

## ISIDORIANA

The greatest single service which the scholarship of the Early Middle Ages rendered to Western theology was the transmission to posterity of the works of the Latin Fathers of the Church. The number of editions of the Latin writers of Christian antiquity whose manuscript tradition derives from the Carolingian age is remarkable indeed, especially when one considers the precarious state of culture during this early period of European history. Perhaps the most significant cultural factor in the Carolingian Renaissance was its deep reverence and respect for tradition and authority, which were visibly manifested in a preoccupation with the preservation and transmission of the patristic authors. Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory, the four Latin Fathers par excellence, were held in such esteem that the mere association of a work with their name endowed it with the prestige of theological authority. The method, employed by both dogmatic theologian and biblical exegete, was rooted deeply in the appeal to the ancient authorities of the Church. The more ancient the authority, the more compelling the proof.

Every student of the manuscripts of the Early Middle Ages knows the caution that must be had in evaluating the authenticity of works prepared in the scriptoria of this period. Contemporary theological and biblical works came to enjoy the authority of patristic antiquity by having the names of the most distinguished Fathers of the Latin and Greek Church affixed to them. To trace fully the process which underlies this literary transformation is almost never possible, for rarely is the history of any medieval scriptorium fully known to us.

There is, however, no reason for regarding all these false literary ascriptions as formal forgeries, motivated by the bad faith of the scribes who copied the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> More often than not the ultimate explanation is found in the defective literary and textual criticism of the times, as well as in the defective state of the patristic manuscripts from which the medieval scribe copied. At times folios, especially the first and last, were lost and together with them the *incipit* and *explicit* of the work which named the author. Frequently various works of a Father, generally the opuscula, were bound together in a single codex under one general title. The breaking up of the codex at a later date gave rise to a number of anonymous works. The causes of corruption in the patristic tradition are manifold and date as far back as Late Antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among the notable exceptions are the famous pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the *Cogitis me* on the Assumption which Paschasius Radbertus (*ca.* 860) composed in the name of Jerome.

<sup>2</sup> The two best treatments of this vast question are by J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et*

In addition to the confusion within the authentic patristic works, there are a vast number of spurious works which the medieval world handed on to posterity as genuine patristic writings. This is frequently due to defective copying. At times marginal source marks were incorporated into the *incipit*, especially when these annotations stood at the very beginning of the text. If an anonymous work bore the same title as a known patristic work, the mistake of attributing it to the Father was both easy and natural. Where anonymous works were bound together in the same codex with works of a Father, later scribes concluded that these unknown works were part of the literary tradition of the Father with whose works they were bound. Often-times works, similar in style to the patristic or filled with patristic citations, were mistaken as part of the work of the Father.

Once the scribe had placed the name of a Father of the Church in the *incipit*, it entered the manuscript tradition, adhered to the work, and later appeared in the *editio princeps* of the Father. Frequently the pseudo work enjoyed the reputation of authenticity for centuries. Even after scholarship showed its spurious character, it remained without proper identification, without situation in place and time. The assertion that pseudo works are valuable in estimating the spiritual and intellectual life of an age is true only in a very limited sense and should be made with the utmost caution, for it is far from the historical truth of literary development to say that whatever is written in an age fully reflects the spirit of that age.<sup>3</sup>

The name of Isidore of Seville (d. 636), the last of the Latin Fathers, was frequently ascribed to biblical and theological works, because he enjoyed, even in his lifetime, a reputation and authority which were surpassed by no contemporary in the Western world. To his associate, Braulio,<sup>4</sup> he was "lucerna ardens et non marcescens," and to St. Ildefonsus<sup>5</sup> he was a "vir prudentissimus," a remarkable monument of learning. The greatest tribute, however, came from the Eighth Council of Toledo (653)<sup>6</sup> which called him "the outstanding doctor of our century, the most recent glory of the Catholic

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*moyen âge 2* (Brussels, 1947) 245-377, and G. Bardy, "Faux et fraudes littéraires dans l'antiquité chrétienne," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 32 (1936) 5-23, 275-302.

