

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR
PROPHETS. V.JOEL¹.

I. 1, 2¹ Verbum dñi quod factum est ad Ioel filium Bathuel. ² Audite *Cod. Wang.*
haec seniores et praebete aures omnes qui habitatis in terram si facta
sunt talia in diebus vestris aut in diebus patrum vestrorum super
3 eos. ³ Filiis vestris narrate et filii vestri filiis suis et filii eorum
4 nationibus aliis. ⁴ Residuum uru residuum
lucustae comedit bruchus, et residuum bruchi comedit erysibee.
5⁵ Evigilate qui ebrii estis a vino vestro, plorate et ululate omnes qui
bibitis vinum in ebrietatem, quia ablata est ex ore vestro iucunditas
6 et gaudium. ⁶ Quia ascendit gens super terram meam, gens fortis
et innu ut dentes sunt leonis, et molares eius
7 sicut catuli leonis, ⁷ posuit vineam meam in exterminium, et ficulneas
meas in confractionem scrutans er scrutavit et proiecit, exaltavit vites
8 suas. ⁸ Lugeat me super sponsam praecinctam cilicium, super virum
9 eius virginium. ⁹ Ablata est hostia et libatio de do
10 tes qui deservitis altario. ¹⁰ Quia miseri facti sunt
campi, lugeat terra quia miserum factum est frumentum, arefactum
11 est vinum, diminuit oleum, ¹¹ arefacti sunt agricolae; lugete posses-

I 5 *Spec.* lii I 6, 7 *Spec.* cxii

I. 2. talia] ταυτας N* (-ra N¹) vestris] ημων C^B (υμων Bab N A) Q^{mo} aut]
eas Q* (η Q^{mo}) vestrorum] ημων N* υμων N^{c. a} super eos] περι αυτων L
(περ αυτων C^B 3. nationibus aliis] εις γειταν ετεραν C^B 4. bruchus]
βουχος N* (βρουχος N¹ J^o c. b) βροχος Q* erysibee] ερισουβη A 5. evigilate]
sobrii estote S vestro 1^o] αυτων C^B των sup ras B^{ab} ebrietatem] -te S
ablata est] εληρθη B N^{c. a} ειδ εληχθη N* εληρται N^{c. b} A Q ex] de S 6. quia]
om S gens 1^o] om S gens 2^o] om C^B fortis et innu . . .] valida et
innumerabilis S ut] om C^B dentes] + eius S + αυτου C^B sunt] sicut S
leonis 1^o] pr dentes S pr οδοντες C^B sicut] om C^B leonis 2^o] leonum S
αυτου L om C^B 7. ficulneas] ficus S scrutans] ερρωνον N* (-ων N^{c. a, c. b})
er scrutavit] scrutinavit S + αυτην C^B Q^{1mo} (om Q*) exaltavit] pr et S
8. lugeat] θρηνησον C^B (θρηνησει L N^{c. b} ειδ postea ras) me] pr πρὸς C^B L (exc
86) 9. altario] pr πινι Q^{mo} + κυριου in charact. minoris A 11. arefacti
sunt] εληρωθησαν B A Q N* c. b καταρχυνηθησαν N^{c. a}

¹ Inadvertently omitted from an earlier Number.

siones super tritico et hordeo quia perit vindemia ex agro, quoniam
 12 lignum non attulit fructum. 13 Vitis arefacta
 granata et palmae et malae omnia ligna agri, arefacta sunt
 13 quia confuderunt gaudium filii hominum. 14 Praecingite vos et
 plangite sacerdotes, lugete qui deservitis altario, intrate dormite in
 ciliciis, deservientes dñō quia ablata est ex domo dēi vestri hostia
 14 et libatio. 15 Sanctific [*Speculum*] (Sanctificate) ieiunium, praedicate
 deservitionem, convocate seniores et omnes inhabitantes terram in
 domum domini dei nostri, et clamate ad dominum vehementer.
 15 16 Vae mihi, vae mihi, vae mihi, in diem domini! quia prope est
 dies domini

Speculum

II. 2 3 Dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nubis et nebulae
 3 4 et posteriora eius campi exter-
 4 minii, et qui resalvetur non erit ex eis. 5 Sicut aspectus equorum
 5 aspectus eorum, et sicut equites sic persequentur, 6 et sicut vox
 quadrigarum supra cacumina montium exilient, et sicut vox flammae
 consumentis stipulam, et sicut populus multus et fortis prae

Cod. Weing.

10 10 Ante conspectum eius turbabitur terra et movebitur caelum, et sol
 et luna contenebrabuntur, et sidera decident, nec dabunt lumen
 11 suum. 12 Et dominus dabit vocem suam ante conspectum exercitus
 sui, quia multus est nimium exercitus illius, et quia valida sunt opera
 sermonum eius, et magnus est dies domini, magnus et manifestus
 12 nimium, et quis erit sufficiens illi? 13 [*Cyprian*] Et nunc haec dicit
 Dominus Deus vester: revertimini ad me ex toto corde vestro,
 13 simulque et ieiunio, et fletu et planctu. 14 Et discindite corda vestra
 et non vestimenta vestra, et revertimi ad Dominum Deum vestrum,

*Speculum**Cyprian*

I 13, 14, 15 *Spec.* xxvi II 2 *Spec.* xxvi II 10, 11 *Spec.* xxvi II 12, 13
 Cypr. *De lapsis* xxix, xxxvi; *De bon. pal.* iv; *Spec.* xxiii; Lucif. Cal. *De reg. apostat.*
 xi, xii II 13 Cypr. *Epist.* lv 22; *Ad Nov.* ix

I. 11. quoniam lignum non attulit fructum] om E 12. ligna agri] τα ξυλα
 αγρου EB (τα ξυλα του αγρου Bab N A B C) 13. praecingite] praecingimini S
 vos] om S E plangite] + vos S qui deservitis] deservientes S intrate] Q
 introite S dñō] deo S θεω E ablata est ex] cessavit de S dei] κ̄ θ̄ Q
 vestri] ημων Q* (υμων Q) hostia] sacrificium S libatio] elibatio S 14. et 1°
 om E domini dei nostri] θεου υμων E κ̄ N^{c. a} κ̄ θ̄ N^{c. b} A vehementer]
 adnot θ' μονος τον οβελ[ισκον] ειπεν ομ[αας] τ[οι]; ο' Qm 15. domini 1°] om E
 II. 3. campi] πεδιον E (πεδια Compl) erit] εστιν A ex eis] αυτω E om A
 4. sicut 2°] οι A αυτω N* (-τως N^{c. a}) 5. et 1°] om E (exc 26) flammae] + πυρος
 E (A = Cod) 10. eius] αυτων N* (-του N^{c. b}) A Q nec dabunt] om E (ου
 δωσουσι Q) 11. et 3°] om E magnus 2°] om A erit] εστιν N* A (εσται N^{c. b})
 12. L = C haec] sic S om E (ταδε 106) revertimini] al et convertimini C S
 pr και 36 ex] al in C vestro] + et ex tota anima vestra S simulque et] al
 om C S et 2°] om A fletu] al ploratione C 13. discindite] al scindite C
 dirumpite S vestra 2°] al om C revertimi] al revertimini C L al convertimini C S

quia misericors et pius est, et patiens, et multae miserationis, et qui
sententiam flectat adversus malitias irrogatas

