

**The Jewish-Christian Dialogue in Twelfth-Century Western
Europe: the Hebrew and Latin Sources of Herbert of Bosham's
*Commentary on the Psalms***

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Abstract

In this thesis I examine the content of and the sources underlying an unedited Latin commentary on the Psalms, composed c.1190 in Northern France by the Anglo-Norman Hebraist Herbert of Bosham (c.1120-94). In this commentary Herbert takes Jerome's translation of the Psalms from the Masoretic Bible (the *Hebraica*) as ground text for his exegesis, revising this version and expounding it according to the literal sense of scripture.

My first chapter presents an overview of Herbert's life, works and intellectual background, and sets out his influence from three interconnected traditions: that of Christian Hebraism founded by Jerome, that of textual criticism of the Bible and that of literal exegesis developed by Rashi and by the Parisian School of Saint Victor.

In the second chapter I analyse the extent of Herbert's proficiency in Hebrew grammar and lexicology, and his use of learning tools. I demonstrate that his linguistic skills surpass those of any other known Christian Hebraist, and that he relies on at least one Hebrew-Latin Psalter, on Rashi's *la'azim* and on one or more Hebrew-French glossaries.

In the third chapter I establish that Herbert frequently cites Rashi verbally and that he accesses a wide range of rabbinic literature, partly covered by the term *Gamaliel*, with the help of a contemporary teacher, referred to as *litterator meus*.

In the fourth chapter I investigate Herbert's debt to Jerome's methodology and text-critical skills and his reliance on Paul for theological criteria for the incorporation of readings from the Hebrew text.

My final section, building upon the results of the previous chapters, discusses Herbert's evaluation of Jewish sources and of Jews in general. It also explores how he defines and applies the difference between *littera* and *spiritus* in his commentary. I have found in this chapter that his definition of the literal sense of scripture is strongly influenced by Hugh of Saint Victor and by Rashi's exposition of the *peshat*, and includes to some extent figures of speech and prophecy. I also suggest that his relationship to Paul as religious authority is inherently linked with his use of Jewish sources in general and of *Gamaliel* in particular.

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List of Abbreviations

BT	Babylonian Talmud
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. by Jean-Paul Migne
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. by Jean-Paul Migne

Note on the Use of Dictionaries and Translations

I have used Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources, with Supplement*, Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, and Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, for Latin translations. For Hebrew I have used *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew-English Lexicon* (see bibliography for full details).

I have based my translations of the Masorah and the Latin versions, including Herbert of Bosham's revisions, on the New International Version, the New King James Version and on Douay-Rheims; I have adapted these when necessary.

The bracketed numbers directly following my transcriptions refer to the manuscript folio concerned.

Chapter One: Introduction

When in the 1930s and 40s Neil Ker was carrying out research on the medieval libraries of Britain, he discovered in the St Paul's Cathedral Library a commentary on the Psalms that until then had remained largely unnoticed and wholly unstudied. A nineteenth-century inventory of the Library describes it as a fourteenth-century work. A new examination, however, has shown its actual date as some two hundred years earlier.¹ The author of this commentary on the Psalter turned out to be a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman clergyman called Herbert of Bosham. Until the rediscovery of the manuscript, Herbert was chiefly known as a supporter and biographer of Archbishop Thomas Becket and as the editor of an arrangement of Peter Lombard's *Magna Glosatura* on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles. Since no modern scholar had ever attributed to him an independent exegetical work, this commentary on the Psalms is, as Beryl Smalley puts it, 'the kind of find that a medievalist dreams of and seldom gets'.²

The content of the work appears to be highly unusual and this for several reasons: in the first place Herbert decided to comment not on the so-called *Gallicana*, the Psalter version which was translated from the Septuagint and which was normally used as ground text for exegesis, but on the *Hebraica*, Jerome's translation from the Masoretic text. Second, instead of interpreting the Psalms according to the allegorical sense, Herbert chose to concentrate on the literal sense and was also, as far as we know, the first Latin Christian to do so.³ Third, the commentary suggests that Herbert had a good understanding of Hebrew, knew some Greek and possibly some Aramaic, and might have

¹ N.R. Ker and A.J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), I, 241; W. Sparrow Simpson, *A Catalogue of Bills, Rituals and Rare Books, Works Relating to London, and Especially to St Paul's Cathedral* (London: Stock, 1893), p. 68.

² Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), p. 186.

³ The Psalter had been expounded literally before by the fourth-century Greek scholar Theodore of Mopsuestia, see *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I-LXXX)*, ed. by Robert Devreesse (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939); *Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositionis in Psalmos Iuliano Aeculanensi interprete in latinum versae quae supersunt*, ed. by Lucas de Coninck and Maria Josepha d'Hondt (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977); there seems to be no influence from him upon Herbert's *Psalterium*.

consulted rabbinical sources in their original language, which would be an outstanding achievement for a twelfth-century Christian exegete.⁴

This work, of which only the preface, the prologue and a few selected passages have appeared in publication, forms the central element of the present study.⁵ In order to be able to place it in its historical, cultural and theological context, it is necessary to first examine its author's life and other works and to give an overview of previously conducted research on this remarkable figure.

1. Herbert of Bosham's Life and Works

a. Early Life

Herbert's name turns up frequently in the vast amount of correspondence, biographies and hagiographical literature surrounding the figure of Thomas Becket. He also fervently contributed to this source material: as Becket's secretary he wrote numerous letters on behalf of his patron and is responsible for a lengthy biography and a panegyric on him.⁶ Unfortunately, those periods of his life which fall outside the time he spent in Becket's service are substantially less well documented.

Herbert is called 'de Boseham' after his birthplace Bosham, an estuary port near Chichester in what is now East Sussex. His date of birth is uncertain but can be deduced from two sources: the first one is a letter written by a friend in 1173-76 in which Herbert

⁴ Raphael Loewe, 'Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter', *Biblica*, 34 (1953), 44-77; 159-92; and 275-98 (p. 44); Beryl Smalley, 'A Commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), 29-65 (p. 35).

⁵ Jeremy Cohen, 'Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom', in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to the Reformation*, ed. by Jeremy Cohen (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 310-41 (pp. 320-21); Deborah Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham and the Horizons of Twelfth-Century Exegesis', forthcoming in *Traditio*, Autumn 2003; Loewe, 'Commentary', pp. 44-77, 159-92, and 275-98; Smalley, 'Commentary', pp. 29-65; and Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 188-95.

⁶ *Herberti de Boseham, S. Thomae Cantuariensis clerici a secretis, opera quae extant omnia*, ed. by I.A. Giles, 2 vols (Oxford: Parker, 1845-46); Herbert of Bosham, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. 3: Vita Sancti Thomae and Liber Melorum*, ed. by J.C. Robertson, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 67 (London: Longman, 1877); and Herbert of Bosham, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, vol. 7: Epistulae*, ed. by J.B. Sheppard, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 67 (London: Longman, 1885).

is described as *senex*.⁷ This indicates that he would be approximately fifty or older at that time. The second source comes from Herbert himself: in a letter to his patron and friend Archbishop William of Sens he mentions that he has known William since the latter was a little boy.⁸ William became bishop of Chartres in 1165 at the age of thirty and as Herbert does not add that they were both children together, he was probably William's senior by some years.⁹ We can therefore assume that he was born around 1115-25.¹⁰ Herbert's father seems to have been a priest, although it is unclear whether he took orders before or after Herbert's birth.¹¹ Anglo-Saxon England had a tradition of married clergy and dignities, and prebends often passed from father to son. In spite of attempts by Norman clerics to eradicate this practice after the Conquest, the tradition continued to exist throughout the twelfth century for higher clergy, probably longer for parish priests. Whereas in the wake of Gregorian reform non-celibate clergy were increasingly frowned upon, it remained not uncommon for married men and women to take vows of chastity in later life. New monastic movements such as the Cistercians, for example, recruited almost entirely from adult ranks.¹²

Nothing more is known about Herbert's family background and we can only speculate about his early education. Nicholas Orme describes the school system in Anglo-Norman England at the time as largely informal and opportunities for instruction outside monasteries as rare. The nearest cathedral school in existence at the time was at Winchester, twenty-five miles away. Herbert might therefore have received his early

⁷ Hans H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 247.

⁸ Sheppard, *Materials*, VII, 267.

⁹ About William of Sens, see John R. Williams, 'William of the White Hands and Men of Letters', in *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History Presented to C.H. Haskins*, ed. by C.H. Taylor (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), pp. 365-87.

¹⁰ Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 59.

¹¹ William FitzStephen, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. 3: *Vita Sancti Thomae*, ed. by J.C. Robertson, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 67 (London: Longman, 1877), pp. 98-101; see below.

¹² C.N.L. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12 (1956), 1-21; Jean Leclercq, *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France: Psycho-Historical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 9-10.

education at home, at a parish school or, as Deborah Goodwin suggests, at a noble household in the area.¹³

To what sort of career could men from Herbert's social background aspire? Perhaps the most obvious route for Herbert, if he was indeed the son a priest, would be to succeed his father. However, as the practice of passing on benefices from father to son was increasingly seen as unorthodox in the course of the twelfth century, inheriting his father's position might no longer have been an option for him. Another possibility would be to enter a monastic order.¹⁴ Others in a similar situation embraced this career but Herbert was not one of them. Although he spent a large part of his life in or near monasteries, the thought of taking on the 'monastic burden' clearly did not appeal to him. When Peter of Arras, who was probably his last patron, gave him the choice between joining the Cistercian community at Ourscamp or merely residing at the abbey and making himself useful as teacher or writer, he chose to write.¹⁵ With hindsight this proved to be a choice with significant consequences: the work on which he embarked at Ourscamp was the *Psalterium cum commento*, his commentary on the Psalms.

Instead of a life as a priest or monk, Herbert decided to follow a third career path open to and popular with men of his rank, namely that of scholar and secular clergyman, which led him through the schools of Paris. In the prologue to his Commentary Herbert boasts that he studied Greek and Hebrew 'from the earliest years of his youth', a claim which might be part literary topos and is, for want of records to support it, difficult to ascertain.¹⁶ It is doubtful whether he would have found a Greek teacher in his area and, since none of his works betrays more than the ability to copy out isolated Greek words from patristic sources, it is questionable whether he ever knew Greek at all. As I will show below, we have far more evidence to prove Herbert's proclaimed knowledge of

¹³ Deborah Goodwin, 'A Study of Herbert of Bosham's Psalm Commentary (c.1190)', (unpublished PhD thesis, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001), p. 13; and Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Hambledon, 1989), pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 18-19.

¹⁵ London, St Paul's Cathedral Library, MS 2C 6SE, fol.1r: 'Anno preterito a fluctibus curie ad preclarum et omni sanctitate perspicuum Urisicampi monasterium [...] me transtuli, ubi mox michi a sanctitate uestra tria proposita sunt et uelud trium data optio: ut aut monacharer aut docerem aut scriberem [...] Exinde meditatus sum cum corde meo, cernens me ad omnia imparem. Aduerti quippe monachorum onus et michi uires dificere, magistrorum periculum et tutius michi audire, scribendi laborem et aliena michi facilius lectitare'; Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 31.

¹⁶ 'a primis adolescentie annis', St Paul's Cathedral MS 2C 6SE, fol. 1r; Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 32.

Hebrew. Moreover, he was more likely to find a Hebrew tutor in his region than a Greek one since by 1125 Jewish communities had settled down in larger English towns and in the vicinity of castles of royal vassals. In the course of the twelfth century there were Jews living in Winchester, Chichester and even in Bosham.¹⁷ However, it does seem more probable that Herbert received his first systematic Hebrew (and perhaps Greek) tuition during his time at Paris.

By the mid twelfth century, Paris, with its c.30,000 inhabitants of whom about one tenth were students, had secured its place as not only the largest city in Northern Europe, but also as its major educational centre. Scholars from as far as Scotland, Denmark, the east of the German Empire and Spain flocked to its gates and became part of an academic community with a markedly international character. Students usually did not attach themselves to any particular school but rather followed those masters whose teaching they liked, which made the success of a school depend more on the individual appeal of its masters than on its reputation as an institution. From a social perspective the scholars at twelfth-century schools formed a fascinating group: most of them were members of the clergy but not all received financial support from benefices, which caused a large proportion to live in poverty and to build up debt.¹⁸ Some, like Herbert, were sons of priests. Among the many different regions making up the student numbers, the British Isles were particularly well represented. English or Anglo-Norman scholars at the time included, among others, Andrew and Richard of Saint Victor, Ralph Niger and John of Salisbury.¹⁹

¹⁷ Martin Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of Jewish History: From 2000BC to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 41. For the history of medieval Jewry in twelfth-century England, see Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995); Anna Sapir Abulafia, 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance Theology and the Jews', in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. by Jeremy Cohen, *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien*, 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), pp. 125-39; Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews, vols 3-8: High Middle Ages 500-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957-58), IV (1957)-VIII (1958); Henry G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (London: Methuen, 1960); and Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941).

¹⁸ R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, vol. 1: Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 168.

¹⁹ For further discussion about the cultural and intellectual status of Anglo-Norman scholars compared with their French contemporaries see Rodney M. Thomson, 'England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance' in *England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by Rodney Thomson (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998), pp. 3-21; for a general overview on the Schools at Paris see R.W. Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the

The freedom and mobility between schools, enjoyed by a group of bright and ambitious men from such diverse parts of the world, created an environment that was at the same time highly intellectually stimulating but also prone to rivalry and conflict.²⁰ Conflict furthered scholarship and vice versa. During the twelfth century new disciplines and methods of teaching developed. Greek philosophy in Latin translation, Aristotle in particular, had found its way to the intellectual elite of Western Europe; within the *trivium* the art of dialectic grew in importance and students applied and displayed their learning through *disputatio*, regulated academic debate. Stephen Ferruolo sees Peter Abelard as a prime example of this budding new spirit at the schools in the first half of the twelfth century:

[...] men like Abelard brought an enthusiasm and aggressiveness to the schools that, no less than the recovery of Aristotle's logical writings, stimulated the emergence of disputation as the new method of instruction.²¹

John of Salisbury, a contemporary of Herbert and later a fellow supporter of Becket, arrived in Paris when he was only 15.²² If Herbert embarked on his higher studies at roughly the same age, this might give some weight to his claim of having learnt Hebrew 'a primis adolescentie annis'. In a letter written in the late 1160s John also professes to an interest cultivated *ab ineunte aetate*, 'from an early age onwards': not Hebrew, as in Herbert's case, but *amicitia*, friendship.²³ We could say that these interests in the learning of Hebrew on the one hand and in the cultivation of friendship on the other proved to be defining aspects not only of each man's respective character but also of the mindset of the period in which they lived.

Nowhere in his writings does Herbert give details on his curriculum of study at Paris and there is only one teacher he deems worthy of praise, or indeed whom he

Schools of Chartres', in *Renaissance and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 113-37.

²⁰ Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: the Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 280, paraphrasing *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. by John Frederick Hinnebusch, Spicilegium Friburgense Series, 17 (Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1972), p. 92.

²¹ Ferruolo, *Origins*, p. 18.

²² *The Letters of John of Salisbury, vol. 2: The Later Letters (1163-1180)*, ed. by W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 512.

mentions by name at all: Peter Lombard.²⁴ Peter taught at the school of Notre Dame from 1142 or before to 1159 when he became bishop of Paris. As one of the predominant scholastic theologians at Paris he concentrated on teaching on the Psalms and the writings of Paul. His earlier works include an expansion on the existing patristic commentary on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, the *Magna Glosatura* or Great Gloss. It is this elaboration on the Gloss which Herbert later arranged into a magnificent four-volume edition. Next to Peter Lombard's teaching at Notre Dame there is another source which could have fuelled Herbert's interest in biblical studies, the school of Saint Victor.²⁵

Founded by Abelard's old master William of Champeaux in 1108, Saint Victor had grown within decades into a centre of biblical scholarship and spiritual learning. It also possessed an excellent library. Under Hugh in particular, who was probably its most outstanding master, it had gained an international reputation, advocating an encyclopaedic programme of study which in particular wanted to bridge the gap between *scientia* and *sapientia*, between scientific learning and wisdom. Peter Lombard might have lived at St Victor for some years at the beginning of his career at Paris. He studied with Hugh in the late 1130s and even though the latter died in 1141, it is still possible that Herbert had the chance to attend some lessons there with him or with another canon regular, Andrew. Andrew and Herbert shared the same country of origin; they also shared an interest in Hebrew. Andrew resided in Paris from the early 1140's to 1147 and from 1154-55 to 1161. Even if Herbert never followed lessons there, it remains likely, given the smallness of the academic world at that time in Paris, that he and Herbert became acquainted.²⁶ Smalley notices strong reminiscence of Andrew's prologue to his commentaries on the Prophets in Herbert's preface to his commentary on the Psalms but,

²³ John Mc Loughlin, 'Amicitia in Practice: John of Salisbury (c.1120-1180) and his Circle', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1990), pp. 165-80 (p. 165).

²⁴ In the prologue to his edition of the Lombard's *Magna Glosatura* Herbert calls him 'meus in hac doctrina institutor precipuus', Cambridge Trinity College MS B.5.4, fol. 1v, see also Glunz, *Vulgate*, p. 343; for the dates of Peter Lombard's teaching period in Paris see Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994), I, 17-23.

²⁵ Colish, *Lombard*, I, 18

²⁶ *Andrew of St Victor: Commentary on Samuel and Kings. Edited with a Study of the Method and Sources*, ed. by Frans van Liere, PhD thesis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. x-xi; Frans van Liere, 'Andrew of Saint Victor (d. 1175): Scholar between Cloister and School', in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. by Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. McDonald, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 187-95, (pp. 187-91); Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 187-89.

as Goodwin has shown, Herbert seems to paraphrase Andrew from memory rather than quoting him literally.²⁷ The methodology and sometimes wording of his commentary bear influence from Hugh of St Victor as well as from Andrew, an aspect which I will examine into greater detail below.

Since the Jewish community of Paris at the time was situated close to the students' quarters, Herbert would have had ample opportunity to consult Jewish scholars if he wanted to.²⁸ As Gilbert Dahan's research has shown, lively and largely amiable exchanges of ideas between Christians and Jews occurred on a regular basis during most of the central Middle Ages.²⁹ Apart from Peter Lombard and Andrew of Saint Victor, the academic world at Paris during Herbert's period of study there included figures such as John of Salisbury and his teacher Robert of Melun, Robert Pullen and possibly Peter Comestor, a fellow pupil of Peter Lombard.³⁰

The first time Herbert's name occurs is in a royal letter dated mid-July 1157 in which he bears the title of 'Master'.³¹ As Philippe Delhaye and, more recently, Julia Barrow, have pointed out, the term *magister* in mid-twelfth-century France could be attributed to men from a variety of educational backgrounds, ranging from schoolmasters to scholars who had completed some years of higher training in law or theology, to academics in possession of the *licentia docendi*, the licence to teach.³² From the mid-1130s onwards the title becomes common to denote men belonging to Episcopal households to show 'that they had the weight of the schools behind them'.³³ However, in Herbert's case the term probably covered the permission to teach theology: as we shall later see, he considered starting a school at Paris in the 1180s.

The document in which Herbert's name appears concerned a matter of royal diplomacy: a dispute surrounding a relic of the arm of St James the apostle. The relic had

²⁷ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 16-17.

²⁸ Robert Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 30-32.

²⁹ Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 227-33.

³⁰ Ferruolo, *Origins*, p. 16; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 21, n. 35; David Knowles, *Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 28-30.

³¹ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 60.

³² Julia Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany 1100-1225', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117-37 (p. 118); Philippe Delhaye, 'L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', *Traditio*, 5 (1947), 211-68; Ferruolo, *Origins*, p. 297.

³³ Southern, 'Schools', p. 135.

been kept in Germany until in 1126 Empress Matilda, widow of the German Emperor Henry V and daughter of Henry I Plantagenet, had brought it to England. Frederick Barbarossa, Henry V's successor and an ally of England, now asked Henry II to return the relic, a request which Henry was unwilling to grant as the relic had in the meantime been given to Reading Abbey and had become an attraction for pilgrims. The king therefore had a refusal composed, which was witnessed by Thomas Becket, at that time royal chancellor. Two officials, one of whom was Herbert, were sent to Germany to deliver this letter and to defend the cause against Frederick Barbarossa. Herbert and his colleague accomplished their mission and the relic stayed in Reading.³⁴

b. Under Becket's Patronage

It is unclear how long Herbert had been in the king's service before his mission to Germany, nor do we know exactly what function he held. His studies at Paris must have refined his Latin skills, in speaking as well as in writing, and had prepared him for theological debate, teaching and preaching. Most likely he had by then also acquired some notion of Hebrew. William FitzStephen, another one of Becket's clerks and biographers, mentions him among the witnesses to the appointment of Chancellor Thomas Becket as archbishop of Canterbury in 1155, which suggest he already must have been a member of the Royal Chancery in that year.³⁵ If Herbert had already proven himself as clerk in the chancery at that time, it seems natural Becket should want to offer him a position in his *familia*, his Episcopal household. FitzStephen, and the monk Gervase of Canterbury agree that he served Becket as *in divina pagina magister*, 'master of the sacred page', and in his own *Life* of Becket Herbert alludes frequently to their joint study of the Scriptures.³⁶ A number of letters written by Herbert on behalf of the Archbishop confirm that he also acted as Becket's secretary.³⁷ Beryl Smalley points out that the two gaps of Herbert's education were Latin classics and civil law: he was first of all a theologian and a publicist. This was probably the reason why Becket employed him,

³⁴ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 58-60.

³⁵ Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p. 78.

³⁶ Mary Cheney, 'William FitzStephen and his Life of Archbishop Becket', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C.R. Cheney on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by C.N.L. Brooke and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 139-56, (p. 141); FitzStephen, *Materials*, III, 58: 'Interim in silentio clam ait archiepiscopo suus in divina pagina magister Herbertus [...]'; and pp. 203-204.

as John of Salisbury, who was also in Becket's service, was a classicist and Becket had lawyers in his own family.³⁸

Herbert's influence on Becket seems to have been profound and gradually increasing, to the great concern of some of the archbishop's other clerks.³⁹ Both men came to share the same ideology about the rights and sovereignty to which the clergy in their eyes should be entitled, and seem to have grown more reckless in airing their views to the king. Although the relations between Becket and Henry II during the 1150s were close, amiable and relatively unproblematic, within a year of Becket's appointment to archbishop their friendship had turned sour. At the heart of the rift between the two lay a power struggle between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in general, and a disagreement about the rights of the clergy to be tried in ecclesiastical courts in particular. The mounting tension reached a climax in 1164 at a convention at Clarendon during which the king forced the bishops to accept a constitution curtailing the power of ecclesiastical courts. When Becket repudiated the constitution, he was charged with contempt for the king and tried at Northampton. Becket did not await the outcome but fled to France, sending Herbert ahead to prepare for his arrival.⁴⁰

The two men stayed together for most of the period of exile, first at the Cistercian abbeys of Clairmarais and St Bertin, then, after a brief visit to St Victor, at Pontigny.⁴¹ Pontigny's medieval catalogue dating between 1165 and 1175 reveals that around fifty years after its foundation the abbey could boast a library of some 150 books. Herbert also mentions an active scriptorium, although Monique Peyrafort-Huin has argued that that scriptorium would have been only about ten years old by the time Herbert saw it, and not very large.⁴² The library seems to have particularly increased in size from the 1140s onwards under the rule of Guichard, who was still abbot there during Becket's stay. It

³⁷ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1422-1428; 1434-1437.

³⁸ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 62.

³⁹ Millor and Brooke, *John of Salisbury*, II, 191, (letter 179); Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 30.

⁴⁰ Barlow, *Becket*, pp. 117-118; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 31-33.

⁴¹ Barlow, *Becket*, pp. 119-20; for a full account of their whereabouts during the years 1164-70, see pp. 117-97.

