOYZ *l aur* 2. + uero HΘW *c* 3. confessionem] passionem KMTVWZ *c* 4. deo DQ domino *rell* 5. habuit HΘ *c* 6. add procreauit HΘ 7. .LXXIIII. ADΦMT QVYZ LXX & quattuor Θ septuaginta et quattuor BW *c l aur* LXX et tres H<sup>o</sup> hooctiginta et quattuor CT (*and so Prol. to Acts*) 8. descripta] scripta BKMTQ VWXYZ *c l aur* 9. *om* quidem DΦ 10. maxima OXZ<sup>o</sup> 11. fuit laboris ABDΦΘV (Corssen gives only ADΦ) lab. fuit HKMTOWXYZ *c l aur* 12. perfectione A<sup>o</sup>DΦ prophetatione *rell* 13. carne AHΘV 14. manifestata ADΦQ manifestata humanitas KMTVZ (m. humanitate *c*) manifesta humanitas BH OXY *l aur* 15. intenti ADΦQ attenti *rell* 16. uel ne DΦQ ne uel HK OXYZ *c l aur* neue ABΘMV 17. excederent] exciderent OQ *c* (*forte recte*) 18. *om* euangelii XZ<sup>o</sup> 19. contestificans DΦQ contestans *rell* 20. + et ABDΦΘKMTQV OMIT BHΘOWXYZ *l aur* 21. adprehendens erat] adprehenderat D 22. ammisso KMTQV -ssum Θ 23. indispertibilis ADΦQ indispertibilis *rell* 24. deus DΦQ dei *rell* 25. ut DQ *om rell* 26. ministerio DΦQY -lum *c* mysterio *rell* 27. ac ADΦQ et BHΘKMT VWXYZ *c l aur* 28. perditionis BDΘK prditionis *rell* 29. scientes ADΦQ sciens BHΘKMTQ(V)WXYZ *c l aur* 30. uitamus ABDΦQ uitauimus HΘKMTQVWXYZ *c l aur* 31. demonstrare ADΦQ *om* BHΘKMTQVWXYZ *c l aur*

#### ARGUMENTUM MARCI.

Marcus, euangelista dei<sup>1</sup>, et Petri in baptisate filius atque in diuino sermone discipulus, sacerdotium in Israhel agens, secundum carnem leuita, conuersus ad fidem Christi, euangelium in Italia scripsit<sup>2</sup>, ostendens in eo quid<sup>3</sup> et generi suo<sup>4</sup> deberet<sup>5</sup> et Christo. Nam initium principii in uoce propheticae exclamationis instituens, ordinem leuiticae electionis<sup>6</sup> ostendit, ut<sup>7</sup> praedicans praedestinatum Iohannem<sup>8</sup> filium Zachariae in uoce angeli adnuntiantis<sup>9</sup> emissum, non solum 'uerbum caro<sup>10</sup> factum' sed et<sup>11</sup> corpus domini in omnia<sup>12</sup> per uerbum diuinae uocis animatum initium<sup>13</sup> euangelicae praedicationis ostenderet, ut quis<sup>14</sup> haec legens sciret cui initium carnis in domino<sup>15</sup> et dei<sup>16</sup> aduenientis habitaculum caro<sup>17</sup> deberet agnoscere, atque in se per<sup>18</sup> uerbum uocis, quod in consonantibus perdidit, inueniret. Denique<sup>19</sup> perfecti euangelii opus intrans, et<sup>20</sup> a baptismo domini praedicare deum inchoans, non laborauit

natiuitatem carnis quam in prioribus uicerat<sup>31</sup> dicere, sed totus<sup>32</sup> in primis<sup>33</sup> expulsionem<sup>34</sup> deserti, ieiunium numeri, temptationem diaboli, congregationem bestiarum et ministerium protulit angelorum, ut instituens<sup>35</sup> nos ad intellegendum, singula in breui conpingens, nec auctoritatem factae rei adimeret<sup>36</sup>, et perficiendo operi<sup>37</sup> plenitudinem non negaret. Denique amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur, ut sacerdotio reprobis haberetur, sed tantum consentiens fidei praedestinata potuit electio, ut nec sic in opere uerbi perderet quod prius meruerat in genere, nam<sup>38</sup> Alexandriae episcopus fuit. Cuius per singula opus scire, et<sup>39</sup> euangelii in se dicta disponere<sup>30</sup> et disciplinam in se legis agnoscere<sup>31</sup>, et diuinam domini in carne<sup>32</sup> intellegere naturam, quae et nos<sup>33</sup> primum requiri, dehinc<sup>34</sup> inquisita uolumus agnoscere, habentes mercedem exhortationis, quoniam qui plantat et qui inrigat<sup>35</sup> unum sunt, qui autem incrementum praestat<sup>36</sup> deus est<sup>37</sup>.

1. om electus ACDE\*PH\*OTWXYZ\* c l add ΘKMV aur 2. scripsit] conscripsit ΘOX 3. quod A\*OXY aur 4. om suo DΦ 5. deberetur CT 6. lectionis A\*OXY l 7. ut ADHΘMOVWXY l et Φ om CEKTZ 8. ioh. praed. KMVW c 9. adnuntiantis ADΦKMTVW c enun. CEΘOXYZ aur 10. carnem EKMTVWX\* 11. et ADΦΘKMVW l om CEH\*OTXYZ\* aur 12. in omnia DΦΘQT c om rell 13. initium ΦHΘQX initio ceteri 14. quis DΦW si quis Θ qui AEH\*KMTOVXYZ c l om CT 15. DEO E(H\*) KMVW c 16. dei ACDΦT ihu EHΘKMVWXYZ c aur in ihu O\*V l 17. caro om AY 18. per DQ om rell 19. om et CDΦKMTVZ\* add et AEHΘOXY c l aur 20. intrans et] intrasset EHZ\* aur 21. uicerat DΦH(Q)YZ aur uiderat ACEKMOTVWX c didicerat Θ l 22. totius ΘW totum AY totus rell 23. in primis] exprimens Θ\*OWX 24. expulsionem DQ explosionem A\*Φ expositionem rell 25. instituens] instruens CT 26. adimeret DΦQ aur redim. l demeret rell 27. perficiendo operi ACD ΦT c -ndi operi YZ\* -ndi operis EHΘKMO(V)WX l aur (om operi V) 28. add et KMVWZ 29. scire et ACDΦTWX aur scire Y c sciret EHΘKMOVZ\* l 30. disponderet OZ\* (om et Z\*) 31. agnosceret CH\* OY a cognoscere est Q 32. dom. in carne ADΦK in c. dom. COTWX c in carnem deum O\* in carne (om dni) EMV l aur in carnem (om dni) YZ\* in carne ihu H\* 33. et nos A\*DPKMTV in nos A\*CEHΘOTWXYZ c l 34. dein CT 35. inrigat DQ rigant HO rigat rell 36. praestat] dat HΘO l 37. om est CΦ

## § 2. The meaning of the Prologue to St. Matthew.

Some may expect this section to be completed in the words, 'The Prologues have no meaning'; but this would be an exaggeration: they have, though not much. Once, at

the age of twenty-two, after reading Hegel for ten hours a day for three days (a feat I have never tried again), I said to myself: 'Now or never is the time to attack Browning'; and the next day I made a desperate effort, which I have never ventured to repeat, to digest Sordello. I regret to say that utter bewilderment was the only result. And yet for sheer blackness and incomprehensibility neither Browning nor yet Pindar is in it with the Prologues. But in middle age one is more persevering, and I have the audacity now to propose to translate and explain these masterpieces of the art of concealing one's meaning and of not basely betraying it to the scorner—*fastidientibus prodidisse*, as the author himself phrases it.

In several points I shall venture to differ from those who have previously attempted the same ungrateful task, whether Sedulius Scotus or Corssen or Wordsworth, but in general I am much indebted to them.

It is clear that the idea of the Prologues is to find in the beginning of each Gospel the key to its meaning and a description of the evangelist's own character. It is also quite evident that the writer has certain peculiar theological views which he wishes to support; but unless they are previously known, they are so difficult to discover, that from the fifth century till the nineteenth the Prologues have been looked upon as positively orthodox. Until I discovered that Priscillian was the key I found it hopeless to enter into their meaning. In the following examination I assume a Priscillianist meaning throughout, and if all is not as clear as day, there is at least no longer a wholly impenetrable fog.

In St. Matthew the author takes the genealogy, which the evangelist has divided into three sections of fourteen generations each; the first of these has its beginning in Abraham, the type of faith, the second in David, the type of election, the third in the transmigration to Babylon, which also ends in Christ—the third therefore symbolizes conversion. Thus St. Matthew describes his own faith, his own calling, and his transmigration from the seat of custom to Christ.

But further, the whole list is called the 'book of the



generation of Christ'; not only the last term, but all the terms imply that Christ was being generated—He was IN all His own ancestors, *in patribus*, in Whom He worked from the beginning (*operantis a principio*). For indeed 'the God Christ is the time, number, order, of all things'. The 'things', however, as matter (apart from their form, which was Himself) are regarded as His adversaries, for 'He nailed *all things* to His Cross', *omnia in cruce fixit*. The next passage is hard. How did Christ by His resurrection 'restore the name of Father in the fathers to the Son, and the name of Son to the Father in the sons'? The answer is given 'He showed Himself to be one with the Father, for He is *one Person* (unus) with Him' after His resurrection. The explanation seems to be somewhat as follows: In the genealogy each name is that of a son, but is repeated as the name of a father: . . . *genuit Isaac, Isaac autem genuit . . .* &c., except in the case of the first name and the last. The first (not in Matthew, who only begins from Abraham, but according to Luke) is God, only a Father, not a Son; the last is Jesus Christ, only a Son, not a Father. But the genealogy is a sort of tunnel; what comes out at the end was what was put in at the beginning: Christ was *in His fathers, in patribus Christus*, and at His resurrection He, who was the last term of the genealogy, identified Himself with the first term, the Father. Thus the list began with God, who is then in all the succession of fathers as a father. It ends in Christ, who was in all the succession of sons as a son. But when His resurrection identifies Him with the Father, he 'restores the name of Father to Himself, the Son, in the whole line of fathers, and the name of Son to the Father in the whole line of sons'. This is a most ingenious argument for the Monarchian view, though hardly convincing to us moderns. It could not be said that the Father was in all the fathers, and the Son in all the sons, without identifying Father and Son, for in the list the same persons are successively named son and father; and again, the resurrection is held to demonstrate the identity of the Father who was only father at the beginning of the list with the Son who is only son at the end of the list. Thus St. Matthew's genealogy, with the help

of Priscillian's view that each soul is a part of God, becomes a proof of Monarchianism.

Next the readers are told to understand in the three parts of the genealogy the vocation of the apostle (as was said), the work of the Gospel (which also consists in the same three things, faith, calling, and transmigration to Christ), and the love of God born in the flesh, and they must keep this in mind in reading the whole Gospel (*per uniuersa legentes*), and recognize this (*id*—apparently the threefold evolution) in Him in whom they were apprehended, and whom they desire to apprehend. The object of the Prologue is first to hand down the facts, and then to assert the necessity of carefully examining the manner in which God's working is arranged and ordered.

The following is an attempt at an intelligible English rendering :

#### THE ARGUMENT OF MATTHEW.

'Matthew, who was of the Jews, even as he is placed first in order, so he was the first to write a Gospel, in Judaea. His vocation to God was from the practice of the business of a publican. He took, in the history of the generation of Christ, his starting-points from two men, the one who received the first circumcision in the flesh, Abraham, the other, David, who was elected as a man according to God's own heart (Acts xiii. 22 ; cp. 1 Reg. xiii. 14), and through both of these Christ was in His own fathers. And so, having thrice set down fourteen generations, first stretching out his starting-point from the faith of Abraham to the time of David's election, next drawing it out from that election to the time of the transmigration to Babylon, and thirdly marking its end from the transmigration up to Christ, he showed forth the progress of generation of the Lord's advent, in such wise that, by the fullness of the mystical number and of the time, he showed forth what he himself was, and while exhibiting God's work in himself, he denied not the witness to the working of Christ from the beginning even in those whose genealogy was set down by him.

Now the God Christ is (and it is necessary to faith to hold this) the time, the order, the number, the arrangement, and the reason of all these things—He who was made of a woman, made under the law, born of a virgin, who suffered in the flesh, nailed all things to His cross, triumphing over them in Himself, rising again in the body, in order that He might restore the name of father in the fathers to the Son, and the name of son to the Father in the sons, He who is without beginning, without end, showing Himself to be of one Nature with the Father since He is one Person with Him.

In this Gospel it is profitable for those who seek God so to recognize the beginning, the middle, and the completion, as to understand both the calling of the apostle, and the work of the Gospel, and the love of God born in the flesh, when they read through the whole book. For our intention in composing this preface was not only to hand down the truth of the facts, but also to declare to those who seek, that they must be diligent in understanding the orderly manner of God's working.'

### § 3. *The meaning of the Prologue to St. John.*

Next in order is the Prologue to John, as we shall see from its contents. The Monarchian point of view is particularly prominent in the first part of it, where *deus* stands for Christ invariably: *unus ex discipulis dei . . . uocauit deus . . . dilectus a deo . . . commendauit deus*. The virginity of St. John is the important matter in the writer's view. He was the bridegroom of Cana, called away by the Lord from the marriage feast to follow Him, and his chastity is testified both by his being the beloved disciple and by his receiving the Virgin Mother to guard. All this is probably derived from some Latin translation of the 'Acts of John'. The *iens ad crucem* is very odd. But Mr. Turner reminds me that in the Acts it was only a phantom that was crucified. This seems a sufficient explanation of the divergence from the Gospel.

Then the purpose of the Gospel is unfolded; St. John explained what he was himself, viz. a virgin, and begins the 'work of the incorruptible Word' (the Gospel) by testifying

that the Word was made flesh, and the light not overtaken by the darkness—clearly a reference to the evil nature of matter, which could not, however, corrupt the ‘incorruptible Word’. This last expression is evidently from a wrongly punctuated reading of 1 Pet. i. 23, ‘renati non ex semine corruptibili, sed *incorruptibili*[.] *uerbo* Dei uiui,’ where the Vulgate avoids the mistake by reading ‘per uerbum Dei uiui’.

This reference to St. John’s first chapter is succeeded by a jump to the second chapter and the marriage in Cana, which is said to show that the wine of marriage must fail where Christ is invited, a sentiment probably meant in heretical depreciation of marriage, though it was copied into the Northumbrian *capitula* (as we have seen) by their monastic compiler with an orthodox intention, no doubt—apparently in the sense which is given by the following words of the Prologue, that all things are new which are begun in Christ (cp. 2 Cor. v. 17 and Apoc. xxi. 5).

The *ratio euangelii*, order and arrangement of the Gospel, shows to seekers every act and saying as bearing upon what has been just said. (Should we read *ministerium*?)

Then some history: the Gospel was after the Apocalypse (so Victorinus and Epiphanius). The reason for the Apocalypse was that the incorruptible ending should be ascribed by a virgin in it to Him, to whom the incorruptible beginning was ascribed in Genesis. In saying ‘*ego sum A et Ω*’ Christ at the end of the canon identifies Himself with the Creator. (The writer does not forget, evidently, that St. John had also written *in principio erat Verbum*, intentionally recalling the first words of Genesis.) Here again (as with the identification of the Father and the Son at the beginning and end of the genealogy) a Monarchian sense is evidently intended.

Next comes the legendary account of the death of St. John, doubtless borrowed from some Latin form of the second-century Acts. *A corruptione carnis alienus* does not refer to any miracle by which his body remained incorrupt after death, but (as above) to his virginity, of which his painless death was the reward. It follows that to add *et hoc uirgini debebatur* here, as Bishop Wordsworth has done, is as much against

the sense (being an unbearable pleonasm) as it is against the MSS.

The next passage is preserved only by the Irish tradition of the text. Though St. John wrote last, yet his Gospel is second in order; for in the divine plan the last in time are the most perfect; and this [perfection, after all the rest] was the due of the virgin. We thus learn that the writer of the Prologues used an Old Latin codex having the Latin order of the Gospels universal before St. Jerome: *Matthew, John, Luke, Mark*.

The final remark is characteristic. No more is said about the mystical order of writing and of precedence of the Gospels, in order that seekers may not be forestalled in the fruit which their labours will bring them, nor God be deprived of His right of teaching it Himself.

#### THE ARGUMENT OF JOHN.

'This is John the Evangelist, one of the disciples of God, who was chosen by God a virgin, whom God called from his marriage, when he was desirous to wed. A twofold witness is given to him of virginity in the Gospel, first, that he is called beloved by God above the others, and secondly, that God, when going to the cross, commended His Mother to him, that the Virgin might be guarded by a virgin. Thereafter, showing in the Gospel what he himself was, commencing the work of the incorruptible Word, he alone testifies that the Word was made flesh, and that the light was not overtaken by the darkness; setting down the first sign which God did at the wedding, in order that by showing what he himself was [for he was the bridegroom, and he was called away to virginity], he might show to his readers, that where the Lord is invited, the wine of nuptials ought to be wanting, so that the old things being changed, all things which are instituted in Christ may appear new. With regard to this, the method (*ratio*) of the Gospel shows each thing that was done or said in a mystery to those who seek. He wrote this Gospel in Asia, after he had written the Apocalypse in the island of Patmos, in order that to whom the incorruptible beginning was ascribed in Genesis, to Him

might also be ascribed the incorruptible end by a virgin in the Apocalypse, wherein Christ says: 'I am Alpha and Omega.' And it is this John, who knowing that the day of his retirement had come, having called together his disciples at Ephesus, and having proved Christ to them by many signs, descended into the place which had been dug for his sepulture, and after praying was gathered to his fathers, as free from the pain of death as he was from corruption of the flesh. Though he is said to have written after all the other evangelists, yet in the disposition of the ordered canon he is placed after Matthew; forasmuch as in the Lord what things are latest are not as it were last and vilest in order, but are perfect in their work of fullness; and this was due to the virgin among evangelists. But this disposition of writings in time and the order of the books in the canon is not explained by us in detail, in order that, having excited the desire of knowing it, to the seeker the fruit of his labour may be reserved, and the office of teaching to God.'