15 ¹⁵ Canite tuba in Sion, sanctificate ieiunium et indicite curationem,
16 ¹⁶ adgregate populum, sanctificate ecclesiam, excipite maiores natu,
colligite parvulos lactantes, procedat sponsus de cubiculo suo, et
20 sponsa de thalamo suo ²⁰ Illum ab Aquilone *Tyconius*

persequar a vobis, et expellam illum in terram sine aqua, et exter-
minabo faciem eius in mare primum, et posteriora eius in mare
22 novissimum ²³ Et lignum *Tertullian*

28 attulit fructum suum ²⁸ Et erit post haec *Speculum*
effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem et prophetabunt filii

29 et filiae eorum ²⁹ Et super servos *Tertullian*

31 et ancillae meas de meo spiritu effundam ³¹ Sol
convertetur in tenebras, et in sanguinem luna, priusquam advenit
dies magnus et illustris Domini

III. 2 ² [Iosa]fat, et adindicabor ad eos ibi *Cod. Weing.*

pro plebe mea et pro hereditate *mea Istrahel, qui dispersi sunt in*
3 gentibus, et terram meam perdiviserunt, ³ et super populum meum
miserunt sortes et dederunt pueros meretricibus, et puellas vendide-
4 runt pro vino et biberunt. ⁴ Et adhuc vos mihi Tyrus et Sidon

15 ¹⁵ et stellae occident luminaria
16 eorum. ¹⁶ dñs autem ex Sion *clamavit* et de Hierusalem dabit
vocem suam, et movebitur caelum et terra, dñs autem parcat populo
17 suo, et confortabit dñs filios Istrahel, ¹⁷ et cognoscetis quia ego sum
dñs dñ vester qui inhabito in Sion in monte sancto meo

II 15 16 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 19 II 20 *Tycon. Reg. Sept.* II 22 *Tert. Adv. Iud.*
III 28 *Spec. iii;* *Tert. Adv. Marc.* v 11 II 29 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* (Sabatier,
p. 790) II 31 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* (Sabatier, p. 732) III 17 *Tycon. Reg. Sept.*

quia] *al* quoniam *CL* quia misericors *ad fin com]* deus misericors et miserator et
misericordiae plurimus *Tert* misericors] *al* miserator *C* et pius est et patiens
et] *al om C* pius est *ad fin com]* et patiens est et magnanimus et multum
misericos] et patiens in malignitatibus *S* malitias] *al* iniurias *C* malitias
irrogatas] malitiam inrogatam *L* irrogatas] *om* *Ex* 15. et] *om* *Ex* 16. suo
17] *om* *Q*^a (*hab Q^{ms} avrys Q^a* (de *Q*^a non liq) 20. illum] *kai tov* *Ex* terram]
28] *om* *N*^a (*γπρ N*!) et posteriora *ad fin com]* in *mgg* et sup ras *A*^a 28. et erit post
haec] in novissimis diebus *Tert* effundam] *pr* et *B Q^a* super] in *Tert* filii] +
29] *om* *Ex* et filiae] filiaeque *Tert* eorum] *vμav* *Ex* *Il* (*exc* 158) *Ex* 29. servos]
+ *nov* *Ex* (*om nov Compl*) meas] *om* *Ex*^b de meo] *pr* *ev* *rais ημεραις εκειναις* *Ex*

III. 2. pro 2^o] *om* *Ex* (*vsep* 42) 4. et adhuc] *kai ti* *Ex* *kai ti* *kai A Q^a* Sidon]
Sidon *Ex* *Sidon* *B^b N Q* 15. luminaria] *φγγος* *Ex* 16. clamavit] *ανακαφεται*
N^a A Q dñs autem 1^o . . . vocem suam] *om* *N*^a (*hab N^c. b*) et movebitur
. . . terra] *om* *N^c. b* (postea revoc) confortabit dñs] *om* dñs] *Ex*^b *A N* (*hab Q*)
17 et] *om* *T* quia] quoniam *T* sum] *om* *Ex* (*hab* 61 130 811) qui inhabito]
habitans *T* in 2^o] *om* *T A*

Speculum

18. . . . ¹⁸ Et erit in illa die destillabunt montes dulcedinem,
et colles fluent lactem et fons de
domo exiet et adaquavit agmen

OBADIAH.

Tyconius

3. . . . ³ exaltans habitationem suam, dicens in corde suo :
4 Quis me deducet ad terram? ⁴ Si exaltatus fueris sicut aquila et
inter stellas ponas nidum tuum, inde detraham te, dicit Dominus .
18 ¹⁸ Erit domus Iacob ignis, domus autem Ioseph flamma, domus vero
Esau stipula; et exardescunt in illos et comedent eos, et non erit
ignifer in domo Esau, quoniam Dominus locutus est

III 18 *Spec. cxx, cxliv**Obadiah. 3, 4, 18 Tycon. Reg. Sept.*

18. domo] + Κυριου C

4. inter] *pr ean ana* C^B L (*exc 22 62 147*) R (*exc 49 106*) (*om N A Q^a hab Q^m*)

18. *al* Domus Iacob ignis domus autem Esau stipula; et exardescunt in eos et
comedent illos, et non erit ignifer in domo Esau *T* erit 1^o *pr kai* C domus autem]
καὶ ὁ οἶκος Q^m (ὁ δὲ οἶκος C Q^a) stipula] pr eis C^B (om N) exardescunt]
εἰκκαυθησεται A Q 49 106 233 et 2^o om N^a (hab N^{c, a}) comedent] κατα-
φαγεται Q in domo] om in C^B L (exc 233) R (exc 106) (hab A Q)

THE LETTERS OF SAINT ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM¹.

ST ISIDORE of Pelusium was one of the most interesting figures in a generation which produced many interesting men; and it is strange that more attention has not been devoted to him in recent times. His correspondence, remarkable from many points of view, is unique in the patristic period for the large number of his letters—two thousand—which have been preserved. Few of the fathers continue to be read in so imperfect a form: in the absence of a critical text there may therefore be sufficient excuse for an attempt to present in summary form a conspectus of the present position of Isidorian criticism.

¹ The following paper grew out of an article on Greek Patristic Commentators on the Pauline Epistles, contributed to the supplementary volume of Dr Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. In investigating the exegetical work of Isidore, I found that the absence of any modern edition made it necessary to probe further into the history of his letters than I should otherwise have done: but the material soon swelled beyond the limits proper to a dictionary, and it seemed therefore best to print my results in full in the *JOURNAL*, and to abstract them briefly in the article.

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION.

