

THE CODEX MURATORIANUS.

LAST Summer, when in Milan, I had an opportunity of examining in the Ambrosian Library the Codex containing the famous Muratori Fragment on the Canon. The MS is numbered I 101 sup., and contains seventy-six leaves (measuring 27 cm. by 17 cm.) of rather coarse vellum. The last of these leaves is blank.

The Codex is a compendium of many theological tracts which are followed by five Early Christian Creeds. The contents are as follows :

DE TERRENIS (of Eucherius)	Fol. 1
DE ANIMANTIBUS („ „)	„ 4 b
DE NOMINIS („ „)	„ 8 b
FRAGMENTUM DE CANONE	„ 10
ABRAHAM NOMERAVIT ETC. (of St Ambrose)	„ 11
DE EXPOSITIONE DIUERSARUM RERUM (of Eucherius)	„ 12
(a) De gentibus	
(b) De locis	
(c) De fluminibus et aquis	
(d) De mensibus	
(e) De solepnitatibus	
(f) De idolis	
(g) De uestibus	
(h) De duplicis uestimentis	
(i) De auibus uel uolatilibus	
(j) De besteis uel serpentibus	
(k) De ponderibus	
(l) De mensuris	
(m) De grecis numinibus	
DE MATHEO EUANĠE	„ 19
DE DIE ET HORA (? of Ambrosiaster)	„ 28
DE TRIBUS MENSURIS	„ 29 b
DE PETRO APOSTOLO	„ 30 b
DE REPARATIONEM LAPSI (of St Chrysostom)	„ 31 b
DE ABRAAM (' Ante hostium sedebat abraam etc')	„ 71 b
FIDES SANCTI AMBROSI EPISCOPI	„ 73 b
EXPOSITIO FIDEI CATHOLICE	„ 74
FIDES SANCTI LUCIFERI EPISCOPI	„ 75
FIDES QUAE EX NICENO CONCILIO PROCESSIT	„ 75
FIDES BEATI ATHANASI	„ 75 b

Muratori, in 1740 (*Antiq. Ital. Medii Aevi*, Tom. iii, coll. 809-880), was the first to give an account of the MS and its contents. He read

the inscription on its first page which tells us that the MS came from Bobbio. He noted also the second line of the inscription which attributes the contents of the MS to St Chrysostom. The two lines are:

liber sc̄ti colūbani de bobio
Ioh̄is grisostomi

This inscription is in a handwriting and ink that are at least as old as the eighth century—possibly the seventh. The Codex therefore either began here, being in that case copied from a mutilated archetype, or else it was mutilated and lost seventy-two leaves within a century of being copied. An examination of the writing and of the numbering of the Quires supports the former view. The Codex consists of nine gatherings of eight, and four other leaves. The scribe began to write the first page of the MS with great precision in his lettering, and at the same time the spacings between letters and words shew that he wrote his first pages in a manner that betokened an absence of the ordinary scribe's faculty of economizing his vellum. He took *ten* leaves of vellum to copy the amount of text which he squeezed into the next seven, and afterwards wrote out in eight. One of these leaves (Fol. 6) was a supply. On the top of his eleventh leaf he wrote the letter I (cf. *ff* Fol. 48 b), and at the foot of Fol. 17 b he affixed the signature K. Thereafter he copied with much uniformity, and signed every eighth leaf on its conclusion—except that he forgot to insert the letter O at the foot of Fol. 49 b. The final signature, which is found on Fol. 73 b is R. The last three leaves in the MS consist of a detached leaf (Fol. 74), and two conjugate leaves (Foll. 75 and 76), of which the latter is blank. Now Fol. 74 is an intrusion, and interrupts the sequence between Fol. 73 b and Fol. 75 a. This interruption Muratori himself noticed. Fol. 74 was therefore originally an intermediate leaf between Fol. 75 a and Fol. 76; for the fact that Fol. 76, *the conjugate of Fol. 75*, is blank, shews conclusively that the Codex terminated with the Quire of eight (or four) leaves that began with Fol. 75 and ended with Fol. 76.