#### § 4. *The meaning of the Prologue to St. Luke.*

The Prologue to Luke begins with some curious history, of which something will be said later (p. 271 foll.). The Gospel was written after those of Matthew and Mark; in fact St. Luke states that other Gospels had been written. Beyond the demand made upon him by the order and arrangement of the Gospels (of which the other Prologues have said a good deal, and have implied much more) Luke had particular reasons for writing. The first was to manifest all the perfection of the God, who was prophesied to come into flesh, for the benefit of Greek believers, that they might not fall into Judaism or heresy.<sup>1</sup> The second reason is more elaborate. After mention of the birth of St. John Baptist at the beginning of his Gospel, St. Luke showed for whom he wrote and why he was chosen to write, testifying at the same time that he

<sup>1</sup> *Judaicæ fabulæ* is from Titus i. 14; *hereticæ fabulæ* echoes the frequent denunciation of *fabulæ* in the Pastoral Epistles. *Stultæ sollicitationes* are perhaps *μῶραι ζητήσεις*, 2 Tim. ii. 23. All these references to the Pastoral Epistles seem to be motivated by the mention of St. Luke in 2 Tim. iv. 11, and by the reference above to his being with St. Paul until his *confessio*.

completed what Matthew and Mark began. This is indeed a dark saying. It seems to be explained by what follows, and what follows has been misunderstood by the neglect of the correct Irish reading by editors, who have read *dei* for *deus ut* (DQ)<sup>1</sup>; *et* before *repetendae* must also be omitted, though against the Irish evidence. To Luke, as a consummation, was granted the power of tracing up the human birth from the beginning, from the perfection of generation fulfilled in Christ. The meaning is clear 'to seekers' after the Prologue to Matthew. Matthew wrote for Jews, and started with Abraham. Luke shows that he was chosen to write for Gentiles by going right back to Adam. The 'perfect generation fulfilled in Christ' means that, though 'Christ was in His fathers', He was only imperfectly born in them; His birth from a Virgin was the perfect birth of God made flesh. *A principio* implies 'from God', since Luke's genealogy ends with 'Adam who was the son of God'. We go on: 'in order that Luke might show to seekers in Him whom he had apprehended' (i. e. what he had himself understood, by becoming a Christian from a Gentile, and receiving Christ), 'by admitting the entrance of a genealogy which runs back to God through the son of David, Nathan, how the indivisible God caused the work of man when made perfect to return by the son to Himself, who opened a way in Christ through the father David to all who come.' A contrast with St. Matthew is intended, who traces the genealogy downwards through Solomon, and not upwards through Nathan. Nathan son of David is the type of Christ, so that the genealogy of St. Luke is said to show how the work of man when perfect rises up to the Father through the Son typified by Nathan, just as that of St. Matthew, descending through David, showed the Father making a way downward for those who were to rise; in Matthew we see the condescension of the Father, in Luke the return to Him through the Son. If this is not what the writer meant, then he meant something at least as far-fetched and as carefully 'hidden from seekers'. Just as the Prologue to John

<sup>1</sup> To be translated as if we found *ut deus*; this transposition, unusual in prose, suggested the emendation *dei*. The easy *dei, ut* is in no MS.

includes a sort of introduction to the Apocalypse, in the same mystical vein, so that to Luke contains an introduction to Acts. It was proper, the writer continues, that to Luke should be entrusted the composition of that book, so that he who had completed Matthew and Mark by a more perfect work should now show how the number of the apostles was filled up by lot after the Ascension (*deo in deum pleno* must mean the Ascension) and the death of Judas, and how the addition of Paul gave a further consummation. Finally, we get a protestation like that at the end of the Prologue to John; the workman is to get the fruit by his own toil; the author will not betray God's secrets to those who ought to take the trouble to discover them for themselves.

The Monarchian character of *uenturi in carnem dei* is obvious; it is more important to remark that it seems to imply that God took the place of the soul in a human body. *Deo in deum pleno* apparently means that at the Ascension God returned to God (literally 'God being now full in God'), and the Father and Son became indistinguishable. The same conception is plainer in the expression *indispartibilis deus*, which cannot but be meant to deny the distinction of Persons. No doubt any of these expressions might bear a Catholic interpretation; but taken as a whole they shed a lurid light upon one another. I give an attempt at translation.

#### THE ARGUMENT OF LUKE.

'Luke, a Syrian of Antioch by nation, by profession a physician, a disciple of the Apostles, later followed Paul until his confession, serving God without blame. For he never had wife or children, and died at the age of seventy-four in Bithynia, full of the Holy Ghost. When Gospels had already been written, by Matthew in Judaea and by Mark in Italy, at the instigation of the Holy Spirit he wrote this Gospel in the parts of Achaia, and he also signified in the commencement that others had previously been written. Apart from the demand made by the order of the disposition of the Gospels [which made his Gospel necessary] the principal object of his toil was that he should labour that the Greek faithful might, by the



manifestation of all the perfection of God coming in the flesh, be prevented from giving themselves to the study of Jewish fables, and from being held by the desire of the law only, and that they might not be seduced by heretical fables and foolish questions, and so depart from the truth. And further, that in the beginning of his Gospel, having first given the birth of John, he might point out for whom [viz. for Theophilus] he wrote his Gospel, and the purpose of his election to write it, attesting that what was begun by the others was finished in him. To him power was granted after the baptism of the Son of God [Luke iii] to reckon back the human birth from its beginning, starting from the perfection of the generation fulfilled in Christ, in order that he might show forth to seekers (in that he had himself apprehended), by admitting into the list the entrance of a genealogy running back to God through the son Nathan, how the indivisible God, proclaiming His Christ among men, has made the work of the perfect man return to Himself by the son of David—He who by David the father offered in Christ a way to those who came to Him. To this Luke ministerial power was deservedly given of also writing the Acts of the Apostles, that God being full in God, and the son of perdition<sup>1</sup> being dead, after prayer had been made by the Apostles, the number of election (twelve apostles) might be made complete by the lot of the Lord, and that thus Paul might supply the consummation of the Acts of the Apostles,<sup>2</sup> whom the Lord chose after he had long kicked against the pricks. And though it had been useful for us to explain this in detail for readers and seekers after God, yet knowing that the working husbandman ought to eat the fruits of his own labour, we avoid the curiosity of the public, lest we should appear less to be revealing God to the desirous, than to have betrayed Him to scorners.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Son of perdition' (so BDΘK) is of course from John xvii. 12; *proditiōnis* seems to be merely a mistake from the notion of 'traitor' by a scribe who did not catch the reference. The author of the ordinary Prologue to Acts (*Lucas natione Syrus*) read *perditionis* in the fifth century.

<sup>2</sup> Or, reading *Paulum*, 'that he might give Paul as the consummation (the thirteenth Apostle) to the Acts of the Apostles.' That this is the true reading is attested by the Prologue to Acts. See ch. xiv, p. 255.

§ 5. *The meaning of the Prologue to Mark.*

The argument to Mark is the most curious of all, for its heresy is the most patent, its obscurity is the blackest, and the thumb of Mark suggests an apparently insoluble problem.

That Mark was the son of Peter in baptism is a deduction from 1 Peter v. 13. That he was a priest and a Levite seems to be a detail<sup>1</sup> connected with the story of his thumb. That he wrote in Italy was a commonplace known to all Christians. We are not surprised at being told that the beginning of his Gospel shows what he owed to his birth (viz. his *sacerdotium*) and what to Christ (the finding of the divine voice in himself). His Levitical origin is shown by his beginning with St. John Baptist. This is far-fetched enough, but what follows is worse; he showed not merely the Word made flesh, but (more clearly) the Body of the Lord, in all things (i. e. wholly) animated by the Word of the Divine Voice (that is to say, the Word taking the entire functions of the human soul in Christ), as the beginning of his Gospel preaching. (If we read *initio* with Wordsworth, Corssen, &c., we shall get no possible meaning, so far as I can see; *initium* ΦQ is the Irish reading, it seems, preserved also by HΘX. *Initio* was an obvious correction to make; but it is not evident how *initio* could get corrupted into the astonishing but translatable *initium*.) How does the writer get this patent heresy out of the first verses of Mark? I think it evident that he took verse 2 as a parenthesis, and made verse 3 epexegetical of verse 1, thus: 'Initium euangelii Iesu Christi, filii Dei, (sicut scriptum est . . . ante te,) uox clamantis in deserto, parate uiam Domini . . .'; 'the beginning of the Gospel of the Son of God is the voice of one crying . . .', to signify that the Son of God was the Voice (or vowel) of a Word; for the 'Word made flesh' is a vowel clothed in consonants—the vowel or voice is God, the consonants are the human flesh. The Baptist is therefore mentioned as being the beginning of the Gospel, because he is a voice—showing that Christ was a voice (or vowel); 'in order that any one who should read might know how to recognize to whom (viz. to God) he owed the beginning of flesh in the

Lord and the habitation of God on earth.' *Caro* seems to mean 'the reader, being himself flesh'; but when I remember that we have twice had *verbum caro factum* as an accusative, I cannot but think it 'wildly possible' (as Mr. C. L. Dodgson would have phrased it) that *caro* is in apposition to *habitaculum*. At any rate 'habitaculum' means the Body in which God sojourned, thus giving the same ultra-Apollinarian (or rather Arian) doctrine as before. The final result is 'that the reader may thus find in himself the word of the voice which he had lost in the consonants'. The reader's own soul being a part of God, he himself is a word, but he has probably not perceived this, through paying attention to the fleshly part, the consonants, and not to the soul which makes them vocal, and so forms a word. (Or we may understand 'find in Mark . . . which Mark had lost'.) Thus I venture to understand the *inextricabilis nodus* of which Sedulius the Scot complained. His brilliant conjecture that *consonantes* were the other Synoptists is quite impossible, for we have seen in the Prologue to Luke that St. Mark wrote before that evangelist. The same consideration makes it unbearable to read *uiderat* with most editors lower down; it was an obvious correction for the difficult *uicerat* of the Irish contingent (D&PHQ), who are joined by the independent witness of YZ.<sup>1</sup>

- The meaning of *uicerat* is sufficiently plain; St. Mark, entering upon the work of the perfect Gospel, and beginning with the Baptism, did not trouble to recount the birth of the flesh which *in prioribus*—'in his opening paragraphs'—he had conquered, viz. by declaring that the beginning of the Gospel was (not the flesh, the consonants, but) the voice, the divine soul. This is a strange expression, no doubt—*natiuitatem carnis in prioribus uicerat*—but not too strange for our author. It gives just the sense we should expect; for we had just been told that the mention of the Voice was something beyond a declaration that 'the Word was made flesh'. Mark therefore begins with the temptation, *in breui* (not giving the three

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the perpetrator of the conjectural emendation *uiderat* had, like Sedulius Scotus, taken *consonantes* to mean the other Gospels; *prioribus* naturally assumed the same signification.

temptations found in Luke and Matthew), that he may establish the facts, and yet give fullness to the work to be performed<sup>1</sup>—of preaching. The writer does not condescend to inform us what mystical meaning, if any, he attaches to the details he enumerates. Next comes the story of St. Mark's thumb, and then a conclusion in the usual style, the author recommending personal inquiry. *Disciplinam in se legis agnoscere* seems to mean that the reader is to accept the discipline of the law, after the example of the Levite Mark. *Divinam domini in carne intellegere naturam* again suggests that the Divine nature takes the place of Christ's soul, thus implying Monarchianism as well as ultra-Apollinarianism. A rendering is not easy to make.

#### THE ARGUMENT OF MARK.

'Mark, the evangelist of God, and the son by baptism of Peter and his disciple in the divine word, exercising the priesthood in Israel, being a Levite after the flesh, after he had been converted to the faith of Christ, wrote his Gospel in Italy, showing in it what he owed to his birth and what to Christ. For he commenced the beginning of his introduction with the voice of the prophet's cry, thus showing the order of his Levitical election, so that, by pronouncing the predestinated John, son of Zacharias, to have been sent out as the voice of an angel, he showed as the beginning of the Gospel preaching not simply the Word made flesh, but also the Body of the Lord having the Word of the Divine Voice for all the functions of a soul; so that any who reads this might know how to recognize to whom he owed the beginning of flesh in the Lord, and the Tabernacle of God coming among men, being himself flesh, and might find in himself through the Word of the Voice what he had lost in the consonants. Thereafter, entering upon the work of the perfect Gospel, and beginning to preach God from the Baptism of the Lord, he did not labour to mention the birth of the flesh which he had already conquered in what preceded, but with his whole strength (*totus*) he pro-

<sup>1</sup> The parallel with the Prologue to Matthew should be noticed: . . . *ut . . . ostenderet . . . non negaret*, and closer still *fidem factas rei tradere et . . . non negare*.

duced the expulsion into the desert, the fast for a mystic number of days, the temptation by the devil, the fellowship with the wild beasts, and the ministry of the angels, that, by teaching us to understand, and describing each point briefly, he might at once establish the truth of the facts, and affirm the fullness of the work that was to be perfected. Further, he is said to have cut off his thumb after he had received the faith, in order that he might be accounted unfit for the priesthood. But the predestinated election which corresponded to his faith so prevailed, that even by this he did not lose in the work of the Word what he had formerly received by his birth; for he was bishop of Alexandria, whose (i. e. a bishop's) work it is to know in detail and dispose the sayings of the Gospel in his heart, and recognize the discipline of the law in himself, and understand the Divine Nature of the Lord in the flesh; which things we ourselves also desire to be searched for, and after being searched for to be recognized, having as a reward of this exhortation, that "he that planteth and he that watereth are one, but it is God that giveth the increase".

#### § 6. *Some Conclusions.*

1. The Prologues teach the identity of Father and Son. The Father became Son by being incarnate (He was also in all His ancestors from Adam onwards, and may be recognized by all men in themselves), and in His Ascension showed Himself once more as Father.

2. In the Incarnation God assumed a human body, of which the Divine Nature was the soul—the vowel, to which the body supplied as it were the consonants, thus making the 'Word'.

3. The reader is not to expect clear guidance, he must search for himself. It would seem, therefore, that the author is avoiding some accusation of heresy of which he has been the object.

So much for the doctrine. The text is in most cases easy to restore. The Irish witnesses are almost always in the right; not only in the case of the paragraph omitted by the rest in the Prologue to John, but in many astonishing readings

they prove to have preserved a singularly pure and ancient text. The non-Irish MSS. agree to a great extent in testifying to an early redaction of the difficult text, not made in the interests of orthodoxy but of comprehensibility. But neither the one thing nor the other was obtained, for the Irish text is the easier to understand, and is not the more heretical, though it is the more explicit.

ADDITIONAL NOTE. *A Greek translation of the Prologue to Luke.* I extract from H. von Soden's *Die Schriften des N. T.*, I p. 327: 'Endlich enthält a 202 unter einer grossen Sammlung von einleitenden Aufsätzen zu Ac auch einen Abschnitt über Lk, der seinem Inhalt nach an diese Stelle gehört. Er ist überschrieben: *τοῦτο ἐξ ἰδιοχειρῶν τοῦ ἁγίου πατριάρχου Μεθοδίου* (a. 842-6!) und lautet: [125] *Ἀναπάνσις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Λουκα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ εἰκαδὶ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός. ἐστὶν ὁ ἅγιος Λουκάς Ἀντιόχειος, Σύρος τῷ γένει, ἰατρός τὴν τέχνην, μαθητὴς ἀποστόλων γενομένος καὶ ὑστερον Πάυλῳ παρακολουθήσας μέχρις τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ δουλεύσας τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπαστός, ἀγύριος, ἀτεκνός ἐταν οὐδόηκοντα τέσσαρων ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Θηβαίῃς τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Βοιωτίας πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου. οὗτος προπαρχῶτων ἤδη εὐαγγελίων, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ Μάρθαίον ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀναγραφέντος, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὗτος προτραπείς ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀχαιοῦν τὸ παν τοῦτο συνεγραψάτο εὐαγγέλιον δηλῶν διὰ τοῦ προομιου τοῦτο αὐτό, ὅτι προ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ γεγραμμένα καὶ ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστοῖς τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἐκθεσθῆαι διηγήσιν ὑπερ τοῦ μὴ ταις ἰουδαϊκαῖς μυθολογίαις περιεσπασθῆαι αὐτοὺς, μήτε ταις αἰρετικαῖς καὶ κεναῖς φαρτασίαις ἀπατωμένους ἀστοχῆσαι τῆς ἀληθείας' ὡς ἀναγκαῖοτάτην οὐκ οὖσαν εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ παρελήφμεν τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου γεννήσιν, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου προδρομος τοῦ κυρίου γενομένος καὶ κοινῶς ἐν τε τῷ καταρτισμῷ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῇ τοῦ βαπτισματος διαγωγῇ καὶ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος κοινῶνιᾳ. ταύτης τῆς οἰκονομίας μεμνητὰ προφήτης ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα. καὶ ἢ μετῴπειτα ἐγράψεν ὁ αὐτὸς Λουκάς πράξεις ἀποστόλων. ὑστερον δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα ἐγράψεν τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πατμῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.' The codex a 202 is otherwise known as 309 Acts, and is at Athens, 'Εθν. Βιβλ. 91 (64), 12th cent. (Scriv. 10th). Mr. C. H. Turner points out to me that an extract ἐστὶν ὁ [ἅγιος] Λουκᾶς Σύρος . . . πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου, is found in Bodl. Misc. Gr. 141, 11th cent.; (the variants are: *ὁ ἅγιος, Σύρος Ἀντιόχειος, ὅτι τῷ γένει, τῇ τέχνῃ, add δὲ* after *μαθητῆς, πρὸ ἔτι ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ*). St. Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, visited Rome in the time of Paschal I (817-24), and must have obtained the Prologue to Luke on that occasion. It is amusing to see that he could not understand it, for he has shirked all the difficulties in his autograph version! He has corrected the absurd *Bithynia* into the usual Greek tradition 'Thebes in Boeotia'. Sept. 20 for St. Luke appears to be unique. The Greek feast, Oct. 18, has been universal in the West since Bede, Ado, Usuard and their followers. But the Hieronymian Martyrology gives Sept. 21, and I presume that St. Methodius found this ancient Western date given in the Latin MS. from which he was translating.*

# CHAPTER XIII

## PRISCILLIAN

### THE AUTHOR OF THE PROLOGUES<sup>1</sup>

#### § 1. *Earlier theories as to the date of the Prologues.*

THE four prologues have attracted of late years more attention than their internal merits would seem to deserve, owing to the disquisitions of von Dobschütz and Corssen.<sup>2</sup> Both these writers have confidently attributed them to the early years of the third century, and this view has been largely followed. Corssen rightly saw them to be Monarchian in doctrine, and was consequently able to parallel them with the teaching of Praxeas as gathered from Tertullian. But it is noticeable that he wholly failed to establish any remarkable coincidence of doctrine or of language. The attempts of both von Dobschütz and Corssen to show in different ways that the Prologues exhibit an early form of the legends of the Apostles were likewise inconclusive, not to say paradoxical.

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is reprinted with alterations from the *Revue Benedictine*, July 1906, pp. 335-49, with the Editor's kind permission.

<sup>2</sup> E. von Dobschütz, *Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata*, 1894, pp. 35 foll.; P. Corssen, *Monarchianische Prologe zu den vier Evangelien*, 1896 (*Texte und Unters.*, xv. 1). Of the latter study there is a good criticism by Jülicher in *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, pp. 841 foll. Corssen has added to our knowledge of the MSS., and his details are sometimes useful. But his main theses exhibit a lack of common sense and of the critical faculty which is simply phenomenal. See also Harnack, *Chronol.*, ii, pp. 204-6. References are given by Ehrhard and by Bardenheuer. The text is critically edited in Wordsworth and White's Vulgate, and by Corssen with additional MSS. A list of MSS. which contain the Prologues is given by S. Berger, *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les MSS. de la Vulgate* (*Mémoires, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-lettres*, xl. 2, 1904), pp. 55 foll. They may be bought for a few pence in the edition by H. Lietzmann (*Das Murat. Fragment und die Monarch. Prologe*, 1902, in *Kleine Texte für die Theol. Vorlesungen*, published by Marcus und Weber, Bonn); an English edition published by Bell & Co., Cambridge, 1905. A commentary was written on the Prologues at the beginning of the ninth century by Sedulius Scotus (*Bibl. vet. Patr.*, vol. vi; Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 103).

If these theories were true, it would be probable that the Prologues were written at Rome. But this would be somewhat surprising, for we know of no Latin writings at Rome in Tertullian's day, unless Pope Victor wrote in Latin, as St. Jerome perhaps implies. It is quite certain that the Prologues as we have them now were written by a Latin in Latin, and it is not easy to comprehend how a clever critic like von Dobschütz was able to hold that they were translations from the Greek.<sup>1</sup>

The late M. Samuel Berger brought forward more convincing arguments, and rightly placed the Prologues in the fourth century. He wrote :

' Ne nous hâtons pourtant pas trop de remonter dans la série des âges pour chercher la date de nos arguments : il n'est guère possible (car le langage en est tout différent) qu'ils aient été faits pour les plus anciennes traductions latines que nous ayons, les textes "africains", qui ne remontent pas beaucoup plus haut que le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ils semblent au contraire avoir été faits pour l'une des recensions répandues en Italie et en Gaule depuis le commencement du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec les textes dits "Européens" et "Italiens". Si nous les mettons dans la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous verrons assurément en eux un document d'une antiquité respectable, aussi bien que du caractère le plus original' (*Les Préfaces*, p. 9).