In the middle of the sixth century, a hundred years after the death of Isidore, a collection of 2000 of his letters is mentioned by Facundus of Hermiana as widely known, *pro defensione trium capitulorum* ii 4: 'vir etiam sanctissimus et magnae in ecclesia Christi gloriae, Isidorus presbyter Aegyptius Pelusiotae, quem duo millia epistolarum ad aedificationem ecclesiae multi scripsisse noverunt', &c. The editor of Facundus, Jacques Sirmond—perhaps the greatest of all patristic scholars—called attention in a note on this passage to a statement which he remembered having seen in some ancient Latin MS to the following effect: 'has omnes B. Isidori presbyteri et abbatis Pelusiotae recensui et transtuli ex epistolis eius duobus millibus, quae sunt per quingentas distributae in Acoemetensis monasterii codicibus vetustissimis quatuor'.

Sirmond gave no indication at all as to the locality or character of the MS to which he referred: nor was it till fifty years later (Sirmond's edition appeared in 1629) that new light was thrown upon it. But in 1682 there appeared at Louvain two small volumes edited by a professor in the university of that city, Christianus Lupus of Ypres, under the titles *Ad Ephesinum concilium variorum patrum epistolae ex manuscripto Cassinensis bibliothecae codice desumptae*, and *Scholia et notae ad variorum patrum epistolas*. Lupus had in fact discovered in a MS of Monte Cassino¹ a most important collection of documents relating to the early years of the Nestorian controversy, based mainly on the *Tragoedia* of the Nestorian writer Irenaeus², but containing also nearly fifty letters of Isidore of Pelusium. Lupus did not publish the letters themselves: but what he did publish, namely the words with which the compiler of the collection introduced them, is enough to shew that we have here the source of Sirmond's statement—'has omnes beati Isidori presbyteri et abbatis Pelusiotae excerpti et transtuli ex epistolis eius duobus millibus, quae sunt per quingentenas distributae in Acoemetensis monasterii codicibus vetustissimis quatuor; ubi etiam per ordinem singularum numerus continetur, et ultima est quam ego quoque ultimam posui. Deo gratias.' In this very definite statement the only point that is not quite clear is whether the letters were numbered independently in each volume, from 1 to 500, or whether a continuous numeration from 1 to 2000 ran through the whole: but the reference to the 'last' of the series seems to make the latter alternative much the more probable.

Baluze did his best to obtain more detailed information about the Cassino MS than Lupus had given, and in particular about the letters

¹ The press-mark of the MS is Casinensis 2.

² On this work and its author see for instance Bright *Age of the Fathers* ii 387, 430.

of Isidore: but not succeeding in this, he was reduced to reprinting in his *Nova Collectio* the documents already published¹. From the *Nova Collectio* they passed into the *Concilia* of Labbe-Coleti, iv 235.

A fuller but still not yet a complete text was produced by Mansi, the last editor of the *Concilia*. He did not see the Cassino MS itself but a transcript of it by cardinal Tamburini, and also used a second (imperfect) copy of the same collection which he found in MS Vat. 1319². Out of the Isidorian letters he selected for printing those only which seemed to have some bearing on the history of the Ephesine council, ten in number (*Concilia* v 758-762).

Finally, in 1873, exhaustive information was supplied in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* (vol. i pp. 56 sqq., and appendix pp. 7-24) as to the contents and arrangement of the Cassino MS, together with the text of all still unprinted documents, such as the remaining letters of Isidore of Pelusium: and with this help it has been possible to draw up a list of the forty-nine letters contained in the collection, for comparison with the editions (hereafter to be described) of the Greek Isidore.

| | Addressee | Incipit | No. in the Editions |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Cyril Alex. | Quid proficit | i 25 |
| 2. | Timotheus lector | Sicut hamum | 102 |
| 3. | Cyril Alex. | Assentatio quidem | 310 |
| 4. | Theodosius Imp. | Siquidem tu ipse | 311 |
| 5. | Cyril Alex. | Multa quidem scripturarum | 323 |
| 6. | „ | Oportet te, o | 324 |
| 7. | „ | Terrent me | 370 |
| 8. | Theodosius diac. | Sicut dum virgo | 404 |
| 9. | „ | Non est sanum | 405 |
| 10. | Hermogenes episc. | Virga arundinea | 419 |
| 11. | Hierax presb. | Non mediocriter | iii 223 |
| 12. | Dionysius corrector | Qui nec gratia | 315 |
| 13. | Macarius presb. | Quando pessimi | 329 |
| 14. | Herminus comes | Multi quidem | 370 |
| 15. | Theon | Non virtus | 317 |
| 16. | Isidorus diac. | Animi virtute | 318 |
| 17. | Zeno navarcus | Quoniam quidem | 408 |

¹ See Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande* 1870, pp. 733, 734.

² This very interesting MS, which I examined in some detail in May 1903, was written by several hands in the first half of the thirteenth century, and, according to Dr Mercati, probably in France. Like a good many MSS of that date it is of vast bulk, and contains a more complete collection of the earlier general councils than any other MS I have seen. A list of its contents is sufficiently interesting to justify an appendix to the present paper: see below, p. 85. Dr Mercati has been kind enough to verify (and, where necessary, to revise) my notes about it.

| | Addressee | <i>Incipit</i> | No. in the Editions |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| 18. | [anonymous] | Bene mihi | iv 174 |
| 19. | Archibius presb. | Hoc quod apostolo ¹ | 166 |
| 20. | Leontius episc. | Veracissime ut | v 21 |
| 21. | " | Si aliquos eorum | 37 |
| 22. | Isidorus episc. | Quoniam scripsisti | iv 100 |
| 23. | Philatrius | Ego quidem | v 126 |
| 24. | Paulus presb. et ana- chorita | Ipsi qui gloriantur | 131 |
| 25. | Theon episc. | Si omnibus manifestum | 160 |
| 26. | " | Tibi quidem | 161 |
| 27. | Alphius episc. | Nimia librorum | 201 |
| 28. | Harpocrates sophista | Novi quoniam | 223 |
| 29. | Petrus scholasticus | Aut ex principatus | iv 56 |
| 30. | Nilus scholasticus | Cæcus quidem | v 240 |
| 31. | " | Quoniam per hoc | iv 108 |
| 32. | Paulus | Nihil optime | v 244 |
| 33. | Adamantius | Quoniam mens | iv 211 |
| 34. | Lampetius diac. | Valde admiror | v 255 |
| 35. | Cyril Alex. | Olim quidem | 268 |
| 36. | 'a certain' Nilus | Audax quidem | 272 |
| 37. | Hermius comes ² | Et qui vendunt | 276 |
| 38. | Herminus comes | Miror quomodo | 299 |
| 39. | " | Si Paulo idcirco | 300 |
| 40. | Nilus | Nullum credo | iv 179 |
| 41. | Dorotheus lector | Forsan eo quod | 46 |
| 42. | Hermius comes | Non mireris | v 400 |
| 43. | Zeno | Quod volo | 448 |
| 44. | Isidorus episc. | Ultra universam | iv 126 |
| 45. | Eutonium diac. | Terribile quid et | v 481 |
| 46. | Zosimus presb. | Qui vivunt | 491 |
| 47. | Petrus | Quoniam putasti | iv 217 |
| 48. | Leontius episc. | Quoniam lectio | 133 |
| 49. | Alphius | Scito, o optime | 47 ³ |

We learn then that the unknown⁴ translator, like Facundus, knew

¹ The Vatican MS reads 'Hoc quod ab apostolo.'

