DOCUMENTS

LATIN LISTS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS.

2. AN UNPUBLISHED STICHOMETRICAL LIST FROM
THE FREISINGEN MS OF CANONS.

1. THE more important of the two lists which here follow—that printed on the left-hand page—is, so far as I know, now published for the first time. I derive it from Monac. lat. 6243 (olim Frising. 43), a MS of canons which belonged as early at any rate as the twelfth century to Freisingen, in the immediate neighbourhood of its present home at Munich. The collection of which this MS is the unique representative is described by Maassen in his *Geschichte der Quellen*, etc., pp. 476–486. He attributes the MS to the beginning of the ninth century; but seeing that there are a number of pieces added to the original collection, each in a different hand, and that of these additions one refers to the year 755 (Council of Verneuil), another to 756 (Council of Aschaim under Tassilo of Bavaria), and a third to *c.* 780–785 (list of bishops of the Bavarian districts), I do not see how the conclusion can be resisted that the original collection was made and written out not later than about the middle of the eighth century. These additions further prove that the MS was either written in Bavaria or brought there immediately after it was written.

The list of canonical books which I print begins on fol. 189*b*, and falls outside of what Dr. Maassen describes as *die Sammlung der Handschrift von Freisingen* which, according to him, commences on fol. 11 with the words IN NOMINE DOMINI IESV CHRISTI INCIPIVNT CANONES and ends on fol. 189*a* with the last of a series of decretals of Pope Gelasius. No doubt what falls between these two limits has a homogeneous character of its own, and may properly be distinguished from the rest when we come to the analysis of the component parts of the MS: but it does not correspond to the characteristics, either external or internal, of foll. 1–10, 189–191, to distinguish them from the intervening ‘collection’ quite as sharply as Dr. Maassen does. Externally foll. 1–191 are all by the same scribe, and are all connected by a single system of notation of the quaternions; fresh hands begin, and the continuous signatures of the gatherings end, at fol. 192. Internal evidence tells a similar tale, for the documents contained on foll. 1–10 belong all

to the fourth century—the Law of Constantine against Arius, the Council of Damasus of A.D. 382¹, and a very primitive version of some of the Canons of Nicaea and Sardica combined². Thus our list of canonical books, which occupies from fol. 189 *b* to fol. 191 *b* (being the last document in the hand of the original scribe), comes to us with good credentials and in good company.

Much weight cannot of course in itself be laid on the ascription of the list to St. Jerome: the names of the great Fathers, especially Jerome and Augustine, were almost the common property of scribes and copyists. Yet while I see nothing that tells necessarily for a later date than the first half of the fifth century—the mention of the term *theotocos* in line 45 of the Confession of Faith militates against a date earlier than *circa* A.D. 400—I seem to see various indications that point to a date not much later than 400. Some of these it is true may be satisfied by admitting an early date only for the Greek original from which the biblical list and stichometry professes to be drawn (*iuxta grecum ostenditur*); but this line of argument would do no more than transpose the centre of interest, for a fourth-century stichometry would be no less important in Greek than in Latin.

2. The second and subordinate list, which I reproduce here mainly for the purpose of comparison with the first, was printed from a Vatican MS (Reginae 199, fol. 84 *a*: saec. xii) by F. Arevalo in his edition of the works of Sedulius (Rome, A.D. 1794), p. 429³. I derive my text, however, directly from a photograph which the Rev. K. Lake of Lincoln College was allowed, by the kindness of Father Ehrle, to take on my behalf. The list occurs in the middle of an imperfect work *de Numeris*—the rest of which is printed in Arevalo's edition of St. Isidore of Seville (vii 397)—where it comes in rather oddly as an illustration of the number Two, some books being canonical, some on the other hand apocryphal. The non-canonical list, which I do not reproduce as it would be foreign to my present purpose, is that of the Gelasian Decree, and as Pope Gelasius is actually named in the preface to the list, it is clear that in its present form the list cannot be earlier than the sixth or seventh century. The only other source named in the preface is St. Athanasius, whose authority is therefore presumably invoked in connexion with the list of Biblical or canonical books: but it seems to me less likely that the Latin compiler had access to the list of St. Athanasius in the 39th Festal Epistle than to some later document like the Pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis.

¹ Printed in *J. T. S.*, July 1900, p. 554.

² Printed by Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen*, etc., pp. 921-923.

³ See for this and for the Codex Sinaiticus Zahn's *Geschichte des ntl. Kanons* (II i 384 ff.)—a vast repertory of information, of my indebtedness to which I make acknowledgement here once for all.

STICHOMETRICAL LIST FROM THE FREISINGEN MS

(Monacensis lat. 6243 fol. 189 b).

Secundum Hieronimum ordo scripturarum necnon et uersuum quae habentur in canone ueteris testamenti quae de hebreo translata est et secundum ipsorum sententiam xxii libros compotati sunt iuxta ipsorum scilicet numerum litterarum hebraicarum, quarum ordo et numerus
5 uersuum iuxta grecum ostenditur.