I do not myself doubt that the 'African' texts date from the second century, and the earliest 'European' recension may be earlier than Novatian. Nevertheless Berger's instinct has guided him right in connecting these prologues with one of these 'editions' of the old Latin in which the fourth

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the historical matter is indirectly borrowed from the Greek, as we shall see ch. xv, § 1. In the Lk. Prologue 'per Matthæum *quidem* in Iudæa, per Marcum *autem* in Italia', might suggest *μὲν . . . καὶ* if *quidem* is to be preserved. But the affectations, the obscurities, the intertwining of the words and clauses show that the writer was by no means a simple translator. Early translations (the best examples are the New Testament and St. Irenæus) generally preserve even the order in the most servile manner ; whereas the order of words in the prologues is not Greek at all. Schwartz, in his ingenious but unconvincing and far-fetched essay *Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedæi*, not merely speaks of 'die alten, sicher aus dem Griechischen übersetzten Prologen', but even retranslates parts of them back into Greek (p. 27, and p. 28, note), and into Greek which is necessarily quite as odd as the original Latin! Corsen, Hilgenfeld (see Bardenhever, *Gesch. der Alt. Litt.*, ii. 558) and Berger all uphold Latin as the original tongue.



century abounded ; only the second half of the century, and Spain rather than Italy or Gaul, will prove to have been the real date and home of these strange productions.

§ 2. *Comparisons of matter and style.*

If Monarchianism is prominent in the Prologue to Matthew, in those to Luke and Mark the doctrine is still more strongly taught that in the Incarnation God took a human body which He animated as its soul.<sup>1</sup> (We may for convenience call this Apollinarianism, though it goes further than the great teacher of Laodicea, who identified only the higher part of Christ's soul with His divinity.) Corssen has in consequence imagined a distinction between the views advanced in the different prologues, although he is certain that they are by one author (pp. 22-3). Indeed the unity of authorship is set beyond all doubt by the recurrence of the same expressions, the same vocabulary, the same involved style. Surely this even proves that they were written by one author, at one time, with one object in view, and forces us to put down inconsistencies of doctrine to the score of the interpreter and not of the writer.

But we have seen that in fact there is Apollinarianism as well as Monarchianism in the Prologue to Matthew, and Monarchianism as well as Apollinarianism in those to Luke and Mark, and that the doctrine is perfectly consistent in all of them. Corssen's ingenious reference to Gnosticism to explain the teaching of the Luke and Mark prologues was not very successful. The combination of Monarchianism with ultra-Apollinarianism is really characteristic of a Latin writer, not of the beginning of the third century, but of the end of the fourth—Priscillian. The identity of the doctrine of the

<sup>1</sup> It would be confusing to speak of this as Arianism, since it was not the primary doctrine of Arians, nor taught by all of them. St. Epiphanius indeed attributes it to Arians in general (*Haer.* lix. 19) and to Lucian and all the Lucianists (*Ancoratus*, 33). St. Gregory Nyssen (*c. Eunom.* Bk. II, p. 157) calls it the foundation of Arian impiety; but Eunomius says in his *Confessio Fidei* (Goldhorn, *SS. Bas. et Greg. Nas. opp. sel.*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 624): [ὁὐκ] ἀναλαβόντα τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἄνθρωπον, where the οὐκ is an interpolation by the Bishop of Nysa.

prologues with that of Priscillian will appear in the comparison which I append of their teaching, vocabulary, phraseology, and style.

Not all the details in the following table are of importance ; many are simply included for the sake of completeness, in order to save others the trouble of examining further. The excellent index of Schepss to his edition has made the labour of comparison a light one. I quote Priscillian by the pages of Schepss (*CSEL*. xviii), adding the line in smaller figures where it seems advisable to be more precise.

In examining the table, it should be remembered that we are comparing four short prologues with eleven short treatises which fill only 100 pages of the Vienna *Corpus*. The coincidences are therefore far more remarkable than would be the case if we were dealing with longer documents. I quote the prologues as Mt., Jn., Lk., Mk., and under Mt. I add the parallel passages of the other prologues.

#### PROLOGUE TO ST. MATTHEW.

1. (Mt.) *Mattheus EX IUDAEIS* (Wordsw. with DQÆ ; but Corssen reads *ex Iudaea* with BCΘG).

(Jn.) *Iohannes . . . unus EX DISCIPULIS DEI*. Cp. Priscillian 35<sup>u</sup> : *nullus e nostris* ; 40<sup>26</sup> : *multi ex his* ; and 52<sup>26</sup>, 53<sup>9</sup>, 74<sup>10</sup>.

2. (Mt.) *Duorum in generatione Christi principia praesumens . . . et ex utrisque in patribus Christus . . . decursam aduentus Domini ostendit generationem, ut . . . etiam in his, quorum genus posuit, Christi operantis a principio testimonium non negaret.*

(Lk.) *ut requirentibus demonstraret . . . per Nathan filium, introitu recurrentis in Deum generationis admissio, indispartibilis Deus ut praedicans in hominibus Christum suum, perfecti opus hominis redire in se per filium faceret qui per Dauid patrem uenientibus iter praebat in Christo.*

With these very obscure discussions of the genealogies of Mt. and Lc., compare Priscillian :

32 : *praedestinas a principio saeculi in profetia electos suos, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, sicut et generatio domini in euangelio per eos disposita et edicta retinetur, per quos profetans se dominus aduentus sui iter praestitit.*

55 : *ab omnibus profetatus est Christus, Adam, Sed, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, et a ceteris qui ab initio saeculi profetauerunt, et intrepidus*

dico quod inuidet diabolus : uenturum in carne deum omnis homo sciuit, non dicam hii quos in dispositione generationis suae in euangelio deus posuit, et diuinae naturae fidem et numerum canoni praestatuos. The ancestry of Christ proves His Divinity. How? The Prologue has informed us. *Numerum canoni* is difficult. The  $3 \times 14$  generations suggest 14 Epistles of St. Paul. Perhaps 42 books of O. T. are counted.

Mt. Et *numero* satisfaciens et tempori (i. e. 'quaternario denario numero triformiter posito',  $3 \times 14$  generations). Whatever mystical idea is intended is probably the same as in the above-quoted passage (of the ancestors of Christ) : 'diuinae naturae fidem et *numerum* canoni praestatuos.' For Priscillian's interpretation of numbers cp. Prisc. 78, for example.

3. PRAESUMENS, and Lc. : Iohannis natiuitate PRAESUMPTA (= 'take before'); so Priscillian 65<sup>34</sup>, 71<sup>33</sup>.

4. TRIFORMITER : 70<sup>9</sup>, 19; 76<sup>4</sup>; 78<sup>13</sup> : *triformis*, an unusual word, four times in Priscillian.

5. A CREDENDI FIDE. This strange pleonasm is found in 62<sup>6</sup> : CRE-  
DENDI FIDEM hominibus insinuet.

6. The use of repeated participles in the nominative : *praesumens . . . porrigens . . . dirigens . . . definiens . . . satisfaciens . . . ostendens . . . (ostenderet* Wordsw.) . . . *monstrans*, all in one sentence; in the next : *factus . . . factus . . . natus . . . passus . . . triumphans . . . resurgens . . . ostendens*. So Jn. : *manifestans . . . inchoans . . . ponens . . . ostendens . . .* and *passim*. The later editors of the Prologues did their best to remedy this defect by turning some of the participles into finite verbs. This use is especially characteristic of Priscillian, 'participiorum usui nimis indulget Priscillianus' (Schepss, p. 208), as even a cursory inspection of his text will show, ex. gr., pp. 4-5; *agnoscentes . . . renatus . . . intrantes . . . baptizati . . . induti . . . respuentes . . . passus*, all in one sentence; and so continually.

7. *ostendit . . . ostendens . . . monstrans . . . ostendens*; Jn. : *manifestans . . . ostendens . . . demonstraret . . . monstrat*; Lc. : *manifestata . . . demonstraret . . . demonstrare* (om. Corsen). Mc. : *ostendit . . . ostenderet*. In Priscillian similarly *ostendere* is particularly common, occasionally varied by *monstrare* (10 times), *demonstrare* (5), *manifestare* (3).

8. et se QUOD ESSET OSTENDENS; Jn. : OSTENDENS QUOD ERAT ipse; cp. 5, qui cum operibus QUIS ESSET OSTENDERET.

9. et DEI IN SE OPUS MONSTRANS; 98 : DEI IN NOBIS OPERA DEMONSTRANS; 96 : qui diuinorum praeceptorum IN SE OPUS uellet (cp. also 49 : IN SE et in symbolo suo MONSTRANS; 63 : OPUS uerbi factorum operibus OSTENDENS).

10. *ponitur, posito, posuit*; Jn. : *ponens, positus est, ponitur . . .* In Priscillian *ponere* is especially common, usually with the meaning 'set down in a book' or 'set in a book', as in the Prologues. (Priscillian

seems rarely to use *positus* in place of the missing participle of *sum*; cp. Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, p. 125.)

11. CHRISTI OPERANTIS a principio (cp. below, *operantis Dei*); cp. 103: omnes . . . ad te CHRISTI OPERANTIS intrarent (where *Chr. oper.* may possibly be a genitive absolute).

12. TESTIMONIUM NON NEGARET, and Mc.: plenitudinem NON NEGARET; cp. Prisc. 105<sup>6</sup>: TESTIMONIUM NON NEGARET; 55<sup>11</sup>: gloriam NON NEGARE; 66<sup>7</sup>: gloriam NON NEGARET, and 31<sup>13</sup>, 98<sup>24</sup>. Notice especially how this favourite expression is as it were dragged in. (*testimonium*, also in Jn., no less than 40 times in Prisc.)

13. quarum omnium rerum tempus, ordo, numerus, dispositio uel ratio . . . Deus Christus est. For the asyndeton cp. 76: loco, tempore, numero, die, mense, ratione . . . (Schepps gives 21 examples, out of many more, of asyndeton in Prisc.).

For the doctrine, which is the 'Panchristism' of Priscillian, compare 82: si Christum omnium scimus esse principium; 71: intellegamus quod factus pro nobis omnia, dum in oblationes suas dies, menses, formas pecorum, animalium naturas, differentias arborum, fructus terrenorum seminum poscit . . . omnia sua esse demonstrans . . . et per omnium rerum naturam totum se loquens, &c.; 79<sup>8</sup>: innumerabilis Christi natura. See also the Pantheism of 104.

14. DEUS CHRISTUS, so above, *uocatio ad Deum*, and below, *Dei . . . nascentis*; Jn.: *ex discipulis Dei, dilectus a Deo, signum . . . quod in nuptiis fecit Deus*, Lc.: *in carnem Dei, Deo in Deum pleno*, Mc.: *Dei aduenientis, praedicare Deum*. In all these cases *Deus* means *Christ*. In Priscillian *Deus* frequently stands for *Christ*, and DEUS CHRISTUS occurs regularly and far beyond orthodox use. Cp. the direct assertion 16<sup>20</sup>: Nobis autem Deus Christus Iesus est. Plenty of instances will be seen as we go on.

15. Qui factus ex muliere, factus sub lege (= Gal. iv. 4), cp. 118 (can. xvii) ex muliere factus. Some Latins read 'natus'.

16. natum ex uirgine; 36: natum ex Maria uirgine; 101: nato per uirginem Christo.<sup>1</sup>

17. PASSUS IN CARNE; 71: ipse pro nobis PASSUS IN CARNE; 72: PASSUS IN CARNE est; 39: Christus Deus, dei filius, PASSUS IN CARNEM secundum fidem symboli; 75: sic se pro hominibus PATIENTEM intellegi deum uoluit IN CARNE (cp. 48<sup>10</sup>: passurum deum; 71<sup>18</sup>: passuri dei). A comparison with nos. 23 and 46 will show that the intention of the phrase is Apollinarian (cp. 1 Pet. iv. 1).

18. OMNIA IN CRUCE FIXIT, (a combination of Gal. vi. 14 with Col. ii. 14) UT TRIUMPHANS EA IN SEMETIPSO (Col. ii. 15); cp. Orosius, *Common.*

<sup>1</sup> On p. 36 Priscillian is citing the creed (see Kattenbusch, i. 157), the purest Roman form of which has *de Sp. S. et M. V.*, not *ex*. But the variant *ex* is too common to be of importance, and I only notice it for the sake of completeness.

*adv. Prisc.* (Schepss, p. 153): 'Unde et mathesim praeualere firmabat [Priscillianus], adserens quia hoc chirographum soluerit Christus, et AD-FIXERIT CRUCI per passionem suam' (i.e. 'mittendarum in carnem animarum diuinum chirographum'. Prisc. *ap. Oros. ibid.*); 72: MUNDO IN CRUCEM FIXO ascendens pro nobis in patibulum Christus; 77: uterum uirginalis carnis ingressus . . . et conceptione, partu, uagitibus, cunis, omnes naturae nostrae transcurrens contumelias, MUNDO IN CRUCEM FIXO saluato in se et per se sibi homine gauderet; 16: chirographum . . . tulit illud de medio, ADFIGENS CRUCI; principatus et potestates transduxit fiducialiter, TRIUMPHANS EOS IN SEMETIPSO (whereas Vulg. reads *illos* for *eos*). Also *ap. canon xviii*, p. 119, which has probably been altered, and 60: ut ueniens in carnem, constitutionem decreti anterioris euerteret [et] in patibulum gloriosae CRUCIS maledicta terrenae dominationis ADFIGENS, &c.

19. resurgens in corpore; 49: saluator natus IN CARNE PASSUS RESURREXIT; and 5<sup>M</sup>, 74<sup>M</sup>. I notice this only because Priscillian's citations from the creed are so important.

20. et patris nomen in patribus filio, et filii nomen patri restitueret in filiis. The reference is to the Genealogy in St. Matthew, and I have already given an explanation and translation of this mysterious passage, to which Priscillian points when he speaks of the ancestors of Christ *diuinae naturae fidem praestatueros* (55). I only note here how much Priscillian enjoys these interlaced repetitions of *pater* and *filius*; 49: in se et in symbolo suo monstrans, NOMEN PATRIS FILIUM, itemque FILII PATREM, ne Binionitarum<sup>1</sup> error ualeret, edocuit; 103: ut in te UNO et inuisibilitatis plenitudo, quod PATER FILIO, et uisibilitas agnoscentiae, quod FILIUS PATRI in operatione sancti Spiritus deberet, ageretur . . . ut . . . accessum ad te, quia PATREM FILII IN FILIO ET FILIUM PATRIS IN PATRE ignorauerat, non haberet; cp. 104: tu animarum pater, tu frater filiis, tu filius fratribus, &c. For the doctrine, cp. the references to St. John (xiv. 10) 6: totus in patre et pater in ipso, and (I Jo. ii. 23) 7: dicente apostolo, qui negat filium nec patrem habet, qui autem confitetur filium, et filium et patrem habet. For other repetitions similarly forming a play upon words, see Schepss's Index, p. 204, under *lusus uerborum*.

21. SINE PRINCIPIO SINE FINE, ostendens UNUM se CUM PATRE esse (Jo. x. 30) quia UNUS EST; 71: Christus autem origo omnium, totus in sese, nec quod est aliunde praesumens, SINE PRINCIPIO SINE FINE, quem si per uniuersa consideres, UNUM inuenies in totis, et facilius de eo sermo deficiet quam natura (here again is 'Panchristism'); cp. also 93: unum et indifferentem sibi deum retinens in ea quae neque (in) exordio neque fini obnoxiantur exultat<sup>2</sup>, 6: et iterum ipso dicente: ego ET

<sup>1</sup> The *Binionitae* are the 'Ditheists', those who make the Father and the Son two Persons, in other words, the Catholics.

<sup>2</sup> According to Priscillian the Son has no *principium*, and He is Himself the

PATER UNUM sumus (Jo. x. 30); cp. *ibid.*: et haec tria UNUM SUNT in Christo Iesu (1 Jo. v. 7, the *Comma Iohanneum* or 'three heavenly witnesses'); 49: qui requiruntibus apostolis omne id quod nominabatur (Panchristism! cp. Eph. i. 21) se esse monstraui, UNUM se credi uoluit, non diuisum, dicente profeta, 'hic est deus noster, nec reputabitur alius absque eum, qui ostendit uiam disciplinae, et dedit eam Iacob puero suo et Istrahel dilecto suo; posthaec in terris uisus est, et cum hominibus conuersatus est, Dominus Deus nomen eius (Baruch iii. 36-8). It would be difficult to deny the Trinity more categorically than this.<sup>1</sup> Again, 75: unus deus est, si sermo; unus est Christus, si opus; unus Iesus, si natura quaeritur . . . sic uniuersa disponens, ut, cum unus esset in totis, unum in se uolens hominem, aliud genus perfecti operis scrutator eius habere non posset, nisi ut UNUM eum deum crederet, quem omnipotentem in se quod est et quod dicitur inueniret.

22. Sic PRIMA uel MEDIA uel PERFECTA cognoscere. Priscillian is very fond of this threefold division; 36: si ea quae PRIMA sunt non quaerunt, uel in MEDIIS tertiisque consistunt . . . etiamsi adimplendi PERFECTI operis non habeant facultatem. (Cp. 93 *prima, media, postrema*, omnia; 67: *primum . . . secundo* in gradu . . . in gloriam *perfectae* septimanae. 10: initium et consummationem et medietatem mensuum, Wisd. vii. 17; 78: initium, medietatem et consummationem mundi.)

23. Dilectionem DEI IN CARNE NASCENTIS; 53: tam incredibilis miraculi, DEUM NASCI habere; 49: fides unius Dei, ex quo Christus DEUS, Dei filius, saluator, NATUS IN CARNE passus resurrexit; 101: ex Iuda . . . DEUS NATUS IN CARNE est. Of the Apollinarian doctrine implied we have spoken and shall speak later (nos. 46, 56, and 63).

24. PER UNIUERSA legentes intellegant; 71: quem si PER UNIUERSA consideres.

25. Atque id in eo IN QUO ADPREHENSI SUNT et ADPREHENDERE expectunt (Phil. iii. 12), recognoscant; Lc.: in quo ADPREHENDENS erat; cp. 7: ADPREHENDERE uolumus IN QUO ADPREHENSI SUMUS (Vulg. reads *compreh.*).

*principium* of all things; 82: Si Christum omnium scimus esse principium; 75: filius est, si principium quaeritur.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the *locus classicus* for the monarchianism of Priscillian is 37: baptizantes, sicut scriptum est, in nomine patris et filii et Spiritus sancti. Non dicit autem 'in nominibus' tamquam in multis, sed in uno, quia *unus deus trina potestate uenerabilis omnia et in omnibus Christus est*. Also 103: Tu enim es deus, qui cum in omnibus originibus uirtutum intra extraque et supereminens et internus et circumfusus in omnia *unus deus* crederis, *inuisibilis in patre, uisibilis in filio*, et unicus in opus duorum sanctus Spiritus inueniris. Note that the creed *Nos Patrem et filium*, which Künstle has shown to be Priscillianist (*Antipriscilliana*, p. 59) has 'tres itaque formae, una potestas', which is the converse of Priscillian's own 'trina potestate uenerabilis', hardly its contradictory. Professor Künstle's book is very brilliant and suggestive, though not quite always convincing.

26. Nobis enim hoc IN STUDIO argumenti FUIT; 34: FUERITQUE IN STUDIO sustinere. The construction (cp. Horace's *hoc erat in uotis*) is rightly explained by Corssen, p. 13. Priscillian twice uses the similar *cordi est*, 40<sup>39</sup>, 41<sup>23</sup>.

27. Et fidem FACTAE REI tradere; Mc.: auctoritatem FACTAE REI; 47: aut certe historiam FACTAE REI proferens. (So also *rei gestae*, 40<sup>28</sup> and 41<sup>20</sup>.)