² The Vatican MS rightly gives Herminus, but conversely substitutes Hermius for the Herminus of the Cassino MS in the next letter.

³ For the explanation of the fact that the order in the Cassino MS corresponds to the order of the printed editions in the earlier but not in the later books of the editions, see below, p. 79. The last letter of the MS is iv 47 of the editions, but it is expressly said to be the final letter of the collection as it lay before the Latin translator (p. 71 *supra*).

⁴ Dr Mercati suggests (and the suggestion is an extremely attractive one) that

Isidore in the form of a collection of 2000 letters : and we learn further that this collection was divided into four parts of 500 letters each, and that it owed its existence to the monks of the 'Sleepless' monastery at Constantinople. This monastery, founded about 440 by a certain Alexander for the maintenance of a perpetual service of praise, became the stronghold of the Chalcedonian party in the capital during the long struggle with Monophysitism : and it was no doubt because Isidore, Egyptian and friend of Cyril as he was, had spoken with no uncertain sound about the doctrine which was to be so long in dispute, that his letters were collected with such scrupulous care and given to the world. The two letters quoted by Facundus represent the same Greek originals—though in independent Latin versions—as Nos. 3 and 7 (i 310, 370) of the Cassino MS, and were no doubt equally derived from the collection of the Acoemetæ. We shall next see that that collection is in fact the source of our existing Greek MSS of the letters.

II. THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF ST ISIDORE'S LETTERS.

1. By far the oldest and most important MS of St Isidore is one which is preserved in the Greek monastery of Grotta Ferrata, under the press-mark B a 1 : see Rocchi *Codices Cryptenses* (Tusculum 1883) p. 55. It was written in the year 985 by the scribe Paul at the command of Nilus. Since the monastery of Grotta Ferrata was not founded till the year 1004, it is clear that the manuscript must have been written elsewhere : but as Nilus was the name of the founder of the monastery, and Paul of its second abbot, there is every reason to connect it with the history and traditions of the monastery, even if it was actually brought to Grotta Ferrata from some library of southern Italy at a much later date. A specimen of the MS is published in the Palaeographical Society's facsimiles (ii 86), which leaves no doubt (so my friend Professor Lake informs me) of its Italian origin. The MS is divided into two parts (both however bound up in the same volume), of which the first contains 600, and the second 1000 letters : but the letters of the second begin with No. 1001¹, so that it is clear that 400 letters are missing in between ; and in fact a note on the last page of the first part records (apparently in the original hand) the absence of 400 letters at that point. There is therefore no room for doubt that the immediate

the translation of Isidore is due to the same hand as the revised translation of the Acts of Chalcedon, namely to Rusticus, deacon and nephew of pope Vigilius, who is known in the latter case to have used MSS of the Acoemetæ : 'nunc incipiunt gesta prima concilii Calcedonensis. Rusticus ex latinis et grecis exemp(aribus) maxime Acoemit(ensis) monasterii emendaui.'

¹ This is happily made clear by the published facsimile, though the editors have misinterpreted the symbol αα = 1001 (which occurs in a somewhat unusual form), as equivalent to the central letters of [κεφά]λα[iov].

or ultimate archetype of the Grotta Ferrata MS corresponded exactly to the 2000 letters of the edition of the Acoemetæ.

Any future text of Isidore must be based primarily on this manuscript: but no editor up to the present has made any use of it. It is mentioned by hearsay in the preface to the *editio princeps* of 1585 (see below, p. 79); cardinal Carafa, it is there said, had reported the existence at Grotta Ferrata of a manuscript containing 1500 [a mistake for 1600] letters of Isidore. Montfaucon examined it personally, and laid stress on it as by far the oldest MS known (*Diarium Italicum*, Paris 1702, p. 336). Further details about it, and about the relation of its text to that of some other MSS, are given by N. Capo in the *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* ix (Florence 1901) p. 452¹.

2. Next in age among the MSS which preserve, as far as they go, the order of the original series², comes a Paris MS, gr. 832 (= Medic. Reg. 2357), of the thirteenth century, containing the first 1213 letters. This is the manuscript from which the *editio princeps* (see p. 79, below) was taken, and from that edition we can see that this MS corresponds, as far as it goes, with the archetype of the Grotta Ferrata MS: its first 600 letters tally with Grotta Ferrata, part i, its last 213 tally with the first 213 of Grotta Ferrata part ii. The 400 letters missing in the Grotta Ferrata MS are happily preserved in the Paris MS, which is therefore for them our earliest authority.

3, 4. On the joint testimony of these two MSS we could without rashness argue to the existence of an original tradition of a continuous series of 2000 letters, the whole of which is preserved in one or other of them. Such a continuous series is, however, actually extant complete in two pairs of MSS, both of them now in the Vatican, Vat. gr. 649-650 and Vat. Ottob. gr. 341-383. The former set have been in the Vatican ever since they were written in 1552-4 at the order of cardinal Marcello Cervino (afterwards pope Marcellus II) by 'Iohannes Honorius Malliae oppidi Hydruntini civis', and they have been known by the same press-mark at least since the middle of the seventeenth century: the first volume contains the full 1000 letters, the second tallies with the second volume of the Grotta Ferrata MS. The second or Ottonian pair, also written in the sixteenth century and also containing the same complete series of the letters as the pair just mentioned, passed into the Ottoboni collection from that of the Altemps family³. From the second of the Vatican pair of MSS was probably derived

¹ According to Capo, the exact number of letters in the second part is only 997.

² Two MSS of the other class belong to the eleventh century, see p. 78.

³ Giovanni Angelo, prince of Altemps, died 1620. For the further history of the Altemps MSS see Prof. Lake's concluding article on *Greek Monasteries in South Italy* (*J. T. S.* v 198).

the printed text by Schott of the so-called fifth book of the letters (see below, p. 80): both Vatican and Altemps MSS were collated with the editions in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the collations were published by Possinus (pp. 80, 81).

The mutual relationship of the Grotta Ferrata, Ottoboni-Altemps, and Vatican MSS is discussed by Capo, *loc. cit.* The later MSS are not likely of course to be descended from the Grotta Ferrata MS, since they possess the 400 letters which it lacks: but there is also an omission by *homoeoteleuton* in the Grotta Ferrata MS, from which the other two are free. On the other hand the Vatican and Altemps have common mistakes from which the Grotta Ferrata MS is free: while all three are not infrequently agreed against the printed text, both where that is right and where it is wrong. Thus the three MSS form, as far as can be seen, a distinct family, of which the Grotta Ferrata MS is naturally the best representative, while the Ottoboni-Altemps is decidedly less incorrect than the Vatican MS.