	Sic Genesis	habet uersus numero	III CCCVIII
	Exodus	habet uersus numero	III CCC
	Leuiticum	habet uersus numero	II DCC
	Numeri	habet uersus numero	III DXXXV
10	Deuteronomius	habet uersus numero	III C
	Iesu Naue	habet uersus numero	II C
	Iudicum	habet uersus numero	II L
	Ruth	habet uersus numero	CCCXX
	hii libri viii habent uersus numero		XXI CCCXIII
15	Regnorum sunt libri iiii sed secundum hebraeos computantur ii		
	ita liber primus habet uersus numero		D
	liber ii habet uersus numero		CCCXLIII
	liber iii habet uersus numero		II DC
	facti sunt uersus numero		X XLIII

STICHOMETRICAL LIST FROM THE MS OF F. AREVALO

(*Vaticanus Reginae* 199 fol. 84 a).

Duobus sine dubio modis tota scriptura intellegenda est. primus itaque modus est intellegendi ut qui sunt libri qui scribendi legendi retinendi sunt ecclesia catholica intellegat. secundus autem modus est ut qui sunt libri qui nec legendi nec scribendi nec recipiendi sunt sciat.

Ordo itaque diuinorum librorum quos ecclesia catholica scribere legere recipere debet secundum traditionem sanctorum uirorum et orthodoxorum patrum, hoc est Gelasii papae cum LXX episcopis eruditissimis uiris in sede apostolica urbis Romae, et secundum traditionem sancti Athanasii episcopi Alexandriae ciuitatis.

Hoc est uetus testamentum qui Thorath aebraice, Nomos grece, Lex latine appellatur, numero uersuum IIII CCCVIII

secundus liber qui Helismoth hebraice, Exodus grece, Exitus latine uocatur, numero uersuum III CCC

tercius liber qui Vaiethra aebraice dicitur et aput nos Leuiticus appellatur, numero uersuum II DII 15

quartus liber qui Vicedaber hebraice, Rithmos grece, Numerus latine uocatur, numero uersuum III DXXX

quintus liber qui Abdabarim hebraice, Deuteronium grece, Secunda Lex latine, numero uersuum III C

hi sunt v libri Moysi qui aput grecos Pentatheocum appellantur, quod latine sonat v libri : penta enim grece v latine dicitur, theocos autem grece liber latine intellegitur. 20

sextus itaque liber qui hebraice Iosuae Ben Nun, grece autem Sother Bar Nun, latine uero Saluator Filius Nun dicitur,

numero uersuum I CCLXXXI 25

septimus autem liber qui aput hebreos Sopthim et apud latinos Iudicum uocatur, numero uersuum II CLI

hi sunt vii libri legis quos greci Eptatheochos appellant (epta enim grece vii latine, theocos grece libri uel libros latine) quos latini corruptae et strictae Eptaticum uocant. 30

Post hos vii libros IIII libri Regum secuntur, qui aput hebreos appellantur duo libri Samuhel et duo secundi Malachim ; ex nomine iudicis eorum Samuhel duos libros primos Regum appellauerunt et secundum proprietatem linguae eorum duos alios libros Malachim uocauerunt : Samuhel Precium Dei interpretatur, Malachim Regum latine dicitur : 35

primus ergo Regum liber

numero uersuum II D

secundus

numero uersuum CCCXLIII

tercius uero

numero uersuum II D

quartus uero

numero uersuum II DC 40

LIST OF THE FREISINGEN MS (*continued*)

20	Paralypomenon sunt libri II et secundum hebreos computatur unus : ita		
	liber I habet uersus numero	II CCLXX	
	liber II habet uersus numero	III	
	facti sunt uersi numero		V CCLXX
25	Esdrae libri II et apud hebreos computatur unus :		
	liber I habet uersus numero	M CCCX	
	liber II habet uersus numero	M DCCC	
	facti sunt uersus numero		III C
30	Ster liber I habet uersus numero	DCCL	
	Macchabeorum sunt libri IIII, secundum he- braeos computantur II :		
	liber I habet uersus numero	II DXXV	
	liber II habet uersus numero	II DCCCL	
35	liber III habet uersus numero	II DCCCL	
	liber IIII habet uersus numero	M CCX	
	facti sunt uersus numero		VIII CCC XXV
	Psalmodum liber I habet uersus numero	V X	
	Salomonis libri v : ita		
40	prouerbia habet uersus numero	M DCCCL	
	sapientia Sirac habet uersus numero	II DCV	
	canticum canticorum habet uersus numero	CCLXXX	
	ecclesiastes habet uersus numero	DCCCL	
	sapientia Salomonis habet uersus numero	M C	
45	facti sunt uersus numero		VI DCCCLXX
	Iob liber I habet uersus numero	M DCCC	
	secundum autem hebreos amplius habet uersus numero	M	
	ergo sunt omnes uersus		II DCCC ti
50	Prophetae numero xvi		
	Esaiæ liber I habet uersus numero	III DCCC	
	Hieremiae cum Baruc et Lamentationem cum Epistula habet uersus numero	III DCCX	
	Ezechiel liber I habet uersus numero	III	
55	Daniel liber habet uersus numero	M DCCXX	
	Libri XII Prophetarum habent uersus numero	III DCCC	
	facti sunt uersi numero		XVII L