28. Non tacere; cp. 4: tacere nolimus; 40: nec hoc tacentes; 54: praesentis Dei glorias non tacebant. Cp. no. 12, above.

#### PROLOGUE TO ST. JOHN.

29. INCORRUPTIBILIS UERBI OPUS inchoans; Corssen has a comma in the prologue after *incorruptibilis*, but according to no. 11, above, we ought to join only *ostendens quod erat ipse*. Besides, though John might be called *incorruptus*, he would surely not be called *incorruptibilis*. We may therefore compare 68: non ex semine corruptibili, sed INCORRUPTIBILI UERBO Dei uiui (1 Pet. i. 25), where Priscillian probably intended no stop before *uerbo*. See above, p. 227. With UERBI OPUS inchoans, compare Mc.: nec sic IN OPERE UERBI perderet, in both cases of the work of the Evangelist. So 12: Et tunc dominus etiam nobis post futuris ad intellegendum se OPUS UERBI tribuens parabulam dicti per se sermonis exposuit dicens, where Job xl. 3-14 interprets Job xxxix. Again of Moses writing Genesis, 63: scribti uerbis scilicet edocens, et OPUS UERBI factorum operibus ostendens.

30. UERBUM CARO FACTUM (Jo. i. 14); Lc.: Emissum non solum UERBUM CARO FACTUM; 5: ipse est enim qui fuit, est, et futurus est, et uisus a saeculis UERBUM CARO FACTUS inhabitauit in nobis, et crucifixus, deuicta morte, uitae heres effectus est.

31. UETERIBUS IMMUTATIS NOUA OMNIA quae a Christo instituuntur appareant; 72: sic in nobis perfectio boni gloria sit, si castificatio corporis fructu diuinae excolitur uoluntatis, sicut apostolus ait: ecce TRANSIERUNT UETERA et facta sunt OMNIA NOUA (2 Cor. v. 17). Here the *novitas* is in both cases connected with chastity; and again, 79: ut ambulantis nobis in NOUITATE uitae et non in UETUSTATE litterae (Rom. vii. 4, 6), acceptum in uictoria a nobis corpus non appelletur iam terra saeculi sed domus dei, nec fornicationis habitaculum, sed imago corporis Christi (cp. 100<sup>1</sup>; can. 78, p. 142).

32. SINGULA QUAEQUE; 46<sup>8</sup>: SINGULI QUIQUE, and 48<sup>20</sup>; 65<sup>9</sup>: SINGULIS QUIBUSQUE, and 72<sup>5</sup>.

33. Acta uel dicta; cp. 49<sup>28</sup>: facta, dicta uel scripta.

34. Mysterium, in Prisc. eight times.

35. IN PRINCIPIO CANONIS; 63: ut [Moyses] . . . PRINCIPIUM daret CANONI.

36. Incorruptibile PRINCIPIUM in Genesi, et incorruptibilis FINIS per

uirginem in Apocalypsi (Apoc. i. 8) ; 47 : quis est iste Abel profeta, ex quo sanguis profetarum sumpsit exordium, cuius PRINCIPIUM in Zachariam FINIT? (cp. 82<sup>10</sup> : psalmo, quia primus est, omniumque principium est.) The *incorruptibile principium* is Christ, who is *sine principio* (above, no. 21), but is the *principium* of all things ; 82 : si Christum omnium scimus esse principium ; 75 : filius est si principium quaeritur.

37. Dispositione CANONIS ORDINATI ; 45 : CANONICA ORDINATIO (meaning the inclusion of books in the canon, as here).

38. Post Matthaem ponitur, quoniam . . . and Mt. : Matthaes . . . sicut in ordine primus ponitur ; the importance of the number and order of the books in the canon is suggested 31 : Si qui . . . extra quattuor Euangelia quintum aliquod euangelium uel fingunt uel confitentur . . . in quatuor euangeliorum DISPOSITIONE ; 87-8 : non immerito ordo psalmodum digestus uidetur, nec incondite, quae spiritus Dei dictauit exposita . . . beatus uir (= first) . . . secundo . . . tertio . . . See also no. 40, below.

39. PLENITUDINIS opere perfecta sunt (with regard to a part of the canon, viz. John) ; cp. 63 : canoni, cuius in se PLENITUDINEM (of Moses writing Genesis).

40. Quorum tamen uel SCRIPTURARUM TEMPORE DISPOSITIO uel librorum ordinatio ; 97<sup>26</sup> : SCRIPTURARUM DISPOSITIO (of internal arrangement) ; 100<sup>9</sup> : dispositione sermonis profetici operis (of order of sense in a psalm). Cp. for the ablative after dispositio 76 : simplicem DISPOSITIONEM, loco, TEMPORE, numero, die, mense, ratione, diuisam.

41. PER SINGULA ; 6<sup>10</sup> PER SINGULA, and 23<sup>9</sup>, 38<sup>4</sup>.

42. Sciendi desiderio ; cp. 27<sup>16</sup> : si scire desiderant.

#### PROLOGUE TO ST. LUKE.

43. Ante (adverb) ; so Prisc. thrice.

44. EXTRA EA QUAE for *praeterquam quod* ; so Prisc. 22<sup>19</sup> : EXTRA enim EA QUAE . . . solem et lunam rectores orbis terrarum deos putauerunt.

45. ORDO EUANGELICAE DISPOSITIONIS ; 62 : in opus EUANGELICAE DISPOSITIONIS electus [Moyses].

46. Omni perfectione UENTURI IN CARNEM DEI manifestata ; Priscillian seems to have supported his doctrine of 'God coming into flesh' (i. e. the divinity acting as the soul, for he held the soul to be a part of God even in ordinary men), by reading *in carnem* in two passages of St. John's Epistle ; 7<sup>20</sup> : Qui autem negat Iesum Christum IN CARNEM UENISSE, hic antechristus est (1 Jo. ii. 23), but 21<sup>21</sup> : qui negat Iesum Christum IN CARNE UENISSE. Again 31<sup>1</sup> : omnis spiritus qui confitetur Christum Iesum IN CARNEM UENISSE de Deo est (1 Jo. iv. 2) ; but 31<sup>4</sup> : qui non confitentur Christum Iesum IN CARNE UENISSE . . . Three other passages have IN CARNE, viz. 7<sup>18</sup> : Scientes quoniam Christus UENIT IN CARNE ut peccatores saluos faceret (1 Tim. i. 15) ; 28<sup>18</sup> : DEUS noster . . .



UENIENS IN CARNE; 55<sup>a</sup>: UENTURUM IN CARNE DEUM. As 7<sup>18</sup> has *carne* and 7<sup>20</sup> has *carnem*, both cannot be right. But *carnem* is the *lectio difficilior*, and also agrees best with Priscillian's view. This is confirmed by the fact that in 28<sup>13</sup> the scribe wrote *carne* and then corrected it into *carnem*: DEUS noster . . . UENIENS IN CARNEM. Again it is said of Moses 62<sup>18</sup>: tale uenientis in carne meruit exordium, which is nonsense; but if we read *carnem*, we get good sense 'deserved such a commencement of his (soul's) coming into the flesh'. One must conclude that the scribe of our only MS. of Priscillian was inclined to write *in carne*, as was indeed more natural, and as he has again done 75<sup>b</sup>: *secundum carne*. There remain still three passages in which *carnem* is given; 72<sup>3</sup>: pro nobis UENTURUS IN CARNEM uel passus in carne est; 60<sup>4</sup>: UENIENS IN CARNEM, and 102<sup>7</sup>: nisi quod DEUS IN CARNEM UENIRE uoluit. It is certainly remarkable that all the MSS. of the prologues cited, except AH<sup>o</sup>, have preserved the characteristic *in carne*. Cp. 61<sup>8</sup>: adueniens in carnem deus.

47. Iudaicis fabulis (Tit. i. 14) . . . hereticis fabulis et stultis sollicitationibus; in Prisc. *fabulae* four times. Cp. also 5<sup>7</sup> hereticorum dogmata *stulta*; 15<sup>11</sup>: idolorum superstitiones *stultas*.

48. Elaboraret . . . ne, and *laborare*, Mk., cp. *elaborare ut* 8<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, 35<sup>4</sup>; elab. quo 112<sup>7</sup>.

49. In quo electus (in quod?), cp. 82: dum omne in se *in quod electus* fuerat exultat (David); 62: in opus euangelicae dispositionis electus.

50. Ut requirentibus demonstraret; cp. 49: *requirentibus* apostolis . . . *monstrauit*.

51. Praedicans in hominibus Christum suum; cp. 30: si *Christum* deum profetat aut *praedicat*; 41: quae *Christum* deum dei filium profetant aut *praedicant*.

52. Perfecti opus hominis; (of Christ) cp. 72: uelut in duobus *perfectus homo* quaeritur; 77: uelut *perfecti hominis* locum.

53. UENIENTIBUS ITER PRAEBEBAT; 61: siccum populo ITER PRAEBUIT; 32<sup>a</sup>: ITER PRAESTITIT and 61<sup>1</sup>; 6: ascendens in caelos, UENIENTIBUS ad se ITER construit.

54. Cui Lucae NON INMERITO; 87<sup>17</sup>: NON INMERITO per profetam . . . <sup>1</sup>

55. Lucae . . . apostolicorum actuum . . . apostolicis actibus; Priscillian has *euangelium cata Lucanum* (as in the headings of the Old Latin MSS. *a ff<sup>3</sup> 2*), but in speaking of the evangelist uses the ordinary abbreviated name Lucas; 53: nisi me LUCAE euangelistae testimonium perurgeret. He has not *actis* but *actibus* (*ibid.*: dicentis in actibus apostolorum). (The adjective *apostolicus* is common in Prisc.)

<sup>1</sup> This quite ordinary expression is the only phrase found in the prologues which can be paralleled from the list of Ambrosiaster's peculiar expressions given by Mr. A. Souter (*A Study of Ambrosiaster*, p. 114). The coincidences in style of the prologues with Priscillian are more remarkable when we perceive how little they have in common with the writings of his contemporaries.

56. 'Deo in Deum pleno' seems to be an ablative absolute, meaning 'God (the Son) having been (at His ascension) poured back into God the Father so as to fill Him,' i. e. be identified with Him. With *plenus in Deum* we may perhaps compare 61<sup>4</sup>: *plenus in omnes crepidines Iordanis*. For the sense (the account of the Ascension in Acts i is certainly intended) cp. 6: *et ascendens in caelos uenientibus ad se iter construit, totus in patre et pater in ipso, &c.*

57. Expediri = 'be explained'; 33<sup>8</sup> *fidei expedita abseratione*.

58. *Publicam curiositatem*; cp. 41<sup>22</sup>: *iudicium publicum*; 92<sup>7</sup>: *publicae opinionis*; 87<sup>11</sup>: *curiosae mentis intentio*; 87<sup>16</sup>: *curiosius intuenti*.

59. *Operantem agricolam oporteat de fructibus suis edere*; for somewhat similar metaphors (from I Cor. ix. 10), 67<sup>24</sup>: *arans in spe, fidei suae fructus colligens*, and 13<sup>19</sup>, cp. 46<sup>28</sup>.

#### PROLOGUE TO ST. MARK.

60. *Ostendens in eo quid (or quod) et generi suo deberet et Christo*; cp. 103: *quod filius patri—deberet, ageretur*.

61. *Voce profeticae exclamationis*; 11: *Dauid . . . in superiori exclamatione*; 31<sup>6</sup>: *Hiesu Naue . . . exclamauit, &c.*; 57<sup>24</sup>: *profeticis uocibus, &c.*

62. 'Initium principii' is taken by Sedulius Scotus to mean 'in the commencement of the introduction'. But it may be a mere pleonasm, as 62<sup>18</sup>: *initio nascendi (63<sup>6</sup>: factorum operibus, et similia)*.

63. *Emissum non solum uerbum caro factum, sed corpus Domini in omnia per uerbum diuinae uocis animatum*. 'The Body of the Lord in all things animated by the Word' is Priscillian's Apollinarian, or more than Apollinarian, teaching (see no. 46). The words *in omnia* have been omitted by most MSS. (Corssen cites ZOXAYtKMcfVCH<sup>1</sup>E) in order to modify it; cp. 65: *acceptoque limo terreni habitaculi nostrum corpus animauit*; 71: *pecus terrae . . . in usum formati saeculi praecepto animae uiuentis animatum est (?)*; 79<sup>21</sup>: *animati corporis*.

64. *Ut qui(s) haec legens sciret cui initium carnis . . . deberet agnoscere*; cp. 96: *ut, qui diuinorum praeceptorum in se opus uellet . . . cui tributa peccaminum, cui stipendia uitiorum, cui timores formidinum, cui honores praetereuntium dignitatum deditus saeculo homo deberet, agnosceret*. From this parallel it is clear that in the prologue *cui . . . deberet* depends on *agnoscere*, i. e. 'sciret agnoscere cui . . . deberet'.

65. *Initium carnis in Domino et Dei aduenientis habitaculum*. The use of *habitaculum* for the body is familiar to Priscillian, e. g. of Christ, 53-4: *ad concipiendum uel parturiendum habitaculum corporis*; 82: *si . . . hominem Christi agnoscamus habitaculum*; and of men in general, e. g. 62: *etsi hospitio terreni tenetur habitaculi*; 65: *acceptoque limo terreni habitaculi nostrum corpus animauit*; 85<sup>19</sup>: *corruptibilis habitaculi*; 70: *terrenae carnis habitaculum*.

66. With *DEI ADUENIENTIS* compare 61: *ADUENIENTIS in carnem DEUS*. For the Apollinarian doctrine also cp. 59: *uirginis partus et in ad-*

sumptionem corporis omnipotens deus pudorem humani exordii non recusans; and yet more clearly 74: denique Deus noster adsumens carnem, formam in se *dei et hominis*, id est *diuinæ animæ et terrenæ carnis* adsignans, dum aliud ex his peccati formam, aliud diuinam ostendit esse naturam. How the soul of man is born of God, and afterwards thrust into a body, according to Priscillian, is told by Orosius, *Common. 2* (Schepss, p. 153).

67. *perfecti euangelii OPUS INTRANS*, cp. 65: *sermo diuinus facturæ (?) OPUS INTRANS*; 67: *IN OPUS lectæ lectionis INTRANS*.

68. *natiuitatem carnis* (opposed to *baptismo*, above), 83: *si natiuitate carnis adstricti*. More often Priscillian speaks of *terrena natiuitas* 70<sup>14</sup>, 73<sup>8</sup>, 75<sup>18</sup>), whereas baptism is *diuina in deum natiuitas* 78<sup>3</sup>, or *noua natiuitas* 97<sup>24</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup>

69. *baptismo . . . expulsione deserti . . . ieiunium numeri, temptationem diaboli*; cf. for these four points 61: post locuplitatum *baptismatis* fontem, constitutus in *eremo, ieiunans* diebus et noctibus uicit, et *temptatus a sabulo . . .* (Priscillian uses both *sabulus* and *diabolus* frequently). With *ieiunium numeri*, cp. 60: *quadraginta* dierum erimum domini in euangelio ieiunantis imitati.

70. *conpingens*; cp. 104<sup>14</sup> for this uncommon expression.

71. *perficiendo operi*; 80<sup>16</sup>: *perficiendi operis*.

72. *consentiens fidei*; cp. 72: *consentiens nouum testamentum ueteri*.

73. *meruerat*, not of strict merit, but of predestination; so 62<sup>18</sup>: *Moyses . . . initio nascendi tale uenientis in carne meruit exordium*.

74. *DIUINAM in carne Domini intellegere NATURAM*; again Apollinarian doctrine. Priscillian generally uses *diuina natura* of the divine nature (soul) in all men<sup>2</sup>; 93: *totum se DIUINAE unde profectus est NATURAE e deo Christo . . . reddat*; 70: *nos diuinæ consortes uoluit esse naturæ* (2 Pet. i. 4); 100: *dispensationem diuinæ in se intellegere naturæ*; 81: *naturam in uobis Dei custodientes, &c.*, and especially (*Epist. ap. Orosium*) 153<sup>11</sup>: *haec prima sapientia est, in animarum typis diuinarum uirtutum intellegere naturas et corporis dispositionem in qua obligatum caelum uidetur et terra omnesque principatus saeculi uidentur adstricti, sanctorum uero dispositiones superare, a saying as dark as anything in the Prologues.*

### § 3. Results of the examination.

The conclusions to be drawn from these statistics are sufficiently obvious, and I need only point them out in the most cursory manner.

A. The heresy of Priscillian—Monarchianism, Panchristism,

<sup>1</sup> *Expulsionem deserti*; Priscillian uses *eremus* twice, but not *desertum*.

<sup>2</sup> Orosius says in his *Commonitorium*, 2 (Schepss, p. 153), of Priscillian: 'docens animam quæ a deo nata sit de quodam promptuario procedere, profiteri ante deum se pugnaturam et instrui adoratu angelorum.'

Apollinarianism—is accurately given in the Prologues. It is given in Priscillian's own words, his own favourite and reiterated expressions being employed. (See above, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 23, 46, 56, 63, 65, 68, 74.) This is the principal point. The doctrine of the Prologues was carefully examined in the last chapter. In this chapter it has been shown that it is the doctrine of Priscillian, both in intention and in expression.

B. The particular interest shown by the Prologues for the genealogies is not alien to Priscillian, cp. 2.

C. Mystical numbers, the order of books or parts of books in the Bible, cp. 2, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40.

D. Involved, quaint, far-fetched ideas, almost incomprehensible to us, are found in both (ex. gr. 20). The instances in the prologues are obvious. But the reader of Priscillian will find untranslatable passages on almost every page, and will not seldom come across an *inextricabilis nodus* almost as hopeless as the *nomen patris in patribus filio* or the *quod in consonantibus perdiderat* of the prologues.

E. The style is extremely similar. The extraordinary length of the sentences is the most remarkable point in the prologues; and exactly the same may be observed everywhere in Priscillian. For instance the very first tractate has 12½ lines before the first full stop! Clause is piled upon clause, principally with the help of relatives and participles. There is a difference however. The prologues are terse and *knapp*, not diffuse, and this is of course intentional. They are far more obscure than the rest of Priscillian, for the writer explains that he has purposely involved his meaning in difficulty, that the searcher may have the reward of labour in finding the meaning of Scripture for himself. His fear of punishment for heresy was justified by the cruelty shown in his judicial murder.

F. The constructions are the same in both. Relatives continually, participles, especially present participles (cp. 8), and a good many ablative absolutes. Of these it is unnecessary to give examples. Simplicity and plainness seem to be purposely avoided.

G. A sort of involution of clauses, reserving the chief verb

till the end as in German, is observable in both. Good instances are Lc. : 'UT in principio euangelii Iohannis natiuitate presumpta, cui euangelium scriberet et in quo electus scriberet, INDICARET' (fourteen words between *ut* and its verb), or Mc. : 'ut praedicans . . . ostenderet,' in which sentence there are twenty-eight words between *ut* and its verb! So the first lines of Priscillian's first treatise : 'Etsi fides nostra . . . liberi sit' give us fourteen words between *etsi* and its verb ; while in line 7 *ut* is followed by an ablative absolute (three words), then by *quamuis* . . . *Christo* (forty-two words!), after which its verb is forgotten, and a new *tamen* takes up the *tamen* of line 5, and the main verb *noluimus* follows after twenty-five more words ; and so always.

H. The same conjunctions and links are employed. The chief favourite is the relative, also *hic est . . . qui* ; *qui etsi* ; *denique* ; *ideo*, &c. The use of *asyndeton* (13).