<sup>3</sup> Two examples are Ps.-Augustine (ca. 655), *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* (PL 35, 2149-2200) and Ps.-Jerome (Virgilius of Salzburg, d. 784), *Cosmographia* (H. Wuttke, *Die Kosmographie des Istrien Aithikos* [Leipzig, 1853]). Neither work reflects the spirit of the age of Augustine and Jerome and neither reflects the spirit of the Early Middle Ages. Ps.-Augustine is critical, rational, and sceptical, while Ps.-Jerome is exotic, fantastic, and esoteric. The spirit of the age lies actually midway between these extremes. The question of the value and interpretation of pseudo works obviously requires careful study.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* 2, ed. W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri 20* (Oxford, 1911).

<sup>5</sup> *De viris illustribus* (PL 96, 197, 202).

<sup>6</sup> Canon 2 (Mansi 10, 1215).

Church . . .” His reputation for learning was principally founded on his writings, for he wrote voluminously in all spheres of learning, and his works, which were quickly disseminated, exercised an important influence in education, theology, natural science, and biblical exegesis. The largeness of his appeal to the medieval world is attested by the vast manuscript tradition of his works, which is scarcely surpassed.

Though his writings were catalogued by his intimate friend, Braulio of Saragossa<sup>7</sup> (ca. 651), this did not check the growth of pseudo-Isidoriana, for Isidore was as important in the eyes of his generation as Augustine had been in his. The prestige of Isidore’s name was a decisive motive for ascribing works to him. Within a century of his death the first pseudo works had already appeared, and the succeeding centuries of the Middle Ages continued to add to their number. They were partially reproduced in the *editio princeps* of Isidore, published in 1580, and in the last great edition of Isidore, which F. Arévalo, S. J., brought out in the early years of the last century and which is reproduced in Migne (*PL* 83–84).

Though scholars have devoted much attention to the works of Isidore in past years, there is still no universal agreement on the definitive list of his writings. The task of sifting the spurious from the authentic still remains to be finished, and the very great problem of determining the date and place of origin of the pseudo-Isidorian works is far from solved. This note, relying on the results of recent research in the theological literature of the Early Middle Ages, will present a list of the extant authentic works of Isidore and will discuss the character of some of the pseudo-Isidoriana.<sup>8</sup>

#### AUTHENTIC ISIDORIANA

The corpus of the authentic works of Isidore is composed of the following titles, which can be conveniently subdivided into five categories: (1) educational, (2) exegetical, (3) dogmatic, (4) historical, and (5) miscellaneous.<sup>9</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the best edition of these works is F. Arévalo’s (*PL* 83–84).

<sup>7</sup> *Praenotatio librorum divi Isidori* (*PL* 81, 15–17; 82, 65–68). Cf. C. H. Lynch and P. Galindo, *San Braulio* (Madrid, 1950) pp. 356–61. St. Braulio mentions the names of seventeen works of Isidore, but he also speaks of “multa alia opuscula” of Isidore which are not named. St. Ildefonsus in his *De viris illustribus* (*PL* 96, 202) names eight works.

<sup>8</sup> This article is mainly concerned with the pseudo-Isidorian works which are found in Migne (*PL* 83). The two best discussions of Isidoriana are by B. Altaner, “Der Stand der Isidorforschung,” *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome, 1936) pp. 1–32, and Sr. P. J. Mullins, *The Spiritual Life according to Saint Isidore of Seville* (Washington, 1940) pp. 16–41.

<sup>9</sup> I have followed here the convenient division of E. Dekkers, “Clavis patrum,” *Sacris erudiri* 3 (1951) 205–8.