⁴² Monique Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny (XIIe-XIX siècles): histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits* (Paris: Centre Nationale de la recherche scientifique, 2001), p. 17; see also Herbert in his prologue to the arrangement on Lombard's *Magna Glosatura*, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B-5.4, fol. 1b: 'et proscriptum in loco pascuae Poniniaci, scilicet ubi locuples scripturarum armarium'; Glunz, *Vulgate*, p. 343.

would have been the ideal place for Herbert to further pursue his theological interests. Becket, who had briefly studied canon law at Paris seemed to have taken this study up again in order to build up his defence against Henry II. A letter from John of Salisbury to the archbishop reproaches him for this proud and worldly occupation and advises Becket to tend to the improvement of his soul instead by meditating on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles.⁴³ Herbert later describes in his *Vita* on Becket how during his exile the archbishop, with the unrelenting aid of his protégé, underwent a complete spiritual transformation. Life in the cloister and repeated meditation on Scripture gradually turned him from a man who loved power, luxury and outward splendour into a *vir apostolicus*, who was, more than any of his companions, devoted to the study of the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles.⁴⁴ One reason for drawing attention to their joint reading of these books might be Herbert's desire to promote his own exegetical works through his hagiographic ones.

Although literary topoi and hagiographical propaganda are never far away in Herbert's accounts of his beloved patron, the two men probably did study the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles together. It was in all likelihood at Pontigny that Herbert started the preliminary work on what would later become his arrangement of Lombard's *Magna Glosatura*. The abbey would have been able to provide all necessary material as at the time of Herbert's stay it possessed several glossed Psalters, patristic commentaries on the Psalms and arrangements of the Gloss on Psalms and on the Epistles of Paul.⁴⁵ The inventory mentions also a number of aids for the study of Hebrew: it held Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* and *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis* Pseudo-Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libris Regum* and *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Paralipomenon*.⁴⁶

Herbert did not spend all his time and energy attending to Becket's spiritual welfare, however. From his letters we can determine that he went on errands on behalf of

⁴³ Millor and Brooke, *John of Salisbury*, II, 31-37, letter 144.

⁴⁴ Robertson, *Materials*, III, 379; for a more extensive discussion see Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 36-37.

⁴⁵ Works included Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Jerome's *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, Origen's *Homiliae in Psalmos* in Rufinus' translation, Cassiodorus' *Explanatio in Psalmos*, the Gloss on the Psalms by Gilbert de la Porrée, the Gloss on the Psalms by Peter Lombard; Peyrafort-Huin, *Pontigny*, pp. 246-85.

⁴⁶ Peyrafort-Huin, *Pontigny*, pp. 256 and 263.

his patron, errands which brought him into contact with Louis VII, the counts of Flanders and Champagne, and many French prelates.⁴⁷

We have accounts of two confrontations with Henry II during the exile. The first one took place at Angers in 1166 and is described by FitzStephen. The king had summoned some of Becket's clerks in order to hear their views on the conflict between himself and the archbishop. John of Salisbury entered first and seems to have given a well-phrased, diplomatic answer. Herbert was summoned after him. He appeared splendidly dressed, which was rather unusual for a man of his class, and managed to offend the king with such wit and nerve that at least one of the latter's own vassals showed himself greatly amused by the event.⁴⁸

In the same year Henry captured a papal messenger who confessed that he was carrying letters given to him by Herbert. This in addition to the incident at Angers resulted in the confiscation of Herbert's property in England and nearly in his arrest. The second time Herbert confronted Henry II, when he was again in the company of John of Salisbury, concerned an appeal for restitution of property. The king seems to have ignored Herbert throughout the interview, addressing his words to John of Salisbury alone.⁴⁹

Between 1166 and 1170 Herbert sent several letters to men of influence in which he complained about his life of poverty and obscurity.⁵⁰ The pope, probably acting on a petition, tried to set him up in a provostship at Troyes which was vacated in 1167,

⁴⁷ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190, 1456-58; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 63.

⁴⁸ Robertson, *Materials*, III, 99-100: 'Ipse quidem, statura ut erat procerus et forma venustus, etiam satis splendide erat indutus, habens de quodam panno viridi Autisiodorensi tunicam et pallium, ab humeris more Alamannorum dependens, ad talos demissum'; This noble style of dress was unusual for clerks at the time because it contravened the rule that the clergy should avoid secular fashions so as not to offend 'by a dishonest variety of colours'; see Thomas de Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, ed. by F. Broomfield, *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia*, 25 (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1968), p. 83: 'non licet clerico habere pannos viridos vel rubeos nec capas manicatas [...] et cetera huiusmodi'; Herbert at first refused to swear the oath of loyalty to the king. He then attacked the Constitutions of Clarendon, in which the king sought to regulate the rights of the clergy, and refused to attribute the title of emperor to Frederick Barbarossa. Upon the king's outcry that this 'son of a priest' was disturbing the peace of his realm, Herbert answered that he was not the son of a priest, as his father had taken orders only *after* his birth, adding that in the same way one is not the son of a king unless his father was king *before* his birth. This statement was aimed at Henry II, who was the son of a count of Anjou. One of the barons of the king's entourage apparently admired Herbert's boldness and exclaimed: 'Whoever's son he may be, I would give half of my lands to have him as mine!', Robertson, *Materials*, III, 98-101; translation from Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 63.

⁴⁹ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 65.

⁵⁰ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1422; Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 123, fol. 44rb. quoted by Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 65, n. 23.

recommending him as a man ‘famous for learning and for his honourable character’ (‘pro litteris et honestate sua celebris’).⁵¹ As far as we know Herbert never occupied the post.⁵² However, Herbert was less unknown than his letters would lead us to believe: he definitely had a reputation for learning. When the abbot of St Crispin needed some sermons urgently, he wrote to Herbert asking him for a copy of one of his works called *De synodis et ad populum sermones*. Herbert replied that he was too busy working for the archbishop to meet the abbot’s request. Nevertheless, the abbot’s letter shows Herbert had a certain renown as a writer of sermons.⁵³ The abbot of Vézelay also consulted him on the procedure to be adopted in dealing with local heretics.⁵⁴

In the autumn of 1170 Herbert returned to England with Thomas Becket. He was not present at the murder on 29 December later that year, as the archbishop had sent him to France on an errand only a few days before.⁵⁵ Herbert later explained to Pope Alexander III that the errand was a pretext to get him out of the way. Herbert always regretted that he had not stayed with his patron at that time, but admitted also that perhaps it had been fortunate: he could have turned coward and hidden himself.⁵⁶ In the same letter he mentions how utterly lost he feels without Becket, and in a letter to John of Poitiers he describes how only memories and dreams of his patron give him some consolation.⁵⁷

c. Life after Becket

The murder of Becket definitely marks a turning point in Herbert’s career. From 1171 to 1184 he almost disappears from our sources and it is unclear how exactly he earned a living. Friedrich Stegmüller refers to him as archbishop of Benevento in 1171 and as cardinal in 1178, whereas Ian Giles states in his edition of Herbert’s works that these speculations are founded upon a corruption in the text of the *Catalogus eruditorum*

⁵¹ Sheppard, *Materials*, VII, 241.

⁵² Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 65.

⁵³ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1456-57.

⁵⁴ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1462-63; 1468.

⁵⁵ Robertson, *Materials*, III, 3, 58, 204-06, 376, 379; Smalley, ‘Commentary’, p. 33.

⁵⁶ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1466.

⁵⁷ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1469; MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 123. fol. 55rb quoted from Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 71, n. 40: ‘Adeo etiam quod proxime non modico unius noctis spatio astitit michi in visu, et consolatione quidem plus quam dici queat perfecta’.

in the edition of Lupus.⁵⁸ Stegmüller's assertion seems unlikely, as neither Herbert nor any other source mention anything of the sort. We do find him attested as legal assessor in a judgement pronounced by a papal legate in Paris between 1174 and 1178. Herbert's name comes last on the list of assessors, which may reflect his lack of status.⁵⁹

His stay in Paris and lack of political involvement must have left him the space to cultivate his more scholarly talents. He embarked on a task which combined his clerical skills and his knowledge of Scripture: the scrupulous edition of Peter Lombard's *Magna Glosatura* on Psalms and on the Pauline Epistles. The Lombard's Gloss on the Bible was itself an elaboration of Anselm of Laon's *Glosa Ordinaria* and therefore bore the title of *Magna Glosatura*, 'Great Gloss'. According to Herbert, Peter Lombard never expected the Gloss to become a set book in the schools, and he died before the work appeared in its final edition.⁶⁰ Herbert arranged this work, which took up four volumes, over a period of several years, c.1173-77 according to Christopher De Hamel⁶¹, c. 1170-76 according to Stegmüller.⁶² The plan to edit the Great Gloss dated from before this time. As Herbert describes in the prologue, it was Becket who commissioned him for this task.⁶³ Glunz argues Herbert must have started the work when Thomas Becket was still alive.⁶⁴ The books are dedicated to William, bishop of Sens, brother of Henry of Champagne who was a supporter of Becket, and son of Theobald of Champagne, founder of Pontigny Abbey.⁶⁵

Only one manuscript of this commentary is now extant. De Hamel and, more recently, Lesley Smith believe that the copy we possess could be an autograph, since it contains several scribal errors showing that the text was arranged as it was written out. They further suggest that the illuminations too may be by Herbert himself. De Hamel argues that, while the style of the layout and illuminations is clearly related to that of

⁵⁸ Giles, *Herberti de Boseham*, II, p. xi; *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, ed. by Friedrich Stegmüller, 11 vols (Madrid: Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1940-77), VIII: *supplementum*, p. 108.

⁵⁹ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 71, n. 49.

⁶⁰ Glunz, *Vulgate*, p. 220.

⁶¹ Christopher F.R. De Hamel, 'Manuscripts of Herbert of Bosham', in *Manuscripts at Oxford: an Exhibition in Memory of Richard Willam Hunt (1908-1979)*, ed. by A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1980), p. 39; Lesley Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page: Manuscripts of Theology in the Latin West to 1274*, Medieval Book Series, 2 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 45-48.

⁶² Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, pp. 108-09.

⁶³ Glunz, *Vulgate*, p. 342.

⁶⁴ Glunz, *Vulgate*, pp. 342-43.

⁶⁵ Williams, 'William of the White Hands', pp. 265-66; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 54-55.

contemporary Parisian glossed books of the Bible, their closest parallels appear to be found in a set of books, which were probably given to Chartres Cathedral by William of Sens.⁶⁶ Loewe believes the manuscript was produced at Canterbury.⁶⁷ Patricia Stirnemann has contested the view that the manuscript is an autograph and believes the work to be of French provenance, probably coming from Sens.⁶⁸ Although it is clear from the type of emendations that the manuscript was written under close supervision of Herbert, I agree with Stirnemann that it seems unlikely that he wrote it himself on the grounds that it would take a professional scribe and illuminator to achieve such quality. The actual volumes are now divided between Trinity College, Cambridge (MS B.5.4, 6, 7) and the Bodleian Library (MS. Auct. E. inf. 6).

An undated letter from Alexander III to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate, contains the order to allot 'Master Herbert of Bosham' his revenues for three years in order to enable him to teach theology at Paris.⁶⁹ It is Smalley's opinion that Herbert planned to open a school of theology with the money. There is, however, no record of him as a theology teacher so, if Herbert ever intended to set up a school of theology, he probably did not succeed.⁷⁰ He might, however, have lived in or near Paris: he visited the abbey of St Denis near Paris between 1172-3 and 1186.⁷¹ During his exile with Becket he had worked for Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne. It is possible that either the count or his brother William of the White Hands took him on as a protégé. Both men acted as patrons of scholars and had supported Becket against Henry II.⁷²

Herbert seems to have almost withdrawn from public life in the early 1180's and it is in this decade that he produced his most original writings. He retired to Ourscamp Abbey, a Cistercian house in the very south of Flanders, about fifty miles from Paris, but never became a monk. Strict asceticism probably did not appeal to his character, as

⁶⁶ De Hamel, 'Manuscripts', p. 40.

⁶⁷ Raphael Loewe, 'The Mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England: Herbert of Bosham and Earlier Scholars', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 17 (1953), 225-49 (p. 241).

⁶⁸ Patricia Stirnemann, online review of Smith's *Masters of the Sacred Page*, *The Medieval Review*, 3 November 2002.

⁶⁹ *Epistolae pontificum romanorum ineditae*, ed. by Samuel Loewenfeld (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), p. 207, nr 347.

⁷⁰ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 71.

⁷¹ Glunz, *Vulgate*, pp. 246-47.

⁷² Sheppard, *Materials*, VII, 512; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 71.

Smalley suggests.⁷³ Bishop Peter of Arras, who was a former abbot of Pontigny and Citeaux and whom Herbert saw as his spiritual director, had given Herbert three options: entering the Order, teaching, or writing.⁷⁴ Herbert chose the last alternative. He dedicated two works to his former patron: the first one is a *Vita* of Becket in seven volumes. Each volume, which Herbert calls *thomus* instead of *tomus* as a pun on Thomas' name, deals with a different facet of Becket's personality. The second work, the *Liber Melorum*, focuses on Becket's role as martyr and draws intricate parallels between him and Christ. Herbert presented this book together with his four volumes on the Great Gloss to Christ Church, Canterbury. The works were written in northern France, perhaps at Ourscamp Abbey, c.1184.⁷⁵

Three manuscripts containing parts of this work are still extant. The oldest one consists of only one leaf, recovered from a 16th-century English bookbinding and has marginal marks on the verso characteristic of Christ Church. As the hand very closely resembles that of Herbert's arrangement of the Great Gloss, De Hamel believes this fragment is also an autograph and possibly sent or brought to Canterbury by Herbert himself.⁷⁶ The folio is now at a private collection. Although Herbert's biography of Becket was not very popular and was generally known only from extracts, Christ Church owned a second copy of it by the early 14th century. It is probably this copy that was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 146. The manuscript lacks leaves at both ends and so has no medieval ownership colophon. The text, which was written in England c.1300 was probably derived from the MS described above, although the scribe has omitted all Herbert's titles and marginal notes.

The third manuscript of the *Thomus* dates from 1185 and is the only substantially complete contemporary text extant. It has the 12th-century ownership inscription of Ourscamp Abbey and it is possible that the book was acquired directly from the author. It appears to have been the ultimate exemplar for several abridgements made for other Flemish Cistercian houses such as Igny and Aulne but it is the only continental copy in the original format. Since its script is very similar to that of the volumes given by Herbert

⁷³ Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 35.

⁷⁴ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 186.

⁷⁵ De Hamel, 'Manuscripts', pp. 39-40.

⁷⁶ De Hamel, 'Manuscripts', p. 40.

to Christ Church, Canterbury, De Hamel assumes that the manuscript is either autograph or almost certainly copied from Herbert's own exemplar. It is now in Arras (Bibliothèque Municipale MS 375/649).⁷⁷

Henry II allowed Herbert to return to England in the late 1180s. The latter visited Canterbury in 1187 and was on that occasion described by Gervase of Canterbury.⁷⁸ In 1189 Herbert entered the patronage of William Longchamp, bishop of Ely. It is William who provides us with additional evidence for the authorship and dating of the commentary on the Psalter. In a letter dating between June 1190 and March 1191 he expresses the hope Herbert would soon finish his commentary on the *Hebraica* so he would be able to come over for a visit.⁷⁹

This Psalter with commentary *iuxta Hebraeos* is, as far as we know, unique for the period. Andrew of Saint Victor had already expounded on the literal sense of the Heptateuch, Ecclesiastes and the Prophets, but the Psalter had never been explained before by a Latin author with such emphasis on the literal sense. The reason for this programme, Herbert explains in his prologue, is partly humility. He feels he is too worldly and too sinful to aspire to the religious experience which is a precondition for the explanation of the spiritual sense.⁸⁰ Another, possibly more important reason is his interest in linguistics, textual criticism and Old Testament history. As Smalley and Loewe have pointed out, Herbert drew on rabbinic literature and on Rashi in particular. He was also, either directly or indirectly, influenced by Andrew of St Victor although this influence is more difficult to pin down as Andrew himself never expounded on the Psalter.⁸¹

d. Description of the *Psalterium cum commento*, St Paul's Cathedral Library MS 2

The manuscript of Herbert's commentary on the Psalms at St Paul's, shelf mark 2, appears to be the only exemplar extant of the work. The types of scribal errors found

⁷⁷ Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 34.

⁷⁸ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 73 (London: Longman, 1879-80), I (1879), 393-94: 'Herebertus etiam de Boseham, gloriosi pontificis et martyris Thomae magister et clericus, quasi ex speciali dilectione, Cantuariam accessit [...]'.
⁷⁹ Herbert of Bosham, *Epistulae*, PL 190: 1474; Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', p. 245; Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 73-4.

⁸⁰ Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 33; and Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 84.

⁸¹ Smalley, 'Commentary', pp. 42-44.

suggest it is a copy and not an autograph: the scribe has made several eye skips or has confused two words which start with the same preposition; also haplographies and dittographies frequently occur. The transliteration of some Hebrew and Greek words is rather dubious as well, which again points into the direction of corruption of the text as it was copied out. However, we need further codicological evidence in order to make these tentative claims more conclusive.

It is unclear when and where the manuscript was produced. Smalley believes it is French and dates between the 1190s and the first quarter of the thirteenth century. She bases her *terminus ante quem* on two pieces of internal evidence. The first one concerns the numbering of biblical chapters occurring in the cross-references. The manuscript follows a numbering system which was in vogue in the first decade of the thirteenth century and which had almost disappeared by 1225. The second one is a thirteenth-century donor inscription on the first parchment flyleaf of the manuscript, reading 'Hic liber est ecclesie sancti Pauli London de dono beate memorie Henrici de Cornhell' eiusdem ecclesie decani'. Henry of Cornhill became chancellor of St Paul's in 1217 and dean in 1243. He died in 1254.⁸²

The volume is not very large in size: 31.5 x 21.5 cm (12.5 x 8.5 in.) and consists of 2 paper flyleaves followed by 2 parchment ones + 159 foliated leaves + 2 paper flyleaves. The text is written in double columns of 19 x 5 cm each (7.75 x 1.75 in.), leaving wide outer margins. The work starts with a letter of dedication to Peter, bishop of Arras. The Psalm text begins on fol. 2vb and follows the layout of that of many glossed Psalters at the time: the Psalms appear in clusters of one or more verses, in a script larger than that of the commentary, which tends to explain the verses directly written above.⁸³ Both Psalm text and commentary respect the margins of the columns. The work includes all Psalms, apart from Psalm 50 (51): 11-21, the whole of 51 (52) and 52 (53): 1-2. Also verses 24 (25):22; 49 (50):9 and 108 (109):5 are wanting. One quire, containing Psalms 71 (72)-73 (74), appears in the wrong order, a mistake which happened before the work was foliated, as the foliation disregards the order of the Psalms and runs on undisturbed.

⁸² Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 30.

⁸³ Christopher F. R. De Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), pp. 92-139.

Most pages contain a number of marginal notes, mostly biblical cross-references, in probably the same hand as the main text. Unfortunately, since the margins have been trimmed, some of these notes are partly or totally lost. The manuscript has no illuminations and only sparse decorations in red and blue. In the late nineteenth century the manuscript was rebound and at some places strengthened with paper by R. Stagg, London.

Herbert spent at least part of the last years of his life in England because the pipe roll of Essex of 1187 records a fine of one mark owed by Herbert of Bosham for a forest offence. The fine remained unpaid and was re-entered every year until 1194, probably the year of his death.⁸⁴

Herbert's versatility is impressive: he was a politician, a biographer and an academic who combined history and theology with Hebrew learning. The nature of his edition of the *Magna Glosatura* and, above all, of his *Psalterium cum commento* provoke a wide and fascinating range of questions on his role as a biblical scholar both within the historical framework of twelfth-century Anglo-Norman England and as part of an exegetical tradition of Hebrew scholarship among Christians. These questions concern the extent of his linguistic skills; the methodology underlying his use and interpretation of Jewish texts; his debt to other Christian sources; the structure and originality of his exegetical and hermeneutic programme; his assessment of the Jews and of Judaism in his own time as well as in the light of Christian eschatology, and his *Nachleben*. In order to be able to assess these issues, it is necessary to consider first Herbert's place within the tradition of Hebrew scholarship among Christians.

2. Christian Hebraism up to the Twelfth Century

Providing a watertight definition of the term 'Hebraist' is not a straightforward task. Loewe understands it as ranging between two poles. On the one end of the spectrum we find scholars who have achieved a reasonable level of proficiency in reading the Hebrew

⁸⁴ *Pipe Roll* H.II, 34, 1187-88, p. 38: 'de placidis Galfridi filii Petri in Essexia. Oratius presbiter debet dim.m. pro transgressione assise. Herbertus de Boseham debet l m. pro eodem'; 1, 1189-90, p. 26; 2, Mich.1190, p. 107; 3, 1191, p. 27; 4, 1192, p. 169; 5, 1193, p. 3; 6, 1194, p. 31, quoted from Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, p. 72, n. 53-54.

Bible and whose works betray a familiarity with and interest in Judaism and Jewish sources. On the other end we encounter people who might not know Hebrew themselves but who, in some way or other, preserve or encourage the tradition of Hebrew studies among Christians, for example by the commissioning or ownership of books reflecting Hebraist activity. In both cases the 'Hebraist' is supposed to be a non-Jew who supports Hebrew scholarship in whatever way for its own sake and not merely as tool for the study of other disciplines.⁸⁵ So-called Christian Hebraism, the study of Hebrew or the consultation of Jewish scholars by Christians with the aim to gain deeper understanding of the Bible, seems to be a phenomenon inherent to the history of Christianity itself. I will restrict my overview on Christian Hebraism to scholars from the Latin West whose works predate the thirteenth century.

A pioneer in the study of Hebrew and one whose authority and influence can be hardly overstated is **Jerome**. He was born sometime between 330 and 345 at Stridon in Dalmatia (now Croatia), in a family of wealthy Christians, and studied in Rome, Trier and Aquileia. Attracted by a life of asceticism he left Aquileia for the Greek-speaking East around 370 and joined a community of hermits in the desert of Chalcis near Antioch. During this period, which lasted only two years, he not only intensively studied the Greek Bible but also started learning Hebrew, an enterprise which would change his attitude towards the Scriptures forever.⁸⁶

From Chalcis, Jerome went to Antioch and Constantinople, returning to Rome in 382, where he served for about three years as a secretary to Pope Damasus. It was Damasus who gave him the most important commission of his life, namely the task of revising the Old Latin version of the Bible against the (Greek) Septuagint from which it had been translated originally. When, after the revision of the New Testament, he embarked on the Old Testament, he apparently found the Septuagint, which was itself a translation from the Hebrew, unsatisfactory and decided to translate directly from the

⁸⁵ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', pp. 225-26.

⁸⁶ Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 1-3; John N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 337-40; Eva De Visscher, 'Jerome's Attitude towards the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible as Reflected in his Translation of and Commentary on the Flood Story' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leeds, 1999), p. 1.

Hebrew Bible.⁸⁷ He did not realise that the Septuagint, which he rightly found incongruent with the Masoretic Hebrew text used in his time, was in fact translated from a different textual tradition.⁸⁸ Jerome's enterprise was entirely unique at the time and elicited protest from different sides. The most notable criticism came from Augustine but, as Goodwin has demonstrated, he objected not so much to Hebrew learning in itself as feared that multiple Latin translations would cause division in the Church.⁸⁹

Jerome died in 420 in Bethlehem, in a monastic community of his own foundation. Apart from the translation of almost the entire Bible and of numerous ecclesiastical works, he left a collection of letters, many of them polemical, in which he vehemently defends his views and attacks his opponents in an often vitriolic way. In the early 390s he also compiled three philological treatises on different aspects of the Hebrew Bible. One work is an etymological dictionary of biblical proper names, one a gazetteer of biblical places and the third one, called *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, a commentary on difficult passages in Genesis.⁹⁰ As in this last work Jerome concentrates on providing a literal explanation based on a close reading of the Masoretic text and the aid of Jewish written and oral sources, the *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* can be seen to some extent as a methodological precedent of Herbert's *Psalterium*.

Jerome was indebted to Origen's Hexapla for the development of his text-critical skills and altogether seems to have considered the Greek father to be outstanding as a textual critic but deeply suspicious as a theologian.⁹¹ Concerning the divine status of the Septuagint, Jerome probably did not believe the legend alleging that seventy scribes independently managed to translate the Hebrew Bible in identical fashion.⁹² Yet it is unclear at what point in his career he became convinced of the necessity to return to the Hebrew text and, consequently, how this 'conversion' to the priority of the Hebrew influenced his attitude towards the Septuagint. While some see this conversion as a linear process which became complete with his decision in 390 to translate the Old Testament

⁸⁷ W.H. Semple, 'St Jerome as a Biblical Translator', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 45 (1965), 272-43 (pp. 227-28); De Visscher, 'Jerome', p. 2.

