A CRITICAL TEXT OF THE QUICUMQUE VULT.

List of manuscripts employed.

B. codex Ambrosianus O 212 sup., fol. 14 a: saec. vii–viii. This MS with many others came to the Ambrosiana at Milan from the Irish monastery founded by St Columban at Bobbio in the Apennines at the beginning of the seventh century: it is written in an Irish hand, and may be earlier, while it cannot well be later, than 700 A.D. Among its other contents the chief is the Liber dogmatum of Gennadius.

C. codex Petriburgensis Q 15, fol. 63 a: saec. viii ineunt. One of a small but very important group of MSS which, at the time of the transference of the Benedictine library of St Germain-des-Près to the Bibliothèque Nationale during the Revolution, found their way into the hands of Peter Dubrowsky, a Russian attaché, and so came to the Imperial library at St Petersburg. Most of the older MSS at St Germain’s, and this among them, had been brought to the Parisian house from the monastery of Corbie near Amiens. But the script is Irish, and it is not unlikely that the MS was written at the Irish monastery of Perrone—Perrona Scottorum—in the neighbourhood of Corbie.

M. codex Monacensis lat. 6298, fol. 1 b: saec. viii. In the years following the French Revolution the manuscript treasures of the great ecclesiastical libraries in what is now southern Bavaria—St Emmeram at Regensburg, SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg, SS. Mary and Corbinian at Freising—were all collected into the central library at Munich. Our MS belonged to Freising, and, as the hand is insular, it doubtless stands in some sort of connexion with the spread of English missions and missionaries in Central Germany—Mainz, Fulda, Würzburg, and so on—during the eighth century.

I. codex Lugdunensis Sanctae Fidei, fol. 109 b: saec. ix ineunt. Now (according to Dr Burn) in the library of the Marist Fathers at Sainte-Foi-lès-Lyon, but originally presented to the cathedral church of St Stephen by Leidrat, Bishop of Lyons from 798 to 814. The writing is an early, rather irregular, Caroline minuscule.

The text of these four MSS I take from the beautiful photographic reproductions in Dr Burn’s Facsimiles of the Creeds from early manuscripts (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1908) Plates xv–xxiv. The first
three are the earliest known MSS of the *Quicumque*, and Dr Burn has placed scholars under a new obligation by enabling them to have secure access to such important texts. But the caution must be given that the transcriptions which face the photographs are not always or in all details correct.

- F codex Parisinus lat. 1451, fol. 7 b: saec. viii exeunt. From the monastery of St Maur-les-Fosses near Paris.
- f codex Vaticanus Regiae 1127, fol. 11 a: saec. ix ineunt. The MS came into Queen Christina's hands from the Petau family, and to them from the representatives of Jean du Tillet, bishop of Meaux. From a very early period it had been in Angoulême, and is often cited as *codex Engolismensis*.

These two MSS represent the same collection of Canons, made in Gaul in the sixth century.

- L codex Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 574, fol. 146 a: saec. viii–ix. Came to the Vatican among the spoils of the Elector Palatine's treasures at Heidelberg: to Heidelberg it had come from the great library of the neighbouring monastery of St Nazarius at Lorsch. A sister MS (now Gotha I 85) was at Murbach; the collection of canons which is represented in both may have been made in the Rhineland. But in this case the *Quicumque* is at the end of the Lorsch MS, outside the canonical collection proper: the Gotha MS does not contain it, so the librarian, Dr R. Ehwald, kindly informs me.
- P codex Parisinus lat. 13159, fol. 161 b: the first page, verses 1–12, is in a minuscule hand, the rest is uncial: if they are contemporaneous, the date is probably early ninth, though the uncial hand might seem rather earlier, and the minuscule rather later.
- P₂ codex Parisinus lat. 4858, fol. 109 b: saec. ix ineunt. A fragment, containing only the first eleven verses of the *Quicumque*.
- R codex Karoliruhensis Augiensis ccxxix, fol. 218 a: saec. viii–ix.
- r codex Karoliruhensis Augiensis xviii, fol. 15 b: saec. ix ineunt. Both these MSS came to Karlsruhe from Reichenau (Augia Maior): r is written by the hand of Reginbert, the well-known librarian of the monastery at Reichenau, but its text of the *Quicumque* is commonplace, and very inferior to the text of the other Reichenau MS, R.
- V codex Vaticanus lat. 82, fol. 242 b: saec. ix exeunt.