## EDUCATIONAL:

*Etymologiarum sive originum libri 20*<sup>10</sup>

*Differentiarum sive de proprietate sermonum libri 2*

*De natura rerum*<sup>11</sup>

## EXEGETICAL:

*Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*

*De ortu et obitu patrum*<sup>12</sup>

*In libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti prooemia*

*Prologus in librum sedecim prophetarum*<sup>13</sup>

*Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in Velus Testamentum*

*Praefatio in psalterium*<sup>14</sup>

## DOGMATIC:

*De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Iudaeos*

*Sententiarum libri 3*

*De trinitate*<sup>15</sup>

*De haeresibus*<sup>16</sup>

*Synonymorum libri 2*

*De lamentatione animae peccatricis*

## HISTORICAL:

*Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, Sueborum*<sup>17</sup>

*Chronicon*<sup>18</sup>

*De viris illustribus*<sup>19</sup>

## MISCELLANEOUS:

*De ecclesiasticis officiis*

*Prologus in librum Canticularum*

*Epistulae*<sup>20</sup>

<sup>10</sup> W. Lindsay, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> G. Becker (Berlin, 1857).

<sup>12</sup> M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "Die spanische Jakobus-Legende bei Isidor von Sevilla," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958) 467-71.

<sup>13</sup> A. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera* (Madrid, 1930) pp. 90-91.

<sup>14</sup> G. Morin, "La part de saint Isidore dans la constitution du texte du psautier Mozarabe," *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome, 1936) pp. 151-63.

<sup>15</sup> Z. G. Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España* 2, 2 (Madrid, 1933) 282-89.

<sup>16</sup> A. C. Vega, *Scriptores ecclesiastici hispano-latini veteris et medii aevi* 5 (Escorial, 1935); B. Altaner, *Theologische Revue* 2 (1937) 59. There is also a pseudo-Isidorian work on heresies, *Indiculus de haeresibus* (PL 81, 636-44). Cf. E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 113, n. 636.

<sup>17</sup> E. Wartz, *MGH: Auctores antiquissimi* 11 (1894) 241-303.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 391-488.

<sup>19</sup> G. von Dzialowski, *Isidorus und Ildefonsus als Literarhistoriker* (Münster, 1898).

<sup>20</sup> J. Madoz, *Epistolario de S. Braulio de Zaragoza* (Madrid, 1941); W. Lindsay, *op. cit.*; B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (5th ed.; Freiburg, 1958) p. 461.

*Epistula ad Massonam episcopum*  
*Epistula ad Eugenium episcopum*  
*Epistula ad Helladium episcopum*<sup>21</sup>  
*Versus Isidori*<sup>22</sup>  
*Regula monachorum*<sup>23</sup>

## PSEUDO-ISIDORIANA

A certain portion of the pseudo-Isidorian literature<sup>24</sup> has been demonstrated to be of Irish provenance or at least to reflect a very pronounced Irish influence. The forging of the names of the Fathers of the Church to biblical and theological works is a practice which is perfectly in accord with the early Irish method and mentality.<sup>25</sup> In the past five years the following pseudo-Isidorian works have been re-evaluated and proved to be the product of the Irish schools.

The *Liber de numeris*<sup>26</sup> (PL 83, 1293–1302), which probably originated in the Salzburg circle of St. Virgilius (d. 784) about the year 750,<sup>27</sup> is undoubtedly of Irish provenance. This conclusion rests on the evidence of the manuscript tradition, on the style and contents, as well as on a remarkable number of literary parallels between it and works of certain Irish origin. Closely affiliated with it is the *Liber de ortu et obitu patrum* (PL 83, 1275–94), which, despite obvious similarities with the authentic work of Isidore of the same name, is of Irish origin. It is probably the work of the author of the above-mentioned *Liber de numeris*.<sup>28</sup> M. C. Díaz y Díaz has shown on the basis

<sup>21</sup> W. Gundlach, *MGH: Epist.* 3 (1892) 661–62.

<sup>22</sup> C. Beeson, *Isidorstudien*, in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* 4 (Munich, 1913) 133–66; J. Madoz, “Nuevas fuentes de los ‘Versus Isidori,’” *Estudios eclesiósticos* 21 (194) 217–23.

<sup>23</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 319, n. 1868.

<sup>24</sup> The following discussion is mainly based on Migne’s *Patrologia latina* 83. Wherever the present state of research makes it possible, I indicate the date, provenance, and author of these pseudo works.

<sup>25</sup> There is an Irish Ps.-Augustine (mentioned supra n. 2); an Irish Ps.-Cyprian (*ca.* 650), *De xii abusivis saeculi* (S. Hellmann, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 34, 1 [Munich, 1909]); and an Irish Ps.-Jerome, *Expositio quattuor evangeliorum* (PL 30, 531–90; 114, 861–916).