53. habet uersus *scripsi* : lib v (*sc* libri v) f

LIST OF THE MS OF F. AREVALO (*continued*)

Nomina itaque librorum qui post istos XI libros secuntur, haec sunt : Dabreiamin ebraice, Paralippenon grece, Pretermisorum uel Verba dierum latine ; qui diuiditur in duos libros :		
primus	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{II}}$ CCLXX	
secundus	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{III}}$	45
Hesdrae libri duo sunt : primus	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ CCXL	
secundus	numero $\overline{\text{I}}$ DCCC	
Psalmorum liber qui Nabla hebraice grece Organum latine dicitur, numero uersuum $\overline{\text{V}}$ C		
Salomonis libri tres :		50
primus Masloth ebraice, Parabola grece, Proueria latine dicitur, numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ DCCLX		
secundus qui Coeleth hebraice, Aecclesiastes grece, Contionator latine uocatur,	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ DCCXL	
tercius qui Sirasirim dicitur, latine autem Canticum Canticorum uocatur,	numero uersuum CCLXXX	55
Sapientia quae dicitur Salomonis	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ LXX	
Sapientia Hiesu Filii Sirach	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{II}}$ DCCC	
Liber Iob	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ DCC	
si autem cum asteriscis	$\overline{\text{II}}$ DCC	60
Liber Tobii qui inter agiografa ponitur,	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$	
Prophetarum maiores IIII sunt, quorum libri nominantur nominibus eorum : Esaias hebraice, Salus Domini latine dicitur, numero uersuum DCCCXXX		
Hieremias hebraice, Excelsus Domini latine uocatur,	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{III}}$ DCCCX	65
Ezechihel hebraice, Fortitudo Domini latine nominatur, numero uersuum $\overline{\text{III}}$		
Danihel hebraice, Iudicium Domini latine appellatur, numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ DXX		70
Baruch hebraice id est XII Prophetarum liber unus, numero uersuum $\overline{\text{III}}$ DCCC		
Prophetarum omnium libri simul cum capitulis suis	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{XVIII}}$ CLXXV	
Hester libri duo : primus	numero uersuum DCCL	75
secundus	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{II}}$	
Machabeorum libri IIII sunt :		
primus	numero uersuum DXXV	
secundus	numero uersuum DCCC	
tercius	numero uersuum DCI	80
quartus	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{I}}$ CC	

LIST OF THE FREISINGEN MS (*continued*)

ITEM NOVI TESTAMENTI

60	Euangeliorum libri IIII		
	secundum Mattheum liber habet uersus		
	numero	II DXX	
	secundum Marcum liber habet uersus		
	numero	M DCC	
65	secundum Luca liber <i>habet</i> uersus numero	II DCCCL	
	secundum Iohannem liber habet uersus		
	numero	II CCCX	
	facti sunt uersus numero		VIII CCCLX
	Actus apostolorum quos disscripsit Lucas		
70	euangelista liber habet uersus numero	III DCCC	
	Epistulae apostolorum canonicae		
	epistula Iocobi I habet uersus numero	CCC	
	epistula Petri habet uersus numero	CCC	
	item epistula Petri		
75	secunda habet uersus numero	CC	
	epistula Iohannis		
	prima habet uersus numero	CCLX	
	eiusdem secunda habet uersus numero	LV	
	cuius supra III habet uersus numero	LXVIII	
80	epistula Iudae zelotes habet uersus numero	LVI	
	facti sunt		M CCXL
	Epistulae Pauli apostoli numero XIII		
	ad Romanos habet uersus numero	DCCCL	
	ad Corinthios I habet uersus numero	DCCCXII	
85	ad Corinthios II habet uersus numero	DCCXII	
	ad Galatas habet uersus numero	CCCXII	
	ad Ephesios habet uersus numero	CCCCXII	
	ad Philippenses habet uersus numero	CCC	
	ad Thesalloni-		
90	censes II habet uersus numero	CCLXXX	
	ad Colosienses habet uersus numero	CX	
	ad Timotheum I habet uersus numero	XCVII	
	ad Filimonem habet uersus numero	XLVIII	
	ad Hebraeos habet uersus numero	DCCL	
95	facti sunt uersus numero		CXIII
	Apocalipsis Iohannis		
	apostoli habet uersus numero	M CCCC	

65. habet *scripsi*: om (*per homoeoteleuton*, hab post lib) f 69.
dis*scripsit f 89. Thesollonicenses f*

LIST OF THE MS OF F. AREVALO (*continued*)

