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LATIN LISTS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS.<sup>1</sup>3. FROM POPE INNOCENT'S EPISTLE TO EXSUPERIUS  
OF TOULOUSE (A. D. 405).

THE text of the following list rests on the evidence of thirteen MSS, ranging in date from the end of the sixth century to the end of the ninth century. I have collated them all myself, and use for them the same symbols as I employ in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*.

## A. MSS of Italian origin.

- I Vaticanus Reginae 1997, saec. ix ineunt.: fol. 103*a*. This MS, written at the order of bishop Ingilram of Chieti, is of the first importance, and it so often preserves primitive recensions in the texts of the Councils that I have made it the leading authority for the list. It is a good general rule, at least in Canon Law, that Italian MSS are to be preferred to Gallic MSS.
- X Parisinus lat. 3836, saec. viii: fol. 75*b*. This MS is connected at least in one branch of its ancestry with Trèves, and the sister MS next to be described is also from the Rhineland: but the canonical collection which they represent was made in Italy (Maassen's 'Collection of the MS of St Blaise').
- Y Coloniensis ccxiii, saec. viii: fol. 117*b*. Written in a beautiful insular semi-uncial hand, not unlike the Gospels of the Chapter Library at Durham, A II 17 (see *J. T. S.*, July 1909, x 535 note).
- u Vaticanus Barberini (originally Barberini xiv 52), saec. ix: fol. 148*a*. From the monastery of Farfa. Contains an Italian canonical collection (Maassen's 'Collection of the Vatican MS') related to those of I and of XY.
- l Vaticanus 5845, saec. ix-x: fol. 88*a*. This MS, written in the hand of Benevento about the year 900 A. D.—Dr E. A. Loew, who has specialized on the Beneventan hand, has pointed out to me that I have dated the MS too early in *Eccl. Occ. Mon. Iur. Ant.*—represents, with the next MS, the collection of Papal decretals formed by Dionysius Exiguus early in the sixth century as a pendant to his collection of canons.
- s Sessorianus bibliothecae Victoris Emmanuelis 2102, saec. viii-ix:

<sup>1</sup> The two former pieces of this series, which I resume after ten years' interval, were 1. *The Roman Council under Damasus*, A. D. 382 (*J. T. S.* i [July 1900] 554), and 2. *An unpublished stichometrical list from the Freising MS of Canons* (*J. T. S.* ii [Jan. 1901] 236).

fol. 108 a. Most of the Sessorian MSS came from the abbey of Nonantula in North Italy. This MS of the Dionysian collection was practically unknown to Maassen.

B. MSS of Gallic origin.

- C Parisinus lat. 12097, saec. vi exeunt. : fol. 25 b. The MS came to the Bibliothèque Nationale from St Germain-des-Près, and to St Germain from Corbie. It forms a single group with the next three MSS : and whereas KT represent a southern branch within the group, C with Pi appears to belong to northern Gaul.
- K Coloniensis ccxii, saec. vi-vii : fol. 72 a. Perhaps brought to Cologne in the time of archbishop Hildebald (ob. 819 A. D.), a great collector of MSS, but written, as it would seem, in Provence. I have discussed its date and *provenance* in Dr Burn's *Facsimiles of the Creeds* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxxvi), 1908, pp. 39-41.
- T Tolosanus 364, saec. vii : fol. 30 b. Probably written in Albi, and saved from a fire there in the year 666 : see my paper in *J. T. S.* ii (Jan. 1901) 266-273.
- Pi Parisinus lat. 1564, saec. ix : fol. 35 b. Came to the Royal Library from the library of Colbert : at an earlier date it had belonged to Pithou, and I have no doubt that it is identical with the 'vetustissimus ecclesiae Cenomannensis codex' from which Pithou copied the 'fides Isatis ex Iudaeo' or 'creed of Isaac the ex-Jew'. The MS therefore had belonged to Le Mans.
- F Parisinus lat. 1451, saec. viii-ix : fol. 100 a. This MS from St Maur-les-Fosses, together with Vat. Reg. 1127 (saec. ix ineunt. : from Angoulême) and with a third MS, also of the ninth century, now in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum at the Hague, form a group representing a collection made in Gaul not later than 600 (Maassen's 'Collection of the MS of St Maur') and quite independent of the four MSS last described.
- II Parisinus lat. 3848 A, saec. ix : fol. 39 b. This and the next (and last) MS represent the collection known as Quesnel's, from the Oratorian P. Quesnel, who printed it in the appendix to his edition of St Leo (Paris 1675) because he believed it to contain the Canon Law of the Roman Church of the fifth century. And it is quite true that it distinguishes itself from the collections just enumerated by the entire absence of Gallic material. But it is a Gallic collection for all that, put together about 500 A. D., not improbably (so far I should hold with Quesnel) with a view to Romanizing the Canon Law of Gaul. Duchesne connects it with Arles or its neighbourhood : if the place is right, the person was probably Caesarius.

