

Scripture Canon Lists

Compiled by Simon Wartanian (www.thecalvinist.net)

Jewish Canons

Sirach (2nd c. BC)

Prologue 1-2, 8-10, 24-25

Many great teachings have been given to us through **the Law** and **the Prophets** and **the others that followed them**...So my grandfather Jesus, who had devoted himself especially to the reading of **the Law** and **the Prophets** and **the other books** of our ancestors, and had acquired considerable proficiency in them, was himself also led to write something pertaining to instruction and wisdom, so that by becoming familiar also with his book those who love learning might make even greater progress in living according to the law....Not only this book, but even **the Law** itself, **the Prophecies**, and **the rest of the books** differ not a little when read in the original.

Josephus (70 – 100 AD)

Contra Apion, 1.37-42

For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have,] but **only twenty-two books**, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them **five belong to Moses**, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, **the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books**. The remaining **four books contain hymns to God**, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, **our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time**; and **how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation** is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but **it is become natural to all Jews immediately, and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain Divine doctrines**, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Babylonian Talmud

Baba Bathra 14

The Sages taught: The order of the books of **the Prophets** when they are attached together is as follows: **Joshua** and **Judges**, **Samuel** and **Kings**, **Jeremiah** and **Ezekiel**, and **Isaiah** and **the Twelve Prophets**. The Gemara asks: Consider: **Hosea** preceded some of the other prophets whose books are included in the Bible, as it is written: “The Lord spoke first to Hosea” (Hosea 1:2). At first glance this verse is difficult: But did God speak first with Hosea, and not with any other prophet before him? Weren’t there many prophets between Moses and Hosea? And Rabbi Yoḥanan says: He was the first of four prophets who prophesied in that period, and they were: **Hosea** and **Isaiah**, **Amos** and **Micah**. Accordingly, Hosea preceded those three prophets; and the book of Hosea as well should precede the books of those prophets.

The Gemara answers: Since his prophecy is written together with those of **Haggai**, **Zechariah**, and **Malachi** in one book of the **Twelve Prophets**, and **Haggai**, **Zechariah**, and **Malachi** were the last of the prophets, he is counted with them. The Gemara inquires: But let the book of Hosea be written separately and let it precede the others. The Gemara answers: Were it written separately, since it is small it would be lost.

The Gemara further asks: Consider: **Isaiah** preceded **Jeremiah** and **Ezekiel**; let the book of Isaiah precede the books of those other prophets. The Gemara answers: Since the **book of Kings** ends with the destruction of the Temple, and the book of Jeremiah deals entirely with prophecies of the destruction, and the book of Ezekiel begins with the destruction of the Temple but ends with consolation and the rebuilding of the Temple, and Isaiah deals entirely with consolation, as most of his prophecies refer to the redemption, we juxtapose destruction to destruction and consolation to consolation. This accounts for the order: **Jeremiah**, **Ezekiel**, and **Isaiah**.

The baraita continues: The order of the Writings is: **Ruth** and the book of **Psalms**, and **Job** and **Proverbs**; **Ecclesiastes**, **Song of Songs**, and **Lamentations**; **Daniel** and the **Scroll of Esther**; and **Ezra** and **Chronicles**. The Gemara asks: And according to the one who says that Job lived in the time of Moses, let the book of Job precede the others. The Gemara answers: We do not begin with suffering, i.e., it is inappropriate to start the Writings with a book that deals so extensively with suffering. The Gemara asks: But the book of **Ruth**, with which the Writings opens, is also about suffering, since it describes the tragedies that befell the family of Elimelech. The Gemara answers: This is suffering which has a future of hope and redemption. As Rabbi Yoḥanan says: Why was she named Ruth, spelled reish, vav, tav? Because there descended from her David who sated, a word with the root reish, vav, heh, the Holy One, Blessed be He, with songs and praises.

https://www.sefaria.org/Bava_Batra.14b.8

Canon lists in the East

Bryennois List (100 – 150 AD)

Brisith: **Genesis**. Elsimoth: **Exodus**. Odoikra: **Leviticus**. Diesou: **Joshua** son of Naue. Eledebbari: **Deuteronomy**. Ouidabir: **Numbers**. Darouth: Of **Ruth**. Diab: of **Job**. Dasophtim(n): Of the **Judges**. Sphertelim: **Psalter**. Diemmouel: Of **Kingdoms First**. Diaddoudemouel: Of **Kingdoms Second**. Damalachem: Of **Kingdoms Third**. Amalachem: Of **Kingdoms Fourth**. Debriiamin: Of **Paralipomena First**. Deriiamin: Of **Paralipomena Second**. Damaleiith: Of **Proverbs**. Dakoeleth: **Ecclesiastes**. Sira Sirim: **Song of Songs**. Dierem: **Jeremiah**. 6 Daatharsiar: **Twelve Prophets**. Desaiou: Of **Isaiah**. Dieezekiel: Of **Ezekiel**. Dadaniel: Of **Daniel**. Desdra: **Esdras A**. Dadesdra: **Esdras B**. Desthes: **Esther**.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 71-72.

Melito of Sardis (ca. 170)

Preserved by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., 4.26.12-14.

12. But in the Extracts made by him the same writer gives at the beginning of the introduction a catalogue of the acknowledged books of the Old Testament, which it is necessary to quote at this point. He writes as follows:

13. “Melito to his brother Onesimus, greeting: Since thou hast often, in thy zeal for the word, expressed a wish to have extracts made from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and concerning our entire faith, and hast also desired to have an accurate statement of the ancient book, as regards their number and their order, I have endeavored to perform the task, knowing thy zeal for the faith, and thy desire to gain information in regard to the word, and knowing that thou, in thy yearning after God, esteemest these things above all else, struggling to attain eternal salvation.

14. Accordingly when **I went East** and came to **the place where these things were preached and done**, I learned accurately the books of the Old Testament, and send them to thee as written below. Their names are as follows: Of Moses, five books: **Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy; Jesus Nave, Judges, Ruth**; of **Kings**, four books; of **Chronicles**, two; the **Psalms** of David, the **Proverbs** of Solomon, **Wisdom** also, **Ecclesiastes**, Song of Songs, Job; of **Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah**; of **the twelve prophets**, one book; **Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras**. From which also I have made the extracts, dividing them into six books.” Such are the words of Melito.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.ix.xxvi.html>

Origen (185 – 254 AD)

Commentary on Psalm 1 preserved by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist., 6.25)

1. When expounding the first Psalm, he gives a catalogue of the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament as follows:

“It should be stated that the canonical books, as the Hebrews have handed them down, **are twenty-two**; corresponding with the number of their letters.” Farther on he says:

2. “The **twenty-two books** of the Hebrews are the following: That which is called by us **Genesis**, but by the Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, Bresith, which means, ‘In the beginning’; **Exodus**, Welesmoth, that is, ‘These are the names’; **Leviticus**, Wikra, ‘And he called’; **Numbers**, Ammesphekodeim; **Deuteronomy**, Eleaddebareim, ‘These are the words’; **Jesus, the son of Nave**, Josoue ben Noun; **Judges** and **Ruth**, among them in one book, Saphateim; **the First and Second of Kings**, among them one, **Samouel**, that is, ‘The called of God’; **the Third and Fourth of Kings** in one,

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Wammelch David, that is, 'The kingdom of David'; of **the Chronicles, the First and Second** in one, Dabreïamein, that is, 'Records of days'; **Esdra, First and Second in one, Ezra**, that is, 'An assistant'; the book of **Psalms**, Spharthelleim; the **Proverbs** of Solomon, Meloth; **Ecclesiastes**, Koelth; the **Song of Songs** (not, as some suppose, Songs of Songs), Sir Hassirim; **Isaiah**, Jessia; **Jeremiah**, with **Lamentations** and the **epistle in one**, Jeremia; **Daniel**, Daniel; **Ezekiel**, Jezekiel; **Job**, Job; **Esther**, Esther. And **besides these there are the Maccabees**, which are entitled Sarbeth Sabanaiel." He gives these in the above-mentioned work.

3. In his first book on Matthew's Gospel, maintaining the Canon of the Church, he testifies that he knows only four Gospels, writing as follows:

4. "Among the **four Gospels**, which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the first was written by **Matthew**, who was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, and it was prepared for the converts from Judaism, and published in the Hebrew language.

5. The second is by **Mark**, who composed it according to the instructions of Peter, who in his Catholic epistle acknowledges him as a son, saying, 'The church that is at Babylon elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth Marcus, my son.'

6. And the third by **Luke**, the Gospel commended by Paul, and composed for Gentile converts. Last of all that by John."

7. In the fifth book of his Expositions of John's Gospel, he speaks thus concerning the epistles of the apostles: "But he who was 'made sufficient to be a minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit,' that is, Paul, who 'fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum,' did not write to all the churches which he had instructed and to those to which he wrote he sent but few lines.

8. And **Peter**, on whom the Church of Christ is built, 'against which the gates of hell shall not prevail,' has left **one acknowledged epistle; perhaps also a second, but this is doubtful.**

9. Why need we speak of him who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, **John**, who has left us one **Gospel**, though he confessed that he might write so many that the world could not contain them? And he wrote also the **Apocalypse**, but was commanded to keep silence and not to write the words of the seven thunders.

10. He has left also **an epistle of very few lines; perhaps also a second and third;** but not all consider them genuine, and together they do not contain hundred lines."

11. In addition he makes the following statements in regard to **the Epistle to the Hebrews** in his Homilies upon it: "That the verbal style of the epistle entitled 'To the Hebrews,' is not rude like the language of the apostle, who acknowledged himself 'rude in speech' that is, in expression; but that its diction is purer Greek, any one who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will acknowledge.

12. Moreover, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings, any one who carefully examines the apostolic text will admit.'

13. Farther on he adds: "If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any church holds that this

epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For **not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's.**

14. But who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows. The statement of some who have gone before us is that Clement, bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, and of others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it." But let this suffice on these matters.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.xi.xxv.html>

Homilies on Joshua 7.1

Matthew first sounded the priestly trumpet in his Gospel; **Mark** also; **Luke** and **John** each played their own priestly trumpets. Even **Peter cries out with trumpets in two of his epistles**; also **James** and **Jude**. In addition, John also sounds the trumpet through **his epistles**; and Luke, as he describes the **Acts of the Apostles**. And now that last one comes, the one who said, 'I think God displays us apostles last' [1 Cor. 4:9], and in **fourteen of his epistles**," thundering with trumpets, he casts down the walls of Jericho and all the devices of idolatry and dogmas of philosophers, all the way to the foundations!

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 91-92.

A Letter from Origen to Africanus

Origen to Africanus, a beloved brother in God the Father, through Jesus Christ, His holy Child, greeting. Your letter, from which I learn what you think of the **Susanna** in the **Book of Daniel, which is used in the Churches**, although apparently somewhat short, presents in its few words many problems, each of which demands no common treatment, but such as oversteps the character of a letter, and reaches the limits of a discourse. And I, when I consider, as best I can, the measure of my intellect, that I may know myself, am aware that I am wanting in the accuracy necessary to reply to your letter; and that the more, that the few days I have spent in Nicomedia have been far from sufficient to send you an answer to all your demands and queries even after the fashion of the present epistle. Wherefore pardon my little ability, and the little time I had, and read this letter with all indulgence, supplying anything I may omit.

2. You begin by saying, that when, in my discussion with our friend Bassus, I used the Scripture which contains **the prophecy of Daniel when yet a young man in the affair of Susanna, I did this as if it had escaped me that this part of the book was spurious**. You **say that you praise this passage as elegantly written, but find fault with it as a more modern composition, and a forgery**; and you add that the forger has had recourse to something which not even Philistion the play-writer would have used in his puns between *prinos* and *prisein*, *schinos* and *schisis*, which words as they sound in Greek can be used in this way, but not in Hebrew. In answer to this, I have to tell you what it behoves us to do in the cases not only of **the History of Susanna, which is found in every Church of Christ in that Greek copy which the Greeks use**, but is **not in the Hebrew, or of the two other passages you mention at the end of the book containing the history of Bel and the Dragon, which likewise are not in the Hebrew copy of Daniel**; but of thousands of other passages also which I found in many places when with my little strength I was collating the Hebrew copies with ours. For in Daniel itself I found the word "bound" followed in our versions by very many verses which are not in the Hebrew at all, beginning (according to one of the copies which circulate in the Churches) thus: "Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael prayed and sang unto God," down to "O, all ye that worship the Lord, bless ye the God of gods. Praise Him, and say that His mercy endureth for ever and ever. And it came to pass, when the king heard them singing, and saw them that they were alive." Or, as in another copy, from "And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God and blessing the Lord," down to "O, all ye that worship the Lord, bless

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

ye the God of gods. Praise Him, and say that His mercy endureth to all generations.” But in the Hebrew copies the words, “And these three men, Sedrach, Misach, and Abednego fell down bound into the midst of the fire,” are immediately followed by the verse, “Nabouchodonosor the king was astonished, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his counsellors.” For so **Aquila, following the Hebrew reading, gives it, who has obtained the credit among the Jews of having interpreted the Scriptures with no ordinary care, and whose version is most commonly used by those who do not know Hebrew**, as the one which has been most successful. Of the copies in my possession whose readings I gave, one follows the Seventy, and the other Theodotion; and just as the **History of Susanna which you call a forgery** is found in both, together with the passages at the end of Daniel, so they give also these passages, amounting, to make a rough guess, to more than two hundred verses.

3. And in many other of the sacred books I found sometimes more in our copies than in the Hebrew, sometimes less. I shall adduce a few examples, since it is impossible to give them all. **Of the Book of Esther neither the prayer of Mardochoios nor that of Esther, both fitted to edify the reader, is found in the Hebrew.** Neither are the letters; nor the one written to Amman about the rooting up of the Jewish nation, nor that of Mardochoios in the name of Artaxerxes delivering the nation from death. Then in **Job, the words from “It is written, that he shall rise again with those whom the Lord raises,” to the end, are not in the Hebrew**, and so not in Aquila’s edition; while they are found in the Septuagint and in Theodotion’s version, agreeing with each other at least in sense. And many other places I found in Job where our copies have more than the Hebrew ones, sometimes a little more, and sometimes a great deal more: a little more, as when to the words, “Rising up in the morning, he offered burnt-offerings for them according to their number,” they add, “one heifer for the sin of their soul;” and to the words, “The angels of God came to present themselves before God, and the devil came with them,” “from going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.” Again, after “The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away,” the Hebrew has not, “It was so, as seemed good to the Lord.” Then our copies are very much fuller than the Hebrew, when Job’s wife speaks to him, from “How long wilt thou hold out? And he said, Lo, I wait yet a little while, looking for the hope of my salvation,” down to “that I may cease from my troubles, and my sorrows which compass me.” For they have only these words of the woman, “But say a word against God, and die.”

4. Again, through the whole of Job **there are many passages in the Hebrew which are wanting in our copies**, generally four or five verses, but sometimes, however, even fourteen, and nineteen, and sixteen. But why should I enumerate all the instances I collected with so much labour, to prove that the difference between our copies and those of the Jews did not escape me? **In Jeremiah I noticed many instances, and indeed in that book I found much transposition and variation in the readings of the prophecies.** Again, in Genesis, the words, “God saw that it was good,” when the firmament was made, are not found in the Hebrew, and there is no small dispute among them about this; and other instances are to be found in Genesis, which I marked, for the sake of distinction, with the sign the Greeks call an obelisk, as on the other hand I marked with an asterisk those passages in our copies which are not found in the Hebrew. What needs there to speak of Exodus, where there is such diversity in what is said about the tabernacle and its court, and the ark, and the garments of the high priest and the priests, that sometimes the meaning even does not seem to be akin? And, forsooth, **when we notice such things, we are forthwith to reject as spurious the copies in use in our Churches, and enjoin the brotherhood to put away the sacred books current among them**, and to coax the Jews, and persuade them to give us copies which shall be untampered with, and free from forgery! Are we to suppose that that **Providence which in the sacred Scriptures has ministered to the edification of all the Churches of Christ, had no thought for those bought with a price, for whom Christ died**; whom, although His Son, God who is love spared not, but gave Him up for us all, that with Him He might freely give us all things?

5. In all these cases consider whether it would not be well to remember the words, “Thou shalt not remove the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set.” Nor do I say this because I shun the labour of **investigating the Jewish Scriptures, and comparing them with ours, and noticing their various readings**. This, if it be not arrogant to say it, I have already to a great extent done to the best of my ability, labouring hard to get at the meaning in all the editions and various readings; while **I paid particular attention to the interpretation of the Seventy**, lest I might to be found to accredit any forgery to the Churches which are under heaven, and give an occasion to those who seek such a starting-point for gratifying their desire to slander the common brethren, and to bring some accusation against those who shine forth in our community. And **I make it my endeavour not to be ignorant of their various readings, lest in my controversies with the Jews I should quote to them what is not found in their copies, and that I may make some use of what is found there, even although it should not be in our Scriptures**. For if we are so prepared for them in our discussions, they will not, as is their manner, scornfully laugh at Gentile believers for their ignorance of the true reading as they have them. So far as to the History of Susanna not being found in the Hebrew.

6. Let us now look at the **things you find fault with in the story itself**. And here let us begin with what would probably make any one averse to receiving the history: I mean the play of words between *prinos* and *prisis*, *schinos* and *schisis*. You say that you can see how this can be in Greek, but that in Hebrew the words are altogether distinct. On this point, however, I am still in doubt; because, when I was considering this passage (for I myself saw this difficulty), I consulted not a few Jews about it, asking them the Hebrew words for *prinos* and *prisein*, and how they would translate *schinos* the tree, and how *schisis*. And they said that they did not know these Greek words *prinos* and *schinos*, and asked me to show them the trees, that they might see what they called them. And I at once (for the truth’s dear sake) put before them pieces of the different trees. One of them then said, that he could not with any certainty give the Hebrew name of anything not mentioned in Scripture, since, if one was at a loss, he was prone to use the Syriac word instead of the Hebrew one; and he went on to say, that some words the very wisest could not translate. “If, then,” said he, “you can adduce a passage in any Scripture where the *schinos* is mentioned, or the *prinos*, you will find there the words you seek, together with the words which have the same sound; but if it is nowhere mentioned, we also do not know it.” This, then, being what the Hebrews said to whom I had recourse, and who were acquainted with the history, I am cautious of affirming whether or not there is any correspondence to this play of words in the Hebrew. Your reason for affirming that there is not, you yourself probably know.

7. Moreover, I remember hearing from a learned Hebrew, said among themselves to be the son of a wise man, and to have been specially trained to succeed his father, with whom I had intercourse on many subjects, the names of these elders, just as if he did not reject the History of Susanna, as they occur in Jeremias as follows: “The Lord make thee like Zedekias and Achiab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire, for the iniquity they did in Israel.” How, then, could the one be sawn asunder by an angel, and the other rent in pieces? The answer is, that these things were prophesied not of this world, but of the judgment of God, after the departure from this world. For as the lord of that wicked servant who says, “My lord delayeth his coming,” and so gives himself up to drunkenness, eating and drinking with drunkards, and smiting his fellow-servants, shall at his coming “cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers,” even so the angels appointed to punish will accomplish these things (just as they will cut asunder the wicked steward of that passage) on these men, who were called indeed elders, but who administered their stewardship wickedly. One will saw asunder him who was waxen old in wicked days, who had pronounced false judgment, condemning the innocent, and letting the guilty go free; and another will rend in pieces him of the seed of Chanaan, and not of Judah, whom beauty had deceived, and whose heart lust had perverted.

8. And I knew another Hebrew, who told about these elders such traditions as the following: that they pretended to the Jews in captivity, who were hoping by the coming of Christ to be freed from the yoke of their enemies, that they could explain clearly the things concerning Christ,...and that they so deceived the wives of their countrymen. Wherefore it is that the prophet Daniel calls the one “waxen old in wicked days,” and says to the other, “Thus have ye dealt with the children of Israel; but the daughters of Juda would not abide your wickedness.”

9. But probably to this you will say, **Why then is the “History” not in their Daniel**, if, as you say, their wise men hand down by tradition such stories? The answer is, that **they hid from the knowledge of the people as many of the passages which contained any scandal against the elders, rulers, and judges, as they could**, some of which have been preserved in uncanonical writings (Apocrypha). As an example, take the story told about Esaias; and guaranteed by the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is found in **none of their public books**. For the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the prophets, and what they suffered, says, “They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the sword.” To whom, I ask, does the “sawn asunder” refer (for by an old idiom, not peculiar to Hebrew, but found also in Greek, this is said in the plural, although it refers to but one person)? Now we know very well that tradition says that Esaias the prophet was sawn asunder; and this is found in some apocryphal work, which probably the Jews have purposely tampered with, introducing some phrases manifestly incorrect, that discredit might be thrown on the whole.

However, some one hard pressed by this argument may have recourse to the opinion of those who reject this Epistle as not being Paul’s; against whom I must at some other time use other arguments to prove that it is Paul’s. At present I shall adduce from the Gospel what Jesus Christ testifies concerning the prophets, together with a story which He refers to, but which is not found in the Old Testament, since in it also there is a scandal against unjust judges in Israel. The words of our Saviour run thus: “Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partaken with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore be ye witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of Gehenna? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.” And what follows is of the same tenor: “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.”

Let us see now if in these cases we are not forced to the conclusion, that while the Saviour gives a true account of them, none of the Scriptures which could prove what He tells are to be found. For they who build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, condemning the crimes their fathers committed against the righteous and the prophets, say, “If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.” In the blood of what prophets, can any one tell me? For where do we find anything like this written of Esaias, or Jeremias, or any of the twelve, or Daniel? Then about Zacharias the son of Barachias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, we learn from Jesus only, not knowing it otherwise from any Scripture. Wherefore I think no other supposition is possible, than that they who had the reputation of wisdom, and the rulers and elders, took away from the people every passage which might bring

them into discredit among the people. We need not wonder, then, if this history of the evil device of the licentious elders against Susanna is true, but was concealed and removed from the Scriptures by men themselves not very far removed from the counsel of these elders.

In the Acts of the Apostles also, Stephen, in his other testimony, says, “Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers.” That Stephen speaks the truth, every one will admit who receives the Acts of the Apostles; but it is impossible to show from the extant books of the Old Testament how with any justice he throws the blame of having persecuted and slain the prophets on the fathers of those who believed not in Christ. And Paul, in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, testifies this concerning the Jews: “For ye, brethren, became followers of the Churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews; who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men.” What I have said is, I think, sufficient to prove that it would be nothing wonderful if this history were true, and **the licentious and cruel attack was actually made on Susanna** by those who were at that time elders, and written down by the wisdom of the Spirit, but **removed by these rulers of Sodom**, as the Spirit would call them.

10. Your next objection is, that in this writing Daniel is said to have been seized by the Spirit, and to have cried out that the sentence was unjust; while in that writing of his which is universally received he is represented as prophesying in quite another manner, by visions and dreams, and an angel appearing to him, but never by prophetic inspiration. You seem to me to pay too little heed to the words, “At sundry times, and in divers manners, God spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets.” This is true not only in the general, but also of individuals. For if you notice, you will find that the same saints have been favoured with divine dreams and angelic appearances and (direct) inspirations. For the present it will suffice to instance what is testified concerning Jacob. Of dreams from God he speaks thus: “And it came to pass, at the time that the cattle conceived, that I saw them before my eyes in a dream, and, behold, the rams and he-goats which leaped upon the sheep and the goats, white-spotted, and speckled, and grised. And the angel of God spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob. And I said, What is it? And he said, Lift up thine eyes and see, the goats and rams leaping on the goats and sheep, white-spotted, and speckled, and grised: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am God, who appeared unto thee in the place of God, where thou anointedst to Me there a pillar, and vowedst a vow there to Me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred.”

And as to an appearance (which is better than a dream), he speaks as follows about himself: “And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And he saw that he prevailed not against him, and he touched the breadth of his thigh; and the breadth of Jacob’s thigh grew stiff while he was wrestling with him. And he said to him, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said to him, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: for thou hast prevailed with God, and art powerful with men. And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Vision of God: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. And the sun rose, when the vision of God passed by.” And that he also prophesied by inspiration, is evident from this passage: “And Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last days. Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father. Reuben, my first-born, my might, and the beginning of my children, hard to be born, hard and stubborn. Thou wert wanton, boil not over like

water; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defiledst thou the couch to which thou wentest up." And so with the rest: **it was by inspiration that the prophetic blessings were pronounced.** We need not wonder, then, that Daniel sometimes prophesied by inspiration, as when he rebuked the elders sometimes, as you say, by dreams and visions, and at other times by an angel appearing unto him.

11. Your other objections are stated, as it appears to me, somewhat irreverently, and without the becoming spirit of piety. I cannot do better than quote your very words: "Then, after crying out in this extraordinary fashion, he detects them in a way no less incredible, which not even Philistion the play-writer would have resorted to. For, not satisfied with rebuking them through the Spirit, he placed them apart, and asked them severally where they saw her committing adultery; and when the one said, 'Under a holm-tree' (*prinos*) he answered that the angel would saw him asunder (*prisein*); and in a similar fashion threatened the other, who said, 'Under a mastich-tree' (*schinos*), with being rent asunder."

You might as reasonably compare to Philistion the play-writer, a story somewhat like this one, which is found in the third book of Kings, which you yourself will admit to be well written. Here is what we read in Kings:—

"Then there appeared two women that were harlots before the king, and stood before him. And the one woman said, To me, my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house; and we were delivered in the house. And it came to pass, the third day after that I was delivered, that this woman was delivered also: and we were together; there is no one in our house except us two. And this woman's child died in the night; because she overlaid it. And she arose at midnight, and took my son from my arms. And thine handmaid slept. And she laid it in her bosom, and laid her dead child in my bosom. And I arose in the morning to give my child suck, and he was dead; but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son which I did bear. And the other woman said, Nay; the dead is thy son, but the living is my son. And the other said, No; the living is my son, but the dead is thy son. Thus they spake before the king. Then said the king, Thou sayest, This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and thou sayest, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the living. And the king said, Bring me a sword. And they brought a sword before the king. And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other. Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king (for her bowels yearned after her son), and she said, To me, my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it. Then the king answered and said, Give the child to her which said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: for she is the mother of it. And all Israel heard of the judgment which the king had judged; and they feared the face of the king: for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment."

For if we were at liberty to speak in this scoffing way of the Scriptures in use in the Churches, we should rather compare this story of the two harlots to the play of Philistion than that of **the chaste Susanna**. And just as the people would not have been persuaded if Solomon had merely said, "Give this one the living child, for she is the mother of it;" so Daniel's attack on the elders would not have been sufficient had there not been added the condemnation from their own mouth, when both said that they had seen her lying with the young man under a tree, but did not agree as to what kind of tree it was. And since you have asserted, as if you knew for certain, that Daniel in this matter judged by inspiration (which may or may not have been the case), I would have you notice that there seem to me to be some analogies in the story of Daniel to the judgment of Solomon, concerning whom the Scripture testifies that the people saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment. This might be said also of Daniel, for it was because wisdom was in him to do judgment that the elders were judged in the manner described.

12. I had nearly forgotten an additional remark I have to make about the *prino-prisein* and *schino-schisein* difficulty; that is, that in our Scriptures there are many etymological fancies, so to call them, which in the Hebrew are perfectly suitable, but not in the Greek. It need not surprise us, then, if the translators of the History of Susanna contrived it so that they found out some Greek words, derived from the same root, which either corresponded exactly to the Hebrew form (though this I hardly think possible), or presented some analogy to it. Here is an instance of this in our Scripture. When the woman was made by God from the rib of the man, Adam says, "She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of her husband." Now the Jews say that the woman was called "*Essa*," and that "taken" is a translation of this word as is evident from "*chos isouoth essa*," which means, "I have taken the cup of salvation;" and that "*is*" means "man," as we see from "*Hesre ais*," which is, "Blessed is the man." According to the Jews, then, "*is*" is "man," and "*essa*," "woman," because she was taken out of her husband (*is*). It need not then surprise us if some interpreters of the Hebrew "*Susanna*," which had been concealed among them at a very remote date, and had been preserved only by the more learned and honest, should have either given the Hebrew word for word, or hit upon some analogy to the Hebrew forms, that the Greeks might be able to follow them. For in many other passages we can find traces of this kind of contrivance on the part of the translators, which I noticed when I was collating the various editions.

13. You raise another objection, which I give in your own words: "Moreover, how is it that they, who were captives among the Chaldeans, lost and won at play, thrown out unburied on the streets, as was prophesied of the former captivity, their sons torn from them to be eunuchs, and their daughters to be concubines, as had been prophesied; how is it that such could pass sentence of death, and that on the wife of their king Joakim, whom the king of the Babylonians had made partner of his throne? Then, if it was not this Joakim, but some other from the common people, whence had a captive such a mansion and spacious garden?"

Where you get your "lost and won at play, and thrown out unburied on the streets," I know not, unless it is from **Tobias; and Tobias (as also Judith), we ought to notice, the Jews do not use**. They are **not even found in the Hebrew Apocrypha**, as I learned from the Jews themselves. However, since **the Churches use Tobias, you must know that even in the captivity some of the captives were rich and well to do**. Tobias himself says, "Because I remembered God with all my heart; and the Most High gave me grace and beauty in the eyes of Nemessarum, and I was his purveyor; and I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Ragi, a city of Media, ten talents of silver." And he adds, as if he were a rich man, "In the days of Nemessarum I gave many alms to my brethren. I gave my bread to the hungry, and my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, and cast outside the walls of Nineve, I buried him; and if king Senachereim had slain any when he came fleeing from Judea, I buried them privily (for in his wrath he killed many)." Think whether this great catalogue of Tobias's good deeds does not betoken great wealth and much property, especially when he adds, "Understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear, and all my goods were forcibly taken away."

And another captive, Dachiacharus, the son of Ananiel, the brother of Tobias, was set over all the exchequer of the kingdom of king Acherdon; and we read, "Now Achiacharus was cup-bearer and keeper of the signet, and steward and overseer of the accounts."

Mardochoaios, too, frequented the court of the king, and had such boldness before him, that he was inscribed among the benefactors of Artaxerxes.

Again we read in Esdras, that Neemias, a cup-bearer and eunuch of the king, of Hebrew race, made a request about the rebuilding of the temple, and obtained it; so that it was granted to him, with many

more, to return and build the temple again. Why then should we wonder that one Joakim had garden, and house, and property, whether these were very expensive or only moderate, for this is not clearly told us in the writing?

14. But you say, “How could they who were in captivity pass sentence of death?” asserting, I know not on what grounds, that Susanna was the wife of a king, because of the name Joakim. The answer is, that it is no uncommon thing, when great nations become subject, that the king should allow the captives to use their own laws and courts of justice. Now, for instance, that the Romans rule, and the Jews pay the half-shekel to them, how great power by the concession of Cæsar the ethnarch has; so that we, who have had experience of it, know that he differs in little from a true king! Private trials are held according to the law, and some are condemned to death. And though there is not full licence for this, still it is not done without the knowledge of the ruler, as we learned and were convinced of when we spent much time in the country of that people. And yet the Romans only take account of two tribes, while at that time besides Judah there were the ten tribes of Israel. Probably the Assyrians contented themselves with holding them in subjection, and conceded to them their own judicial processes.

15. I find in your letter yet another objection in these words: “And add, that among all the many prophets who had been before, there is no one who has quoted from another word for word. For they had no need to go a-begging for words, since their own were true. But this one, in rebuking one of these men, quotes the words of the Lord, ‘The innocent and righteous shalt thou not slay.’” I cannot understand how, with all your exercise in investigating and meditating on the Scriptures, you have not noticed that the prophets continually quote each other almost word for word. For who of all believers does not know the words in Esaias? “And in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, and the house of the Lord on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall come unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, unto the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us His way, and we will walk in it: for out of Zion shall go forth a law, and a word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more.”