Iudith liber	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{I}}$ DCCC	
Veteris testamenti libri simul	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{LXXII}}$ CCCXLVIII	
Noui testamenti libri hi sunt.		
IIII euangelia qui ex magistrorum nomine sunt nominati :		85
Matheus hebraice, Donatus latine dicitur,	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{II}}$ DC	
Marcus Excelsus interpretatur,	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{I}}$ DCC	
Lucas iste Consurgens interpretatur,	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{II}}$ DCCC	
Iohannes Gratia Dei interpretatur,	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{II}}$ CCC	90
Actus apostolorum	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{II}}$ DCCC	
Epistulae apostolorum canonicae VII,	numero uersuum CCXX	
Epistulae Pauli apostoli XIII,	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{V}}$ CI	
Apocalipsis Iohannis apostoli, quae interpretatur Reuelatio,	numero uersuum $\bar{\text{I}}$ DCCCL	95
Libri simul noui testamenti	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{XX}}$ CCCXX	
Vtriusque testamenti simul libri	numero uersuum $\overline{\text{CCII}}$ DCLXVIII	

[*What follows in the MS of Arevalo, namely the Gelasian list of non-canonical books, is unaccompanied by a stichometry.*]

LIST AND CREED OF THE FREISINGEN MS (*continued*)

Facti sunt omnes uersus ueteris testamenti (exceptis M uersibus Iob, qui in hebraeo amplius sunt, quorum est signum astheriscus adnotatus
 100 ad capita ipsorum) numero LXXVIII DCCCC IIII : item noui testamenti facti sunt numero XVIII DCCCC XIII : ac sic omnes in unum ueteris et noui testamenti facti sunt uersus numero XVIII DCCC XXVIII.

Additis ergo duobus libris Regnorum in numero XXIIorum ueteris testamenti, ipsum est mysterium quod sancta catholica ueneratur ecclesia,
 105 in consecrationem ponens etiam XXIII seniores. quattuor autem animalia secundum mysterium et spiritalem intelligentiam quattuor sunt euangelistae.

Ita MATTHEVS in typo hominis, quia in capite libri dixit: CHRISTI AVTEM GENERATIO SIC ERAT et reliqua. MARCVS in typo leonis, quia uoce magna fremens a Iohanne baptista qui erat tunc in deserto sumpsit exordium. LVCAS in typo uituli, quia praemissa breuiter praefatione ad
 5 Theofilum a sacerdote et hostia coepit. IOHANNIS in typo aquilae, mox mysticae ad caelestia conuolauit, quippe qui in pectus Domini ut mysterium agnosceret recubuerat, et uerae Boanirgis (quod est interpretatum Tonitruum filius) exclamauit: IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM ET VERBUM ERAT APUD DEVM ET DEVS ERAT VERBUM: HOC ERAT IN PRINCIPIO
 10 APUD DEVM. erubescant et confundantur qui dicunt de filio dei Erat quando non erat, cum Iohannis dicat: ERAT, ERAT, ERAT. si erat, immo quia manifeste erat, hii non erunt qui in ipso neque sunt, qui persistentes dicunt fuisse aliquando solitarium patrem cum deus filius non erat: nos autem catholici dicimus et credimus Erat in patre semper et uerae
 15 erat et numquam fuit quando non erat. nam et anathematizamus qui dicunt Non erat, quoniam de illo dicunt Antequam crearetur non erat, et eum tamquam creaturam in animae suae perniciem factum designant. ipse est ante omnia initia et ante omnia secula dei uirtus et dei sapientia, sine omni omnino initio inenarrabiliter a patre non creatus sed genitus,
 20 sine quo deus pater numquam solus erat. nam quis nisi insanus audeat uel cogitare uel dicere deum patrem sine uirtute et sine sapientia antequam eum incomparabiliter et inestimabiliter genuerit fuisse, cum quando de filio rectae dicitur et rectae sentitur secundum ipsius domini et saluatoris nostri adtestationem: EGO IN PATRE ET PATER IN ME,

101. in unus f*

1. Matt. i 18 8. Jo. i 1, 2 18. 1 Cor. i 24 24. Jo. xiv 10

9. deus *scripsi*: di f (cf. Old Latin Biblical Texts, No. II: Portions of the Gospel according to St. Mark and St. Matthew from the Bobbio MS k, p. clviii) 11. non: om f* 16. illo *scripsi*: illi f

17. designant f* 18. uirtus *scripsi*: uirtute f

CREED OF THE FREISINGEN MS (*continued*)