Of the remaining MSS most contain selections from the *corpus* of the letters, made on grounds more or less arbitrary. But mention should first be made of the one or two other MSS which give, as far as they go, a continuous series of letters¹.

5. Vienna cod. gr. ccxci [225], 'antiquus chartaceus' (which may be taken to mean fourteenth or fifteenth century) according to Lambecius, contains the 1000 letters of the first volume.

6. Vienna cod. gr. suppl. civ [hist. 68]—see the supplementary volume of the catalogue p. 644—saec. xv ineunt.: contains (on foll. 281-316) 414 letters of Isidore: apparently the first 414 of the continuous series.

7. Vatic. Pii II gr. 127, saec. xv exeunt.: 360 letters, equivalent to 11-341 and 701-731 of the continuous series, or i 11-341, ii 201-231 of the editions.

8. Paris gr. 949, written in 1581 by Pantaleon Mamouka and bought for the Royal library in 1687, contains (on foll. 127-193) 229 letters numbered 1542-1770. Attention is directed to this MS, and details about its contents supplied, by E. L. A. Bouvy *De S. Isidoro Pelusiotae libri tres* (Nîmes, 1884: see below, p. 83): in the result it is clear that we have here an extract from the continuous series, but as Bouvy was in error about the date of the MS to the extent of 200 years it may very probably turn out to be less important than he supposed².

¹ The notices of the MSS which follow, where not otherwise attributed, come either from Niemeyer's dissertation *De Isidori Pelusiotae vita scriptis et doctrina* (Halle, 1825: reprinted in Migne, see p. 82 below) or from Capo *loc. cit.*

² Bouvy supplies a complete index of the numbers of these 229 letters in the order of the printed texts of books iv and v, which will be of great help, so far as it goes, to a future editor.

The above are the only MSS of which at present it is possible to say confidently that the letters they contain are extracted without break or alteration of order from the original collection of 2000 letters. Of those that now follow all may, and the more important certainly do, represent selections dictated by special purposes or drawn up on new principles of arrangement. Among them is one which, whether for the number of letters it contains, or for the influence it has exerted on the history of the printed text, exceeds all the rest in importance: and of this it will be natural to speak first.

9. Venetus Marcianus 126, saec. xiv: 1148 letters. This MS was known to Sixtus Senensis, and is mentioned on his authority in the preface to the *editio princeps* (p. 79, below). Neither in that edition however, nor in the next—on which the codex was actually named on the title-page (p. 79)—was any direct use made of it: but the latter edition was, as we shall see, actually derived from a Munich copy of the Venice MS. Cardinal Barbarigo, so Montfaucon tells us in his *Diarium Italicum* p. 42, had intended to publish it: but dying in 1697 'alteri provinciam reliquit'. The 1148 letters are made up of three parts—484 on exegesis of scripture, 175 on miscellaneous subjects, and 489 which are devoid of titles altogether. Montfaucon states that the exegetical letters are here arranged in the order of the books of the Bible with which they deal; there is some reason also to suspect that partial use at least was made of alphabetical arrangement according to the opening words of each letter: what is in any case certain is that the order of the continuous series of 2000—from which there is not the least reason to doubt that the 1148 letters of the Venice MS were derived—is replaced entirely by some different system or systems. One authority tells us that the 489 letters of the third section of this MS are nearly all to be found in the first 800 of the continuous series: but a detailed table of correspondence between this manuscript and those described above is a desideratum.

10. Munich gr. 49, saec. xvi, contains also 1148 letters, divided into two series of 659 and 489 respectively: the first series thus corresponds to the first and second parts of the Venice MS (484 + 175 = 659), and the second to the third part of the Venice MS. The manuscript was written at Venice by Petrus Carneas of Epidaurus. It was obviously copied from the MS last described. Either this or the next MS was the source of Rittershusius' edition of 1605: see below, p. 79.

11. Munich gr. 50, also saec. xvi, contains the same 1148 letters, divided into the same series of 659 and 489 as the last MS, and was no doubt copied from it.

12. Florence Laurent. plut. lxxxvi 8, saec. xv: 411 letters, not in the order of the continuous series. Bandini in his catalogue of the Greek

MSS of the Laurentian library (iii 298) gives a complete list of the titles of all these letters, as well as an alphabetical index of their opening words: he notes too that the MS is extraordinarily difficult to read.

13. Upsala gr. 5, olim Escorialensis, saec. xi: 131 letters on foll. 145-184 (109 of book i, 7 of book ii, 15 of book iii). These details are given by V. Lundström in *Eranos: Acta Philologica Suecana*, ii, 1897; see below, p. 83.

A few more manuscripts may be cursorily enumerated.

Vat. gr. 742, saec. xiii-xiv: 127 letters (from books i and ii).

Vienna gr. ccxcii [203], 'antiquus chartaceus': ninety-three letters, not in the order of the editions; including, according to Lambecius, one unpublished letter, Θεαλελαίφ μοναρχῶ *Αν τῆ σκηρῆ.

Munich gr. 551, saec. xv: sixty-three letters.

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 13 (c. 4. 14), saec. xi: 50 letters on foll. 169 sqq. (33 of book i, 15 of book ii, 2 of book iii): to this MS, as well as to the Athens MSS next mentioned, attention is directed by Lundström, *op. cit.*

Athens; MSS 468 [477], 1120, 1121, contain letters of Isidore, but whether few or many the catalogue does not state.

Paris coislin 112, A. D. 1329: epp. aliquot (foll. 457-472).

Bodl. Laud. gr. 42, saec. xii: thirty-eight letters on the Psalms, arranged according to the order of the Psalms, but each letter has its number in the continuous series prefixed.

Vat. gr. 711, saec. xv: thirty-six letters (with one exception, all from book i).

Munich gr. 490, saec. xv: twenty-seven letters.

Vat. Ottob. gr. 90, saec. xvi: twenty-seven letters (from books i and ii).

Vat. gr. 712, 713, saec. xiv: letters πρὸς διαφόρους.

This list exhausts the MSS known to me as containing some twenty-five or more letters: but the number of MSS which contain a few, often only two or three, of the letters is a very large one.