But in Micah we find a parallel passage, which is almost word for word: “And in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, established on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall hasten unto it. And many nations shall come, and say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and they will teach us His way, and we will walk in His paths: for a law shall go forth from Zion, and a word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

Again, in First Chronicles, the psalm which is put in the hands of Asaph and his brethren to praise the Lord, beginning, “Give thanks unto the Lord, call upon His name,” is in the beginning almost identical with Psalm cv., down to “and do my prophets no harm;” and after that it is the same as Psalm xcvi., from the beginning of that psalm, which is something like this, “Praise the Lord all the earth,” down to “For He cometh to judge the earth.” (It would have taken up too much time to quote more fully; so I have given these short references, which are sufficient for the matter before us.) And you will find the law about not bearing a burden on the Sabbath-day in Jeremias, as well as in Moses. And the rules about the passover, and the rules for the priests, are not only in Moses, but also at the end of Ezekiel. I would have quoted these, and many more, had I not found that from the shortness of my stay in Nicomedia my time for writing you was already too much restricted.

Your last objection is, that the style is different. This I cannot see.

This, then, is my defence. I might, especially after all these accusations, **speak in praise of this history of Susanna, dwelling on it word by word, and expounding the exquisite nature of the thoughts**. Such an encomium, perhaps, some of the learned and able students of divine things may at some other time compose. This, however, is my answer to your strokes, as you call them. Would that I could instruct you! But I do not now arrogate that to myself. My lord and dear brother Ambrosius, who has written this at my dictation, and has, in looking over it, corrected as he pleased, salutes you. His faithful spouse, Marcella, and her children, also salute you. Also Anicetus. Do you salute our dear father Apollinarius, and all our friends.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.vi.vii.html>

Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339)

The Order of the Gospels (Eccl. Hist., 3.24)

1. This extract from **Clement** I have inserted here for the sake of the history and for the benefit of my readers. Let us now point out **the undisputed writings** of this apostle [John].

2. And in the first place **his Gospel, which is known to all the churches under heaven**, must be acknowledged as genuine. That it has with good reason been put by the ancients in the fourth place, after the other three Gospels, may be made evident in the following way.

3. Those great and truly divine men, I mean the apostles of Christ, were purified in their life, and were adorned with every virtue of the soul, but were uncultivated in speech. They were confident indeed in their trust in the divine and wonder-working power which was granted unto them by the Saviour, but they did not know how, nor did they attempt to proclaim the doctrines of their teacher in studied and artistic language, but employing only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, which worked with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ, which was displayed through them, they published the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven throughout the whole world, paying little attention to the composition of written works.

4. And this they did because they were assisted in their ministry by one greater than man. **Paul**, for instance, who surpassed them all in vigor of expression and in richness of thought, committed to writing no more than the briefest epistles, although he had innumerable mysterious matters to communicate, for he had attained even unto the sights of the third heaven, had been carried to the very paradise of God, and had been deemed worthy to hear unspeakable utterances there.

5. And the rest of the followers of our Saviour, the twelve apostles, the seventy disciples, and countless others besides, were not ignorant of these things. Nevertheless, of all the disciples of the Lord, **only Matthew and John have left us written memorials**, and they, **tradition says**, were led to write only under the pressure of necessity.

6. For **Matthew**, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated those whom he was obliged to leave for the loss of his presence.

7. And when **Mark** and **Luke** had already published their Gospels, they say that **John**, who had employed all his time in proclaiming the Gospel orally, finally proceeded to write for the following reason. The three Gospels already mentioned having come into the hands of all and into his own too, they say that he accepted them and bore witness to their truthfulness; but that there was lacking in them an account of the deeds done by Christ at the beginning of his ministry.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

8. And this indeed is true. For it is evident that the three evangelists recorded only the deeds done by the Saviour for one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, and indicated this in the beginning of their account.

9. For **Matthew**, after the forty days' fast and the temptation which followed it, indicates the chronology of his work when he says: "Now when he heard that John was delivered up he withdrew from Judea into Galilee."

10. **Mark** likewise says: "Now after that John was delivered up Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before commencing his account of the deeds of Jesus, similarly marks the time, when he says that Herod, "adding to all the evil deeds which he had done, shut up John in prison."

11. They say, therefore, that the apostle John, being asked to do it for this reason, gave in his Gospel an account of the period which had been omitted by the earlier evangelists, and of the deeds done by the Saviour during that period; that is, of those which were done before the imprisonment of the Baptist. And this is indicated by him, they say, in the following words: "This beginning of miracles did Jesus"; and again when he refers to the Baptist, in the midst of the deeds of Jesus, as still baptizing in Ænon near Salim; where he states the matter clearly in the words: "For John was not yet cast into prison."

12. **John** accordingly, in his Gospel, records the deeds of Christ which were performed before the Baptist was cast into prison, but the other three evangelists mention the events which happened after that time.

13. **One who understands this can no longer think that the Gospels are at variance with one another**, inasmuch as **the Gospel according to John** contains the first acts of Christ, while the others give an account of the latter part of his life. And the genealogy of our Saviour according to the flesh John quite naturally omitted, because it had been already given by **Matthew** and **Luke**, and began with the doctrine of his divinity, which had, as it were, been reserved for him, as their superior, by the divine Spirit.

14. These things may suffice, which we have said concerning the **Gospel of John**. The cause which led to the composition of the **Gospel of Mark** has been already stated by us.

15. But as for **Luke, in the beginning of his Gospel**, he states himself the reasons which led him to write it. He states that since many others had more rashly undertaken to compose a narrative of the events of which he had acquired perfect knowledge, he himself, feeling the necessity of freeing us from their uncertain opinions, delivered in his own Gospel an accurate account of those events in regard to which he had learned the full truth, being aided by his intimacy and his stay with Paul and by his acquaintance with the rest of the apostles.

16. So much for our own account of these things. But in a more fitting place we shall attempt to show by quotations from the ancients, what others have said concerning them.

17. But of the writings of John, not only his Gospel, but also the former of **his epistles**, has been accepted without dispute both now and in ancient times. But **the other two are disputed**.

18. In regard to the **Apocalypse**, the opinions of most men are still divided. But at the proper time this question likewise shall be decided from the testimony of the ancients.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.viii.xxiv.html>

About the epistle of James and Jude (*Eccl. Hist.*, 3.23.25 [pre 325 AD])

These things are recorded in regard to **James**, who is said to be the author of the first of the **so-called catholic epistles**. But it is to be observed that **it is disputed**; at least, not many of the ancients have mentioned it, as is the case likewise with the epistle that bears the name of **Jude**, which is also one of the seven so-called catholic epistles. Nevertheless we know that these also, with the rest, have been **read publicly in very many churches**.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.vii.xxiv.html>

The Divine Scriptures that are accepted and those that are not (*Eccl. Hist.*, 3.25 [pre 325 AD])

1. Since we are dealing with this subject it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put the holy quaternion of the **Gospels**; following them the **Acts of the Apostles**.

2. After this must be reckoned **the epistles of Paul**; next in order **the extant former epistle of John**, and likewise **the epistle of Peter**, must be maintained. After them is to be placed, **if it really seem proper**, the **Apocalypse** of John, concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time. These then belong among the accepted writings.

3. Among **the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many**, are extant the so-called epistle of **James** and that of **Jude**, also the **second epistle of Peter**, and those that are called **the second and third of John**, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name.

4. Among the rejected writings must be reckoned also **the Acts of Paul**, and the so-called **Shepherd**, and the **Apocalypse of Peter**, and in addition to these the extant **epistle of Barnabas**, and the so-called **Teachings of the Apostles**; and besides, as I said, **the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper**, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books.

5. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books.

6. But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of these also, distinguishing those works which according to **ecclesiastical tradition** are true and genuine and commonly accepted, from those others which, although not canonical but disputed, are yet at the same time known to most ecclesiastical writers—we have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those that are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as **the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles**, which no one belonging to the **succession of ecclesiastical writers** has deemed worthy of mention in his writings.

7. And further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. Wherefore they are not to be placed even among the rejected writings, but are all of them to be cast aside as absurd and impious.

Let us now proceed with our history.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.viii.xxv.html>

The Epistles of the Apostles (*Eccl. Hist.*, 3.3 [pre 325 AD])

1. **One epistle of Peter**, that called the first, is acknowledged as genuine. And this the ancient elders used freely in their own writings as an undisputed work. But we have learned that **his extant**

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

second Epistle does not belong to the canon; yet, as it has appeared profitable to many, it has been used with the other Scriptures.

2. The so-called **Acts of Peter**, however, and the **Gospel** which bears his name, and the **Preaching and the Apocalypse**, as they are called, we know have not been universally accepted, because no ecclesiastical writer, ancient or modern, has made use of testimonies drawn from them.

3. But in the course of my history I shall be careful to show, in addition to the official succession, what ecclesiastical writers have from time to time made use of any of the disputed works, and what they have said in regard to the canonical and accepted writings, as well as in regard to those which are not of this class.

4. Such are the writings that bear the name of Peter, only one of which I know to be genuine and acknowledged by the ancient elders.

5. **Paul's fourteen epistles are well known and undisputed**. It is not indeed right to overlook the fact that **some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews**, saying that it is disputed by the church of Rome, on the ground that it was not written by Paul. But what has been said concerning this epistle by those who lived before our time I shall quote in the proper place. In regard to the so-called **Acts of Paul**, I have not found them among the undisputed writings.

6. But as the same apostle, in the salutations at the end of the Epistle to the **Romans**, has made mention among others of **Hermas**, to whom the book called **The Shepherd** is ascribed, it should be observed that this too has been disputed by some, and on their account cannot be placed among the acknowledged books; while by others it is considered **quite indispensable, especially to those who need instruction in the elements of the faith**. Hence, as we know, it has been **publicly read in churches**, and I have found that some of the most ancient writers used it.

7. This will serve to show the divine writings that are undisputed as well as those that are not universally acknowledged.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.viii.iii.html>

Cyril of Jerusalem (313 – 386)

Catechetical Lectures, IV:33-37, "Of the Divine Scriptures" (350 AD)

33. Now these the divinely-inspired Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament teach us. For the God of the two Testaments is One, Who in the Old Testament foretold the Christ Who appeared in the New; Who by the Law and the Prophets led us to Christ's school. *For before faith came, we were kept in ward under the law, and, the law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ.* And if ever thou hear any of the heretics speaking evil of the Law or the Prophets, answer in the sound of the Saviour's voice, saying, *Jesus came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it.* Learn also diligently, and from the Church, what are the books of the Old Testament, and what those of the New. And, pray, read none of the apocryphal writings: for why dost thou, who knowest not those which are acknowledged among all, trouble thyself in vain about those which are disputed? Read the Divine Scriptures, **the twenty-two books of the Old Testament**, these that have been **translated by the Seventy-two Interpreters**.

34. For after the death of Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, and the division of his kingdom into four principalities, into Babylonia, and Macedonia, and Asia, and Egypt, one of those who reigned over Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus, being a king very fond of learning, while collecting the books that were in every place, heard from Demetrius Phalereus, the curator of his library, of the **Divine Scriptures of the Law and the Prophets**, and judged it much nobler, not to get the books from the possessors by force against their will, but rather to propitiate them by gifts and friendship; and knowing that what is

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

extorted is often adulterated, being given unwillingly, while that which is willingly supplied is freely given with all sincerity, he sent to Eleazar, who was then High Priest, a great many gifts for the Temple here at Jerusalem, and caused him to send him six interpreters from each of the twelve tribes of Israel for the translation. Then, further, to make experiment whether the books were Divine or not, he took precaution that those who had been sent should not combine among themselves, by assigning to each of the interpreters who had come his separate chamber in the island called Pharos, which lies over against Alexandria, and committed to each the whole Scriptures to translate. And when they had fulfilled the task in seventy-two days, he brought together all their translations, which they had made in different chambers without sending them one to another, and found that they agreed not only in the sense but even in words. For the process was no word-craft, nor contrivance of human devices: but the translation of the Divine Scriptures, spoken by the Holy Ghost, was of the Holy Ghost accomplished.

35. Of these **read the two and twenty books**, but **have nothing to do with the apocryphal writings**. Study earnestly **these only which we read openly in the Church**. Far wiser and more pious than thyself were the Apostles, and the bishops of old time, the presidents of the Church who **handed down these books**. Being therefore a child of the Church, trench thou not upon its statutes. And of the Old Testament, as we have said, study the two and twenty books, which, if thou art desirous of learning, strive to remember by name, as I recite them. For of the Law the books of Moses are the first five, **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**. And next, **Joshua** the son of Nave, and the book of **Judges**, including **Ruth**, counted as seventh. And of the other historical books, the **first and second books of the Kings** are among the Hebrews one book; also the **third and fourth** one book. And in like manner, the **first and second of Chronicles** are with them one book; and the **first and second of Esdras** are counted one. **Esther** is the twelfth book; and these are the Historical writings. But those which are written in verses are five, **Job**, and the book of **Psalms**, and **Proverbs**, and **Ecclesiastes**, and the **Song of Songs**, which is the seventeenth book. And after these come the five Prophetic books: of the **Twelve Prophets one book**, of **Isaiah** one, of **Jeremiah** one, including **Baruch** and **Lamentations** and the **Epistle**; then **Ezekiel**, and the Book of **Daniel**, **the twenty-second of the Old Testament**.

36. Then of the New Testament there are **the four Gospels only**, for the rest have false titles and are mischievous. The Manichæans also wrote a Gospel according to Thomas, which being tintured with the fragrance of the evangelic title corrupts the souls of the simple sort. Receive also **the Acts of the Twelve Apostles**; and in addition to these the **seven Catholic Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude**; and as a seal upon them all, and the last work of the disciples, **the fourteen Epistles of Paul**. But let all the rest be put aside in a secondary rank. And whatever books are not read in Churches, these read not even by thyself, as thou hast heard me say. Thus much of these subjects.

37. But shun thou every diabolical operation, and believe not the apostate Serpent, whose transformation from a good nature was of his own free choice: who can over-persuade the willing, but can compel no one. Also give heed neither to observations of the stars nor auguries, nor omens, nor to the fabulous divinations of the Greeks. Witchcraft, and enchantment, and the wicked practices of necromancy, admit not even to a hearing. From every kind of intemperance stand aloof, giving thyself neither to gluttony nor licentiousness, rising superior to all covetousness and usury. Neither venture thyself at heathen assemblies for public spectacles, nor ever use amulets in sicknesses; shun also all the vulgarity of tavern-haunting. Fall not away either into the sect of the Samaritans, or into Judaism: for Jesus Christ henceforth hath ransomed thee. Stand aloof from all observance of Sabbaths, and from calling any indifferent meats *common or unclean*. But especially abhor all the assemblies of wicked heretics; and in every way make thine own soul safe, by fastings, prayers, almsgivings, and reading the oracles of God; that having lived the rest of thy life in the flesh in soberness and godly doctrine, thou

mayest enjoy the one salvation which flows from Baptism; and thus enrolled in the armies of heaven by God and the Father, mayest also be deemed worthy of the heavenly crowns, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to Whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf207/npnf207.ii.viii.html>

Athanasius of Alexandria (296–298 – 373 AD)

Festal Letter 39 (367 AD)

2. But since we have made mention of heretics as dead, but of ourselves as possessing the Divine Scriptures for salvation; and since I fear lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, some few of the simple should be beguiled from their simplicity and purity, by the subtilty of certain men, and should henceforth read other books—those called apocryphal—led astray by the similarity of their names with the true books; I beseech you to bear patiently, if I also write, by way of remembrance, of matters with which you are acquainted, influenced by the need and advantage of the Church.

3. In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the evangelist, saying on my own account, Forasmuch as some have taken in hand to reduce into order for themselves the books termed Apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, **delivered to the Fathers**; it seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by true brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to set before you **the books included in the Canon**, and **handed down**, and accredited as divine; to the end that anyone who has fallen into error may condemn those who have led them astray; and that he who has continued steadfast in purity may again rejoice, having these things brought to his remembrance.

4. There are, then, of the Old Testament, **twenty-two books in number**; for, as I have heard, it is handed down that this is the number of the letters among the Hebrews; their respective order and names being as follows. The first is **Genesis**, then **Exodus**, next **Leviticus**, after that **Numbers**, and then **Deuteronomy**. Following these there is **Joshua** the son of Nun, then **Judges**, then **Ruth**. And again, after these **four books of Kings**, the first and second 1 being reckoned as one book, and so likewise **the third and fourth** 2 as one book. And again, the **first and second of the Chronicles** are reckoned as one book. Again **Ezra, the first and second** 3 are similarly one book. After these there is the book of **Psalms**, then the **Proverbs**, next **Ecclesiastes**, and the **Song of Songs**. **Job** follows, then **the Prophets, the Twelve** [minor prophets] being reckoned as one book. Then **Isaiah**, one book, then **Jeremiah** with **Baruch, Lamentations** and **the Epistle**, one book; afterwards **Ezekiel** and **Daniel**, each one book. Thus far constitutes the Old Testament.

5. Again, it is not tedious to speak of the books of the New Testament. These are: the four Gospels, according to **Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John**. After these, The **Acts of the Apostles**, and the seven epistles called Catholic: of **James**, one; of **Peter, two**, of **John, three**; after these, one of **Jude**. In addition, there are fourteen epistles of Paul the apostle, written in this order: the first, to the **Romans**; then, two to the **Corinthians**; after these, to the **Galatians**; next, to the **Ephesians**, then, to the **Philippians**; then, to the **Colossians**; after these, two of the **Thessalonians**; and that to the **Hebrews**; and again, two to **Timothy**; one to **Titus**; and lastly, that to **Philemon**. And besides, the **Revelation of John**.

6. These are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsts may be satisfied with the living words they contain. In these alone the teaching of godliness is proclaimed. Let no one add to these; let nothing be taken away from them. For concerning these the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, and said, Ye do

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

err, not knowing the Scriptures. And he reproved the Jews, saying, Search the Scriptures, for these are they that testify of me.

7. But for the sake of greater exactness I add this also, writing under obligation, as it were. **There are other books besides these, indeed not received as canonical but having been appointed by our fathers to be read** to those just approaching and wishing to be instructed in the word of godliness: Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and that which is called the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the Canon, the latter being merely read; nor is there any place a mention of secret writings. But such are the invention of heretics, who indeed write them whenever they wish, bestowing upon them their approval, and assigning to them a date, that so, using them as if they were ancient writings, they find a means by which to lead astray the simple-minded.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/athanasius.html>

Council of Laodicea (ca. 363 AD)

59. Let **no private psalms nor any uncanonical books be read in church, but only the canonical ones** of the New and Old Testament.

60. It is proper to recognize as many books as these: of the Old Testament, 1. the **Genesis** of the world; 2. the **Exodus** from Egypt; 3. **Leviticus**; 4. **Numbers**; 5. **Deuteronomy**; 6. **Joshua** the son of Nun; 7. **Judges** and **Ruth**; 8. **Esther**; 9. First and Second **Kings**; 10. Third and Fourth **Kings**; 11. First and Second **Chronicles**; 12. **First and Second Ezra**; 13. the book of one hundred and fifty **Psalms**; 14. the **Proverbs** of Solomon; 15. **Ecclesiastes**; 16. **Song of Songs**; 17. **Job**; 18. **the Twelve** Prophets; 19. **Isaiah**; 20. **Jeremiah and Baruch**, **Lamentations** and **the Epistle**; 21. **Ezekiel**; 22. **Daniel**. And the books of the New Testament: 4 Gospels, according to **Matthew**, **Mark**, **Luke**, and **John**; the **Acts** of the Apostles; seven catholic epistles, namely, 1 of **James**, **2 of Peter**, **3 of John**, 1 of **Jude**; **fourteen epistles of Paul**, 1 to the **Romans**, 2 to the **Corinthians**, 1 to the **Galatians**, 1 to the **Ephesians**, 1 to the **Philippians**, 1 to the **Colossians**, 2 to the **Thessalonians**, 1 to the **Hebrews**, 2 to **Timothy**, 1 to **Titus**, and 1 to **Philemon**.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/laodicea.html>

Apostolic Canons 85, "Concerning Holy Scripture" (375 – 380 AD)

Let the following books be esteemed venerable and holy by all of you, both clergy and laity. Of the Old Testament: the five books of Moses, **Genesis**, **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers**, and **Deuteronomy**; one of **Joshua** the son of Nun; one of the **Judges**; one of **Ruth**; **four of the Kings**; 1 two of **Paralipomena** (the books of Chronicles); **two of Ezra**; 2 one of **Esther**; [one of Judith;] 3 **three of the Maccabees**; one of **Job**; the one hundred and fifty **Psalms**; three books of Solomon: **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes**, **Song of Songs**; the **sixteen of the Prophets**. And see that those newly come to discipleship become acquainted with **the Wisdom of the learned Sirach**. 4 And ours, that is, of the New Testament, are the four Gospels, of **Matthew**, **Mark**, **Luke**, **John**; the **fourteen epistles of Paul**; **two epistles of Peter**; **three of John**; one of **James**; one of **Jude**; **two epistles of Clement**; and **the Constitutions** dedicated to you, the bishops, by me, Clement, in eight books, which it is not appropriate to make public before all, because of the mysteries contained in them; and **the Acts of us, the Apostles**.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/apostolic.html>

Another edition:

85. Now let the venerated and holy books be for all of you, clerics and laypeople. Of the Old Covenant: **Five of Moses**; now one of **Joshua** of Naue, one of the **Judges**, one of **Ruth**, **four of the Kingdoms**, **two of Paralipomenon** of the book of days, **two of Esdras**, one of **Esther**, one of **Judith**, **four of Maccabees**,

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

one of **Job**, Book of **One-Hundred-and-Fifty-One Psalms**, **five books of Solomon**; **sixteen Prophets**; **outside of these, let it be added to you as further instruction that your youth learn the Wisdom of Sirach**, the polymath. Now our (books), that is, of the New Covenant: four Gospels, as also we spoke in the preceding, of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke, of John; fourteen epistles of Paul, one of James, **three of John**, one of **Jude**, **two of Peter**, **two of Clement**, and the **Constitutions** are for you, the bishops, invoked by me, Clement, in eight books, which are not fitting to display for all because of the mysteries in them; and **the Acts of our Apostles**.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), p. 137.

Gregory of Nazianzus (381 – 390 AD)

Carmina Theologia, bk. I, sec. I, Carmen XII

Concerning the Genuine Books of Divinely Inspired Scripture

The divine oracles should always on the tongue and in the mind be rehearsed. For God will indeed give a reward for this labor, so that you may obtain light from anything hidden, or, what is far better, that you may be spurred by God to greater purity, and thirdly, be called away from the cares of the world by such study. But let not extraneous books seduce your mind. For many malignant writings have been disseminated. Accept, o friend, this my approved number. These are all twelve of the historical books, of the most ancient Hebrew wisdom: First there is **Genesis**, then **Exodus**, **Leviticus** too. Then **Numbers**, and **the Second Law**. Then **Joshua** and **Judges**. **Ruth** is eighth. The ninth and tenth books [are] the acts of **Kings**, and [the eleventh is] **Chronicles**. Last you have **Ezra**. The poetic books are five: **Job** being first, then **[the Psalms of] David**; and three of Solomon, **Ecclesiastes**, **Canticles** and **Proverbs**. And similarly five of prophetic inspiration. There are **the Twelve** written in one book: **Hosea** and **Amos**, and **Micah** the third; then **Joel**, and **Jonah**, **Obadiah**, **Nahum** also, and **Habakkuk**, and **Zephaniah**, **Haggai**, then **Zechariah**, and **Malachi**. All these are one. The second is of **Isaiah**. Then the one called as an infant, **Jeremiah**, Then **Ezekiel**, and the gift of **Daniel**. I count therefore, **twenty-two of the ancient books**, corresponding to the number of the Hebrew letters. Now count also those of the new mystery. **Matthew** wrote the miracles of Christ for the Hebrews, **Mark** for Italy, **Luke** for Greece; **John** for all, the great herald, who walked in the heavens. Then the **acts of the wise apostles**. Of **Paul there are fourteen epistles**. And the seven catholic, [which include] one of **James**, **two of Peter**, **three of John** also; and **Jude** is the seventh. You have them all. And if there are any beyond these, they are not genuine.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/gregory.html>

Amphilochius of Iconium (bishop 373 – 394 AD)

lambi ad Seleucum 251-320

But this especially for you to learn is fitting: not every book is safe which has acquired the venerable name of Scripture. For there appear from time to time pseudonymous books, some of which are intermediate or neighbours, as one might say, to the words of Truth, while others are spurious and utterly unsafe, like counterfeit and spurious coins which bear the king's inscription, but as regards their material are base forgeries. For this reason I will state for you the divinely inspired books one by one, so that you may learn them clearly.

I will first recite those of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch has **Creation**, then **Exodus**, and **Leviticus**, the middle book, after which is **Numbers**, then **Deuteronomy**. Add to these **Joshua**, and **Judges**, then **Ruth**, and of **Kingdoms the four books**, and the double team of **Chronicles**; after these, **Esdras**, **one**

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

and then the second. Then I would review for you five in verse: **Job**, crowned in the contests of many sufferings, and the Book of **Psalms**, soothing remedy for the soul, three of Solomon the Wise: **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes**, **Canticle of Canticles**. Add to these the **Prophets Twelve**, **Hosea** first, then **Amos** the second, **Micah**, **Joel**, **Obadiah**, and the type of Him who three days suffered, **Jonah**, **Nahum** after those, and **Habakkuk**; and ninth, **Zephaniah**, **Haggai**, and **Zechariah**, and twice-named angel **Malachi**. After these prophets learn yet another four: The great and fearless **Isaiah**, the sympathetic **Jeremiah**, and mysterious **Ezekiel**, and finally **Daniel**, most wise in his deeds and words. With these, **some approve the inclusion of Esther**.

Time now for me to recite the books of the New Testament. Accept only four Evangelists, **Matthew**, then **Mark**, to which **Luke** as third add; count **John** in time as fourth, but first in sublimity of dogma. Son of Thunder rightly he is called, who loudly sounded forth the Word of God. Accept from Luke a second book also, that of the catholic **Acts of the Apostles**. Add to these besides that Chosen Vessel, Herald of the Gentiles, the Apostle Paul, writing in wisdom to the churches twice seven epistles, one to the **Romans**, to which must be added two to the **Corinthians**, and that to the **Galatians**, and to the **Ephesians**, after which there is the one to the **Philippians**, then those written to the **Colossians**, to the **Thessalonians** two, two to **Timothy**, and to **Titus** and **Philemon** one each, and to the **Hebrews** one. **Some call that to the Hebrews spurious, but they say it not well; for the grace is genuine.** What then is left? Of the Catholic epistles some say seven, others only three must be accepted: one of **James**, one of **Peter**, one of **John**, otherwise **three of John**, and with them **two of Peter**, and also **Jude's**, the seventh. The **Apocalypse of John**, again, some approve, but most will call it spurious. This would be the most unerring canon of the divinely inspired scriptures.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/amphilocius.html>

Epiphanius of Salamis

Panarion 8.6.1-4 (ca. 385 AD)

(1) Now, at the time of the return from the Babylonian captivity, these Jews had books and these (following) prophets and these (following) books of prophets:

(2) first **Genesis**, second **Exodus**, third **Leviticus**, fourth **Numbers**, fifth **Deuteronomy**, sixth Book of **Joshua** of Naue, seventh of **Judges**, eighth of **Ruth**, ninth of **Job**, tenth the **Psalter**, eleventh **Proverbs** of Solomon, twelfth **Ecclesiastes**, thirteenth the **Song of Songs**, fourteenth **first of Kingdoms**, fifteenth **second of Kingdoms**, sixteenth **third of Kingdoms**, seventeenth **fourth of Kingdoms**, eighteenth **first of Paralipomenon**, nineteenth **second of Paralipomenon**, twentieth the **Twelve Prophets**, twenty-first **Isaiah** the prophet, twenty-second **Jeremiah** the prophet with the **Lamentations** and **Epistles**, both his own and **Baruch's**, twenty-third **Ezekiel** the prophet, twenty-fourth **Daniel** the prophet, twenty-fifth **Esdras I**, twenty-sixth **Esdras II**, twenty-seventh **Esther**.

(3) These are the **twenty-seven books given by God to the Jews**; now these are **numbered twenty-two** just as their letters in Hebrew characters because ten books are double, being reckoned as five. Now we have spoken clearly concerning this in another place.

(4) Now they also have **two other books in dispute, the Wisdom of Sirach and the one of Solomon**, separate from some other apocryphal books.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 160-161.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Panarion 76.22.5 (ca. 385 AD)

For if you were begotten from the Holy Spirit and instructed in the prophets and apostles, you must have gone through (the record) from the beginning of the **genesis** of the world until the times of **Esther** in **twenty-seven books** of the Old Covenant, which are numbered as **twenty-two**, and in the **four holy gospels**, and in **fourteen epistles of the holy apostle Paul**, and in the general epistles of **James, Peter, John, and Jude** before these [and] with the **Acts of the Apostles** in their times, and in the **Revelation of John**, and in **the Wisdom books**, I mean of **Solomon** and of the son of **Sirach**, and in short having gone through all the Divine Scriptures, I say, you should have condemned yourself for bringing forward as not unfitting for God but actually pious towards God a word which is nowhere listed, the word 'unbegotten' (ἀγεννητός), nowhere mentioned in Divine Scripture.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 168-169.

Of Measures and Weights 4-5 (392 AD)

(4) For they [the Jews] have twenty-two names of letters, but five of them are double. For the *Chaph* is double and the *Mem* and the *Nun* and the *Phi* and the *Sade*. Therefore, also **the books are numbered twenty-two** in this manner, but twenty-seven are found, because five of them are double. For **Ruth** is joined to the **Judges** and is numbered as one book by the Hebrews. The first of **Paralipomenon** is joined to the second and is counted as one book. The first of **Kingdoms** is joined to the second and is counted as one book. The third is joined to the fourth and is counted as one book. The first of **Esdras** is joined to the second and becomes one book. Therefore in this way the books lie together in four pentateuchs and two other late ones remain, so that the established books are thus: five pertaining to laws, **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**; this is the pentateuch which is also legislation. Now five are in verse: the book of **Job**, then the **Psalter, Proverbs** of Solomon, **Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs**. Then there is another pentateuch, those called Writings, but called *Hagiographa* by some, which is thus: book of **Joshua** of Naue, of **Judges** with **Ruth**, first of **Paralipomenon** with the second, first of **Kingdoms** with the second, third of Kingdoms with the fourth. This is the third pentateuch. Another pentateuch is the **Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel**. And then the prophetic pentateuch was filled. Now two others remained which are of Esdras, two reckoned as one, and the other book which is of **Esther**. And the **twenty-two books** were filled according to the number of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrews. For the two books in verse, both the **one of Solomon, being called the Excellent**, and the one of Jesus son of **Sirach**, and the grandson Jesus (for his grandfather was called Jesus), who wrote the wisdom in Hebrew, which his grandson, Jesus, wrote by translating it into Greek. And these are **useful and beneficial, but they are not offered up to the number of the specified books**. Therefore **neither were they placed in the ark [aarōn]**, that is, in the ark of the covenant.

(5) But still also let this not elude you, O scholar, that also the Hebrews divide the Psalter into five books, so that even it is another pentateuch. For from the first psalm until the fortieth they reckoned as one book, and from the forty-first until the seventy-first they considered a second; from the seventy-second until the eighty-eighth they made a third book; from the eighty-ninth until the one-hundred-and-fifth they made a fourth; from the one-hundred-and-sixth until the one-hundred-and-fiftieth they put together a fifth. For they deem that each psalm having at its end the benediction 'Lord, may it be, may it be' is the end of a book. And this is found in the fortieth and in the seventy-first and in the eighty-eighth and in the one hundred-and-fifth. And the four books are filled. Now in the end of the fifth book in place of the benediction 'Lord, may it be, may it be' is the phrase 'Let every breath praise the Lord, *alleluia*': For having reckoned the whole subject in this way, they fill it up. Therefore, these are the twenty and seven (books) but being numbered as twenty-two with both the Psalter and those

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

in Jeremiah-now I speak also of the Lamentations, and of the Epistles of Baruch, and of Jeremiah, although the epistles are not among the Hebrews, rather only Lamentations, which is joined to Jeremiah. With respect to the method, which we said, they were translated, they were given to each pair of translators in a rotation and from the first pair to the second and again from the second to the third and thus they went, each one, going around and translated thirty-six times, as the account runs, both the twenty-two and seventy-two of the apocrypha.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 163-165.