I. Not merely the same dogmatic phrases, but the same expressions with regard to other matters recur in both sets of writings (as 9, 12, 18, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 40, 41, 44, 45, 53, 54, 64, 67). Of these some are remarkable (*credendi fides, per uniuersa, in studio fuit, facta res, extra ea quae, opus intrans*), as being rare or unique ; while others are characteristic of style (e. g. *non tacere, non negare, per singula, euangelica dispositio, opus uerbi*, &c.).

K. In vocabulary there is great similarity : (1) in technical descriptions of doctrine, as we saw, (2) conjunctions, &c. ; (3) words given above, e. g. 3, 4, 7, 34, 47, 48, 58, 61, 70, 72, 73 ; (4) words which occur (mostly more than once, or many times) in the Prologues, and are very frequent in Priscillian. I italicize the most important : *agnoscere, canon* and *canonicus, cognoscere, debere, disponere* and *dispositio, electus* and *electio, euangelium, initium, intellegere, inuenire, opus, ostendo, perfectus, sermo, tempus, testimonium, totus, uerbum, unus, &c., &c.* (Some of these might well be common in any writer.) With the *iens* participle in Jn. compare *exiet* for *exibit* twice in Prisc. Attention should be drawn to the frequent use of *in se*, which is most characteristic of both sets of writings.

L. Priscillian was fond of using apocrypha. He defends

his practice at length in *Tract.* iii, pp. 44–56: *liber de fide et apocryphis*. In the Prologues there is a clear dependence on the Acts of John, which were used by Priscillianists.<sup>1</sup>

M. Both writers use the same Old Latin text of Holy Scripture. Against this it cannot be urged that in Mc. we find *desertum* where Prisc. has *eremus*, for this merely means that the writer is not quoting in the former place, but using the usual Latin word. The instances given above are:

15. *factus ex muliere*, where for *natum* Tischendorf gives m<sup>6</sup> fu demid tol harl \*\* al Cyp<sup>288</sup> Ps-Ath (Vigil)<sup>602</sup> Leo (serm 24, non item serm 33), to which one may add codices or writers known to Bede. This coincidence is not remarkable.

18. *omnia in cruce fixit* (Mt.) and *mundo in crucem fixo*. (Prisc. bis) = Gal. vi. 14, where Vulg. reads *mihī mundus cruci fixus est*.

18. *triumphans ea in semetipso*, where Vulg. has *illos* for *ea*, Col. ii. 15 (Prisc. *eos*, Schepss).

25. *adprehendere in quo adprehensus (sum)*, Phil. iii. 12, where Vulg. has *comprehendam in quo et comprehensus sum*.

46. Apparently both read *in carnem uenisse*, 1 John iv. 2 (= 2 John 7), where the right reading is of course *in carne*, ἐν σαρκί.

29. *in corruptibili uerbo Dei uiui*, 1 Pet. i. 23, where the Vulgate makes it impossible to connect *in corruptibili* with *uerbo*, by the correct rendering *per uerbum Dei uiui*.

I conclude from all this that the Prologues were written by Priscillian, and even at no great distance of time from the composition of the *Tractatus*, for the connexion is very close. Why documents so heretical and so obscure should have been so frequently copied is the really insoluble problem which they present to the modern critic.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Künstle says: 'Allerdings wird den Priscillianisten der Gebrauch apokrypher Schriften stets zum Vorwurf gemacht, aber es sind darunter nicht ausserkanonische Schriften im allgemeinen zu verstehen, sondern es sind immer jene phantastischen Apostel- und Evangelienromane gemeint, aus denen die Priscillianisten ihre gnostisch-manichäischen Irrtümer schöpften' (*Antipriscilliano*, p. 182). So says Turribius (see p. 273). Künstle is wrong in doubting the authenticity of Leo, *Ep.* xv. Priscillian himself used the Acts of Thomas (C. H. Turner in *J. T. S.*, July, 1906, p. 605), and presumably those of John.

## CHAPTER XIV

### LATER MANIPULATIONS OF THE PROLOGUES OF PRISCILLIAN

#### § 1. *The Prologue to Acts 'Lucas natione Syrus'.*

BEFORE entering upon the history of the Prologues in the MSS., it is necessary to say something about certain manipulations of them.

The Prologues to John and Luke contain also introductions to the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles, and these portions were at an early date separated and edited into Prologues to those books. They obtained very nearly as large a circulation as the original family. These bastard Prologues are first found in the Codex Fuldensis, c. 542-6, and must have been composed during the preceding century.

1. The Prologue to Acts *Lucas natione Syrus* will be found in Wordsworth and White, who have noted that the whole is borrowed from the Prologue to Luke, except 'cuius laus in euangelio canitur' at the beginning, and at the end 'quem ita diuina subsecuta est gratia ut non solum corporum sed etiam animarum eius proficeret medicina'; both these sentences are from a passage in St. Jerome's letter to Paulinus (*Ep.* 53), which is found in many MSS. as a Prologue to Acts:

'Actus apostolorum nudam quidem sonare uidentur historiam et nascentis ecclesiae infantiam texere; sed si nouerimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum cuius laus est in euangelio, animaduertemus pariter omnia uerba illius animae languentis esse medicinam.'

It is obvious to conjecture that the compiler of *Lucas natione Syrus* found this Prologue to hand, and thought it too short, so he combined it with a large portion of the Prologue to Luke, rewritten and simplified.<sup>1</sup> These two Prologues to

<sup>1</sup> Another combination is found in the Spanish witnesses CT (both of these contain *Actus Ap. nudam*, and T has also *Lucas natione Syrus*); it is a short prologue

Acts are still found together in many MSS. Four of Wordsworth's codices contain both :

<i>Lucas nat. Syrus</i>	B FΘ KMRTU W c gig
<i>Actus Ap. nudam</i>	C ΘI MRT V

and from Berger one may add *compl*<sup>2</sup>, BN 6, Bern A 9, Vat 4221.

The text of *Lucas natione Syrus* is our oldest witness to the text of those portions of the Prologue to Luke which it has retained unaltered. Two readings are singular, and I believe correct, although none of Wordsworth's witnesses know them. One of these I shall discuss on p. 271 : the age of St. Luke is given as eighty-four and not seventy-four. The other point needs more explanation. Priscillian says that Luke received the power of writing the Acts of the Apostles, so that after the Resurrection and the death of Judas the number of the Apostles might be completed (by the election of Matthias), 'sicque Paulus consummationem apostolicis actibus daret . . .'; what is the meaning of *sicque*? It reads as if St. Paul was the twelfth apostle just implied. But the compiler of the Prologue to Acts read *Paulum* : 'and that so he (St. Luke) might present Paul as the consummation of his book.' This gives far better sense, and it is much more in accordance with the style of the Prologue that St. Luke should be the subject until the end of the sentence. But I did not introduce this reading into the text given in the last chapter nor into my translation, as being in no MSS. In the Prologue to

made out of the Prologue to Luke, the *Actus Ap. nudam* and the summaries of CT (*De conuersatione domini*); it is given by Wordsworth on p. 3 of his edition of Vulgate Acts; the first words are *Lucas euangelista Apostolorum hactus*. It corresponds to a shortened form of the Prologue to Luke ('*Lucas Antiochenis*') which is given by Wordsworth (*Gospels*, p. 271) from C with the interpolations of T in footnotes. It is also in *leg*<sup>1</sup> (A. D. 920) Colm. 38 (eighth century) and *Bibl. Nat.*, 1513 (Berger, *Les Préf.*, No. 231). The other (*Lucas eu. ap. hactus*) is in C, T, *leg*<sup>1</sup>, *compl*<sup>2</sup> *aem.*, Dresden A 47, Strahov. 19. Berger has by mistake given it twice over, first as No. 246, then as No. 248 (*Les Préfaces*, p. 60). I wonder whether Peregrinus was the author of these two simplifications of the Prologue to Luke. They are in the same Bibles as his canons and his *Ideo et de Graeco*, and every trace of heresy has been eliminated. Another attempt at making Priscillian more comprehensible is found in Θ, wherein parts of his prologues are mingled with other matter (Wordsworth, pp. 173, 272). Bishop Theodulf may have got them from Spain.



Acts *Paulum* is given by all MSS. except the late W and *gig*, which have manifestly borrowed their reading from the Prologue to Luke. The other readings to be noticed are :

*add natione omnes* (with ADPHΘKQVX ε in Luke).  
*ministerio* (*but mysterio* BFU), (with DFPQY in Luke).  
*perditionis omnes* (with DK, and, *teste Corsen*, BΘ, in Luke).  
*sciens omnes* (with BHΘKMOV against ADPQ in Luke).  
*oportet omnes* (with DFPQ in Luke).

In four out of five cases the early witness of the Irish MSS. is supported by the Prologue to Acts. In the case of *sciens*, *uolui* has preceded, and we may guess that the compiler expected to be taken for St. Jerome. So he *may* have found *scientes*. Only one other variant need be noticed. All the MSS. read *stimulos* in the Prologue to Luke, though in Acts ix. 5, xxii. 7, xxvi. 14 all MSS., whether Old Latin or Vulgate, have *stimulum*. In the Prologue to Acts only FΘT have preserved *stimulos*; this is a testimony to the excellence of the Spanish tradition of ΘT (we know that the Spanish tradition is good in the Prologues to the Gospels); F is the oldest MS. The Prologue to Acts is apparently unknown to the Irish tradition, as it is not in the Book of Armagh. It is not in the Kentish O of Acts (Selden MS., now Bodl. 3418). This is negative evidence. It is unlikely that it was unknown at Canterbury, when we remember the bad character of the text of the Gospel Prologues in OX; but it is still more unlikely that it was known at Lerins before 432, when St. Patrick seems to have introduced an admirable text of the Gospel Prologues into Ireland. Its composition will fall anywhere in the fifth century.

§ 2. *The Prologue to the Apocalypse 'Ioannes, apostolus et euangelista'*.

The common Prologue to the Apocalypse is extracted from Priscillian's Prologue to St. John, just as that to Acts is from Priscillian's Prologue to St. Luke. The two compilations are obviously by the same author and of the same date. The Prologue to the Apocalypse is very widely diffused, although it had a formidable rival in Spain in the Prologue *Iohannes apostolus post passionem*.

I give the rough text as found in Migne (Walafriid Strabo, *Glossa Ordinaria*, vol.ii, P. L., vol. 114, col. 709). I append to it the readings of F, the oldest MS. which contains it, and also those of Tommasi, who printed it from *Cod. Oratorii B 6*, Wordsworth's V (*Opera*, vol.i, p. 475); I cite Thomasius as V, Migne as M.

Ioannes<sup>1</sup>, apostolus et euangelista, a Christo<sup>2</sup> electus atque dilectus, in tanto amore dilectionis uberius habitus est<sup>3</sup> ut in coena super pectus eius recumberet, et<sup>4</sup> ad crucem astanti<sup>5</sup> soli matrem propriam commendasset, ut quem nubere uolentem<sup>6</sup> ad amplexum uirginitatis ascuerat, ipsi etiam custodiendam uirginem tradidisset. Hic itaque cum propter uerbum Dei et testimonium Iesu<sup>7</sup> Christi in Pathmos insulam sortiretur exsilium<sup>8</sup>, illic ab eodem Apocalypsis praeostensa describitur, ut sicut in principio canonis, id est libri Geneseos, incorruptibile principium praenotatur, ita<sup>9</sup> etiam incorruptibilis finis per uirginem<sup>10</sup> redderetur, dicens: ego sum Alpha et Omega<sup>11</sup>, initium et finis. Hic<sup>12</sup> est Ioannes, qui sciens superuenisse sibi diem egressionis de corpore, conuocatis in Epheso<sup>13</sup> discipulis, descendit in defossum sepulturae suae locum, orationeque completa<sup>14</sup>, reddidit spiritum, tam a dolore mortis factus extraneus, quam a corruptione carnis noscitur alienus. Cuius tamen scripturae<sup>15</sup> dispositio, uel libri ordinatio, ideo a nobis per singula non exponitur, ut nescientibus<sup>16</sup> inquirendi desiderium collocetur<sup>17</sup>, et quaerentibus laboris fructus, et Deo magisterii doctrina seruetur<sup>18</sup>.

1. Iohannes F	2. a domino Christo FV	3. uberius habitus est M
ab eo est habitus FV	4. Et F	5. astans F
ihesu F	6. nolentem F	7. exilio in Pathmos insulam mitteretur F
portaretur V	8. in Pathmos insulam mitteretur F	9. Ita F
10. addit in Apocalypsi V	11. a et w FV	12. hic F
13. Efeso F	14. completa F	15. scripturae F
16. nescientibus F	17. collocetur F	18. exp. prologus F

Evidently *ab eo est habitus* is right; *astans* is a mere slip of F, while *nolentem* is a deliberate correction by Victor or his scribe; *scientibus* is original, *nescientibus* is a correction.

The text throws scarcely any light on that of the Prologue to St. John. It supports *etiam* for *et* before *incorruptibile* with EIOWX. *Incorruptibile principium* supports all the MSS. of the John Prologue, except P\*Q which have *corruptibile principium*. *Noscitur alienus* seems to support *inuenitur alienus* against the *alienus inuenitur* of D<sup>2</sup>PQ. *Scientibus* clearly supports *scienti* with A<sup>2</sup>FCE<sup>2</sup>IKMOXYZ against the Irish *sciendi* of D<sup>2</sup>PQVW *c aur*. *Collocetur* supports *collocato* with CD<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>VW *c aur* against *collocata* A<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>IKMO\*YZ *aur*. In the last case only the Irish reading is supported.

Further, *ad crucem astanti* seems nearer to *ad crucem iens* than to any of the corrections (*moriens de cruce E, pendens in cruce K VW, de cruce* (only)  $\Theta IMc$ ). Also *scripturae* seems to support *scripturarum* A $\Phi$ C $\Theta$ E $\Theta$ \*XYZ against *scriptorum* D $\Phi$ I $\Theta$ K $\Theta$ O\*Q $\Theta$ VWZ<sup>1</sup>.

St. Jerome's letter to Paulinus has but a few words about the Apocalypse :

'Apocalypsis Ioannis tot habet sacramenta quot uerba. Parum dixi, pro merito uoluminis, laus omnis inferior est.'

This passage has less diffusion in MSS. as a Prologue than the corresponding passage about Acts, *Actus ap. nudam*. The latter occurs in Spanish MSS., the former does not. It was apparently unknown to the compiler of *Ioannes apostolus et euangelista* ; at all events he did not think fit to use it.

He has in fact added nothing to the Prologue to John, except that he has *apostolus et euangelista* for the simple *euangelista*, and the obvious 'ut in coena super pectus eius recumberet'. These expressions are probably from St. Jerome's Prologue to his *Comm. in Matt. Plures fuisse*, which has 'Iohannes *apostolus et euangelista*, quem Iesus amauit plurimum, qui *super pectus* domini *recumbens* purissima doctrinarum fluentia potauit, et qui solus de cruce meruit audire Ecce mater tua'.

The Prologue to the Apocalypse is found in much the same MSS. as the Prologue to Acts, as we shall see presently, p. 265.

### § 3. *The Prologues of Peregrinus.*

I have no intention of going deeply into the question of Peregrinus<sup>1</sup>; but at least something must be said of him where Priscillian is in question.

I. We have Priscillian's canons on St. Paul's Epistles only in the expurgated edition published by Peregrinus. It is found

<sup>1</sup> On the identification of Peregrinus with Bacharius see Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, p. 28, &c.; Künstle, *Das Comma Johanneum*, pp. 52 foll. The heresy against which Bacharius defends himself is clearly Priscillianism; consequently his country (which was, he complains, the only ground of accusation) was Spain; he had left it; presumably he wrote in Gaul. At Lerins? St. Vincent of Lerins wrote under the pseudonym of Peregrinus; perhaps one imitated the other.

mainly in Spanish MSS., and appears to belong to an 'edition' of the Epistles.<sup>1</sup> It is even possible, though it is not proved, that Peregrinus is answerable for an edition of the whole Bible. His date is uncertain, but we should presumably look for him in the first half of the fifth century. He seems to have been an admirer of Priscillian, who yet would not follow him into heresy. Of the *canones* he says in his *prooemium*: 'quia erant ibi plurima ualde necessaria, correctis his quae prauo sensu posita fuerant, alia ut erant utiliter ordinata prout oportebat intellegi iuxta sensum fidei catholicae exemplauit.'<sup>2</sup> In fact he has left no Priscillianism in the canons. The Prologue to the canons he has evidently completely rewritten, for a comparison with the *Tractatus* of Priscillian shows that none of the peculiarities of Priscillian's style have been allowed to remain. The sentences are short and clear. The last sentence reminds us of the Gospel Prologues, where the evangelist is said to have 'laboured' for such and such a purpose, and to have 'manifested' this or that: 'Hoc enim me *elaborasse* uolo intellegas, *quo* fideliter continentiam Scripturarum *palam facerem* nulli existens inimicus, et ut errantium uelocius, sicut postulasti, corrigerentur mentes.'

2. Another fragment of Peregrinus is in the *Codex Gothicus* of Leon (*leg*<sup>3</sup>); after the subscription by a scribe of 960 follows a prayer, and the words *et Peregrini f. o karissimi memento*.<sup>3</sup> This seems to imply that Peregrinus was, like Bachiarius, a monk, for he appears to be addressing his monastic brethren. A similar note is found at the end of the Stowe St. John: 'Rogo quicumque hunc librum legeris ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris i[d est] *sonid* peregrinus. Amen. Sanus sit qui scripsit et cui Scriptum est. Amen.' On which M. Berger wrote '*Sonid* est sans doute le nom du copiste', and adds that Whitley Stokes and McCarthy thought it stood for *sanus*; M. d'Arbois de Jubainville declared it to mean

<sup>1</sup> See Berger, *Vulgato*, pp. 181-4.

<sup>2</sup> So CT, but Θ (called M by Schepss) reads '... posita fuerant, cum reliquis a catholico intellectu non discrepantibus ut erant composita exemplauit' (Schepss in *CSEL*. xviii, p. 109).

<sup>3</sup> Berger, pp. 19 and 28.

'celui qui possède à fond l'art de tuer les gens'; and Prof. Rhys translates it *εὐμάχης* (!). Is not this exactly what would be given as the Celtic rendering of Vincentius? Was the parent of the Stowe St. John written at Lerins by St. Vincent the Stranger, and brought to Ireland by his *confrère* Patrick? I make the suggestion for what it may be worth. Gennadius says Vincent of Lerins was *natione Gallus*; no more is known of him. But his British companions, Patrick and Faustus, might have translated his name into Celtic, and he might have used it at the end of a book intended for Ireland, as a disguise through humility. Such a conjecture must needs remain devoid of proof. Anyhow there is no particular reason for connecting the Stowe St. John with Spain or with the Priscilianist Peregrinus.

3. The Spanish Peregrinus has left another trace of his work in his addition to the Prologue of St. Jerome to his translation of the books of Solomon from the Septuagint, which begins *Tres libros Salomonis*. This preface with the addition is found in Spanish Bibles and those influenced by them.<sup>1</sup> The addition runs thus:

'Ideo et de Graeco et de Hebraeo praefatiuncula utraque in hoc libro praemissa est: quia nonnulla de Graeco ob illuminationem sensus et legentis aedificationem uel inserta Hebraicae translationi uel extrinsecus iuncta sunt. Et idcirco qui legis, semper Peregrini memento.'