⁸⁸ Emmanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, Assen and Maastricht: Fortress Press and Van Gorcum, 1992), pp. 134-48.

⁸⁹ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 96-113.

⁹⁰ Dennis Brown, *Vir Trilinguis: A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992), p. 11; Semple, 'Jerome', pp. 230-37.

⁹¹ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 218; De Visscher, 'Jerome', p. 6.

from the Hebrew,⁹³ others believe that he never entirely discarded the Septuagint in favour of the Masoretic text.⁹⁴ The latter view seems to be the more likely, since Jerome's writings do not reflect a clearly defined change of attitude towards the Septuagint. They rather suggest that Jerome gave priority to the Hebrew because, as a textual scholar, he believed in its precedence. He uses strong and influential images to prove this point, calling the Hebrew text the *fons veritatis* and the Greek and Latin translations the *rivuli opinionum*⁹⁵ and describing the Old Latin version as 'poured into the third jar' (*in tertium vas transfusa*).⁹⁶ As an ecclesiastic, however, he continued to use the Septuagint because it was the text on which theological and exegetical discussion was founded.⁹⁷

Familiarising himself well enough with the Hebrew Bible in order to translate it faithfully into Latin was a mammoth task, even more so since in the fourth century the Masoretic text had not yet been vowel-pointed and systematic dictionaries, concordances or grammar books were lacking.⁹⁸ What Jerome perceived as another difficulty was that, as he did not know any other Christian whose Hebrew was as good as his, he could only ask Jewish scholars for help and they, he feared, might distort Scripture 'out of hatred for Christ' (*propter odium Christi*).⁹⁹

Later Christian Hebraists tend to rely heavily on Jerome's achievements. Loewe mentions as the first Hebraist work after Jerome **Isidore of Seville's** twenty books of *Origins or Etymologies*, compiled in the seventh century and based upon a mixture of earlier patristic and Hellenistic sources. He also draws attention to a seventh-century revision of and commentary on the Psalms according to the *Hebraica Veritas* by the Irish **St Caimin** (d. 653). However, Mario Esposito, who has studied the work concerned,

⁹² Jerome, *Comm. in Eccl.*, PL 23: 1009; *Praef. in Pent.*, PL 28: 148-152; De Visscher, 'Jerome', pp. 11-13.

⁹³ Ludwig Schade, *Die Inspirationslehre des heiligen Hieronymus: eine biblisch-geschichtliche Studie* (Freiburg im Bressgau: Herder, 1910), pp. 142-44; Werner Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation: Some Reformation Controversies and their Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 28-30; Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 150.

⁹⁴ Kamesar, *Jerome*, p. 55.

⁹⁵ Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, PL 23: 1012.

⁹⁶ Jerome, *Praefatio in libros Salomonis*, PL 28: 1244.

⁹⁷ E.g. on Gen. 8:4 in his *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim* Jerome bases his literal interpretation of the text on the Hebrew and his spiritual interpretation on the Septuagint, PL 23: 948; in his preface to his translation of Chronicles, composed a few years after the *Quaestiones* he mentions that the sermons he preached in the monastery in Bethlehem were built on the Septuagint version of the biblical text, PL 28: 1327; Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, p. 61; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 101-02.

⁹⁸ Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, pp. 23-24.

⁹⁹ Jerome, *Epistola 32, Ad Marcellam*, PL 22: 152-53; Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, p. 64.

places it around 1100 and has not been able to find any evidence of an older version underlying this work. The manuscript consists of six folios containing Psalm 118 (119): 1-16 and 33-116 of the *Hebraica*. I have not found any significant similarities between the revisions made in this Psalter and those in Herbert's *Psalterium*.¹⁰⁰ Other Hebraists in the wider sense of the word were **Bede** (672/3-735) and **Alcuin** (b.735), who probably knew only a little Hebrew gleaned from Jerome.¹⁰¹

The Carolingian period seems to have sparked a renewed interest in both the quality of the biblical text and in the study of the historical books of the Bible. During that time two revisions of the Vulgate appeared. One was produced by Alcuin and constituted an attempt to reconcile multiple versions of Jerome's text with one another but without sufficiently testing those versions against the Hebrew. Under the commission of **Theodulf** (750-821), bishop of Orleans, and with the help of a Jewish convert, a more thorough revision was compiled against the Masoretic text. Avrom Saltman believes that the same Jewish convert was responsible for the writing of a set of *Quaestiones Hebraicae*, attributed to Jerome, on the Books of Samuel and Chronicles.¹⁰² **Hrabanus Maurus** (c.776-856), a pupil of Alcuin, extracted material from this work into his own commentaries, which were later abridged by his pupil **Walafrid Strabo** (c. 808-849). While Smalley considers Maurus to be an author of little originality who borrowed Pseudo-Jeromian *quaestiones* in an uncritical and largely mechanical fashion, Saltman convincingly argues against this view. He believes instead that Maurus was a tolerant Hebraist who made intelligent use of his material and who tested his findings against the opinion of oral Jewish sources. He compares him favourably with Andrew in the sense that he is able to distinguish between Jerome and Pseudo-Jerome, while Andrew fails to do so.¹⁰³ In the early twelfth century some quotations of Strabo's compilation were absorbed into the *Glossa Ordinaria*.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Mario Esposito, 'On the So-Called Psalter of St Caimin', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 32C (1914-16), 78-88 (pp. 82-87).

¹⁰¹ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', pp. 227-28.

¹⁰² *Questiones on the Book of Samuel*, ed. and introd. by Avrom Saltman (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. iii-xxix; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 113-15.

¹⁰³ Avrom Saltman, 'Rabanus Maurus and the Pseudo-Hieronymian *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon*', *Harvard Theological Review*, 66 (1973), 43-75 (p. 44); Avrom Saltman, 'Pseudo-Jerome in the Commentary of Andrew of St Victor on Samuel', *Harvard Theological Review*, 67.3 (1974), 195-253 (pp. 198-200); and Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁴ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', pp. 228-29.

The bulk of Christian Hebraist material originated with Jerome and had over time, because of its transmission in often freely quoted or paraphrased form, accumulated countless inaccuracies. Yet, as Christians continued to consult Jewish scholars about biblical problems, a smaller proportion of ‘fresh’ information resulting from those contacts flowed into that Jerome-centred mainstream and enriched it. Smalley, Cohen and others have pointed out that the trust Christians invested in the validity of their Jewish contacts was mostly built upon the belief that Judaism was a religion frozen in time, which had not developed since it became obsolete at the beginning of the Christian era. Therefore, textual or historical information on the Bible gained from a Jew, would by necessity reflect the Old Testament truth.¹⁰⁵

A second wave of medieval Hebraist interest occurred in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and seems to have evolved largely but not exclusively around monastic communities. Smalley draws attention to a Benedictine monk teaching at Metz around 1070, called **Sigebert of Gembloux**, who allegedly had a reputation for Hebrew learning and for discussing with Jews.¹⁰⁶ In the early twelfth century one of the founders of the Cistercian order, **Stephen Harding**, sought to establish a corrected Vulgate text for use at Cistercian houses. He thereby consulted several Jewish scholars who translated passages for him from the Masoretic text and the Targums into French.¹⁰⁷ A contemporary and compatriot of Harding, called **Gerhard**, archbishop of York, seems to have owned several Hebrew Psalters. Some time after his death these books were studied and partly copied out by **Maurice**, prior of the Augustinians at Kirkham.¹⁰⁸ These records, in combination with the evidence we possess about the existence of Hebrew Psalters with Latin glosses and/or translations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggests that, while the ability to read and translate the Hebrew Bible was probably not widespread in

¹⁰⁵ Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Cal. and London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 189-91, 219-38 and 392-96; Beryl Smalley, ‘Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in Thirteenth-Century England as Illustrated by Some Hebrew-Latin Psalters’, *Society for Old Testament Study, Lectio*, 6 (1939), 1-18 (p. 1); Goodwin, ‘Herbert of Bosham’, p. 115.

¹⁰⁶ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁷ Loewe, ‘Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham’, p. 233.

¹⁰⁸ M.R. James, ‘The Salomites’, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 35 (1934), 287-97 (p. 289): ‘Quia vero Ebraice lingue et litteris adiscendis ego emulatus Jeronimum quondam adolescentulus sub tribus annis studium impendi et de psalterio Ebraico iuxta exemplaria domini Gerardi quondam Eboracensis

Christian circles, there was a sustained interest in it.¹⁰⁹ As a prophetic book so central to Christian liturgy and exegesis, the Psalter would be an obvious choice of study for Hebraists from monastic and scholastic environments. From a didactic point of view it might also be the best work from which to start one's Hebrew studies, since it was equally well known and important to Christians as to Jews. For this reason Hebrew Psalters might have been easier to obtain than other Hebrew books in which Christians would be interested, and shared Jewish-Christian scholarship might have developed more spontaneously around the Psalms than around any other biblical book.

Another Cistercian monk who set out to test Jerome's *Hebraica* version against the Masoretic text is **Nicolas Manjactoria**. Nicolas belonged, at least by the end of his life in c.1145, to the Italian abbey of St Anastasius of Tre Fontane. He included not just the *Hebraica* but also the *Gallicana* and probably the *Romana* versions into his project of revision and consulted thereby a Jew who introduced him to Rashi.¹¹⁰ In the preface to his correction of the *Hebraica* he describes how the study of an early witness to the *Hebraica*, kept at Monte Cassino, prompted him to learn Hebrew in order to follow in Jerome's footsteps and be able to test the existing Latin versions of the Bible against the Hebrew Truth. This decision led to the production of *Suffraganeus bibliothecae*, a body of corrections to the Latin Bible, including a revision of the *Hebraica*.¹¹¹ His correction of the *Gallicana*, which was written separately from that of the *Hebraica*, contains an additional treatise on textual criticism of the Psalms. In this work, which is titled *Libellus de corruptione et correptione psalmorum et aliarum quarundam scripturarum*, Nicolas points out common mistakes caused by ignorant scribes, who misplace the Hebrew letters of alphabetical psalms. He also draws attention to the discrepancies between the *tituli* of the *Gallicana* and those of the *Hebraica*, an aspect which also concerned Herbert in his *Psalterium*. In his preface to the *Gallicana* Nicolas mentions he has already corrected the

archiepiscopi (d. 1108) xl psalmos manu mea scripsi, Judeis quoque ipsis literarum eleganciam admirantibus'.

¹⁰⁹ Smalley, 'Hebrew Scholarship', pp. 8-10; Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 78-80 and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar among Christian Scholars in Pre-Expulsion England: The Evidence of "Bilingual" Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', in *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. by Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 107-28, (pp. 112 and 127).

¹¹⁰ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 80.

¹¹¹ J. van den Gheyn, 'Nicolas Manjactoria, correcteur de la Bible', *Revue biblique*, 8 (1899), 289-95; A. Wilmart, 'Nicolas Manjactoria, Cistercien à Trois Fontaines', *Revue Bénédictine*, 33 (1921), 136-43 (pp. 136-38).

Romana version.¹¹² Robert Weber claims he has found a copy of this third revision of Nicolas' in a thirteenth-century manuscript now held in Rome. The work's preface, as well as the methodology of correction of the Psalter, strongly suggests that its author is indeed Nicolas.¹¹³ While the *Libellus* and the prefaces to his revised Psalters have been edited, the Psalter itself unfortunately still exists in manuscript form only.

A twelfth-century French environment which was particularly renowned for its study of biblical exegesis and to some extent for Hebrew scholarship is that of the regular canons at St Victor. By Herbert's time the school had built up a magnificent library and had acquired international fame. Its most influential master was **Hugh**, who taught at the school from 1125 until his death in 1141. Hugh's attitude to the learning of Hebrew was very much related to his approach to divine reading in general. As he set out in his *Didascalicon*, the student should follow a well-rounded educational programme which starts with the study of the secular arts. If he has mastered those, he is ready to read the Scriptures. When reading the Scriptures he should first seek to understand the literal/historical sense before immersing himself in the allegorical and tropological senses.

Loewe states that

this shift of emphasis, which joined the "lowly" letter to allegory instead of contrasting it to the spiritual senses, and which consequently gave it a proportionately greater stress relative to them, was of far-reaching consequence; it greatly enhanced the historical sense of the Bible, and as a corollary postulated a thorough-going study of the plain meaning instead of the supreme disregard for it that was the heritage of the writing and teaching of Gregory the Great.¹¹⁴

Hugh's interpretation of the literal sense seems to overlap with the rabbinic view that 'no word can be deprived of its plain sense (*peshat*)'.¹¹⁵ Hugh's works display some knowledge of Hebrew. They contain Hebrew words in transliteration and references to Jewish sources such as Rashi and Hugh's contemporaries Joseph Kara and Rashbam

¹¹² Vittorio Peri, 'Correctores immo corruptores: Un Saggio di Critica Testuale nella Roma del XII Secolo', *Italia Medioevale et Umanistica*, 20 (1977), 19-125.

¹¹³ Robert Weber, 'Deux préfaces au Psautier Dues à Nicolas Maniacoria', *Revue Bénédictine*, 63 (1953), 3-17 (pp. 2-4); see also Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 61-63 and 166-67.

¹¹⁴ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', p. 236; and Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 85-105.

¹¹⁵ אֵין מִקְרָא יוֹצֵא מִדֵּרֵי פִּשְׁוֹטֵי, Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, *Études sur le judaïsme médiéval*, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 5; David Weiss Halivni, *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 25; I will return to Hugh's assessment of the literal sense in Chapter Five.

(Samuel ben Meir of Ramerupt), and makes mention of oral consultations with Jews.¹¹⁶ Two of Hugh's pupils and fellow canon regulars, **Andrew** and **Richard** built upon their master's legacy but went each into different directions. While Richard produced mystical writings, Andrew felt himself more attracted to the exposition of the literal sense. Both consulted Jewish scholars.¹¹⁷ Andrew commented upon the Heptateuch, the Prophets, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes and includes a range of Jewish sources, such as Rashi, Rashbam, Joseph Kimhi and Joseph Bekhor Shor into his work.¹¹⁸ Although he has traditionally been accredited with a great proficiency in Hebrew, recent scholarship has contested this. William McKane, Frans van Liere and, most recently, Christine Feld have demonstrated that Andrew probably did not use the Masoretic text directly and borrowed most of his interpretation of Hebrew words or Jewish exegeses from Jerome.¹¹⁹ Yet, since Herbert shares Andrew's interest in the literal sense of Scripture, since his prologue to his commentary on the Psalms betrays influence from Andrew, and since there is the possibility that he followed lessons at Saint Victor during his time in France, we have to consider Andrew to be the twelfth-century Hebraist whose works and exegetical programme were probably closest to Herbert's.

Two Hebraists who might also have been acquainted with Herbert are a certain Odo, author of a theological and partly polemical treatise dating from the mid-twelfth century, and Ralph Niger, an Anglo-Norman clergyman and correspondence partner of John of Salisbury. The identity of **Odo** is shady. His treatise in three parts, titled *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, contains a dedication to his *magister scholarum* Gilbert Foliot (1107-1187), who taught at Paris, and then lived as prior at Cluny and Abbeville before becoming abbot of the Benedictine abbey at Gloucester in 1139 and later bishop of

¹¹⁶ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists', p. 236; and Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 103-04.

¹¹⁷ Smalley, *Bible*, p. 126; and Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', p. 237.

¹¹⁸ Andrew of Saint Victor, *Andrae de Sancto Victore Opera*, vol. 1: *Expositio super Heptateuchum*, ed. by C. Lohr and R. Berndt, CCCM, 53 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986); Andrew of Saint Victor, *Andrae de Sancto Victore Opera*, vol. 3: *Expositiones historicas in libros Salomonis*, ed. by R. Berndt, CCCM, 53B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991); Andrew of Saint Victor, *Andrae de Sancto Victore Opera*, vol. 6: *Expositio in Ezechielem*, ed. by Michael Alan Signer, CCCM, 53E (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), Andrew of Saint Victor, *Andrae de Sancto Victore Opera*, vol. 7: *Expositio in Danielelem*, ed. by Mark Zier, CCCM 53F (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), Frans van Liere, *Andrew of Saint Victor: Samuel and Kings*.

¹¹⁹ Christine Feld, 'Judaizer or Plagiarist?: Jewish Influences on Andrew of St Victor's Commentary on Jeremiah', paper at the International Medieval Conference, Leeds, July 2003; Frans van Liere, *Andrew of St Victor*, pp. xxiii-xxv; William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 42-75.

Hereford.¹²⁰ Arthur Landgraf suggests that the author of the *Ysagoge* might be the same Odo who was master of theology at Paris before becoming abbot at Ourscamp Abbey from 1167 to 1170. Although Herbert did not take up residence at Ourscamp before the mid-1180s it is possible that their paths crossed before then. Alternatively, the author could have been a certain *magister* Odo, addressee of a letter of John of Salisbury concerning the interpretation of Old Testament problems, in which case Herbert might have known him as well.¹²¹

While Landgraf places the treatise firmly in the orbit of the Abelardian school, David Luscombe and Anna Sapir Abulafia have demonstrated that it also displays strong Victorine influence.¹²² The work falls into three parts. The first deals with the creation of man, the branches of knowledge, the virtues, and sin. The second book focuses on the redemption of humankind through Christ and contains a long discussion about the relevance of the Law of Moses in the light of Christ's Incarnation. The last book sets out the natures of God, the Trinity and the angels. The most interesting aspect of the *Ysagoge* for our purpose is the inclusion of Hebrew and Aramaic passages of the Masoretic text in Hebrew characters in the second and third part of the work followed by a word-for-word Latin translation and, in some places, by a transliteration.¹²³ While the Hebrew consonants of those quotes are written accurately, if not messily, the vowel system is rather peculiar and seems to have been simplified, perhaps to facilitate use by Christians. His intention with this discussion of biblical passages in Hebrew, Odo states, is to give its Christian readers the means to refute the Jews on their own terrain and to, ultimately, convert them.¹²⁴ Apart from giving proof of the Hebrew proficiency of one Christian scholar, the occurrence of a polemical work such as the *Ysagoge* also suggests that there must have

¹²⁰ Anna Sapir Abulafia, 'Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought', in *Christianity and Judaism: Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and the 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History*, 29 (1992), pp. 59-75 (p. 61).

¹²¹ *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, ed. by Arthur Landgraf in *Écrits Théologiques de l'École d'Abélard*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 14 (Louvain: Gembloux, 1934), pp. xl-lv (introduction) and 63-285 (edition of the text). The letter concerned is nr 271, in Millor and Brooke, *John of Salisbury*, II, 548-52; D.E. Luscombe, 'The Authorship of the *Ysagoge in Theologiam*', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, 43 (1968), 7-16 (p. 16, n. 42).

¹²² Abulafia, 'Jewish Carnality', pp. 61-63; Luscombe, 'Authorship', pp. 8-12.

¹²³ *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, Cambridge Trinity College MS B.14.33, fols 36v-40r. Landgraf, *Écrits Théologiques*, pp. 128-133; see also Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 168, n. 25.

¹²⁴ Abulafia, 'Jewish Carnality', pp. 63-65; Landgraf, *Écrits Théologiques*, pp. 126-27.

been a Christian audience, however small, which would have been interested in such a treatise as well as capable of reading it.

Ralph Niger (1140s-c.1199) is a less obscure figure than Odo. From John of Salisbury's letters, in which he is addressed as *magister*, we can deduce that he studied theology at Paris in the 1160s.¹²⁵ He was no great sympathiser of Henry II and sided with Thomas Becket during the latter's conflict with the king. Because of his support for Henry's sons in their rebellion against their father in 1173 he was forced to spend the rest of his life in exile in France. Apart from a set of devotional texts on the Virgin Mary, his works seem to evolve around an interest in history and etymology. He commented upon the historical books of the Old Testament, produced two chronicles on contemporary history and, with the help of a Jewish convert called Philip, revised Jerome's *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*. He titles the work *Philippicus* after his teacher. The *Philippicus* is partly a text-critical correction of different versions of Jerome's treatise, partly an addition to it.¹²⁶ In an interesting passage of his preface to the work he declares himself disappointed with the result of his labour, since the many variants of Hebrew names make it almost impossible for him to separate the chaff from the corn.¹²⁷ His revision includes references to Jewish sources such as the Talmud (called *Gamaliel*), and possibly Menahem ben Saruq's lexical work, the *Mahberet* (transliterated as *Machvere*) and Nathan of Rome's *Arukh* (transliterated as *Aruch*). However, since he always mentions '*Machvere*' in conjunction with '*Aruch*' this might indicate that he is not referring to Menahem and Nathan's lexicons but to another work by his contemporary Solomon Parhhon of Salerno titled *Mahberet Arukh*.¹²⁸ Nothing of his exegetical oeuvre has been edited in full.

The same is true for **Alexander Neckam** or **Nequam** (1157-1217), a theologian of British origin who studied at Paris, taught at Oxford, and who ended his life as abbot of the Augustinian house at Cirencester. At the turn of the thirteenth century he wrote a Gloss on the Psalms, based on the *Magna Glosatura*, followed by a commentary on the Song of Songs in which he possibly includes independent Jewish material, but since these

¹²⁵ Letters 181 and 182, Millor and Brooke, *John of Salisbury*, II, 198-209; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 64.

¹²⁶ G.B. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger: an Introduction to his Life and Works', *Mediaeval Studies*, 2 (1940), 104-36;

¹²⁷ Lincoln MS 15. f. 59v, transcribed by Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 65.

works have not been edited we cannot assess the extent of his Hebraism.¹²⁹ In their short monograph on him Richard Hunt and Margaret Gibson include two passages from the commentary on the Canticles which offer intriguing glimpses of Alexander's consultations with Jews. One excerpt contains the phrase *Vix quicquam Hebreos audivi commodius exponere transitu isto*. The use of the word *audivi* is revealing, since it shows that he was present at exegetical discussions between Jews; this leads to the further possibility that his relations with the Jewish community at Oxford or Circencester were friendly enough as to allow him to audit some form of advanced schooling with them.¹³⁰

In a second passage, concerning Lev. 23:40 *sumetis vobis die primo fructus arboris pulcherime* ('And you shall take for yourselves on the first day the fruit of the most beautiful tree'), Alexander comments that the Jews wrongly consider this *fructus* to be a citrus fruit (*pomum citrinum*) while it should be referring to an apple.¹³¹ Interestingly, Herbert's *Psalterium* contains an almost identical comment on Ps. 117 (118):27, where a marginal gloss also mentions Lev.23:40, adding: [*fructus*] *quos Hebrei interpretantur pomacitrina*. Although this could be an indication of influence from the *Psalterium* unto Nequam's Commentary on the Song of Songs, it could equally be the result of the independent consultation of a Jewish source which reflects the same tradition as Herbert's.

This overview of Patristic and Medieval Christian Hebraism suggests that Herbert belongs to a tradition, albeit a rather meagre one, of textual criticism of Jerome's biblical text in general, and of the *Hebraica* in particular. He seems to stand on a crossroads between two strands. On the one hand he is to be found in a context of Hebrew-Latin scholarship surrounding the Psalms, which seems to have been modestly flourishing at the time; however, other revisions of the Psalms do not include a commentary. On the other hand he is part of a movement of renewed interest in the literal and historical sense of Scripture; yet his fellow exegetes have not commented on the Psalms. Thus, while

¹²⁸ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', p. 247.

¹²⁹ Richard W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)*, ed. and revised by Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 1-19, 26-27 and 125-38; Loewe, 'Alexander Neckam's Knowledge of Hebrew', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), 17-34.

¹³⁰ For a study of Jewish education in medieval Ashkenaz, see Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992).

¹³¹ Hunt, *Alexander Nequam*, p. 109.

Herbert's project is not an isolated one in its subject matter nor in its exegetical approach, his decision to apply a literal exposition to Jerome's *Hebraica* proves, as far as we know, to be unique.

3. Previous research on Herbert's Exegetical Works

Independent research on Herbert of Bosham's exegetical commentaries is relatively scarce, and most of what has been written focuses almost exclusively on the *Psalterium cum commento*. A notable exception is Hans Glunz who, before the *Psalterium* had come to light again, discusses the contribution of Herbert's edition of the *Magna Glosatura* to the study of the Vulgate text in England in his monograph on that subject. He not only demonstrates the importance of Herbert's edition in the context of the development of the *Gloss* and the rise of scholasticism but also includes a transcription of Herbert's prefaces to Lombard's *Gloss* in his work.¹³² As has already been stated above, other material on the *Gloss* has appeared in Christopher De Hamel's article on the manuscripts of Herbert of Bosham at Oxford and briefly in Lesley Smith's *Masters of the Sacred Page*.