Of Measures and Weights 22-23 (392 AD)

(22) ... On account of which the letters of the Hebrews are also twenty-two, which are these: *Aleph, Bēth, Gimēl, Deled, Ē, Ouau, Zēth, Ēth, Tēth, Iōth, Chaph, Lamed, Mēm, Noun, Samech, Aīn, Phē, Sadē, Kōph, Rēs, Sin, Thau*. Wherefore also there are **twenty-two specified books of the Old Covenant**, although on the one hand the Hebrews have twenty-seven (books) but on the other hand they are numbered as twenty-two since five of their letters are double: the *Chaph* is double, and the *Mem*, and the *Noun*, and the *Phi*, and the *Sadi*.

(23) For in this way the books are numbered. First, *Birsēth*, which is called **Genesis** of the World. *Elēsīmath*, the **Exodus** of the Sons of Israel out of Egypt. *Ouaīekra*, which is translated **Leviticus**. *Ouaīdabēr*, which is **Numbers**. *Elledebareim*, **Deuteronomy**. *Diēsou*, the one of **Joshua** son of Naue. *Diōb*, the one of **Job**. *Desōphteim*, the one of the **Judges**. *Derouth*, the one of **Ruth**. *Spherteleim*, the **Psalter**. *Debriiamein*, the first of the **Paralipomenon**. *Debriiamein*, second of **Paralipomenon**. *Desamouēl*, first of **Kingdoms**. *Dadoudesamouēl*, second of **Kingdoms**. *Dmalacheim*, third of **Kingdoms**. *Dmalacheim*, fourth of **Kingdoms**. *Dmethalōth*, the one of **Proverbs**. *Dekōelesh*, **Ecclesiastes** *Sirathsirein*, the **Song of Songs**. *Dathariasara*, the **Twelve Prophets**. *Dēsaïou*, of the prophet **Isaiah**. *Dieremiou*, the one of **Jeremiah**. *Diezekēl*, the one of **Ezekiel**. *Dedaniēl*, the one of **Daniel**. *Desdra*, the one of first **Esdras**. *Desdra*, the one of second **Esdras**. *Desthēr*, the one of **Esther**. Now these **twenty-seven books are numbered as twenty-two** according to the number of the letters, since also five letters are double, just as we said above. And **there is another small book, which is called Kinōth, which is translated Lamentations of Jeremiah**. This one is joined to Jeremiah, which is beyond the number and joined to Jeremiah.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 166-167.

Anastasius of Antioch (561 – 599 AD)

This is the twenty-second work of God. Jewish and Christian exegetes say that God performed twenty-two works. Out of which we counted a little earlier twenty-one works in six days. The twenty-second is the prepared kingdom of the future age and spiritual contemplation. On account of this they enumerate their entire Old Testament in **twenty-two books**. But they do not know why, nor do they know the mystery of the twenty-second number. Nor do they think that the number twenty consists of two perfect numbers or number tens, signifying that Christ, composed of two perfect parts (from divinity and humanity), wrote two testaments, the Mosaic Decalogue and the Gospel (Anastasius of Antioch, In Hexameron, VII. PG 89.940. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en96>

John of Damascus (675/6 – 749)

Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, bk. IV, ch. XVII (ca. 730)

... Observe, further, that there are **two and twenty books of the Old Testament**, one for each letter of the Hebrew tongue. For there are twenty-two letters of which five are double, and so they come to be twenty-seven. For the letters Caph, Mere, Nun, Pe, Sade are double. And thus **the number of the books in this way is twenty-two**, but is found to be twenty-seven because of the double character of five. For **Ruth is joined on to Judges**, and the Hebrews count them one book: the **first and second books of Kings are counted one**: and so are the **third and fourth books of Kings**: and also the **first and second of Paraleipomena**: and the **first and second of Esdra**. In this way, then, the books are collected together in four Pentateuchs and two others remain over, to form thus the canonical books. Five of them are of the Law, viz. **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**. This which is the code of the Law, constitutes the first Pentateuch. Then comes another Pentateuch, the so-called Grapheia, or as they are called by some, the Hagiographa, which are the following: **Jesus** the Son of Nave, **Judges** along with **Ruth, first and second Kings**, which are one book, **third and fourth Kings**, which are one book, and the **two books of the Paraleipomena** which are one book. This is the second Pentateuch. The third Pentateuch is the books in verse, viz. **Job, Psalms, Proverbs** of Solomon, **Ecclesiastes** of Solomon and the **Song of Songs** of Solomon. The fourth Pentateuch is the Prophetical books, viz. **the twelve prophets** constituting one book, **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel**. Then come the **two books of Esdra** made into one, and **Esther**.

There are also the Panaretus, that is the **Wisdom of Solomon**, and the **Wisdom of Jesus**, which was published in Hebrew by the father of Sirach, and afterwards translated into Greek by his grandson, Jesus, the Son of Sirach. These are virtuous and noble, but are **not counted nor were they placed in the ark**.

The New Testament contains four gospels, that according to **Matthew**, that according to **Mark**, that according to **Luke**, that according to **John**: the Acts of the Holy Apostles by **Luke** the Evangelist: seven catholic epistles, viz. one of **James**, **two of Peter**, **three of John**, one of **Jude**: **fourteen letters of the Apostle Paul**: the **Revelation of John** the Evangelist: the **Canons of the holy apostles**, by Clement.

https://www.orthodox.net/fathers/exactiv.html#BOOK_IV_CHAPTER_XVII

Stichometry of Nicephorus

These were the divine Scriptures delivered into the canon by the Church and the number of their verses, as follows 1. **Genesis** has 4300 verses, 2. **Exodus** 2800, 3. **Leviticus** 2700, **Numbers** 3530, 5. **Deuteronomy**, 3100, 6. **Joshua** 2100, 7. **Judges** and **Ruth** 2050, 8. **first and second Kings**, 4240, 9. **third and fourth Kings** 2203, 10. first and second **Chronicles** 5500, 11. **first and second Ezra** 5500, 12. **Psalms** 5100, 13. **Proverbs** of Solomon 1700, 14. **Ecclesiastes** 7500, 15. **Song of Songs** 280, 16. **Job** 1800, 17. the prophet **Isaiah** 3800, 18. the prophet **Jeremiah** 4000, 19. **Baruch** 700, 20. **Ezechiel** 4000, 21. **Daniel** 2200, 22. the **twelve prophets** 3000. **Total of the books of the Old Testament: 22.**

These scriptures of the Old Testament are doubtful. 1. **Three books of the Maccabees** 7300 verses, 2. **Wisdom of Solomon** 100, 3. Wisdom of the Son of **Sirach** 2800, 4. **Psalms and Songs of Solomon** 2100, 5. **Esther** 350, 6. **Judith** 1700, 7. **Susanna** 500, 8. **Tobit** which is also Tobias, 700 (S. Nicephori Patriarchae CP, Chronographia Brevis, Quae Scripturae Canonicae I, II, PG 1057-1058. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en105>

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

The Confession of Dositheus / Synod of Jerusalem (1672 AD)

Question 3: What Books do you call Sacred Scripture?

Following the rule of the Catholic Church, we call Sacred Scripture all those which Cyril [Lucaris] collected from the **Synod of Laodicea**, and enumerated, adding to Scripture those which he foolishly and ignorantly, or rather maliciously, called Apocrypha; specifically, “The **Wisdom** of Solomon,” “**Judith**,” “**Tobit**,” “The **History of the Dragon**” [Bel and the Dragon], “The History of **Susanna**,” “The **Maccabees**,” and “The Wisdom of **Sirach**.” For we judge these also to be with the other genuine Books of Divine Scripture genuine parts of Scripture. **For ancient custom, or rather the Catholic Church, which has delivered to us as genuine the Sacred Gospels and the other Books of Scripture, has undoubtedly delivered these also as parts of Scripture, and the denial of these is the rejection of those.** And if, perhaps, it seems that **not always have all of these been considered on the same level as the others**, yet nevertheless these also have been **counted and reckoned with the rest of Scripture, both by Synods and by many of the most ancient and eminent Theologians of the Catholic Church.** All of these we also judge to be Canonical Books, and confess them to be Sacred Scripture.

<http://www.crivoice.org/creeddositheus.html>

Canon lists in the West

Muratorian Fragment (2nd – 4th century AD)

... at which nevertheless he was present, and so he placed [them in his narrative]. The third book of the Gospel is that according to **Luke**. Luke, the well-known physician [cf. Col. 4:14], after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him with him as one zealous for the law, composed it in his own name, according to [the general] belief. Yet he himself had not seen the Lord in the flesh; and therefore, as he was able to ascertain events, so indeed he begins to tell the story from the birth of John. The fourth of the Gospels is that of **John**, [one] of the disciples.

To his fellow disciples and bishops, who had been urging him [to write], he said, 'Fast with me from today for three days, and what will be revealed to each one let us tell it to one another.' In the same night it was revealed to Andrew, [one] of the apostles, that John write down all things in his own name while all of them should review it.

And so, though various elements may be taught in the individual books of the Gospels, nevertheless this makes no difference to the faith of believers, since by the one sovereign Spirit all things have been declared in all [the Gospels]: concerning the nativity, concerning the passion, concerning the resurrection, concerning life with his disciples, and concerning his twofold coming; the first in lowliness when he was despised, which has taken place, the second glorious in royal power, which is still in the future. What marvel is it, then, if John so consistently mentions these particular points also in his Epistles, saying about himself: 'What we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears and our hands have handled, these things we have written to you' [1 John 1:1-3]? For in this way he professes [himself] to be not only an eye-witness and hearer, but also a writer of all the marvellous deeds of the Lord, in their order. Moreover, **the acts of all the apostles** were written in one book. For 'most excellent Theophilus' [cf. Luke 1:3] Luke compiled the individual events that took place in his presence—as he plainly shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter as well as the departure of Paul from the city [of Rome] when he journeyed to Spain. As for the Epistles of Paul, they themselves make clear to those desiring to understand, which ones [they are], from what place, or for what reason they were sent. First of all, to the **Corinthians**, prohibiting their heretical schisms; next, to the **Galatians**, against circumcision; then to the **Romans** he wrote at length, explaining the order (or, plan) of the Scriptures, and also that Christ is their principle (or, main theme). It is necessary for us to discuss these one by one, since the blessed apostle Paul himself, following the example of his predecessor John, writes by name to only seven churches in the following sequence: to the **Corinthians** first, to the **Ephesians** second, to the **Philippians** third, to the **Colossians** fourth, to the **Galatians** fifth, to the **Thessalonians** sixth, to the **Romans** seventh. It is true that he writes once more to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians for the sake of admonition, yet it is clearly recognizable that there is one Church spread throughout the whole extent of the earth. For **John also in the Apocalypse**, though he writes to seven churches, nevertheless speaks to all. [Paul also wrote] out of affection and love one to **Philemon**, one to **Titus**, and two to **Timothy**; and **these are held sacred in the esteem of the Church catholic for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline**. There is current also [an epistle] to the **Laodiceans**, [and] **another to the Alexandrians**, [both] **forged in Paul's name to [further] the heresy of Marcion**, and several others which cannot be received into the catholic church—for it is not fitting that gall be mixed with honey. Moreover, the Epistle of **Jude** and **two of the above-mentioned (or, bearing the name of) John** are counted (or, used) in the catholic [Church]; and (the book of) **Wisdom**, written by the friends of Solomon in his honor. **We receive only the apocalypses of John and Peter**, though **some of us are not willing that the latter be read in church**. But **Hermas wrote the Shepherd very recently**, in our times, in the city of Rome, while bishop Pius, his brother, was occupying the (episcopal) chair of the church of the city of Rome. And therefore it ought indeed to be read; but it cannot be read publicly to

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

the people in church either among the prophets, whose number is complete, or among the apostles, for it is after their time. But we **accept nothing whatever of Arsinous or Valentinus or Miltiades**, who also composed a new book of psalms for Marcion, together with Basilides, the Asian founder of the Cataphrygians...

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 178-182.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/muratorian.html>

Mommsen Catalogue (pre 365)

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/cheltenham.html>

Hilary of Poitiers (364 – 367 AD)

Instructio Psalmorum 15

And therefore the law of the **Old Testament is reckoned in twenty-two books**, so that they agree with the number of the letters. They are reckoned **according to the traditions of our forebears** so that there are **five books of Moses**, a sixth of **Joshua** Nave, a seventh of **Judges** and **Ruth**, **first and second of the Kingdoms** is eighth, **third and fourth** in the ninth, two of **Paralipomenon** are in the tenth, words of the **days of Esdras** in the eleventh, the book of **Psalms** is twelfth, **Proverbs** of Solomon, and his **Ecclesiastes** and **Song of Songs** in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, and all the **Twelve Prophets** in the sixteenth, then **Isaiah** and **Jeremiah** with **Lamentations** and **the Epistle**, but also **Daniel**, and **Ezekiel**, and **Job**, and **Esther** complete the number of **the twenty-two books**. But to some it seems good to add **Tobit** and **Judith** in order to enumerate twenty-four books, in accordance with the number of the Greek letters. The Roman language also was chosen in the middle between Hebrew and Greek, because in these three languages especially the sacrament of the will of God and the anticipation of his blessed kingdom is preached; since it was Pilate's duty that he might dictate that the Lord Jesus Christ was king of the Jews in these three languages [cf. John 19:19-20]. For although many barbarian peoples have obtained the knowledge of God according to the preaching of the apostles and the faith of those churches that remain here today, nevertheless especially the evangelic doctrine exists in the Roman Empire, under which the Hebrews and Greeks are maintained.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 195-196.

Council of Rome (382 AD, from Galacian Canon)

Now indeed we must treat of the divine Scriptures, **what the universal Catholic Church accepts and what she ought to shun**. The order of the Old Testament begins here: **Genesis** one book, **Exodus** one book, **Leviticus** one book, **Numbers** one book, **Deuteronomy** one book, **Josue** Nave one book, **Judges** one book, **Ruth** one book, **Kings four books**, **Paralipomenon** two books, **Psalms** one book, **Solomon** three books, **Proverbs** one book, **Ecclesiastes** one book, **Canticle of Canticles** one book, likewise **Wisdom** one book, **Ecclesiasticus** one book.

Likewise the order of the Prophets. **Isaias** one book, **Jeremias** one book, with Ginoth, that is, with his **Lamentations**, **Ezechiel** one book, **Daniel** one book, **Osee** one book, **Amos** one book, **Micheas** one book, **Joel** one book, **Abdias** one book, **Jonas** one book, **Nahum** one book, **Habacuc** one book, **Sophonias** one book, **Aggeus** one book, **Zacharias** one book, **Malachias** one book. Likewise the order of the histories. **Job** one book, **Tobias** one book, **Esdras two books**, **Esther** one book, **Judith** one book, **Machabees two books**.

Likewise the order of the writings of the New and Eternal Testament, which only the holy and Catholic Church supports. Of the Gospels, according to **Matthew** one book, according to **Mark** one book, according to **Luke** one book, according to **John** one book.

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in number fourteen. To the **Romans** one, to the **Corinthians** two, to the Ephesians one, to the **Thessalonians** two, to the **Galatians** one, to the **Philippians** one, to the **Colossians** one, to **Timothy** two, to **Titus** one, to **Philemon** one, to the **Hebrews** one.

Likewise the **Apocalypse of John**, one book. And the **Acts of the Apostles** one book. Likewise the canonical epistles in number seven. Of **Peter the Apostle two epistles**, of **James** the Apostle one epistle, of **John the Apostle one epistle**, of another **John, the presbyter, two epistles**, of **Jude** the Zealot, the Apostle one epistle.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Council_of_Rome#Decretum_Gelasianum_and_damasine

Jerome (342–347 – 420 AD)

Preface to the Books of the Kings (390s AD)

That the Hebrews have twenty-two letters is testified by the Syrian and Chaldæan languages which are nearly related to the Hebrew, for they have twenty-two elementary sounds which are pronounced the same way, but are differently written. The Samaritans also employ just the same number of letters in their copies of the Pentateuch of Moses, and differ only in the shape and outline of the letters. And it is certain that Esdras, the scribe and teacher of the law, after the capture of Jerusalem and the restoration of the temple by Zerubbabel, invented other letters which we now use, although up to that time the Samaritan and Hebrew characters were the same. In the book of Numbers, also, where we have the census of the Levites and priests, the mystic teaching of Scripture conducts us to the same result. And we find the four-lettered name of the Lord in certain Greek books written to this day in the ancient characters. The thirty-seventh Psalm, moreover, the one hundred and eleventh, the one hundred and twelfth, the one hundred and nineteenth, and the one hundred and forty-fifth, although they are written in different metres, have for their acrostic framework an alphabet of the same number of letters. The Lamentations of Jeremiah, and his Prayer, the Proverbs of Solomon also, towards the end, from the place where we read “Who will find a brave woman?” are instances of the same number of letters forming the division into sections. And, again, five are double letters, viz., *Caph, Mem, Nun, Phe, Sade*, for at the beginning and in the middle of words they are written one way, and at the end another way. Whence it happens that, by most people, **five of the books are reckoned as double**, viz., Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Jeremiah, with *Kinoth, i.e.*, his Lamentations. As, then, there are twenty-two elementary characters by means of which we write in Hebrew all we say, and the compass of the human voice is contained within their limits, so **we reckon twenty-two books**, by which, as by the alphabet of the doctrine of God, a righteous man is instructed in tender infancy, and, as it were, while still at the breast.

The first of these books is called *Bresith*, to which we give the name **Genesis**. The second, *Elle Smoth*, which bears the name **Exodus**; the third, *Vaiehra*, that is **Leviticus**; the fourth, *Vaiedabber*, which we call **Numbers**; the fifth, *Elle Addabarim*, which is entitled **Deuteronomy**. These are the five books of Moses, which they properly call *Thorath*, that is *law*.

The second class is composed of the Prophets, and they begin with *Jesus* the son of Nave, who among them is called **Joshua** the son of Nun. Next in the series is *Sophtim*, that is the book of **Judges**; and in the same book they include **Ruth**, because the events narrated occurred in the days of the Judges. Then comes **Samuel**, which we call **First and Second Kings**. The fourth is *Malachim*, that is, **Kings**, which is contained in the third and fourth volumes of Kings. And it is far better to say *Malachim*, that is Kings, than *Malachoth*, that is Kingdoms. For the author does not describe the Kingdoms of many nations, but that of one people, the people of Israel, which is comprised in the twelve tribes. The fifth is **Isaiah**, the sixth, **Jeremiah**, the seventh, **Ezekiel**, the eighth is the book of the **Twelve Prophets**, which is called among the Jews *Thare Asra*.

To the third class belong the *Hagiographa*, of which the first book begins with **Job**, the second with David, whose writings they divide into five parts and comprise in one volume of **Psalms**; the third is Solomon, in three books, **Proverbs**, which they call *Parables*, that is *Masaloth*, **Ecclesiastes**, that is *Coeleth*, the **Song of Songs**, which they denote by the title *Sir Assirim*; the sixth is **Daniel**; the seventh, *Dabre Aiamim*, that is, *Words of Days*, which we may more expressively call a chronicle of the whole of the sacred history, the book that amongst us is called First and Second **Chronicles**; the eighth, **Ezra**, which itself is likewise divided amongst Greeks and Latins into **two books**; the ninth is **Esther**.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

And so there are also **twenty-two books of the Old Testament**; that is, five of Moses, eight of the prophets, nine of the Hagiographa, though some include Ruth and Kinoth (Lamentations) amongst the Hagiographa, and think that these books ought to be reckoned separately; we should thus have **twenty-four books of the old law**. And these the **Apocalypse of John** represents by the twenty-four elders, who adore the Lamb, and with downcast looks offer their crowns, while in their presence stand the four living creatures with eyes before and behind, that is, looking to the past and the future, and with unwearied voice crying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, who wast, and art, and art to come.

This preface to the Scriptures may serve as a “helmeted” introduction to all the books which we turn from Hebrew into Latin, so that we may be assured that **what is not found in our list must be placed amongst the Apocryphal writings**. **Wisdom**, therefore, which generally bears the name of Solomon, and the book of Jesus, the Son of **Sirach**, and **Judith**, and **Tobias**, and the **Shepherd** are not in the canon. The first book of **Maccabees** I have found to be Hebrew, the second is Greek, as can be proved from the very style. Seeing that all this is so, I beseech you, my reader, not to think that my labours are in any sense intended to disparage the old translators. For the service of the tabernacle of God each one offers what he can; some gold and silver and precious stones, others linen and blue and purple and scarlet; we shall do well if we offer skins and goats’ hair. And yet the Apostle pronounces our more contemptible parts more necessary than others. Accordingly, the beauty of the tabernacle as a whole and in its several kinds (and the ornaments of the church present and future) was covered with skins and goats’-hair cloths, and the heat of the sun and the injurious rain were warded off by those things which are of less account. First read, then, my Samuel and Kings; mine, I say, mine. For whatever by diligent translation and by anxious emendation we have learnt and made our own, is ours. And when you understand that whereof you were before ignorant, either, if you are grateful, reckon me a translator, or, if ungrateful, a paraphraser, albeit I am not in the least conscious of having deviated from the Hebrew original. At all events, if you are incredulous, read the Greek and Latin manuscripts and compare them with these poor efforts of mine, and wherever you see they disagree, ask some Hebrew (though you ought rather to place confidence in me), and if he confirm our view, I suppose you will not think him a soothsayer and suppose that he and I have, in rendering the same passage, divined alike. But I ask you also, the handmaidens of Christ, who anoint the head of your reclining Lord with the most precious ointment of faith, who by no means seek the Saviour in the tomb, for whom Christ has long since ascended to the Father—I beg you to confront with the shields of your prayers the mad dogs who bark and rage against me, and go about the city, and think themselves learned if they disparage others. I, knowing my lowliness, will always remember what we are told. “I said, I will take heed to my ways that I offend not in my tongue. I have set a guard upon my mouth while the sinner standeth against me. I became dumb, and was humbled, and kept silence from good words.”

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.vii.iii.iv.html>

Preface to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs

As, then, **the Church reads Judith, Tobit**, and the books of **Maccabees**, **but does not admit them among the canonical Scriptures**, so let it read these two volumes for the edification of the people, not to give authority to doctrines of the Church. If any one is better pleased with the edition of the Seventy, there it is, long since corrected by me. For it is not our aim in producing the new to destroy the old. And yet if our friend reads carefully, he will find that our version is the more intelligible, for it has not turned sour by being poured three times over into different vessels, but has been drawn straight from the press, and stored in a clean jar, and has thus preserved its own flavour.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206/npnf206.vii.iii.x.html>

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Letter 53 (“To Paulinus”), 8-9 (395 AD)

8. **Genesis**, we shall be told, needs no explanation; its topics are too simple—the birth of the world, the origin of the human race, the division of the earth, the confusion of tongues, and the descent of the Hebrews into Egypt! **Exodus**, no doubt, is equally plain, containing as it does merely an account of the ten plagues, the decalogue, and sundry mysterious and divine precepts! The meaning of **Leviticus** is of course self-evident, although every sacrifice that it describes, nay more every word that it contains, the description of Aaron’s vestments, and all the regulations connected with the Levites are symbols of things heavenly! The book of **Numbers** too—are not its very figures, and Balaam’s prophecy, and the forty-two camping places in the wilderness so many mysteries? **Deuteronomy** also, that is the second law or the foreshadowing of the law of the gospel,—does it not, while exhibiting things known before, put old truths in a new light? So far the ‘five words’ of the Pentateuch, with which the apostle boasts his wish to speak in the Church. Then, as for **Job**, that pattern of patience, what mysteries are there not contained in his discourses? Commencing in prose the book soon glides into verse and at the end once more reverts to prose. By the way in which it lays down propositions, assumes postulates, adduces proofs, and draws inferences, it illustrates all the laws of logic. Single words occurring in the book are full of meaning. To say nothing of other topics, it prophesies the resurrection of men’s bodies at once with more clearness and with more caution than any one has yet shewn. “I know,” Job says, “that my redeemer liveth, and that at the last day I shall rise again from the earth; and I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh shall I see God. Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another. This my hope is stored up in my own bosom.” I will pass on to **Jesus** the son of Nave—a type of the Lord in name as well as in deed—who crossed over Jordan, subdued hostile kingdoms, divided the land among the conquering people and who, in every city, village, mountain, river, hill-torrent, and boundary which he dealt with, marked out the spiritual realms of the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, of the church. In the book of Judges every one of the popular leaders is a type. **Ruth** the Moabitess fulfils the prophecy of **Isaiah**:—“Send thou a lamb, O Lord, as ruler of the land from the rock of the wilderness to the mount of the daughter of Zion.” Under the figures of Eli’s death and the slaying of Saul Samuel shews the abolition of the old law. Again in Zadok and in David he bears witness to the mysteries of the new priesthood and of the new royalty. The **third and fourth books of Kings** called in Hebrew *Malâchim* give the history of the kingdom of Judah from Solomon to Jeconiah, and of that of Israel from Jeroboam the son of Nebat to Hoshea who was carried away into Assyria. If you merely regard the narrative, the words are simple enough, but if you look beneath the surface at the hidden meaning of it, you find a description of the small numbers of the church and of the wars which the heretics wage against it. **The twelve prophets** whose writings are compressed within the narrow limits of a single volume, have typical meanings far different from their literal ones. Hosea speaks many times of Ephraim, of Samaria, of Joseph, of Jezreel, of a wife of whoredoms and of children of whoredoms, of an adulteress shut up within the chamber of her husband, sitting for a long time in widowhood and in the garb of mourning, awaiting the time when her husband will return to her. Joel the son of Pethuel describes the land of the twelve tribes as spoiled and devastated by the palmerworm, the canker-worm, the locust, and the blight, and predicts that after the overthrow of the former people the Holy Spirit shall be poured out upon God’s servants and handmaids; the same spirit, that is, which was to be poured out in the upper chamber at Zion upon the one hundred and twenty believers. These believers rising by gradual and regular gradations from one to fifteen form the steps to which there is a mystical allusion in the “psalms of degrees.” **Amos**, although he is only “an herdman” from the country, “a gatherer of sycamore fruit,” cannot be explained in a few words. For who can adequately speak of the three transgressions and the four of Damascus, of Gaza, of Tyre, of Idumæa, of Moab, of the children of Ammon, and in the seventh and eighth place of Judah and of Israel? He speaks to the fat kine that are in the mountain of Samaria, and bears witness that the great house and the little house shall fall. He sees now the maker of the

grasshopper, now the Lord, standing upon a wall daubed or made of adamant, now a basket of apples that brings doom to the transgressors, and now a famine upon the earth “not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.” **Obadiah**, whose name means the servant of God, thunders against Edom red with blood and against the creature born of earth. He smites him with the spear of the spirit because of his continual rivalry with his brother Jacob. **Jonah**, fairest of doves, whose shipwreck shews in a figure the passion of the Lord, recalls the world to penitence, and while he preaches to Nineveh, announces salvation to all the heathen. **Micah** the Morasthite a joint heir with Christ announces the spoiling of the daughter of the robber and lays siege against her, because she has smitten the jawbone of the judge of Israel. **Nahum**, the consoler of the world, rebukes “the bloody city” and when it is overthrown cries:—“Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings.” **Habakkuk**, like a strong and unyielding wrestler, stands upon his watch and sets his foot upon the tower that he may contemplate Christ upon the cross and say “His glory covered the heavens and the earth was full of his praise. And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power.” **Zephaniah**, that is the bodyguard and knower of the secrets of the Lord, hears “a cry from the fishgate, and an howling from the second, and a great crashing from the hills.” He proclaims “howling to the inhabitants of the mortar; for all the people of Canaan are undone; all they that were laden with silver are cut off.” **Haggai**, that is he who is glad or joyful, who has sown in tears to reap in joy, is occupied with the rebuilding of the temple. He represents the Lord (the Father, that is) as saying “Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations and he who is desired of all nations shall come.” **Zechariah**, he that is mindful of his Lord, gives us many prophecies. He sees Jesus, “clothed with filthy garments,” a stone with seven eyes, a candle-stick all of gold with lamps as many as the eyes, and two olive trees on the right side of the bowl and on the left. After he has described the horses, red, black, white, and grised, and the cutting off of the chariot from Ephraim and of the horse from Jerusalem he goes on to prophesy and predict a king who shall be a poor man and who shall sit “upon a colt the foal of an ass.” **Malachi**, the last of all the prophets, speaks openly of the rejection of Israel and the calling of the nations. “I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles: and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering.” As for **Isaiah**, **Jeremiah**, **Ezekiel**, and **Daniel**, who can fully understand or adequately explain them? The first of them seems to compose not a prophecy but a gospel. The second speaks of a rod of an almond tree and of a seething pot with its face toward the north, and of a leopard which has changed its spots. He also goes four times through the alphabet in different metres. The beginning and ending of Ezekiel, the third of the four, are involved in so great obscurity that like the commencement of Genesis they are not studied by the Hebrews until they are thirty years old. Daniel, the fourth and last of the four prophets, having knowledge of the times and being interested in the whole world, in clear language proclaims the stone cut out of the mountain without hands that overthrows all kingdoms. David, who is our Simonides, Pindar, and Alcæus, our Horace, our Catullus, and our Serenus all in one, sings of Christ to his lyre; and on a psaltery with ten strings calls him from the lower world to rise again. Solomon, a lover of peace and of the Lord, corrects morals, teaches nature, unites Christ and the church, and sings a sweet marriage song to celebrate that holy bridal. **Esther**, a type of the church, frees her people from danger and, after having slain Haman whose name means iniquity, hands down to posterity a memorable day and a great feast. The book of things omitted or epitome of the old dispensation is of such importance and value that without it any one who should claim to himself a knowledge of the scriptures would make himself a laughing stock in his own eyes. Every name used in it, nay even the conjunction of the words, serves to throw light on narratives passed over in the books of Kings and upon questions suggested by the gospel. **Ezra** and **Nehemiah**, that is the Lord’s helper and His consoler, are united in a single book. They restore the

Temple and build up the walls of the city. In their pages we see the throng of the Israelites returning to their native land, we read of priests and Levites, of Israel proper and of proselytes; and we are even told the several families to which the task of building the walls and towers was assigned. These references convey one meaning upon the surface, but another below it.