On this blank last leaf there is in an ancient cursive handwriting, which is not that of the scribe himself, a notice of the sum paid to the copyist. This notice which I have only partly deciphered is as follows:

et posterius dedimus " " " " " " " LXX
haec sunt lupulus ut estis Iuuenculo
† noticia de sold̄ quod dedimus
† noticia de pretiū quod dedimus

During my stay in Milan I copied out first of all the famous Fragment on the Canon, which Dr Ceriani handed to me with the remark, 'It is

good for what it says; for what it omits it is no good.' The Fragment ends abruptly, shewing that the scribe copied from a mutilated, and therefore presumably ancient, exemplar. After poring intently for three days over the MS, I was happy enough to find at least one new reading of considerable importance. On Fol. 10, l. 25, the word partly erased after *regali* is *patris*, written *p̄is*. Dr Ceriani agreed with me in this after himself examining the Codex. Also on Fol. 10 b, l. 7, the reading of *m*^{*} is neither *ad* nor *ab* but *au*. (Cf. *auit* = *abit* in the Fleury Palimpsest.) Two different correctors (*m*¹ and *m*²) in my judgement corrected the Fragment, but neither of them was more than a century removed from *m*^{*}.

The *De Matheo Euangel.* and the *De Die et Hora* have been already given with great exactness by C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January 1904.¹ The Codex is a collection of tracts and creeds that appeared in the early Christian ages—between the second and fifth centuries. In its present form it represents a small theological library, collected and transcribed by the devotion of some divine of the fifth century. The prominence given to the writings of Eucherius² of Lyons would suggest that the collection was made in Gaul or Spain rather than in Italy. The vulgarisms in the Codex support the hypothesis of a Gallic rather than an Italic origin. There is a marked correspondence both in grammar and palaeography with the superposed writing in *Isots*—the *De Mundo* of St Isidore of Seville.

If, as the inscription on the first leaf would imply, the archetype of our MS actually belonged to St Columban, we know that he was in Burgundy from 585–610, and he may well have had the collection made for himself and his monastic institutions. Should this fact be established, it would be another proof of the immense debt that Christendom owes to the missionary zeal of the early Irish Church.

The five Creeds (two of them are unhappily partly mutilated) of St Ambrose, St Lucifer, St Athanasius, of Nicaea, and of an Early Liturgy (possibly Gallican), all of which I have here transcribed as they stand in the Muratori MS, raise many points of interest both textual and theological. The Creed of St Athanasius in this its earliest extant form differs remarkably from the form it assumes in later MSS and in our English Prayer Book. The readings St Matt. 28¹⁹ (–*omnes*) and 1 St John 5⁷ (+ *in xp̄o ih̄u*) are valuable textually.

¹ The reading in the *De Die et Hora* sub fin. is *nisi et apud eos qui negare compellunt ih̄m, 'x̄pm d̄m' confiteatur*; which upholds the singular reading of *ff* in St Luke ii 26.

² The Vienna Edition of Eucherius (Wotke, 1894) has strangely neglected this ancient and valuable collection of his writings, preserved in the Milan MS.

quibus tamen Interfuit et ita posuit
TERTIO EUANGELII LIBRUM SECUNDO LUCAN
 Lucas Iste medicus post acensum .xpi.
 Cum eo paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum
 5 secundum adsumsisset numeni suo
 ex opinione concriset dñm tamen nec ipse
 quidit In carne et idē pro asequi potuit.
 Ita et ad natiuitate Iohannis Incipet dicere
QUARTI EUANGELIORUM · IOHANNIS EX DECIPOLIS
 10 cohortantibus condiscipulis et eps suis
 dixit conieiunate mihi odie triduo et quid
 cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum
 nobis enarremus eadem nocte reue
 latum andrae ex apostolis ut recognis
 15 centibus cuntis Iohannis suo nomine
 cunta discribret et ideo licit uaria sin
 gulis euangeliorum libris principia
 doceantur nihil tamen differt creden
 tium fedi cum uno ac principali spū de
 20 clarata sint In omnibus omnia de natiui
 tate de passione de resurrectione
 de conuesatione cum decipulis suis
 ac de gemino eius aduentu
 Primo In homilitate dispectus quod fo
 25 it secundum potetate regali pis pre
 clarum quod fotum est quid ergo
 mirum si Iohannes tam constanter
 singula etiā In epistulis suis proferam
 i Jn. 1, 1. dicens In semeipsu que uidimus oculis
 30 nostris et auribus audiimus et manus
 nostrae palpauerunt haec scripsimus
 uobis