The eight manuscripts F f L P P₂ R r V are described and collated from photographs, for the procuring of which I have to thank the unwearied kindness of M. Henry Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Mgr G. Mercati of the Vatican library, and Dr A. Holder of the Grand-ducal library at Karlsruhe.
U codex Ultratriectinus, fol. 90 b : saec. ix ineunt. I have used the facsimile edition of the Utrecht Psalter, published in 1873.

X codex Parisinus lat. 3836, fol. 89 : saec. viii. A MS of Canons, copied from a Trèves book. The Creed is in our MS, and was in its exemplar, imperfect, and begins in the middle of verse 29 'domini nostri Iesu Christi': but it is not only imperfect, it is in verse 35 and from verse 37 onwards nothing but a paraphrase. I have collated it (so far as it gives a text and not a paraphrase) from the plate in the Palaeographical Society's series, vol. III no. viii.

II

Introduction to the text.

In attempting to restore as nearly as possible the original text of the Quicumque, I have of set purpose confined myself to a limited number of MSS. Speaking roughly, I have tried to obtain the evidence of all MSS earlier than the middle of the ninth century and of none that are later. No doubt it sometimes happens that an ancient type of text may be preserved nowhere but in some comparatively recent MS: thus, for instance, in a thirteenth-century Padua MS of the Quaestiones of Ambrosiaster Mr Souter found the solitary representative of a second branch of the MS tradition, and was able to supply from it at least one long passage absent from all the older MSS through the loss of a leaf in their archetype. But in the case of a document like the Quicumque, which from the ninth century onwards was being constantly copied, it seems to me highly probable that the impetus given to the use of the formulary in the Carolingian service-books coincided, if not with the production of an official edition, at any rate with the perpetuation of a particular type of text. Out of the twelve MSS (not counting fragments) which I have employed, there are some which seem to me to bear the mark of this sort of official patronage: they belong to great centres of the Carolingian revival, their text of the Quicumque is carefully written and free from the grosser blunders which occasionally disfigure our older MSS, but in crucial variations they are, I think, almost always on the wrong side. Instances of such MSS would be the two which I have called l and r, the one presented by bishop Leidrat to his cathedral at Lyons before 814, the other written by Reginbert at Reichenau as a complete collection of Creeds and formularies somewhere between 800 and 822: possibly also the two sister MSS, F and f, both written in France and both between the dates 795 and 825.

Between any two critical texts of the Quicumque there are bound to be some common alterations of the received text: and I find myself in
agreement with Dr Burn in reading in verse 19 'et deum et dominum', in verse 20 'tres deos aut dominos', in verse 30 'et deus pariter et homo est', in verse 31 'deus est ... homo est', in verse 35 'in carne ... in deo'; in omitting in verse 38 'tertia die', in verse 39 'dei' and 'omnipotens' and also 'est', and further in verse 40 the conjunction in 'qui vero mala'. Yet these readings, though they amount between them to a considerable total, do not by any means exhaust the list of the deviations from the 'receptus' which the testimony of the older MSS, and especially of the Bobbio MS (B), the oldest of them all, combines with internal evidence to recommend as genuine. Some of these restore a more archaic flavour to the language, such as 'surrexit' for 'resurrexit' in verse 38, and perhaps 'rationabilis' for 'rationalis' (which looks like a literary correction) in verses 32 and 37. 'Sedit' in verse 39 has for it an overwhelming preponderance of MS authority: 'sedet,' just like 'tertia die resurrexit' and 'dei patris omnipotentis', is an echo of the Creed. 'Nisi quis' in verses 2 and 42, a good Latin construction, was possibly altered to 'nisi quisque' by scribes anxious to add emphasis to the warning clauses. But the most extensive alteration which I have made is in the direction of omitting, generally on the authority of the Bobbio MS, with a varying amount of support from the rest, the conjunction and the substantive verb: several verses gain by this change a more forcible and antithetical, if less polished, setting. Thus in verses 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, I read 'pater ... filius ... spiritus', not 'pater ... filius ... et spiritus': in verses 16 and 18, 'unus deus,' 'unus dominus', rather than 'unus est deus', 'unus est dominus' ('unus dominus est' cod. C): in verse 25 (more doubtfully, because without the support of B) 'in hac trinitate' not 'et in hac trinitate'. In verse 5, even with the support of B, I have not ventured to do more than replace 'persona' within brackets in the second and third sub-clause. In verse 12 I have followed the sole authority of B—whose reading is on the lines of our Prayer Book rendering, though not identical with it—because the balance of the sentence is so much improved by the inversion of order 'increati ... inmensi ... inmensus ... increatus'. On practically the same authority I have retained 'minor patre' in verse 33, where Burn, perhaps rightly, follows our other MSS in reading 'minor patri'.