EGO ET PATER VNVM SVMVS, et sicut omnis catholica confitetur ecclesia: 25
 OMNIA PER IPSVM FACTA SVNT ET SINE IPSO FACTVM EST NIHIL.
 nam ipse dominus noster Iesus Christus filius dei deus uerbum dei
 uirtus et dei sapientia secundum donum gratiae suae loquitur in Paulo,
 et Paulus plenus gratia auxiliante sibi domino loquitur ecclesiae dicens :
 QVONIAM EX IPSO ET PER IPSVM ET IN IPSO OMNIA, IPSI GLORIA IN 30
 SECVLA SECVLORUM. quod autem superius dixit dominus noster Iesus
 Christus: EGO ET PATER VNVM SVMVS, catholicus sensus ita hic eum
 dixisse intellegit VNVM propter unitatem patris et spiritus sancti qui non
 minor patri filioque est, SVMVS propter personarum diuersitatem atque
 distinctionem: quia qui pater est neque filius neque spiritus sanctus est, 35
 et qui filius est neque pater est neque spiritus sanctus est, et qui spiritus
 sanctus est neque pater neque filius est. sed est pater ingenuus, filius
 genitus, paraclitus spiritus sanctus non genitus sed procedens a patre.
 qualiter autem filius a patre sit genitus, nulla hoc debet mens catholica
 uel conscientia cogitare propter prophetiam quae dicit: GENERATIONEM 40
 AVTEM EIVS QVIS ENARRAVIT? est ergo pater ingenuus: filius genitus,
 non creatus neque factus, sed nobis ex tempore natus de spiritu sancto
 et Maria semper uirgine, propter quod non erubescimus neque per-
 timescimus immo audaciter confitemur et dicimus beatam Mariam
 uirginem theotocon: spiritus sanctus non genitus, procedens de ore 45
 patris est. itaque trinitas haec est unita incomparabiliter atque inconpre-
 hensibiliter, unius substantiae atque aeternitatis siue diuinitatis. pater
 est de quo dicit filius EGO A PATRE EXIVI ET A DEO VENI IN HOC
 MVNDO. filius est de quo uox patris est HIC EST FILIVS MEVS DILECTVS
 IN QVO MIHI BENE COMPLACVI, HVNC AVDITE. spiritus sanctus est 50
 de quo dixit filius NISI ABIERO AD PATREM NON VENIET AD VOS PARA-
 CLYTUS. tres ergo personas nos omnes catholici nominibus atque per-
 sonis distinctas, id est patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unius
 substantiae atque diuinitatis confitemur et credimus: cuius nos gratia
 et adiutorio et in hoc et in futuro saeculo cupimus custodiri. memorati 55
 ergo heretici de spiritu sancto, qui patri filioque coaeternos et coequalis
 est, non dubitant uana praesumptione detrahare et blasphemantes dicere:
 Posteaquam filius a patre creatus est, hanc esse primam filii creaturam,
 quia spiritum sanctum ipse sine patre creauerit. sed quoniam dementia

25. Jo. x 30 26. Jo. i 3 30. Rom. xi 36 32. Jo. x 30
 40. Is. liii 8 48. Jo. xvi 28 49. Matt. xvii 5 51. Jo. xvi 7

27. nam: + et *f** 28. dei: sapientia *primis curis scribere uoluit f*
 30. ipso: ipse *f** 42. ex tempore natus *f*³: ex*templo renatus *f**
 56. coaeternus *f*³ et *scripsi*: est *f* 57. praesumptione *f**?

CREED OF THE FREISINGEN MS (*continued*)

60 eorum non tam rideri quam a catholicis doleri potius debet, ut de non intellectis non intellecta confirmant nolintque doceri sed AMANT PRIMOS DISCVBITOS IN CENAM ET SALVTATIONES IN FORO et IN CATHEDRA PESTILENTIAE resident: si conuersi errorem suum non reputauerint, sancta eos catholica et apostolica similiter anathematizat ecclesia.

EXPLICIT FIDES HIERONIMI

OMNIS LABOR FINEM HABET: PRAEMIUM EIUS NON HABET FINEM:
ORA PRO ME PECCATORE SI HABEAS DEVM PROTECTOREM

61. Matt. xxiii 6 62. Ps. i 1

61. intellectis *f*³: intellectus *f** 64. apostoli *f*

The principal point of contact between these two lists is their possession of what is certainly in the main, though with considerable differences in detail, a common stichometry. And this stichometry is quite independent of anything (so far as I know) that is elsewhere known in Latin. It presents points of contact with the well-known stichometry of the ninth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicephorus; but still closer parallels are to be found in an eleventh or twelfth century Greek MS in the Barberini Library (Barb. iii 36)¹—the data of which I borrow from E. Klostermann's *Analecta*: I owe the reference to Dr. Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 349—and, for the Pauline Epistles, in the Codex Sinaiticus. Since these figures in **N** are, according to Tischendorf, by a contemporary hand, we are taken back at once for this portion of the stichometry to the fourth century. And since in the Freisingen and in the Barberini MSS the Pauline stichometry is not isolated but is according to all appearance an integral part of a complete stichometry of the Bible, the presumption is strong that the rest of the stichometry is of the same antiquity. At the same time I think it possible that the deutero-canonical books, or some of them, were not included in the original arrangement, since the amount of disagreement between the figures in our different authorities is considerably greater here than elsewhere. Apart from these cases it would not be difficult, from the comparative table which I give on pp. 248–251, to restore the original list with some measure of certainty. For this purpose the

¹ This MS belonged originally to the library of the great monastery of S. Maria del Patire at Rossano, which was founded in the first years of the twelfth century (Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 66). Its earliest MSS were probably brought from Constantinople.

leading authorities would be the Freisingen and the Barberini MSS. Nicephorus' list represents either a somewhat advanced stage of corruption or a conflation with divergent systems. The figures thus restored would have a good claim to rank as the earliest known stichometry.