The first modern scholars to draw attention to Herbert in the role of exegete as well as Christian Hebraist were Beryl Smalley and Raphael Loewe. Shortly after the rediscovery and re-dating of the Saint Paul's Cathedral MS they each published an article which laid the foundation of all later research on the matter so far. While both articles show clear signs of a fruitful collaboration between Smalley and Loewe, their examination of different aspects of the *Psalterium* makes the articles very much complementary to one another.

a. Beryl Smalley

Smalley's article, published in 1951, re-assesses what was already known about Herbert's life and other writings in the light of his widened role as political figure *cum* Christian Hebraist and presents hitherto overlooked evidence about his intellectual contacts and whereabouts. She later expanded on this initial historical material in *The*

¹³² Glunz, *Vulgate*, pp. 197-227 and 342-50.

Becket Conflict and the Schools.¹³³ A second invaluable contribution of her article is her investigation of Herbert's treatment of Jewish sources and of his exegetical method. Part of this study later appeared in a revised form in *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* and guaranteed Herbert a place within the tradition of Christian biblical exegetes as pupil of Andrew of Saint Victor. Apart from a huge influence from Jerome and from Jewish sources, Rashi in particular, she detects in his work also references to contemporary scholars such as Richard and Andrew of Saint Victor and Peter Comestor. With regard to Herbert's theological views she states that he had an interest in Aristotelian thought, and in some respects foreshadows Thomas Aquinas. Her strongest example is to be found in Herbert's *Liber Melorum* where, before embarking on the comparison between Becket and Christ, he brings forward a miscellaneous set of arguments to prove the existence of God, one of which, she believes, echoes Aristotle's concept of the First Cause and anticipates Aquinas' theory of the First Mover.¹³⁴ This theory has recently been criticised by Deborah Goodwin (see below).

b. Raphael Loewe

While Smalley's pioneering work places Herbert in a historical and Christian exegetical context, Loewe's article, published two years later in three instalments, focuses on Herbert's role as a Hebraist. Following a brilliant in-depth analysis of Herbert's linguistic skills and text-critical method in several of the Psalms, he concludes that Herbert knew enough Hebrew to consult Jewish sources in their original language. He also sees indications in the *Psalterium* of independent use of five sets of interconnected rabbinic texts, namely Rashi, Midrash Tehillim, the Talmud, the Targums and the tenth-century grammarians Menahem ben Saruq and Dunash ibn Labrat. His scrupulous examination of Herbert's translation in a selection of verses has enabled him to discover influence from the Arabic, which he attributes to a contemporary Arabist with whom Herbert possibly collaborated. His verdict is that 'in Herbert we have the most competent Hebraist whom the Western Church produced between Jerome himself and Pico de Mirandola and Reuchlin in the late fifteenth century, with the possible exception

¹³³ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 59-86.

¹³⁴ Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, pp. 80-81.

of Raymund Martini in the thirteenth'.¹³⁵ In a later article he compares Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew with that of his predecessors and contemporaries and comes to the same conclusion, although laying more emphasis on the possibility that Herbert, rather than being a solitary figure, might belong to a larger movement of renewed interest in Hebrew and textual criticism in the Central Middle Ages.¹³⁶

c. Deborah Goodwin

However groundbreaking Loewe's and Smalley's publications are, and however candidly they touch upon the central questions to the *Psalterium*, since they mainly consist of journal articles and chapters of books they leave plenty of ground uncovered. More than anything else they highlight the pressing need for more systematic, exhaustive and full-length research on the subject. Yet, although Herbert's reputation as a Hebraist entered scholarly consciousness in the years to follow, a large study on the *Psalterium* did not appear until 2001, when Deborah Goodwin completed a PhD thesis titled *A Study of Herbert of Bosham's Psalms Commentary (c.1190)*. In the meantime Loewe's and Smalley's findings were, to various purposes, adopted by Jeremy Cohen, Gilbert Dahan and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger. In an article on the evaluation of Judaism by medieval Christian scholars, Cohen uses a passage of Herbert's *Psalterium* as an example for his theory that Christian perceptions of the Jew shifted towards the end of the twelfth century.¹³⁷ Dahan and Olszowy-Schlanger focus on Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew.¹³⁸ The assessments of all three of them will be discussed in the following chapters.

In her doctorate on the *Psalterium* Goodwin takes up where Loewe and Smalley left off. Since, in spite of Smalley's spadework, still relatively little was known about Herbert's social and intellectual milieu and even less about the causes and motives behind an apparent revival of Christian Hebraism in Western Europe at the time, Goodwin rightly devotes a substantial part of her study to a thorough 'setting of the scene'. She places Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew in the context of a typically twelfth-century

¹³⁵ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 54.

¹³⁶ Loewe, 'Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: Bosham', pp. 244-45.

¹³⁷ Cohen, 'Scholarship and Intolerance', pp. 310-41.

¹³⁸ Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 229-70; Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', pp. 107-28.

Anglo-Norman brand of careerism and compares him in that respect with Ralph Niger, a largely unstudied compatriot and possible acquaintance of Herbert.

A second step in her research entails a re-examination of Christian Hebraism leading up to the twelfth century. She pays attention in particular to the legacies of Jerome and Augustine which, with regard to the study of Hebrew, have generally been considered as diametrically opposed. Seen in that light it becomes hard to understand how an Augustinian order like that of St Victor could condone such interest in Hebrew from some of its members. Goodwin has shown, however, that both Church Fathers' views on the matter are far from mutually exclusive and that Augustine, while concerned about the possible damage a new translation of the Bible *iuxta Hebreos* might do to the unity of the Church, did not object to textual criticism of the Bible *per se*. She also calls for a reassessment of the distinction usually made between 'exegetical' and 'polemical' literature, arguing, in my view correctly, that both genres feed off one another and that exegetical works often contain polemical elements and vice versa.

In a third part of her thesis Goodwin examines Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew through a number of examples displaying modifications to the *Hebraica*. She concentrates thereby on the Psalm *tituli* and on passages discussing the Divine Name but also includes verses, not mentioned by Loewe or Smalley, where the *Psalterium* betrays strong and almost verbal influence from Rashi. In a final section she addresses Herbert's assessment of Judaism and the Jewish people and develops the theory that Herbert, while often resorting to anti-Jewish stereotype so topical at the time, in fact underwrites a theology which allocates to Jews a more positive eschatological role than Christian tradition prescribed. She states that 'unlike many of his contemporaries, Herbert seems content to leave in God's hands the mystery that God's chosen people might, at the end of days, consist of both Jews and Christians'.¹³⁹

She concludes her work with the suggestion that Herbert's close study of the Hebrew text in its historical context, which she calls *lexical Hebraism*, opened for him an intellectual world of greater tolerance towards the Jews and made him 'eschew manifestations of Christian triumphalism'.¹⁴⁰ In a later article she contests Smalley's

¹³⁹ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 299.

¹⁴⁰ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 302.

claim that Herbert was an important innovator of biblical studies and to some extent foreshadows Thomistic theology, and argues that the horizons of his exegesis were more radically shaped by his encounters with Jewish exegesis than Smalley had claimed.¹⁴¹

d. Aim of this study

Since the axis of Goodwin's thesis falls on providing an analysis of the *Psalterium*'s historical and theological framework, which is not based upon a transcription of the entire manuscript, several questions on Herbert's linguistic proficiency and engagement with Jewish and Christian sources remain unanswered. It is still unclear what the boundaries of Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew are. Could he write in Hebrew characters? What was his grasp of Hebrew grammar and vocabulary? Did he use any reference aids and if so, which ones? What were his strategies of translation? Did he have a methodology of revising the biblical text according to text-critical principles?

On a second level it remains unclear whether any signs of influence exist between Herbert's *Psalterium* and other Hebraist projects involving the *Hebraica*, such as bilingual Psalters. Evidence in this field would open up the intriguing possibility that Herbert belonged to an already established Christian tradition of Hebraist activity surrounding the Psalms. Concerning Herbert's use of Christian sources we are still in the dark about the way in which he engages with the authorities on whom he draws, such as Paul, Jerome and the Victorines. Finally, the complicated interrelated issues of Herbert's Hebraism, his definition of the literal sense and his assessment of the Jews and Judaism still leave much important ground to be covered.

In this present study I therefore aim, first, to assess Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew grammar and vocabulary, of his text-critical method and his use of translation techniques. This assessment will be based upon a full transcription of the manuscript.

Second, I will examine the nature and depth of his influence from Jewish and Christian written and oral sources, including his reliance on reference aids such as Hebrew-Latin psalters and Hebrew-vernacular glossaries. I will put Loewe's claim that Herbert, while heavily relying on Rashi, was nevertheless able to read the Targums, Midrash Tehillim, the Talmud and Menahem's *Mahberet* independently from him, to the

¹⁴¹ Goodwin, 'Horizons' (forthcoming).

test. Concerning Herbert's Christian sources I will first discuss his debt to predecessors and contemporaries on a methodological and factual level, devoting attention in particular to Jerome. From there I will move to Herbert's theological authorities. The author to whom he most often refers and who seems to exert the deepest influence on him in this respect is Paul. Part of the reason for this inter-textuality no doubt lies in the fact that the Pauline Epistles were, together with the Psalms, the subject of Herbert's previous exegetical work, his edition of Lombard's *Magna Glosatura*. However, since I do not believe this to be the only reason, I will analyse Paul's role in Herbert's exegeses into further detail.

Finally, drawing upon conclusions on Herbert's use of Hebrew and of Jewish and Christian sources, I will explore the issues of Herbert's evaluation of Jewish exegesis and of his definition and application of the literal sense of Scripture.

Chapter Two: Herbert of Bosham's Knowledge of Hebrew

In this chapter I will analyse four aspects of Herbert's engagement with Hebrew in the *Psalterium cum commento* in order to demonstrate the extent of his knowledge of the language. First, I will discuss his method of transliterating Hebrew into Latin characters. Second, I will study his treatment of Hebrew grammar and the translation techniques underlying his modifications to Jerome's *Hebraica*. Third, I will investigate which lexical and grammatical aids Herbert might have used and, fourth, I will examine to what degree Herbert's work relies on and represents in itself a tradition of Hebrew-Latin scholarship.

1. Transliteration of Hebrew Words

Although not a single letter in Hebrew script occurs in the manuscript of Herbert's *Psalterium cum commento*, the work does contain more than eighty Hebrew words, all of which appear in Latin transliteration. As Gilbert Dahan shows in his overview of Medieval Latin texts dealing with the Hebrew language, this is not at all unusual during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Anti-Jewish polemical works such as Odo's *Ysagoge in theologiam* and William of Bourges' *Liber bellorum Domini* incorporate transliterated Hebrew into their argumentation for the purpose of providing Christians who were unable to read the Hebrew alphabet with ammunition in their disputations against the Jews.¹

The biblical commentaries of Andrew of St Victor, Herbert's contemporary and possibly his teacher, include Hebrew words in transliteration only. This total absence of Hebrew characters in his works has led Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to conclude that Andrew knew only the rudiments of the Hebrew alphabet and grammar.² However, while it is true that proof of either Andrew's or Herbert's ability to read the Hebrew alphabet is lacking in

¹ Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 250-51; D.E. Luscombe, 'The Authorship of the *Ysagoge in Theologiam*', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 43 (1968), 7-16; *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 33.

² Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar among Christian Scholars in Pre-Expulsion England: The Evidence of "Bilingual" Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', in *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. by Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 107-28 (p. 108, n. 5).

their works, it is unclear whether they used transliterations instead of Hebrew characters out of necessity or out of choice. In a time when knowledge of Hebrew (and Greek) among Christian theologians in the West was rare, the inclusion of non-Latin characters could severely hamper a work's readership. Not only did it render the work less accessible for those who were unable to read non-Latin scripts but it also made a text more prone to copyists' errors, which diminished its value even for readers who could have understood the Hebrew (or Greek) it contained. Beryl Smalley, convinced that Herbert's motive for using transliterated Hebrew was not ignorance of the Hebrew alphabet but rather concern for his readership, calls it 'a wise precaution'.³

Although the lack of Hebrew script in the *Psalterium* makes it impossible to judge Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew orthography directly, the spelling system used in his transliterations gives us some idea of his grasp of the language. It may also indicate, to some extent, how Hebrew was pronounced in Western Europe at the time. Yet before we treat Herbert's transliterations as accurate reflections of contemporary Hebrew phonetics or as direct proof of Herbert's linguistic abilities, we have to consider two factors. First, since the only extant manuscript of the *Psalterium* is probably not an autograph, it is possible that some transliterations, looking unfamiliar to a Christian scribe, were corrupted in the copying process. Second, Hebraists of the twelfth century, including Herbert, heavily relied on the transliterations, spellings and etymologies of Hebrew words found in the works of earlier ecclesiastical authors. Jerome's treatises on the Hebrew Scriptures, dating from the fourth, and Pseudo-Jerome's commentaries on the Old Testament, dating from the ninth century, were among the most influential.

Even more than is the case with the spelling of Latin, the manuscript's transliteration of Hebrew is not consistent: אלהים [God] appears as *eloym* (58va) and *eloim* (97ra); מנחה [gift, sacrifice] as *minha* (88ra) and *minaha* (40vb); יץ [arrow] as *hetz* (112rb) and *hez* (112rb), to name only a few examples. These variations in the transliteration of Hebrew characters do not necessarily originate from hesitation on Herbert's part about the correct spelling of the word. On a number of occasions, Herbert

³ Beryl Smalley, 'A Commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), 29-65 (p. 47); see also Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 251.

spells out the word using the names for the Hebrew letters concerned. He explains זרזק this way in Psalm 90 (91): 5:

[...] est nomen demonis. Sagitta hic; Hebraice dictus [space] quod scribitur per duas litteras, scilicet *het* et *zazi*, et sonat sagitta.

A marginal gloss on the same line as the space reads *hetz*.⁴ The author of the *Ysagoge* transliterates זר and זק as *hez* and *tadi* respectively.⁵

It is possible that both Jerome and Herbert were influenced by Greek orthography and pronunciation in their transliteration of Hebrew. The transliterations of some Hebrew letters such as ל [l] מ/ם [m] נ/ן [n] and ר [r] create no difficulties for Herbert because, in the first place, a perfect equivalent in Latin exists for them and, second, their sound is unambiguous, making confusion with other letters less likely. Two types of consonants for which transliteration is not as straightforward are the so-called *Beghadhkephath* letters (בגדכ/ך/ף/פת), which can be pronounced fricative (written without *dagesh*) or plosive (written with *dagesh*) depending on their position within the sentence, and the gutturals א,ה,ח and ע.

Overall, the transliterations in the *Psalterium* seem to reflect pronunciation rather than original Hebrew orthography. We find a similar system used in other twelfth-century works such as Andrew's commentaries and the *Ysagoge*.⁶ The *Superscriptio Lincolniensis* on the other hand, which dates from the first half of the thirteenth century seems to stay closer to the original Hebrew orthography. For example, Herbert expresses the letter *beth* as *b* or *u* according to its status as a plosive or fricative consonant: בית [house] is

⁴ While it is possible that the open space in this sentence was meant to be filled later with a rendering of the word in Hebrew characters, it seems more likely that it was supposed to contain a Latin transliteration in red ink. This procedure of transliterations in differently coloured ink occurs also with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in alphabetical Psalms 110, 111, and 126. All of these contain marginal glosses of the transliterated letters as well.

⁵ *Écrits théologiques de l'École d'Abélard*, ed. by Arthur Landgraf, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 14 (Louvain: Gembloux, 1934), pp. 128-29.

⁶ *Andreae de Sancto Victore, Opera, vol. 1: Expositio super Heptateuchum*, ed. by C. Lohr and R. Berndt, CCCM, 53 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 253; *Andreae de Sancto Victore, Opera, vol. 6: Expositionem in Ezechielem*, ed. by Michael Alan Signer, CCCM 53E (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. xxi-xxv; *Andrew of St Victor: Commentary on Samuel and Kings*, ed. by Frans van Liere, PhD thesis, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 158; Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 251-52; Landgraf, *Écrits théologiques*, pp. 132-33.

transliterated as *bet* (103vb) but זבח [sacrifice] as *zeuach* (40vb), whereas the *Superscriptio Lincolniensis* generally transliterates ‘b’.⁷ Interestingly, Ralph Niger does the opposite and transliterates the plosive ב in מחברת [title of Menahem ben Saruq’s grammatical work *Mahberet*] as *u*, rendering *machuere*.⁸ Similarly, we find *caph* expressed as *k* in *ki* (134va) for כִּי [that, because] but as *ch* in *goiecha* (126vb) for גִּוְיְךָ [your people]. However, this is no clear rule of Herbert’s as in Psalm he transliterates משכל, which has a fricative *caph*, as *macechil* (103ra). For משפחת [clan of, tribe of] we find *mispahaz* (143ra) with a plosive *pe* while its fricative counterpart is written as *f* or *ph* in *rafaim* (104ra) and *raphaim* (104ra), standing for רפאים [giants]. Again the transliteration ‘ph’ for פ might be influenced by authors such as Jerome and Augustine who probably draw on the Greek letter φ (*phi*); ‘f’ for פ represents a later orthography as used by Bede and Rabanus Maurus.⁹ The letter *tav* tends to occur as *t* or *th* when plosive, in for example *nazacheti* (3vb) for נזחתי [I have anointed] or *mechtham* (17ra) for מחתם (a musical term), and as *th* or *z* when fricative, in for example *mahebereth* (8rb) and *maberez* (102vb) for מחברת. Herbert does not distinguish systematically between the fricative or plosive position of *dalet*, which is in line with Dahan’s findings on transliterations by other twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christian Hebraists.¹⁰ In Psalm 38 (39):1 ידיתון appears as *ydithun* and יבר [pestilence] in Psalm 90 (91):6 as *deuer*. Yet, תודה [thanksgiving] appears as *zoza* (135ra) Plosive *gimel* is written as *g* but I have not been able to find a fricative counterpart in the *Psalterium*. According to Dahan’s study, however, no difference between both types *gimel* was observed in contemporary Latin transliterations.¹¹

⁷ Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 251-52; Raphael Loewe, ‘The Mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England: The *Superscriptio Lincolniensis*’, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 28 (1957), 205-252.

⁸ Loewe, ‘Mediaeval Christian Hebraists: *Superscriptio*’, p. 247.

⁹ E.g. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, PL 34: 786; Jerome *Liber de nominibus hebraicis*, PL 23:799, 840; Jerome, *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum* PL 23: 867, 882 and 917; Beda, *Hexameron*, PL 91: 84AB; Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL 111: 365.

¹⁰ Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 251-52.

¹¹ Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 251-52.

Herbert does not indicate the silent gutturals ‘aleph (א) and ‘ayin (ע) in his transliterations but he does mention the latter when illuminating the Hebrew spelling of ישע in Psalm 84 (85):5:

‘Ihesus, id est “salutaris”. Et nota quod in nomine ihesus tres sunt littere: *ioth sin ain*’ (100ra)

He usually renders both *he* (ה) and *heth* (ח) as *h* or not at all. The transliteration of רוח [wind, spirit] is therefore *rua* (122ra) and למנצח [for the director] becomes *lamanascea* (5rb). As mentioned before, אלהים is written as *eloim/ eloym* and חץ as *hez/ hetz*. Only rarely does the end *heth* appear (e.g. in *zeuach*, see above). The unsystematic transliteration of *he* and *heth* can cause confusion and, following Jerome, Herbert is eager to point this out in an exegesis of Psalm 86 (87):4 concerning a difference in translation between the *Hebraica* and the *Gallicana* (called ‘alia edicio’). Whereas the Masoretic text has:

אזכיר רהב ובבל לירעי הגה פלשת וצור עם-כוש זה ילד-שם :

I will record Rahab and Babylon among those who acknowledge me- Philistia too, and Tyre, along with Cush, this one was born there [i.e. in Zion]

the *Gallicana* reads:

memor ero Raab et Babylonis scientibus me

but Jerome’s translation in the *Hebraica* has:

commemorabo superbiae et Babylonis scientes me

Herbert follows the *Hebraica*’s reading *superbiae* [pride] and points out the discrepancy between the two versions in the rendering of רהב.

Et nota quod ubi nos habemus hic superbie, in Hebreo est *rahaue*, et scribitur per tres litteras: *res, he, beth*. Et idem sonat quod ‘superbia’ [...] Quod ergo in edicione alia qua hec occidentalis ecclesia magis utitur scriptum est: *Memor ero Raab et Babilonis*, ut sit ibi *Raab* nomen mulieris illius Iurichontine, error uidetur manifestus. Nomen quippe mulieris apud Hebreos scribitur per litteras tres: *res, heth, beth*. Et idem sonat quod ‘latitudo’. Et ita quantum ad scripturam differencia manifesta est inter nomen

superbie et nomen mulieris. Nam in nomine superbie secunda nominis littera est *he*. In nomine uero mulieris secunda nominis littera est *heth*.¹² (101vb)

The same distinction between רחב and רהב already crops up in a lengthy marginal gloss in Herbert's earlier work, the *Magna Glosatura*.¹³ Yet, he (or a later copyist) seems anxious not to be seen to impose this interpretation upon the *Psalterium*'s readership as a marginal gloss on this passage has:

hic a me non absque doctoribus offensa et uetera nota dicta sint; uideat lector et iudicat

A third group of letters that causes confusion is that of the sibilants *samekh*, *sin* and *šin* (ס, ש, שׁ). Herbert transliterates all three of them as *s*, *c*, or *z* when at the end of a word. In line with the Sephardic type of pronunciation, he does not distinguish between *sin*, pronounced as *s*, and *šin*, now usually pronounced as *sh* in biblical Hebrew. He writes ספר [book] as *cefer* (2rb), שלש [three times] as *salis* (96ra) and משכיל (musical term) as *macechil* (103ra). He does however draw attention to a matter of textual criticism in Psalm 7 (8):1 (9vb), already discussed in Jerome and Pseudo-Jerome, involving the difference between *samekh* and *šin* in כׁיׁשׁ:

Cusi ubi nos, in Hebreo habetur *chus*; et nos Ethiopis legimus: error manifestus ponencium *cusi*, quod interpretatur 'silencium', pro *chus* quod 'Ethiops' interpretatur. Preterea obuiat quod nomen *chusi* per *samech*, sed nomen *chuz* per *sin* scribitur ignoracionibus.¹⁴

Again, he addresses the same issue in a marginal gloss in his edition of the *Magna Glosatura*.¹⁵

As the Hebrew alphabet is inherently consonantal, vowels, if added at all in medieval Hebrew writing, appear as signs under or above their preceding consonants.¹⁶

¹² See Jerome, *Liber de nominibus hebraicis*, PL 23:114; *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, PL 24: 405-406.

¹³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E inf. 6, fol. 29va; see also Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 45.

¹⁴ See Jerome, *Lib. de nom. heb.*, PL 23: 773; Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 26: 834 and *Liber de Expositione Psalmorum*, PL 26: 1285-87.

¹⁵ Cambridge, Trin. Coll. Lib., MS B.5.4, fol. 22vb.

¹⁶ Colette Sirat, *De scribe au livre: les manuscrits hébreux au Moyen Age* (Paris: Centre Nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1994), pp. 105-174.