1. 2 secundo m ¹	3 ascensum m ¹	6 concrisbet m [*]	7 prout m ¹
14 andreae m ¹	16 cuncta m ¹ ; describeret m [*]	19 fidei m [*]	22 con-
uersatione m [*]	24 humilitate m [*]	25 potetate m [*]	29 quae m [*]

Folio 10 verso

Sic enim non solum uisurem sed auditorem
 Sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dñs per ordi
 nem profetetur Acta autē omniū apostolorum
 sub uno libro scribta sunt Lucas obtime theofi

1. 1 sed et m¹ 2 dñi m¹ 4 uno m¹; scritta m^{*}

5 le conprindit quia sub praesentia eius singula
 gerebantur sicut et semote passionē petri
 euidenter declarat Sed profectiōē pauli au ur
 bes ad spaniā proficescentis Epistolā autem
 pauli quae a quo loco uel qua ex causa directe
 10 sint uoluntatibus intellegere Ipse declarant
 Primum omnium corintheis scysme heresis in
 terdicens deincepsb callatis circumcisiōe
 Romanis autē om̄īdine scripturarum sed In
 principium earum ε̄ε̄ esse x̄m Intimans
 15 prolexius scripsit de quibus singulis neces
 se est ad nobis desputari Cum ipse beatus
 apostulus paulus sequens prodecessuris suis
 Iohannis ordinē non nisi domenatī semptaē
 eccleses scribat ordine tali A corenthios
 20 prima ad efesius secunda ad philippinsis ter
 tia ad colosensis quarta ad calatas quin
 ta ad tensaolenecinsis sexta . ad romanus
 septima Uerum corentheis et desaolecen
 sibus licit pro pcorrebtione iteretur una
 25 tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia
 deffusa esse denoscitur Et Iohannis enī In a
 pocalebsy licet septī ecclesieis scribat
 tamen omnibus dicit uerum ad filemonem unā
 et at titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affec
 30 to et dilectione In honore tamen ecclesiae ca
 tholice In ordinatione eclesiastice

i Co. 1, 12, 13.
 Gal. 6, 12.

l. 7 ab m¹; sed et m² 8 proficis. m² 10 uolentibus m² 11 scysmae m¹
 12 callaetis m¹ 17 apostolus m²; prodecessor. m¹ 18 nomenatī m²
 19 ecclesiis m² 20 philippinses m² 22 thensa. m²; sexta m²
 23 corintheis m²; tesaolecen. m¹ 24 licet m² 27 septē m²

I

Folio 11

descepline sc̄ificate sunt fertur etiam ad
 laudicensis alia ad alexandrinus piuli no
 mine fincte ad hesem marcionis et alia plu
 ra quae In chatholicam ecclesiam recepi non
 5 potest fel enim cum melle misceri non con
 cruit epistola sane Iude et superscriptio
 Iohannis duas In catholica habentur et sapi
 entia ab amicis salomonis In honorē ipsius
 scripta apocalypse etiam Iohannis et pe
 10 tri tantum recipemus quam quidem ex nos

l. 1 discepline m² 2 pauli m² 3 heresem m¹ 10 recipimus m¹

tris legi In eclesia nolunt Pastorem uero
 nuperimmet temporibus nostris In urbe
 roma herma concripsit sedente cathe
 tra urbis romae aeclisiae pio e^ps frater
 15 eius et ideo legi eum quidē Oportet se pu
 plicare uero In eclesia populo Neque Inter
 profestas completum numero Nene Inter
 apostolos In finē temporum potest.
 Arsinoi autem seu ualentini. uel metiades
 20 nihil In totum recipemus. Qui etiam nouū
 psalmodum librum marcioni conscripse
 runt una cum basilide assianūm catafry
 cum contitutorem

13 conscripsit *m*^{*} 14 fratre *m*¹ 17 neque *m*¹ 19 metiades : es in rasura
 scripsit *m*^{*} ; metiades *m*¹ 23 constitutorem *m*¹.