III. THE HISTORY OF THE EDITIONS OF ST ISIDORE'S LETTERS.

i. The *editio princeps* was published at Paris in 1585 under the title *Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου. S. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolarum amplius mille ducentarum libri tres nunc primum graece editi; quibus e regione accessit latina clariss. viri Iacobi Billii Prunaei, S. Michaelis in Eremito quondam coenobiarchae, interpretatio.* Parisiis apud Guilelmum Chaudiere. The preface to the letters, which were only published after Billi's death, is addressed to Billi's brother Godefroi by Jean Chatard (Ioannes Chatardus): no details are given as to the sources of the edition, and the only two MSS mentioned are one at

Venice containing 1148 epistles and one at Grotta Ferrata containing 1500—the former on the testimony of Sixtus Senensis, the latter on that of cardinal Carafa. The edition itself contains 1213 epistles (divided into three books, containing respectively 500, 300, and 413) and therefore cannot be derived from the Grotta Ferrata MS, which contains too many, nor exclusively from the Venice MS, which contains too few: and as there is still at Paris a MS containing the exact number of 1213 epistles, there is no doubt that that was the main, and little doubt that it was the only, authority employed¹.

ii. Twenty years later a revised and enlarged edition appeared at Heidelberg: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐπιστολῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα. *S. Isidori Pelusiotae de interpretatione divinae scripturae epistolarum libri iv: quorum tres priores cum latina interpretatione cl. v. Iac. Billii Prunaei primum ante annos xx Parisiis prodire, iam vero sub prelum revocati Msc. cod. Bavar. ope plurimis in locis insigniter aucti suppleti correcti sunt; quartus nunc primum exit novus ex eodem cod. Bavar., cui Venetus in bibl. S. Marci respondet, descriptus et latinus factus a Cunrado Rittershusio I. C. Ex officina Commeliniana, 1605.* Of the two MSS here mentioned, the 'Venetus' is no doubt the same as that seen by Sixtus of Siena, cod. Marcianus 126, No. 9 above: the Bavarian codex is either Monac. gr. 49 or Monac. gr. 50, No. 10 or No. 11 above. In either case the explanation of the 'correspondence' between the Munich and Venice MSS, as noted on Rittershusius' title-page, is simply that the latter is the source, mediate or immediate, of the former. The number of letters in the new or fourth book (the first three with 1213 letters are repeated from the Paris edition) is 230, so that the total was now raised to 1443. We are not told how it was that the Munich MS of 1148 letters produced only a book of 230: but the obvious conclusion is that the remaining 918 had already found a place among the 1213 of Billi. In either case, it is clear that the whole arrangement of the Munich MS was different from that of the Paris MS: the fourth book of the edition does not appear as such in the MS, but is only a convenient designation by Rittershusius of those letters which he was publishing for the first time, in the form of an appendix to the three books of the Paris edition.

iii. A similar interval of about twenty years had elapsed when a further reinforcement was added to the printed correspondence of St Isidore: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι. *S. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolae hactenus ineditae de locis sacrae scripturae moribusque formandis, ex Vaticana pontificis bibliotheca nunc*

¹ The Venice MS = No. 9 above, p. 77: the Grotta Ferrata MS = No. 1, p. 74: the Paris MS = No. 2, p. 75.

primum erutae notisque et argumentis illustratae ab Andrea Schotto societatis Iesu presbytero. Antwerpiae, A. D. 1623. In the next year Schott published at Rome a Latin translation of the Greek volume, and at Frankfurt in 1629 a combination of the two: *Sancti Isidori Pelusiotae presbyteri epistolarum quas in Billii et Rittershusii editionibus desiderantur volumen reliquum, quas ex Vaticana summi pontificis bibliotheca nuper erutas nunc primum graece et latine coniunxit . . . R. P. Andreas Schottus societatis Iesu.* In this edition the letters already printed at Paris and Heidelberg were not repeated: it consisted only of 569 new letters, to which the title of 'fifth book' was given for purposes of convenience, but with no more MS authority than the 'fourth book' of Rittershusius. No details are given about the Vatican MS: but it is reasonable to identify it with Vat. Gr. 650 mentioned above, p. 75.

iv. The editions of Rittershusius and Schott were combined in a second Paris edition, that of Morel, in 1638: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου ἐπιστολῶν βιβλία πέντε εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῆς θείας γραφῆς. *Sancti Isidori Pelusiotae de interpretatione divinae scripturae epistularum libri v: quorum tres priores ex interpretatione cl. v. Iac. Billii Prunaei, quartus autem a Cunrado Rittershusio I. C., qui et notas uberiores et summas et indices prioribus libris adiecit, et quintus ab Andrea Schotto, societatis Iesu presbytero, nunc primum in Gallia prodeunt; cum indicibus necessariis.* Parisiis, sumptibus Aegidii Morelli. This, the first complete edition with 2012 letters, has remained the standard edition ever since: but being only a compilation, it added nothing to the criticism of Isidore, and its excessive faults of typography and the imperfection of its indices (whether of the names of Isidore's correspondents or of the passages from Scripture) are serious drawbacks even to its convenience.

v. Thus the first three books rested, so far, on the authority of the Paris MS qualified (but probably not very seriously qualified) by the Munich MS, and the fourth book on the latter MS alone. Neither Schott nor Morel had helped at all to strengthen the manuscript testimony for these books: but almost immediately after the appearance of Morel's edition, steps were taken at the instigation of cardinal Francesco Barberini (died 1679), nephew of pope Urban VIII, to remedy the defect. One of his friends, a certain 'Franciscus Arcudius graecus calaber,' bishop of Nusco in the kingdom of Naples (died about 1640), made or caused to be made, on the margin of a copy of the 1638 edition, collations of two Vatican and two Altemps MSS, besides one MS of the Sforza¹ and one MS of the Barberini library.

¹ Cardinal Federico Sforza, bishop of Rimini, died 1676. [Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, Paris, 1739, pp. 693-708, gives a catalogue of the Sforza

The copy thus enriched fell later on into the hands of the Jesuit Petrus Possinus, who published the variants—with a preface, from which the details just given are drawn, dedicated to cardinal Carlo Barberini, nephew of Francesco—under the title *Isidorianae collationes, quibus S. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolae omnes hactenus editae cum multis antiquis optimaе notae manuscriptis codicibus comparantur et inde circiter bis mille locis supplentur aut emendantur*: Romae, 1670. The details given by Possinus prove (if proof were necessary) that these *manuscripti codices* are identical with Nos. 3 and 4, p. 75 *supra*. Compared with the edition of 1638 the first MS of each pair is found to contain books i and ii, and 200 letters of book iii, the other MS of each pair containing book iii 201–413, with books iv and v. Thus the first volumes contain 1000 letters, and the second volumes the remaining 1012 letters, of the edition of Morel. That the 2000 letters of the MSS which preserve the continuous series have swollen to 2012 in the printed text, is only due to errors on the part of Rittershusius and Schott, as will be further seen below, p. 84.