Although this interlinear position makes them rather vulnerable to corruption or misinterpretation, Herbert takes pains to transliterate the vowels unambiguously most of the time. He seems aware that vowels in Hebrew often play a crucial role in differentiating between the syntactical functions of a noun or the nuances of a verb. For example, further to Psalm 86 (87):4a:

אֲזַכֵּיר רַהַב וּבָבֶל לִידְעֵי

I will record Rahab and Babylon among those who acknowledge me

which Herbert renders as:

Commemorabor superbie et Babylonis scientibus me

he comments:

Ubi nos ‘commemorabor’, Hebreus habet *azechir*, quod sonat ‘faciam commemorari’ uel ‘faciam reminisci’. Aliud uero uerbum est Hebreum scilicet *ezechor*, quod idem est quod ‘commemorabor’. Et est sensus: ‘ego commemorari’ uel ‘reminisci faciam’ quod Egyptus et Babilon reminiscentur; qui me sciunt: scilicet de Israelitis qui me cognoscunt et colunt. (101vb)

He rightly points out that the Hebrew verb form in question is אֲזַכֵּיר, the *hifil* or causative form of זָכַר, meaning [I will remind], and not אֲזַכֹּר, the *qal* form, meaning [I will remember].¹⁷ In Psalm 104 (105):1 while discussing the vocalisation of the tetragrammaton, he describes the vowel dots as ‘puncta’:

Quod si eciam quatuor ille Hebreo littere Hebreo more per puncta uocalentur. Sonabit *iohaua* quod sonat ‘fuit’, aut *iahoue* quod sonat ‘erit’. Et ita ex quatuor uario modo uocalans colligitur hoc scilicet ‘fuit, est, erit’. Nec aliquo modo uocalari possent, quin semper aliquod horum trium significaretur, scilicet aut ‘fuit’, aut ‘est’, aut ‘erit’.¹⁸ (124rb)

Pataḥ (/a/) and *qames* (/ā/) occur both as *a*, in for example *mazai* for מַתֵּי [when?] (119vb) or *bet hachaueroth*. *Segol* (/e/) and *ṣere* (/ē/) are both *e*, as in *mahberet* (see above)

¹⁷ See also Raphael Loewe, ‘Herbert of Bosham’s Commentary on Jerome’s Hebrew Psalter’, *Biblica*, 34 (1953), 44-77 (p. 54).

¹⁸ I will discuss Herbert’s exegesis on the Tetragrammaton further in Chapter Four.

and *kece* for כסה [full moon] (97va). *Hireq* (/i/) usually appears as *i*, in *azechir* (see above) or *ei* in, for example, *heiza* (51vb), for חידה [riddle]. *Holem* (/o/) is usually *o*, in e.g. *nohar* for נהר [youth] (104va), *ezechor* and *hachueroth* (see above). I have not been able to find an example for *qames hatup* (/o/) or for *qibbuṣ*. *Šureq* appears as *u*, e.g. *rua* [wind, breath, spirit] (see above). *Vav*, when in the position of half-vowel, is written as *u* in, for example, *celaue* (125vb), for שלו [quail]. The half-vowel *iod*, now pronounced as *y*, is transliterated as *g* at the beginning of a word or when doubled, e.g. *gipol* (113ra) for יפל, [he will fall] and *agelez* (25ra) for אילת, [doe]. This is not exceptional, since we find *iod* transliterated the same way in the *Extractiones de Talmud*, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁹ Again, the pronunciation of contemporary French and Latin probably influenced the rendering of Hebrew.

Vocal and composite *sheva* are normally expressed with *e* or *a* in, for example, *celaue* and *azechir/ ezechor* (see above). Herbert is not systematic in his rendering of silent *sheva*. He sometimes transliterates it but not always, which explains for a few of the variant spellings appearing in the *Psalterium*, such as *minha/ minaha* and *maberez/ mahebereth* (see above).

Although a wider study of the pronunciation and spelling of Hebrew within the framework of medieval Jewish- Christian relations is lacking, it is still possible to draw some conclusions about Herbert's use of Hebrew words in transliteration. As far as quantity of Hebrew is concerned, the *Psalterium* surpasses similar works by other Christian Hebraists of the period, such as the commentaries of Andrew. Overall, when addressing the spelling or interpretation of Hebrew words, Herbert is heavily indebted to works by and attributed to Jerome. However, in more than half of the cases his discussions of Hebrew words, as far as we know, do not have a Latin precedent at all. They might therefore be a reflection of either his own proficiency in the language or of the help he received from Hebrew teachers, or both. In general, his system of transliteration resembles that of other Hebraists or Jewish converts of the High Middle Ages although it seems more closely related to that of Andrew's commentaries, Odo's *Ysagoge* and William of Bourges' *Liber bellorum domini* than to that of the *Superscriptio Lincolniensis*. The question

¹⁹ Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 253.

remains whether Herbert's adherence to the pronunciation rather than to the orthography of Hebrew in his transliterations could be a reflection of the method by which he had learnt the language. If his learning was based upon regular contacts with a teacher who would read and translate Hebrew with him, as indeed he claims it was, he would be more likely to follow the contemporary Hebrew pronunciation than if he mainly worked with written Jewish and ecclesiastical sources.²⁰

2. Herbert's Knowledge of Hebrew Grammar

Throughout the *Psalterium*, instead of discussing Hebrew grammar extensively or systematically, Herbert provides small chunks of information where he finds this necessary. He describes aspects of Hebrew grammar in order to support his modifications to Jerome's text or, when not actually interfering with the *Hebraica* in his rendering of the Psalms, to offer a more literal alternative to Jerome's translation in his commentary. His treatment of the *Hebraica* and the *Gallicana* is reminiscent of Jerome's critical reading of the Septuagint in the *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* and will be further examined in Chapter Four. Both Jerome and Herbert worked from the Masoretic version of the Hebrew Bible, which around 100CE had become the prevailing text. As rules for faithful transmission were meticulously observed we can assume that Herbert had access to a Hebrew text largely identical to the one from which Jerome had worked before him.²¹

a. Hebrew Roots

It is unclear to what extent Herbert was aware of the root-based structure of the Hebrew language. In the course of his *Psalterium* he mentions the name of the tenth-century Sephardic scholar Menahem ben Saruq, whose work *Mahbereth* [Lexicon] was highly influential among Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews throughout the Middle Ages. Menahem categorises Hebrew words according to their roots, which he considers to be built out of two letters. His later contemporary and pupil Judah ben Hayyuj advocated a

²⁰ *Psalterium cum commento*, fol. 109vb, on Psalm 88 (89): 52, 'et ipsa eciam explanationis uerba que ab Hebreo in Latinum per loquacem meum fide, ni fallor, translata sunt'.

²¹ Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, Assen and Maastricht: Fortress Press and Van Gorcum, 1992), pp. 28-39.

theory of tri-literal roots. However, as Judah wrote in Arabic, while Menahem wrote in Hebrew, it was the latter's grammatical system which gained access to the Ashkenazi schools.²²

Since Herbert very rarely spells out words in his *Psalterium*, it is difficult to ascertain which system, if any, he favoured. In Psalm 4:1 he explains the meaning and structure of **לְמַנְצֵחַ**, a musical term typical for the titles of individual Psalms and Canticles. As the piel participle of the root **נָצַח**, meaning [to excel, to super-intend], with the inseparable preposition **לְ** attached, **לְמַנְצֵחַ** is usually translated as [to the music-master]. In the *Hebraica* Psalter, it normally occurs as *victori*. Herbert points out:

Sciendum quod ubi nos in psalmore titulis habemus *uictori*, in Hebreo est *lamanascea*. Et hoc Hebreum uerbum iuxta litterarum proprietatem que in ipso ponuntur uarie uocalatarum potest esse multiuocum. Tres enim littere sunt hic posite, scilicet *nun*, *sade*, *heth*. Quod enim *la* preponitur: articulus est. Iste uero tres littere simul iuncte secundum uarietatem uocalium si ipsis adiungantur, multa significare possunt. (5ra/b)

He owes part of the treatment of this term to Jerome who transliterates it as *lamanasse* and translates it as *victori* or, according to the Septuagint's εἰς τὸ τέλος, as [in finem].²³ Herbert includes these translations in his further definition and adds that **לְמַנְצֵחַ** can also have the meaning of *fortitudo*, *prepositura* and *cancio*. The translation he seems to find most apt is *cantor*, *precantor* or *prepositus*:

Siquidem uictoris nomine in psalmore titulis: 'cantor' seu potius 'precentor' uel 'prepositus' intelligitur. Eo quod quasi uictor in organis musicorum et cancionibus presit aliis. (5rb)

Rashi, who is throughout the *Psalterium* Herbert's main Jewish authority, briefly explains it as 'those who take charge of an enterprise' (**לְמַתְחַזְקִים בְּעִבּוּדָה**).²⁴

²² Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 57.

²³ Jerome, *Epistola 65, Ad principiam Virginem, sive explanatio Psalmi 44*, PL 22: 623-39; *Commentarius in Daniele*, PL 25: 492; see also Goodwin 'A Study of Herbert of Bosham's Psalm Commentary (c.1190)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001), pp. 207-209.

²⁴ *Rashi's Commentary on Psalms 1-89 (Books I-III)*, ed. and transl. by Mayer I. Gruber (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), p. 60 (English) and p. 2 (Hebrew).

Interestingly, in his analysis of the term, Herbert carries on where Jerome leaves off by drawing attention to the three root-letters *nun*, *sade* and *heth* as the central elements of the word. He differs here from Rashi, who renders the verb as נִיצַרַח. Whereas Herbert realises *la* is an additional ‘particle’, he does not mention the *mem* as prefix of the Piel participle, nor does he describe the word as a participle at all.

Rather striking is his definition of the three *littere*, the main consonants of the word, as *multiuocum* and as being *uarie uocalatarum*. *Multiuocum*, literally ‘multi-voiced’ probably refers to the different ways in which the consonants can be vocalised, thus leading to a variety of interpretations. The highly unusual ‘uocalatarum’ could be interpreted as a past participle of *uocalare* [vocalise]. *Uarie uocalatarum* seems to describe consonants which can be vocalised in various ways.²⁵

Although Herbert shows himself capable of recognising the three root-letters in לִמְנַצַח, this does not indicate he consciously follows the tri-literal grammatical system. In Psalm 87 (88): 11 for example he combines the meanings of two different roots for exegetical purposes:

הַלְמַתִּים תַּעֲשֶׂה-פְּלֹא אִם-רַפְּאִים יִקְוּמוּ יוֹדוּךָ סְלָה:

Do you show wonder at the dead? Do those who are dead rise up and praise you?

Herbert translates:

uel medici uel remissi

Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia aut gigantes surgent et confitebuntur tibi

He offers three possible interpretations for רַפְּאִים: ‘[race of] giants’, ‘physicians’ and ‘weaklings’. The first two are derived from the proper name רַפְּא, father of the race of giants, and the root רַפַּא, [to heal], respectively. The third meaning understands רַפְּאִים as a form of רַפַּה, [to be weak], [to desist]. In his following exposition of the Hebrew word. Herbert shows how his three translations are ultimately reconcilable with one another:

²⁵ *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, ed. by R.E. Latham (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 315.

Aut gigantes surgent: nota quod est uerbum Hebreum scilicet *raphaim* quod tria significat. Potest enim significare ‘gygantes’, sicut nos hic habemus. Significat et ‘medicis’. Unde et nostrorum aliqui ubi nos habemus hic ‘gigantes’ posuerunt ‘medici’. Interdum eciam significat idem quod ‘remissi’. Et secundum hanc significacionem ultimam a Iudeorum pericioribus exponitur sic ‘aut remissi’, id est illi qui remisse et negligenter faciunt opus Dei. De qualibet illud *prophete. *Maledictus qui opus Dei facit negligenter*. Secundum litteram uero nostram ‘gygantes’ uocat: de sua fortitudine glorientes. Et putantes se aliquid esse: cum nichil sint. Et isti tales siue ‘gigantes’ siue ‘remissi’. ‘Nunquid surgent’, id est se ad te erigent ut tibi obsequantur. Et confitebuntur tibi, quasi dicat: non potest eciam secundum unam significacionum huius Hebrei nominis *rafaim* qua supra diximus quod significaret ‘medicos’. Littera legi sic: ‘Aut medici’ scilicet qui superbe et arroganter promittunt salutem aliis, cum tamen salutare nequeant. (104ra)

*marginal gloss: In Ez.c Maledictus opus

The reading *gygantes*, the race of giants who were often interpreted as symbols of pride and blasphemy, is the traditional one among the ecclesiastical authors.²⁶ Jerome repeatedly offers *medici* as an alternative translation.²⁷ *Remissum* only occurs once in Jerome in a footnote and a synonym, *defluens* appears as a translation of *Rapha* in Pseudo-Jerome.²⁸ However, Herbert attributes the exposition of this particular translation to ‘the more able of the Jews’ (*a Iudeorum pericioribus*) and not to any Christian authority. He might have borrowed from Rashi the element of negligence in carrying out God’s work. Rashi reads רפאים as [dead ones or shades], metaphors for the gentiles who are ‘negligent with respect to God’s service’ (שריפו ידיהם בעבודתך)²⁹. He probably draws on the interpretation offered in the Babylonian Talmud, Ketubot, 111b, which associates רפאים in Isaiah 26:14 with religious negligence.³⁰

I have not been able to find to which verse of Ezechiel the marginal gloss *In Ez.c Maledictus opus* refers. Yet, the root רפה appears in two verses in Ezechiel, 7:17 and 21:7 respectively, and describes in both instances the slackening of the hands of sinners at the End of Days (*omnes manus dissolventur*). Alternatively, Ez.c could be a corruption of

²⁶ A few examples are: Bede, *Hexameron*, PL 91: 84; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, PL 82: 528; Rabanus Maurus, *Commentarius in Genesim*, PL 107: 538.

²⁷ Jerome, *Lib. de nom. heb.*, PL23: 799, 840; *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, PL 24: 303

²⁸ Jerome, *Lib. de nom. heb.*, PL23: 808; Pseudo-Jerome, *Commentarius in Peralipomenon*, PL 23: 1379B.

²⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 405 (English) and p. 47 (Hebrew).

³⁰ *The Talmud of Babylonia, Tractate Ketubot, Chapters 8-13*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 141.

Ex[odus] in which case *propheta* refers to Moses. The root רפה occurs in Ex. 5:8 and 5:17, concerning Pharaoh's accusation of the Israelites as being lazy (נרפים) and work shy. Third, it could be a reference to Jer. 48:10 *maledictus qui facit opus Domini fraudulentem*, 'cursed is the one who corrupts the work of the Lord'. Although this verse does not contain the root רפה it does use a synonym רמיה, meaning 'laxity', which ties in with Rashi's interpretation of religious negligence. In this last case whoever supplied or copied the cross reference knew it originated from one of the prophets but mistakenly took it for a quote from Ezechiel instead of Jeremiah.

It remains unclear whether with 'the more able of the Jews' Herbert refers to textual or to contemporary oral sources. The fact that Herbert associates the roots רפא and רפה with each other is reminiscent of Menahem ben Saruq's bi-literal system of categorisation. Loewe comes to a similar conclusion after his examination of Herbert's exegesis of *nascu bar* (נשקו בר) in Psalm 2:12. According to Herbert, נשקו

commune est, ad amorem³¹, ad desiderium, ad cursum et ad osculum (4rb)

These translations cover the roots נשק [to kiss], שוק [to long for] and שקק [to run] and are a selection of the roots which Menahem assembled under the bi-literal root of שק.³²

b. Cases and Prepositions

Herbert does not devote much time to the explanation of Hebrew grammar nor does he overly seek to mould Hebrew idiom into Latin morphological and syntactical categories. However, he does touch on the fact that Hebrew lacks declensions. In a brief remark on Psalm 80 (81): 8

בצרה קראת ואחלצך אענך בסתר רעם אבחנוך על-מי מריבה סלה

In your distress you called and I rescued you, I answered you out of a thundercloud;
tested you at the waters of Meribah. *Selah*

he writes:

³¹ Following a suggestion of Jessica Weiss, 'ad amorem' is an emendation of 'ad morem'.

³² Loewe, 'Commentary', pp. 57-58.

Uel ita ut tonitruui: sit casus genitiui. Respondi tibi in abscondito tonitruui, id est te existente in abscondito et a me defenso in aduersarios emisi tonitruum; et nota quod Hebrei cum careant obliquis, distinguunt uarietates casuum solum per articulos. In quo error de facili suboriri potest, in eronee ponatur casus pro casu (98ra)

As Herbert states, since the *casus obliqui* (accusative, genitive, dative and ablative) are absent in Hebrew, these functions are expressed through *articulos*, particles. Whenever he mentions the word *articulus* he seems to refer to a preposition. For example, he renders עַל־מִוֶּתֶן לְבֶן [on/about the death of the son] in the *titulus* of Psalm 9:1 as *almuth laben* and adds:

al articulus est; *almuth* ‘pro’ uel ‘super morte’ (11va)

Next to עַל he also describes the preposition לְ as an *articulus* (Psalm 4:1, see above).

Since I have not been able to find any other instances where he uses this term, it remains unclear whether Herbert recognised these inseparable ‘particles’ as Hebrew prepositions and, if he did, why he did not call them ‘praepositiones’. One reason for this might be that for him this rather vague term *articulus* covers not just prepositions but also other particles for which the Latin equivalent would be an oblique case. This would then include the object-marker אֶת־, which is in Latin expressed by the accusative ending.

In her pioneering article on twelfth- and thirteenth-century bilingual Hebrew-Latin manuscripts, Olszowy-Schlanger provides evidence to support a more inclusive use of this term. She found that a large number of the manuscripts she has studied use the abbreviation *ar* for *articulus* to denote the definite article הַ, the object-marker אֶת־ or the preposition לְ. Interestingly, she only mentions thirteenth-century manuscripts in *superscriptio* in this respect.³³ Unlike these, the *Psalterium* does not translate the definite article or the object-marker. Another thirteenth-century work, a Hebrew grammar generally attributed to Roger Bacon, provides description of the differences between Hebrew and Latin morphology:

Habent [...] et articulos ut ha est articulus nominativi et genitivi, la dativi, eth accusativi et multociens etha, unde quandocunque in textu hebreo invenitur etha semper sequitur accusativus casus.

³³ Olszowy-Schlanger, ‘Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts’, p. 116.

They [the Hebrews] have also articles; ׀ is the article of the nominative and genitive, ׀ of the dative, ׀ of the accusative, often ׀ ׀. Whenever ׀ ׀ is found in the Hebrew text, the accusative case always follows.³⁴

Bacon then proceeds to describe the ablative as expressed by the (separate) preposition ׀, meaning [from]. Olszowy-Schlanger concludes:

Thus both *articulus* in its broad sense [i.e. including enclitic prepositions as well as ׀ and ׀] and [separate] prepositions are presented by Bacon as markers of the Hebrew declension. This somewhat constrained identification is well in line with the thirteenth-century idea that there is in reality only one universal grammar which underlies different linguistic realities: *Grammatica una et eadem est secundum substantiam in omnibus linguis licet accidentaliter varietur*.³⁵

Olszowy-Schlanger's findings suggest that a word-for-word analysis of the Hebrew text of the Psalms, as occurs in the group of bilingual Psalters mentioned, and the attempt to explain Hebrew grammar through Latin, as recorded in Bacon's treatise, only fully took off during the thirteenth century. This raises the question how to assess Herbert's place in this development of Hebrew learning by Christians. Was he a solitary figure, half a century ahead of his time or should we read his work as a testimony for a growing interest in Hebrew among the Christian intelligentsia during the latter half of the twelfth century? In order to provide an answer on this matter it is necessary to examine his knowledge of Hebrew and use of the Masoretic text into greater detail.

In his statement on the absence of a case system in Hebrew, Herbert fails to make mention of the grammatical phenomenon of the *construct state* of Hebrew nouns. This change to a noun's consonantal and/or vowel structure indicates that it is the possession of something or someone else. The very word group on which Herbert comments here contains such a word: ׀, meaning [from a hiding place of], followed by ׀, [thunder]. To a Latin scholar the construct state must have been recognisable as a sort of 'inverted genitive', declining the possessed rather than the possessor. Jerome translates the

³⁴ *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar*, ed. by Edmond Nolan and S.A. Hirsch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), p. 204; translation by Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', p. 116.

word group **רעם בסתר** as *ab abscondito tonitruui*, thereby rendering **רעם** as a dative singular. The *Gallicana* gives a more literal reading of the Hebrew and has *ab abscondito tempestatis*. While Herbert mentions the *Hebraica* in his commentary, he favours *respondi tibi ab abscondito tonitruum probaui te super aquam* in the main text, rendering *tonitruum* as a genitive plural. His commentary suggests however that he uses *tonitrus* here in two forms: as a Classical Latin fourth declension noun, which Jerome uses, and as a second declension noun, following contemporary usage.

Tonitruum scilicet in uoce tonitruui respondi tibi. Id est manifesta signa dedi et prodigia feci plagando Egyptum, ut te liberarem. Uel respondi tibi tamen abscondita tonitruum id est te protecto in abscondito: emisi tonitruum, temptationem uidelicet et manifestas plagas, in aduersarios. Nam Egyptiis tempestatis: in terra Gesen ubi erant filii Israel grando non cecidit. Uel ita ut tonitruui: sit casus genitiui. *Respondi tibi in abscondito tonitruui*, id est te existente in abscondito et a me defenso in aduersarios emisi tonitruum (98ra)

Another passage in which Herbert interferes with the *Hebraica*'s reading of a construct chain is in Psalm 59 (60):13

הַבְּהִלְנוּ עֲזַרְתָּ מִצָּר וְשׂוֹא תְשׁוּעַת אָדָם :

Give us aid against the enemy, for the help of man is worthless

The *Gallicana* has *da nobis auxilium de tribulatione et vana salus hominis* while the *Hebraica* modifies the latter half of the verse to *vana est enim salus ab homine*.

Herbert reads **תְשׁוּעַת אָדָם**, [help of man], as *salus hominis* following the *Gallicana* instead of the *Hebraica*'s 'salus ab homine'. In 87 (88):6 while explaining

בְּמַתִּים חֲפָשִׁי כְמוֹ חַלְלִים שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר

Set apart/ freed with the dead like the slain who are lying in the grave

for which the *Hebraica* has

inter mortuos liber sicut interfecti et dormientes in sepulchro'

³⁵ Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', p. 117, quoting Roger Bacon in R.H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (London: Longmans, 1967), p. 67.

he notes that חפשי can have the meaning of both [set apart] and [freed], and adds:

ubi nos habemus ‘in domo separata’, Hebreus habet ‘libera’. Sita enim fuit domus inter fossas mortuorum. Quia nos cimiterium: Hebrei uocant *bet hachaueroth*, quod interpretatur ‘domus fossarum’. *Bet* enim ‘domus’; *chaueroth* quod nos ‘caluaria’ dicimus, ‘fosse’. Unde dicitur mons caluarie: mons fossarum. (103vb)

His literal translation of *bet hachaueroth* (בית הקברות) suggests he recognises the words as a construct chain.

In his treatment of Hebrew grammar Herbert tends to translate or explain individual cases as he goes along, rather than providing a general rule. On the *titulus* of Psalm 7:1 we find:

Alsirionez; *al*: ‘pro’ uel ‘super’; *sirionez*: pluraliter ignoraciones; *alsirionez*, hoc est ‘pro’ uel ‘super’ ignoracionibus (9rb)

and in 26 (27):8

לך אמר לבי בקשו פני את־פניך יהוה אבקש

To you He has said: ‘O my heart, seek my face’. Your face, Lord I will seek

which is rendered in the *Hebraica* as

tibi dixit cor meum quaesivit vultus meus faciem tuam Domine et requiram

and in the *Gallicana* as

tibi dixit cor meum exquisivit facies mea....

Herbert modifies the indicative of both Latin versions to an imperative, which conforms more closely to the Hebrew בקש:

Tibi dixit cor meum querite faciem meam; faciem tuam Domine et requiram

Herbert comments on the meaning of לך/ tibi:

Tibi, id est ‘pro te’, id est, uices tuas gerens. Dixit cor meum: Israel. Hoc, scilicet querite faciem meam, hoc Dauid in persona Domini toti Israeli dicebit, scilicet querite faciem meam, tanquam si ipse Dominus diceret eis: querite faciem meam.

Et est idioma Hebreorum lingue sic datium ponere. Id est ‘pro’, scilicet ‘loco tui’.
(28vb)

In Psalm 67(68):19, he gives another snippet of information on the use of the preposition כּ, which covers a wide range of meanings, including ‘in’, ‘with’, ‘by’, ‘to’ and ‘from’.³⁶

He translates the Hebrew:

עליית למרום שבית שבי לקחת מתנות באדם ואף סוררים לשכן יה אלהים

When you ascended on high, you led captives in your train; you received gifts from men, even from the rebellious that you, Lord God, might dwell there.

as:

Eleuasti in excelsum captiuasti captiuitatem, accepisti dona in homine: insuper et non credentes habitare Dominum Deum.

and comments on באדם/*in homine*:

Et est Hebreae lingue familiare ‘in’ pro ‘per’ ponere. (73rb)

He tends to translate prepositions as literally as possible, as for example in Psalm 50 (51):6a

לך לבדך חטאתי וחרע בעיניך עשיתי

Against you, you alone have I sinned, and I have done what is evil in your sight

which he renders as

Tibi soli peccaui et malum in oculis tuis feci

opting for a literal translation of בעיניך as *in oculis* against Jerome’s translation of *coram oculis*.³⁷

In the previous verse of the same Psalm he supplies two translations for the preposition נגד, [before, against]: namely Jerome’s reading *contra* and a variant, *coram*:

uel coram

³⁶ I will discuss Herbert’s exegesis of this verse in relationship to Paul’s interpretation in Chapter Four.