<sup>26</sup> This work is to be distinguished from the *Liber numerorum* (PL 83, 179–200), which is also Ps.-Isidorian. There is nothing in either the style, the content, or the manuscript tradition of this work which indicates that it is authentic. The work to which Braulio refers in his *Praenotatio* (PL 81, 16B) as “de numeris librum unum” must be regarded as a lost work of Isidore. Cf. C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>27</sup> R. E. McNally, *Der irische Liber de numeris* (Munich, 1957).

<sup>28</sup> The pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de ortu et obitu patrum* is hardly an interpolation of the authentic work of Isidore (PL 83, 129–56). The pseudo work shows an external imitation of the form of the authentic work and a reliance on it as a source, but the Irish character

of both internal and external evidence<sup>29</sup> that the *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (PL 83, 913–54), a work which is neither mentioned in Braulio's *Praenotatio* nor assigned by the majority of manuscripts to Isidore,<sup>30</sup> is of Irish origin, probably written by an Irish monk in Ireland about 650. An analysis of the content of the *De Vetere et Novo Testamento quaestiones* (PL 83, 201–8), a curious collection of questions and answers on various biblical themes, tends to show the probability that the work is Irish and originated between 700 and 750 in Upper Germany.<sup>31</sup> The presence of Irish symptoms seems certain. The *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* is an Irish commentary on the Apocalypse which was probably composed in Central Europe about the year 800 or earlier.<sup>32</sup> According to two manuscripts, this work is both Ps.-Jerome and Ps.-Isidore.<sup>33</sup>

The *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* (PL 83, 1131–44), known as the work of Ambrose (PL 17, 1057–75) and Augustine (PL 40, 1091–1106) as well as Isidore, is certainly the work of Ambrosius Autpertus (d. 784),<sup>34</sup> who sent it shortly after its composition to Lantfried, Abbot of Benediktbeuron in Upper Bavaria. The *Liber de variis quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos et ceteros infideles*<sup>35</sup> is very probably the work of the Spanish adoptionist, Felix of

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is revealed in the internal and external relation to the Irish *Liber de numeris*. Cf. G. Morin, "Textes inédits relatifs au symbole et à la vie chrétienne," *Revue bénédictine* 22 (1905) 507–9; E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 1191.

<sup>29</sup> M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoriana: Sobre el libro *De ordine creaturarum*," *Sacris erudiri* 5 (1953) 147–66; C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>30</sup> The only manuscript which assigns this work to the authorship of Isidore is the manuscript of Reims. Cf. C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 1.

<sup>31</sup> This work is preserved in *codex unicus*, Vat. Pal. lat. 277 (s. viii–ix) fols. 82r–89v. There is no need for maintaining the Roman origin of this uncial manuscript, as L. Traube does (*Regula Benedicti*, p. 107). It is more probable that this manuscript, which was in the Weissenburg library in the Early Middle Ages, is of Frankish origin (Lorsch?). The content of the work as well as the style show pronounced Irish symptoms. Cf. L. Traube, "Die lateinischen Handschriften in alter Capitalis und in Uncialis," *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen von Ludwig Traube* 1 (Munich, 1909) 235; C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> The work was edited by K. Hartung, *Ein Traktat zur Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes* (Bamberg, 1904) on the basis of the Bamberg manuscript (Bamberg, B. V. 18). There is, however, in addition to the manuscripts of this work listed by B. Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter," *Sacris erudiri* 6 (1954) 272, a Reichenau manuscript: Karlsruhe 248, fols. 156r–161r (s. viii–ix).

<sup>33</sup> B. Bischoff, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>34</sup> J. Winandy, "Les dates de l'abbatit et de la mort d'Ambroise Autpert," *Revue bénédictine* 59 (1949) 206–10; "L'Oeuvre littéraire d'Ambroise Autpert," *Revue bénédictine* 60 (1950) 93–119.