One feature of the two Latin lists—which reappears to some extent in the account of the Barberini MS, and perhaps would reappear more fully with fuller information—seems to me to confirm very strongly what I have conjectured of the high antiquity of the stichometry; and that is the note of the difference in length between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Job. The Freisingen MS tells us that 1000 extra verses (i. e. *στίχοι*) were present in the Hebrew [and absent therefore from the Greek], which are marked [in the amplified editions of the Greek, where the missing verses were supplied] by an asterisk at their head. We have here of course a description of the Hexaplar MSS in which Origen supplied out of Theodotion the verses missing in the LXX. Similar knowledge of the Hebrew Old Testament is again evinced by the Freisingen list in the data of the various books which the Greeks counted as two, the Hebrew as one¹; but this information is less important, for it is common to the biblical lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, of Athanasius, and of Rufinus.

If one were to hazard a conjecture as to the time and place at which this stichometry originated, the concurrent indications of its partial presence in **N** and of its relation to MSS of the Hexapla might seem to point to Caesarea and to the library of Pamphilus. Were that so, the name of St. Jerome at the head of the Latin form of the stichometry might not be so purely imaginary as at first sight one would have been tempted to suppose.

With regard to the order and names of the Books of the two Testaments contained in the Freisingen list, I must content myself here with a few fragmentary notes. Of the deuterocanonical books Tobit and Judith are absent altogether; on the other hand four books of Maccabees (as in Arevalo's list) are enumerated, and are incorporated in this MS on a position of complete equality with the other historical books, the Octateuch being followed by Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther and Maccabees; these by the poetical books, Psalms, Solomon and Job; and these by the sixteen Prophets. In the New Testament I notice the epithet 'canonical' for the Catholic Epistles, which our list shares with the Council of Damasus (J. T. S. i 559) and with the MS of Arevalo; and the title 'Zelotes' applied to St. Jude, which again is common with the Damasine list. The phrase 'Actus apostolorum quos descripsit Lucas' recurs in Rufinus.

¹ The statement, however, that the four books of Maccabees rank as two in Hebrew is perhaps a corruption or an interpolation. I do not know of any parallel.

OLD TESTAMENT STICHOMETRIES.

	cod. Frising.	cod. Arev.	Barb. iii 36	Nicephorus
Genesis	4309	4309	4308	4300
Exodus	3300	3300	3400	2800
Leviticus	2700	2502 ¹	2700	2700
Numbers	3535	3530	3535	3530
Deuteronomy	3100	3100	3100	3100
Joshua	2100	1281 ²	2100	2100
Judges }	2050	2151	2100	} 2450
Ruth }	320	om.	300	
Octateuch	21414 ³			
1 Kings	500	2500	2500	} 2240
2 Kings	444	443	2343 ⁴	
3 Kings	om.	2500	2400	} 2203
4 Kings	2600	2600	2600	
4 B. of Kings	10043 ⁵			
1 Chronicles	2270	2270	2000	} 5500
2 Chronicles	3000	3000	3000	
2 B. of Chronicles	5270			
1 Ezra	1310	1240	1300	} 5500
2 Ezra	1800	1800	1800	
2 B. of Ezra	3100 ⁶			
Psalms	5010 ⁷	5100	5100	5100
Books of Solomon :				
Proverbs	1850 ⁸	1760 ⁸	1750 ⁸	1700 ⁸
Ecclesiastes	850 ⁹	1740 ⁹	750 ⁹	750 ⁹
Canticles	280	280	286	280
Wisdom	1100	1070	1250	1100
Sirach	2605 ¹⁰	2800 ¹⁰	2650 ¹⁰	2800 ¹⁰
5 B. of Solomon	6870 ¹¹			

¹ No doubt we ought to read $\bar{\text{ii}} \text{ dcc}$ for $\bar{\text{ii}} \text{ dii}$.² By substituting $\bar{\text{i}}$ for $\bar{\text{c}}$ we get $\bar{\text{ii}} \text{ clxxx i}$ (2181).³ This total tallies with the sum of the eight separate figures.⁴ This number is given by Klostermann, p. 45; Dr. Swete's 2600 (p. 350) is apparently a slip of the pen.⁵ This total shows that we must read for the four separate books 2500, 2443, 2500, 2600.⁶ Probably we should read 1300 (with Barb. iii 36) for 1 Ezra in order to make this total correct.⁷ We must clearly read $\bar{\text{v}} \text{ c}$ for $\bar{\text{v}} \text{ x}$.⁸ If any common origin is to account for these four variations it must be 1750.⁹ Probably the two Latin authorities had 850, and the two Greek 750.¹⁰ I suspect that 2800 should be read in all four authorities.¹¹ If the five separate books should read 1750 (for 1850), 850, 280, 1100, 2800 (for 2605), the total would become 6780, $\bar{\text{vi}} \text{ dccclxxx}$ (cod. $\bar{\text{vi}} \text{ dcccclxx}$).