³⁷ Other examples of a literal translation of כּ are 16 (17): 6; 26 (27): 13.

Quoniam errores meos ego cognovi: et peccaui: et peccatum meum contra me est semper.

He comments:

Idioma Hebreum est dictiones has ‘contra’ et ‘coram’ indifferenter ponere. Quod enim ‘contra me’ est quasi ‘obuium michi’; hoc ‘coram me’ est quasi ‘obuium michi’.³⁸ Sic igitur ponitur hic ‘contra’ pro ‘coram’. Est autem uere penitentis: peccati sui iugiter recordari ut cernens magnitudinem culpe, eo humiliter et deuocius pulset ad ianuam uenie. (54vb)

c. Nouns

It is a common stylistic feature in Biblical Hebrew that nouns often appear in the singular where Latin (and English) would expect a plural. On several occasions, Herbert prefers a literal translation of such a Hebrew noun to a more elegant one according to Latin idiom. With the scrupulous translation of פֶּאֶרֶם in 67 (68): 19 as a noun in the singular Herbert differs from both the *Hebraica* and the *Gallicana* versions which have *in hominibus*. Another verse where his reading reflects the Hebrew number more literally than Jerome is Psalm 37 (38):17

כִּי־אָמַרְתִּי פֶן־יִשְׂמַחֻּ־לִי בְמוֹט רַגְלִי עָלַי הַגְדִּילוּ :

For I said: ‘Do not let them gloat or exalt themselves over me when my foot slips’.

רַגְלִי [my foot] appears in Jerome’s translations as *pedes mei*. Herbert corrects this to:

Quia dixi: ne forte insultent michi; et cum uacillauerit pes meus super me magnificetur

Similarly, commenting on Psalm 62 (63):4

כִּי־טוֹב חַסְדְּךָ מִחַיִּים שִׁפְתַי יִשְׁבַּחֶנְךָ :

Because your love is better than life, my lips will glorify you

he follows Jerome in his translation:

Melior est enim misericordia tua quam uite: labia mea laudabunt te

³⁸ Emendation of dittography of *hoc ‘coram me’ est*.

and draws attention to the number of חיים [life]. He comments that in Hebrew *vita* [life] is always plural, justifying this example of Hebrew idiom by relating it to the different *modos vivendi* among the four classes of medieval society.

Quia melior est misericordia tua qua hic iustificas et in futuro coronas super uitas. Pluraliter dicit uitas: iuxta Hebreum idioma in quo uite nomen semper plurale est, singulare numquam. Et uocat uitas: uarios uiuendi modos qui inter homines sunt in presenti. Unde alii clerici, alii laici, alii milites, alii agricolae sunt. (65va)

Herbert seems to consider חיים as a noun throughout the *Psalterium*, even when it is used (and appearing in the *Hebraica*) as an adjective. In verse 20 of Psalm 37 (38) the Masoretic text reads:

איבוי חיים עצמו ורבו שאי שקר :

Many are those who are my vigorous enemies; those who hate me without reason are numerous

The *Hebraica* translates as

inimici autem mei viventes confortati sunt: et multiplicati sunt odientes me mendaciter

while the *Gallicana* has a verb:

inimici autem mei vivent et firmati sunt super me...

Herbert rigorously chooses for the noun *uita* in the ablative instead of the present participle *viventes* as a more literal translation of חיים:

inimici autem mei vita confortati sunt...

and comments:

inimici mei uita, id est, pace et omnibus uite humane necessariis confortati et cetera. Uel secundum aliam litteram: Uiuentes prospere confortati sunt; in robore corporis, in felicitate sobolis

He repeats this technique in Psalm 68 (69): 29. Similarly, in Psalm 75 (76):9

משמים השמעת דין ארץ יראה ושקטה :

From heaven you pronounced judgment; earth feared and was quiet

Herbert interferes with Jerome's translation and replaces the word for 'heaven' in the singular, *celo*, by the plural *celis*. Probably ignorant of the fact that שמים is in fact not a plural but a dual noun, he states:

notandum quod in Hebreo non singulare sed semper plurale est *celi*. Eo scilicet quod sicut aiunt ex contrariis sit, id est ex igne et ex aqua. Unde est Hebraice *sabaim* dicitur. (89ra)

Again he finds an explanation for the number of שמים, this time in the popular etymology, provided by Rashi in his commentary on Genesis 1:1, that שמים is a compound of the words שא [fire, lightning] and מים [water] because the heavens were originally created from fire and water.³⁹

Herbert does not discuss the lack of a neuter gender in Hebrew nouns, nor does he comment upon the formation of plurals or the agreement between nouns and adjectives. I have found one passage where he draws attention to the use of a word as a 'nomen appellativum' (common noun). In Psalm 78 (79):9a,

עזרנו אלהי ישענו על-דבר כבוד-שמך

Help us, God our saviour, for the glory of your name

which in the *Hebraica* reads as

Auxiliare nobis Deus Ihesus noster propter gloriam nominis tui et libera nos

he explains

Ihesus: pro quo Hebreus dicit *iesuah*. Et est aliquando nomen proprium, aliquando appellativum. Idem sonans quod 'saluator'. Et hoc notandum quod ubicumque apud

³⁹ *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary*, ed. and transl. by M. Rosenbaum and A.M. Silbermann, 5 vols (London: Shapiro, 1929-34), *Genesis* (1929), p. 3.

Hebreos nomen salutis ponitur, per tres litteras nominis Ihesu semper scribitur, scilicet *ioth sin et ain*. Ut uelit nolit Iudeus, salutem semper in nomine Iesu ipsum postulare oporteat. (94rb)

He does not comment on the use of adjectives to express comparison but I have found one instance where he differs from Jerome in the translation of a Hebrew comparative. Psalm 138 (139):6

פלאיה דעת ממני נשגבה לא-אוסל לה :

Such knowledge is too wonderful for me, too lofty for me to attain

He translates the construction of the comparative, consisting of the adjective פלאיה [wonderful] followed by the preposition מן very literally as:

Mirabilior est scientia a me; excelsior est; non potero ad eam

against Jerome's translation:

Super me est scientia et excelsior est non potero ad eam.

In Psalm 23 (24):1-2, a photograph of which can be found in Appendix 3, Herbert remarks on the difference in gender between Hebrew nouns and their Latin translation and the impact that has on the interpretation of pronouns referring to these nouns. The Hebrew reads:

ליהוה הארץ ומלואה תבל וישבי בה :

כי-הוא על-ימים יסדה ועל-נהרות יכוננה :

1. The earth is the Lord's, and everything in it, the world and all who live in it;
2. For he founded it upon the seas and established it upon the waters.

The *Hebraica* reads

1. Domini est terra et plenitudo eius orbis et habitatores eius
2. quia ipse super maria fundavit eum et super flumina stabilibit illum'

Herbert follows the *Hebraica* but comments on a grammatical problem arising in Jerome's translation. Both ארץ [earth] and תבל [world] are feminine in Hebrew, which means that the feminine singular pronominal suffix הָ in verse two could refer to either noun. In Latin, תבל occurs as the masculine *orbis* and the feminine suffix הָ is rendered as the masculine *eum* and *illum*, thereby suggesting its antecedent is *orbis* only.⁴⁰

Nota quod in Hebreo et terra et orbis femina sunt. Et pronomen quod subsequenti uersu ponitur, pro quo nos habemus masculina, et eum et illum, similiter apud Hebreos referri siue ad terram siue ad orbem. Utrumque enim apud eos femininum est et pronomen similiter quod in uersu subsequenti ponitur: femininum attamen litterator *meus ad terram retulit, tanquam si ita habeatur apud nos. (26va)

marginal gloss: Salomon

This is one of the rare passages where Herbert's source Rashi appears to be mentioned by name.

d. Pronouns

It is in Herbert's literal translation of pronouns that he most clearly sacrifices the rules of Latin grammar in favour of Hebrew idiom. This is noticeable in Psalm 73 (74):2

זכר עֲדַתְךָ קְנִיתָ קֶדֶם גְּאֻלַּת שְׁבֹט נַחֲלַתְךָ הַר־צִיּוֹן זֶה שְׁכֵנַת בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ :

Remember the people you possessed of old, the tribe you redeemed as your inheritance, mount Zion on which you lived

which reads in the *Hebraica*:

Recordare congregationis tuae quasi possedisti ab inicio et redemisti virgam hereditatis tuae; montem Syon in quo habitasti

In the *Psalterium* we find:

...montem Syon istum habitasti in eo

⁴⁰ See also Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 60; Smalley, 'Commentary', pp. 48-49.

Herbert could have taken over the use of *in eo* from the *Gallicana* version of the Psalter but neither version has *istum*, which is used here incorrectly instead of a relative pronoun. However, the combination of *istum* and *in eo* seems an accurate translation of the Hebrew words זֶה and בּוֹ. It is unclear, however, whether in modifying the *Hebraica* it is Herbert's aim to express the Hebrew as literally as possible or merely to stress that *montem Syon* and not another mountain is indicated here. He comments:

Quod dicit (i.e. Asaph) 'istum' pro nomine utens demonstratiuo. Sicut in alibi in psalmo *in reci isto quod absconderunt* [Psalm 30 (31):5]⁴¹: modus est loquendi Hebraee lingue familiaris. Et ponitur hic 'istum' discretiue ad commendacionem. Quasi istum scilicet cui mons alius seu eciam habitacio aliqua non est similiter quia tu habitasti in eo. (85ra)

A similar adherence to Hebrew idiom occurs in Psalm 58 (59):14

כלה בחמה פלה ואינמו וידעו פי־אלהים משל ביעקב לאפסי
הארץ סלה :

Consume them in wrath, consume them that they are no more; in order that they know in the ends of the earth that God rules over Jacob

which Jerome translates as:

Consume in furore, consume ut non subsistant: ut sciant quoniam Deus dominatur iacob in finibus terre

Herbert follows Jerome in most of this verse but reads *ut non illi* instead of *ut non subsistant* as a word for word translation of the Hebrew ואינמו, [and they [are] not/ no more]. Only once does Herbert analyse the use of a pronoun at greater length. In 67 (68):24,

למען תמחץ רגלך בדם לשון כלביך מאיבים מנחון :

That you may plunge your feet in the blood of your foes; while the tongues of your dogs have their share

⁴¹ תוציאני מרשת זב טמנו לי פי־אתה מעוזי : Herbert follows here Jerome's translation and has a relative pronoun rather than a demonstrative one: 'Educes me de rete quod absconderunt mihi: quia tu fortitudo mea es'.

which in the *Hebraica* appears as

Ut calcet pes tuus in sanguine: lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis a temet ipso

Herbert rightly substitutes *semet* for *temet* as a more correct translation for מִמֶּנּוּ [from him]. He explains the meaning of the pronominal suffix third person masculine singular נוֹ [him] by relating it to the personal pronoun הוּ [he], transliterated as *hv*:

Et dicit hic a semet ipso quemadmodum in exceptis actionibus solet dici ‘ipse pluit’, ‘ipse tonat’, ‘ipse choruscat’. Nec est que querat quis ipse: de solo quippe Deo intelligitur, qui solus in talibus per hoc pronomen significatur sic. In quibus ponit Hebreus unum de Dei nominibus proprius, scilicet *hv*, quod sonat ‘ipse’ apud nos tanquam si iuxta Hebreum dicatur. ‘*hv* tonat’, ‘*hv* choruscat’, ubi nos ‘ipse tonat’, ‘ipse choruscat’. Hoc tamen notandum quod cum hic unum sit secundum Hebreos de propriis nominibus Dei, non nisi Deo competit. Cum tamen pronominales dictiones, scilicet ‘ille’ et ‘ipse’, apud nos communes sint, sicut Deo et aliis. Hic uero in psalmo ubi habemus a semet ipso, Hebreus habet *hv*, tanquam si dicatur apud nos a semet hv, ex quo iuxta Hebrei sermonis proprietatem determinatur. Quod dicitur hic a semet ipso: ad solum Deum referendum.’ (74 vb)

Herbert clearly has other biblical passages in mind where הוּ, sometimes combined with a verb expressing a force of nature, refers to God.⁴² It is unclear which textual source (if any) Herbert relies on. Rashi interprets מִמֶּנּוּ as ‘his share’, referring to the dog’s tongues. Goodwin draws attention to the correlation between the Hebrew הוּ, consisting of *he*, *vav*, *aleph* and Herbert’s unusual transliteration as of the *vav* as *v* and not as *u*, which would be what one would expect in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century where the letters *u* and *v* are usually written as *u*.⁴³

On one occasion, Herbert discusses the meaning of the interrogative pronoun מתי [when?] in Psalm 100 (101):2.

אֲשְׁכִּילָהּ בְּדֶרֶךְ תָּמִים מִתִּי תָבוֹא אֵלַי אֶתְהַלֵּךְ בְּתַם־לִבִּי
בְּקֶרֶב בֵּיתִי

⁴² This is the case in, for example, 9: 9; 23 (24): 2; 61 (62): 7; 94 (95): 5.

⁴³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 305 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew); see also Goodwin, ‘Herbert of Bosham’, pp. 195-96.

I will be careful to lead a blameless life- when will you come to me? I will walk in my house with a blameless heart.

quando uenies ad me: interrogatiue: quando. Nec enim secundum Hebræe lingue idioma potest hic esse nisi interrogatiuum. Ponitur enim hic uerbum Hebreum *mazai* quod numquam apud eos poni potest preterquam interrogatiue. *Mazai* enim quasi diriuatur a *ma*, quod est 'quid'. Unde et ad primam manne descensum: admirando dicebant: *mau*, id est 'quod hoc' absque uero. Sed postea addicta est enim et dixerunt *man*. (119vb)

Again, Herbert draws on Rashi's commentaries on the Pentateuch in his inclusion of popular etymology, this time to explain the origin of the word *manna*.⁴⁴

e. A Noun for a Noun, a Verb for a Verb

Several of the modifications to the *Hebraica* concern the grammatical category to which a word belongs. Herbert seems to favour a translation method whereby he renders the Hebrew word into a Latin one of an equivalent grammatical category. In Psalm 9:8, for example, the *Hebraica* has:

Dominus autem in sempiternum sedebit: stabiliuit ad iudicandum solium suum.

Herbert replaces *ad iudicandum* with *ad iudicium*. The Hebrew has a noun as well:

לְמִשְׁפֵּט [for (the purpose of) the judgment]. The reading *ad iudicium* might have been influenced by the *Gallicana* version, which has *in iudicio*. However, it is likely that the reason why Herbert here opted for a noun is that he sought to translate לְמִשְׁפֵּט with a word of the same category, preceded by *ad* to express purpose. In Psalm 16 (17):11 a similar modification occurs. The *Hebraica* has

Incedentes aduersum me nunc circumdederunt me; oculos suos posuerunt declinare in terram (19rb)

The *Psalterium* reads *gressus nostri* instead of *incedentes*, or *proicentes*, according to the *Gallicana*. The Masoretic text has אֲשֶׁר יֵנֶנּוּ, [our steps]. Again Herbert's translation

⁴⁴ Rashi on Exodus 16:15, which references the Babylonian Talmud, *sukkah* 32b, Rosenbaum and Silbermann, *Exodus*, pp. 83-84.

remains faithful to the grammatical category of the Hebrew word and has here the added advantage of being able to express the pronominal suffix נַרְ, [our].

In Psalm 7:12 we find:

אלהים שופט צדיק ואל זעם בכל-יום :

God is a righteous judge, a God who expresses his wrath every day

The *Hebraica* has *iudex iustus* for שופט צדיק. Herbert renders this as *iudicans iustus*, keeping in mind that שופט is in fact an active participle of שפט, [to judge], here used as a noun.

It is interesting to note how Herbert interferes with Jerome's text in the translation of the Hebrew infinitive construct with the preposition ל, which is used to express purpose. In Psalm 26:13

לֹא אֶמְנָתִי לִרְאוֹת בְּטוֹב־יְהוָה בְּאֶרֶץ חַיִּים :

Still, I am confident to see (on) the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living

the *Hebraica* has:

Ego autem credo quod videam bona Domini in terra vivencium but

Herbert translates:

Nisi quia credidi ad uidendum in bonis Domini in terra uiuencium

and adds:

Uel: *Ego autem credo quod uideam bona domini: in terra uiuencium. Quod tamen minus Hebreo consonat.*

He shows that, although he has access to a wholly uncorrupted reading from Jerome, he deliberately applies some quite substantial modifications to the text. Not only does he substitute *nisi quia* for *autem* as a more literal rendering of לֹא, he also scrupulously

takes over the perfect tense of **האמנהי** and translates the preposition **ב** as *in*, which the Latin sentence structure here does not need. For the infinitive construct **לראות**, he supplies the gerund *ad uidendum*. A Latin gerund in the accusative with *ad* forms a perfect equivalent for the Hebrew infinitive construct with **ל**, as both are verbal nouns preceded by a preposition that expresses purpose.

A similar example occurs in Psalm 48 (49):15, where the Hebrew reads:

כצאן לשאול שתו מות ירעם וירדו בם ישרים לבקר
וצירם לבלות שאול מזבל לו :

Like sheep they are destined for the grave/ Sheol, and death will feed on them. The upright will rule over them in the morning; their forms will decay in the grave, far from their princely mansions

The *Hebraica* has:

Quasi grex in inferno positi sunt mors pascet eos: et subicient eos recto in matutino; et figura eorum conteretur in inferno post habitaculum suum

and while Herbert follows it almost completely, he supplies a variant translation for the last phrase :

Quasi ouis in inferno positi sunt mors pascet eos: et subicient eos recto in uel conteretur in inferno post habitaculum suum matutino et figura eorum ad putrefaciendum infernum in habitacionem eius

לבלות means literally [in order to decay], which he aptly translates as *ad*

putrifaciendum.⁴⁵ In Psalm 126:2 Herbert manages to cleverly tie in a reflection of Hebrew grammatical categories with Latin idiom. The Masoretic text reads:

שוא לכם משכימי קום מאחרי-שבת אכלי לחם העצבים
כן יתן לידידו שנא :

In vain you rise early and stay up late, toiling for food to eat, for he grants sleep to those he loves

⁴⁵ The same procedure is followed (incorrectly) with Ps. 73 (74): 3 **למשאות** 3.

The *Hebraica* has:

Frustra vobis qui de mane consurgere postquam sederitis, qui manducatis panem idolorum; sic dabit diligentibus se somnum

whereas Herbert translates:

Frustra uobis qui intermanicatis ad surgendum, qui tardacis ad sedendum
uel euigilatori
manducantes panem doloris; sic dabit commotori suo sompnum

The two infinitives construct in this verse, קנים and לִשְׁבֹּת without the preposition לְ, do not express a purpose. They are each the second part of a construct chain as the object of מְשַׁכְּמִי and מְאַחֲרִי respectively. However, by using the construction ‘manicabo/ tardo’ with ‘ad’ followed by a gerund, Herbert is able to provide a more literal translation than Jerome without the sacrifice of Latin style.

f. Verbs

It is unlikely that Herbert has a full concept of the different stems of the Hebrew verb, such as *qal*, *nifal*, *piel*, *pual* etc., and their nuances. As mentioned before in the discussion of Herbert’s transliteration and translation of אֲזַכִּיר in Psalm 86 (87):4, he does seem aware that some vowel changes to a verb indicate it has a causative meaning. In Psalm 28 (29):6

וַיִּרְקִידֵם כַּמֹּרְעֵגֶל לְבִנְוֶן וְשִׁרְיֹן כַּמֹּרְאָמִים :
He makes Lebanon skip like a calf, Sirion like a young wild ox

Herbert renders the *hifil* וַיִּרְקִידֵם [and he made skip] accurately as:

Et subsiliere eas faciet quasi uitulum; libanum et sarion quasi filium rinocerotum

against the *Hebraica*, which reads *disperget quasi uitulum*. Here again, the *Psalterium* shows resemblance to the group of Hebrew-Latin Psalters studied by Olszowy-Schlanger,

where the construction 'facio + infinitive' serves as a characteristic translation of *hifil* verbs.⁴⁶

In 61 (62):7, which is in Hebrew

: אֶךְ-הוּא צוּרִי וַיְשׁוּעַתִּי מִשְׁגָּבִי לֹא אֲמוּט :

He alone is my rock and my salvation; he is my fortress, I will not be shaken

Herbert has:

Ipsa est fortitudo⁴⁷ mea et salus mea: susceptor meus non mouebor,

thereby translating אֲמוּט accurately as a *nifal* (passive) and differing from the *Hebraica* and *Gallicana*, who read *timebo* and *emigrabo* respectively. Herbert's reading of אֲמוּט in verse 7 is also consistent with his own translation *and* that of the *Hebraica* of the same verb in verse 3. He repeats this translation for the *nifal* of מוּט in Psalm 124 (125):1 where he adopts the *Gallicana* and replaces Jerome's *inmobilis* by *non commouebitur* as the translation of לֹא-יִמוּט, [they will not be shaken].

Other types of interference with the *Hebraica* version of the Psalms concern the verb mode, tense, person, number or gender. In Psalm 48 (49): 10, for example, which reads in Hebrew:

: וַיַּחֲיֵ-עוֹד לְנֶצַח לֹא יִרְאֶה הַשְּׁחָת :

That he should live on forever and not see decay

the verbs וַיַּחֲיֵ and יִרְאֶה are usually interpreted as jussives but, since their consonantal structure is identical to that of the incomplete (imperfect) tense, it could be read as a simple future. The *Hebraica* has:

Et vivet ultra in sempiternum et non videbit interitum.

The *Psalterium*, however, replaces the future tenses with present subjunctives:

⁴⁶ Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', p. 116.

⁴⁷ Emendated from *fortudo*.

Et uiuat ultra in sempiternum; et non uideat corruptionem,

An example concerning the number of a verb is found in Psalm 90 (91): 7, which in the Masoretic text reads as

יפל מצדך אלף ורבבה מימינך אליך לא יגש :

A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it (= pestilence) will not come near you

the *Psalterium* follows the *Hebraica* and translates as:

uel requiescent

Cadent a latere tuo mille et decem milia a dextris tuis; ad te autem non appropinquabit.'

In his commentary, Herbert points out the difference in number between יפל, which is singular, and *Cadent*, which is plural:

uerbum enim hebreum, scilicet *gipol*, quod ponitur hic, duo significat: et 'cadere' et 'requiescere', et hoc sensui magis consonare uidetur. [...] Nota tamen quod in Hebreo non pluraliter sed singulari numero dicitur. *Cadet* uel *requiescet*. Et tunc legitur sic: *A latere tuo cadet* uel *requiescet mille*. Id est: millenarius angelorum. Uel quisquis de mille seu millenario fuerit et accipitur sicut et supra: numerus certus pro multitudine incerta. (113ra)

It is in his readings of the verb tenses that he often differs from the *Hebraica* in favour of borrowings from the *Gallicana*. In Psalm 64 (65):10,

פקדת הארץ ותשקקה רבת תעשרגה פלג אלהים מלא מים

תכין הגנם פיכך תכירה :

the *Hebraica* translates:

Visita terram et inebriasti eam. Uberasti dita eam. Quia rivus Dei plenus aqua; preparabis frumentum eorum quia si fundasti eam.