ψ Atrebatensis 572, saec. ix ineunt. : fol. 47 b. Of all MSS of the Quesnel collection this is the one whose history can best be reconstructed. It came to the public library at Arras at the Revolution from the great religious house of St Vaast in the same town, and there it had not improbably been ever since it was written. A note of the scribe tells us that his 'vetustus codex' reckoned 262 years from the council of Antioch [A. D. 341] to the fifteenth year of king Clothair and the twelfth indiction. The data are not quite easy to reconcile satisfactorily: but as the year will be about 600 A. D., the prince referred to is apparently Clothair II, and, what is still more important, the locality is fixed to a small region in Northern France (including Arras) which was then the limit of the dominions of Clothair.

As the number of MSS catalogued is alone enough to prove—and they are but a selection of those at a modern editor's disposal—this list of the canonical books must have been very widely known. Mgr Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'église* iii 29 n., has acutely conjectured that an edition of some eight decretals of popes Siricius, Innocent, Zosimus, and Celestine was already in circulation at the beginning of the pontificate of St Leo. At any rate Leo, in a letter of the year 443, speaks of 'omnia decretalia constituta tam beatae recordationis Innocentii quam omnium decessorum nostrorum'; and with the emphasis thus already laid on the 'constitutions' of pope Innocent, it is reasonable to suppose that the decretal letter to Exsuperius of Toulouse was the main source from which Gaul and Italy alike drew, during the fifth century, their knowledge of the authorized contents of the Bible of the Roman Church.

With two exceptions (for the omission in the Chieti MS of the epistle of Jude is presumably a mere omission by *homoeoarcton*) the text of the document is free from serious doubt: but the two exceptions are significant and interesting. For the epistles of St Paul three MSS, including the best of all, give XIII for XIII: and though nothing is easier than accidental confusion between these numbers, it must be remembered that the Church of Rome was very slow in accepting the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's, and pope Innocent does not in fact cite it in his extant decretals. Similarly eight MSS, again including the best of all, omit the mention of 'writings published under the name of Andrew and, in fact, composed by the philosophers Xenocarides and Leonidas'. In this case *homoeoarcton* is a sufficient explanation of the loss of the words, while it is difficult to account for their insertion on the hypothesis that they are not original.

I am glad to find that Dr M. R. James, whom I consulted on the subject, shares my belief in the genuineness of the words. I venture to

quote what he writes to me. The 'scripta sub nomine Andreae' he supposes to be the Leucian Acta Andreae, the philosophers to be the characters in whose name the Acts were written:—

'Fabricius, Thilo, and Lipsius thought that "Xenocarides and Leonidas" concealed the name of Leucius Charinus. Gutschmid, quoted by Lipsius *Apokr. Apostelgeschichte* iii 430, disagreed, and thought them the names of the real authors of the *Acta*. To me it seems probable that they are the names of the reputed authors. I surmise them to have been philosophers converted by Andrew, who became his disciples, and eventually wrote his exploits. No episode in the extant remains of the *Acta* records them; but, as in nearly all cases, we do not possess the beginning of the text nor, very likely, its original ending, in either or both of which the names would naturally occur, as they do in the Protevangelium and the Gospel of Thomas.

'These Acts are mentioned by Eusebius [*H. E.* iii 25], and so on, and are rather extensively quoted by Augustine.

'Personally, I do not see why they should not have been written by the author of the Acts of John. The one unadulterated episode of them which we possess, called by Bonnet "Ex Actis Andreae" [*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II i, Leipzig 1898, pp. 38-45], is extremely like the *Acta Ioannis*.'

#### TEXT

QUI uero libri recipiantur in canone breuis adnexus ostendit. haec sunt quae desiderata moneri uoce uoluisti:

Moysen libri ·v·, id est Genesis

Exodi

5

Leuitici

Numeri

Deuteronomii

1. Qui: *praem* iiii T vii X u Pi xxvii *ls*, De libris canonicis X-marg Y, Qui libri in canone recipiantur *ls* uero: *om* CPi libri: liberi YΨ\*; *om s* recipiant X recipiatur II\* canone: can K canonem Ψ: + scripturarum *ls*<sup>2</sup> (scripturam *s*\*) brebis XIIΨlu adnexus CTII adnexos K ostendet *s* haec: *praem* vii C 2. sunt: + ergo *ls* moneri: moniri CT muneri K moueri Y muniri te F

3. moysen I: moyse u mosi Cl mose X moysi *rell*: de Moysen *gen. cf Heptateuchum Lugdunensem ad Num.* iii 1, x 29 (*vide J. T. S.* ix 81) lib̄ K libri Ψ librum l v: quinque Xs; *om l*

4. exhodi I exodus *ls*

5. leuitici X leuiticum T laeuiticus l leuiticus *s*

7. *praem* et F deuteronomii: deuteronomii FXII deuteronomii

	et Hiesu Naue	·I·
	Iudicum	·I·
10	Regnorum libri simul et Ruth prophetarum libri Solomonis libri psalterium	·IIII·  ·XVI· ·V·
15	Item historiarum ; Iob liber Tobiae Hester Iudith	·I· ·I· ·I· ·I·
20	Machabeorum Hesdrae Paralypomenon Item noui testamenti ; euangeliorum	·II· ·II· ·II·  ·IIII·