OLD TESTAMENT STICHOMETRIES (*continued*)

	cod. Frising.	cod. Arev.	Barb. iii 36	Nicephorus
Job	1800 ¹ } or 2800 ¹ }	1700 } or 2700 }	1600 } or 2200 }	1800
Prophets :				
Isaiah	3800 ²	830	3820	3800
Jeremiah	4710 ³ }	3810	3800	4000
Baruch			350	700
Lamentations			860	
Epistle			200	
Ezekiel	4000	4000	4000	4000
Daniel	1720	1520	1720	2000
12 Prophets	3800	3800	3750 } or 3600 } or 3300 }	3000
16 Prophets	17050 ³	19175		
Esther	750	750	750	350
[2 Esther		2000 ⁴]		
1 Maccabees	2525	525	om.	} 7300
2 Maccabees	2850	800	om.	
3 Maccabees	2750	601	om.	
4 Maccabees	1210 ⁵	1200	om.	
4 B. of Maccabees	9325 ⁶			
Judith	om.	1800	1300	1700
Tobit	om.	1000	750	700
Old Testament	79904 ⁶	72348		

¹ These figures for the LXX and Hebrew Job appear to be the best.

² In spite of the agreement with Nicephorus, we ought probably to read 3820 here with cod. Barb.: see next note.

³ If we read 3820 for Isaiah, and 3710 instead of 4710 for Jeremiah, the total for the Prophets will come right, 17050.

⁴ I suspect the explanation of the unintelligible Second Book of Esther with 2000 verses to be that the 2000 was intended to apply to all the first three books of the Maccabees, and somehow got separated from them and made into a substantive book.

⁵ The total of the four books suggests that we should for 4 Maccabees read 1200 with cod. Arevali.

⁶ Excluding (we are definitely told) the 1000 verses which the Hebrew has beyond the LXX. But the total of the separate figures (even as I have amended them) comes to 80722, or 818 more than this.

NEW TESTAMENT STICHOMETRIES.

	cod. Frising.	cod. Arev.	Barb. iii 36	Nice- phorus	
Matthew	2520	2600	2600	2500	
Mark	1700	1700	1700	2000	
Luke	2850	2800	2800	2600	
John	2310 ¹	2300	2300	2300	
4 Gospels	9360 ¹				
Acts	3800 ²	2800	2800	2800	
'Canonical' Epp.:					
James	300		300		
1 Peter	300		300		
2 Peter	200		200		
1 John	260		260		
2 John	55		56		
3 John	69		30		
Jude	56		69		
7 Epistles	1240 ³	220 ³	1200	1300	
Pauline Epp.:					cod. Sinai- ticus (N)
Romans	850		950		
1 Cor.	842		842		
2 Cor.	712		712		612
Galatians	312		312		312
Ephesians	412		312		312
Philippians	300		200		200
Colossians	110		300		300
1 Thess.	om.		220		om.
2 Thess.	280		180		180
1 Timothy	97 ⁴		236		250
2 Timothy	om.		160		180
Titus	om.		om.		96
Philemon	49		om.		om.

¹ Probably the last cypher (x) of the sum for St. John should be transferred to the total: 2520 + 1700 + 2850 + 2300 = 9370. But the figures for St. Matthew and St. Luke disagree with codd. Arevali and Barb.

² No doubt this should be 2800, with all our other authorities: the change is confirmed by the cyphers given for the complete New Testament.

³ This total agrees with the sum of the seven separate figures. In cod. Arevali we should certainly read 1220 (ī ccxx) for 220. The sum of the seven separate figures in cod. Barb.—the first four tally exactly with the Freisingen list—comes to 1215 instead of 1200. The most satisfactory solution would be to transpose the figures for 3 John and Jude in cod. Fris., giving 56 to 3 John and 69 (with cod. Barb.) to Jude. Possibly 3 John was absent from the original stichometry.

⁴ This would appear to be really the figure for Titus; see the figures in N.

NEW TESTAMENT STICHOMETRIES (*continued*)

	cod. Frising.	cod. Arev.	Barb. iii 36	Nice- phorus	cod. Sina- ticus (N)
Hebrews	750		750 ¹		750
14 Epistles	114 ²	5101		5300	
Apocalypse	1400	1850 ³	om.	1400	
Total:					
New Testament	19914 ⁴	20320 ⁵			
Biblical	99828	92668 ⁵			

But the Freisingen MS does not contain only a list of the canonical books, but an anti-Arian profession of faith, the transition to which is formed by an application of the Apocalyptic imagery of the 24 elders to the Books of the Old Testament—compare with this Mommsen's Cheltenham List—and of the four Living Creatures to the Evangelists. The opening words of the Gospel of St. John plunge the writer at once into the middle of the controversy with Arius.