Herbert revises the text to:

Visitasti terram et ciuigasti eam. Uberasti ditasti eam. Quia riuus Dei plenus aqua; preparabis frumentum eorum quia si preparabis eam.

changing the present imperatives *visita* and *dita* into perfect tenses and the perfect *fundasti* into the simple future *preparabis*. In the first two cases, his use of tenses mirrors that of the *Gallicana*. A comparison with the same verse in Herbert's arrangement of Lombard's Gloss suggests this conflation of the *Hebraica* and the *Gallicana* in the *Psalterium* did not happen unconsciously or by scribal error. Whereas the main *Hebraica* version in the Gloss shows no modifications, a marginal gloss amends the imperatives to indicatives perfect.⁴⁸

There is one instance where Herbert remarks on the Hebrew phenomenon of masculine and feminine verb forms. On Psalm 41 (42):2b

כאִיל תַּעֲרַג עַל־אֲפִיקֵי־מַיִם כֵּן נִפְי תַּעֲרַג אֵלַיָּךְ אֱלֹהִים:

As the deer pants for streams of water, so does my soul pant for you, God

which he translates as

Sicut ceruus mugit super ripas aquarum, sic anima mea mugiet ad te Deus,

he first remarks that, while the *Hebraica* reads *areola* [deer], the Hebrew word can apply to either a masculine or a female animal. He then comments upon the verb תַּעֲרַג [she pants]:

uerbum quod subsequitur pro quo nos dicimus mugiet tale est iuxta Hebraicum ydioma quod ad solas ceruas pertineat, non ad ceruos; ad feminas, non ad masculos. Habent enim Hebrei sicut nomina ita et uerba quedam in quibus aliqua mutacione facta ex aliqua scilicet litterarum addicione seu substractio ne mox intelligitur an ad mares an ad feminas uerba illa pertineant. (43ra)

g. Lexical Changes

By far most revisions made to the *Hebraica* are lexical. As demonstrated above in the discussion of his treatment of Hebrew grammar, Herbert shows himself anxious to adhere closely to Hebrew idiom and to offer a literal, often word-for-word translation. He applies a similar strategy in his rendering of the lexical connotation of Hebrew words. In this section I will examine different types of changes to Jerome's text. Some of these

⁴⁸ Cambridge, Trin. Coll. Lib., MS B.5.4, fol. 117 vb.

concern Herbert's interpretation of Hebrew, other ones his vocabulary as a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman.

When Herbert faces a choice between different layers of meaning in a Hebrew word ranging from the literal to the figurative, he tends to favour the more basic one. For example he reads Psalm 25 (26):4

לא-ישבתי עם-מתי-שוא ועם נעלמים לא אבוא :

I do not sit with deceitful men, nor do I consort with hypocrites

as: Non sedi cum uiris uanitatis: et cum absconditis non ingrediar

against the *Hebraica's*

Non sedi cum uiris uanitatis et cum superbis non ingrediar.

Herbert adds:

Absconditos dicit illas de quibus magister: *Que in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est etiam dicere* [Eph. 5:12]. Quales sunt omnes ypocrite et quicumque tales: hypocrite sunt. Et quod dicit non ingrediar, animo scilicet uel consensu de corporali enim et manifesto cum talibus ingressu non loqueretur. Absconditi enim sunt. (28ra)

By changing *superbis* into *absconditis* Herbert brings out the basic meaning of עלם [to conceal]. On a second level, he is then able to link his translation with Paul's description of hypocrites, who conceal the sins they commit, in Ephesians 5:12.

Similarly, in Psalm 14 (15):5

כספו לא נתן בנשך ושחד על-נקי לא לקח שעה -אלה
לא ימוט לעולם :

He lends his money without usury and does not accept a bribe against the innocent. He who does these things will never be shaken.

the *Hebraica* reads:

Pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram et munera aduersum innoxium non accepit.
Qui facit hec, non movebitur in eternum'

Herbert substitutes *usuram* [usury] for *morsuram* [bite] as a literal translation of נִשָּׂךְ, [bite]. The use of *morsuram* in this verse is possibly reminiscent of Rashi's exegesis on Exodus 22:24

אִם-כֹּסֶף תַּלוּהָ אֶת-עַמִּי אֶת-הָעֲנִי עִמָּךְ לֹא-תִהְיֶה לוֹ כַּנֹּשֶׁה
לֹא-תִשְׂיִמוֹן עָלָיו נִשְׂךְ :

If you lend money to any of my people that is poor by you, you shall not be to him as an usurer, neither shall you lay upon him usury

נִשָּׂךְ is what is called in Rabbinical Hebrew רִבִּית (from רָבָה to increase). It is called נִשְׂךְ “biting”, because it resembles the bite of a snake.⁴⁹

Like his etymological explanation of שָׁמַיִם, [heaven], as consisting of fire and water in Psalm 75 (76):9, Herbert's treatment of the text suggests that his knowledge of Rashi went beyond the latter's commentary on the Psalms. It also might be an indication of his use of sources. Instead of just having Rashi on the Psalms in front of him, he might have had manuscripts containing Rashi's commentaries on the Psalms and the Pentateuch. Another possibility is that these references to Rashi on the Pentateuch, which would be well known to a Jewish scholar, give us a glimpse of the mind of Herbert's anonymous Jewish interpreter. In that case, Herbert received a grounding in Rashi's exegesis not just by written but by a combination of written and oral sources, and dependent upon his Jewish teacher's mental map of cross-references. These two possibilities will be further explored below and in Chapter Three.

In Psalm 26 (27):12

אֲלֹ-תִתְּנֵנִי בְנַפְשׁ צָרִי כִּי קִמְוּ-בִי עֲדֵי-שֹׁקֵר וַיִּפְחַח חֲמָס :

Deliver me not over unto the will of my enemies: for false witnesses are risen up against me, breathing out violence

which Jerome renders as:

Ne tradas me Domine animae tribulantium me quoniam surrexerunt contra me testes falsi et apertum mendacium

⁴⁹ Rosenbaum and Silbermann. *Exodus*, p. 121.

Herbert replaces *apertum mendacium*, [open deceit] with *sufflatorium iniquitatis*, [the bellows of iniquity]. Herbert's translation adheres more closely to the Hebrew, which has **יִפֹּחַ חַמָּס**, [puffing out violence]. He adds:

Sufflatorium iniquitatis uel apertum mendacium. Quod tamen in Hebreo minus consonat. Et est idem sensus. Nam sufflatores iniquitatis: palam et in auditu flatum emittunt. Et hii sunt aperte mendices: quales crebro persecucionis sue tempore sustinuit Daud. (29ra)

His choice of *sufflatorium* to convey the meaning of the root **יִפֹּחַ** is consistent with his translation of **יִפִּיחַ** as *exsufflat* in Psalm 9:26 (10:5), which will be discussed below.

In Psalm 42 (43):2

כִּי־אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי מַעֲזוּזִי לָמָּה וּנְחַתְנִי לָמָּה וּנְחַתְנִי לָמָּה־קָדָר אֶתְהַלֵּךְ בַּלְחֵץ אוֹיֵב :

For you are the God of my strength; why do you cast me off? Why do I go mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?

Herbert again modifies the *Hebraica*, which reads:

Tu enim Deus fortitudo mea quare proiecisti me quare tristis incedo affligente inimico

to:

Tu enim Deus fortitudo mea quare proiecisti me quare niger incedo affligente inimico,

thereby translating the Hebrew **קָדָר**, the qal active participle of **קָדַר**, [to be dark] more literally. His translation enables him to associate this verse with Song of Songs 1:5: 'Dark am I, yet lovely, O daughters of Jerusalem, dark like the tents of Kedar, like the tent curtains of Solomon'.

Niger ex equalore afflictionis et pene, non culpe. Sicut sponsa de se: *Nigra sum sed formosa* [Cant. 1:5]. (45ra)

The word for 'dark' in Song of Songs 1:5 (**שְׁחֹרָה**) is not related to that of Psalm 42 (43):2 but the place name Kedar (**קָדָר**) is either related to **קָדַר** or a homonym and it is possible Herbert recognised this poetical pun.

Overall, as is the case with his translations of grammatical categories, his method of rendering the meaning of Hebrew words remains faithful to his intention to stick to the literal sense of the Hebrew text, even if this infringes on Latin style. In Psalm 67 (68): 19a,

עלית למרום שבית שבי לקחת מתנות באדם

When you ascended on high, you led captives in your train; you received gifts from men

the *Hebraica* translates:

Ascendisti in excelsum captivum duxisti. Accepisti dona in hominibus

Herbert changes this reading in order to bring out the double use of the root שבה in the verb as well as in its internal object:

Elevasti in excelsum captiuasti captiuitatem. Accepisti dona in homine

In Psalm 72 (73): 21 he changes Jerome's reading

quia contractum est cor meum et lumbi mei velut ignis fumigans

because my heart is compressed and my loins are like smoking fire

into:

quia fermentatum est cor meum et renunculi mei uelut ignis fumigans

because my heart is soured/ leavened and my kidneys are like smoking fire

The Masorah has

כי יתחמץ לבבי וכליותי אשתונן :

The root חמץ means [be sour, leavened] but has here in the hithpael stem the figurative sense of [be embittered]. כליות, which only occurs in the plural, means [kidneys]. In Hebrew poetry, it appears as a metaphor for the seat of grief and sorrows. Herbert uses [renunculi] as a translation for כליות in Psalms 7:10, 15 (16): 7 and 25 (26):2 as well. Only in 138 (139): 13 does he keep Jerome's translation *renes*.

Some of Herbert's changes to Jerome's text seem to originate from the idea that one Hebrew word should be transferred into one Latin equivalent, not more. For example, in Psalm 19 (20):6(a),

נִרְנְנָה בִּישׁוּעַתְּךָ וּבִשְׁמֵ-אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִדְגֹל

We will shout for joy at your victory and in the name of our God we will lift banners

the *Hebraica* reads:

Laudabimus in salutari tuo in nomine Dei nostri ducemus choros

which Herbert modifies to:

Laudabimur⁵⁰ in salutari tuo in nomine Dei nostri uexillabimus,

adding:

Et in nomine Dei nostri uexillabimus, id est, data uictoria uexilla erigemus, sicut uictorum mos est. Uel in nomine Dei nostri deducemus choros, id est, gaudebimus sicut hii qui choros ducunt. (24ra)

The verb *vexillare* is a Central Medieval neologism and forms a perfect translation for the Hebrew דגל, which means [to lift a banner].⁵¹ Similarly, in Psalm 67 (68):15

בְּפֶרֶשׁ שָׂדֵי מַלְסִים בָּהּ תִּשְׁלַג בְּצִלְמוֹן :

When the Almighty scattered the kings [in the land], she snowed on Zalmon

the *Hebraica* translates תִּשְׁלַג by *nive dealbata*, the *Gallicana* by *nivi dealbabuntur*. The

Psalterium has:

Dum extenderet robustissimus reges in ea; nincxit in Selmon,

⁵⁰ Emendated from *lauabimur*.

⁵¹ *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus; lexique latin médiéval-français/anglais; a Medieval Latin-French/English Dictionary*, ed. by Jan Frederik Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 1084-85, under *vexillum*.

thus providing a translation of תשלג in one word rather than using a circumscription. This verse betrays influence from Rashi who takes the verb פִּרְשׂ as [to spread out (the Torah before the kings)]. Herbert also follows Rashi in his interpretation of Selmon as [darkness] or [shadow]:⁵²

hoc fuit quando Dominus per Moysen legem dedit [...] Et hoc: in Selmon, id est, in umbra scilicet in deserto, quod non solum umbra sed et umbra mortis a propheta appellatur. Sicut scriptum est. *Qui transduxit uos per desertum. per terram sitis et imaginem mortis* [Ps. 135 (136): 16]. (72ra)

Herbert's interference with the *Hebraica* can be rather drastic. In Psalm 34 (35):16:

בַּחֲנָבֵי לַעֲגֵי מַעוּג חָרַק עָלַי שְׁנַיִמֹר :

Like the ungodly (of) mockers of a cake they gnashed their teeth at me

the *Hebraica* translates:

In simulacione verborum fictorum frendebant contra me dentibus suis.

Herbert changes the first half of the verse entirely:

In assentacione appetitus turtelli frendebant contra me dentibus suis.

Assentacio can mean [flattery] but also [insincerity]. *Appetitus* is usually associated with greed but in the broader sense means [attack]. His most striking difference from the *Hebraica* is the interpretation of מַעוּג, which has the connotation of [circle] or [cake].

Rashi prefers the meaning [cake] in his commentary, which Herbert partially follows.

While rendering מַעוּג as [turtellum] in his reading of the verse, he explains in his

commentary that *appetitus turtelli* should be expounded as greed (*gula*) for food (*edulium*):

Iuxta quod bene supra secundum edicionem aliam. *Sepulcrum patens guttur eorum.* Ecce mox comes eius assentacio. Ita et Dauid hic assentacionem simul et gulam eorum increpat sic: In assentacione appetitus turtelli, id est pro modico edulio quod turtellum hic significat, quoque exhibebat eos Saul: frendebant contra me et cetera. Solet esse hic alia littera scilicet in simulacione uerborum fictorum frendebant et cetera. Sed littera quam posuimus Hebreo plus consonat. (35rb)

⁵² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 302 (English) and pp. 32-33 (Hebrew).

Turtellum is a Medieval Latin word, which means [pie] and is related to the Modern French ‘tarte’ and the Modern English ‘tart’.

It is not always clear why Herbert takes pains to modify certain readings of the *Hebraica*. An attempt to bring Jerome’s language more up to date with twelfth-century Latin idiom could be one of the reasons. Loewe has already drawn attention to a contemporary ‘solecism from England’ occurring in Herbert’s reading of Psalm 89 (90): 5. The *Hebraica* has *Percutiente te eos somnium erunt*. In the *Psalterium percutiente* is replaced by *impetente*, related to the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman meaning of ‘impetus’ as ‘current, stream of a river’.⁵³ Herbert clarifies this in his commentary:

Impetente te, id est tecum impetu torrentis instar rapiente et uelut exlauante eos.
(110rb)

Another modification which includes a modernisation of Jerome’s vocabulary can be seen in Psalm 103 (104):2. The Masorah has:

עֲטָה־אֹר כְּשֵׁלֶמָה נוֹטָה שָׁמַיִם כִּירִיעָה :

He wraps himself in light as with a garment; he stretches out the heavens like a (tent) curtain

While Jerome translates כִּירִיעָה as *in pellem*, [like a skin/ tent], Herbert supplies *in cortinam*. In Classical Latin *cortina* usually means [round vessel, cauldron]. In Medieval Latin its lexical field widens to include also [courtyard, garden], but Jerome uses it to describe the curtains of the tabernacle in Ex. 26: 2-3 and 36: 11.⁵⁴ In Anglo-Latin it also denotes, similar to Modern English usage, [a curtain].⁵⁵ This is also the most literal translation for יִרִיעָה. A Medieval Latin influence which has already been mentioned, is the use of *renunculi* for [kidneys], instead of *renes*.⁵⁶

What looks like a another neologism occurs in the next verse, Ps. 103 (104):3:

הַמִּפְרָה בְּמַיִם עֲלִיּוֹתָיו הַשָּׁמַיִם רָכִיבוּ הַמַּהֲלָךְ עַל־כַּנְפֵי־רוּחַ :

⁵³ Loewe, ‘Commentary’, p. 50.

⁵⁴ Niermeyer, pp. 294-95.

⁵⁵ Latham, p. 127.

⁵⁶ Jerome translates כְּלִיּוֹת as ‘renunculi’ once in Lev. 3:4; see also Latham, p. 401.

He lays the beams of his upper chamber on their waters; he makes the clouds their chariot and rides on the wings of the wind

While Jerome translates **המפרה** [(the one who) lays beams] rather unspecifically as *qui tegis* [(the one who) covers], Herbert has *trabeauit*, a denominative verb from *trabes* [beam]. He explains this reading as as:

id est tanquam trabes aquis supposuit (122rb)

As is the case with his systematic translation of **כליות** as *renunculi*, Herbert often shows a certain consistency in his choice of a particular translation. Another example is the rendering of **מקור** [spring, fountain], which is found in Psalms 35 (36):10 and 67 (68):27. On both occasions, the *Hebraica* and the *Gallicana* have a form of *fons*. Herbert changes this to *ductus*. His explanation on both verses is the same. On Psalm 35 (36):10

Quoniam tecum et ductus uite in lumine tuo uidebimus lume<n>

he adds:

Ductus dicitur origo fontis unde dicitur fons. In quo significatur Deus pater a quo duo uelud fontes ducuntur. (36va)

On Psalm 67 (68):27

In ecclesiis benedicite Deum: Dominum de ductibus Israel

Eo uidelicet quod tam gloriose duxit Israel. Et hoc est quod dicitur hic de ductibus Israel adeo gloriosus ductus: quod eiam infantes in matrum uteris ut Hebrei tradunt pro ductu hoc diuinas Domino laudes personarent. Uel aliter. Et dicuntur ductus: origines foncium. Sicut nos supra in alio psalmo dixisse meminimus. Sunt ergo ductus foncium: patres duodecim patriarcharum. a quibus uelud foncium ductibus: tribus duodecim descenderunt de Abraham, scilicet Ysaac et Iacob. Et de hiis ductibus, id est de his precipue patribus. (75rb)

Herbert's exegesis of *ductus* as a synonym for uterus is reminiscent of Midrash Tehillim and Rashi's commentary, which both interpret **מקור** in this sense.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 305 (English), p. 33 (Hebrew).

Sometimes Herbert translates a Hebrew word differently according to its nuance in the sentence. For example, אָרַן, meaning [sorrow] but also [idolatry, nothing(ness)] occurs as *uanitas* in Psalm 54 (55):11 and again in 55 (56): 8. In 7:15, 9:24 and 35 (36):5 it is translated as *labor* or *iniquitas*, which fits the context better.

On other occasions, it is unclear why he revises the translation of a word a few times and then does not carry his modification through. For example, in Psalm 19 (20):2, which appears in the *Hebraica* as

Exaudiet tibi Dominus in die tribulacionis: protegat te nomen Dei Iacob

Herbert reads and comments:

Respondeat tibi Dominus in die tribulacionis: subleuet te nomen Dei Iacob

Unde et ecclesia pro regibus in expedicione militantibus: psalmum istud cantare consueuit. Et nota quod pro uerbo exaudicionis: Hebreus ubique habet uerbum responsionis. (23vb)

Respondere, [to answer], is a closer translation of the verb עָנָה than *exaudire*, [to listen to, to heed] but Jerome uses both in his *Hebraica* version. Herbert changes Jerome's readings of *exaudire* into forms of *respondere* several times, such as in 4: 1, 19 (20): 1, 21 (22): 21 and 142 (143):1 but lets other verses, such as 12 (13): 3, 19: 9, 21: 2, 90: 15 and 107:6 in 14 (143):1 stand as they are, possibly because he did not think *exaudire* was too far off the mark to be corrected everywhere.

Similarly, Herbert explains twice in his commentary that in most cases where the Latin reads *fides*, the Hebrew has *veritas*. He refers thereby to אֱמוּנָה, which means [firmness, faithfulness, trust]. In the Psalms it often occurs as a divine attribute or is associated with God's mercy [חַסֵּד]. In Psalm 35 (36):6 he follows the *Hebraica* in his translation:

יְהוָה בְּהַשְׁמִים חַסְדֶּךָ אֱמוּנַתְךָ עַד־שְׁחַקִּים :

Domine in celis misericordia tua: et fides tua usque ad nubes

but then comments:

Quasi ita malum non abiciet impius uel impietas: et ita longe ab ipso misericordia tua. quod ipsa tamen in celis est id est in angelorum; et fides, id est ueritas, tua usque ad nubes; non in terra scilicet sed in nubibus, id est in hominibus iustis qui etsi non corpore mente tamen exaltati a terra. Ad ea tendunt que supra nos celestia et eterna. Et dicit ueritatem iustis scilicet premissam et redditam gratiam. Que Dominus fidei nomine designatur. Dicitur enim fides eo quod fiant dicta in quo ueritas. Unde et merito fere ubicumque nos fides: ueritatem Hebreus habet. (36rb)

In Psalm 91 (92): 3 he gives *veritas* as an alternative to *fides*:

להגיד בבקר חסדך ואמונתך בלילות :

to proclaim your love in the morning and your faithfulness at night

uel ueritatem

Ad annunciandum mane misericordiam tuam: et fidem tuam in nocte.

He comments:

Et attende quod ubi nos habemus fidem: ubique Hebreus habet ueritatem. (113vb)

A superscript form of *veritas* also appears in Psalms 36 (37): 3, 91 (91): 3, 95 (96): 13 and 99 (100): 5. Herbert follows Jerome's reading of *fides* in Psalms 32: 4 and 39 (40): 11. In all other passages containing אמונה, the *Hebraica* already reads *veritas*. As is the case with the translation of the verb ענה [to answer] which occurs in the *Hebraica* as both *respondere* and *exaudire*, Jerome uses *fides* and *veritas* as synonyms to render אמונה.

Since Herbert probably associates אמונה with the noun אמת and adverbs such as אמן and אמנה, meaning [truth] and [truly] respectively, he considers *veritas* the better translation of the two, even though he does not entirely disagree with *fides*. In addition, just as אמונה is often found in tandem with חסד [kindness or (divine) mercy], so is אמת, which makes the meaning of both Hebrew words virtually interchangeable. Herbert's emendations of *exaudire* to *respondere* and of *fides* to *veritas* might be interpreted as an attempt at rendering Jerome's language more uniform. For readers with a grasp of the Hebrew language, the repeated translation of the same Hebrew word by the same Latin one might give an indication of which Hebrew root is used where. In this respect, Herbert's

translation techniques could facilitate access to the Hebrew Bible, and the *Psalterium*, although it lacks the Hebrew text itself, could serve as a learning aid.

For several frequently used words or expressions, Herbert more or less consistently, throughout the *Psalterium*, supplies a translation which differs from that of the *Hebraica*. These words are: *sanctus*, for which Herbert has *misericors*; *amicus*, which becomes *sodalis*; and *canere*, which occurs as *psallere*. The last modification can be easily traced since Herbert borrowed it from the *Gallicana*. His preference for *psallere* instead of *canere* might originate from the wish to provide a consistent translation for different Hebrew words derived from the same root. מִזְמוֹר, *melody*, which forms part of the title of many psalms, is traditionally rendered in Latin as *psalmus*. It then seems only logical to translate זָמַר, the verb to which מִזְמוֹר is related, in a similar fashion as *psallere*. Herbert even reads ‘psallere’ for זָמַר when the *Gallicana* does not. In Psalm 70 (71): 23 he translates:

Et cantabunt labia mea cum psaltero tibi: et anima mea quam redemisti,

while both the *Hebraica*, the *Gallicana* and his own previous readings in the *Magna Glosatura* have *cantavero*.

Herbert does not explain his reasons for systematically preferring *sodalis* to *amicus* in his commentary. The meaning of the Hebrew word concerned, אָרַע, derived from אָרַע to associate with, ranges from [friend, companion] to [fellow] or [another person]. Hence, it is probable that Herbert considered *amicus* to suggest a stronger attachment than is often implied in the Hebrew. Further support for this hypothesis occurs in Psalm 11 (12): 3, in which Herbert leaves Jerome’s translation of אָרַע as *proximum* unchanged but gives *sodalibus* as an alternative for the latter’s use of *amicis* in Psalm 27 (28): 3. Ps. 11 (12):3:

frustra loquitur unus quisque proximo suo. Labium subdolum in corde et corde locuti sunt

Hoc ideo dicit Daud: quia et si quis consilium promiserit uel auxilium decipit. Et generaliter quia de omnibus Adam filiis uidetur loqui ista Daud. Cum tamen non generaliter de mundo ferat sentenciam si maxime pro a se expertis hec dicit in quibus non repperit fidem. Iuxta quod ipse in psalmo alibi [27 (28):3] qui loquuntur pacem cum sodalibus suis: et est malum in corde eorum. (14rb)

On all other occasions, we find a form of *sodalis* where the *Hebraica* uses *amicus*.

Interestingly, the same modification occurs in Leyden University Lib. Ms. Scaliger 8 (Codex Orientalis 4725), a Hebrew- Latin psalter dating from the middle of the twelfth century. Scaliger 8 also has another variant reading in common with the *Psalterium*: both works translate מְרִיב, meaning [kind, pious] as *misericors* and not, as the *Hebraica* and *Gallicana* versions do, as *sanctus*.

For example, in Psalm 84 (85):9

Audiam quid loquatur in me Deus Dominus: loquetur non pacem ad populum suum et ad misericordes suos ut non conuertantem ad stulticiam; semper.