T deuteronomi C deuternomi Y deuternomii  $\Psi$  deuteronomio Pi deuteronomium *ls*

8. et: necnon et *ls*; *om* TY hiesu IKT*ls*: ihu CPi*u* iesu FXYP*Ψ* nauae I nabe X i: unum I*u* $\Psi$ ; *om* F*ls*

9. et iudicum *ls* i: unum III; *om* *ls*

10. et regnorum *ls* lib̄ KT quattuor *ls*

11. samul K et: *om* T ruth: + i CXY*u*

12. profetarum Y lib̄ IK; *om* *u* xvi: xii *l* sedecim *s*

13. solomonis I: solomoni Y salomonis KFXII*ls* salamonis CTPi*Ψ*  
lib̄ KFI v: quinque XY*s* iii F

15. item: *om* C historiā C storiarum F*s*\**u*

16. iob: *om* F lib̄ IKTF*s* libri Pi i: unus CXYPi*Ψ**s*

17. tōbi C tobi Pi thobiae T: + liber CXY lib̄ KT*u* i: unus XY*Ψ**s*

18. hister K esther T ster F: + liber C lib̄ KPi i: unus Pi*Ψ**s*

19. iudit CX*u* $\Psi$  iutih Y i (*praem* Īb C lib Pi) ICKTF: unus XYPi*Ψ**s*

20. machabaeorum K ii: duo *s*; *praem* lib̄ FPi

21. esdrae T eszrae C haestrae Y esdre *u* ii: duo *s*; *praem*  
lib̄ FPi

22. paralypomenon KTiPi*Ψ**s*: paralypimenon I paralipomenon FX  
paralipominon C paralipemenon Pi *u* paralippimnion Y; + libri XYPi*Ψ*  
lib̄ KTFPiI*²u* (*non autem* I\*CI*s*) ii: duo *s*

24. euangeliorum IXYKF: + libri Cii*Ψ*/lib̄ T*s* iii: quattuor *s*

25	apostoli Pauli epistulae	·XIII[1]·
	epistulae Iohannis	·III·
	epistulae Petri	·II·
	[epistula Iudae	·1·]
	epistula Iacobi	·1·
30	actus apostolorum	
	apocalypsis Iohannis	

cetera autem quae uel sub nomine Mathiae siue Iacobi minoris ; uel sub nomine Petri et Iohannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt ; [uel sub nomine Andreae, quae a Xenocaride et Leonida philosophis ;] uel sub nomine Thomae ; et si qua sunt alia ; non solum repudianda uerum etiam noueris esse damnanda.

25. apostoli K epistulae . . . Petri (l 27) : om Pi\*, add ad calc pag Pi<sup>2</sup> epistulae TXIIΨ : epistolae C epistole Fu aepistolae I epist K aepistolas l epistolas Pi<sup>2</sup> ; om Y xiii I Pi<sup>2</sup> tredecim s : xiiii *rell*

26-28. epistulae iohannis . . . iudae [i] : om X

26. epistulae CTIIΨ : epistolae Ys aepistolae I epistole KFu epistle Pi<sup>2</sup> aepistolas l ioh F iohan Y iii : tres s

27. epistulae CTIIΨ : epistolae IKs epistole Fu epis Y aepistole Pi<sup>2</sup> aepistolas l ii : iii C\*

28-30. om s\*

28. epistula iudae i : om I epistula IIΨ<sup>2</sup> : epistola K aepla l epis Y epistulae TΨ\* epistolae C epistole Fu epistolas Pi iude u i TY : om CKFPiIIΨ

29. epistula IXIIΨ<sup>2</sup> : epistola K aeplis Y epistulae TΨ\* epistolae C epistole Fu epstl Pi aepla l iacopi Ψ i ITu : una XY ; om CKFPiΨ

30. actus TPi apostolorum K apostolum X

31. apocalypsis IsIIΨ : apocalipsis XYu apocalipsi F apocalypsin T/ apocalypsim CK ioh F iohs u

32. cetera : citerum C ceterum Pi ceteri s quae : om CPi uel : om Y sub nomen XCPi mathiae IYCPiIIΨs : matthiae KTX/

mathie u mathei F minoris : memori CPi 33. ioh F que X leucio II leutio Ψ leuitico F leoncius Pi lecto u scribta IX 34. uel

sub nomine andreae . . . philosophis KTFIsΨ<sup>2</sup> : om per homoeoarcton IXYCPiIIΨ\* u sub nomēn T a : ex l xenocaridae KF xenocaride l nexocaride s

35. phylosophys T phylosophis F uel : om IIΨ\* thome XC sunt alia : sunt talia IIΨ\* repudianda FΨ\* 36. uerum . . . damnanda : om l aetiam KF

C. H. TURNER.