9. You see how, carried away by my love of the scriptures, I have exceeded the limits of a letter yet have not fully accomplished my object. We have heard only what it is that we ought to know and to desire, so that we too may be able to say with the psalmist:—"My soul breaketh out for the very fervent desire that it hath alway unto thy judgments." But the saying of Socrates about himself—"this only I know that I know nothing"—is fulfilled in our case also. The New Testament I will briefly deal with. **Matthew, Mark, Luke and John** are the Lord's team of four, the true cherubim or store of knowledge. With them the whole body is full of eyes, they glitter as sparks, they run and return like lightning, their feet are straight feet, and lifted up, their backs also are winged, ready to fly in all directions. They hold together each by each and are interwoven one with another: like wheels within wheels they roll along and go whithersoever the breath of the Holy Spirit wafts them. The **apostle Paul writes to seven churches (for the eighth epistle—that to the Hebrews—is not generally counted in with the others)**. He instructs **Timothy** and **Titus**; he intercedes with **Philemon** for his runaway slave. Of him I think it better to say nothing than to write inadequately. The **Acts of the Apostles** seem to relate a mere unvarnished narrative descriptive of the infancy of the newly born church; but when once we realize that their author is Luke the physician whose praise is in the gospel, we shall see that all his words are medicine for the sick soul. The apostles **James, Peter, John, and Jude**, have published seven epistles at once spiritual and to the point, short and long, short that is in words but lengthy in substance so that there are few indeed who do not find themselves in the dark when they read them. The **apocalypse of John** has as many mysteries as words. In saying this I have said less than the book deserves. All praise of it is inadequate; manifold meanings lie hid in its every word.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.LIII.html>

Epistle 107 ("To Laeta"), 12 (403 AD)

12. Let her treasures be not silks or gems but manuscripts of the holy scriptures; and in these let her think less of gilding, and Babylonian parchment, and arabesque patterns, than of correctness and accurate punctuation. Let her begin by learning the **psalter**, and then let her gather rules of life out of the **proverbs** of Solomon. From the **Preacher** let her gain the habit of despising the world and its vanities. Let her follow the example set in **Job** of virtue and of patience. Then let her pass on to the gospels never to be laid aside when once they have been taken in hand. Let her also drink in with a willing heart the **Acts of the Apostles** and the **Epistles**. As soon as she has enriched the storehouse of her mind with these treasures, let her commit to memory **the prophets**, the **heptateuch**, the books of **Kings** and of **Chronicles**, the rolls also of **Ezra** and **Esther**. When she has done all these she may safely read the **Song of Songs** but not before: for, were she to read it at the beginning, she would fail to perceive that, though it is written in fleshly words, it is a marriage song of a spiritual bridal. And not understanding this she would suffer hurt from it. **Let her avoid all apocryphal writings**, and if she is led to read such not by the truth of the doctrines which they contain but out of respect for the miracles contained in them; let her understand that they are not really written by those to whom they are ascribed, that many faulty elements have been introduced into them, and that it requires infinite discretion to look for gold in the midst of dirt. Cyprian's writings let her have always in her hands. The letters of Athanasius and the treatises of Hilary she may go through without fear of stumbling. Let her take pleasure in the works and wits of all in whose books a due regard for the faith is not neglected. But if she reads the works of others let it be rather to judge them than to follow them.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.CVII.html>

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Breviarium Hipponense 36 / Council of Hippo (393 AD)

a) That **beyond the canonical Scriptures nothing should be read in church** under the name of the Divine Scriptures.

b) The canonical Scriptures are: **Genesis. Exodus. Leviticus. Numbers. Deuteronomy. Joshua. Judges. Ruth.** Of **Reigns, four books.** Of **Paralipomenon, two books.** **Job. Psalter. Of Solomon, five books.** Book of **Twelve Minor Prophets.** Also **Isaiah. Jeremiah. Ezekiel. Daniel. Tobit. Judith. Esther.** Of **Ezra, two books.** Of **Maccabees, two books.** And of the New Testament: **Gospels, four books.** Of the **Acts of the Apostles**, one book. Of the apostle **Paul, fourteen epistles.** Of **Peter, two.** Of **John, three.** Of **Jude**, one. Of **James**, one. The **Apocalypse of John.**

c) That **the church across the sea should be consulted to confirm this canon.**

d) It is also permissible to read the passions of the martyrs, when their anniversary days are celebrated.

Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 223-224.

*Augustine (354 – 430 AD)**Christian Doctrine, bk. 2, ch. 8 (396 AD)*

12. But let us now go back to consider the third step here mentioned, for it is about it that I have set myself to speak and reason as the Lord shall grant me wisdom. The most skilful interpreter of the sacred writings, then, will be he who in the first place has read them all and retained them in his knowledge, if not yet with full understanding, still with such knowledge as reading gives,—those of them, at least, that are called canonical. For he will read the others with greater safety when built up in the belief of the truth, so that they will not take first possession of a weak mind, nor, cheating it with dangerous falsehoods and delusions, fill it with prejudices averse to a sound understanding. Now, in regard to **the canonical Scriptures**, he must **follow the judgment of the greater number of catholic churches**; and among these, of course, a high place must be given to such as have been thought worthy to be **the seat of an apostle and to receive epistles**. Accordingly, among the canonical Scriptures he will judge according to the following standard: to prefer those that are **received by all the catholic churches** to those which some do not receive. Among those, again, which are not received by all, he will prefer such as have the sanction of **the greater number and those of greater authority**, to such as are held by the smaller number and those of less authority. If, however, he shall find that some books are held by the greater number of churches, and others by the churches of greater authority (though this is not a very likely thing to happen), I think that in such a case the authority on the two sides is to be looked upon as equal.

13. Now **the whole canon of Scripture** on which we say this judgment is to be exercised, is contained in the following books:—Five books of Moses, that is, **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**; one book of **Joshua** the son of Nun; one of **Judges**; one short book called **Ruth**, which seems rather to belong to the beginning of Kings; next, **four books of Kings**, and **two of Chronicles**, these last not following one another, but running parallel, so to speak, and going over the same ground. The books now mentioned are history, which contains a connected narrative of the times, and follows the order of the events. There are other books which seem to follow no regular order, and are connected neither with the order of the preceding books nor with one another, such as **Job**, and **Tobias**, and **Esther**, and **Judith**, and the **two books of Maccabees**, and the **two of Ezra**, which last look more like a sequel to the continuous regular history which terminates with the books of Kings and Chronicles. Next are the Prophets, in which there is one book of the **Psalms** of David; and three books of Solomon, viz., **Proverbs, Song of Songs**, and **Ecclesiastes**. For two books, one called **Wisdom** and

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

the other **Ecclesiasticus**, are ascribed to Solomon from a certain resemblance of style, but the most likely opinion is that they were written by Jesus the son of Sirach. Still **they are to be reckoned among the prophetic books**, since they have attained recognition as being authoritative. The remainder are the books which are strictly called the Prophets: twelve separate books of the prophets which are connected with one another, and having never been disjoined, are reckoned as one book; the names of these prophets are as follows:—**Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi**; then there are the four greater prophets, **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel**. The authority of the Old Testament is contained within the limits of **these forty-four books**. That of the New Testament, again, is contained within the following:—Four books of the Gospel, according to **Matthew**, according to **Mark**, according to **Luke**, according to **John**; fourteen epistles of the Apostle Paul—one to the **Romans**, two to the **Corinthians**, one to the **Galatians**, to the **Ephesians**, to the **Philippians**, two to the **Thessalonians**, one to the **Colossians**, two to **Timothy**, one to **Titus**, to **Philemon**, to the Hebrews: two of **Peter**; three of **John**; one of **Jude**; and one of **James**; one book of the **Acts** of the Apostles; and one of the **Revelation** of John.

https://www.ccel.org/ccel/augustine/doctrine.ix_1.html

Third Council of Carthage (397 AD)

16 It was also determined that besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the title of divine Scriptures. The Canonical Scriptures are these: **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua** the son of Nun, **Judges, Ruth**, four books of **Kings**, two books of **Paraleipomena, Job**, the **Psalter, five books of Solomon**, the books of the **twelve prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther**, two books of **Esdras, two Books of the Maccabees**.

17 Of the New Testament: **four books of the Gospels**, one book of the **Acts** of the Apostles, **thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul**, one epistle of the same [writer] to the **Hebrews, two Epistles of the Apostle Peter, three of John**, one of **James**, one of **Jude**, one book of the **Apocalypse of John**.

18 So **let the church over the sea be consulted to confirm this canon**. Let it also be allowed that the Passions of Martyrs be read when their festivals are kept.

20 Let this be made known also to our brother and fellow-priest Boniface, or to other bishops of those parts, for the purpose of confirming that Canon. Because **we have received from our fathers that those books must be read in the Church**.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Councils_of_Carthage#Synod_of_397

Rufinus of Aquileia (ca. 404 AD)

Exposition of the Creed, 36-38

36. [I say] then it was the Holy Spirit who in the Old Testament inspired the Law and the Prophets, and in the New the Gospels and the Epistles. For which reason the apostle also says, "All scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable for instruction." And therefore it seems proper in this place to specify by a distinct enumeration, **from the records of the fathers**, the books of the New and of the Old Testament, which, **in accordance with the tradition of our ancestors**, are believed to have been inspired by the Holy Spirit, and **handed down to the churches of Christ**.

37. Of the Old Testament, therefore, first of all there have been handed down five books of Moses: **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**; then **Joshua** the son of Nun; the book of **Judges** together with **Ruth**; then **four books of Kings**, which the Hebrews reckon two; **Paralipomenon**, which is called the book of Days, and **two books of Ezra**, which the Hebrews reckon one, and **Esther**; of the Prophets, **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel**, and **Daniel**; moreover of **the Twelve Prophets**, one book; **Job** also

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

and the **Psalms** of David, each one book. Solomon gave three books to the churches, **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes**, and **Song of Songs**. These comprise the books of the Old Testament.

Of the New Testament there are four Gospels, **Matthew**, **Mark**, **Luke**, and **John**; the **Acts of the Apostles**, which was written by Luke; **fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul**, **two of the apostle Peter**, one of **James**, the brother of the Lord and an apostle, one of **Jude**, **three of John**, and the **Revelation of John**.

These are the books which the fathers have included in the canon; on which they would have us establish the declarations of our faith.

38. But it should also be known that there are other books which are called **not “canonical” but “ecclesiastical”** by the ancients: that is, the **Wisdom attributed to Solomon**, and another Wisdom attributed to the son of **Sirach**, which the Latins called by the title **Ecclesiasticus**, designating not the author of the book but its character. To the same class belong the book of **Tobit** and the book of **Judith**, and the books of **Maccabees**.

With the New Testament there is the book which is called the **Shepherd of Hermas**, and that which is called **The Two Ways** and the **Judgment of Peter**. They were willing to have all these read in the churches but not brought forward for the confirmation of doctrine. The other writings they named “apocrypha,” which they would not have read in the churches.

These are what the fathers have handed down to us, which, as I said, I have thought it opportune to set forth in this place, for the instruction of those who are being taught the first elements of the Church and of the Faith, that they may know from what fountains of the Word of God they should draw for drinking.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/rufinus.html>

Pope Innocent I (pope 401 – 417 AD)

Letter to Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse (405 AD)

Which **books really are received in the canon**, this brief addition shows. These therefore are the things of which you desired to be informed. Five books of Moses, that is, **Genesis**, **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers**, and **Deuteronomy**, and **Joshua** the son of Nun, and **Judges**, and the **four books of Kings** together with **Ruth**, **sixteen books of the Prophets**, **five books of Solomon**, and the **Psalms**. Also of the historical books, one book of **Job**, one of **Tobit**, one of **Esther**, one of **Judith**, **two of Maccabees**, **two of Ezra**, two of **Chronicles**. And of the New Testament: of the **Gospels four**. Epistles of the apostle **Paul fourteen**. **Epistles of John three**. Epistles of **Peter two**. Epistle of **Jude**. Epistle of **James**. **Acts of the Apostles**. **John's Apocalypse**. But the rest of the books, which appear under the name of **Matthias** or of **James the Less**, or under the name of **Peter** and **John** (which were written by a certain Leucius), or under the name of Andrew (which were written by the philosophers Xenocharides and Leonidas), or under the name of **Thomas**, and whatever others there may be, you should know they are **not only to be rejected but also condemned**.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/innocent.html>

Cassiodorus (485/490 – 580 AD)

Institutiones 1:1-9

Preface

1. When I realized that there was such a zealous and eager pursuit of secular learning, by which the majority of mankind hopes to obtain knowledge of this world, I was deeply grieved, I admit, that Holy

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Scripture should so lack public teachers, whereas secular authors certainly flourish in widespread teaching. Together with blessed Pope Agapetus of Rome, I made efforts to collect money so that it should rather be the Christian schools in the city of Rome that could employ learned teachers – the money having been collected – from whom the faithful might gain eternal salvation for their souls and the adornment of sober and pure eloquence for their speech. They say that such a system existed for a long time at Alexandria and that the Hebrews are now using it enthusiastically in Nisibis, a city of Syria. But since I could not accomplish this task because of raging wars and violent struggles in the Kingdom of Italy – for a peaceful endeavour has no place in a time of unrest – I was moved by divine love to devise for you, with God’s help, these introductory books to take the place of a teacher. Through them I believe that both the textual sequence of Holy Scripture and also a compact account of secular letters may, with God’s grace, be revealed. These works may seem rather plain in style since they offer not polished eloquence but basic description. But they are of great use as an introduction to the source both of knowledge of this world and of the salvation of the soul. I commend in them not my own teaching, but the words of earlier writers that we justly praise and gloriously herald to later generations. For learning taken from the ancients in the midst of praising the Lord is not considered tasteless boasting. Furthermore, you make a serious teacher angry if you question him often; but however often you want to return to these books, you will not be rebuked with any severity.

2. Therefore, beloved brothers, **let us ascend without hesitation to Holy Scripture through the excellent commentaries of the Fathers**, as if on the ladder of Jacob’s vision so that, lifted by their thoughts, we are worthy to arrive at full contemplation of the Lord. For commentary on Scripture is, as it were, Jacob’s ladder, by which the angels ascend and descend [Gen. 28:12]; on which the Lord leans, stretching out his hand to those who are weary, and supports the tired steps of those ascending by granting them contemplation of Him. So in this matter, if it is approved, we ought to keep this sequence [cf. the ladder] of reading, so that the recruits of Christ, after they have learned the Psalms, should study the divine text in corrected books until, by continuous practice, with God’s help, it is well known to them. The books should be corrected to prevent scribal errors from being fixed in untrained minds, because what is fixed and rooted in the depths of memory is hard to remove. Happy indeed is the mind that has stored such a mysterious treasure in the depths of memory [cf. Virgil *Georgics* 2.490ff.], with God’s help; but much happier the mind that knows the ways of understanding from its energetic investigation. As a result, such a mind vigorously expels human thoughts and is occupied to its salvation with divine utterances. I recall that I have seen many men with powerful memories who, asked about the most obscure passages, have solved the questions put to them by examples drawn only from divine authority, for a matter stated obscurely in one place is set down more clearly in another book. An example of this is the Apostle Paul who to a large extent in the letter written to the Hebrews elucidates the writings of the Old Testament by their fulfilment in the new times.

3. Therefore, dearest brothers, after the soldiers of Christ have filled themselves with divine study and, grown strong by regular reading, have begun to recognize passages cited as circumstances indicate, then they may profit from going through this guide. It is divided into two books, briefly indicating the works to be read and the proper order for reading them; thus, the student can learn where Latin commentators explain a given passage. But if he finds something in these writers discussed in a cursory fashion, then those who know the language should seek from Greek expositors helpful interpretations. In this way indifference and negligence may be removed and vital knowledge sought by minds set aflame in the training school of Christ.

4. They say that the Divine Scriptures of the Old and New Testament from the beginning to the end were elucidated in Greek by Clement of Alexandria surnamed ‘Stromateus’, by Cyril, bishop of the same city, by John Chrysostom, Gregory, and Basil as well as other scholarly men whom eloquent

Greece praises. But **we, with the Lord's aid, rather seek Latin writers**. Since I am writing for Italians so it has seemed most appropriate to point out Roman commentators, for everyone accepts more easily what is reported in his native language. Hence it can happen that something is treated by ancient teachers that could not be provided by modern ones. Therefore it will be enough to point out to you the most learned commentators; when you are sent to such writers you find the proper and full measure of teaching. It will also be better for you not to be drinking in striking novelty but to satisfy yourself at the spring of the ancients. Consequently I may teach at my leisure and instruct you without blameworthy presumption; and I think that this type of instruction is profitable even to us, teaching others in such a way that we most suitably avoid the snares of those who misrepresent us.

5. So in the first book you have teachers of a former age always available and prepared to teach you, not so much by their speech as through your eyes. Therefore, brothers eager for learning, wisely moderate your desires, and in imitation of those who desire to gain health of the body, let us learn what is to be read in proper order. For those who want to be cured ask the doctors what foods they should take first, what refreshment they should take next, so that an indiscriminate appetite does not tax rather than restore the failing strength of their weakened limbs.

6. In the second book on the arts and disciplines of liberal studies a few things need to be imbibed; and yet in this setting there is little harm to the person who slips, if he errs while keeping his faith firm. **Whatever has been found in Divine Scripture on such matters will be better understood if one has prior acquaintance with them**. It is well-known that, at the beginning of spiritual wisdom, information on these subjects was sowed, as it were, that secular teachers afterwards wisely transferred to their own rules as I have perhaps shown at suitable places in my *Psalm Commentary*.

7. Therefore, pray to God, the source of all that is useful; read, I pray, constantly; go over the material diligently; for frequent and intense meditation is the mother of understanding. I have not forgotten that the most eloquent commentator Cassian in his *Conversations* Book 55 related that a certain old and simple man had been asked about a most obscure passage of Divine Scripture and that he, after long prayer, by the light from above understood and explained the most difficult matters to his questioners. He had suddenly been filled by divine inspiration with what he had not learned before from human teachers. St Augustine tells a similar story in his *Christian Learning* of an illiterate foreign servant who through constant prayer suddenly read a book that was handed to him as though he had been taught by long practice in school. Concerning this matter Augustine himself spoke later as follows: although these miracles are surprising, and there is the statement that 'all things are possible to those who believe' [Mark 9:22], we ought not to pray for such things often, but rather stick to the practice of ordinary teaching so that we do not rashly seek after those things that are beyond us and risk testing the precept of the Lord who says in Deuteronomy: 'You shall not put the Lord your God to the test' [Deut. 6:16], and again says in the Gospel, 'an evil and adulterous generation demands a sign', and so forth [Matthew 12:39]. Therefore let us pray that those things that are now closed be opened to us and that we never be cut off from our zeal for reading; even David when he was constantly occupied with the law of the Lord nevertheless cried out to the Lord saying, 'give me discernment that I may learn your commands' [Psalms 118:73]. Such is the sweet gift of this pursuit that the more one understands the more one seeks.

8. **Although all Divine Scripture shines with heavenly brilliance and the excellence of the Holy Spirit appears clearly in it, I have dedicated my efforts to the Psalter, the Prophets, and the Apostolic Letters, since they seem to me to stir deeper profundities, and to contain, as it were, the glorious citadel and summit of the whole Divine Scripture**. I have read over carefully all nine sections containing the divine authority as best as an old man could. I carefully collated against older books as

my friends read aloud to me from these. In this pursuit I claim that I have struggled, God willing, to achieve a harmonious eloquence without mutilating the sacred books by taking undue liberties.

9. I believe this also ought to be noted: **St Jerome**, led by consideration for the simple brothers, said in his preface to the Prophets that he had marked his translation as it is now read today, by *cola* and *commata*, for the sake of those who had not learned punctuation from the teachers in the schools of secular learning. Guided by the authority of this great man, I have judged it right to follow to the extent that other books be supplied with punctuation marks. But for very elementary reading, let those parts of the text that, as I have said, Jerome set out by *cola* and *commata* in lieu of punctuation, be enough so that I do not seem to have presumptuously gone beyond the judgment of such a great man. The rest of the volumes that were not marked with such punctuation I have left to be examined and corrected by scribes who are specially precise and attentive. Although they cannot altogether maintain the fine points of orthography, they will, I think, hasten to complete at least the correction of the ancient books in every way. They understand their own critical marks that by and large refer and call attention to this skill. To eliminate ingrained error to some extent from their midst, I have set down in a following book on the rules of proper spelling a summary that is suited to their understanding so that crude conjectures of hasty correctors should not be passed on for posterity to complain of. I have tried to locate as many of the earlier writers on orthography as I could for use by the scribes, who can be if not corrected in every respect, at least greatly improved. Correct spelling is usually set out without ambiguity by the Greeks; among the Latin writers it has obviously been neglected because of its difficulty and hence also it now requires the serious attention of the reader.

10. Now that the arrangement of the work undertaken has been discussed, it is time for us to approach the most spiritually healthful gift of religious learning, the light of devout souls, a heavenly gift, and a joy that will remain forever – which is, I hope, briefly conveyed in the two books that follow.

- I. Octateuch
- II. Kings
- III. Prophets
- IV. Psalter
- V. Solomon
- VI. Hagiographa
- VII. Gospels
- VIII. Apostolic Letters
- IX. Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse
- X. The Types of Understanding
- XI. The Four Accepted Councils
- XII. The Division of Divine Scripture according to St Jerome
- XIII. The Division of Divine Scripture according to St Augustine
- XIV. The Division of Divine Scripture according to the Septuagint
- XV. How Carefully the Text of Holy Scripture Ought to be Corrected
- XVI. The Excellence of Divine Scripture
- XVII. Christian Historians
- XVIII. St Hilary
- XIX. St Cyprian
- XX. St Ambrose
- XXI. St Jerome
- XXII. St Augustine
- XXIII. The Abbot Eugippius and the Abbot Dionysius

- XXIV. General Summary; the Zeal with which Holy Scripture Ought to be Read
- XXV. Geographers to be Read by Monks
- XXVI. Critical Marks to be Added to Texts
- XXVII. Figures and Disciplines
- XXVIII. Reading for Those who Cannot Attempt Advanced Study
- XXIX. The Location of the Monastery of Vivarium or Castella
- XXX. Scribes and Advice on Proper Spelling
- XXXI. Medical Writers
- XXXII. Advice to the Abbot and Congregation of Monks
- XXXIII. Prayer

I. The Octateuch

1. The first section of Divine Scripture, the Octateuch, begins our enlightenment with an historical account starting from Genesis. **St Basil** wrote a polished exposition of the beginning of this book in excellent Greek, which the fine writer, Eustathius, rendered in Latin so successfully that his powerful eloquence seems to equal the genius of that most learned man. Basil extended his nine books up to the creation of man. In them he explained the nature of heaven and earth, of air and of waters, and also disclosed the qualities of practically all created things. Thus he teaches by treating at length in very clear and exact detail what was passed over for the sake of brevity in the authoritative text.

2. **Father Augustine**, too, in his two books against the Manichees explained the text of Genesis so thoroughly that almost no question in it remains unclarified. And so, the heresy involuntarily offers the opportunity for careful instruction of the orthodox by the way it is refuted and boldly defeated. So I hope it was a good idea to bind these books into the copy of Basil that the text of Genesis may be revealed to the reader in a clearer light.

3. **St Ambrose**, a lucid and pleasant teacher, wrote six books on this subject in his usual eloquent style and called the work *On the Six Days of Creation*.

4. **St Augustine** was an eloquent and meticulous controversialist; he also wrote twelve books on the beginning of Genesis, which he swathed in the beauty of practically all his learning. He called the work *On Genesis Considered Word for Word*. Although St Basil and St Ambrose gained universal praise for their brilliant treatment of the same material, nevertheless, Augustine, with God's bounty, advanced his work to yet another height – a difficult accomplishment after such learned men. He also wrote thirty-three books against Faustus the Manichean in which he vanquishes Faustus' wicked false belief by clear reasoning and again discussed in a marvellous way the Book of Genesis. Likewise, in a work in two books to which he gave the title *Against the Enemy of the Law and the Prophets*, he unravelled many problems involving questions of divine law. He burned with such fierce piety against these men that he wrote more intensively and more vigorously against them than he argued against other heresies. In the final three books of his *Confessions* he also presented an explanation of Genesis and thus he revealed the depth of the subject by returning to it so often. In seven books he employed useful logical proofs to explain problems in the sacred books that are obscure and difficult. This excellent teacher and man of incisive mind strove to leave nothing that is presented for the salvation of souls ignored through fatal oversight. He also wrote seven other marvellous books on *Forms of Expression* in which he set out the figures of traditional rhetoric and many other expressions proper to Sacred Scripture (i.e., which are not in common usage) with the thought that the soul of the reader should not be disturbed and puzzled by any difficulties when it finds unfamiliar constructions. At the

same time this outstanding teacher also showed that the common expressions, i.e., the figures of speech of the grammarians and rhetoricians, arose from Scripture and still Scripture retains a unique quality that up to now no secular teacher has been able to imitate. He is also said to have written seven sermons on the seven days of Genesis. I am eagerly and diligently seeking and passionately hope to find a copy of them.

5. **St Ambrose** also wrote seven books on the patriarchs that disentangle passages of the Old Testament by the happy device of set problems.

6. **St Jerome**, too, in one volume on the Book of Genesis settled many points raised on matters of Hebrew that pass down through the Divine Scriptures of both Testaments like a line drawn by one pen with balanced perfection. The orthodox must read through these works because the text is clear and intelligible when these great problems have been resolved. To increase our understanding he also compiled a one-volume work that explains Hebrew names and places found in the authority of older books adding his own Latin translations. This most industrious teacher also wrote another book on the New Testament that disentangles problems relating to Old Testament law.

7. We ought also to read **St Prosper** eagerly for he has dealt with the entire divine authority in three books in 153 chapters, which are like the <number of> fish the nets of the apostles drew from the stormy depths of this world [John 21:11].

8. There are also extremely eloquent sermons of **Origen** on the Octateuch, in three books. Many Fathers consider him a heretic, but **St Jerome** translated some of his short works into elegant Latin. Besides the attacks on him by the authority of so many Fathers, he has been condemned again recently by blessed **Pope Vigilius. Theophilus**, bishop of Alexandria, has proved on the basis of orthodox doctrine that thirty-five opinions of Origen are distorted by heretical errors. **Epiphanius** of Cyprus, bishop of the Church of Salamis, through his episcopal authority also attacked Origen with great hostility, refuting with great grief his writings, perverted by most baleful cleverness. But **St Jerome**, in a letter written to Tranquillinus, convincingly showed how Origen is to be read. He would not prevent learned men from reading indispensable sections of his work, nor yet hurl the unwary to ruin. Some have properly said that Origen ought to be treated like anise; for though he seasons the food of sacred literature, he himself is to be cooked and when the flavour is extracted, thrown away. Finally it is said of him 'where he writes well, no one writes better; where he writes badly, no one writes worse'. So we must read him cautiously and judiciously to draw the healthful juices from him while avoiding the poisons of his perverted faith that are dangerous to our way of life. The comment Virgil made while he was reading Ennius is applicable also to Origen. When asked by someone what he was doing Virgil replied, 'I am looking for gold in a dung-heap'. And so, as much as I could find in my cursory reading of the works of Origen, I marked the passages that contained statements against the rules of the Fathers with the sign of rejection, the *achresimon* <indicating 'not to be used'>. With such a mark on his perverted opinions indicating where he is dangerous, he cannot succeed in deceiving. Later writers say that he should be shunned completely because he subtly deceives the innocent. But if, with the Lord's help, we take proper precaution, his poison can do no harm.

9. I have also left you, with the Lord's help, if you want to read them, some **sermons of Origen**: sixteen on Genesis, twelve on Exodus, sixteen on Leviticus, twenty-nine on Numbers, four on Deuteronomy that contain a most careful and subtle commentary, twenty-six on Joshua, and nine on Judges. But on Ruth I was not able to find any older commentaries, so I persuaded the priest Bellator, a very religious man, to write a new one. In two books he has done much honour to the remarkable qualities of this

woman and of other women after her. I have added these books to the commentaries of Origen as was appropriate so that the interpretation of the whole Octateuch might be full and complete.

10. To make the text of the Octateuch available to us in a summarized version, I thought that the chapter-headings taken from the entire sequence of readings should be set down at the beginning of each book, chapter headings that had been written by our ancestors in the course of the text. The reader might thus be usefully guided and made profitably attentive, for he will easily find everything he is looking for, seeing it briefly marked out for him.

II. Kings

1. Since I could not find a commentary on the whole text of the second section, that of Kings, I have woven together some fragments from learned men into a single garment as it were, so that what could not be found in a single body of text can be known piece by piece in a unified collection.

2. I did indeed find four sermons on I Kings by **Origen**.

3. **Blessed Augustine**, writing to Simplicius, bishop of Milan, on this book, solved six problems that had been set to him: 1. On the passage in which it says: 'And an evil spirit from the Lord assailed Saul' [I Kings 16:14]; 2. What is the meaning of 'It repenteth me that I have made Saul king' [I Kings 15:11]; 3. Whether the unclean spirit that was in the witch could have made Samuel visible to Saul so that he might speak with him [I Kings 28:7ff.]; 4. On II Kings, where it says: 'And David went in, and sat before the Lord' [II Kings 7:18]; 5. On III Kings, Elijah's words: 'O Lord <you were?> the witness of this widow with whom I dwell in her house, and you have done evil so that you slew her son' [III Kings 17:20]; 6. In the same book, on the spirit of lying by whom King Achab was deceived [III Kings 22:21ff.].

4. I have found on the second book **St Augustine's** one sermon on Absalom who, because he coveted the kingdom, decided to kill his father David. 5. On the same work I have also found three celebrated discussions of blessed Augustine of which the first in importance is that on I Kings, the passage in which David fought with Goliath [I Kings 17]; 2. On III Kings, the passage on Elijah and the widow of Sarephta [III Kings 17:10ff.]; 3. IV Kings, the passage in which Elisha blessed the fatal spring [IV Kings 2:19ff.].

6. And **blessed Jerome** writing to Abundantius discussed three other difficult problems: 1. Why did David, who voluntarily went to attack Saul along with Achis the King of the Allophyli, slay the man who afterwards announced to him the death of said Saul [II Kings 1]; 2. Why did David, as he was dying, order his son Solomon to kill Joab, the general of his army [III Kings 2:5]; 3. On Semei who shouted unbearable and injurious curses on the fleeing David and threw stones at him [II Kings 16:5ff.].

7. I have likewise discovered one sermon of **Origen** on the second book of the same work.

8. On the third book of the above-mentioned work, **St Ambrose**, bishop of Milan, has a sermon on the Judgment of Solomon [III Kings 3:16ff.]; St Jerome, too, spoke on this passage in a pleasant commentary in his usual manner; on this also I have found that the learned **St Augustine** published a sermon, so it should be clear that so great a miracle rests on the authority of worthy writers.

9. In addition **St Jerome** wrote concerning this book to bishop Vitalis about the problem that Solomon and Achaz are said to have begotten sons when they were in their eleventh year [IV Kings 16:12; 18:2], something that ordinary nature scarcely allows.

10. **St. Augustine** in *The City of God*, Book 17, titulus 4, in his eloquent discussion of the period of the kings, among other things, elucidates the Canticle of Hannah [I Kings 2:1ff.] from beginning to end.

11. On II Paralipomenon I have found only one lengthy sermon of **Origen**.

12. I have collected all this matter into one volume so that you may read relevant material, with the Lord's help, in the place of commentaries on the books themselves. I have also added to this volume empty gatherings so that writings yet to be found on the above work may be added to the commentaries mentioned above.

13. The above-mentioned two books of Paralipomenon, whose great utility is preached by the Fathers, are known to contain a brief but full list of historical events. Since I have not discovered ancient chapter-headings like the chapter-headings existing for the preceding books, I have, as I thought best, added them in an orderly fashion to each passage so that by any kind of service in letters the quality of my devotion might be recognized.

III. Prophets

1. **The Prophets.** **St Jerome**, who was the first to write notes for beginners and the young on the whole fifth section, that of the prophets, commented suitably and briefly. I have left you these glosses in a **volume of the Prophets** in which these comments were recently added. The grape-cluster shapes of these glosses have been properly entered in this codex so that the vineyard of the Lord might seem filled with a heavenly richness and to have produced the sweetest fruits. For the more experienced and those who are already strengthened by some meditation, **St Jerome** produced other full and clear commentaries through the bounty of Christ the Lord. He made the abstruse and shadowy statements of the prophets understandable by offering various translations and untying the knots of the obscure allegories. Thus the holy doctor revealed the great mystery of the Heavenly King to human understanding.

2. **Isaiah.** **St Jerome** has marvellously commented in eighteen books on Isaiah who 'ought to be called not so much a prophet as an evangelist', because he clearly made reference to the mysteries of Christ and of the Church.

3. **Jeremiah.** **Origen**, in forty-five sermons in excellent Greek, has expounded Jeremiah who 'wept over the destruction of his city in a four-fold alphabet'; and of those I have found fourteen in translation that I have left to you. St Jerome is also said to have written a commentary in twenty books on Jeremiah of which I have been able to find only six but I am, with the Lord's aid, looking for the rest.

4. **Ezekiel.** **St Jerome** in fourteen books expounded Ezekiel whose style in Hebrew is neither completely mannered nor yet simple. **Although Daniel is not considered by the Hebrews in the group of prophets, he was, nevertheless, counted among the writers of the Hagiographa**, and St Jerome discussed that work in three books.

5. **Minor Prophets.** The twelve remaining prophets, whom common usage calls the **minor prophets because of the brevity of their books**, have been expounded by **St Jerome** in twenty books: three books on Hosea, one book on Obadiah, three books on Amos, one book on Joel, one book on Jonah, one book on Nahum, two books on Habakkuk, one book on Zephaniah, one book on Haggai, three books on Zechariah, two books on Micah, one book on Malachi. So that nothing may be left unclear about them, he has shown in his most beautiful way how their names are to be understood in Latin, by fashioning his own etymologies. Thus, the field of the Lord ploughed, as it were, by some hard-

working hired men and watered by the dew of heaven, brought forth with the Lord's bounty spiritual fruits for us.