We learn from this note that Peregrinus had before him not only St. Jerome's translation of the books of Solomon from the Hebrew, but also his earlier (lost) translation of the LXX. Peregrinus combined the two, by inserting in the text or margin (*extrinsecus*) of the former many of the interpolations found in the latter. To this conflated text he prefixed the prefaces to both versions, viz. the authentic *Iungat epistola*, and the doubtful *Tres libros Salomonis*. In the MSS. the note of Peregrinus is joined on to the end of the latter. Berger says in consequence: 'Mais que faut-il penser de la singulière lumière que cette constatation [the identification of Peregrinus] jette sur l'authenticité de notre préface? Pas un

<sup>1</sup> A list of MSS. will be found of course in Berger, *Les Préfaces* (No. 131).

manuscrit ne la contient sans la note de Peregrinus. . . . Nous en savons assez pour la condamner définitivement.'<sup>1</sup> A most incomprehensible conclusion! Because it is clear that Peregrinus (in the first half of the fifth century, to all appearance) judged the preface to be genuine, we therefore must condemn it without appeal! We might as well conclude to the spuriousness of the preface *Iungat epistola* to which the note just as much refers. Besides it is untrue that no MS. contains the *Tres libros* without the addition of the *Ideo et de Graeco*. Berger himself remarks of the MS. Vienna 1200 *la note de Peregrinus est d'une autre main* (no. 131, p. 46); while Dom Martianay's notes on the Prologue tell us that *tres libros* appears without addition in the Corbie MS. (Sangermanensis 14), which is now Bibl. Nat. *fonds latin* 11940. The style of the Prologue is not quite worthy of St. Jerome, in the opinion of Vallarsi (especially *feci intellegi*); and indeed it contains nothing very remarkable. But *feci intellegi* may be a corrupt reading; and at all events it is quite clear that Peregrinus found it to hand, prefixed to the translation from the Septuagint, just as the *Iungat epistola* was to the translation from the Hebrew. Surely this is, *pace* Berger, a strong testimony to its authenticity.

The point to which attention should be drawn is the boldness of Peregrinus as an editor. He has no reverence either for the Septuagint with its halo of legend, or for the Hebrew extolled by St. Jerome, nor yet for the work of that great father; and he produces a new text by amalgamating the two translations. Let us also notice his openness; he carefully explains what he has done, and requests the prayers which he thinks he has merited.

4. I have already suggested (p. 254) that Peregrinus may be the author of the short Prologues to Luke and Acts found in Spanish MSS., *Lucas Antiocensis* and *Lucas eu. Apost. hactus*; they are made out of the Prologues of Priscillian, all heresy being eliminated by one who knew how to look for it.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Préfaces*, l. c., p. 17. Berger actually throws doubt on the Hieronymian authorship of the *Plures fuisse*, than which nothing is more certainly authentic.

§ 4. *The Prologue to the Catholic Epistles 'Non idem est ordo'.*

We have said that the Prologues of Priscillian to Luke and John were seen as early as the fifth century to contain the matter for Prologues to Acts and Apocalypse; and such Prologues were accordingly manufactured out of them. Now Priscillian treated the Epistles of St. Paul still more elaborately in his series of canons, in which he pointed out the main points of the Apostle's doctrine, finding in his letters the proofs of his own heresies, just as he has managed to do in the Gospels in his Prologues, but in an obscure and mysterious manner. As it cannot be doubted that the Prologues to Luke and John were really intended as introductions to Acts and the Apocalypse also, it follows that Priscillian is known to have composed in favour of his own heresy introductions to all the books of the New Testament, except to the Catholic Epistles.

Did he compose one to the Catholic Epistles? We should suppose so *a priori*. Further, in the Prologue to John there is no mention of the Epistles of that Apostle; and yet it was from the first Epistle of St. John that Priscillian took the main texts for his Apollinarianism and his Monarchianism, viz. 'Iesum Christum in carnem uenisse' (see above, p. 247) and the famous interpolation of the three heavenly witnesses, with the conclusion 'et haec tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu'. The omission would be explained if Priscillian treated the Catholic Epistles by themselves. Also, one who laid so much stress on the order of the books in the canon and the purpose of their writing was unlikely to overlook the mystical meanings of these seven letters, of their *dispositio* in the canon, of their arrangement in order and time.

If such a Prologue was ever composed, it will presumably have come down to us in very many MSS., like its fellows. Let us look at the common Prologue (Pseudo-Jerome) to the seven canonical Epistles. I give the text from Vallarsi (*P. L.*, 29, col. 821), with the readings of the Codex Fuldensis below:

Non idem<sup>1</sup> ordo est apud Graecos, qui integre sapiunt et fidem rectam sectantur, epistolarum<sup>2</sup> septem quae canonicae nuncupantur, qui<sup>3</sup> in

Latinis codicibus inuenitur; ut, quia<sup>4</sup> Petrus primus est in numero apostolorum, primae sint etiam eius epistolae in ordine ceterarum. Sed, sicut euangelistas dudum ad ueritatis lineam correximus, ita has proprio ordini<sup>5</sup>, Deo nos iuuante, reddidimus. Est enim prima earum una Iacobi, Petri duae, Ioannis<sup>6</sup> tres, et Iudae una. Quae si, ut ab eis digestae sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum uerterentur eloquium<sup>7</sup>, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum sese<sup>8</sup> uarietas impugnaret<sup>9</sup>; illo praecipue loco ubi de unitate Trinitatis in prima Ioannis<sup>10</sup> epistola positum legimus. In qua etiam<sup>11</sup> ab infidelibus translatoribus multum erratum esse a fidei ueritate comperimus<sup>12</sup>: trium tantum uocabula, hoc est, aquae, sanguinis et spiritus, in<sup>13</sup> sua editione ponentes<sup>14</sup>; et Patris, Verbiq; ac Spiritus testimonium omitentes; in<sup>15</sup> quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur, et Patris et Filii ac<sup>16</sup> Spiritus sancti una diuinitatis substantia conprobatur. In caeteris uero epistolis<sup>17</sup>, quantum a<sup>18</sup> nostra aliorum distet editio, lectoris prudentiae derelinquo. Sed tu, uirgo Christi Eustochium<sup>19</sup>, dum a me impensius<sup>20</sup> Scripturae<sup>21</sup> ueritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo senectutem inuidorum dentibus corrodendam<sup>22</sup> exponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque sanctarum pronuntiant scripturarum<sup>23</sup>. Sed ego in tali opere nec aemulorum meorum inuidiam<sup>24</sup> pertimesco, nec sanctae scripturae<sup>25</sup> ueritatem poscentibus denegabo.

1. ita	2. Epistularum	3. ut ( <i>for</i> qui)	4. quod ( <i>for</i> ut quia)
5. ordine	6. Iohannis	7. eloquium uerteretur	8. se
pugnaret	10. Iohannis	11. est ( <i>for</i> etiam)	12. conperimus
13. <i>add ipsa</i>	14. potentes	15. In	16. et
17. epistulis	18.	19. Eustochium	20. impensius
21. scribaturae	22. conrodendam	23. scribaturarum	24. inuidentiam
			25. scribaturae

Here we find the *Comma Iohanneum* asserted and defended, and those editions which omitted it reprobated. Now Dr. Künstle has made it certain that the diffusion of this celebrated interpolation came from the Spanish Bibles, and that the Spanish Bibles obtained it (probably through Peregrinus) from the Bible of Priscillian. I do not at all agree with him that Priscillian actually interpolated the passage himself. He could hardly in that case have been so foolish as to quote it in his apology (*Tract.* i, p. 6<sup>b</sup>), knowing that it would be declared apocryphal. He must have found it in his Bible, and it must have been one of the frequent Spanish glosses which somehow got into the text; and it is well known that it is founded on a mystical interpretation which St. Cyprian seems to assume as a commonplace, and which St. Augustine propagated. The quasi-liturgical ending 'in Christo Iesu' belongs to the earthly



witnesses, and has got very naturally shifted to the end of the heavenly witnesses (which in Priscillian do not precede but follow) by the interpolation being made before this formal conclusion. It was Priscillian who discovered a heretical meaning in the resultant reading, interpreting the words to mean that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are all one in Christ Jesus. In the version found in existing Spanish Bibles the possibility of this error has been eliminated, probably by Peregrinus.

In this Prologue, Pseudo-Jerome must either have used a Spanish Bible, or have utilized a previous Prologue by Priscillian. The former alternative seems to be absolutely excluded by the fact that this Prologue, which is found in almost all MSS. of the Epistles entire, and as early as the Codex Fuldensis (542-6), is found without its first line in Spanish MSS.<sup>1</sup> (But see p. 287.) In these it begins 'qui integre sapiunt', and the opening sentence is meaningless. It can hardly be upheld that the Prologue had its origin in Spain.

On the other hand only a Spaniard was likely to condemn all MSS. which omitted the *Comma*; and Priscillian is particularly likely to have defended it.<sup>2</sup> I think it may be safely inferred that Pseudo-Jerome had before him a Prologue to the Catholic Epistles in which Priscillian defended this text, but Pseudo-Jerome has made his expressions orthodox.

Confirmation is not wanting. Priscillian will certainly have

<sup>1</sup> Viz. in CT, ΘH *Puy, compl.*<sup>2</sup>, *leg.*<sup>2</sup> (?), *aem, osc.* (Berger, *Les Préfaces*, No. 291).

<sup>2</sup> There exists an indication that Priscillian found himself bound to defend the *Comma*. In the Priscillianist creed *Nos patrem et filium* (Caspari, *Kirchenhist. Anekdota*, 308, and see Künstle, *Antipriscilliana*, p. 59) we have a clear reference: 'Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus sanctus Deus; hæc unum sunt in Christo Iesu.' Now a few lines further on we read: 'Si quis uero hanc fidem non habet, catholicus dici non potest; qui catholicam non tenet fidem, ALIENUS EST, PROFANUS EST, aduersus ueritatem rebellis est.' This is a citation of St. Cyprian, *De Cath. Eccl. Unit.* 6 'Nec perueniet ad Christi præmia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi; ALIENUS EST, PROFANUS EST, hostis est.' Why a citation from this particular chapter? Obviously because this is the chapter which contains the famous words: 'Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: et hi tres unum sunt,' to which so many moderns have unsuccessfully appealed to prove the antiquity of the reading in 1 John. It seems plain that the passage of St. Cyprian was lying open before the Priscillianist author of the Creed (Priscillian himself?) because he was accustomed to appeal to it in the same way. In Priscillian's day St. Cyprian had a unique position as the one great Western Doctor.

had before him and have commented on the Old Latin order of the Epistles, in which Peter came before James.<sup>1</sup> Now the Prologue begins straight off by declaring that this order, in which Peter is put first because he is the Prince of the Apostles, is not that of the Greeks; he, Jerome, has restored the true (Greek) order, just as he had previously corrected the evangelists (in order, evidently, as well as in text). We cannot fail to be reminded how the Prologue to John, in which Priscillian expounded the mystical meaning of the Old Latin order, was adapted to the Vulgate by an excision made by a corrector. Have we not here the same phenomenon? Priscillian had explained why Peter was first. Pseudo-Jerome repeats this explanation and rejects it.

The external evidence is in harmony with the internal. The following are some of the older MSS. which contain the Prologues to Acts, Apocāypse, and Catholic Epistles, or two of them<sup>2</sup>:

ACTS	F TΘ <i>psu compl</i> <sup>2</sup>	BK <i>sur bern</i> M
CATH. EPP.	FCTΘ <i>psu compl</i> <sup>2</sup>	BK <i>sur bern</i>
APOC.	F Θ <i>psu compl</i> <sup>2</sup>	K <i>sur bern</i> M
ACTS	Ham 82 <i>paul</i>	BN 1, 3, 6,
CATH. EPP.		BN 1, 2, 3, 6, 104, 309, 15176, Rouen 25
APOC.	Ham 82 <i>paul</i>	BN 1, 2, 6, 104, 309, 15176, Rouen 25
ACTS	Bern A 9	Vat 4221 Stuttg. Hofb. 52 Sorb 1270 &c.
CATH. EPP.	Bern A 9	Vat 4221 Stuttg. Hofb. 52 Sorb 1270
APOC.		

This table shows every combination of two out of three. F and M represent two great families in Acts; we have also the Spanish, Theodulphian, and Alcuinian families, &c.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that Priscillian in his *Tractatus* quotes from all the seven Catholic Epistles except John iii, which he could hardly have managed to use. He knows a definitely settled canon, presumably the same as that of Damasus's Roman Council of 382.

<sup>2</sup> From Berger, *Les Préfaces*, Nos. 244, 290, 291, 310. The letters FCTΘ have their usual signification; MB (of Acts) are Munich 6230 and Bamberg A. 1. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Pseudo-Jerome Prologue to Acts *Canit Psalmista* is found in a good many MSS. (see Berger, *Les Préfaces*, No. 250). It is printed by Bp. Wordsworth on p. 4; and he has remarked that it is founded on the genuine preface of St. Jerome to Ezra. It does not use the Prologues of Priscillian, for the words '*a Luca Antiocheno, arte medico*' are from Rufinus's translation of Eusebius, iii. 4

There is no reason to suppose that any of these three Prologues was known in Ireland, where the original form of the Prologues to the Gospels was preserved. One may say, therefore, that the corrected form of the Prologue to John, and the Prologues to Acts, Apocalypse, and Catholic Epistles have approximately the same large diffusion, if we take into account the comparatively large number of MSS. which contain the Gospels only. The Prologue to Acts and the Apocalypse have a single author. That to the Epistles is by a downright forger, probably a different person. He not only speaks in the name of St. Jerome, but he addresses Eustochium; his first sentence is modelled on St. Jerome's Prologue to the Minor Prophets: 'Non idem ordo est duodecim prophetarum apud Hebraeos qui est apud nos.' His last paragraph is a clever imitation of St. Jerome's repeated complaints of the enemies who attack his old age, on account of his new translations. One hesitates to ascribe this to the author of the Prologues to Acts and the Apocalypse, though the former has used St. Jerome's letter to Paulinus (or rather an extract from it) and uses the first person singular (in imitation of Jerome?) instead of Priscillian's plural. But the Pseudo-Jerome may be the author of the correction of the Prologue to John.

At all events I do not hesitate to ascribe the corrected version of the Gospel Prologues and the three other Prologues to much the same date, probably rather in the early part of the fifth century, and to suppose that they were attached to the Vulgate about the same time and in the same circumstances, since they have so similar and so wide a diffusion.

To return to the Prologue to the Catholic Epistles; Prof. Künstle has suggested that Peregrinus was its author. Two considerations will dispose of this notion once for all. In the first place Peregrinus was not a forger; nay, he carefully explains that the canons are by a famous heretic, and says (cp. St. Jerome's *Plures fuisse*). The mention of detraction might lead us to connect this piece with the *Non idem ordo*, but it was an obvious trick to put a sample of St. Jerome's habitual plaints into any imitation. The external evidence shows there can be no common authorship; for the *Canit Palmista* is in none of Berger's MSS. which contain *Non idem ordo*, except M (Acts) and B N 6. It is therefore impossible that they should have a common origin.

explicitly 'nemo putet ab Hieronymo factos'. Secondly, his work is in Spanish codices and their derivatives, while the Prologue is widely diffused and appears in the Spanish codices in a corrupt form, and it may have been introduced into Spain in a single copy, of which the first line was lost.

§ 5. *The 'canones novi testamenti'*.

A curious fragment, discovered by Dom Morin in the Codex Ambros. E 51 *inf*, was carefully edited by Dom Donatien De Bruyne in the *Revue Bénédictine* for January, 1906. I wish to say something of it, because he has dated part of it very early (fourth century or even third), partly on the ground that the Monarchian Prologues were of the third century. He has tried to improve the sense by suggesting the omission of the words *hac de* and *significat*, an unnecessarily violent proceeding. We have only to suppose that a line has been omitted over the last letter of *praerogativa* and all is grammatical. *Cum scripsit* is quite normal Vulgar Latin with causal sense; such a construction is common, for instance, in Priscillian. The punctuation is mine.

'Canones novi testamenti. Primus Petrus scripsit, secundus Iacobus, tertius Matheus, quartus Iudas, quintus Paulus, sextus Barnabas, septimus Lucas, octavus Marcus, nonus Iohannes. Quare primus Iacobus in ordine epistularum ponitur, cum primus Petrus in ordine canonis scripsit? Hac de causa fuit. Praerogativam apostolici ordinis, ut quidam interpretantur, significat; uel praestantius est, ut adfirmant alii, ut Petrus ponatur primus, cum primus scripsit. Dicunt quidam [*de*] epistula Iacobi quod ab alio sit edita sub eius nomine, quorum opinio falsa est.'

In the first place the list of writers represents no tradition as to the dates of their writing. It is simply formed by the assumption that the Old Latin order was an historical order. The compiler found two groups, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, and Peter, James, John, Jude.<sup>1</sup> As John was known to have

<sup>1</sup> This is the common order of the Gospels in the Old Latin MSS., and the order of the Catholic Epistles given by Damasus (382), Cod. Claromont. catal., Ivo Carnot., and Cassiodorus (though Arevalo reads *Pe, Jud, Jac, Jo*). But Philastrius, Augustine, Ildephonsus have *Pe, Jo, Jud, Jac*, and the Carthaginian councils of 397 and 419, with the Apostolical Canons, give *Pe, Jo, Jac, Jud* (this is for our purpose the same order as that of Damasus).

written last, he must be omitted. Matthew has to go among the Apostles—he can take the vacant place left by John, thus :

<i>Catholic Epistles.</i>	<i>Gospels.</i>	<i>Result.</i>
Peter		Peter
James		James
(John)	Matthew	Matthew
Jude	(John)	Jude
	Luke	Luke
	Mark	Mark

As Paul and Barnabas have to be inserted, and will naturally go together (so frequently are they coupled in Acts), they will be interpolated after the Apostles, as being Apostles, but the latest of them. And lo, the list is made !

The compiler will no doubt have been pleased to observe that the Apostles are now in the same order as in the lists of the Apostles in the Gospels, at least if James is not too carefully identified.<sup>1</sup>

What is meant by Barnabas? Dom De Bruyne thinks Hebrews. But in the catalogue of Codex Claromontanus 'Barnabas' seems to mean the Epistle which goes under that name.<sup>2</sup> I do not know which would be the less extraordinary, for Barnabas to be included so boldly in the canon, or for the writer of Hebrews to be so simply assumed to be Barnabas.

We next find a question and its answer. Why is James, then, first in order of the Epistles, though Peter wrote first? Two answers are given: the former attributes the primacy to James, which is astonishing<sup>3</sup>; the second suggests that it is

<sup>1</sup> This mixing up of the son of Zebedee with James the Less is common enough. For instance it is implied in the 'Western' reading in Gal. ii. 9: 'Peter, James, and John' (so the bilingual MSS. DEFG, with the Codex Fuldensis and the Gothic version, and the Old Latin generally, as represented by Orig. transl. Tert. Jerome, Ambrst) for 'James, Cephas, and John'.

<sup>2</sup> The stichometry is given as DCCCL. Hebrews has about 11,324 syllables, which gives 13½ syllables to the *στίχος*. Barnabas has about 14,720, which gives 17½ syllables. The Epistles of St. Paul are allowed a *στίχος* of about 13½ syllables, whereas the Catholic Epistles work out at about 17½ to 19½. No inference can be made, I think. Zahn thinks the Epistle of Barnabas is meant, *Gesch. des N. T. Canons*, ii. 170-1.

<sup>3</sup> Hesychius of Jerusalem puts James above Peter, but in a Patriarch of Jerusalem this is comprehensible. The words of St. Columbanus (Ep. v. 10, *Ad*

a mistake, and that Peter should stand before James. Here the Vulgate order is assumed, so that this portion of the fragment is not homogeneous with the former portion. It is most natural to assume that the former of the two answers originally applied to St. Peter; that in its original form the question was asked about the Old Latin order: 'Why does Peter stand first among the Epistles?' The twofold answer will have been given; first: 'praerogativam apostolici ordinis, ut quidam interpretantur significat'; then a preferable answer, in accordance with the principles on which the list was made, was supplied somewhat as follows: 'sed praestantius est id quod adfirmant alii, Petrum poni primum cum primus scripsit.'

The last sentence, *dicunt quidam*, &c., is from St. Jerome, as Dom De Bruyne has pointed out, 'ab alio quodam sub nomine eius edita asseritur' (*De viris illustr.* 2).