<sup>35</sup> *Liber de variis quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos et ceteros infideles*, ed. A. C. Vega and A. E. Anspach, *Scriptores ecclesiastici hispano-latini veteris et mediæ aevi* 6–8 (Escorial, 1940).

Urgel (d. 818). After the appearance of the critical edition of this work by A. Anspach and A. Vega, who attributed the authorship to Isidore, J. Madoz<sup>36</sup> brought forth convincing evidence to show that the author is Felix of Urgel.

The *Commonitiuncula ad sororem*,<sup>37</sup> supposedly addressed by Isidore to his sister, Florentina, is largely an exhortation on the nature and acquisition of the moral virtues. Though attributed in Migne to Adelger (*PL* 134, 915–38), a bishop about whom practically nothing is known with certainty,<sup>38</sup> A. Anspach tried to show that this work actually represents one of the earliest compositions of Isidore.<sup>39</sup> The evidence, however, indicates nothing more than that the *Commonitiuncula* was written by an anonymous writer in the second half of the seventh century.<sup>40</sup> The *Expositio in Canticum canticorum* (*PL* 83, 1119–32) is related in some undefined way to Haymo of Auxerre's (d. ca. 865) *Salomon inspiratus*, though it is not yet clear in which direction the dependence lies. The work has been assigned both to Felix of Urgel and to Isidore of Seville, though it is more probably a work dating from the end of the ninth century.<sup>41</sup> The *Testimonia divinae scripturae et patrum* (*PL* 83, 1203–18) is also an anonymous work of the seventh century, a kind of résumé of the *Liber de divinis scripturis*. There is neither internal nor external reason for attributing it to Isidore.<sup>42</sup> Nor is there any secure foundation for the claim that Isidore is the author either of the *Commentary*

<sup>36</sup> J. Madoz, "Una obra de Félix de Urgel falsamente adjudicada a San Isidoro de Sevilla," *Estudios eclesiásticos* 23 (1949) 147–68; A. C. Vega replied in "El 'Liber de variis quaestionibus' no es de Félix de Urgel," *Ciudad de Dios* 161 (1949) 217–68. J. Madoz rebutted in "Contrastes y discrepancias entre el 'Liber de variis quaestionibus' y San Isidoro de Sevilla," *Estudios eclesiásticos* 24 (1950) 435–58.

<sup>37</sup> *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Commonitiuncula ad sororem*, ed. A. E. Anspach, *Scriptores ecclesiastici hispano-latini veteris et medii aevi* 4 (Escorial, 1935).

<sup>38</sup> B. Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* 2, 2 (Augsburg, 1721) 17–50, first published this work under the name of Adelher. Cf. M. Manitius, *Die Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich, 1923) 52–53.

<sup>39</sup> B. Altaner, *Theologische Revue* 36 (1937) 58; J. A. De Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro," *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome, 1936) p. 83, n. 100; Sr. P. J. Mullins, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>40</sup> A. Vaccari, "Un trato attribuito a S. Girolamo," *Mélanges F. Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948) pp. 147–62.

<sup>41</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 1220; p. 158, n. 910; P. Glorieux, "Pour revaloriser Migne," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 9 (1952) 48; A. Vaccari, "L'Editio princeps del commento di Aimone alla Cantica et la chiave di un problema letterario," *Biblica* 5 (1924) 183–91.

<sup>42</sup> A. Bludau, "Das Comma Johanneum bei Eucherius und Cassiodorus," *Theologie und Glaube* 19 (1927) 147 ff., 418 ff.; D. de Bruyne, "Etude sur le 'Liber de divinis scripturis,'" *Revue bénédictine* 43 (1931) 124–41; 45 (1933) 119–41.

on *Genesis* (PL 50, 893–1048) or the *Commentary on Kings* (PL 50, 1047–1208) of Ps.-Eucherius of Lyons.<sup>43</sup>