Some of these alterations do not affect an English rendering: of those that do, I believe that I have everywhere accepted the reading which approved itself to the Archbishop's Committee for the revision of the Prayer Book translation of the Quicumque, with the two exceptions of the 'et' in verse 25, and of verse 40 where the 'in corporibus suis' of B (X) seems to me preferable to the 'cum corporibus suis' of the rest.
III

Abbreviations of the Nomina Sacra.

In view of the present existence of an authoritative standard of comparison on this subject in Dr Traube's great posthumous work, I have thought it worth while to put together all instances, occurring in those MSS of the Quicumque which I have consulted, of forms of abbreviation other than those which became regular in the Carolingian age.

1. NOSTER.

In verse 29 we have the words 'domini nostri Iesu Christi': in verse 30 'dominus noster Iesus Christus': in verse 38 'pro salute nostra'.

a. In verse 29 the regular form 'dmi ni ihu xpi' is given by the manuscripts MFfPRV: the more exceptional usages are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>dNI ni ihu xpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C L X</td>
<td>dNI nostri ihu xpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>dNI nostri ihu xpi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. In verse 30 the forms for the nominative are more diverse: beside the regular 'dNs nI ihs xps' (CMfRV) we have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>dNs ni ihs xps f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>dNs nI ihs xps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L P R U</td>
<td>dNs noster ihs xps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. In verse 38 'pro salute nostra' is written in full by most of the older MSS, CMLRU: and this corresponds to the original cause of the abbreviation of the word 'noster', which was doubtless due only to its connexion with the word 'dominus'. Of the other MSS B has 'pro salute nra', and FfPRV 'pro salute nra'.

2. OMNIPOTENS.

In verses 13, 14 we have 'omnipotens' four times, 'omnipotentes' once: in verse 39 the inferior MSS give 'dei patris omnipotentis' instead of 'patris'.

a. Our oldest MS B either writes the word in full (so in verse 13), or abbreviates by suspension, i.e. leaves out the whole of the end of the word: thus it gives verse 14 'et non tres omnip sed unus omnip'. The only other instance of suspension in our MSS is in the Lyons MS 4, where the first hand apparently wrote 'omip filius', which a corrector has altered to the form used in the rest of the verse 'omip'.

b. Of the abbreviations by contraction—abbreviations, that is, in which the end of the word is preserved as well as the beginning and only the middle left out—the normal form is 'omip', found regularly in FfLr, and sometimes in PUV. Rarer, and therefore more interesting, forms are the following:
omipṣ (nom. sing.), found in V twice in verse 13.
omipṣes (nom. pl.), found in V in verse 14.
omipṣis (gen. sing.), found in V in verse 39.
omipṣ (nom. sing.), found in P once in verse 13, R once in verse 13.

‘omnipotens’ for the nominative plural, found in C M² in verse 14, is presumably a common blunder of the two scribes: possibly M² was correcting the text to C or a relative of C. In neither MS is any sign of abbreviation given to the word.