Folio 73 uerso (last seven lines)

*INCIPIT FIDES S^CI AMBROSI EPISCOPI
 NOS PATRE ET FILIUM ET S^PU S^CM CONFITEMUR*

Ita ut In trinitate perfecta et plenitudo sit
 diuinitatis et unitas potestatis. nam tres
 d^s dicit qui unitatē separat trinitatis. pater
 d^s. filius d^s. et s^ps s^cs d^s. haec unu sunt
 In x^po Ihu. tres itaq: formae sed una subs
 tantia

R

Folio 75

ergo diuersitas plures facit. unitas uero potes
 tatis. excludet numeri quantitatē quia unitas nu
 mero non est. sic Itaque unus d^s una fides unū
 baptisma. si quis uero hanc fidem non habet cha
 tolicus dici non potest quia chatolicam non tenet
 fidem alienus est aduersus ueritatē rebellis. x^pi ^{ant^a}

INCIPIT FIDET S^CI LUCIFERI EPISCOPI

NOS PATRE CREDIMUS QUI NON SIT FILIUS SED HABEAT

[Heb. 7, 3] filium de se sine Inicio non ad se factum. et filiū
 10 credimus qui non sit pater sed habeat patrem
 de quo sit genitus non factus et s^pm s^cm cre
 dimus qui sit uere s^ps dⁱ. unde diuinae trinita
 tis unam substantiam confitemur . quia qua
 lis est pat^{er}e^re secundum substantiā talem genu
 it filium. et s^ps s^cs non creatura existens dⁱ

1. 6 x^pi : addidit *an*[ā supra lin. antiquissima manus, vix ipsius scribae.

sed sp̄s dī non est alienus a substantia patris
et fili sed est Ipse eiusdem substantiae cum
patre et filio sicuti eiusdem deitatis. EPL

INCIPIT FIDES QUAE EX NICENO CONCILIO PROCESSIT

20 *CREDIMUS UNUM D̄M PATREM OMNIPOTETEM*

omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium factorem
caeli et in unum d̄m ihm x̄pm filium dī natū de
patre. hoc est de substantia patris. d̄m de dō
lumen de lumine. d̄m uerum de dō uero. natū
non factum unius substantiae cum patre
quod greci dicunt homousion per quem omnia
facta sunt. siue quae In caelis siue quae In terra
qui propter nostram salutē descendit et Incar
natus est. homo factus est. passus est. rexur
30 rexit tertia die. ascendit In caelis. uenturus
Iudicare uiuus et mortuos . per sp̄m . sc̄m. neq:
facturam. neq: creatura. sed de substantiā deitatis

Folio 75 uerso

eos autem qui dicunt erat quando non erat et
prius quam nasceretur non erat et quia ex nullis
extantibus fictus est. uel ex alia substantia dī
centes esse aut mutabilem aut conuertibilem
filiū dī hos anathema catholica et apostolica aeclisia EPL

INCIPIT FIDES BEATI ATHANASI

FIDIS UNIUS SUBSTANTIAE TRINITATIS PATRIS ET FILII

[ET SP̄S^{sc̄r}]

sine Inicio temporum super sensū et sermonem
et sp̄u una uirtus unus d̄s trea uero uocabula
10 nascitur de uirgine maria accipiens corpus anima
le sed Ipse sensu praecellens dī uerbum non con
prehensus a carne sermo. sed In carne et supra car
ne sicut d̄s praescius dī uirtus dī ueritas passus
autem humana sermo dī Inpassibilis est. In passionē
quidem moritur ut uiuificaret protoplustum
qui ceciderat per Inobedientiā . O . homo deitatē
querēs uitupero te. si credis bene facis. si autē
dicis quomodo pater de lumine excidisti et si dixeris
quomodo filius similiter excidisti de lumine nemo

20 Mt. 11, 27 enim nouit patrē nisi filius neq: filium nisi pater
qui tre uirtutes inducit. tres deus confitetur
nos autem credimus tres personas. unam uero uir
tutē. unam deitatē. quando autem nomenaueris

patrem glorificans filiū. et quando nominas filiū
adoras patrem. si Iterum una personā trinitatis
dicimus Iudei nomen portauimus. qui Iudei unam
personam dicunt et unum d̄m confitentur. si
tres d̄s Inducimus similes sumus gentibus. sed
Jn. 14, 11. confitemur patrē In filio et filium In patrē cum
30 s̄p̄u s̄c̄o. non separantur non diuiditur deitas. deus
enim de d̄o uirtus de uirtute lux de lumine. ueritas
de ueritate. testis non est non caelū non terra
Reliqua perierunt.