Of the thirteen letters which are contained in Arévalo's edition of the Isidorian correspondence, two are from Braulio to Isidore and eleven are in Isidore's own name. Of these eleven, three are clearly suspect.<sup>44</sup> The *Epistula ad Leudefredum* (PL 83, 893–98) is actually a small tract on ecclesiastical orders and is certainly based on the *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae* of Ps.-Jerome.<sup>45</sup> Though a great number of scholars accept this letter as Isidore's,<sup>46</sup> the problem of its authenticity has not yet been definitively solved.<sup>47</sup> The *Epistula ad Redemptum* (PL 83, 905–7) is a treatise on the Eucharist which, because of its developed terminology and concept of the Blessed Sacrament, should be probably dated sometime after 1170.<sup>48</sup> The *Epistula ad Claudium duces* (PL 83, 902–5), which even F. Arévalo in his day regarded as somewhat doubtful,<sup>49</sup> was probably composed after the middle of the ninth century. It shows clear tendentious teaching on the *Filioque* clause in the Creed and on the primatial prerogatives of the papacy.<sup>50</sup>

Though it is very probable that Isidore composed some pieces for use in the liturgy, since he was actively interested in the theory and practice of divine worship,<sup>51</sup> nothing has come down to us which we can regard as genuinely Isidorian. The *Expositio in missa* (PL 83, 1145–54; 138, 1163–86; 147, 191–200), which is largely a commentary on the Canon of the Mass, is late Carolingian and shows reliance on Isidore's writings.<sup>51a</sup> Perhaps even symptoms of Irish influence are present. The *Benedictio cerei*<sup>52</sup> and the

<sup>43</sup> F. Fita, "La biblia y San Isidoro: Nuevo estudio," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la historia* 56 (1910) 471–93; E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 89, n. 498.

<sup>44</sup> P. Sejourné, *Le dernier père de l'église: Saint Isidore de Seville, son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris, 1929), questions the authenticity of all the Isidorian letters except *Epistula 5 ad Helladium*. However, this extreme position is not generally accepted by scholars.

<sup>45</sup> PL 30, 148–62; *De vii ordinibus ecclesiae*, ed. A. Kalf (Würzburg, 1938); E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 134, n. 764.

<sup>46</sup> Sr. P. J. Mullins, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1223; C. Silva-Tarouca, *Gregorianum* 12 (1931) 588.

<sup>48</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1224; J. Geiselman, *Die Abendmahllehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter* (Munich, 1933) pp. 9–163.

<sup>49</sup> PL 81, 513.

<sup>50</sup> P. Sejourné, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 95 ff.

<sup>51</sup> P. Sejourné, "Saint Isidore de Seville et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome, 1936) pp. 222–51.

<sup>51a</sup> Cf. L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* 1 (Freiburg, 1932) 121–22; J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* 1 (Vatican City, 1948) 108–14, 283–338.

<sup>52</sup> H. M. Bannister, "Paralipomena ambrosiana," *Studi e testi* 12, 2 (Rome, 1904) 40–43; E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 335, n. 1932.

*Benedictio lucernae*,<sup>55</sup> both attributed to Isidore, are nothing more than remnants of the old Mozarabic liturgy. The same can be said of the beautiful little hymn in honor of Sts. Justa and Rufina (PL 31, 439; 86, 1159).<sup>54</sup>

None of the four sermons attributed to Isidore in the Appendix of his works in Migne (PL 83) is genuine. *Sermon 1* (PL 83, 1217–21) is *Sermon 199* of Caesarius of Arles,<sup>55</sup> while *Sermon 2* (PL 83, 1121–23) is based on the *Sermo ad catechumenos* of Quodvultdeus (PL 40, 696–700).<sup>56</sup> *Sermon 4* (PL 83, 1225–28) is *Sermon 16* of Ps.-Eusebius Gallicanus (PL 30, 271; 67, 1052).<sup>57</sup>