Strangely enough, the Bodleian library possesses a copy of the edition of 1638¹ with marginal collations of the same manuscripts and of the same date as those just described: moreover, it is found on examination to tally so closely with the printed material of Possinus that it is clear that the two cannot be independent of one another. The book came to the Bodleian in the collection of the Dutch professor J. P. d'Orville (which was bought by the University in 1804), and as he had travelled in Italy at intervals during the years 1723–1729, it was probably then that he managed to get hold of it. According to a note by his secretary, Strackhovius, the collations are in the handwriting of Leo Allatius and Lucas Holstenius: nor would there be in this anything inconsistent with an intimate relation of cardinal Francesco Barberini to the work, since both Allatius and Holsten were members of his household². As regards the latter, the statement of Strackhovius is borne out by the similarity of the principal collating hand to other undoubted specimens in the Bodleian of Holsten's writing. Where then does Arcudius come in? The Bodleian volume cannot well be a copy of the Arcudius-Possinus volume, since, as the collations are in more than one hand, it must certainly be an

library from cod. Chigi 1555, and among the MSS is one (p. 699 D) containing fifty-eight letters of Isidore, which is probably the one here meant.]

¹ It has no less than three separate press-marks: in the catalogue of printed books it is Auct. X 2. 1. 7, among the MSS it is d'Orville 310 or in the continuous series MS Bodl. 17188.

² Both were at a later period connected with the Vatican library: Holsten was in charge of it at the date of his death in 1661, and Allatius succeeded to the position for a few years, dying in 1667.

original. Nor can Possinus well have used a copy of the Bodleian volume made by Arcudius, since the edition was only published in 1638, and there is perhaps hardly room for the work of more than one scholar and the collation of several MSS, besides the transcript of the whole result by Arcudius, if the latter died in 1640. It seems most likely that the Bodleian volume is actually the same as was in the hands of Possinus: and with regard to Arcudius we must suppose that the cardinal entrusted him with the new edition, that he employed Holsten and Allatius to make collations for him—which from the relation of all three to the cardinal would be natural enough—and that his death forbade his making the use that he had intended of their labours.

The collations of the Vatican MS (gr. 649, 650) run right through the five books of the letters: and the same is approximately true of the Altemps MS, though there are gaps in the continuous use of it. On the other hand the Sforza and Barberini MSS appear (I think) only in book i, and even there only occasionally¹: they belong doubtless to the numerous class of MSS which contain only excerpts from the complete collection.

vi. A Göttingen dissertation of the year 1737 deserves passing mention as containing a useful bibliography of the editions. Its historical worth may be guessed from its title, *Dissertatio Inauguralis de Isidoro Pelusiota et eius epistolis, quas maximam partem esse fictitias demonstratur in Academia Georgia Augusta publico examini permissa d. x Aug. MDCCXXXVII ab hora ix usque ad xii, praeside C. A. Heumanno . . . a candidato magisterii philosophici Ernesto Augusto Pezoldo Hannoverano S. Theol. Cult.*²

vii. The Venice edition of 1745 reproduces Possinus' notes, but of the epistles themselves it gives only a Latin version.

viii. Migne's *Patrologia graeca* vol. 78 is apparently reprinted from the Paris edition, but incorporates Possinus at the foot of the page. But the value of the edition for the purposes of this paper³ is that it reprints, what would otherwise have been inaccessible to me (for there is no copy of it in the Bodleian), the valuable dissertation of H. A. Niemeyer (Halle, 1825) *De Isidori Pelusiotae vita scriptis et doctrina commentatio historica theologica*. Niemeyer was the first to attempt a catalogue of existing manuscripts of the letters: and the

¹ I have noticed citations of the Sforza MS on twenty-one letters, viz. i 3, 4, 6, 31, 49, 58, 70, 77, 93, 111, 134, 140, 142, 152, 156, 175, 190, 202, 216, 295, 311; of the Barberini MS only on seven letters, i 19, 40, 41, 54, 66, 79, 84.

² Both the Bodleian catalogue and the dissertations of Niemeyer and Capo, of which I shall be speaking next, attribute the dissertation to Heumann instead of to Pezold. Perhaps the professor wrote the dissertation for the pupil.

³ It ought also to be added that the index is much improved in Migne.

notice of the Vienna and Florence MSS, in the list given pp. 76, 77 *supra*, is taken from him.

ix. A very useful summary of all that relates to Isidore will be found in E. L. A. Bouvy *De S. Isidoro Pelusiota libri tres* (Nîmes, 1884). The first book is entitled 'Isidorus': the second 'Pelusium': the third, which alone concerns us here, 'Bibliotheca Isidoriana', and I find in it many of my conclusions anticipated. It is an excellent piece of work, and I should have been saved a good deal of labour if I had come across it at an earlier period in my researches: but Bouvy gives details of only two MSS, Paris gr. 832 and 949 (Nos. 2 and 8, pp. 75, 76 *supra*).

x. To Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*, ed. 2, p. 335, I am indebted for reference to an article by a Swedish scholar, V. Lundström, in *Eranos: Acta Philologica Suecana*, vol. ii (1897) pp. 68-80. Besides giving a list of the MSS of Isidore known to him (of which use has been made already, p. 78 *supra*), Lundström prints, as specimens of the advantage that might be expected from a new and critical edition, three letters, *ad Theognostum Δίαν θαυμάζω* [*Epp.* ii 212], *ad Nilum monachum Οἱ μὲν ἄγιοι* [*Epp.* i 1], *ad Dorotheum monachum Ἄνθρακες ἀνρήθησαν* [*Epp.* i 2].

xi. The last item in the list is also one of which mention has been made above in connexion with our knowledge of the manuscripts. In the *Studi Italiani di filologia classica*, vol. ix (Florence, 1901) pp. 449-466, N. Capo gives information, in greater detail than had been done before, about the Italian MSS of Isidore, and especially about the three leading MSS, those of Grotta Ferrata, Ottoboni-Altamps, and the Vatican. From these he prints three letters that had escaped the notice of Schott, and re-edits two that had appeared on the authority of the Munich MS in the edition of Rittershusius [*Epp.* iv 58, 125]. Capo has also developed the idea of a complete catalogue of MSS, including those that contain even one or two only of the Isidorian letters. Such of these as are important for the number of letters they give have been enumerated above, pp. 76, 78: but there are others which, though in a general sketch like the present they may be left out of account, are of too early a date to be safely neglected in a critical edition. Reference for these must be made to Capo's article, which (it may be added) is written not in Italian but in Latin.

It has been shewn in the first portion of the present paper that between 450 and 550 A. D. a collection of 2000 of St Isidore's letters was formed at Constantinople, and that two Latin scholars of the sixth century, Facundus of Hermiana and an unknown editor of councils, had independent access to it. It has been shewn further, in the second

portion, that both our earliest MS and our fullest MSS represent exactly the same collection of 2000 letters, and that those MSS which do not, as they stand, correspond with that collection, were without doubt ultimately derived from it. And from the last section it results (*a*) that the first 1213 letters (improperly divided into three books) of the editions are also the first 1213 letters of the Constantinopolitan collection; (*b*) that the next 230 letters, or fourth book, are formed from the Munich MS used by Rittershusius, by subtracting such letters as had already been published among the 1213 of the *editio princeps*, and that the order of the new letters in Rittershusius bears no ascertainable relation to the order of the collection of the 2000 letters; (*c*) that the 569 letters of Schott's fifth book are the residue of the original collection of 2000, and that, as the first 1213 of the printed text are identical with the first 1213 of the 2000, all Schott's 569 belong in consequence to the last 787 of the 2000.