6. It is said that **St Ambrose** also wrote a commentary on the prophets in his usual sweet and eloquent style, but I have up to now been unable to find it. I leave it to you to seek after it zealously, so that the enlarged scholarly commentary may instruct you fully and reward you with the salvation of your souls.

IV. Psalter

1. The third section containing the Psalter, which was the first work in our commentaries, has fourth place in the arrangement of Biblical books. **Blessed Hilary**, **blessed Ambrose**, and **blessed Jerome** have treated some of the psalms, but **blessed Augustine** in a scholarly manner more fully treated all. Up to now I have collected two decades of the former commentaries [viz. Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome] with the Lord's help.

2. And, as one draws light from light, so with the Lord's bounty, I have written drawing on him [sc. Augustine], so that the famous line of the bard of Mantua should be truly fulfilled in my case, 'and I cackle as a goose among the melodious swans' [Virgil, *Eclogues* 9.36]. In this work I have not disturbed the Psalm text under discussion by straying from the subject, but in place of glosses I have stated briefly on each passage as the nature of the text itself demands. If anyone perchance deigns to read this work after reading such great commentators he will understand (as the other Fathers also unassailably claimed) that Sacred Scripture is the source of what the teachers of secular letters afterwards transferred to their field. I have (if I am not mistaken) demonstrated this as occasion arose to the best of my ability with the Lord's aid.

3. The short book of **Athanasius**, bishop of Alexandria, that he sent to Marcellinus as a sweet refreshment after his illness ought also to be read. It is called *On the Book of Psalms*. In it he gives various kinds of advice and reveals the excellence of that work in an edifying discussion that comfortingly mentions the various misfortunes of mankind and their remedies. The Psalter appears like a heavenly sphere thick with twinkling stars and, so to speak, like a beautiful peacock that is adorned with round eyes and a rich and lovely variety of colors. The Psalter is indeed a paradise for souls, containing numberless fruits on which the human soul is sweetly fed and fattened.

4. I have decided that this entire collection of Psalms ought to be put in three volumes of fifty psalms each so that the triple number of the jubilee year might signify to you the gift of remission desired from the Holy Trinity. A single volume containing all the psalms might prove too burdensome for some brothers. With the Lord's aid many may find a shortened form of the book beneficial to their salvation and may receive the hope of precious salvation when the work is divided in such a way. Have in your library then one book of all the Psalms for reference if perchance the text strikes you as erroneous. But the interest of the brothers may be served by the divided sections.

V. Solomon

1. **Proverbs**. The fourth section <of the Bible> is that of Solomon whose first book is called Proverbs. I found this book divided into four parts, so I decided that something should be noted on these parts in the prologue to this book so that such summaries may briefly clarify its purpose.

2. I have found **Didymus**, a commentator on this book in Greek and it has been carefully translated into Latin by my learned friend **Epiphanius** with God's aid. **Didymus, though blind in the flesh**, was, as blessed Antony, the Father of Monks justly remarked, one who saw with prophetic light, since he had

seen in his perceptive heart what he could not see with ordinary sight. For it is wonderful how learned in so many disciplines and arts he was simply by hearing, since, deprived of physical vision, he was unable even to look at the shapes of the letters. This seemed to me almost impossible, I confess, when I read of it, except that there happened to come to us from Asia a man by the name of **Eusebius** who said that he had been blind since the age of five. His left eye had been hollowed out and the deep socket showed; the right eyeball was obscured by a glassy appearance and rolled in useless movements without the power of seeing. He had placed such great authors and such great books in the library of his memory that he would accurately advise the reader in what part of the book a passage he had recommended might be found. He kept in his mind all branches of learning and elucidated them by the clearest commentary. He also advised us that the tabernacle and temple of the Lord were shaped like the celestial vault. I have placed suitable pictures of them, their proper contours carefully painted, in the Latin Bible pandect in the larger format. He also connected priestly dress with several mysteries of the Lord and stated that nothing was placed <in Scripture> without purpose or without carrying a beautiful symbol of something else. He also stated that Josephus, Origen, and Jerome had made the same point in their books. In short, he made the story of Didymus believable by his own example. Acting under Eusebius' direction I also found many ancient books that were unknown in my circle. Yet he is still held in the error of the Novatianist heresy. With the support of the mercy of the Lord I believe that he will be filled with the light of the true faith so that the One who enabled him to learn his scriptures by his mind may bid him to become strong in the wholeness of the orthodox faith.

3. **Ecclesiastes**. The second book of Solomon which is called Ecclesiastes was vigorously commented on by the **blessed Jerome**. Jerome calls him the 'Preacher' in Latin because he speaks to the people, and his discussion is directed not to anyone in particular, but to all in general. Our Ecclesiastes is the Lord Christ 'he it is who has made both one and has broken down the intervening wall of the enclosure, destroying in his own person the hostility of the flesh' [Ephesians 2:14]. He says that the divine commandments are to be followed above all, warning that all the things of this world are the 'vanity of the vain' [Ecclesiastes 1:2]. Victorinus, first a rhetorician and then a bishop, wrote a certain amount on this book.

4. **The Song of Songs**. On the Song of Songs, **St Jerome**, great propagator of the Latin language, also attended to our interests by his translation, admirable as usual, of the two sermons of Origen commenting on it. And this **Rufinus**, too, an eloquent translator, expounded more fully in three books by adding some sections up to that precept 'Catch us the little foxes that damage the vineyards' [Song of Songs 2:15]. After them, **Epiphanius**, bishop of Cyprus, treated the whole book in one brief volume in Greek. I have had this book like others translated into Latin with the Lord's aid by my learned friend Epiphanius. I have, therefore, included these most careful commentators on this book in a single volume so that all extant writers on this particular text should be available to readers together. Note also that St Ambrose in the third book of his *Patriarchs*, where he talks of the figure of Isaac, discusses many passages in a beneficial and pleasant way.⁸⁷

5. **Book of Wisdom**. **Father Jerome, who has been often spoken of, also claimed that the Book of Wisdom is not by Solomon as is commonly believed, but was written by a certain learned Jew named Philo**. He designates this book as a pseudepigraph because it usurps the name of another. The priest Bellator stated that he himself undertook a commentary on this volume in eight books and I keep this work together with his other shorter works. **Father Augustine** and **St Ambrose** have written much in the form of sermons; it is a most sweet text which is truly resplendent in the worthiness of its name.

6. **Ecclesiasticus**. As for the Book of Ecclesiasticus, **Jerome also relates that it was written by Jesus son of Sirach who can be called in Latin the 'Assembler'**. The Fathers have differentiated Ecclesiastes and

Ecclesiasticus by stating that Ecclesiastes refers only to Christ the Lord while Ecclesiasticus can be applied completely to any just preacher who generally gathers the assembly of the Lord by his most holy admonitions. Clearly this is the effect of this present book that Jerome called *panaretus* ('all-virtuous', i.e., filled with all the virtues) and it is so clear and well-rendered in Latin that the text seems to be a commentary on itself. May it be fulfilled in the nature of our actions as easily as it is quickly grasped by our mind.

7. With the Lord's aid I have taken care to mark the chapter-headings on these books so that in such indispensable reading, as I have often said, the inexperienced beginner may not be left in confusion.

VI. Hagiographa

1. **Job**. The sixth section, that of the Hagiographa, follows. It has eight books, containing first Job, an outstanding and glorious model of patience. As in many other cases, the labour of **blessed Jerome** has given in the Latin language a careful translation and commentary. And moreover, in Jerome's commentaries we learn that, as the Lord himself deigned to bear witness of him, all Job's complaints were blameless [Job 42:7].

2. How many sweet verbal mysteries that book contains! As **blessed Jerome says in the epistle he wrote to Paulinus**: 'Job begins in prose, slips into verse, ends in prose, and fixes everything by the laws of dialectic in major and minor premise, corroboration, and conclusion.' But if this is true – and it must be as the authority of so great a man sets it down – where are those who say that the art of dialectic did not begin from most Holy Scripture? 'Each of the words in it is filled with holy allegories, utterances, and problems, and, to pass over everything else in silence, the book foretells the resurrection of the flesh so well that no one seems to have written anything on this subject more clearly or more carefully. For thus it says: "I know that my Redeemer lives, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh shall I see God; whom I myself shall see and my eyes behold, and not another. This my hope is placed in my bosom"' [Job 19:25-27].

3. **St Augustine** also glossing the same book treated it with his usual care for detail. There is a chapter-by-chapter commentary on this book by an anonymous author whose style leads me to believe that it is the work of blessed Hilary. If you read it attentively it can instruct you carefully. Clearly the Book of Job is a magnificent book written for the solace and benefit of the human race, since it shows that a holy man endured such manifold sufferings so that every sinner should make light of the sufferings he himself experiences.

4. **Tobit, Esther, Judith, Maccabees**. The priest Bellator to the best of his ability composed in Latin commentaries on the following: Tobit, five books; Esther, six books; Judith, seven books; Maccabees, ten books.

5. I have collected the chapter summaries of these books since I think that there is added benefit in instruction when information spread widely throughout the books is concentrated in a few words. For by devices like this the reader's mind is led in and incited to read through the beneficent sequence of Scripture. Nevertheless, recognize that these books, although they are historical and are based on a clear narration, have been written with regard to the most excellent moral virtues to fill our minds properly with patience, hope, charity, and courage, even in women, with a life, on God's behalf, scornful of the present world and with all the other virtues that have flourished in this world with the Lord's grace.

6. **Esdras, Maccabees.** I have found **Origen's** single expository sermons in Greek on the two books of Esdras that have been translated by that devout man Bellator. **St Ambrose** in *The Patriarchs*, where he speaks of Joseph, cites the second book of Maccabees as an example. He has interpreted by the sweet clearness of his eloquence the greatest part of this book as praise of the virtue of endurance. With the Lord's aid, my friend Bellator has put together a painstaking commentary on the Books of the Maccabees so that such a great text filled with so many examples of manly behaviour should not risk being left unexplained.

VII. Gospels

1. The seventh section of Divine Scripture, the first of the New Testament, that gave us a holy birth to worship and life-giving redemption, shines with the heavenly light of the four evangelists. **St Jerome** investigated what is peculiar to each, and discussed these books with great attention; I included this in one volume so that the reader's keenness might not be slowed down by separate volumes. On the Gospel of Matthew there is another commentary in four books by St Jerome, and by **St Hilary** in one book. Victorinus, too, who became a bishop after being a rhetorician, has written extensively on it. St Ambrose marvellously expounded Luke. **Blessed Augustine** elucidated John in a full and outstanding commentary. He also assembled four books *On the Agreement of the Evangelists* with an important and critical discussion.

2. **Eusebius of Caesarea** also collected the Gospel canons in a brief summary. He has accurately distinguished those passages in which the evangelists report the same things from those in which they discuss matters peculiar to each. A work in which fullness of faith flourishes, alongside the marvellous teaching of the different evangelists.

VIII. Apostolic Letters

1. **The eighth section contains the canonical epistles of the Apostles.** On the **thirteen epistles of St Paul** I found, at the beginning of my reading, glosses that are so widely known that learned men have in their enthusiasm said that they were written by **St Gelasius**, the pope. This sort of thing often happens when men wish to protect faulty material by the authority of an illustrious name. Earlier reading and careful reconsideration showed me that these writings display subtle concise language, but that the poison of the Pelagian error is sowed in them; therefore, to keep this heretical error far from you I have revised the first epistle (to the Romans) with every possible care and I have left the rest written down in a papyrus book to be emended by you. This will be an easy matter for once an example has been set, a follower can more confidently imitate.

2. Deeply distressed amidst these troubles I found an anonymous annotated codex given to us by divine foresight that offers valuable glosses to the **thirteen epistles of St Paul**. This book, if gone through carefully, will give you a second safe commentary with the Lord's bounty.

3. On the **Epistle to the Hebrews**, I have had Mutianus, a scholarly writer, translate into Latin the thirty-four sermons that John, bishop of Constantinople wrote in excellent Greek, so that the entire sequence of the letters would not be broken off suddenly by a clumsy conclusion.

4. On the canonical epistles **Clement of Alexandria**, a priest (also called Stromateus), has written some things in excellent Greek – i.e., on I Peter, on I and II John, and on James. In these works he discusses many subjects carefully but others carelessly. I have had these translated into Latin and cleaned up by the removal of some of their errors, so that his teaching can be drawn on more safely.

5. **St Augustine** also treated the letter of the apostle James with his usual meticulous diligence. I have left a copy of this to you in a parchment book.

6. When deep concern about the remaining canonical epistles was troubling me, I suddenly obtained by the bounty of the Lord a copy of **Didymus**, written in Greek containing a commentary on the seven canonical epistles. This has been translated with divine aid by the scholar **Epiphanius**.

7. **St Augustine** has written much wonderful material on Christian love in the ten sermons on I John.

8. I have found a third copy of the letters of St Paul that some say contains brief glosses of St Jerome and I have also left this to you through the bounty of Christ.

9. After these three commentaries of equal value that I have spoken about, Peter, the abbot of the province of Tripoli, is said to have annotated the epistles of St Paul with examples from the short works of the blessed Augustine. He declares the secret of his own heart with the tongue of another and he has fitted these examples so suitably to individual passages that you might think that the whole had been accomplished rather by the effort of blessed Augustine. For it is remarkable that one author has elucidated the text from another commentator in such a way that he seems to have expressed the desires of his own heart without adding a word of his own. This, among other books, is to be sent to you, if Divine Grace so grants, from the region of Africa.

10. So **the whole arrangement of the canonical epistles, those of St Paul and of the other apostles**, under the guidance of the Lord, has been completed. It is reported also that blessed Ambrose left an annotated version of all the epistles of St Paul filled with his own satisfying commentary; up to now, however, I have not been able to find this work but I am looking for it assiduously.

11. I have spoken about the brief glosses on the Epistles that some have written. Now following my usual order, as I did for the Prophets, let me speak of those who preferred to treat of these letters more fully. Thus the first works listed are suitable for beginners, what follows is designated for those who are trained.

12. **The first of the letters of St Paul and a rather remarkable one is the letter to the Romans**. **Origen** discussed this letter in twenty books in Greek. **Rufinus** has reduced this work to ten books, and fully translated it into Latin. **St Augustine** began to write a commentary on the same letter. He mentions that he had completed one book on the salutation alone and to use his words, 'frightened by the greatness of the work itself and by the toil, [he] turned to other easier tasks'. In writing to Simplicianus, bishop of Milan, he also dealt with some of the lofty and remarkable problems of the same epistle. I have decided to insert his discussion in the book I just spoke of [viz. Origen–Rufinus] so that the reader will not experience unprofitable delays, trying to find a separate commentary.

13. **St Augustine** also interpreted the letter to the **Galatians** more broadly and **St Jerome** extended his commentary on it to three books. St Jerome also carefully explained the letter to the Ephesians in three other books. He included in one volume a commentary on Titus and he also explained Philemon in one book.

14. **St Jerome** is said to have written commentaries on the rest of the epistles of St Paul – i.e., on **I and II Corinthians, on I and II Thessalonians, on Colossians, and on I and II Timothy**; from them a great deal of knowledge can be gained when it shall be granted to the ignorant to see what they are seeking. But I trust that by the mercy of the Lord I shall shortly locate these commentaries of **Jerome** in the

various regions where I have directed inquiry. Thus we ought to preserve carefully what we know should be sent to us; and so, if any of you come on them by chance before they arrive here, take care to have them carefully transcribed and added to the aforesaid commentators. In this way, the library of your monastery will grow with the Lord's aid and by your efforts through which such great foundations have been laid for it. But if before this work is completed, my old age passes on, at the order of the Lord, to the desired end, with remission of my sins (for which I ask that you pray), it is to you, I trust, that some time in the future this material that we await will come.

15. I have left the commentary of **John Chrysostom** on the abovementioned epistles in excellent Greek in the eighth bookcase I spoke of, which houses the Greek books. If fuller Latin commentaries cannot be found, translate from this commentary what can offer the fullest knowledge. In this way **all seventy-one canonical books (the number known to be understood by the holy Father Augustine)** may have commentaries of the earlier writers through the Lord's bounty, and there, like the spiritual fruits of Paradise, may be offered for enjoyment at your banquets.

16. But if on these matters I have spoken of, some passages should be left in doubt and these doubts cannot be answered by full commentaries, I do not at all forbid you the use of later commentators, though you should look carefully for orthodox ones; for in the passage of time the divine grace that may have been hidden from the earlier teachers, has recently been bestowed on many.

IX. Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse

1. The ninth section is known to contain the **Acts of the Apostles** and the Apocalypse. **The Apocalypse, i.e., Revelation, is also said to be the work of the apostle John.** For the Acts of the Apostles I have found commentaries in Greek by John, bishop of Constantinople. My friends, with the Lord's aid, have translated these in two volumes of fifty-five sermons.

2. The Apocalypse assiduously leads the mind of the reader to heavenly contemplation and causes him to understand through the mind's eye what makes the angels blessed through actual sight; it becomes clear in the commentary of **St Jerome. Victorinus**, the oft-mentioned bishop, has briefly treated some difficult passages of this book also. **Vigilius**, an African bishop, also discussed fully and carefully the sense of the thousand years that is mentioned in the Apocalypse and that has become a great problem for some.

3. Tyconius the Donatist also added some unobjectionable material on this book, but he contaminated some of it with the foul teachings of his poisonous belief; where appropriate I have affixed the *chresimon* ('useful') on the approved statements and on all unacceptable statements I found in reading through it, I have fixed the mark of disapproval, the *achriston*. I urge you to do likewise on suspect commentators so that the reader will not be bewildered by the admixture of unacceptable teachings.

4. **St Augustine** in his *City of God* also elucidated many matters in an outstanding and careful manner. In our time also, the **blessed Primasius**, bishop of Africa, has commented on the Apocalypse in five books with minute and diligent attention. To these he added one book of careful discussion called *What Makes a Heretic*. Let these books be offered in the temple of the Lord as holy offerings on the sacred altars.

5. But since I have spoken of the commentators – as many of the earlier ones as I could find or those I have had translated by my friends from the Greek or had composed from scratch – let us now say something about the six kinds of understanding so that by frequently referring to them we may avoid the plagues of error.

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

X. The Types of Understanding

1. After reading this work, our first concern should be to consider **introductory manuals to Divine Scripture** that I previously found, i.e., Tyconius the Donatist, **St. Augustine** *On Christian Learning*, Adrian, Eucherius, and Junilius. I have acquired their works with great care, and have united and gathered them into one collection since they have a similar purpose. By arranging the rules of usage to elucidate the text, and by comparisons of various examples, they have clarified what was hitherto obscure.

2. But if writers of introductory works happen to have omitted something, then we should seek carefully for commentators on the books to reveal to us what was obscure before.

3. Then we should read assiduously the orthodox teachers who have solved the most difficult problems by systematic reasoning.

4. Fifth, specific passages mentioned as illustrations in the individual books and letters of the different Fathers ought to be annotated with great care. This method offers the most useful approach possible to reading the different orthodox Fathers since they gracefully reveal their purposes and, by their discussion of problems incidental to their main subject, make a great deal of knowledge available to us.

5. Finally, seek frequent discussion with learned elders; for in conversation with them we suddenly realize what we had not even imagined while they transmit eagerly to us the knowledge they have gained in their long years. It is useful to go through these six types of learning eagerly and willingly rather than grow dull in irreligious torpor.

XI. The Four Accepted Councils

1. Now consider how **the universal and holy councils have established the saving mysteries of our faith** so that we may avoid deadly errors by learning from them the hidden truths of our religion. We read that **the Council of Nicaea** was the first convened, then the **Council of Constantinople**, third **Ephesus I**, fourth, **Chalcedon**. These are the councils that the Holy Church approves with good reason. **These Councils brought such great illumination to our faith that we ought not to crash in intellectual blindness against the rocks of any heresy, as long as we are guarded by the care of the Lord.** At those councils the most holy fathers, tolerating no infringement of the true faith, decided then and there to establish ecclesiastical rules and to strike down the stubborn inventors of new heresies with the divine sword. They decided that no one on his own ought to introduce new problems, but should rest content with the authority of the approved elders and obey without malice or treachery the decrees promoting our spiritual well-being. For there are many who think that it is praiseworthy to hold opinions contrary to those of the ancients or to discover some new thing by which they may appear learned.

2. The Codex Encyclius bears witness to the Council of Chalcedon and praises the reverence of that council so highly that it judges that the council ought to be compared to sacred authority. I have had the complete collection of letters translated by the erudite scholar Epiphanius from Greek into Latin.

3. But now that **I have collected the Holy Scripture in nine sections** together with the introductory writers and with almost all Latin commentators, so far as it was possible with the Lord's aid, let us see how the holy law has been divided in three different ways by the different Fathers. The Church of all regions accepts this law as a whole, nevertheless, in a respectful and harmonious way.

XII. The Division of Divine Scripture according to St Jerome

1. The divine authority in two Testaments is divided according to **St Jerome** as follows: In the Old Testament. The Law: **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**. Prophets: **Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel**, Book of **Twelve Prophets**. Hagiographa: **Job, David**, Solomon (**Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Song of Songs**), **Chronicles** (i.e., Paralipomenon), **Esdras, Esther**. In the New Testament. Gospels: **Matthew, Mark, Luke, John**. Epistles: **Paul 14, Peter 2, John 3, James 1, Jude 1, Acts** of the Apostles. One book on the **Apocalypse**.

2. It must be clearly understood that **St Jerome edited and corrected the works of different translators because he saw that they did not at all agree with the Hebrew authority**. As a result he translated all the books of the Old Testament with scrupulous care from Hebrew into Latin and properly arranged them according to the sequence of the **twenty-two letters** that stand in the Hebrew alphabet, letters through which all wisdom is learned and the memory of what was said has been preserved forever in written form. There are in addition **twenty-seven books of the New Testament**. Taking **both Testaments together the total is forty-nine**. Add to this sum the omnipotent and indivisible Trinity (through which these deeds were done and on account of which these prophecies were uttered), and, indeed, you have the number fifty: like the jubilee year the total cancels debts by the great goodness of its benefit and takes away the sins of those who are truly penitent.

3. Because of the large amount of text I have decided that this full volume of the Latin Bible ought to be written in a rather small script in fifty-three gatherings of six folios each so that the close density of the writing might bring within a short compass the fullness of the text.

4. We ought to recall that Jerome arranged his translation of the entire divine authority (as he himself bears witness) for the simple brothers into *cola* and *commata* so that those who have difficulty in understanding the punctuation of sacred letters might, thus assisted, pronounce the holy text without error.

XIII. The Division of Divine Scripture according to St Augustine

1. Divine Scripture according to **blessed Augustine** is divided into two Testaments, i.e. the Old and the New. The Old: History in 22 books, **5 books of Moses, Joshua 1, Judges 1, Ruth 1, Kings 4, Paralipomenon 2, Job 1, Tobit 1, Esther 1, Judith 1, Esdras 2, Maccabees 2**. Prophets in 22 books: **Psalter** of David 1, **Solomon 3, Sirach 2**, Major Prophets 4 (i.e., **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel**) and Minor 12 (i.e., **Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi**). The New: Gospels in 4 books (i.e., according to **Matthew, Mark, Luke, John**). In Epistles: of Paul: **Romans 1, Corinthians 2, Galatians 1, Ephesians 1, Philippians 1, Thessalonians 2, Colossians 1, Timothy 2, Titus 1, Philemon 1**, Hebrews 1. **Peter 2, John 3, Jude 1, James 1, Acts** of the Apostles 1, On the **Apocalypse 1**.

2. In *Christian Learning* **St Augustine, therefore, arranged the Divine Scriptures into seventy-one books**, using the arrangement of the above-mentioned nine sections that the holy Church devised. And when you have added the unity of the holy Trinity to this number, there is a satisfactory and glorious completeness to the whole measure.

XIV. The Division of Divine Scripture according to the Septuagint

1. The Holy Scripture according to the ancient translation is divided into two Testaments, i.e. in the Old Testament: **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings (in 4**

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

books), **Chronicles** (in 2 books), **Psalter** (in 5 books), Solomon (in 5 books: **Proverbs**, **Wisdom**, **Ecclesiasticus**, **Ecclesiastes**, **Song of Songs**). Prophets: **Isaiah**, **Jeremiah**, **Ezekiel**, **Daniel**, **Hosea**, **Amos**, **Micah**, **Joel**, **Obadiah**, **Jonah**, **Nahum**, **Habakkuk**, **Zephaniah**, **Haggai**, **Zechariah**, **Malachi** (which is also the Messenger), Job, **Tobit**, **Esther**, **Judith**, **Esdras** (in 2 books), **Maccabees (in 2 books)**. In the New Testament: 4 Gospels: **Matthew**, **Mark**, **Luke**, **John**. **Acts** of the Apostles. Epistles of **Peter** to the nations. Epistle of **James**. Epistles of **John** to the Parthians. Epistles of Paul: to the **Romans** 1, to the **Corinthians** 2, to the **Galatians** 1, to the **Philippians** 1, to the **Colossians** 1, to the **Ephesians** 1, to the **Thessalonians** 2, to **Timothy** 2, to **Titus** 2, to **Philemon** 1. **Apocalypse** of John.

2. This third division (according to the Septuagint) stands among the others in the larger volume written in a clearer script. It has ninety-five gatherings of four folios each in which the **translation of the Old Testament by the seventy interpreters is included in forty-four books**; to this are added the twenty-six books of the New Testament and the total comes out altogether as seventy books, symbolized perhaps by the number of the palm trees that the Hebrew people found at the resting place of Elim [Exodus 15:27].

3. This text is varied being translated by many people, as is stated in the prologue of the Psalter, and **Jerome** left it carefully emended and arranged; and I have judged that all three sets of divisions ought to be marked in this book, so that when they are carefully considered and treated they seem not to disagree but rather explain one another. As a result, although many Fathers – **St Hilary**, bishop of Poitiers, and **Rufinus**, a priest of Aquileia, and **Epiphanius**, bishop of Cyprus, and the Councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon – have said things not contradictory to one another but only different, all have, nevertheless, by their divisions, fitted the sacred books to the appropriate mysteries, as also happens in the harmonies of the Gospels where we regard the events with faith although they differ in the way they are told.

4. But since **Father Augustine** in the second book of *Christian Learning* gives the following advice, ‘the Latin copies, i.e., of the Old and the New Testament, if there is need, should be corrected by the authority of the Greek from which all translations have reached us after the Hebrew source’. So **I have left you also a complete Greek Bible in seventy-five books** that contains ____ [number] of gatherings of four folios each in the previously mentioned eighth bookcase where I have systematically collected the various short works of other Greek writers. In this way nothing that is essential to your instruction in sacred matters will be missing. And this number is made holy by two miracles: for seventy-five souls entered the territory of the Egyptians from the land of Canaan with the patriarch Jacob [Genesis 46:27] and seventy-five were the years of Abraham when he happily received the promise of the Lord [Genesis 12:4].

5. Now it remains for me to say how we ought to correct scribal errors in Holy Scripture. What use is it to read through many texts and not to know what should properly be corrected in them?

XV. How Carefully the Text of Holy Scripture Ought to be Corrected

1. You, therefore, who have a good knowledge of divine and secular letters and the understanding to discover what is not in harmony with common usage, read through sacred literature in the following manner; for the few who are learned must prepare material for the simple and less educated community. Therefore, first read carefully and correct the errors of the scribes in such a way that you do not deserve criticism for trying to correct others without due deliberation; this kind of correction is, in my opinion, the most beautiful and glorious task of learned men.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

2. First, do not impudently question the idioms of Divine Scripture lest you damage the purity of the heavenly works (God forbid!) when you try to bring the text into harmony with common understanding. By idioms of Divine Scripture are meant the peculiar turns of phrase that do not occur in common usage, such as:

‘according to the innocence of my hands’ [Psalms 17:21, 25; cf. 7:9]
 ‘let my judgment come from your eyes’ [Psalms 16:2]
 ‘with your ears perceive my tears’ [Psalms 38:13]
 ‘pour out your hearts before him’ [Psalms 61:9]
 ‘my soul clings fast after you’ [Psalms 62:9]
 ‘you have multiplied to enrich it’ [Psalms 64:10]
 ‘there we shall rejoice to that very thing’ [Psalms 65:6]
 ‘he pours from this into this’ [Psalms 74:9]
 ‘he sent Moses his servant; and Aaron whom he chose him’ [Psalms 104:26]
 ‘my eyes have failed towards your speech’ [Psalms 118:82]
 ‘let your hand be so that it may save me’ [Psalms 118:173].

These and similar expressions are numerous, although common usage avoids them. Nevertheless one must not efface them, as that authority that is certainly sacred approves them. But if you desire to understand these matters more fully, **read St Augustine’s seven books** on the *Types of Speech* that he wrote on the five books of Moses, on Joshua, and on Judges, and then you shall be fully satisfied on this subject. Then it will be easy for you to find plenty of similar cases in the Biblical books that follow.

3. Do not alter certain Hebrew names of individuals and places by declining them; let the pleasing simplicity of their language be preserved. We should change only those letters that can express the case of the word itself, since the interpretation of the name of each of these is tied to a great mystery of some sort, as Seth, Enoch, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Ham, Japheth, Aaron, David, and the like. Let us treat with the same respect the names of places such as Sion, Choreb, Goen, Hermon, and the like.

4. Thirdly, words that are used in a good and bad sense must not be tampered with at all, like mountain, lion, cedar, lion’s cub, shout, man, fruit, cup, calf, shepherd, treasure, worm, dog, and the like. And those terms that are set down in place of other words also must not be changed.

For example:

A Satan who departs from the straight path –
to wash one’s hands means not to take part in –
 that *feet* are set down for the act –
 that often *awaiting* is used for hope –
once expresses an unchangeable decision –
to swear by God is stated instead of to assert.

Let us hope that the commentators will explain these terms to us; let us not mangle any of them with impious intent.

5. Do not alter those words that from time to time appear to be set down contrary to the human art of grammar, but that are defended by the authority of many copies, since words evidently spoken under the inspiration of the

Lord cannot be corrupt. For example:

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

'we have not forgotten you' [Psalm 43:18] and the following phrase
 'men of bloods and deceitful' [Psalms 54:24]
 'he was made a temple' [Zechariah 8:9]
 'he will be shaved as to his head' [Numbers 6:9]
 'she will swell as to her belly' for 'she will be swollen in her belly' [Numbers 5:27]
 'of a man of a man if his wife shall have deceived' [Numbers 5:12]
 'on the altar they shall put his vessels in which they serve in them' [Numbers 4:14]
 'the country in which they live in it' [Numbers 13:19]
 'the scouts brought fear of the land that they had scouted it' [Numbers 13:33]
 'my only one from the hand of the dog' [Psalms 21:21]
 'the rivers shall clap their hands in themselves' [Psalms 97:8]
 'then shall all the timbers of the forests exult.' [Psalms 95:12]

6. And since sometimes the cases and genders of nouns and verbs cannot fit human rules, and yet by agreement the Church accepts their usage, let the authority of two or three old and corrected copies be sought – for it is written, 'every word shall be established on the utterance of two or three' [Deuteronomy 19:15 et al.] – and do not be bold on a matter supported by divine language as in Psalm 21, 'to a people yet to be born whom the Lord has made' [Psalms 21:32], and the following from the Gospel, 'going, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' [Matthew 28:19], and likewise in Psalm 143, 'happy the people whose Lord is the God of them' [Psalm 143:15], and the like.

7. Do not, therefore, completely follow the rules of Latin idioms, i.e. the *Quadrige* of Messius, provided you are convinced by the authority of ancient copies; for sometimes it is right to pass over the rules of human expression and instead keep the arrangement of divine speech. In prose do not correct what begins or ends like a line of epic; do not presume to disapprove of five long or as many short syllables; let a praiseworthy oversight hide a triple trochee. Disregard the misuse of final *-m* and the hiatus of vowels completely, since the rules that the teachers of grammar and style regularly observe do not have a place in these texts. In human composition it is proper to guard against this; in divine speech such juxtapositions are in no way to be criticized. Let an expression that has pleased God stand untouched so that it may shine in its own brightness and not be subject to capricious human criticism. For this kind of expression sweetly teaches even the simple and delights the learned in accordance with the extent of their reverence.