Thus the whole piece in its present form was put together later than St. Jerome by some one who had the Vulgate before him, whereas the short list and the original question with its alternative answers depend upon the Old Latin. The data are valueless. The original author may have lived at any time before the Vulgate became universal. Old Latin copies were written up to a late date. The author of the list may be early, however, on account of the inclusion of Barnabas. I suggest the beginning of the fifth century or the end of the fourth; but the final redactor who used the Vulgate may be much later.

Who were the *alii* who declared that Peter was first owing

*Bonif. Pap.*) are curiously like those of the fragment: 'Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum, salua loci dominicae resurrectionis *singulari praerogativa.*' St. Avitus of Vienne wrote to Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem: 'Exercet apostolatus uester concessos a Diuinitate primatus, et quod principem locum in uniuersali ecclesia teneat, non priuilegiis solum studet monstrare, sed meritis.' These writers are well known to give a supremacy of authority to Rome; and it is certain that they allow to Jerusalem no more than a sentimental rank. But such quotations may enable us to understand how a mediaeval compiler might understand words, meant for St. Peter, to apply to St. James, though he was evidently dissatisfied with the application. On veneration to Jerusalem we may compare the *tractatus Hilarii in vii epistolas canonicas* (*Spic. Cass.* iii. 1, p. 207): 'Cur in principio ponitur Iacobus? Non apostolorum differentiam, non scribendi ordinem, sed dignationem ecclesiae,' and the preface to the 'Isidorian' coll. of canons (c. 430-50), Turner, *Eccles. Occid. Mon. Iuris vet.* i. 158 col. b.

to his prerogative among the Apostles? It was an obvious remark to make; yet we might guess that it was borrowed from Priscillian's lost Prologue to the Catholic Epistles, like the words of Pseudo-Jerome which it resembles :

*Ps.-Jerome.*

ut, quia Petrus primus est in numero apostolorum, primae sint etiam eius epistolae in ordine ceterarum.

*Fragment.*

Quare primus [Petrus] in ordine epistolarum ponitur? Hac de causa fuit. Praerogativam apostolici ordinis . . . significat.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE HISTORY OF THE PROLOGUES

#### § 1. *The sources employed in the Prologues.*

THE ingenious and elaborate mystical arguments displayed in the Gospel Prologues are beyond doubt due to the curious brain of Priscillian himself. But we find in them historical data which are not invented but borrowed. This historical matter may be broadly treated in three divisions.

A. Much of it is simply from Holy Scripture, rightly or wrongly interpreted.

1. We hear of St. Matthew's call from Judaism to the Gospel, and his conversion (*transmigration!*) from the profession of a publican to faith.

2. John was 'a disciple'. Christ commended His Mother to him, 'as He went to His Cross,' an extraordinary error which only a few MSS. have thought fit to correct. Evidently based upon the Leucian Acts of John (see p. 226).

3. Luke was a physician, a disciple of the Apostles, followed St. Paul 'usque ad confessionem eius' (2 Tim. iv. 6, 11). The statements which follow seem to be founded on St. Luke's own words about Zachary and Anna: 'seruiens Deo sine crimine. Nam neque uxorem umquam habens neque filios, lxxiiii annorum obiit in Bithynia plenus Spiritu sancto.' Though all the MSS. cited by Wordsworth and Corsen read lxxiii, except one Autun MS., which has lxxxiiii, I think we ought to accept this singular reading on the authority of the Prologue to Acts, where the MSS. all read lxxxiiii; for this is fifth-century evidence, earlier than any of our MSS. Now compare Lc. i. 6-7: 'sine querella, et non erat illis filius . . .'; ii. 37: 'usque ad annos (*so Vulg. but a b ff<sub>2</sub> q* annorum) lxxxiiii<sup>1</sup> . . . seruiens nocte ac die . . .'; i. 67:

<sup>1</sup> \* has ἐβδομήκοντα.



'impletus est Spiritu sancto, et prophetabat (-tauit).' The phrase *plenus Spiritu sancto* is peculiar to Luke in the N.T. (iv. 1; Acts vi. 3, 5; vii. 55; xi. 24). Finally we have the remark: 'significans etiam ipse in principio ante alia esse descripta' (Lc. i. 1).

4. Mark was 'Petri in baptisate filius', a statement based simply on 1 Pet. v. 13, and quite independent of the traditions of his being the interpreter and scribe of Peter 'Sacerdotium in Israel agens secundum carnem Leuita' is a combination of Mark's cousinship to Barnabas (Col. iv. 10) with the fact that Barnabas was a Levite (Acts iv. 36). Hence the explanation given of the epithet *κολοβοδάκτυλος*.

B. The order of the Old Latin Bible is taken to be of high importance, and to be usually an historical order. The mystical importance of this order is emphasized in the Prologue to John ('dispositione canonis ordinati', and 'quorum tamen uel scripturarum tempore dispositio uel librorum ordinatio', &c.). The historical nature of the Old Latin order (*Mt, Jo, Lc, Mc*) appears twice.

1. 'Matthaeus . . . sicut in ordine primus ponitur, ita euangelium primus scripsit.'

2. 'Etsi post omnes [Iohannes] euangelium scripsisse dicitur, tamen dispositione canonis ordinati post Matthaeum ponitur, quoniam,' &c. It is obvious that this dislocation of the presumed historical order is regarded as a very great honour to St. John.

C. Historical notices from tradition are scanty in the Prologues.

1. 'Matthaeus ex Iudaeis (*al. Iudaea*) . . . in Iudaea primus scripsit.' Again under Luke: 'per Matthaeum quidem in Iudaea.' The *ex Iudaeis* merely looks forward to the mystical explanation of the genealogies as referring to St. Matthew himself. *In Iudaea* is a faint reflection of the tradition constantly repeated from Papias that Matthew wrote for the Hebrews in Hebrew. This was a commonplace (Papias, Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, &c.), but yet it is unknown to our very ignorant compiler!

2. Of John he knows more. The account of his death

is derived from the Leucian Acts, which the Priscillianists employed, *Ep. Turribii*, 5 (after Ep. xv of St. Leo): 'Actus . . . illos qui appellantur S. Ioannis, quos sacrilego Leucius ore conscripsit.'<sup>1</sup> (Did Leucius write with his mouth?) See p. 253. The writer is also aware that the Gospel was written after the Apocalypse (Victorinus, Epiphanius, &c.). That it was written in Asia was common knowledge (Irenaeus, Epiphanius, Jerome, *vir. ill.* and *Comm. in Matt.*, &c.), for every one knew of his tomb at Ephesus (St. Aug. *in Ioan. Tract.* 124. 2). The 'quem de nuptiis uolentem nubere uocauit Deus' is again evidently from the Leucian Acts.<sup>2</sup> But Priscillian does not know either form of the story of the composition of the Gospel (Iren., Jer. *vir. ill.*, Victor., Euseb. on the one hand, with Clem. Al., Origen, &c., and Augustine; the other form is in the Murat. fragm. and Jerome *Comm. in Matt.*).

3. 'Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis, arte medicus, discipulus apostolorum, postea Paulum secutus usque ad confessionem eius,' is naturally to be compared with Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 4 in Rufinus's paraphrase (A. D. 402-3): 'Ipse autem Lucas, genere quidem Antiochenus, arte medicus, comes uero Pauli et ceterorum apostolorum socius et necessarius fuit.' But Priscillian could not have used Rufinus. The parallel with St. Jerome's (certainly authentic) Prologue to the Gospels *Plures fuisse*, prefixed to the Commentary on St. Matthew, is more striking: 'tertius Lucas medicus, natione Syrus Antiochensis, cuius laus in euangelio, qui et ipse discipulus apostoli Pauli, in Achaiae Boeotiaeque partibus uolumen condidit.' The verbal coincidences can hardly be quite accidental. But the two writers are otherwise independent, for they give totally different information on all other points.<sup>3</sup> It is possible

<sup>1</sup> St. Isidore (*De ortu et obitu patrum*, 82-3) uses the prologues in his accounts of Luke and Mark, but in his account of John (72) he draws independently on Jerome and on the Leucian Acts. This suggests a Latin translation or abridgement of the Acts as known in Spain in the seventh century. The legends of St. John were very popular in the middle ages. A late and beautiful form will be found in the Sarum Breviary for Dec. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Compare St. Jerome, *adv. Iovin.* i. 26 'Ioannes Apostolus, maritus et uirgo'.

<sup>3</sup> A single coincidence of sense, though not of words, is remarkable: 'et qui

that they had a common source for this one sentence, or rather that Priscillian had come across a stray fragment of the source used by Jerome.

'Obiit in Bithynia' is unique, it would seem; for the continual repetition of the statement in later Western writers<sup>1</sup> and in the Martyrologies depends upon the Monarchian Prologue. A comparison with Jerome (just quoted) suggests that Bithynia is merely a mistake for Boeotia. The Greek tradition makes Luke die in Achaia, in Boeotia—at Patras or at Thebes. His body was translated from Thebes to Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> The first to use this tradition in the West is (I think) Gaudentius of Brescia.

'Qui cum iam descripta essent euangelia per Matthaeum quidem in Iudaea, per Marcum autem in Italia, sancto instigante Spiritu in Achaiae partibus hoc scripsit euangelium.' Of *in Achaiae partibus* we have spoken. The whole sentence gives the tradition quite correctly. It may come from the fragmentary source used in its entirety by Jerome.

4. 'Petri . . . in diuino sermone discipulus,' a very faint reflection of the Papiian tradition (repeated by Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Victorinus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, &c.) that Mark wrote down the recollections of Peter. The ignorance of Priscillian is again most astonishing. But the story about Mark's thumb is really interesting, and when the Roman author of the *Philosophumena* (vii. 30) calls Mark  $\delta$  κολοβοδάκτυλος, we naturally presume that he is referring to the same legend. Did the nickname arise out of the fact related, or the legend out of the name? Probably the latter.<sup>3</sup>

solus de cruce mernit audire Ecce mater tua' (Jerome), compare 'et huic matrem suam iens ad crucem commendauit Deus' (Priscillian).

<sup>1</sup> Such as St. Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, cap. 82.

<sup>2</sup> And thence, says tradition, to the famous abbey of Sta Giustina at Padua. Behind St. Luke's altar in the transept is shown a huge iron-bound chest, in which the evangelist's body is said to have been shipped from Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> For the Codex Toletanus (T) has another preface commencing 'Marcus qui et colobodactylus est nominatus ideo quod a cetera corporis proceritate digitos minores habuisset; hic discipulus et interpretis fuit Petri . . .' The rest of the prologue follows the usual Greek tradition from Papias and Clem. Al. It has no connexion with the Monarchian Prologue. It would seem that the nickname came first; and that in these prologues we have two attempts to account for it. Whether

It seems to be a Roman tradition, unknown in the East. Lastly, the Alexandrian episcopate of Mark was as well known in Priscillian's day as the Roman episcopate of Peter, so here we need not ask for the source.

The foregoing investigation has shown us that nearly all Priscillian's information is worthless, fragmentary, third hand. His ignorance is more remarkable than his knowledge. We can hardly help inferring that he knew no Greek.<sup>1</sup> But he is an important witness for lost portions of the Acts of John.

The Scriptural inferences under A may be partly his own, partly from the B or C sources. The *iens ad crucem* is astonishing. A man who could write the 'patris nomen in patribus filio' and the 'quod in consonantibus perdiderat' is capable of anything.<sup>2</sup>

the *Philosophumena* imply that Marcion used the word is very uncertain. Mr. Vernon Bartlet thinks that the word referred to the curt nature of St. Mark's Gospel (*J. T. S.*, vi, pp. 123-4, October, 1904). Another form of the story in the Monarchian Prologue is found in Arabic (*Ztschr. d. deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, viii. 586; xiii. 475; I take this reference from Zahn, *Einleitung*, li. 212). Some have thought the curtailed thumb to represent the Gospel mutilated of its last chapter. I myself prefer to think that Mark, like Mr. Gladstone, really had an accident to one of his hands, and that his nickname has survived.

<sup>1</sup> Yet St. Sulpicius Severus thought him a learned and distinguished person!

<sup>2</sup> Coincidences between the Prologues and the Muratorian Canon were pointed out by Corsen (pp. 66-7): the pleonasm *schismae heresis* (like *initium principii*, &c.), *credentium fides* (but this is not a pleonasm, and is no parallel to the *credendi fides* of the Prologue and of Priscillian, 62. 6), and *perfectio . . . proficiscentis*; the word *ideo* occurs twice in each! At first sight there is a real resemblance in 'Romanis autem ordinem scripturarum sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans' with 'quarum omnium rerum tempus, ordo, numerus, dispositio uel ratio, Deus Christus est'. But the latter passage is the expression of the Pan-christism of Priscillian, while the former only means that St. Paul taught that the Old Testament led up to Christ. I conclude that the resemblances amount to nothing.

The differences are far more striking. The fragment is concerned to harmonize the Gospels, to defend their authenticity, to show that the author of the fourth Gospel was an eyewitness, to establish the number of St. Paul's Epistles, and so on. It insists, indeed, on the correct order of these, but this is not a very close parallel to the remarks of Priscillian about order. The Prologues on the other hand are 'arguments', introductions, with no apologetic purpose whatever. They were written at a period when the canon was fixed. They do not attempt any harmonizing, but give hints toward the study of the deep meanings of the Gospels. The history in the fragment is all given with an apologetic purpose. That in the Prologues is given for its intrinsic interest.

The matter never coincides. The birth and death of Luke are not mentioned in

§ 2. *Citations of the Prologues by the Venerable Bede.*

In two sermons St. Bede has freely borrowed from Priscillian's Prologues. These quotations are so early that I think it well to give them in full. The venerable doctor is accustomed to draw largely upon earlier writers. The sermon on St. John is made up from various places in St. Jerome where that Father mentions St. John (*De viris ill.*; the Prologue *Plures fuisse*, &c.), and from the end of St. Augustine's tractates on St. John. He has combined Priscillian with Jerome as best he could. Where that Father is used in the following excerpts I have put *Fer.* in brackets. The citations of Priscillian I have italicized:

'Sed hunc prae omnibus diligit, qui, uirgo electus ab ipso, uirgo in aeuum permansit (Jer.). Tradunt namque historiae *quod eum de nuptiis uolentem nubere uocauerit*; et propterea quem a carnali uoluptate retraxerit, potiore sui amoris dulcedine donauit. Denique *huic moriturus in cruce matrem suam commendauit, ut uirginem uirgo seruaret* . . .

Et a Domitiano Caesare in feruentis olei dolium missus, in ecclesiastica narratur historia, ex quo tamen diuina se protegentis gratia tam intactus exierit (Jer.), *quam fuerat a corruptione concupiscentiae carnalis extraneus* . . . in Pathmos insulam relegatur . . . denique ibidem Apocalypsim . . . manu sua conscribit . . .

Sicut enim in Patrum litteris inuenimus, cum longo confectus senio (Jer.) *sciret imminere diem recessus sui, conuocatis discipulis suis*, post monita exhortationum et missarum celebrationem, ultimum eis ualefecit; deinde *descendens in defossum sepulturae suae locum, facta oratione appositus est ad patres suos, tam liber a dolore mortis quam a corruptione carnis inuenitur alienus* . . . imo omnia diuinae ueritatis et uerae diuinitatis, quantum alteri mortalium nulli licuit, arcana reserauit. *Et hoc uirgini priuilegium recte seruabatur, ut ad scrutanda Verbi incorruptibilis sacramenta incorrupto ipse non solum corde sed et corpore proderet.* (*Hom. in natali S. Ioannis*, Bk. i, viii; *P. L.* 94, coll. 45-9.)

Bede has corrected the absurd *iens ad crucem* into *moriturus in cruce*. There is no variant reading to be noticed; for *appositus* is probably a chance coincidence with Q.

the fragment. The circumstances of the composition of the Gospel are not given by the Prologue. That Luke was a physician and companion of St. Paul, that John was one of the 'disciples' (his own name for himself is 'disciple') form the only common ground, and such statements were simply unavoidable.

The other sermon is on St. Matthew. The borrowings from the Prologue are evident, though inconsiderable:

Libet autem meminisse, fratres carissimi, ad quantam Dominus arcem iustitiae Matthaeum, quem *de publicanis actibus elegit* ut spem remissionis peccatoribus ampliaret, aduexerit. *Qualis namque sit factus, ipse apostolorum numerus cui insertus est docet; docet et ipsa gens Aethiopicum . . . docet ipsum euangelium*, in quo scribendo noui testamenti consecrauit exordium, *cui speciali priuilegio donatum est ut dominicae incarnationis mysteria, quae cuncti a saeculo prophetae futura praecinebant, ipse primus omnium iam facta descripserit, et credentibus legenda transmiserit.* (*Hom. in natali S. Matthaei*, Bk. ii, xxii; *P. L.* 94, col. 255.)

It is very disappointing that we cannot tell from these quotations whether Bede employed the text of Y Reg (Eugipio-Cassiodorian) or the Irish text which was introduced, possibly under his own direction, into A. But the citations are too loose to give us any information.

### § 3. *The genealogy of the text of the Prologues.*

How is it that the Prologues of Priscillian have managed to attach themselves to almost all our older MSS. of the Vulgate? They were written for the Old Latin; their author was a famous heretic; they are in fact full of heresies; yet they have been propagated in the Vulgate Bibles of the orthodox.

It is true that there are parallels for this diffusion of the compositions of heretics in Vulgate codices. Bishop Wordsworth has shown that the summaries of Acts in MSS. at Munich, Bamberg, and Metz are the work of a Donatist of the fourth century. Dom Donatien De Bruyne has recently published the astonishing discovery that the short arguments to St. Paul's Epistles found in most MSS. are of Marcionite origin, yet they are as much diffused as the Prologues of Priscillian. Priscillian's own canons on St. Paul are found in many MSS., especially in Spanish ones; but then these had been bowdlerized by Peregrinus. It may be added that the usual introduction to St. Paul *Primum quaeritur* is attributed in the Book of Armagh (D) to Pelagius.<sup>1</sup> In the case of our

<sup>1</sup> As to Pelagius's Prologues we await Mr. Souter's edition. See, however, Dom De Bruyne in *Revue Bénéd.*, April, 1907, p. 257.

Prologues it was their obscurity that prevented their heresies from being detected.

The MSS. used by Wordsworth and White are AB&CDE PHΘIKMOQTUVWXYZ *aur* and the Old Latin witnesses *c* (Colbertinus) and *l* (Rhedigeranus—it has sometimes been quoted as *rhe* or *r*). Of these DEQ are of the Celtic family (P also in part), B&F are probably Gallican, CT Spanish, OX Canterbury, AHY Italo-Northumbrian (and P partly); Θ the codex of Theodulf (and H, apart from its Gospel text, is closely connected with his revision); KMTV give the text of Alcuin; Z is of problematical origin, probably Italian.<sup>1</sup>

Consequently the Prologues occur in the best examples of every one of the chief families of MSS., with the exception of the North Italian family JM. This exception might be a mere accident; but the independent character of M's readings makes it very likely that this family is but distantly connected with the other families, and that the Prologues were unknown at Milan when M was written there (or thereabouts) in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

Corssen has collated other MSS. of the seventh to ninth centuries; he has called them *c, f, l, g, q, s, t, u*. A further list is given by Berger (*Les Préfaces*, pp. 55, &c.) with the obvious addition 'et le plus grand nombre des MSS.'

The codices are broadly divided into two strains of tradition by their readings in the Prologue to St. John. The original form of that Prologue is preserved by D(E)PKMQ, that is to say by all the Irish contingent, followed by the Alcuinian M and K:

'... tam extraneus a dolore mortis quam a corruptione carnis inuenitur alienus. Qui etsi post omnes euangelium scripsisse dicitur, tamen dispositione canonis ordinati post Matthaëum ponitur, quoniam in Domino quae nouissima sunt, non uelut extrema et abiecta numero, sed plenitudinis opere perfecta sunt, et hoc uirgini debebatur.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conjectures were hazarded about Z in chapters x and xi.