In addition to these four sermons, there are three poetical compositions<sup>58</sup> which in the broad sense of the word can be called poetical sermons. The *Exhortatio poenitendi cum consolatione et misericordia Dei* (PL 83, 1251–56),<sup>59</sup> a poem of 176 hexameters, is directed to a sinner whom the poet exhorts to do penance, avoid sin, and prepare for death.<sup>60</sup> The *Lamentum poenitentiae* (PL 83, 1255–62) is an alphabetical poem of 113 stanzas of three lines written in trochaic tetrameter catalectic. It is the prayer of a sinner holding dialogue with God and lamenting the misery of sin and evil.<sup>61</sup> Both poems are pseudo-Isidorian. K. Strecker has shown that they are the work of a poet who was thoroughly in the tradition of Isidore. They were probably composed in Spain early in the eighth century, very probably before 800.<sup>62</sup> The *Confessio beati Isidori*, a poem of thirty-six hexameter lines, is a lament for sin and a petition that Christ will extend His pardon to the poor sinner. It survives in a single manuscript (Paris, BN Lat. 8093, fol. 24) of the late eighth or early ninth century.<sup>63</sup> The *Oratio pro correptione vitae* (PL 83, 1261–74), a continuation in prose of the *Lamentum poenitentiae* mentioned

<sup>55</sup> L. Serrano, C. Rojo, and G. Prado, *Antiphonarium mozarabicum de la catedral de León* (León, 1928) p. 127; E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 1217a.

<sup>54</sup> C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica 27* (Leipzig, 1897) 112–231; J. Perez de Urbel, "El origen de los himnos mozarabes," *Bull. hispanique* 28 (1926) 215; E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 1218.

<sup>55</sup> Caesarius of Arles, *Serm. 199* (*Corpus christianorum, ser. lat.* 104, 802–7); Faustus of Riez, *Serm. 25* (CSEL 21, 323–27).

<sup>56</sup> G. Morin, "Initia et censura sermonum," *Miscellanea agostiniana 1* (Rome, 1930) 767–68; PL 83, 1221–23 (PL 40, 696–700) is *Sermo ad catechumenos 1–8* of Quodvultdeus.

<sup>57</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 460, n. 1225. Cf. Ps.-Augustine, *Ad fratres in eremo sermo 68* (PL 40, 1354–55); P. Glorieux, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>58</sup> The *Exhortatio*, *Lamentum*, and *Oratio pro correptione vitae* are edited by K. Strecker, *MGH: Poetae 4*, 2, 760 ff.

<sup>59</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1227; P. Glorieux, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>60</sup> C. M. Sage, *Paul Albar of Cordoba* (Washington, 1943) pp. 86–87.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

<sup>62</sup> K. Strecker, *op. cit.*, pp. 760–83; C. M. Sage, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1229; C. M. Sage, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–92.

above, is a mélange of penitential prayer and meditation on the mercy of God to sinners.<sup>64</sup> It was obviously composed after the *Lamentum* and probably in Spain. The *Oratio contra insidias diaboli* (PL 83, 1273–76) is a short prayer in which God is asked for strength against the wiles of Satan and the forces of evil. Actually this prayer is found in the *Libellus Trecentis* (ca. 803–4)<sup>65</sup> and in Ps.-Alcuin's *Officia per ferias* (PL 101, 604CD) under the name of Isidore. There are variations in all three texts.<sup>66</sup>

The *Collectiones canonum* (PL 84, 23–627) is of doubtful Isidorian authorship; first, because it contains elements foreign to seventh-century Visigothic Spain; and, second, because there is no convincing evidence that Isidore ever made such a canonical collection as this. However, if this collection is carefully sifted, many elements will be found which represent the result of Isidore's active share in the formation of the canon law of the Visigothic Church.<sup>67</sup> The *Institutionum disciplinae*<sup>68</sup> was accepted by C. Beeson<sup>69</sup> as a genuine Isidorian treatise on education, though this attribution has not been universally accepted.<sup>70</sup> The *Differentiarum sive de proprietate sermonum*<sup>71</sup> (PL 83, 1319–32), obviously composed under the influence of the authentic *Differentiarum*, is certainly pseudo-Isidorian.<sup>72</sup> The various frag-

<sup>64</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1228; P. Glorieux, *op. cit.*, p. 48; C. M. Sage, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>65</sup> A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini* 1 (Rome, 1940) 18–19; A. Wilmart, "Manuscrits de Tours copiés et décorés vers le temps d'Alcuin," *Revue bénédictine* 42 (1930) 44–54; A. Wilmart, "Le manuel de prières de Saint Jean Gualbert," *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936) 262–65.