3. PLURAL OF DEUS, DOMINUS, SPIRITUS.

The abbreviations of these words apply only in the original idea, as Dr Traube has taught us, to their use as sacred names, consequently only to the singular. The difference in this respect between early and Carolingian MSS is well brought out in the various verses of the Quicumque.

a. In verse 16 all our MSS, except R (dī ... dī), give ‘dīi ... dīi’. There was properly no abbreviation of the plural of ‘deus’.

b. In verse 18 our three oldest MSS, B C M, give ‘domini ... dīns’: all others have dīnī ... dīns. In other words, the later MSS abbreviate the plural by false analogy with the singular.

c. In verse 20 half a dozen MSS, B C M L²/r U, give correctly ‘deos aut dominos’. But besides that we have
dīs aut dīns  F L*
deos aut dīns  f R
deos aut dīnos  P
dīs aut dīnos  V.

d. In verse 24 the MSS are practically unanimous for ‘tres spīs’: and we must suppose that as the abbreviation for ‘spiritus’ was invented later than those for ‘deus’ and ‘dominus’, the tradition of keeping the abbreviated use for the singular, that is for the Divine Person, had less strength. But the first hand of the Lorsch MS, L, distinguishes the plural by the abbreviation ‘spīs’.

IV

Titles of the Creed.

In B M P P₂ there is no title. For the rest we have the following:—

Fides sci athanassi episcopi alexandriae  C
Incipit exemplar fidei catholicae sci atanasi (atanasii F) epi alexand­rinae (-ne F) ecclesiae (ecciae f)  F f
Incipit fides catholica beati atanasi epi  L
Fides sci athanassi epi alexandrini /
Fides catholica sci athanassii episcopi  R
Exemplar fidei catholicae sci athanassii epi  r
Incipit fides catholicam * U
Incipit fides catholica quam scs athanasius dictavit  V.
Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem: quam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.

Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur, neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes:

alia est enim persona patris, alia [persona] filii, alia [persona] spiritus sancti; sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.

Qualis pater, talis filius, talis et spiritus sanctus:
increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus spiritus sanctus; inmensus pater, inmensus filius, inmensus spiritus sanctus; aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus spiritus sanctus:
et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus; sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi, sed unus inmensus et unus increatus.
Similiter omnipotens pater, omnipotens filius, omnipotens spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

Ita deus pater, deus filius, deus spiritus sanctus; et tamen non tres domini, sed unus dominus:

Quia sicut singillatim unaquaeque personam et deum et dominum confessi christianae veritate compellimus, ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus: filius a patre solo est, non factus nec creatus, sed genitus: spiritus sanctus a patre et filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens.

Unus ergo pater, non tres patres; unus filius, non tres filii; unus spiritus sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti.

In hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales.
ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit.

qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat.

Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.

deus est ex substantia patris ante saecula genitus, et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus; perfectus deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens; aequalis patri secundum divinitatem, minor patre secundum humanitatem:

27. supra: superius P* et r°: om R et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate: et trinitas in unitatem et unitas in trinitatem L* et unitas in trinitate in rasura M* et unitas in trinitate et unitas in unitate l veneranda sit: veneremur R 27, 28. et unitas in trinitate venerandi sit qui vult ergo salvus esse in rasura M* (aliquid amplius dederat M*, non tamen plenam ceterorum codicum lectionem)