<sup>2</sup> Mgr. Ceriani thinks M (Ambros. C 39) even older than F. It contains liturgical notes in the margin which Dom G. Morin attributes to the seventh or eighth century, and to the North of Italy, but not the city of Milan itself (*Revue Bleue*, 1903, vol. 20, pp. 376, 386).

<sup>3</sup> It has been already noted that Bp. Wordsworth has inserted (without MS.

The rest of the MSS. have after *alienus* nothing but 'tamen post omnes euangelium scripsit, et hoc uirgini debebatur'. This senseless abbreviation was made (as von Dobschütz was the first to point out) in order to omit the statement that the Gospel of St. John comes next after St. Matthew. In other words, it is an adaptation to the Vulgate of a Prologue originally composed for an edition of the Old Latin Gospels, whose order was Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

It is most important to notice that the only two Old Latin MSS. which now contain the Prologues have borrowed them from Vulgate copies, for they exhibit the corrected form of the Prologue to John. This is not surprising, for *c* is an eleventh-century codex, with a text crowded with interpolations from all quarters, and *l*, of the seventh century, is full of Vulgate readings.<sup>1</sup>

There is therefore no reason whatever for supposing that the Prologues of Priscillian came as an inheritance to the Vulgate from the Old Latin. It is true that the Vulgate has inherited most of its summaries, some of its prefaces and its stichometry from the Old Latin; it is also true that Priscillian's Prologues were written for an Old Latin copy. But they were probably only in the copies employed in Priscillian's own circle, as they do not appear in any of our Old Latin MSS. of the Gospels, with the two (apparent) exceptions just mentioned.

The Irish text of the Prologues is almost invariably right. It is given by three MSS., D $\Phi$ Q, each of which has a good many individual errors. It has influenced the Alcuinian codices K $\Phi$ MV to a certain extent. The Codex Amiatinus (A) has a text of the Prologues which has been carefully corrected by an Irish text, so that A is usually found with D $\Phi$ Q. But the parent of A had a text similar to that of Y, as is shown by the occasional agreement of AY in rare read-

authority) 'et hoc uirgini debebatur' after 'alienus' instead of leaving it after 'perfecta sunt'. But a *corruptio carnis alienus* means virginity, which could not be a reward for virginity! So that this conjectural emendation spoils the sense.

<sup>1</sup> Some of *c*'s readings are no doubt of the highest interest, but it is a hybrid phenomenon on the whole. On *l* and its table of lessons (apparently of Aquileia in the eighth century) see D. Morin in *Revue Bénéd.*, 1902, vol. 19, pp. 1-12.



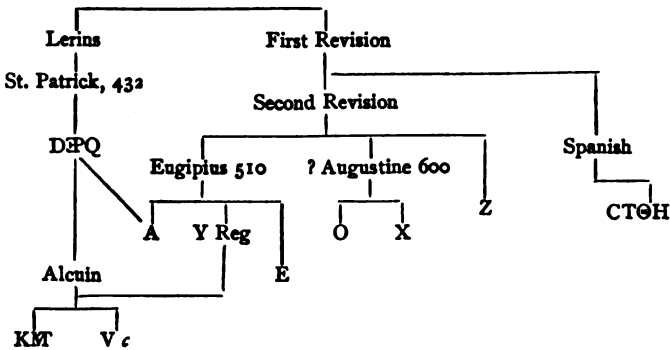
ings, e. g. Matt. *in iudaea* AYZ *quaterdenario* AY.<sup>1</sup> Another proof that A has not simply borrowed the Prologues from an Irish MS. is found in the Prologue to John, where A has not the original form implying the Old Latin order, but has retained the corrected and abridged reading; from this point onward in the Prologue A deserts the Irish text, showing that the corrector had gone no further with his work on seeing the Irish text here in error, as it must have seemed to him. The original reading is found in the Alcuinian KM as well as in DƆQ. But V gives the revised reading, and *c* follows it closely. In fact *c* has clearly borrowed the Prologues from an Alcuinian MS. The other Old Latin witness, *l*, goes roughly with OX and Y. H is a codex Theodulphian in origin, but with AY text and summaries (three out of four) for the Gospels. In the Prologues, however, it goes with Θ, not with Y Reg.

The Egerton Gospels, E, which present an Irish text of the Gospels, are in the Prologues the leaders of the anti-Irish ranks. Only in the emended passage of the John Prologue does Irish blood show itself, for the original reading has been inserted from the Irish parent and clumsily combined with the abridgement.<sup>2</sup> E, Z, OX, Y all give a text of the Prologues which has been elaborately altered and amended. The Alcuinian codices side now with this group, now with the Irish. The Spanish MSS. are also mixed, but in a different way. They do not appear to me to exhibit an eclectic text, but

<sup>1</sup> Other instances are—in Matthew: *in Christum* AY with BCΘHZ; in John: omit *hic est* AY with OZƆΘM, *cum* (for *cu*) AY with QX, *scripturarum* AY with EZOXƆC; in Mark: *quod* A\*Y with OX; *lectionis* A\*Y with OX. (Notice that in both these last cases A has been corrected.) Also in Mark, AY alone have *totum*, and A is against the Irish witnesses in omitting *in omnia* and in preferring *uiderat* to *uicorat*. But in practically all important readings A has been assimilated to the Irish. A very careful examination has convinced me that it is quite impossible to support the converse hypothesis that the basis of A is a text very similar to the Irish, derived from Eugippius. The likeness to the Irish text is in great matters; the likeness to Y and OX, E, Z is in small matters. The former is due to deliberate correction, the latter is survival; alone the adaptation to the Vulgate in the Prologue to John was purposely left. This question is important in the history of the Prologues, but I have no doubt that the solution here given is right.

<sup>2</sup> The late MS. W has also a combination in this passage, with conjectural amendments. See Wordsworth's critical apparatus.

their Irish readings seem to be survivals and not merely borrowed. It is a possible hypothesis that the Spanish text was originally similar to the Irish, and was later contaminated by partial corrections according to the EZ version. But I greatly prefer the view that the Spanish MSS. CT witness to an earlier stage of emendation, the second stage of which appears in the families E, Z, OX, Y. This last (the Lindisfarne Gospels) seems to represent the text used by Eugippius in the first half of the sixth century. The sixth-century Codex Fuldensis has a text of the Prologue to Acts which shows already some of the lesser EZ corruptions, and a text of the Prologue to the Apocalypse which exhibits many of them—as we saw in chapter xiv. Z itself is probably sixth century. So that the revision of the text goes back to the fifth century. The Irish text, on the other hand, was probably brought to Ireland from Lerins by St. Patrick in 432. Its extraordinary excellence is thus explained, and our conclusions as to the history of the Irish text are fortified. We get the following provisional scheme :



§ 4. *Lerins and the Prologues.*

The proofs detailed in chapter vii that the liturgical list of F is Eugipian have also proved that the text of St. Paul in F is Eugipian. It follows that this is true of the Prologues, summaries, canons, and text-divisions also, with the exception of the first twenty-three headings of the summary of Romans

and the (partial) summary of Hebrews and its text-divisions. The liturgical list refers to the summaries and corresponding text-divisions. There is no reason to doubt that all this additional matter belonged to the Old Latin vulgatzed codex from Lerins. There is reason to believe that the whole of it passed to Cassiodorus.

If this be so, it is clear that both Victor of Capua and Cassiodorus saw that they had not obtained from Eugippius a good Vulgate text of St. Paul like that of the Gospels. Cassiodorus did not use it at all. Victor of Capua or his scribe has corrected the whole of St. Paul subsequently (there are no other contemporary corrections in F to speak of) by a better Vulgate MS. Corsen has shown<sup>1</sup> that this MS. was obviously the parent of his codex R (*Regin* 9 at the Vatican—its summaries were printed by Tommasi). From it Victor had already borrowed the summary of Hebrews and the unusual order: Thessalonians before Colossians. Codex R has St. Paul only, and the same was probably true of its parent in Victor's possession.

We had before arrived at the conclusion that Cassiodorus got all his introductions<sup>2</sup> to the Gospels from Eugippius, whose knowledge of Holy Scripture he praises so highly. We have found it probable that he also got his introductions to St. Paul from Eugippius, and we see that Eugippius probably got these from Lerins. It appears that Eugippius composed the Gospel summaries himself, since they are found in no other family; but we have now a right to infer that he received the other introductions, viz. the four Prologues, from Lerins. It was from Lerins that they migrated to Ireland in 432, in their uncorrected form. We find them in a partially corrected form in Spain; they might easily reach Spain from Lerins. To Eugippius they come much later, in the first years of the sixth century. Possibly the completely corrected form of Y (Cassiodorus) is due to him. It is also found in

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. ad Galatas*, 1885, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the summaries, and the four prologues, besides the *Novum opus*, the *Pluses fuisse*, and the Eusebian canons, as found in A (text of the Prologues, however as in Y). See above, pp. 92-5, 135-6, 143.

OXZ, but then we have already seen reason to think that the archetype of OX was corrected according to an AY codex, and that Z is closely connected with OX in origin, though not in text. On the other hand the Prologues are unknown to the other Italian codices—to J, to M, and to the yet earlier St. Gall codex which Mr. C. H. Turner is publishing for the first time.

It is in F that we first meet with the manipulated Priscillian Prologues to Acts, Cath. Epp., and Apoc. If Eugippius introduced the Gospel Prologues into Italy, it will follow that he also introduced these derivative Prologues, as they are not likely to have arrived before the originals. We cannot infer that Cassiodorus did not know them from the fact that he did not adopt them (for they are not in A), since he may have been clever enough to reject two of them as rags from the Gospel Prologues, and that to the Catholic Epistles as a forgery.<sup>1</sup> If they were composed at Lerins in the course of the fifth century, their wide circulation is explained; and we see why they were not known in Italy or in Ireland, though they appear in Spain.

I assume, therefore, as highly probable, though not susceptible of proof, that Eugippius had the following Introductions, &c., to the New Testament:

1. In the Gospels which belonged to St. Jerome he may have found already the *Nouum opus*, the Eusebian canons, and the *Plures fuisse*, but not the letter to Carpianus.

2. In the Gospels which came from Lerins he found some Old Latin summaries (no doubt those found with the Irish text), a list of feasts with reference to the titles of the summaries (but not coinciding with their divisions), and corresponding marginal notes. Also the four Prologues of Priscillian.

3. In a copy of St. Paul which came from Lerins (and which, like F, contained the Epistle to the Laodiceans), Eugippius found the Prologue (of Pelagius?) *Primum quaeritur*,

<sup>1</sup> But though Cassiodorus probably got his introductions to St. Paul from Eugippius, there is no reason to think he got the Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, or Acts from him, or the introductions to them either. We saw that the Codex of St. Paul contained nothing but St. Paul.

the Old Latin canons (called *capitulatio* in A and in their *explicit* in F, but *concordia epistularum* in the *incipit* in F), the short Marcionite arguments, and the Old Latin *breues* or summaries.<sup>1</sup> Hebrews had no summary or argument, but was divided, as in F, into 125 sections. It appears that Hebrews was an excrescence in the Old Latin Bible. In the Codex Claromontanus it is added after the stichometrical list. It is not included in the Marcionite arguments, or in these ancient summaries, which also do not recognize the last two chapters of Romans, while Laodiceans is said in the Muratorian fragment to be by a Marcionite. Marcion acknowledged neither Hebrews nor those two chapters. The connexion of the summaries, the arguments, and the Old Latin collection of St. Paul is seen to be most intimate, and to have a most important bearing upon the history of the canon. But of this another time; for it would take us right away from the Vulgate into the far more engrossing subject of the 'Western text' and its relation to Marcion. But at least let us testify to the vast importance of Dom De Bruyne's recognition of the Marcionite character of the short arguments of St. Paul's epistles.

4. Returning to Eugippius we see that he composed new summaries for the Gospels based upon the text-divisions of the Lerins pericopae (but in St. John sometimes following the older summary, where pericopae were scarce), thus simplifying reference. He copied these into his codex of St. Jerome, together with Priscillian's Prologues. Thus was formed the collection of A. (In Y Reg the letter to Carpius has been added.)

#### § 5. *A conjectural history of the Prologues.*

As the original impulse to the investigations set down in this little book came from the desire to know how the Prologues of the heretic Priscillian came to be so universally received as the proper introductions to the Vulgate Gospels, it is satisfactory that we can end up with a history of the

<sup>1</sup> The summaries (extending to xiv. 10, and therefore perhaps complete) which occupy the first twenty-three places for Romans in F were evidently introduced by Victor. Dom De Bruyne has discovered them in another ancient MS.

Prologues, which is partly conjectural indeed, but simple and easy to accept.

It may be too simple a history to be true, for it is always the unexpected that happens. We have seen an instance of this in the fact that it was not Hadrian of Naples who brought the Neapolitan lectionary to England. We have traced that lectionary from the island of St. Honoratus to that of Lucullanum, from Naples to Capua, from Capua to Jarrow, from Jarrow to Fulda; and again from Naples to Squillace, from Squillace to Jarrow, from Jarrow to Würzburg. All this was surely the unexpected and the improbable.

Nevertheless we cannot make unexpectedness a basis for conjectures, and I propose a humdrum hypothesis which has a good deal of probability at its back, and is extremely simple, whereas the truth is often complex.

The career of the Prologues started at Lerins. Thence St. Patrick took them uncorrected to Ireland. From Lerins they migrated, partly corrected, to Spain, and later on, they came in the same state from Lerins to Eugippius at Naples. Eugippius further corrected them, producing the EOXYZ text. At Lerins also were composed the Prologues to Acts, Apocalypse, and Catholic Epistles. These came by Eugippius to Victor of Capua (but not to Cassiodorus?). The fame of the text of Eugippius, or of that of Cassiodorus, enabled the Prologues to be known at Rome and to appear in OX and in Z. In North Italy, however, J and M know them not.

Now there are a good many positive reasons to be urged in favour of this conjectural history :

1. The Prologues were not simply taken over from the Old Latin to the Vulgate, as was the case with the Marcionite Prologues to St. Paul, the old canons and summaries of the same Apostle, and many other such pieces. They go together with the Prefaces added by St. Jerome himself (*Nouum opus*, Canons, and *Plures fuisse*); they are not found in the Old Latin copies, except in two cases, when they appear (in *c* and *l*) in the form which has been corrected to suit the Vulgate. They were written by Priscillian for his own Bible, and for copies to be made from it.

2. Priscillianism was in favour in Spain and Gaul; and therefore from Spain or Gaul the Prologues were propagated. In Gaul it would be easier for their authorship to be unknown, for their heresies to be unsuspected. In Gaul itself we must look for some centre whence propagation was easy, whence they could go without hindrance to Spain, to Ireland, to Italy. Now at the beginning of the fourth century there were no centres of influence to compare with the two great monasteries which had become seminaries of bishops for the whole country, Tours and Lerins. Tours seems to be too far north. Lerins, on the other hand, seems actually to have sent the Prologues to Ireland in 432. Lerins, therefore, asserts itself as a probable root whence the genealogical tree of the text of the Prologues may have sprung.

3. Now we saw that the monks of Lerins probably used an Old Latin text which had been largely corrected to agree with the Vulgate, and which was the basis of the existing Irish text. To this text were appended the Prologues in their uncorrected form, that of John witnessing to the Old Latin order of the Gospels. There is good reason to suppose that the Gospels taken by St. Patrick to Ireland had St. Jerome's Greek order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Prologues may have been already attached to this text of the Gospels before it was corrected by the Vulgate. But when we find the same text used still nearly fifty years later by Faustus, we can well imagine that those who corrected the text and the order of the Gospels would not forget eventually to correct the Prologue to John in a corresponding manner. This correction, together with a certain number of textual emendations, we find in the Spanish text of the Prologues. We may assume that this Spanish text of the Prologues was composed at Lerins, c. 435-40. About the same time Priscillian's Prologue to the Catholic Epistles was altered in the same manner to suit St. Jerome's order, and the Prologues to Acts and the Apocalypse were produced by extracting them from those to Luke and John. These seven Prologues apparently got into Spain in a single copy, from which all Spanish MSS. have derived them; for the Spanish MSS. have a

marked text, and the first line of the Prologues to the Catholic Epistles is wanting in all of them.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to prove that this single copy came mediately or immediately from Lerins; but there is nothing to make such a hypothesis improbable.

4. Eugippius possessed the Prologues to the Gospels, for he borrowed from them in composing his summaries. From him they came to Cassiodorus and to Jarrow. The text of A has been Hibernicized; Y Reg give the Eugipian text.

5. Now Victor of Capua got his Gospels and his Pauline Epistles from Eugippius. Probably he got his three Prologues to Acts, Apocalypse and Catholic Epistles also from Eugippius, and Eugippius got them from Lerins. They were probably propagated from Lerins, and also by Eugippius. Their great vogue is later, in the Alcuinian Bibles and their derivatives. The Prologue to Acts belongs to one of the great clans of MSS. of Acts and not to the other—not to the AGIMOD clan, but to the rather inferior BKVFSUR clan. Of the former clan it appears only in *M<sup>acts</sup>*, the writer of which (ninth century) has managed to collect together no less than four Prologues to Acts, and a set of Donatist summaries, and in I, a Cassiodorio-Northumbrian text, but mixed, and the Prologue is evidently due to the mixing.

In the latter family only S has omitted the Prologue. KBV(R) are Alcuinian, SU are of St. Gall, 'Hiberno-Gallic.' Why have they all a text so similar in groundwork to F, the chief member of the family? Both the Alcuinian and the St. Gall MSS. are half-Irish, yet partly from Gaul. The Irish element is not apparent in Acts, since D is of the other family, and further D has not the three Prologues. It remains as probable that the three Prologues are derived by all these MSS. from Gaul.

Another family of MSS. of Acts, distinct from the two great clans just mentioned, is the Spanish family. It knows the three Prologues, as was said above.

The Prologue to Acts is unknown to the Irish D, to the

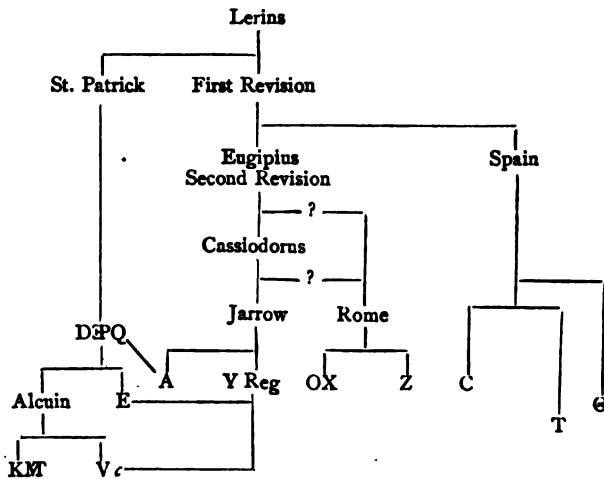
<sup>1</sup> But Dom De Bruyne tells me he suspects an error in Berger, *Les Préfaces*, No. 291, for *leg*<sup>1</sup> at least has the first line of the Prologue to Cath. Epp.



Northumbrian A, to the Canterbury *O<sup>act</sup>*. That it is not in that most curious and interesting mixed codex G is perhaps surprising, precisely because that codex is so eclectic. But the text of G in Acts is so excellent (the best of all in the judgement of Wordsworth) that the absence of the Prologue is interesting.

Of the history of the Prologues to the Apocalypse and to the Catholic Epistles I will say nothing, as the text of these books has not yet been critically edited.

An amended genealogical tree of the Gospel Prologues will stand conjecturally as follows :



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