<sup>66</sup> Certain stylistic features of the prayer suggest insular influences; e.g., alliteration: "clemens, corripens et consolator"; homoioteleuton: "doctor et praestitor . . . largitor et monitor"; vocabulary: "doctor" and "bellator" as titles of the Lord.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Sr. P. J. Mullins, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–37, for Isidore's work in the formation of the canon law of Visigothic Spain.

<sup>68</sup> A. Anspach, "Institutionum disciplinae," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1912, pp. 557–63. The manuscript on which the text is based is Paris, BN. lat. 2994A (s. viii–ix?).

<sup>69</sup> C. Beeson, "Isidore's *Institutionum disciplinae* and Pliny the Younger," *Classical Philology* 8 (1913) 93–98. "There can be no reasonable doubt that the work is by Isidore" (*ibid.*, p. 95).

<sup>70</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 209, n. 1216, places it among the doubtful works of Isidore. B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (5th ed.; Freiburg, 1958), does not list it with the authentic works. Sr. P. J. Mullins, *op. cit.*, p. 27, merely states Beeson's opinion without taking position on the question.

<sup>71</sup> A. Macé, *De emendando Differentiarum libro qui inscribitur De proprietate sermonum et Isidori Hispanensis esse fertur* (Paris, 1900).

<sup>72</sup> C. Pascal, "Di un opuscolo falsamente attribuito ad Isidoro," *Studi ital. di filologia classica* 14 (1906) 6–7.

ments of *Isidoriana* which A. Anspach<sup>73</sup> has gathered together from unpublished manuscripts in Spanish libraries require more careful investigation before they can be accepted into the corpus of authentic works of Isidore. The *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (PL 83, 1227-44) is probably a second recension of Gennadius' *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* made by an unknown author at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.<sup>74</sup>

Of the pseudo-Isidorian works published in Migne the following titles remain unidentified. None of them is mentioned either in the *Praenotatio* of Braulio or in the *De viris illustribus* of St. Ildefonsus. None of them is handed down in a manuscript tradition which points to Isidore. All of them rely on various works of Isidore for their form and content, but none possesses the true Isidorian character. They are: *Ad libros Regum* (PL 83, 425-34);<sup>75</sup> *Sententiarum liber quartus* (PL 83, 1153-1200);<sup>76</sup> *Sententiae differentiarum de activa vita atque contemplativa* (PL 83, 1243-48);<sup>77</sup> *Norma vivendi* (PL 83, 1247-52);<sup>78</sup> *Glossae in sacram scripturam* (PL 83, 1301-20);<sup>79</sup> and *Liber glossarum* (PL 83, 1331-78).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> A. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera* (Madrid, 1930). Cf. the reviews by W. S. Porter, *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1934) 108-9, and Z. G. Villada, *Estudios eclesiásticos* 10 (1931) 244-46.

<sup>74</sup> E. Dekkers, *op. cit.*, p. 165, n. 958a. Cf. H. Bouillard, *Conversion et grâce* (Paris, 1944) pp. 100 ff.

<sup>75</sup> This fragmentary work is found in Vat. Pal. lat. 276 as an appendix to Isidore's *Questiones in Regum quartum*. Cf. F. Arévalo, *Isidoriana* 4, 102 (PL 81, 861-62; 83, 425).

<sup>76</sup> This work, a continuation of Isidore's three books of *Sentences*, shows no close affinity either to the style or the method of Isidore.

<sup>77</sup> F. Arévalo, *op. cit.* 3, 85, 8 (PL 81, 627BC).

<sup>78</sup> The *Norma vivendi* depends largely on Isidore's *Synonyma* and is probably later than the middle of the seventh century. There is no cogent reason for assigning it to Isidore, though F. Arévalo (*op. cit.*, 1, 82 [PL 81, 589-90]) grants the possibility that Isidore may have composed this work out of excerpts from his own *Synonyma*.

<sup>79</sup> This work is made up largely of citations from Isidore's writings.

<sup>80</sup> This work and the *Glossae in s. scripturam* are probably of Frankish origin and date from the eighth or ninth centuries.