8. After the division above, therefore, I said that idioms (or other matters that logically follow) of divine law are not to be altered, at this point in the discussion it seems proper for me to lay out this subdivision, too, in the traditional manner so that we may see our way more clearly to the subsections. For how could Aristotle, that learned man, have been able to make clear his *On Interpretation* if he had not treated everything maintaining a sequence of divisions and subdivisions and further subdivisions? Therefore, following his example, I now speak of the letters in which the scribes' errors are to be corrected.

9. With words that accompany a preposition taking the accusative and ablative, distinguish carefully between rest and motion since scribes who do not know the art of grammar are particularly prone to make mistakes here; for if you add or subtract the letter *-m* improperly, the style is completely disturbed. Observe carefully the cases of nouns (except for indeclinable ones) and the conjugation of verbs that are not defective, and all the parts of speech – where sacred authority does not oppose – keep items fitted in their proper locations, so that an ugly muddle does not take over completely (God forbid!) if the syntax is confused. Do not leave *-b* for *-v*, *-v* for *-b*, *-o* for *-u*, *-n* for *-m*, when these letters

have been set down incorrectly contrary to the rules of proper spelling; take away a superfluous aspirate or when suitable add one. Carefully keep the cases of nouns and the tenses of verbs where you are allowed to; for you will often find forms in the authority that do not agree with common usage, and these you are not allowed to alter. In these follow the example of the emended copies, but correct others that are incorrect. Scribes in such cases cause damage when they do not know how to keep in a regular way to the usage of the Latin language. Do not leave *-a* at the end of an adverb; but do not take *-a* from the genitive case. We do well to change many forms also in respect of euphony because of the letters that follow, such as *illuminatio*, *irrisio*, *immutabilis*, *impius*, *improbis*. Take away superfluous *-r* from *narratio*; for the form of this word comes from *gnarus*, i.e. learned or skilled. Write *quod* when it is a pronoun, with *-d* and not *-t*; but when it is a numeral adverb, it must be written with *-t* not *-d*. *Quicquam* – *-c* ought to be placed in the first syllable rather than *-d* for the sake of euphony, which we are advised to follow. What more? Look over what is to be corrected according to the rules of writers on this art, to prevent the lovely harmony of the spoken word from becoming ugly and discordant by the addition of letters that do not belong.

10. Frequently reread the old writers on proper spelling. In chapter 30 below, in which scribes are discussed, I have indicated which works ought to be excerpted as useful for instructing the scribes. Moreover I have given the title *Proper Spelling* to this book separately. Thus it is of value for the scholar to read this book also, to learn what he must not violate at all in Sacred Scripture and that book in which he can find a fuller discussion of hasty errors that should be universally corrected.

11. If, nevertheless, some words that make no sense have been set down, they must be courageously corrected either from those books that blessed Jerome corrected in his edition from the Septuagint or those that he translated himself from the Hebrew; or, as **blessed Augustine** said, we should have recourse to the complete Greek Bible, in which is brought together the whole divine law; or, for scholars to whom this is possible, let them not hesitate to consult Hebrew writings or teachers of Hebrew, for it is only right that satisfactory correction come also from the source of our redemptive translation. For rightly our fathers took great care that the tunic of the Lord the Saviour, which the fierce soldiers were not allowed to tear up [John 19:23–24], should not be left to the mercy of unskilled readers. Let the Holy Spirit hear in its most pure form what it has given, let it receive intact what it bestowed; then it knows that we are faithful to it as we do not pluck at its words with any preconceived opinion. For how do we expect to be saved if (unspeakable thought!) we, to gratify our own will, destroy the aid that brings salvation?

12. But so that we may add ornament to all this, place in each chapter punctuation marks that the Greeks call *thesis*, i.e., small round points – except for the translation of **St Jerome** which he decided to mark by *cola* and *commata* (we have already spoken about this in the preface) – since they make the written text clear and bright when, as is explained below, <like torches> they are fitted in their place and shine forth. How excellent it is to pass unhindered through holy thought and to enter subtly into the sound nature of its precepts; to set correctly one's own limits for a measured speech and to divide the whole composition in parts in such a way that we can see its beauty and symmetry! For if our body must be known through its limbs, why does it seem right to leave reading confused in its arrangement? These *positurae*, or points, indeed, like paths for mind and lights for the composition, make readers as teachable as if they were instructed by the clearest commentators. The first is the colon, the second, the comma, the third, the period; these were invented by our ancestors to enable the breath tired out from long speaking to regain its strength in the pauses. If you, as an eager reader, would like to know them, read Donatus, who can accurately instruct you by his brief summary on this

subject. I recall that I placed these punctuation marks in the archetype of the Psalter, and, in this way I have, with God's help, largely clarified its obscurities.

13. The number seven is so complete on both sides that it is, to my mind, obviously clear what changes we should refrain from and what corrections we should make with the aid of authority. But if, nevertheless, this desire to make corrections can also be aided in some other ways, let it be added to your pursuits so that we may not seem, in human fashion, to have ignored some indispensable matter.

14. Now I must discuss on what grounds we ought to emend other texts apart from authority. Let each corrector read the commentaries on divine law, the letters, the sermons, the works of our predecessors with the intention of making their corrections in accord with the teachers of secular letters. Wherever spelling errors are found in learned authors, he should fearlessly correct the errors, since the writers surely wrote their works so that they could be judged according to the rules of grammar that they had learned. Also, the letters of the Fathers, the sermons, and the books by various authors as well as homilies or disputes of the faithful with the heretics, since they reveal various passages of Divine Scripture sweetly and carefully, must be emended with great care so that the whole will shine forth brightly and brilliantly with the Lord's support in the Church of the Lord, as though lit by lamps. If their contents shed light on Divine Scripture do not hesitate to add them to the volumes of Divine Scripture just as I have done with the books of Kings. For scholars discover many fuller statements concerning these books by chance in commentaries on other books and these may be properly attached to the sacred authority. So I pray that you, through your greater reading both from those books that I have left and those that you will have the good fortune to find, will, in Christ's name, fill in the gaps in what we have been able to explain on the basis of our limited reading.

15. I pray also that those of you who undertake to emend, make the letters you add so beautiful that they appear to have been written by the scribes. For it is not proper to find anything foul in that beauty which afterwards may offend the eyes of scholars. Consider, therefore, the sort of case entrusted to you, the benefit of Christians, the treasury of the Church, the enlightenment of souls. See carefully to it, therefore, that no error is left in the truth, no falseness in the purity, and no scribal mistakes in the corrected text.

16. First, with the Lord's aid, I have listed the nine volumes of the law and detailed the introductory writers with their commentaries as carefully as I could. Next I touched on the three divisions of the whole divine law that our predecessors have given us. Then I included a section on the rules covering emendation of texts of divine authority to prevent disruption and transmission of troublesome confusion in the text to posterity because of excessive liberty with the text. Now I must discuss in all respects the excellence of divine reading so that each passage may be packed full with its own sweetness.

<https://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/inst-trans.html>

Leontius of Byzantium (485 – 543)

Of the Old Testament there are **twenty two books**... The historical books are twelve ... The first five, called the **Pentateuch**, are according to universal testimony the books of Moses: those which follow are by unknown authors, namely **Joshua ... Judges ... Ruth ... Kings** (in two books) ... **Chronicles ... Ezra** ... The prophetic books are five, **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel**, the **twelve prophets**... The didactic books are four, **Job**, which some thought to be the composition of Josephus(?), **Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles**... These are three books of Solomon's. The **Psalter** follows. [In these] you have the books of the Old Scripture.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

<https://www.islamic-awareness.org/bible/text/canon/canonages#leon>

Pope Hormisdas (pope 514 – 523 AD)

Ordo de Veteri Testamento, quem sancta et catholica Romana suscipit, et honorat Ecclesia, iste est: Geneseos liber I. Exodi liber I. Levitici liber I. Numeri liber I. Deuteronomii liber I. Jesu Nave liber I. Judicum liber I. Ruth liber I. Regum libri IV. Paralipomenon libri II. Psalmorum CL liber I. Salomonis libri III. Proverbia, Ecclesiastes et Cantica Cantorum. Item Sapientiae liber I. Ecclesiastici liber I. Item ordo prophetarum. Isaiae liber I. Jeremiae liber I, cum Cinoth ac Lamentationibus suis. Ezechielis liber I. Danielis liber I. Osee liber I. Amos liber I. Michaeae liber I. Joel liber I. Abdiae liber I. Jonae liber I. Naum liber I. Habacuc liber I. Sophoniae liber I. Aggaei liber I. Zachariae liber I. Malachiae liber I. Item ordo historiarum. Job liber I. Tobiae liber I. Esdrae libri II. Esther liber I. Judith liber I. Machabaeorum libri II (Decretale, In Urbe Roma ab Hormisda Papa. De Scripturis divinis quid universaliter catholica recipiat Ecclesia, vel post haec quid vitare debeat. PL 62:540).

My translation:

The order of the Old Testament, which **the holy and Catholic Roman Church receives and honors**, is this: Genesis, 1 book. **Exodus**, 1 book. **Leviticus**, 1 book. **Numbers**, 1 book. **Deuteronomy**, 1 book. **Joshua** of Nun, 1 book. **Judges**, 1 book. **Ruth**, 1 book. **Kings**, 4 books. **Chronicles**, 2 books. The 150 **Psalms**, 1 book. 3 books of Solomon: **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes** and the **Song of Songs**. Also **Wisdom**, 1 book. **Ecclesiasticus**, 1 book. Also the order of the prophets. **Isaiah**, 1 book. **Jeremiah**, 1 book, with Cinoth, i.e., his **Lamentations**. **Ezekiel**, 1 book. **Daniel**, 1 book. **Hosea**, 1 book. **Amos**, 1 book. **Micah**, 1 book. **Joel**, 1 book. **Obadiah**, 1 book. **Jonah**, 1 book. **Nahum**, 1 book. **Habakkuk**, 1 book. **Zephaniah**, 1 book. **Haggai**, 1 book. **Zechariah**, 1 book. **Malachi**, 1 book. Also the order of the histories: **Job**, 1 book. **Tobias**, 1 book. **Ezra**, 2 books. **Esther**, 1 book. **Judith**, 1 book. **Maccabees**, 2 books.

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en111>

Decree of Gelasius (ca. 550 AD)

The order of the books of the Old Testament which **the holy and catholic Roman Church accepts and honors, summarized by blessed pope Gelasius I with seventy bishops**: one book of **Genesis**, one of **Exodus**, one of **Leviticus**, one of **Numbers**, one of **Deuteronomy**; one book of **Joshua**, one of **Judges**, one of **Ruth**, **four of Kings**, two of **Chronicles**, one books of 150 **Psalms**, three of Solomon: **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes**, and the **Song of Songs**, likewise one book of **Wisdom**, one of **Ecclesiasticus**. The order of the prophets: one book of **Isaiah**, one of **Jeremiah**, Cinoth, that is his **lamentations**, one of **Ezekiel**, one of **Daniel**, one of **Osee**, one of **Amos**, one of **Micah**, one of **Joel**, one of **Abdias**, one of **Jonah**, one of **Nahum**, one of **Habakuk**, one of **Sophonias**, one of **Haggah**, one of **Zachariah**, one of **Malachi**. Likewise the order of the histories: one book of **Job**, one book of **Tobias omitted by others**, one of **Ezra**, one of **Esther**, one of **Judith**, **one of Maccabees** (Decretum Gelasianum: De Libris Recipiendis et Non Recipiendis. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en110>

See the following link for another list where the strange “one of Maccabees” is absent and includes the NT canon.

<http://www.bible-researcher.com/gelasius.html>

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Isidore of Seville (560 – 636 AD)

22 books of OT according to the Jews

The Jews receive the Old Testament in **22 books**, according to the number of their letters, dividing them into three sections: Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa...**There is a fourth section of the Old Testament among us**, whose books are not in the Jewish canon. First of these is the book of **Wisdom**; second **Ecclesiasticus**; third **Tobit**; fourth **Judith**; fifth and sixth the books of **Maccabees**; which although the Jews separate among the Apocrypha, **the Church of Christ honors and preaches among the divine books**.

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/articles-roman-catholicism/apocryphaintroduction/apocrypha3/>

Listing the books of the OT and Apocrypha

Longer Latin text is here <https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en112>

This is a translation with Google Translate:

1. The Old Testament is therefore said, because it ceased with the coming of the New, of which the Apostle remembers, saying: The old things have passed away, and, behold, all things were made new.
2. But it is called the New Testament, because it renews. For they do not learn it except men, being renewed from antiquity by grace, and already belonging to the New Testament, which is the kingdom of heaven.
3. The Hebrews of the Old Testament, on the authority of Ezra, receive twenty-two books, according to the number of their letters, dividing them into three rows, namely, of the law, of the prophets, and of the hagiographers.
4. The first order of the law is taken in five books, the first of which is Beresith, which is Genesis; the second to Veelle Semoth, which is Exodus; the third Vaicra, which is Leviticus; the fourth Vajedabber, which is Numbers; the fifth to Elleaddebarim, which is Deuteronomy.
5. These are the five Moses, whom the Hebrews call the bed, the Latin law. Properly speaking, it is called the Law, which was given by Moses.
6. The second order is that of the prophets, in which are contained eight books, the first of which is Josue Ben-Nun, who in Latin is called Jesus Nave; the second Sophtin, which is that of Judges; the third Samuel, who is the first of Kings; the fourth Melachim, who is the second of the Kings; the fifth Isaiah, the sixth Jeremiah; Ezekiel the seventh; the eighth Thereazar, who is called the Twelve Prophets; which books, because they have been adjoined to them for brevity, are considered as one.
7. The third order is that of the Hagiographers, that is, the holy writers, in which there are nine books, the first of which is Job; the second Psalter; the third mass, which is Solomon's proverb; the fourth is Coheleth, which is Ecclesiastes; the fifth Sir hassiris, which is the Song of Songs; the sixth Daniel; the seventh Dibrehajamim, which is the words of the days, that is, the Chronicles; the eighth Ezra; Esther the ninth, who together become all V, VIII, and IX, 22 as they were arrested above.
8. Some writers add Ruth and Cinoth, which is called in Latin the Lamentation of Jeremiah, and make 24 volumes of the Old Testament, according to the twenty-four elders who stand before the Lord.
9. There is a fourth order among us of those books of the Old Testament that are not in the Hebrew canon. The first of these is the Book of Wisdom; the second Ecclesiasticus; the third Tobias; the fourth, Judith; the fifth and sixth of the Maccabees, whom although the Jews separate among the apocrypha, yet the Church of Christ honors and preaches among the divine books.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Rabanus Maurus (780 – 856 AD)

De libris duorum Testamentorum, ch. 53

And lections from the holy Scriptures are read in the churches of Christ. And the same sacred Scripture consists of the old law and the new. **The old law is what was given first to the Jews through Moses and the prophets**, which is called the Old Testament. Now it is called a Testament because it was written and sealed by suitable witnesses (testes), indeed by the prophets. But the new law is the Gospel, which is called the New Testament, which he gave through the Son of God himself, the Christ, and his apostles. That old law is like a root, this new one is like fruit from the root. For from the law one goes on to the Gospel. Now Christ, who has been manifested here, previously in the law he was predicted. Actually he spoke in the prophets, as it is written: "I who was speaking, here I am (Isa 52:6), sending the law beforehand like a pedagogue for children, but now supplying to all adults the Gospel, the perfect instruction for life." Therefore, in that one [= the Law], the good things of the earth were promised to those who worked, but here to those living under grace from faith a heavenly kingdom is offered. But the Gospel is called good news, and it really is good news, so that those who accept it are called sons of God.

So then these are the books of the Old Testament, which **the leaders of the churches have handed down to be read and received on account of the love of doctrine and of piety**. The first are five books of law, that is, of **Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**. Sixteen historical books follow these: **Jesus Nave and Judges**, single books, and **Ruth**, and **four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, Tobit and Esther and Judith**, single books, **two of Ezra and two of the Maccabees**. Beyond these there are sixteen prophetic books: **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel**, single books, and also single books of the **Twelve prophets**, and these are prophetic. After these, there are eight books of verses, which are written among the Hebrews in a different meter, that is: the book of **Job**, and the book of **Psalms** and of **Proverbs and Ecclesiastes**, and **Songs of Songs** as well as **Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus**, and the **Lamentations** of Jeremiah. Thus are completed **the 45 books of the Old Testament**.

Now of the New Testament, first are the four gospels, of **Matthew**, of **Mark**, of **Luke**, of **John**. Following these are the **14 epistles of Paul** the apostle, to which also have been join seven catholic epistles: of **James**, of **Peter**, of **John**, and of **Jude**; and the **Acts** of the Twelve Apostles, and the seal of all of these is the **Apocalypse** of John, which is the Revelation of Jesus Christ, who concludes all the books in both time and order. These are **the 72 canonical books**, and for this reason Moses selected seventy elders who would prophesy [Num 11:25]; on account of this also Jesus, our Lord, commanded 72 disciples to preach [Luke 10:1]. And because 72 languages have been scattered in this world, the Holy spirit suitably provides that there are so many books as nations by which peoples and Gentiles might be edified for the grace of faith to be accomplished.

<http://sanctushieronymus.blogspot.com/2018/06/late-canon-lists-latin-rabanus-maurus.html>

Peter Blensensis (1130 – 1203 AD)

The Old Testament is so called because with the coming of the New, it ceased, which the Apostle also recalls, saying, 'Certain things passed away, and behold! All things were made new.' So the New Testament was so named because it makes new. For those who made this statement were none other than men called out of the Old [dispensation] by grace, and belonging now to the New Testament, which is the Kingdom of Heaven. **The Hebrews accept the Old Testament** as authorized by God in **twenty-two books**, according to the number of their letters, dividing them into three orders, that is, the **Law**, the **Prophets** and the **Holy Writings**...Five and eight added to nine make **twenty-two**, as is understood from the above. Some also add Ruth and Cinoth, which is called in Latin the Lamentations

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

of Jeremiah, to the Hagiographies. These make **twenty-four volumes of the Old Testament**, just like the twenty-four elders who sit before the Face of God. **The fourth [order?] is of those books accepted by us in the order of the Old Testament which are not in the Canon of the Hebrews.** The first of them is the Book of **Wisdom**, the second **Ecclesiasticus**, the third **Tobias**, the fourth **Judith**, the fifth and sixth the Books of the **Maccabees**. **The Church of Christ proclaims these and honors them as divine books, even though the Jews separate them as Apocrypha...**The Book of Wisdom is found nowhere among the Hebrews, as a result of which it is far more redolent of Greek style than of Hebrew eloquence. The Jews affirm this to be Babylonian. Therefore they call it Wisdom, for **in it the coming of Christ, who is the Wisdom of the Father, and His Passion, is evidently expressed.** Now the Book of Ecclesiasticus was definitely composed by Jesus, son of Sirach and grandson of the great priest (high priest) Jesu, which Zacharias also mentions. This book is mainly known among the Latins by this title on account of its similarity to the sayings of Solomon. Indeed the statement of Ecclesiasticus is to be studied with great care, for it deals with the discipline of the whole Church and of religious discourse. **This book is found among the Hebrews, but as Apocrypha.** Judith, however, Tobias and the books of the Maccabees which were written by their author are the least established. They take their names from those whose deeds they describe...These are the writers of the holy books, who speaking by the Holy Spirit, have written in collaboration with him the rule to be believed and the precepts to be lived by for our erudition. **Beyond these, other books are called Apocrypha, for 'apocrypha' are sayings, that is, secret sayings, which are doubtful.** For the origin of them is hidden, nor does it appear to **the Fathers, from whom the authority of the truth of Scriptures comes down to us in most clear and certain succession.** Although some truth is found in these apocrypha, a great deal is false, nothing in them has canonical authority, and they are rightly judged by the wise not to be among those things to be believed, for a great deal is put out by heretics in the name of the Prophets, and more recently is the name of the Apostles. **All that is called apocrypha has been removed following the diligent examination of canonical authority** (Tractatus Quales sunt. De Divisione Et Scriptoribus Sacrorum Librorum. PL 207:1051B-1056. Translation by Catherine Kavanaugh, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en115>

Glossa Ordinaria (12th c. AD)

On the Apocryphal books, "Prologue to the Glossa Ordinaria" (1498 AD)

Many people, who do not give much attention to the holy scriptures, **think that all the books contained in the Bible should be honored and adored with equal veneration**, not knowing how to **distinguish among the canonical and non-canonical books**, the latter of which the Jews number among the apocrypha. Therefore they often appear ridiculous before the learned; and they are disturbed and scandalized when they hear that someone does not honor something read in the Bible with equal veneration as all the rest. Here, then, we distinguish and number distinctly first the canonical books and then the non-canonical, among which we further distinguish between the certain and the doubtful.

The canonical books have been brought about through the dictation of the Holy Spirit. It is **not known, however, at which time or by which authors the non-canonical or apocryphal books were produced.** Since, nevertheless, they are very good and useful, and nothing is found in them which contradicts the canonical books, **the church reads them and permits them to be read by the faithful for devotion and edification.** Their **authority, however, is not considered adequate for proving those things which come into doubt or contention**, or for confirming the authority of ecclesiastical dogma, as **blessed Jerome** states in his prologue to Judith and to the books of Solomon. But **the canonical books are of such authority that whatever is contained therein is held to be true firmly and indisputably**, and

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

likewise that which is clearly demonstrated from them. For just as in philosophy a truth is known through reduction to self-evident first principles, so too, in the writings handed down from holy teachers, the truth is known, as far as those things that must be held by faith, through reduction to the canonical scriptures that have been produced by divine revelation, which can contain nothing false. Hence, concerning them Augustine says to Jerome: To those writers alone who are called canonical I have learned to offer this reverence and honor: I hold most firmly that none of them has made an error in writing. Thus if I encounter something in them which seems contrary to the truth, I simply think that the manuscript is incorrect, or I wonder whether the translator has discovered what the word means, or whether I have understood it at all. But I read other writers in this way: however much they abound in sanctity or teaching, I do not consider what they say true because they have judged it so, but rather because they have been able to convince me from those canonical authors, or from probable arguments, that it agrees with the truth.

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/articles-roman-catholicism/apocryphaintroduction/apocrypha3/>

The canonical books of the OT

There are, then, **twenty-two canonical books** of the old testament, corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, as **Eusebius** reports, in book six of Ecclesiastical History, that **Origen** writes on the first Psalm; and **Jerome** says the same thing more fully and distinctly in his Helmeted Prologue to the books of Kings: All the books are divided into three parts by the Jews: into the law, which contains the **five books of Moses**; into the eight **prophets**; and into the nine **hagiographa**. This will be more clearly seen shortly. Some, however, separate the book of Ruth from the book of Judges, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah from Jeremiah, and count them among the hagiographa in order to make **twenty-four books**, corresponding to the twenty-four elders whom the Apocalypse presents as adoring the lamb. These are the books that are in the canon, as blessed **Jerome** writes at greater length in the Helmeted Prologue to the books of Kings.

In the first place are the five books of Moses, which are called the law, first of which is **Genesis**, second **Exodus**, third **Leviticus**, fourth **Numbers**, fifth **Deuteronomy**. Secondly follow the eight prophetic books, first of which is **Joshua**, second the book of **Judges** together with **Ruth**, third **Samuel**, i.e. first and second Kings, fourth Malachim, i.e. **third and fourth Kings**, fifth **Isaiah**, sixth **Jeremiah** with **Lamentations**, seventh **Ezekiel**, eighth the book of twelve prophets, first of which is **Hosea**, second **Joel**, third **Amos**, fourth **Obadiah**, fifth **Jonah**, sixth **Micah**, seventh **Nahum**, eighth **Habakkuk**, ninth **Zephaniah**, tenth **Haggai**, eleventh **Zechariah**, twelfth **Malachi**. Thirdly follow the nine hagiographa, first of which is **Job**, second **Psalms**, third Solomon's **Proverbs**, fourth his **Ecclesiastes**, fifth his **Song of Songs**, sixth **Daniel**, seventh **Paralipomenon**, which is **one book, not two, among the Jews**, eighth **Ezra** with **Nehemiah** (for it is all one book), ninth **Esther**. And **whatever is outside of these (I speak of the Old Testament)**, as **Jerome** says, **should be placed in the apocrypha** (*Biblia cum glosa ordinaria et expositione Lyre litterali et morali*. Basel: Petri & Froben, 1498. British Museum IB.37895, vol. 1. Translation by Dr. Michael Woodward. See also Walafrid Strabo, Glossa ordinaria, De Canonicis et Non Canonicis Libris. PL 113:19-24).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en125>

OT Apocrypha

These are the books that are not in the canon, which the church includes as good and useful books, but not canonical. Among them are some of more, some of less authority. For **Tobit**, **Judith**, and the books of **Maccabees**, also the book of **Wisdom** and **Ecclesiasticus**, are strongly approved by all. Thus **Augustine**, in book two of De Doctrina Christiana, counts the first three among canonical books; concerning Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, he says they deserved to be received as authoritative and

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

should be numbered among the prophetic books; concerning the books of Maccabees, in book 18 of the City of God, speaking of the books of Ezra, he says that, although the Jews do not consider them canonical, the church considers them canonical because of the passions of certain martyrs and powerful miracles. Of less authority are Baruch and Third and Fourth Ezra. For Augustine makes no mention of them in the place cited above, while he included (as I have said) other apocryphal works among the canonical. **Rufinus** as well, in his exposition of the creed, and Isidore, in book 6 of the Etymologies, where they repeat this division of **Jerome**, mentioned nothing of these other books.

And that we might enumerate the apocryphal books in the order in which they appear in this Bible, even though they have been produced in a different order, first come **the third and fourth books of Ezra**. They are called Third and Fourth Ezra because, before Jerome, Greeks and Latins used to divide the book of Ezra into two books, calling the words of Nehemiah the second book of Ezra. These Third and Fourth Ezra are, as I have said, of less authority among all non-canonical books. Hence **Jerome**, in his prologue to the books of Ezra, calls them dreams. They are found in very few Bible manuscripts; and in many printed Bibles only Third Ezra is found. Second is **Tobit**, a very devout and useful book. Third is Judith, which Jerome says in his prologue had been counted by the Nicene Council in the number of holy scriptures. Fourth is the book of **Wisdom**, which almost all hold that Philo of Alexandria, a most learned Jew, wrote. Fifth is the book of Jesus son of Sirach, which is called **Ecclesiasticus**. Sixth is **Baruch**, as Jerome says in his prologue to Jeremiah. Seventh is the book of **Maccabees**, divided into first and second books...Further, it should be known that **in the book of Esther, only those words are in the canon up to that place where we have inserted**: the end of the book of Esther, as far as it is in Hebrew. **What follows afterward is not in the canon**. Likewise **in Daniel, only those words are in the canon up to that place where we have inserted**: The prophet Daniel ends. **What follows afterward is not in the canon** (Biblia cum glosa ordinaria et expositione Lyre litterali et morali (Basel: Petri & Froben, 1498), British Museum IB.37895, Vol. 1. Translation by Dr. Michael Woodward. See also Walafrid Strabo, Glossa ordinaria, De Canonicis et Non Canonicis Libris. PL 113:19-24).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en126>

Hugh of St. Victor (1096 – 1141)

After that we showed what the matter of the divine Scriptures is and how the matter treats of its subject in a triple sense, historical, allegorical and tropological. Now it is appropriate to show in which books that which is reckoned in the name of divine judgement to be Scripture. There are two Testaments which include all the divine Scriptures in one body: the Old and the New. Both are divided into three orders. The Old Testament contains the **Law**, the **Prophets** and the **Hagiographies**, which interpreted, means either the holy writers or the holy things written. There are five volumes in the Law: that is **Genesis**, **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers**, and **Deuteronomy**. Genesis is so called from generation, Exodus from 'exit' – going out – Leviticus from the Levites, the book of Numbers, because in it the children of Israel are numbered, Deuteronomy on account of the Law, and in Hebrew, 'bresith', 'hellesmoth', 'vaetra', 'vededaber', 'adabarim'.

There are eight volumes in the order of the Prophets. The first in the book of **Joshua**, who is also Jesus Nave and Josue Bennun, that is son of Nun; the second the book of **Judges**, which is called Sopherim, the third the book of Samuel, which is the **first and second book of Kings**, the fourth is Malachi, which is understood as of the Kings, which is **third and fourth Kings**; the fifth **Isaiah**, the sixth **Jeremiah**; the seventh **Ezekiel**; the eighth the book of **the twelve prophets**, which is called 'thareasra'. They are called prophetic because they are 'of the prophets', however, not all are prophecies. A prophet is so called on account of three things: the office, the grace and the mission. The word is also frequently found in common use to indicate prophets who are prophets either on account of the office of prophet or on account of having clearly been sent as prophets, as is the case here. According to this definition,

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

David and Daniel and several others are not said to be prophets, but hagiographers. There are nine volumes in the order of the Hagiographers: first **Job**, second the book of **Psalms**, third the **Proverbs** of Solomon, which is called 'Parabolae' in Greek and 'Masloth' in Hebrew, the fourth **Ecclesiastes** which is translated as 'coeleth' in Hebrew and 'concionator' [lit.: the lecturer of the people, speechmaker] in Latin; the fifth, 'syra syrim', that is the **Canticle of Canticles**; the sixth **Daniel**, the seventh **Paralipomenon**, which in Latin is called the Words of Days and in Hebrew is called 'dabreniamin'; the eighth **Esdras** and the ninth **Esther**. These are all, that is five and eight and nine, making **twenty-two**, just as do the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, so that the life of the just may be instructed in the way of salvation by as many books as letters educate the tongues of the knowledgeable in eloquence. **There are some other books besides these in the Old Testament, which are sometimes read, but they are not written in the body of the text or in the authoritative canon**, such as the books of **Tobias**, **Judith**, and the **Maccabees**, and the one called the **Wisdom** of Solomon and **Ecclesiasticus**. The New Testament contains Gospels, Apostles and Fathers. There are four Gospels: **Matthew**, **Mark**, **Luke** and **John**. Likewise there are four volumes of Apostolic writings: the **Acts** of the Apostles, the **Epistles of St. Paul**, the **Canonical Epistles** and the **Apocalypse**, which added to the **twenty-two books** of the Old Testament mentioned above make thirty, and Holy Scripture is completed in this corpus. The writings of the Fathers are not counted in the body of this text, because they do not add anything to it, but they explain what it is that is in the above mentioned, and they extend it more broadly and make it clearer. (Hugh of St. Victor, De sacramentis. Prologue, Cap. VII. PL 176:185D-186D. Translation by Catherine Kavanaugh, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en145>

.....