Folio 74

*ITĒ EXPOSITIO FIDEI CHATOLICE**CREDIMUS UNUM DM SECUNDUM SECONDOM SCRIPTURAS*

esse credendū non sicut Iudei aut heretici solitariū
sed In misterio trinitatis. Id est patrem et filium et
s̄p̄m s̄c̄m tres personas non tamen tres d̄s. personas
autem sic dicimus ut non diuinitatē heretico sensu
membris sicut hominem conponamus quia diuinitas
quae est Incorporalis tam Immensa est. tam Inextima
bi non possit. sed ut patrem et filium et s̄p̄m s̄c̄m
10 unum et Inuisum esse et In diuinitatē ac uirtute ut
tres In personis Id est ut patrem credamus non esse
filium. filium uero credamus non esse patrem
s̄p̄m autem s̄c̄m nec patrem esse nec filium. quia
pater est Ingenitus. filius uero sine Initio genitus
Jn. 15, 26. a patre est. s̄p̄s autem s̄c̄s processit a patre et ac
Jn. 16, 14. cipit de filio sicut euangelista testatur quia scriptū
est tres sunt qui dicunt testimonium In caelo. pater.
1 Jn. 5, 7. uerbum. et s̄p̄s. et haec tria unum sunt In x̄p̄o ihu
20 non tamen dixit unus est In x̄p̄o ihu et In euangelio
Mt. 28, 19. dicit. Ite baptizate gentes in numine patris et fili
Jn. 10, 30. et s̄p̄s s̄c̄i. et denuo Ipse d̄ns dicit etgo et pater unū
Ps. 110, 1. sumus. et In pslamis legimus dicit d̄ns d̄no meo
sedet ad dextris meis. et In euangelio Iohannis
Jn. 1, 1. sic dicit In principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat
apud d̄m et d̄s erat uerbum. d̄m ergo dicendum
uerbum id est filium qui es^{et} apud patrem d̄m
bis nominando d̄m patrem et filiū designauit per
Gen. 1, 26. sonas. et In genesi d̄s pater ad d̄m filium dicit
30 faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinē
Gen. 1, 27. nostrā. et denuo fecit d̄s hominem ad imaginem d̄i.
Deut. 6, 4. Igitur ter d̄m dicendo non tres d̄s dixit sed unū d̄m.

Folio 74 verso

In tribus personis
demonstrauit. nullum sane sicut arrius
alteri maiorem. qui autem tempore aut
mensura aut honore unusquisque. alio ma
ior est adeo nos credamus filium dī sine tē
pore a patre genitū quomodo potest minor
esse tempore qui ante tempus es. aut quomo
minsura minūr creditur qui Inmensus
et Inextimabilis est et Infinitus est ac sine ho
10 nore minor est cum sit filius dī et d̄s unū
enim dī nomen est. quando autem sit filius
a patre genitus. aut ubi aut quomodo non
licet dici neque amplius scrutari. quando
autem dicendo tempus designas ubi requi
rendo locum significas quomodo scrudan
do mensuram uideris exprimere. et haec
20 tria In dño non cadunt quia est Inextimabi
lis Inmensus Infinitus et quia locum non
capiat quam mens nostra quae modo con
cluditur. Inuistigare nemo potens factorē
et In dñm suum. sicut ergo in ac trinitate
una et Inseparabilis est substantia adq: di
uinitas. Ita et una est omnipotentia non
tres omnipotentia enim In eo dicitur quod
30 potentiae et uirtute sua d̄s ex nihilo fe
cerit uniuersa. Id est caelestia et terres
tria carnalia et spiritalia lucem adque
tenebras uisibilia et Inuesibilia. angelus
et animas et quidquid praeter d̄m mens hu
mana credederit. et haec bona per filiū
facta sunt sc̄ificantes sp̄u sc̄o quem pa
raclitum appellamus qui super apostolus
Reliqua perierunt.

[Job. 11, 7]

Ph. 2, 10.

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