If we ask why in this case the printed letters are not 2000 but 2012 in number—or if we add Capo's three new letters 2015—the main answer is simply that Rittershusius printed several letters in book iv which had already been printed in the original edition of books i–iii, and that Schott similarly repeated in book v several that had already appeared in Rittershusius—the explanation in each case being of course that Rittershusius' MS gave the letters in a different order to that of the *editio princeps*, and that Schott's MS (which had the same order as the *editio princeps*, as far as that went) gave the letters in a different order to that of Rittershusius. Thus iv 156 = i 249; iv 180 = ii 285; iv 188 = i 29; iv 195 = i 4; iv 197 = i 430; iv 229 = i 436: and v 43 = iv 199; v 91 = iv 147; v 138 = iv 190; v 139 = iv 122; v 187 = iv 124; v 239 = iv 56. Besides this, Rittershusius' book iv entirely jumps over the numbers 79 and 131, so that he really published not 230 letters but 228. Altogether then there are twelve doublets of the editors and two missing numbers, which reduce the total from 2015 to 2001. How the figure 2001 is to be reconciled with the figure which Capo gives for the archetype of the Grotta Ferrata-Ottoboni-Vatican MSS, it is not possible to say until the MSS have been further examined. But that both figures point back to an original collection of exactly 2000, no more and no less, it would be unreasonable to doubt.

A new critical edition of the letters of Isidore appears to be one of the real *desiderata* of patristic literature. We should gain by it, since the Grotta Ferrata MS has never been collated, a vastly improved text: we should gain the restoration of the latter part of the letters to their original order: we should gain, too, it may reasonably be hoped, more assistance to the student in the way of enlarged and improved indices. Even if a complete edition is at present out of the question, it may not

be too much to hope for a re-issue at least of the letters that relate to the exegesis of the New Testament. These occur more frequently in the fourth book than elsewhere—of the letters on the Pauline epistles, for instance, about forty are contained among the 230 letters of that book, as against a somewhat smaller number in the 1780 letters of the other books—and the fourth is still read on the authority only of a Munich MS of the sixteenth century.

C. H. TURNER.

[A Note by Professor K. Lake on the Grotta Ferrata MS of Isidore, with an index to the numbers of the letters of Books iv and v, will be published in the next number of the JOURNAL.]

APPENDIX.

NOTE ON THE CONTENTS OF VATIC. LAT. 1319 (see p. 72 *supra*).

1. Foll. 1–91. 'Synodicon Casinense': see Maassen pp. 733–737, and above, p. 71. The contents coincide exactly, as far as they go, with the Cassino MS, but they only extend as far as about p. 116 of the latter; fol. 91 *b* of the Vatican MS breaks off after the words 'constituti sed quoniam' in the middle of the documents printed in *Bibliotheca Casinensis* i. appendix p. 26. The text of the Vatican appeared, on a superficial examination, to be decidedly superior to the text of the Cassino MS. All the forty-nine letters of Isidore are common to both MSS.

2. Fol. 92 [92 *b* should precede 92 *a*: i. e. the outer edge of the leaf has been bound in instead of the inner]. Titles of the canons of Chalcedon, and the canons themselves as far as can. 17: the version is that of Dionysius Exiguus, as on fol. 238 below. The hand is a different one to the preceding collection.

3. Foll. 93–98. Fragment of a collection of pope Leo's letters, including the following documents [I give the numbers of the Ballerini edition], arranged apparently according to correspondents: to the emperor Marcian, xciv *Sanctum clementiae*, lxxviii *Litteras pietatis*, cxi *Quam excellenti*; to the emperor Leo, clvi *Litteras clementiae*, clxiv *Multis manifestisque*, cxlviii *Licet proxime*, cxlv *Officii quae ad*; to the empress Pulcheria, cv *Sanctis et Deo*, lxxiv *Religiosam pietatis*, cxvi *Quamvis nullas*; to Flavian of Constantinople, xxxviii *Profectis iam nostris*, xxxvi *Litteras tuae dilectionis*, xxxix *Auget sollicitudinem*, xlix *Quae et quanta*; to Anatolius of Constantinople, lxxxvii *Ad declinandam*; to Anastasius of Thessalonica, xlvii *Quantum relatione Hilarii*; to the presbyter Martin, lxxiv *Gratias agimus*; Eutyches to pope Leo, xxi *De mea in Dominum*; 'exemplar epistolae taciti nominis facte ad

quendam scire cupient: quid contrarium catholicae fidei senserit Eutichi[s]' *Misit mihi* (see Maassen p. 396: Mansi *Concilia* v 1017). The last document, owing to the mutilation of the MS, breaks off at the end of fol. 98^b with the words 'completa est apostoli' (Mansi v 1022). Again in a different hand.

4. Foll. 99-238^a. Acts of Chalcedon according to the version of Rusticus (Maassen pp. 745-751): in two hands, of which the first wrote foll. 99-218, the second foll. 219-238^a. The thirty-five preliminary pieces (Maassen pp. 746-758) are numbered by Greek letters. The Canons are not contained in the Acts at all: according to Maassen p. 741 we should expect to find them in Actio xv, but they are not there. After the Acts proper occur the two supplementary pieces mentioned by Maassen p. 742, 'Responsio seu allocutio sancti et universalis Calchedonensis concilii' and the conciliar letter to pope Leo *Repletum est gaudio*.

5. Foll. 238^b-240^b. Canons of Chalcedon in the version of Dionysius, together with its 'definitio fidei': not in either of the hands that transcribed the Acts of the council, but possibly in the hand that wrote foll. 1-91.

6. Foll. 241^a-245^a. Canons of Nicaea and Sardica; it seemed to me that the titles and text were written respectively by the two hands which transcribed the Acts of Chalcedon, but Dr. Mercati questions the correctness of this view. The version of Nicaea is that known as Caecilian's, and the form of it is nearer to the text of the Ballerini (drawn from cod. Veron. lx) than to that of Maassen (drawn from Monac. lat. 6243 and Wirceb. Mp. th. f. 146). The canons of Sardica are in a hitherto unknown version.

7. Foll. 245^a-253^a. St Augustine's catalogue of heresies *ad Quodvultdeum*, containing the spurious ending that includes the Euty-chians: see the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine, tom. viii pp. 1-22. In the same hand as No. 6.

8. Foll. 253^a-260^a. Five books of 'S. Eusebius' *de Trinitate*: in the same hand as Nos. 6 and 7. This is part of the perplexing group of documents sometimes known as pseudo-Athanasius, but more often as Vigilius, *de Trinitate*. According to Dom Morin (*Revue Bénédictine*, Jan. 1898) books i-vii of 'Vigilius' may well belong to the fourth century, and not impossibly to Eusebius of Vercelli.

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