For the combination of the canon of scripture with a statement of (scriptural) doctrine some sort of illustration may be found in the Damasine Decree; but a much closer parallel is offered in a document to which my attention has been drawn by Kunstle, *Eine Bibliothek der Symbole* (Mainz, A. D. 1900), pp. 24, 121, 178. Kunstle's 'Library of Creeds' is a collection of doctrinal statements, mostly directed against Arianism or Priscillianism, from a Reichenau MS now at Carlsruhe. Among them No. 49 is headed *Incipit diligentia beatorum monachorum Armonii (Armenii m. 2) et Honorii de libris canonicis ueteris atque noui*

¹ The total of the figures actually given is 5174; Titus and Philemon, probably about 150 verses between them, are unrepresented. The result would be close enough to the 5300 of Nicephorus.

² The simplest change here is to write 5114 (V CXIII) for 114, and it is confirmed by the figures for the New Testament as a whole. The sum total of the figures actually given for the different epistles is 4714, but three epistles are unrepresented.

³ To arrive at the total of 20320, after deducting 9400 for the Gospels, 2800 for Acts, and 1220 for the Catholic Epistles, we get 6900 left for Epp. Paul and Apoc. To the former should probably be allotted 5150 (V CL for V CI), to the latter 1750 (I DCL for I DCCCL).

⁴ I should propose to read 19924, which would correctly represent the total of Gospels (9370), Acts (2800), Catholic Epistles (1240), Pauline Epistles (5114), and Apocalypse (1400), and added to the 79904 given for O.T. would produce the combined total actually given, 99828.

⁵ By this obvious emendation (XCI DCLXVIII for CCI DCLXVIII), we get the exact sum of the figures for the two Testaments, 72348 and 20320.

testamenti sed etiam confessio fidei catholicae quam breuiter uiro inlustri Theofilo direxerunt. Unfortunately the list of canonical books has disappeared and only the profession of faith remains.

This very profession contains, however, one of the only two certain points of literary contact which I have succeeded in establishing with the formula of the Freisingen document: with lines 39-41 of my text compare the following from the creed of the two monks (Künstle, p. 179) 'qualiter autem secreto illo et inenarrabili consilio sit genitus, nullus catholicus prorsus debet hoc proloqui, neque mente uel qualibet cogitatione concipere, cum propheta apertissime increpans dixerit: *Generationem autem eius quis enarrabit?*' The second parallel is from a document which, though I first noticed it in Quesnel's collection of canons where it is numbered XL and entitled *Libellus Augustini de fide catholica contra omnes hereses*, occurs also in Künstle's series as No. 5 *Regula fidei catholicae concilii Toletanae ciuitatis*; Künstle and Kattenbusch, following Dom Morin, have identified it with a 'libellum in modum symboli' which Gennadius (*de uiris illustribus* § 76) speaks of as the work of a certain Spanish bishop, Pastor of Palencia. With lines 36-38 of my text compare the following from the *Libellus*: 'spiritum quoque paracletum esse qui nec pater sit ipse nec filius . . . est ergo ingenuus pater, genitus filius, non genitus paracletus sed a patre [filioque¹] procedens.'

These parallels are hardly extensive enough to settle on which side lies the literary obligation; though of the first passage the Freisingen MS certainly preserves a simpler and therefore probably earlier form of words. But we are still thrown back in the main on internal evidence for indications of date; and here, though it is quite true, as Künstle reminds us, that the controversy with Arianism was a burning one in the West till the end of the sixth century, I should be disposed to look on the employment in the Freisingen document of the original watch-words of Arianism 'erat quando non erat' (l. 10), 'antequam crearetur non erat' (l. 16), as indicative of the earlier period of the struggle, *circa* 350-430 A. D. Some support appears also to be lent to this view by the phenomena of the biblical quotations, which are independent of the Vulgate: Jo. xvi 28 is quoted (l. 48) in an Old Latin form approaching that of Codex Vercellensis; Matt. xvii 5 (l. 49) is found exactly in this form only in Gaudentius of Brescia and St. Jerome: 'discubitos' in Matt. xxiii 6 (l. 62) is again Old Latin.

On the whole, while carefully abstaining from any desire to dogmatize, I incline to the belief that the Latin canon and creed of the Freisingen MS date from about the year 400 A. D., and that the author

¹ *Filioque* stands in Künstle's MS, but not in the Quesnel collection.

depended at least for the stichometry of his biblical list on a Greek original, which may have been as much as fifty or a hundred years older and had perhaps first seen the light at Caesarea. But I shall gratefully welcome any suggestions or criticisms which may help to carry the enquiry further.

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