Holy Scripture is contained in two testaments, namely the Old and the New. Each testament is divided into three subsections: the Old Testament contains the law, the prophets, and the hagiography. The New contains the Gospel, the apostles, and the fathers. The first subsection of the Old Testament is the law, which the Hebrews call thorath holds the Pentateuch, that is the five books of Moses. In this subsection the first is Beresith, which is **Genesis**; second Hellesmoth, which is **Exodus**; third is Vagethra, which is **Leviticus**; fourth Vagedaber, which is **Numbers**; fifth Elleaddaberim, which is **Deuteronomy**. The second subsection is of prophets and contains eight texts. The first is Bennum, that is, Son of Nun, who is called **Joshua** and Jesus and Jesus Nave. The second is Sathim, which is **Judges**; third Samuel, which is **first and second Kings**; fourth Malachi, which is **third and fourth Kings**; fifth **Isaiah**; sixth **Jeremiah**; seventh **Ezekiel**; eighth Thereasra, which is the **twelve prophets**. The third subsection has nine books. First is **Job**, second **David**, third Masloth, which in Greek is Parabolae but in Latin is **Proverbs**, i.e. of Solomon; fourth Coeleth, which is **Ecclesiastes**; fifth Sirasirim, which is the **Song of Songs**; sixth **Daniel**, seventh Dabreiamin, which is **Chronicles**; eighth **Ezra**; ninth **Esther**. They all add up to the number **twenty-two**. Moreover, there are certain other books, such as the **Wisdom of Solomon**, the book of Jesus son of **Sirach**, and the book of **Judith**, and **Tobias**, and the **books of the Maccabees** which are read but are not considered in the canon. To these **twenty-two books of the Old Testament**...Then the writings of the holy fathers, that is Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Isidore, Origen, Bede and the other doctors, which are countless. **These patristic writings are not counted in the text of Holy Scripture**, just as in the Old Testament, as we have said, there are certain writings which are not written in the canon and yet are read, like the Wisdom of Solomon, etc. And **so the text of Holy Scripture, like an entire corpus, is principally contained in thirty books**, twenty-two of these are gathered in the Old and eight in the New Testament (Hugh of St. Victor, De Scripturis et Scriptoribus Sacris Praenotatiunculae, Cap. VI, De ordine, numero et auctoritate librorum sacrae

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Scripturae. PL 175:15D-16. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en145>

Peter Mauritius (Venerabilis, 1092/4 – 1157 AD)

It ought to be seen whether those who do not yield to such worldly masters at least are satisfied with Christ, the prophets, or the apostles. I say this since reports have made it known that you trust not in Christ or the prophets or the apostles, and if this is yet true, they have disclosed that you detract from the very majesty of the Old and New Testament, which already from antiquity have ruled the entire world. But since I might not easily assent to the lying demonstration of rumors, I strongly do not wish to blame you for things uncertain when certain people swear you have cast away the divine canon and others contend you have taken up certain things from it. But I necessarily am satisfied by reliable authorities that you have taken up the entire canon which is assumed by the Church (Peter Mauritius (Venerabilis), *Adversus Petrobrusianos, Probatio totius Novi Testamenti ex Evangelio*. PL 189:730D. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

.....

For the Gospel gives testimony to the Old Testament and in addition it confirms by its authority the things it preaches. Did not **Christ in the Gospel affirm the authority of the Old Testament with his own authority when appearing to all the disciples after the resurrection he said: Was it fitting that all things written in the law of Moses and the prophets and psalms be fulfilled in me?** Did he not confirm this same thing with an unbreakable bond when he revealed the meaning to his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures. Did he not confirm this when he spoke to the two disciples walking to Emmaus: Oh how foolish you are, and how slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have declared. What more do you demand? Is so much and such clear authority insufficient by which Christ offers testimony to the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms, not confusedly but clearly when he teaches that it was fitting that the writings about him, first of **the law**, then of **the prophets**, finally of **the psalms**, were fulfilled in him. But I have reported above, although it is fully sufficient in order that the authority of old scripture be confirmed, I nevertheless offer from this same Gospel in which you trust, as much as you please ornamentedly and superabundantly evidence attesting to the divine books, which having been heard, you would not only believe them divine, but you would be ashamed to have doubted in anything concerning them.

And that I might begin from the head of these holy books, reflect, if you do not remember, the Book of **Genesis... Exodus...** Come from there to **Leviticus** thence to the Book of **Numbers**. Come to the last book of the Pentateuch, that is **the Mosaic law** [i.e., Deuteronomy]. Do you yet see that these books are not to be rejected, which Christ approves; that they are not lying or apocryphal, concerning which Truth bears testimony; they are not to be cast aside concerning which the Eternal Word himself, the very wisdom of God makes his own words certain. Other divine and prophetic books follow these, the first of which is called **Joshua**, to which its neighbor **Deuteronomy** which itself earns authority from the Gospel, gives authority. The Book of **Judges** follows which the following and preceding (concerning which we have already written) books make canonical and which was already proven to be canonical by written testimony. Because if the Apostle is consulted, to whose word necessity itself compels you to give complete faith, as was proved above, you will hear him in the **Letter to the Hebrews** among the other fathers, preaching the trustworthiness of those Judges and giving canonical authority to that same book when he says: For time has failed me speaking of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah who certainly ruled the Jews before the kings, ruled the Jews not with the name of kings but of judges.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Then the small, but confirmed by the Gospel itself, book of **Ruth** follows, just as is read in the genealogy of the Savior... Boaz, it says, bore Obed from Ruth. Who, although a gentile, how she was joined to a Jewish husband, that book explains, which, as was said, **earns its canonical authority from the Gospel**. Then the pen hastens to the Books of **Samuel** and **Kings** and equally to believers and unbelievers it shows that they are supported not only by prophetic, but also by Gospel authority. Behold, truth bore all these things forth from the Book of Kings and showed that they therefore are true. Then the discourse turns to **the prophets** and the Gospel itself bears testimony first to **Isaiah**, prophet of the Gospel. **Jeremiah** follows about which prophet the Gospel is not silent that his words be taken as prophetic... The apostolic words of Paul make **Ezekiel** canonical, who in his second letter to the Corinthians from this same prophet brought in God saying... The oft-cited authority of the Gospel compels you to accept **Daniel** among the prophets and to deny that his writings are prophetic: when Christ says in the Gospel, so when you see the desolating sacrilege spoken of by the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place (let the reader understand). After these great, and, as it were, chief prophets, let's proceed at once to the twelve who are called minor, not by lesser authority, but by the quantity of their writing and let's prove them all canonical, not at once or confusedly, but individually and distinctly: **Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zaphaniah, Haggah, Zacariah**... Last in the order of the prophets, but not least in authority follows **Malachi**. Then to **Job**... already the authority of **the psalms**... and concerning the books of Solomon (that is **Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**, the Canticle, that is **the Song of Songs**) to that book which in Hebrew is Dabrehaïamin, in Greek is **Paralipom** [i.e., Chronicles] (Peter Mauritius (Venerabilis), Adversus Petrobrusianos, Probatio totius Veteris Testamenti ex Evangelio. PL 189:741A. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en157>

Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173)

Holy Scripture is contained in two testaments, namely the Old and the New. Each testament is divided into three subsections: the Old Testament contains the **law**, the **prophets**, and the **hagiography**. The New contains the **Gospel**, the **apostles**, and the **fathers**. The first subsection of the Old Testament is the law, which the Hebrews call thorath holds the Pentateuch, that is the five books of Moses. In this subsection the first is Beresith, which is **Genesis**; second Hellesmoth, which is **Exodus**; third is Vagethra, which is **Leviticus**; fourth Vagedaber, which is **Numbers**; fifth Elleaddaberim, which is **Deuteronomy**. The second subsection is of prophets and contains eight texts. The first is Bennum, that is, Son of Nun, who is called **Joshua** and Jesus and Jesus Nave. The second is Sathim, which is **Judges**; third Samuel, which is **first and second Kings**; fourth Malachi, which is **third and fourth Kings**; fifth **Isaiah**; sixth **Jeremiah**; seventh **Ezekiel**; eighth Thereasra, which is the **twelve prophets**. The third subsection has nine books. First is **Job**, second **David**, third Masloth, which in Greek is Parabolae but in Latin is **Proverbs**, i.e. of Solomon; fourth Coeeth, which is **Ecclesiastes**; fifth Sirasirim, which is the **Song of Songs**; sixth **Daniel**, seventh Dabreïamin, which is **Chronicles**; eighth **Ezra**; ninth **Esther**. However, they are **twenty-four** in number in all. There are other books also besides these, such as the **Wisdom of Solomon**, the Book of Jesu, son of **Sirach**, the Book of **Judith** also, **Tobias** and the book of the **Maccabees**, which are read, in fact, but are not written in the Canon (Richard of St. Victor, Tractatus Exceptionum: Qui continet originem et discretionem artium, situmque terrarum, et summam historiarum; distinctus in quatuor libros. Book II, Cap. IX. De duobus Testamentis. P.L. 177:193. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en147>

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Peter Comestor (d. 1178 AD)

The Book of **Joshua** is so called from the name of the author, who is also called Jesus, for Joshua and Jesus are the same name. He is also surnamed from his father Jesus Nave, or Josue Bennum, that is son of Nave or Nun, which are the same. He is also surnamed thus to distinguish him from Jesu the son of Sirach, the great-grandson of Jesu the great priest, who wrote Ecclesiasticus. Note also that according to the Hebrews the second order of the Old Testament begins here. **They distinguish the Old Testament into three orders: the first they call the Law, the second, the Prophets and the third the Hagiographies.** They place the **five books of Moses** in the Law, eight in the Prophets, **Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Malachi** [i.e., Kings], **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel**, and **the twelve prophets**. In the **Hagiographies** they put nine books of the Old Testament, which are above. They are called Hagiographies, that is, the writings of holy men, and this name is common to all of the books of Sacred Scripture, and because these nine are no more important than any others they are listed under the common name as their name, just as the word 'confessor' is the general word for all the saints, and yet some of them, according to some special distinction which they have, are listed under other names: some are called 'apostles', others 'martyrs' and so forth (Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, *Historia Libri Josue*. Incipit praefatio in historiam libri Josue. PL 198:1259. Translation by Catherine Kavanaugh, University of Notre Dame).

....

The Jews relegate this story (Tobit) to the Apocrypha, but **Jerome** says in his Prologue that it should be in the Hagiographies, and at any rate, if it were there it would be in the third order of the Canon of the Old Testament, but because **it is not in any order**, we would say that that is because Jerome accepts many things as hagiographies, to the point that he also includes Apocrypha, and that is because Hebrew words are close to the language of the Chaldaeans. **Jerome was fluent in both languages, so whatever somebody would say in Hebrew words, he would explain in Latin, making short work of it, almost [the work of] a day** (Peter Mauritius (Venerabilis), *Historia Scholastica*, *Historia Libri Tobiae*. Incipit praefatio in historiam libri Josue. PL 198:1432. Translation by Catherine Kavanaugh, University of Notre Dame).

.....

Daniel prophesied in Chaldea, who was of the line of the Kings of Judah, according to Josephus and Epiphanius. According to the Seventy [Septuagint], however, he was of the Tribe of Levi, who put this in the **title of the fable of Bel**: 'There was a man, a priest, named Daniel, the son of Abdo, the companion of the King of Babylon; he was born in Upper Beteroth. And he was so chaste that it seemed to his fellow tribesmen that it was because of a sword.' Jerome translated this book with great difficulty at the request of Paula and Eustochium. It was written in the Chaldaean language, but in Hebrew letters, nor was it read by the Church according to the Septuagint, whose edition is very inaccurate, but according to [the edition of] Theodotius. **Among the Hebrews, it does not have the story of Susannah, nor the Hymn of the three boys, nor the story of Bel the dragon** (Peter Mauritius (Venerabilis), *Historia Scholastica*, *Historia Libri Danielis*. Cap. I. PL 198:1447-1448. Translation by Catherine Kavanaugh, University of Notre Dame).

...

The story of Susannah follows, which the Hebrew does not have in the Book of Daniel. And **he calls it a fable**, not that the story itself is corrupt, but the part in it about the stoning of the two priests is false, whom Jerome says were burnt, and because we claim it was written by Daniel, when it was written by some Greek-speaker, which is evident from some word-play and from the names of trees,

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

that is: apotou, cymi, cyse, apotoy, primi, prise, for such word-play and names of trees are not found in Hebrew (Peter Mauritius (Venerabilis), Historia Scholastica, Historia Libri Danielis, Cap. XIII, De Sussana, PL 198:1466. Translation by Catherine Kavanaugh, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en156>

John of Salisbury (1110s – 1180)

And so I was glad to take up for your sake the questions propounded, and reply to them, with allowance made for my present opportunities and urgent affairs, not as I would, but as best I can for the while. The questions were: what do I believe to be the number of books in the Old and New Testament, and who were their authors...**On the number of the books I find in my reading diverse and numerous opinions given by the fathers; and so I follow Jerome, teacher of the Catholic Church, whom I hold to be the surest witness in establishing the basis of the literal interpretation.** Just as it is accepted that there are twenty-two letters in the Hebrew alphabet, so I believe without doubt that there are **twenty-two books in the Old Testament**, divided into three categories. The first contains the Pentateuch, that is the five books of Moses, which are divided into this number to represent the different sacraments, though the historical subject-matter is admittedly continuous. These are **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers** and **Deuteronomy**. The second contains prophecies and is completed in eight books. The reason why they rather than the others should be called prophecies, although some of them seem to narrate straightforward history, while others, like **Daniel** and the Book of **Psalms**, while describing prophecy, are not reckoned among the prophetic books, was not among the questions put to me; nor does my limitation in time or parchment permit me to expound it now, nor yet the impatience of the bearer. Among these, then, are numbered **Joshua**, and **Judges**, to which **Ruth** is also attached, since the story told in it was set in the days of the judges; also Samuel, whose story is completed in the **first two Books of Kings**, and **Malachim**, in the two following. These are followed by **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel**-reckoned one book each-and the book of **the Twelve Prophets**. The third category consists of the Hagiographa, containing **Job**, the **Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**, the **Song of Songs, Daniel, Chronicles, Esdras** and **Esther**. And thus **the total of the twenty-two books of the Old Testament** is made up, though some reckon that Ruth and the **Lamentations** of Jeremiah should be added to the number of the Hagiographa, and thus **the total increased to twenty-four**. All this is to be found in the prologue to the Books of Kings, which **St. Jerome calls the armor-plated front of all the scriptures he himself made flow from the Hebrew source for the understanding of those of Latin speech**. The book of **Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit**, and **the Shepherd** are not reckoned in the canon, **as St. Jerome also asserts**, nor the Book of **Maccabees** either, which is divided into two, of which the first has the savour of Hebrew eloquence, the second of Greek, as its style proves. Whether the book called the Shepherd anywhere survives I do not know; but it is certain that Jerome and Bede bear witness that they saw and read it.

To these are added eight books of the New Testament; they start with the Gospels of **Matthew**, of **Mark**, of **Luke** and of **John**, and the **fifteen Epistles of Paul** gathered in one book. Although it is the common, indeed almost universal, opinion that there are only fourteen Epistles of Paul, ten to churches, four to individuals, if indeed the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be reckoned among them-and **Jerome, the teacher of teachers**, seems to impute it to him in his preface to it, when he demolishes the arguments of those who maintained that it is not Paul's. But **the fifteenth is that which is written to the church of the Laodiceans**, and although it is rejected by all authorities, as Jerome says, yet it was written by the Apostle; nor is this conclusion based on other men's opinions, but on the sure foundation of the Apostle's own testimony. He recalls it in the Epistle to the **Colossians** in these words: 'And when this letter has been read among you, have it read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

see that you have read to you also the letter of the Laodiceans.’ There follow **seven canonical Epistles** in one book, then the **Acts** of the Apostles in another, and finally the **Apocalypse**.

It is the well-known and undoubted tradition of the Church that this is the number of the books which are accepted into the canon of the Holy Scriptures; which enjoy such great authority among all men, that no place is left in sane minds for doubt or contradiction, but that they were written by the finger of God. A lawful and just warning, and condemnation as a sinner, falls on him who in the mart of manners and speech, especially in the forum of the faithful, does not accept, openly and publicly, the silver currency of this divine utterance, tried by the fire of the Holy Spirit, purged from all earthly dross and stain by a sevenfold purgation. Let faith find a sure resting place in these facts and in those things which find their proved and just support in them; since he is an infidel or a heretic who dares to reject them (John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, W.J. Millor S.J. and C.N.L. Brooke, editors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), Letter 209, pp. 317, 319, 321, 323, 325).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en149>

Abbot of Deutz (ca. 1075/1080 – ca. 1129 AD)

Around the throne are twenty-four thrones and seated on the thrones are twenty-four elders dressed in robes with golden crowns on their heads. Just as on the seat the kingdom of God, so on these seats we understand the judicial power of the saints, about which is has been written, the saints will judge the nations. But why are the elders sitting on the seats shown to be twenty-four in number? On this matter the explanations of the Fathers diverge. For some (of whom St. Jerome is one and the most notable) wish the elders displayed throughout here to be understood as **the twenty-four books of the old law**. Some others understand in these same elders the Church born through the twin testaments of the patriarchs and the apostles, or certainly those who brought about the work’s perfection, which is commended to six-fold number, by clear preaching of the Gospel. For four times six makes twenty-four. But we judging neither interpretation to be useless, nevertheless dare to bring forth something certain from the majesty of the scriptures (Commentary of Rupert, Abbot of Deutz, *On the Apocalypse of John*, Book III, Chapter IV. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis, ca. 1080 – ca. 1140)

The scripture of the Old Testament is written with the Holy Spirit as author and is divided into three parts: **history**, **prophecy**, and **hagiography**. History gives an account of things past, prophecy announces future things, hagiography proclaims the joys of the eternal life. This book (**Psalms**) takes its place in hagiography since it shines more fully with the joys of the eternal homeland (Honorius of Autun, *Expositio In Psalmos: De mysterio psalmodum*. PL 172.273B. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

.....

In September infirmity is often accustomed to fall upon men on account of the new produce: and as at this time, when there is accustomed to be a greater abundance of things we also recollect when we also shall die in such an abundance of things and we patiently bear the infirmities of that time. Responsorials from **Job** and **Tobit** are sung, who both endured sorrows. They were not kings, for this reason they do not have their own months, but are read together in one month, through which the kingdom of the Assyrians is understood. On Sundays, on which the responsorials from the stories of **Judith**, **Ezra** and **Esther** are sung, and these same stories are read, the kingdom of the Persians and the Medes is designated. The Books of **Tobit and Judith are not in the canon among the Hebrews**, but since they accept them among their Hagiography, **we sing and read from them** (Honorius of Autun,

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

Operum Pars Tertia.â Liturgica. Sacramentarium, Seu De Causis Et Significatu Mystico Rituum Divini In Ecclesia Officii Liber. Cap. C.â ? De lectionibus in matutinis post Pentecosten. PL 172.800D. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

.....

Seven deacons are in service to the bishop in the place of the prophets since Scripture is divided seven ways into the New and Old Testament, which minister to the Gospel. The bishop and those joined to him are in the middle after the Gospel, since he is a vicar of Christ, he follows the Gospel. The New Testament is divided into four parts, that is the **Acts** of the Apostles, the **seven canonical Epistles**, the **fourteen Pauline Epistles**, and the **Apocalypse**; the Old Testament into three parts: **law**, **prophets**, and **psalms**. If there should be five deacons, they would show that five ministers of the books minister to the Gospel. The bishop in the middle, just as the Gospel holds in the New Testament the first order of the preachers of history, the second of the Epistle, the third of prophecy, as is of the Apocalypse. In the Old Testament, one of the law, the other of prophecy. If there should be three, three ministrations of three books, the Gospel, the fountain of all wisdom in the middle, in the New Testament two of the Epistle and of prophecy; in the Old one, that is the law; for among the ancients all Scripture is called law in the New Testament. If there would be one, he would show the one precept of love, as it is said: For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' The ministry of the prophet is to demonstrate the truth of the Gospel from the remembered books, and that he might have before him the wisdom of the subdeacons that they might prophesy at a fitting time and the light of the acolytes, the work of doctors, might finish by expounding books (Honorius of Autun, Operum Pars Tertia.â Liturgica. Sacramentarium, Seu De Causis Et Significatu Mystico Rituum Divini In Ecclesia Officii Liber, cap. xxxiv.â ? De caeremoniis in missa episcopi. PL 172.765A?765B. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en154>

Philip of Harvengt (d. 1183 AD)

It follows on the pages, 'The Hebrew books say that Solomon was dragged five times through the streets of the city as punishment. And so they say he came to the temple he had built with his own hands with five branches and he gave them to the scribes that he might be beaten with them. They, on common accepted wisdom, said that they would not lay a hand on the anointed of the Lord. He then, frustrated by them, removed himself from the kingship. This is what is on the pages. Indeed, **Jerome translated from Hebrew into Latin all the scriptures which were kept amongst the Hebrews in the canon**. In them one cannot find that Solomon offered branches to the scribes that he might be beaten. But **their remaining scriptures are apocrypha whose authority is not suitable to confirm those things that might come into dispute**. Whence also the book of Jesus son of **Sirach** and **Judith** and **Tobias** and first **Maccabees** are counted by them amongst the apocrypha since they are **not held in their canon**. If they say they have any other books that they claim contain the punishment of Solomon, it is not to be believed of these books, since from the mouths of these same Jews such testimony is offered that whatever is not in the canon is in no way worthy of faith. Josephus, the author of Jewish antiquity, claims he read such a thing and he did not learn it from scripture, canonical or apocryphal, that Solomon repented. Whence clearly it is concluded that **it is not foreign to the Jews to lie; but proper and customary for them either to deny what is true or affirm what is false**. On account of which Jerome was urged by Sophronius to translate the psalms according to the Hebrew truth since when Sophronius would argue with a certain Jew and would offer sure evidence against him from the psalms according to the Septuagint, the Jew, babbling and mocking him as ignorant of Hebrew things throughout nearly every word, would say that in Hebrew what was contained was not contained or what was not contained was contained.

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

It follows on the pages: the words of Solomon writing Ecclesiasticus after he has suddenly lost the kingdom: Solomon reigned in days of peace, and God gave him rest on every side, that he might build a house for his name and other things which follow in the same chapter. **Solomon did not write Ecclesiasticus as Augustine in the tenth book of the City of God and, before Augustine, Jerome says in many places.** Indeed Jerome found this Hebrew book, as he says, called in Hebrew not Ecclesiasticus as amongst the Latins, but Parabola. To which there were joined two others, **Ecclesiastes** and the **Song of Songs**, so that he could compare the similarity of their writers, of Solomon, not only by the number of books, but by the nature of the material. On account of this similarity of speech, **the custom arose among the unlearned that Ecclesiasticus was said to be Solomon's** and those who are wiser say it was Jesus, son of Sirach who, as was said above, lived in the time of the High Priest Simon (Philip of Harvengt, Responsio De Damnatione Salamonis. PL 203:659. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en163>

Hugh of St. Cher (1200 – 1263 AD)

Joshua Bennum was named from his father, that is Son of Num or Son of Nave, or, fully, Jesus Son of Nave. You call him by his surname in order to distinguish him from Jesus Son of Sirach, great-grandson of Jesus the high priest under whom and the leader Zorobabel the people returned from captivity, as is read in **Haggai** 1 and **Zechariah** 3. **Jesus Son of Sirach wrote Ecclesiasticus, as has been said. It should be known, according to the Hebrews the second subsection of the Old Testament begins here,** for the Hebrews divide the Old Testament into subsections. The first they call the **Law**; the second the **Prophets**; the third the **Hagiography**. In the Law they place the **five books of Moses**. In the Prophets they place eight books, namely **Joshua, Judges, Samuel**, that is the **first two books of Kings**, Malachi, that is the **last two books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel**, the **Twelve Prophets**. In Hagiography they place the nine books of the Old Testament which remain, namely **Job, David, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel**, the **Canticle** [Song of Songs], **Chronicles, Ezra, Esther**. They are called Hagiography, that is the writings of saints, which is a name common to all the books of Holy Scripture. But since these nine books do not have any preeminent feature over the others, according to which they might be named, they are contained under a common name, just as the name confessor is common to all saints. But some are ordered according to some prominence through other names: for some are called Apostles, others Prophets, others Patriarchs, others Martyrs, others Virgins. Those who have no prominent feature are called Confessors. In this way the last order of Angels is called by the name common to all, that is Angels. According to the Greeks, Origen places seven books in the first subsection, adding Joshua and Judges to the Pentateuch. He calls this subsection the Heptateuch, from hepta, which is seven and teuchos, which is book. Whatever the order of this book, the truth of the history is not changed. Know the lines of all the books of the Old Testament. **Five books of Moses; Joshua, Judges, Samuel; Malachi**, three distinguished and twice six prophets: the Hebrew considers these to excel the remaining books. He calls the five the law and the remaining ones the prophets. Afterwards, the Hagiography are **Daniel, David, Esther** and **Ezra, Job, Chronicles**, and **three books of Solomon**. The entire old law is completely contained by these books. The Apocrypha remain: **Jesus** [i.e., Sirach], **Wisdom, Pastor**; and the Books of the **Maccabees, Judith** and **Tobit**. Since these are doubtful they are not numbered in the canon. But **since they proclaim true things, the Church accepts them** (Hugh of St. Cher, In Postillam super Librum Iosue: Prologus. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en159>

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274 AD)

Principium Biblicum, Opera Omnia

Jerome designates a fourth division of books, namely **the apocrypha**. Apocrypha is named from ‘apo’, which means ‘very’, and ‘cryphon’, which means obscure, because their teachings and authors are in doubt. But **the catholic church has received these books in the category of holy scriptures**, whose teachings are not in doubt, though its authors are; not because the authors of these books are unknown, but because these men were not of known authority. Hence the books have their power not from the authority of the authors, but rather from the reception of the church.

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocrypha3/>

Nicholas of Lyra (1270 – 1340 AD)

Here begins the commentary of Nicholas of Lyra on the Book of Tobit, and first the preface to the book. ‘It is right to do these things and not to omit those,’ Mt 23. After I have, with God’s help, written on the canonical books of Holy Scripture, starting from the beginning of Genesis and proceeding to the end of Revelation, I intend, trusting again in God’s help, to **write on the other books that are not of the canon**, namely the Book of **Wisdom, Sirach, Judith, Tobit**, and the Books of **Maccabees, following what Jerome** says in the Helmeted Prologue, which is placed before the Books of Kings; and he says the same thing about the Book of **Baruch** in his prologue and about **Second Ezra** in his prologue on Ezra. This is why I chose the verse above, in which we may observe two points: first is the necessity of the work, where it begins: ‘It is right to do these things;’ second is the utility of the work, where it continues: ‘and not to omit those.’ **As to the first point, it should be known that the books of Holy Scripture called canonical are of such authority that whatever is contained in them is held to be true, firmly and without discussion, as well as whatever is clearly demonstrated from it.** For just as in philosophical writings, where truth is known by returning to first principles, known in themselves, so too **the truth is known in the writings handed down by Catholic teachers**, in regards to things that must be held by faith, by returning to **the canonical writings of Holy Scripture**, which were delivered by divine revelation, **in which nothing false can exist**. Therefore an understanding of them is necessary for the Church, and concerning their interpretation the words of Sirach 23 may be cited: ‘All these things are the book of life,’ i.e. all the books interpreted in the preceding work are contained in the book of life, i.e. in the book of truth revealed by God, who is life itself. For just as divine predestination is called the book of life, so too are these writings revealed from heaven called the book of life, both because they proceed essentially from life, as was said, and because they lead to a blessed life. As to the second point, **it should be considered that the books that are not part of the canon are received by the Church so that they may be read in her for the instruction of morals**, yet their authority is not judged adequate for proving things that come into contention, **as Jerome says in his prologue to the Book of Judith and in his prologue to the Proverbs of Solomon**. They are, then, of **less efficacy than the canonical books**. Thus we can say with the Lord, from whom is all good, what is written in Judith 6: ‘I have thought these after those.’ While in the divine act of thinking there is not before and after, since he is singular and most simple, yet in the effects thought by him beforehand there is an order of time and dignity; and so the truth written in the canonical books is prior, in time to many things and prior in dignity to all things, than the truth that is written in the non-canonical books. **It is useful, nevertheless, for direction in the life of morals**, as was said, whereby we come to the kingdom of heaven, which, may you grant us, etc. (Postilla Nicolai de Lyra super librum Tobiae, prefatio. Biblia cum glosa ordinaria et expositione Lyrae litterali et morali (Basel: Petri & Froben, 1498). British Museum IB.37895, Vol. 2). Translation by Dr. Michael Woodward).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en168>

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

Chapter 1: 'In the first year of Cyrus,' etc.. This book, from which begins the rule of priests, as was said, together with the books connected to it, can be divided thus: first is treated the emergence of this rule, second ensuing misfortune, which is twofold: one considers the example of constancy against Aman, the other the example of patience in the books of **Esther** and **Job**. But at present I intend to pass over the books of **Tobit**, **Judith**, and **Maccabees**, although they are historical, because they are **not of the canon for Jews, nor for Christians**. Rather **Jerome** says about them, in the Helmeted Prologue that is the prologue on the Books of Kings, that they are sung among the apocrypha; and in the prologue on Judith he says that their authority is not efficacious for proving anything that comes into contention or doubt. And therefore I do not intend to pursue the exposition of them until, with God's help and continued life, I have written on all the canonical books. Now if the Lord grants me life, I will be able, God willing, to write on these books and others that are commonly placed in Bibles, although they are not of the canon. This book, moreover, is divided into three parts: first concerning the leading back of the people under Jesu son of Josedech; second concerning the instruction of the returnees by **Ezra**, teacher of the law – Chapter 7; third concerning the rebuilding of the walls by the leader Nehemiah – beginning with 'The words of Nehemiah.' And these three were priests, as will appear from what follows. But at present I do not intend to busy myself with the **Second Book of Ezra for the reason given, namely that it is not of the canon** (Postilla Nicolai de Lyra super librum Edsrae, cap.i, Biblia cum glosa ordinaria et expositione Lyre litterali et morali (Basel: Petri & Froben, 1498). British Museum IB.37895, vol. 1, Lyra on Ezra. Translation by Dr. Michael Woodward).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en169>

William of Ockham (1287 – 1347 AD)

According to Augustine, as is held in Distich IX in various chapters, Holy Scripture ought to be set before the letters and writings of all the bishops and others. Just as fear and honor should be offered to the holy writers of the Bible, that they not be believed to err in anything, such fear and honor should not be offered to anyone after them. According to **Jerome** in the prologue to the books of Proverbs and **Gregory** in the Moralia, the books of **Judith**, **Tobias**, and **Maccabees**, **Ecclesiasticus** and **Wisdom should not be taken to confirm any element of faith**. For **Jerome** says, as does **Gregory**: the **Church reads the books of Judith, Tobias, and Maccabees, but it does not accept them among the canonical scriptures** (Guillelmus de Occam O.F.M., Opera Plurima (Lyon, 1494-1496), Dialogus de Impero et Pontificia Potestate, Liber iii, tractus i, cap. 16. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en179>

St. Antonius of Florence (1389 – 1459 AD)

The Jews,... **according to Jerome** in his prologue Galeatus...created four divisions of the books of the Old Testament. The first they called the Law... the second the Prophets,...the third the Hagiography,...the fourth (which the **Jews did not place in the canon of Holy Scriptures, but called Apocrypha**) they made from the other five books, namely, **Wisdom**, **Ecclesiasticus**, **Judith**, **Tobias**, and **Maccabees**, which was divided into two books; (whence) concerning these five books **Jerome says in his Prologue to Judith**, that their authority is judged less suitable to strengthen those things that come into dispute... And **Thomas** says the same thing in the Secunda secundae, and **Nicholas of Lyra** on **Tobias**, namely, that they are not of such authority, that it **cannot be argued from their words over what is of the Faith, as from the other books of Holy Scripture**. Whence, perhaps, they have as much authority as the words of the holy Doctors approved by the Church (Sancti Antonini, Archiepiscopi Florentini, Summa Theologica, In Quattuor Partes Distributa, Pars Tertia, Tit xviii, Cap vi, Sect 2, De

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Dilatatione Praedicationis, Col 1043-1044. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en181>

Alonso Tostado (ca. 1410 – 1455 AD)

Preface to the Gospel of Matthew

Question 1. First it is sought, how many books of Sacred Scripture there are and what are the orders of these books in their canons. To the first matter it ought to be said that we ask here concerning the books of either testament, old and new at once, which are counted in various ways. Certain people say that there are fifty books of sacred scripture and that they are signified through the fifty loops which were in the border of each curtain of the tabernacle of Moses. Peter of Aurora maintains this reckoning. Yet it ought to be said that it is not fitting since it is necessary that it divide some books and unify others, for if it be added according to a different count, by not dividing books, unless done so according to what is commonly accepted, **one could only arrive at forty-four and six books would be lacking**, as will be declared below. To this end therefore, that it might fill out those six, it will be necessary to divide some books that are not normally divided, of which there is one in the Old Testament, namely the twelve minor prophets. But there are two in the New Testament, namely the Epistles of Paul and the Canonical Epistles. It ought to be said about the book of twelve minor prophets that it is single in the Old Testament and so placed among the Jews in their canon as **Jerome says in his prologue to the Books of Kings** which begins: **Twenty-two letters**. Although within that book, any one of the twelve prophets might have its own book, which wouldn't deserve the title of 'book' on its own on account of its smallness. But if they divide the book of the twelve prophets, it is fitting that it be divided into twelve according to the number of their prophets and then there will be not just fifty but fifty-five books.