qui vult ergo: quicumque vult (e vers. 1) L*R esse: eē P* ē (se est) ut vid P* 29. est: om P quoque: om L* 30. est: praem haec (e vers. 42) R et r°: ut M noster: om X dei filius: filius est dei R; om L* et deus pariter et homo BCM: deus pariter et homo L*PX et deus et homo F deus et homo fL*P*UV 30, 31. et homo est r°.... saeculo natus: et homo * * * * * (fortasse pariter) ex substantia matris (ceteris per homoeoteleuton omissis) M* et homo est deus ex substantia patris* in saeculo natus M*; litteram h non hoc significare (ut censet qui apud Burn Facsimiles of the Creeds Plate xxi textum descripsit) sed potius codicis defectum intimare puto 31. deus est... natus: in rasura (sed manu prima)X est r°: om R ex...ex: de...deX ante saecula genitus et: om B*, supplet in margine B* (picturam phototypicam apud Burn Plate xxiii accuratius examinanti certae sunt vocabuli et reliquiae: errore omisit qui e regione textum descripsit) est r°: om RX in saeculum L*R in saecula R natus: genitus C 32. perfectus deus: tr post aequ. patri (vers. 33) C perfectus deus homo (om perfectus 2°) M* perfectus homo (om deus) M* rationabili BCMX (cf. vers. 37): rationali (-ale L*ed*P*) FfL/PRUV 33. minor...humanitatem: om per homoeoteleuton C minor patre B V*ed*2: minor patri MF/L*PR2*UVV*ed*2X minor patris L*2R*

29. eternam P aeterna R incarnatione R 30. confitemur X 32. umana F humana X* 33. aequalis FP patris R* secundum R°: sedum F saecundum X patris R*L*
qui licet deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus; 
unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne, sed adsumptione 
humanitatis in deo; unus omnino non confusione substantiae, sed 
unitate personae. nam sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus est homo, 
ita deus et homo unus est Christus: 
qui passus est pro salute nostra, discendit ad inferos, surrexit 
a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram patris, inde venturus 
judicare vivos et mortuos. 
ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent in cor-
poribus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem; et qui 
bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui mala in ignem aeternum.

qui: quia M et: om X tr non tamen duo C (M) christus: 
deus (d5) C M* 35. unus autem: una R non: om M (cf. vers. 36) 
conversione B* C M* in carne... in deo B C M F f P U X: in car-
 nem... in deo L* I in carne... in deum R in carnem... in deum L* r V 
36. non: in M2 (cf. v. 35) unitate: unitatis F f unitatem X; om * 
personae: om V* (corr m p) 37. rationabilis B M (cf. vers. 32): 
rationalis C F f L I P R r U V est 29: om C 38. inferos: in-
ferna C* (corr ut vid m p) surrexit B F f L* R: resurrexit C L* l P et 
resurrexit M tertia die resurrexit r U V (P*?) 39. ascendit: + ad 
inferos et resurrexit (per homoeretulion verborum descendit et ascendit) 
M*, sed corr m p in caelos M sedit B C M F L I P R U: sedet f r V 
ad dextera F patris B C L*: dei patris omnipotenti M F f L* l 
P R r U V inde... mortuos: om L*, supplet ad calcem paginae L* 
inde venturus: + est C R V et: ac B R 40. tr habent resurgere 
omnes homines C M in corporibus suis B (in suis corporibus X): 
cum corporibus suis codd cett 40, 41. de codice B vide supra ad vv. 
12, 13 41. qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam: procedent 
qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae f qui bona egerunt ibunt in 
vitam aeternam fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae F (unde conicias arche-
typum codicum F f nonnisi fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae praebuisse, 
reliqua verba egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam correctorem aliquem in 
margine archetyp codicis F adposuisse) qui mala B C P (X): nam 
qui mala (per dittography post aeternam?) M et qui mala L* l U qui 
vero mala F f L* V r qui autem mala R

conversionem L divinitate M* divinitates r* adsumptionem f L 
adsumptionis ut vid F* adsumptione P humanitatis B* (sed corr m p) humanitatis F 
36. unitatem X persone F f R V 38. salutae M salutem R saluta U 
descendit B C M L R: descendit f I P R U V descendet F inferus P 40. ad: a R 
onmis P* propris C 41. aegerunt L hibunt L in vitam eternam P; 
in ignem eternam M
Haec est fides catholica: quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

haec est: + ergo (e vers. 30) R, autem (e vers. 3) V fides: 

bis F quis C M (cf. vers. 2) : quisque B F L / P R / U V ac (hac L) firmiterque L / 2

EXPLICIT F FINIT P: nihil habent codices ceteri.

chatholica F chatolica P fideliter L firmiterquae F credediret L.