On the division of the books of the Old Testament, there is a variety of opinions since we are accustomed to count in one way and the Jews in another. **The reason for this variety is that some books are kept by us which are never found among the Hebrews, such as the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and second Maccabees, as Jerome says** in his prologue. The second reason for this variety is that **certain books, although they are found among the Hebrews, nevertheless are not placed in their canon**, such as the Book of **Judith** and **Tobit**, **as Jerome says** in his prologue. **Our reckoning is universal, because all of the books, as many as the Church reads and accepts, are counted of whatever subsection or canon they are, even if they are considered in the number of Apocrypha among the Jews, and because those books are counted according to the divisions which they commonly hold among the Latins and Greeks.** In this way **forty-four books** are found, namely **thirty-six of the Old Testament** and **eight of the New**. They are counted thus: **five books of Moses**, one of **Joshua**, one of **Judges**, one of **Ruth**, **four of Kings**, **two of Chronicles**, **three books of Ezra** (we add there that **one of them is very apocryphal about which the Church does not at all concern itself or read, nor does any of the doctors mention it, for this reason we do not place it in the number of books**), one of David (namely the **Psalms**), which although it is divided into many parts for use by the Church and is considered divided into five sections among the Hebrews, it is nevertheless called a single book by both, one of **Tobit**, one of **Judith**, one of **Esther**, **two of Maccabees**, three of Solomon (namely **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes**, and **Song of Songs**), one of **Job**, one of **Wisdom**, one of **Ecclesiasticus** which is called Jesus son of Sirach, four of the Great Prophets (namely **Isaiah**, **Jeremiah**, **Ezekiel**, **Daniel**), and one of **Lamentations** of Jeremiah (as if divided from the book of its prophet), one of **Baruk** (who was a secretary of Jeremiah), one of the **twelve minor Prophets** (who are all contained in one book). And so there are at once thirty-six. Then the **eight books of the New Testament** complete **the number forty-four books of all Sacred Scripture**. Some place only thirty books of all scripture, namely **twenty-**

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

two books of the Old and **eight of the New Testament**. How these are counted is clear in **Jerome's prologue** and will be declared in the following inquiry. Some establish thirty-two books of the New and Old Testament, namely eight of the New and **twenty-four of the Old**. **Jerome writes concerning this in the aforementioned prologue and it will be explained in the following question.**

Question 2: There are **some books that, although they are maintained by the Church, they nevertheless are not placed in the canon**, since the **Church does not associate the faith with them, nor does it order that they be regularly read or received**, and does not judge those who do not accept them as disobedient or faithless. This is on account of two things: first, that **the Church is not certain concerning their authors**, nay, rather, it does not know, whether [their writers], inspired by the Holy Spirit, composed them... But, since there are **doubts surrounding some books**, concerning their authors, whether they were moved by the Holy Spirit, their authority is taken away and **the Church does not place them in the canon of its books**. Secondly, since the Church is not certain about such books, whether heretics added or subtracted something beyond that which they hold from their own authors. But **such books the Church accepts, allowing individuals to read them**: For it also reads them in its offices on account of the many faithful things that are contained in them. **Yet it obligates nobody necessarily to believe what is contained there**; as is from the books of **Wisdom, ... Ecclesiasticus, ... Maccabees, ... Judith... and Tobias**. For, although those are received by Christians, and a demonstration taken from them might sometimes be useful, the Church maintains those books; yet **they are not useful against heretics or Jews for proving those things that might come into doubt**: Just **as Jerome says in his prologue on Judith**, namely, among the Hebrews the book of Judith is read as hagiography, whose authority is judged less suitable to strengthen those things that come into dispute. These things having been presupposed, it ought to be said that in the Old Testament certain books are placed in the canon and certain books are not. **Those that are not placed, such as Judith, Tobit, the two books of Maccabees, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus do not have any subsection or division within themselves**; those that are in the canon do. It should be known that books placed in the canon have three subsections, the first of **legal**, the second of **prophetical**, the third of **hagiographical** books. In the first subsection of legal books are placed only the five books of Moses, which are called Thorach among the Jews, that is, the law. Others call them humas, that is, the five, since there are five books. And to this name corresponds a certain Greek name among us, namely, Pentateuch which means the five books of the law. And they are **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy**. They are called the law because they contain only the law, or at least chiefly the law, since in them certain things of their history are inserted pertaining to those to whom the law was given. The second subsection of books is called prophetical or of the Prophets and contains eight books. The first is the book of **Joshua**; second **Judges** with which they place the book of **Ruth**; the third is the book of **Samuel**, which we call first and second Kings; fourth is Malachi, that is the **Book of Kings**, or according to other Malachoth, that is, Kingdoms. But, as Jerome says it is better called Malachi, that is Kings, than Malachoth, that is Kingdoms; fifth, **Isaiah**; sixth, **Jeremiah**; seventh, **Ezekiel**; eighth, the Book of the **Twelve Minor Prophets**, which among the Hebrews is a single volume. The Book of **Daniel** is not placed among the prophetal books but in the third subsection, hagiography. In this subsection are nine books.

First is the book of **Job**; second David, namely the **Psalter**, which among the Hebrews is divided by five sections, but nevertheless is gathered in a single volume; third, **Proverbs** which is the first of the three books of Solomon and among the Hebrews is called Misle, that is parables; fourth, **Ecclesiastes** of the same Solomon, which among the Hebrews is called choeler, among the Greeks Ecclesiastes, among the Latins the haranguer. Nevertheless, the Greek name remains in use by us since the Greeks imposed the names on these books before they came to the Latins. Therefore many of the names will always remain among us. Fifth is the **Song of Songs**, which in Hebrew is called sirhasim; sixth, **Daniel**; seventh,

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Chronicles, divided among us into two which among the Hebrews is called Dibreaiamim, that is words of days, among the Greeks **Paralipomenon**, and is genitive plural of the participle and means of those things omitted or left behind, since there it is treated of those completions omitted in the other books. Therefore **Jerome** calls it the chronicle of all divine scripture. Eighth is **Ezra** which is divided into two books and within it is contained the other book of **Nehemiah**. Ninth is the book of **Esther**, and thus is the third subsection, hagiography, completed. There are therefore three subsections of books of the Old Testament and in the first is contained five books; in the second, eight; in the third nine; and so there are **twenty-two books**. Some place eleven books in the third subsection, namely, they place the book of Ruth with the aforementioned ones, separating it from the other book of Judges; they also place the book threnorum, or the **Lamentations** of Jeremiah, there which is called Cinoth among the Hebrews who separate it from the book of the prophet Jeremiah, and so there are **twenty-four books in the canon of the Old Testament**. **Concerning all of these things Jerome writes in his prologue**. There remain many doubts surrounding these things, namely, why are there three subsections of books and not more or fewer and why are certain books called legal, others prophetical, and others hagiographical and why are they all not known by the same name and why are they placed in this subsection but not that and so on concerning many other doubts which will be omitted for the present. Concerning this **we will make clear very extensively in the exposition on Jerome's prologue, which is complete on this material and is placed at the beginning of first Kings**.

Question 3: This ought to be considered to understand that **books may be called Apocrypha in two ways**. One way, that it is **not established concerning their authors, whether they wrote with the Holy Spirit composing**, and it is not established concerning everything that is contained in them, whether it is all true. Yet there is not something in them that is demonstrably false or is very much suspected of falsehood. In another way they are **called Apocrypha, it is not established concerning their authors, whether they were inspired by God and moreover many things that are held [in these books] are either demonstrably false or are very much suspected of error**. Understanding in the first way that these books are Apocrypha, **Scripture does not place them in the canon of its books**, that faith ought of necessity be applied to them, yet it allows those wishing to do so to read what they read, since nothing unsuitable seems to result: also **the Church itself does not read them**. Understanding in the second way that these books are Apocrypha, not only does **the Church not place them in its canon**, it does not place them with its own books in any way, not does it favor those who read them; [although it does not altogether prohibit them. Yet it declares that those books are very much suspected of falsehood, that it might warn people when they read them and that they might see to what they should apply their trust.] **Certain books are Apocrypha in the first way, which are placed outside the canon of the Old Testament, yet they are counted among the books of Holy Scripture, namely, the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and Maccabees**, for concerning their authors, it is not established for the Church, whether they wrote them with the Holy Spirit composing; yet it did not find anything false in them or very much suspected of falsehood; but rather, **there is abundant holy and faithful doctrine in them**. For this reason the **Church reads them and counts them among its books**. **Thus Jerome says in his Prologue to Judith that the book of Judith which is of the Apocrypha...** (Alphonsi Tostati, Episcopi Abulensis, Commentariorum in Sanctum Iesu Christi Euangelium secundum Matthaeum, Praefatio, Quaest. 1, 2, 3. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en183>

Denis the Carthusian (1402 – 1471 AD)

In his prologue to the Books of Kings, **Jerome** says there are **twenty-two books of the Old Testament**. **The Hebrews** divide the Scripture of the Old Testament into three parts, that is into **law, prophets**, and

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

hagiography. The five books of Moses they call the law, the other eight books, that is **Joshua**, the Book of **Judges**, under which they include the Book of **Ruth**, and the **Books of Kings** which they divide into two volumes, also **Isaiah**, **Jeremiah**, **Ezekial**, and the book of **the twelve prophets** they call the prophetic books. To hagiography they say pertain the last nine books, that is the Book of **Job**, the **Psalter**, the **three books of Solomon**, **Chronicles**, **Ezra**, and **Esther**. Hagiography is so called from *hagios*, that is holy, and *graph*, writing, thus holy writing. They call these books canonical and the others apocryphal (Denys the Carthusian, Enneration In Genesis, Cap I, Articulus IV, De Multiplici Distinctione Atque Divisione Totius Divinae Scripturae. Translation by Benjamin Penciera, University of Notre Dame).

.....

Now **that book [Judith/Tobit] is not counted among the canonical scriptures**, nevertheless, **Mother Church has no doubts about its truth**: on account of this **she receives and establishes that it is to be read not for the confirmation** and proof of those things that come into contention, that is of those things that are to be believed, concerning which there is contentious debate between Catholics and nonbelievers, but rather for the instruction of morals. For this book is historical but also very much moral and doctrinal (Denys the Carthusian, Proemium, Judith and Tobit. Translation by Benjamin Penciera, University of Notre Dame).

.....

Now that book [Ecclesiasticus] is not to counted of the canon, that is among the canonical Scriptures, although there is no doubt as to its truth. And it fits very well with the Book of Proverbs of Solomon in its meaning and style. About this **Jerome writes** that he found this book among the Hebrews, not called Ecclesiasticus, as it is by us, but entitled Parabola. And as in the books of Solomon, so also here wisdom is received in various ways: sometimes as wisdom uncreated and unborn, sometimes as wisdom uncreated and born, sometimes as wisdom created, infused, or acquired, sometimes as some sort of virtue, as will become clear in due course (Denys the Carthusian, Prologus, Ecclesiasticus (Sirach). Translation by Benjamin Penciera, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en185>

Council of Florence (session 11, 4 Feb. 1442 AD)

Most firmly it [“the holy Roman church, founded on the words of our Lord and Saviour”] believes, professes and preaches that the one true God, Father, Son and holy Spirit, is the creator of all things that are, visible and invisible, who, when he willed it, made from his own goodness all creatures, both spiritual and corporeal, good indeed because they are made by the supreme good, but mutable because they are made from nothing, and it asserts that there is no nature of evil because every nature, in so far as it is a nature, is good. It professes that one and the same God is the author of the old and the new Testament — that is, the **law** and the **prophets**, and the **gospel** — since the saints of both testaments spoke under the inspiration of the same Spirit. It accepts and venerates their books, whose titles are as follows.

Five books of Moses, namely **Genesis**, **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers**, **Deuteronomy**; **Joshua**, **Judges**, **Ruth**, **four books of Kings**, two of **Paralipomenon**, **Esdras**, **Nehemiah**, **Tobit**, **Judith**, **Esther**, **Job**, **Psalms** of David, **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes**, **Song of Songs**, **Wisdom**, **Ecclesiasticus**, **Isaiah**, **Jeremiah**, **Baruch**, **Ezekiel**, **Daniel**; the **twelve minor prophets**, namely **Hosea**, **Joel**, **Amos**, **Obadiah**, **Jonah**, **Micah**, **Nahum**, **Habakkuk**, **Zephaniah**, **Haggai**, **Zechariah**, **Malachi**; **two books of the Maccabees**; the four gospels of **Matthew**, **Mark**, **Luke** and **John**; fourteen letters of Paul, to the **Romans**, two to the **Corinthians**, to the **Galatians**, to the **Ephesians**, to the **Philippians**, two to the **Thessalonians**, to the

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Colossians, two to **Timothy**, to **Titus**, to **Philemon**, to the **Hebrews**; **two letters of Peter**, **three of John**, one of **James**, one of **Jude**; **Acts** of the Apostles; **Apocalypse of John**.

<https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/ecumenical-council-of-florence-1438-1445-1461>

Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (c. 1455 – c. 1536 AD)

Behold how **Jerome** connects **Pastor** to the book of **Wisdom**, **Ecclesiasticus**, **Judith** and **Tobit** bestowing on it the same authority since **they contain the same power to build up devotion**, but he also calls all of these apocrypha, since **they are not from the canon and in the first and highest authority of the Church**. Yet they are not in the other sense of apocrypha to be **openly condemned, like the book of Enoch**, but in the first known understanding of apocrypha, **most praiseworthy after Holy Eloquence** (i.e. Scripture). (Jacob Faber Stapulensis, Praef in *Libri Trium Virorum et Virg. Spiritual*. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en190>

Johannes (Jean) Driedo (ca. 1480 – 1535)

Jerome can be contradictory to himself, as he teaches in his prologue that those books outside the canon are gathered amongst the Hagiography. Because if it is not pleasing that this book, which not even Erasmus emended, be erroneous. Let us say that among the Jews Hagiography is two-fold, just as we said above that apocrypha is twofold (i.e. may be understood in one of two ways). Certain things are Hagiography, that is writings of the saints, whose **authority is suitable for strengthening those things that are of the faith: Hagiographies of this sort are in the biblical canon**. But there are other Hagiographies (i.e. holy writings or writings of the saints) whose authority is **not suitable for strengthening the assertions of the faith**, although they are considered true and holy, just as the writings of Augustine and Jerome are considered, which are also called Hagiography (holy writings or writings of the saints). Hagiographies of this sort among the Hebrew are the stories of **Judith** and **Tobias** and **Ecclesiasticus** and **first Maccabees**, which books, although they keep and read them, yet they **do not count them among the canonical books, but among the Apocrypha**, not because they are false, but because their secret origin was not apparent to the entire Synagogue. But **third and fourth Ezra**, **second Maccabees**, the **Hymn of the three children**, and the **stories of Susanna** and **Bela and the Dragon** either they do not keep or even reject, and report that they were made up. But **the Christian Church, on account of the authority of certain ancient scriptures which are read to make use of evidence from stories of this kind, reads these same scriptures with pious faith**, and furthermore does not reject or despise them, even if **it does not receive these books with authority equal to the canonical scriptures**. (Jean Driedo, *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus*, Libri quator. fol. XXI?XXII. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3/#en188>

Cardinal Thomas Cajetan (1469 – 1534)

Here we close our commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament. For the rest (that is, **Judith**, **Tobit**, and the **books of Maccabees**) are counted by **St Jerome** out of the canonical books, and are placed amongst the Apocrypha, along with **Wisdom** and **Ecclesiasticus**, as is plain from the Prologus Galeatus. Nor be thou disturbed, like a raw scholar, if thou shouldest find anywhere, either in the sacred councils or the sacred doctors, these books reckoned as canonical. For **the words as well of councils as of doctors are to be reduced to the correction of Jerome**. Now, according to his judgment, in the epistle to the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus, these books (and any other like books in the canon of the bible) are not canonical, that is, not in the nature of a rule for confirming matters of faith. Yet, **they may be called canonical, that is, in the nature of a rule for the edification of the faithful**, as

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

being received and authorised in the canon of the bible for that purpose. By the help of this distinction thou mayest see thy way clearly through that which Augustine says, and what is written in the provincial council of Carthage.

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocrypha3/>

John Wild (Ferus, 1497 – 1554 AD)

What are the books of the Old Testament? **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings**, two books of **Chronicles, four books of Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job**, the **Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel**, the **Twelve Prophets**, two books of **Maccabees**. Some of these are sometimes called Apocrypha (that is, hidden) because **it was allowed to read them privately at home** each according to his own inclination. **In the Church they are not read publically**, nor is any of them rewarded with authority. The apocryphal books are: **third and fourth Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruk, and the two books of Maccabees**. All the others are called **canonical, since they are of irrefutable authority, even among the Jews**. And so all the books of the Old Testament number **thirty-seven**, that is **twenty-eight canonical** and **nine apocrypha**. (John Ferus, *The Examination of Those Who Were to Be Ordained for the Sacred Ministry of the Church*. Translation by Benjamin Panciera, The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame).

<https://christiantruth.com/articles/apocryphaendnotes3//#en189>

Council of Trent (1545 – 1563 AD)

Session 4, *Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures* (1546 AD)

SESSION THE FOURTH,

Celebrated on the eighth day of the month of April, 1546.

DECREE CONCERNING THE CANONICAL SCRIPTURES.

The sacred and holy, œcumenical and general Synod of Trent, **lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost**, the same three legates of the Apostolic See presiding therein,—keeping this always in view, that, errors being removed, the purity itself of the Gospel be preserved in the Church; which [Gospel], before promised through the prophets in the holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first promulgated with His own mouth, and then commanded to be preached by His apostles to every creature, as the fountain both of every saving truth, and discipline of morals; and perceiving that **this truth and discipline are contained in the written books, and the unwritten traditions which, received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even unto us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand**; [the synod] **following the examples of the orthodox fathers**, receives and venerates with equal affection of piety, and reverence, all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament,—seeing that **one God is the author of both, as also the said traditions**, as well those appertaining to faith as to morals, as having been dictated, either by Christ's own word of mouth, or by the Holy Ghost, and **preserved by a continuous succession in the Catholic Church**. And it has thought it meet that a catalogue of the sacred books be inserted in this decree, lest doubt arise in any one's mind as to which are the books that are received by this synod. They are as set down here below: of the Old Testament: the five books of Moses, to wit, **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**; **Josuah, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings**, two of **Paralipomena**, the **first book of Esdras**, and the second which is entitled **Nehemias**; **Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job**, the Davidical **Psalter**, [containing] a hundred and fifty psalms; the **Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**, the Canticle of **Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaia, Jeremias**, with **Baruch; Ezechiel,**

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Daniel; the twelve minor prophets, to wit, **Osea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias**; **two books of the Machabees**, the first and the second. Of the New Testament: the four Gospels, according to **Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John**; the **Acts** of the Apostles written by Luke the Evangelist; fourteen epistles of Paul the apostle, [one] to the **Romans**, two to the **Corinthians**, [one] to the **Galatians**, to the **Ephesians**, to the **Philippians**, to the **Colossians**, two to the **Thessalonians**, two to **Timothy**, [one] to **Titus**, to **Philemon**, to the **Hebrews**; **two of Peter** the apostle, **three of John** the apostle, one of the apostle **James**, one of **Jude** the apostle, and the **Apocalypse of John** the Apostle. **But if any one receive not, as sacred and canonical, these same books entire with all their parts, as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin vulgate edition; and knowingly and deliberately despise the traditions aforesaid; let him be anathema.** Let all, therefore, understand, in what order, and in what manner, this said synod, after having laid the foundation of the confession of faith, will proceed, and what testimonies and defences it will mainly use in confirming dogmas, and in restoring morals in the Church.

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Canons_and_Decrees_of_the_Council_of_Trent/Session_IV/Canonical_Scriptures

Session 4, Decree Concerning the Edition and the Use of the Sacred Books (1546 AD)

Moreover, the same sacred and holy synod, considering that no little utility may accrue to the Church of God, if, out of all the Latin editions, now in circulation of the sacred books, it be known which is to be held as authentic, ordains and declares, that the said **old and vulgate edition, which, by the long usage of so many ages, has been approved in the Church, be, in public lectures, disputations, preachings, and expositions, held as authentic; and that no one is to dare, or presume to reject it under any pretext soever.**

Furthermore, in order to restrain petulant spirits, It decrees, that **no one, relying on his own skill, shall, in matters of faith, and of morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine, wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, dare to interpret the said sacred Scripture contrary to that sense which holy mother Church, whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures, hath held and doth hold;** or even contrary to the **unanimous consent of the Fathers;** even though suchlike interpretations were never [intended] to be at any time published. They who shall contravene shall be made known by their ordinaries, and be punished with the penalties by law established.

And wishing also, as is just, to impose a restraint in this matter upon printers, who now, without restraint, that is, thinking that whatsoever they please is allowable, print, without the license of ecclesiastical superiors, the said books of sacred Scripture, and the annotations and expositions upon them of all persons indifferently, with the press, often unnamed, often even fictitious, and what is more grievous still, without the author's name; and also indiscriminately keep for sale books of this kind printed elsewhere; [this synod] ordains and decrees, that, henceforth, the sacred Scripture, and especially the aforesaid old and vulgate edition, be printed in the most correct manner possible; and that it shall not be lawful for any one to print, or cause to be printed, any books whatever, on sacred matters, without the name of the author; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them by them, unless they shall have been first examined, and approved of by the ordinary; under pain of the anathema and fine imposed in a canon of the last Council of Lateran. And, if they be regulars, besides this manner of examination and approval, they shall be bound to obtain a license also from their own superiors, the books having been examined according to the form of their own statutes. But as to those who lend, or circulate them in manuscript, without their having been first examined and approved, they shall be subjected to the same penalties as the printers. And they who shall have them in their

Considered canonical; considered apocrypha/non-canonical; claim to authority; number of books

possession, or shall read them, shall, unless they discover the authors, be themselves regarded as the authors. And this approbation of books of this kind shall be given in writing; and to this end it shall appear authentically at the beginning of the book, whether the book be written or printed; and all this, that is, both the approbation and the examination, shall be done gratis, so that things to be approved, may be approved, and things to be condemned, condemned.

After these matters, wishing to repress that temerity, by which the words and sentences of sacred Scripture are turned and twisted to all manner of profane uses, to wit, to things scurrilous, fabulous, vain, to flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious and diabolical incantations, divinations, casting of lots, nay, even hereafter defamatory libels; [the synod] commands and enjoins, for the doing away with this kind of irreverence and contempt, and that no one may hereafter dare in any manner to apply the words of sacred Scripture to these and such like purposes; that all men of this description, profaners and violators of the word of God, be restrained by the bishops by the penalties of law and of their own appointment.

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Canons_and_Decrees_of_the_Council_of_Trent/Session_IV/Sacred_Books

39 Articles of Religion (1553 AD)

VI. Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis, The First Book of Samuel, The Book of Esther, Exodus, The Second Book of Samuel, The Book of Job, Leviticus, The First Book of Kings, The Psalms, Numbers, The Second Book of Kings, The Proverbs, Deuteronomy, The First Book of Chronicles, Ecclesiastes or Preacher, Joshua, The Second Book of Chronicles, Cantica, or Songs of Solomon, Judges, The First Book of Esdras, Four Prophets the greater, Ruth, The Second Book of Esdras, Twelve Prophets the less.

And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The Third Book of Esdras, The rest of the Book of Esther, The Fourth Book of Esdras, The Book of Wisdom, The Book of Tobias, Jesus the Son of Sirach, The Book of Judith, Baruch the Prophet, The Song of the Three Children, The Prayer of Manasses, The Story of Susanna, The First Book of Maccabees, Of Bel and the Dragon, The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

http://anglicanonline.org/basics/thirty-nine_articles.html

6. Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, The **First Book of Samuel**, The **Second Book of Samuel**, The **First Book of Kings**, The **Second Book of Kings**, The **First Book of Chronicles**, The **Second Book of Chronicles**, The First Book of **Esdras**, The **Second Book of Esdras**, The Book of **Esther**, The Book of **Job**, The **Psalms**, The **Proverbs**, **Ecclesiastes** or Preacher, Cantica, or **Songs of Solomon**, **Four Prophets the greater**, **Twelve Prophets the less**.

And the other Books (as **Hierome saith**) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The **Third Book of Esdras**, The **Fourth Book of Esdras**, The Book of **Tobias**, The Book of **Judith**, The **rest of the Book of Esther**, The Book of **Wisdom**, Jesus the Son of **Sirach**, **Baruch** the Prophet, The **Song of the Three Children**, The Story of **Susanna**, Of **Bel and the Dragon**, The Prayer of **Manasses**, The First Book of **Maccabees**, The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for Canonical.

Geneva Bible (1560)

See table of contents <http://g.christianbook.com/g/pdf/hp/9781598562132-toc.pdf>

Or the whole Bible where the books of the Apocrypha have the header "Apocrypha" on the header of the page: https://archive.org/details/ENGGNV_DB5_HS/English-%281560%29-Geneva-Bible/mode/2up

Belgic Confession of Faith (1561)

Article 4, Canonical Books of Holy Scripture

We believe that the Holy Scriptures are contained in two books, namely, the Old and New Testament, which are canonical, against which nothing can be alleged. These are thus named in the Church of God. The books of the Old Testament are, the five books of Moses, namely: **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy**; the books of **Joshua, Ruth, Judges**, the **two books of Samuel**, the **two of the Kings, two books of the Chronicles**, commonly called Paralipomenon, the first of Ezra, **Nehemiah, Esther, Job**, the **Psalms** of David, the three books of Solomon, namely, the **Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**, and the **Song of Songs**; the four great prophets **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel** and **Daniel**; and the twelve lesser prophets, namely, **Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah**, and **Malachi**.

Those of the New Testament are the four evangelists, namely: **Matthew, Mark, Luke**, and **John**; the **Acts** of the Apostles; the fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, namely: one to the **Romans**, two to the **Corinthians**, one to the **Galatians**, one to the **Ephesians**, one to the **Philippians**, one to the **Colossians**,

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

two to the **Thessalonians**, two to **Timothy**, one to **Titus**, one to **Philemon**, and one to the Hebrews; the seven epistles of the other apostles, namely, one of James, two of Peter, **three of John**, one of **Jude**; and the **Revelation of the apostle John**.

https://www.prca.org/bc_text1.html#a4

Article 6, The difference between the canonical and apocryphal books.

We distinguish those sacred books from the apocryphal, namely: the **third book of Esdras**, the books of **Tobias**, **Judith**, **Wisdom**, Jesus **Syrach**, **Baruch**, the **appendix to the book of Esther**, the **Song of the three Children** in the Furnace, the history of **Susannah**, of **Bell and the Dragon**, the **prayer of Manasses**, and the **two books of the Maccabees**. All of which **the Church may read and take instruction from, so far as they agree with the canonical books**; but they are far from having such power and efficacy, as that we may from their testimony confirm any point of faith, or of the Christian religion; much less detract from the authority of the other sacred books.

https://www.prca.org/bc_text1.html#a6

The French Confession (1559)

Article 3

III. These Holy Scriptures are comprised in the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, as follows: the five books of Moses, namely: **Genesis**, **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers**, **Deuteronomy**; then **Joshua**, **Judges**, **Ruth**, the **first and second books of Samuel**, the **first and second books of the Kings**, the **first and second books of the Chronicles**, otherwise called Paralipomenon, the first book of **Ezra**; then **Nehemiah**, the book of **Esther**, **Job**, the **Psalms** of David, the **Proverbs** or Maxims of Solomon; the book of **Ecclesiastes**, called the Preacher, the **Song of Solomon**; then the book of **Isaiah**, **Jeremiah**, **Lamentations** of Jeremiah, **Ezekiel**, **Daniel**, **Hosea**, **Joel**, **Amos**, **Obadiah**, **Jonah**, **Micah**, **Nahum**, **Habakkuk**, **Zephaniah**, **Haggai**, **Zechariah**, **Malachi**; then the Holy Gospel according to St. **Mathew**, according to St. **Mark**, according to St. **Luke**, according to St. **John**; then the second book of St. Luke, otherwise called the **Acts** of the Apostles; then the Epistles of St. Paul: one to the **Romans**, two to the **Corinthians**, one to the **Galatians**, one to the **Ephesians**, one to the **Philippians**, one to the **Colossians**, two to the **Thessalonians**, two to **Timothy**, one to **Titus**, one to **Philemon**; then the Epistle to the **Hebrews**, the Epistle of St. **James**, the **first and second Epistles of St. Peter**, the **first, second, and third Epistles of St. John**, the Epistle of St. **Jude**; and then the **Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John**.

<https://www.creeds.net/reformed/frconf.htm>

Article 4

We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from **other ecclesiastical books upon which, however useful, we can not found any articles of faith**.

<https://www.creeds.net/reformed/frconf.htm>

Westminster Confession of Faith (1646)

Chapter 1: Of the Holy Scripture

2. Under the name of holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testament, which are these:

Of the Old Testament **Genesis Exodus Leviticus Numbers Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Ruth I Samuel II Samuel I Kings II Kings I Chronicles II Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah Esther Job Psalms Proverbs**

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

Ecclesiastes The **Song of Songs** **Isaiah** **Jeremiah** **Lamentations** **Ezekiel** **Daniel** **Hosea** **Joel** **Amos** **Obadiah** **Jonah** **Micah** **Nahum** **Habakkuk** **Zephaniah** **Haggai** **Zechariah** **Malachi**

Of the New Testament The Gospels according to **Matthew** **Mark** **Luke** **John** The **Acts** of the Apostles Paul's Epistles to the **Romans** **Corinthians I** **Corinthians II** **Galatians** **Ephesians** **Philippians** **Colossians** **Thessalonians I** **Thessalonians II** to **Timothy I** to **Timothy II** to **Titus** to **Philemon** The Epistle to the **Hebrews** The Epistle of **James** The **First and Second Epistles of Peter** The **First, Second, and Third Epistles of John** The Epistle of **Jude** The **Revelation**

All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life.

3. The books commonly called **Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture**; and therefore are of no authority in the church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.

<https://www.ligonier.org/learn/articles/westminster-confession-faith>

Savoy Declaration of Faith (1658)

Chapter 1: Of The Holy Scriptures

2. Under the name of holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the Books of the Old and New Testament; which are these: *Of the Old Testament* **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**, The **Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations. Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. *Of the New Testament* **Matthew, Mark, Luke, John**, The **Acts** of the Apostles, Paul's Epistle to the **Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 To Timothy, 2 To Timothy**, To **Titus**, To **Philemon**, The Epistle to the **Hebrews**, The Epistle of **James**, The **first and second Epistles of Peter**, The **first, second and third Epistles of John**, the Epistle of **Jude**, The **Revelation**.**

3. All which are given by the inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life.

4. The Books commonly called **Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of the Scripture**; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of, than other human writings.

https://www.the-highway.com/savoy_declaration.html#1

The Second London Baptist Confession of Faith (1677/1689)

Chapter 1: Of The Holy Scriptures

2. Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testaments, which are these:

Of the Old Testament: **Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, II Kings, I Chronicles, II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**, The **Song** of Solomen, **Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.**

Of the New Testament: **Matthew, Mark, Luke, John**, The **Acts** of the Apostles, Paul's Epistle to the **Romans, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I Thessalonians, II Thessalonians, I Timothy, II Timothy**, To **Titus**, To **Philemon**, The Epistle to the **Hebrews**, Epistle of

Considered canonical; **considered apocrypha/non-canonical**; **claim to authority**; **number of books**

James, The **first and second Epistles of Peter**, The **first, second, and third Epistles of John**, The Epistle of **Jude**, The **Revelation**.

All of which are given by the inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life.

3. The books commonly called **Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon or rule of the Scripture**, and, therefore, are of no authority to the church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/anonymous/bcf/bcf.ii.ii.html>