Herbert comments:

Misericordes suos ubi in alia edicione habetur sanctos: fere ubique habet Hebreus misericordes (100rb)

Similarly, in Psalm 88 (89): 20

Tunc locutus per uisionem misericordibus tuis et dixisti: posui adiutorium super robustum et exaltaui electum de populo

Et attende quod scriptum est maxime psalmi: prophetas et iustos presentis temporis ‘misericordes’ crebro uocat, non ‘sanctos’; temperanciori utens nomine cum amplius sit sanctum quam misericordem esse. Sed misericordes dicit eo quod inter cetera sanctitatis argumentum, quam maximum sint: misericordie opera. (107ra)

Again, Herbert’s choice of translation is partly steered by his insight into the etymological relationship between words derived from the same Hebrew root. The adjective מְרִיב is related to the noun מְרִיב, [kindness, mercy], which the *Hebraica* and Herbert himself read as *misericordia*. As he approves of this translation for מְרִיב for tropological reasons, he interprets מְרִיב in the same vein.

The aforementioned similarities between the modifications to the *Hebraica* in Herbert’s *Psalterium* and in Ms Scaliger 8 raise the question what sort of relationship exists between these two works. On a wider scale, considering Herbert’s engagement with the Hebrew Bible and clear influence from Rashi’s commentaries, we need to examine into greater detail which sources provided him with grammatical and lexical aid.

3. Text-critical Awareness Concerning the Masoretic Text

Herbert pays some attention to text-critical problems surrounding the Masoretic text. For example, in Psalm 32 (33): 7 the Masoretic text has

כִּנְסָה כַּנֵּי מִי הַיָּם נִתֵּן בְּאַצְרוֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת:

He gathers the waters of the sea together as a wall; he puts the deep in storehouses

But instead of כַּנֵּי [as a wall], some readings give כַּנְיָ (א) [as a bottle]. The *Hebraica* translates according to the latter reading:

Congregans quasi in utre aquas maris, ponens in thesauris abissos

The *Psalterium*, however, has

Congregans quasi in murum aquas maris, ponens in thesauris abissos

Herbert does not mention his source in this passage nor does he explain the reason behind his preference for כַּנֵּי rather than כַּנְיָ (א) but it is clear his choice was prompted by

Rashi's comment on the same verse:

Like a mound. [The word *ned* 'mound' is] an expression referring to height. Accordingly, Onkelos rendered 'they stood like a *ned* "mound"' (Ex. 15:8) into Aramaic as [follows]: *qemo kesur* 'they stood like a wall' and thus did Menahem interpret it. [The word] *ned* and [the word] *no'd* 'bottle' are not the same.⁵⁸

He might have chosen this reading in order to remain consistent with Jerome's translation of כַּמוֹנֵי [like a wall] as *acervum* and Rashi's emphasis that the word does mean [wall] in Psalm 77 (78):13:⁵⁹

בִּקְעָיִם וַיַּעֲבִירֵם וַיַּצַּב־מִים כַּמוֹנֵי:

He divided the sea and let them through; he made the water stand firm like a wall

A second variant reading of a different type occurs in Psalm 21 (22):17

⁵⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 166 (English) and p. 17 (Hebrew).

⁵⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 364 (English) and p. 41 (Hebrew).

סבבוני כלבים עדת מרעים הקיפוני כארו/ כארי ידי ורגלי :

Dogs have surrounded me; a band of very evil men have encircled me, they have bound/ as a lion my hands and feet

The *Hebraica* has:

Circumdederunt me venatores concilium pessimorum vallaverunt me vinxerunt manus meas et pedes meos

Herbert translates differently, reading the Masoretic text as כארי [like a lion] and not as

כ(א)רו [they have bound]:

Circumdederunt canes congregacio pessimorum uallaverunt me quasi leo manus meas et pedes meos

He comments:

Non enim ponitur ut aiunt *karu* quod sonat foderunt vel vinxerunt, sed *kari*, quod sonat quasi leo. Idem nunc uerbum ponitur quod ibi: *quasi leo sic contriuit omnia ossa mea* [Is.38:15]. Et idem sensus [...] Verum ut a nonnullis Hebreorum accepitur, scribitur *karu*. Quod ut diximus foderunt vel vinxerunt sonat. Sed pronunciari et exponi debet ut aiunt, *kari*. Causam vero quia ipsi requisiti non iudicaverunt, nec ego. Nisi quia sicut asserunt in aliis plerisque sic fit. Unum scribitur, et pro eo aliud pronunciatur et exponitur. (25va)

Again Herbert follows Rashi here, who also associates this verse with Isaiah 38:15 ‘Like a lion thus did he shatter all my bones’.⁶⁰ As far as we know Herbert is the only Christian scholar at the time to recognise and describe the *ketib qere*. Finally, in Psalm 101 (102): 24

ענה בדרך כחו קצר ימי:

In the course of my life he broke my/his strength; he cut short my days.

Herbert follows the *Hebraica* in his translation:

Afflixit in uia fortitudinem meam; abreuiauit dies meos

but points out that כחו [litt. his strength] is also read as כחי [my strength]; כחו does indeed appear as a *ketib qere* in the Masoretic text we have now:

⁶⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 127 (English) and p. 7 (Hebrew).

Nota hanc litteram duplicem suam uel meam. secundum quod ibi est suam. loquitur psalmigraphus de afflictione israelis. Si uero est ibi mea. ipse israel de se loquitur abbrevauit dies meos pre miseria. (121rb)

4. Herbert's Use of Grammatical and Lexical Aids

a. Jerome

Jerome (including Pseudo-Jerome) would be the first author to whom a twelfth-century Christian Hebraist turned for help with the language. For Herbert, Jerome was the starting point on several levels. Not only had he written three tracts on Hebrew, which helped Herbert build up basic vocabulary and translation skills, he also provided Herbert with the ground text from which to develop the latter's own reading of the Hebrew Psalms. Third, Jerome laid the foundation of a methodological framework for reconsidering the existing versions of the Latin bible against the Masoretic text. His endeavours to integrate the Hebrew bible into Christian exegesis sparked off scholarship by later Christian Hebraists or Jewish converts, some of which appeared under his name. We know, for example, that the library at Pontigny held Jerome's *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis* and a Pseudo-hieronymian treatise on the Hebrew alphabet by the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁶¹ Herbert lived at Pontigny with Becket during the years 1166-67 and might have returned there in the 1170s after Becket's death. Both Glunz and Smalley believe that he started the preliminary work to his edition of Lombard's *Magna Glosatura* there. That Jerome (and possibly Pseudo-Jerome) was Herbert's primary source is suggested by marginal glosses in the *Magna Glosatura* which already show signs of budding Hebraism. Most of these can be traced back to Jerome. Because the range of Jerome's influence on Herbert went far beyond the mere provision of aid with Hebrew vocabulary and grammar, I will discuss Herbert's indebtedness to him more fully in the fourth chapter.

b. Bilingual Psalters

Olszowy-Schlanger argues convincingly that, as systematic Hebrew grammars and Hebrew-Latin dictionaries seem not to have existed in Western Europe until the second

half of the thirteenth century, Christian exegetes used bilingual psalters as Hebrew reference tools instead.⁶² Without elaborating on the matter, Goodwin suggests that Herbert worked from a bilingual psalter during the writing of the *Psalterium*.⁶³ Loewe, Olszowy-Schlanger and Smalley have each studied groups of such psalters and so far only one manuscript has been found of which the date with certainty precedes Herbert's composition of the *Psalterium*.⁶⁴ The most comprehensive description of this particular work appears in an article by G. I. Liefstinck, published in 1955.⁶⁵

The manuscript, Codex Orientalis 4725 at the Scaliger bequest at Leyden University Library, nr 8, consists of a Hebrew psalter with Latin glosses, dating from the middle of the twelfth century. According to Liefstinck, it was written by a Christian hand but Malachi Beit-Arié believes the scribe might have been a Jew. Both agree that its provenance is England.⁶⁶ John of Sturrey, possibly a precentor at St Augustine's, Canterbury during the second half of the thirteenth century, donated it to the monastic library. The manuscript remained there until well into the fifteenth century when it ended up at King's College Library, Cambridge. Who owned it before it was bequeathed to St Augustine's is unclear. The psalter contains two types of glosses: a highly abbreviated Latin translation of the Hebrew in the inner margins and a more elaborate spiritual gloss in the outer margins. Both are reminiscent of Jerome: the translation in the inner margins is based on the *Hebraica*, albeit with a substantial number of modifications, whereas the gloss in the outer margins draws on Pseudo-Jerome's *Breviarium*. Unfortunately, the gloss only runs until Psalm 16 (17) and briefly reappears on Psalms 65 (66) and 146 (147).

In order to establish whether or not there is any relationship between the two manuscripts, a close comparison is necessary. In Psalm 2: 12a

⁶¹ Monique Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny (XIIe-XIX siècles): histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits* (Paris: Centre Nationale de la recherche scientifique, 2001), p. 17.

⁶² Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', pp. 109-12.

⁶³ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 181-82.

⁶⁴ Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', pp. 116-122; Beryl Smalley, 'Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in Thirteenth-Century England as Illustrated by Some Hebrew-Latin Psalters', *Society for Old Testament Study, Lectio*, 6 (1939), 1-18.

⁶⁵ G. I. Liefstinck, 'The Psalterium Hebraycum from St Augustine's Canterbury Rediscovered in the Scaliger Bequest at Leyden', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 2 (1955), 97-104.

⁶⁶ Malachi Beit-Arié, *The Only Dated Anglo-Hebrew Manuscript Written in England (1189)* (London: Valmadonna Trust Library, 1985), pp. 7-9; see also Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West*, Medieval Book Series, 1 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), pp. 66-67.

נשקו־בר פן־יאנק
Kiss the son, lest he be angry

which has been discussed before, appears in the *Hebraica* as

adore pure ne forte irascatur,

while the *Gallicana* has:

adprehendite disciplinam...

As Herbert explains in his commentary, נשקו־בר means

diligite uel desiderate filium uel currite ad filium uel osculemini filium.

Scaliger 8 retains more of the *Hebraica* than Herbert does but shares with him the translation of בר as *filium: adore filium uel adore pure.*

In Psalm 4:3a

בני יאש עד־מה כבודי לכלמה
How long, o (sons of) men, will you turn my glory into shame?

the *Hebraica* reads:

Filii viri usquequo incliti mei ignominiose

Scaliger 8 gives a word-for-word translation of the noun כלמה [shame], preceded by the inseparable preposition ל [to]:

Filii uiri usquequo gloria mea ad ignominiam

whereas Herbert adds a verb to this verbless phrase:

usquequo gloria mea habebit ignominiam.

In the following verse

וידעו כי־הפלה יהוה חסיד לו יהוה ישמע בקראי אליו :

Know that the Lord has set apart the godly for himself; the Lord will hear when I call to him'

the *Hebraica* has:

Et cognoscite quoniam segregatum reddidit Dominus sanctum suum; Dominus respondebit cum clamauero ad eum'

Both Scaliger 8 and the *Psalterium* differ from the *Hebraica* translating חסיד as *misericordem* instead of *sanctum*. They share the same variant reading in Psalms 11 (12):2, 15 (16): 4 and 10.

In Psalm 5:3

הקשיבה לקול שועי מלכי ואלהי פי־אליך אתפלל :

Listen to my cry for help, my King and my God, for to you I pray

which appears in the *Hebraica* as

Intellige murmur meum rex meus et Deus meus; quia te deprecor,

Herbert and the unknown translator of Scaliger 8 offer again an identical modification to Jerome's text by rendering הקשיבה לקול שועי, literally [listen to the sound of my cry (for help)] as:

Aduerte ad uocem clamoris mei rex meus et Deus meus; quia te deprecor

Another similarity between Scaliger 8 and the *Psalterium* is the alternative reading *labor* for ארץ, *trouble, sorrow* in Psalm 7:15. While the *Hebraica* and the *Gallicana* versions have *dolore* or *dolorem*, Herbert translates:

Ecce parturiuit iniquitatem: et concepto labore peperit mendacium.

but does not discard *dolore* as a possible alternative in his commentary:

A simili loquitur parturicio nunc proprie dicitur dolor ille seu labor quem habet puerpera quando iam uicina est partui. Impius uero persepe cum labore multo et dolore iniquitatis opera perpetrat. (10ra)

This is in line with Scaliger 8 which juxtaposes *dolorem* and *laborem* in its translation.

Psalm 9 holds a number of shared modifications to the *Hebraica*. One that occurs repeatedly concerns the translation of עֲנִי, [poor, humble], which appears in verses 13, 30, 33 and 38. The *Hebraica* as well as the *Gallicana* translate with *pauper* throughout. In verse 19, where the synonym (and almost homonym) עֲנָנִי is used, Jerome reads *humilis*. Herbert and the Scaliger author change verses 13, 33 and 38 to have a form of *humilis* but leave verse 30 as it is. One possible explanation for this preference is that עֲנָנִי, the root from which עֲנִי is derived, holds the meaning [be bowed down]. Alternatively, or in addition to the previous reason, Herbert and the Scaliger glossator might have wanted to straighten out Jerome's translation.

In other verses, both manuscripts show influence from the *Gallicana*. In 9:6

גוֹיִם אֶבְרַת רָשָׁע שָׁמַם מַחִית לְעוֹלָם וָעַד :

You have rebuked the nations and destroyed the wicked; you have blotted out their name for ever and ever.

the *Hebraica* reads:

Increpuisti gentes, periit impius; nomen eorum delisti in sempiternum et iugiter

whereas Scaliger 8 and the *Psalterium* have *increpasti*, according to the *Gallicana* or Theodulf's recension (Θ).⁶⁷ In the following verse

הָאֹיֵב תִּמּוֹ חֲרָבוֹת לְנִצָּחַ וְעָרֵימָּן נִתְשָׁת אֶבֶד זִכְרָם הִמָּה :

Endless ruins have overtaken the enemy, you have uprooted their cities; even the memory of them has perished

the *Hebraica* leaves out the notion of הָאֹיֵב [the enemy] from its translation.

Completae sunt solitudines in finem et civitates subvertisti; periit memoria eorum cum ipsis

but the *Gallicana* reads

Inimici defecerunt frameae...

⁶⁷ Herbert's dependence upon the various textual traditions of the Vulgate will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Scaliger 8 and the *Psalterium* include the *Gallicana's inimici* into their version, which results in:

[Numquid (Scaliger only)] inimici completi sunt solitudines in finem

Herbert's *Hebraica* version in the *Magna Glosatura* already shows a transitional stage between Jerome's *Hebraica* reading and his own in the *Psalterium*:

Inimici complete sunt solitudines.

In verse 9

וְהוּא יִשְׁפֹּט תִּבְלָה בְּצֶדֶק יָדָיו לְאֻמִּים בְּמִישְׁרִים :

He will judge the world in righteousness; he will govern the peoples with justice

The *Hebraica* has

Et ipse iudicat orbem in iusticia: iudicat populos in equitatibus

Herbert and the Scaliger 8 glossator follow the *Gallicana* in the translation of the imperfect/ incomplete tense of יִשְׁפֹּט and יָדָיו, and in each verb replace the present tense by a simple future:

Et ipse iudicabit orbem in iusticia; iudicabit populos in equitatibus.

Similarly in verse 14

חַנּוּנֵי יְהוָה רְאֵה עֲנִי מִשְׁנְאֵי מְרוֹמְמֵי מִשְׁעָרֵי מוֹת :

Have mercy on me Lord, see how my enemies persecute me; lift me up from the gates of death

Scaliger 8 and the *Psalterium* both prefer the *Gallicana's* reading of *miserere mei* to the *Hebraica's misertus est mei* as translation of the imperative חַנּוּנֵי and have:

Miserere mei Domine uide afflictionem meam ex inimicis meis

A second modification to the tense of a verb occurs in verse 35

רֹאֵתָהּ כִּי־אֲתָהּ עִמָּל וְכִי־סָבִיט לְתַתּ בְּיַדְךָ עָלֶיךָ יַעֲזֹב סִלְכָה
 יִתּוֹם אֲתָהּ הֵייתָ עֹזֵר :

You see trouble and grief; you consider it to take it in hand. The victim commits himself to you; you are the helper of the fatherless

Both of Jerome's versions interpret רֹאֵתָהּ, which is technically a complete (perfect) tense, *ad sensum* as an axiomatic present and have *vides*. Herbert and the Scaliger glossator read *uidisti*, thereby strictly adhering to the Hebrew tense of the verb.

The resemblances indicated above between the *Psalterium* and the Scaliger manuscript are too numerous and too specific to be coincidental and, considering the date and provenance of Scaliger 8, it is theoretically possible that Herbert relied on it as a translation aid. If he did, however, it is highly unlikely that the work was his only source of reference of the sort, since most of it lacks a glossed Latin translation. Moreover, the *Psalterium* is scattered with passages in which Herbert mentions the use of a variety of manuscripts. In Psalm 2: 6

וְאֲנִי נִסְכַּתִּי מֶלֶכִי עַל־צִיּוֹן הַר־קֹדֶשׁ יְיָ :
 Indeed, I have installed my King on Zion, my holy hill

Herbert has:

Ego autem unxi regem meum; super Syon montem sanctum meum

thereby modifying the *Hebraica*'s reading *orditus sum* to *unxi*. His commentary reveals that a critical comparison between several *Hebraica* psalters forms part of his methodology in establishing what he regards as the correct translation:

Ubi nos unxi, Hebreus habet *nazacheti*, uerbum quidem est quod 'unctionem' seu 'libacionem' uocat tractum a libacionibus consummatis tam et perfectis; nec est proprie uncionis uerbum. Sed uerbum est tale uocans Dominum, quod ex unctione seu libacione proueniat. Nec est unum uerbum apud nos quo illius Hebrei uerbi proprietates exprimi ualeat. Sed est tanquam si diceretur apud nos: 'Ego ex unctione uel libacione perfecta Dominum feci eum' uel 'ex unctione perfecta constitui eum Dominum super Syon montem sanctum meum'. Quod autem plerique habent *orditus sum*; corrupte ponitur et in ebreo non est. (3vb)

Scaliger 8 follows the *Hebraica* in this verse and thus would have been among those manuscripts rejected by Herbert. There are also other passages in which he clearly differs

from Scaliger 8. In most of these Scaliger 8 tends to adhere more closely to the *Hebraica* whereas Herbert borrows from the *Gallicana*. In two verses, Herbert's translation has shared features with Scaliger 8 that are not found in the *Hebraica*, with some interesting differences. For example, in Psalm 16 (17): 8:

שמרני כאישון בת-עין בצל כנפיד תסתירני :

Keep me as the apple of the eye; hide me in the shadow of your wings

the *Hebraica* reads:

custodi me quasi pupillam intus in oculo; in umbra alarum tuarum protege me.

Scaliger 8 has

custodi me quasi pupillam filiam oculi,

thereby reflecting the Hebrew idiom כאישון בת-עין, [as the pupil of the daughter of your eye] more closely in its translation. Herbert shares with Scaliger 8 the literal translation of the construct chain בת-עין as [(in) pupilla oculi]. אישון, however, he interprets as [nigrum], and comments:

Quasi nigrum in pupilla oculi id est quasi pupilla oculi que nigra est, que diligenter a uidente, natura sic docente, per continuam palpebrarum reseracionem et opercionem uicariam custoditur. (19ra)

His source is Rashi, who expounds on the same verse:

Like the apple [of your eye]. It is the black [spot], which is in the eye on which the light depends. Because of its blackness it is called 'išon, a synonym of ḥošek' 'darkness', and the Holy One Blessed be He has provided for it [the pupil of the eye] a guard, [i.e.], the eyelids, which cover it continuously.⁶⁸

Rashi seems to rely here on the *Mahberet Menahem*⁶⁹ and on the meaning of אישון as 'darkness' in Proverbs 7:9 and 20:20. Herbert's phrase *per continuam palpebrarum*

⁶⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 105 (English) and p. 9 (Hebrew).

⁶⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 107, n. 12.

reseracionem et opercionem vicariam custoditur [(the pupil) is protected by the continuous opening and delegated closing of the eyelids] has close verbal resemblance to the final sentence of Rashi's comment.

Whereas proof of a direct relationship between Scaliger 8 and the *Psalterium* is lacking, the similarity of approach between the two psalters in their modifications of the *Hebraica* demonstrates that they belong to a common tradition. A comparison between the two works does not only give additional support to the claim that bilingual psalters played a significant role in Herbert's process of translating the Psalms from Hebrew; it also suggests that his project to revise Jerome's *Hebraica* was not an entirely new and unheard of endeavour. His work forms part of an already existing strand within Christian exegesis, which concerned itself with text-critical matters and with the learning of Hebrew. As illuminated in the discussion of Psalm 2:6 and 16 (17):8, Herbert does not follow his Latin sources slavishly. Next to critically assessing his variant Latin readings on an internal basis, he also compares the Latin with the Masoretic text and with its interpretation by his main Jewish authority, Rashi. There is one aspect of Rashi's exegesis which gives yet another dimension to Herbert's use of language in his translations. In Psalm 6:8

עַשְׂשָׁה מִכַּעַם עֵינַי עֲתָקָה בְּכָל־צוּרָרַי :

My eye is weak with sorrow; it fails/ it is frail because of all my enemies

The *Hebraica* has:

Caligavit prae amaritudine oculus meus; consumptus sum ab universis hostibus meis

Scaliger 8 reads *ira* instead of *amaritudine* and *inueterauit* instead of *consumptus sum*, the latter of which is based upon the *Gallicana's inveteravi*. Herbert translates:

Lanternauit pre ira oculus meus; inueteratus est ab uniuersis hostibus meis.

He shares with Scaliger 8 the rendering of *ira* and the verb *inveterare* in the third person and not in the first person singular, as it appears in the *Gallicana*. However, while Scaliger

8 follows Jerome in the translation of **עששד** as *caligavit*, [has grown weak/ dark],

Herbert uses a neologism, *lanternauit*, [has become glassy]. He comments:

Caligauit, et cetera. Quod uero minus usitate ponimus hic: lanternauit ad Hebrei uerbi hic positi proprietatem exprimendam factum est. Hic enim iuxta Hebreum tale ponitur uerbum, quo notatur quod hic is cuius oculus⁷⁰ caligat uisus sic est quasi uideat per lucernam, igne incluso. (8rb)

As Goodwin has already demonstrated, this passage is a paraphrase of Rashi's exegesis on the same verse:⁷¹

'ašēšah It becomes glassy is a cognate of [the noun] 'asait [which means] *lanterne* in O.F. [The psalmist speaks of] an eye, whose perception of light is weak so that it seems to him [the person whose eye is here described] that he is looking through [foggy] glass, which is [placed] before his eye.'⁷²

A juxtaposition of these passages reveals that Herbert not only integrates Rashi's explanation of **עששד** in his commentary, he also takes pains to preserve the Rabbi's Old French translation of the verb into his own Latin rendering of the verse.

c. Rashi's *la'azim*

Throughout his commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud, Rashi regularly clarifies the meaning of more obscure Hebrew words by translating them into Old French. These translations, which are written in Hebrew characters, were intended for a scholarly, French-speaking, Jewish audience, and were called **לעזים** (*la'azim*).⁷³ The root **לעז** (*l'z*), a hapax legomenon in Biblical Hebrew, occurs only in Psalm 113 (114): 1

בצאת ישראל ממצרים בית יעקב מעם לעז :

When Israel came out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange/foreign language

⁷⁰ Emendation of *oculi*.

⁷¹ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 190-91.

⁷² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 66 (English) and p. 3 (Hebrew); in Psalm 30 (31):10, however, where the same verb occurs, Herbert follows the *Hebraica* and translates *caligauit* instead of *lanternauit*.

In the Rabbinic period the noun *la'az* covered any language into which the Bible was translated, including Latin. Later in the Latin West, the term was increasingly used to denote Romance languages. In the High Middle Ages the meaning of *la'az* came to include not just 'vernacular language' but also 'vernacular gloss'.⁷⁴

Rashi's procedure of incorporating *la'azim* into his commentaries was not unique, nor was it new. As Menahim Banitt's research has shown, Rashi relied on a tradition of glossing and translating the Hebrew Bible that was already well established in Jewish schools at the time. Banitt argues that with the translation of the Bible into the vernacular Jewish children took the second step in their education, after they had learnt to read and write.⁷⁵ The teachers involved at this intermediate level were called פתרים, [translators, interpreters] because of the role they played in translating and explaining the Biblical text. Rashi occasionally refers to them in his commentaries as the source of a particular *la'az*. Next to material provided by anonymous פתרים, Rashi also borrows Old French translations from his older contemporary and teacher Rabbenu Gershom. This suggests that the use of vernacular glosses was already integrated into rabbinic teaching in the first half of the eleventh century.⁷⁶

Whereas vernacular translation is only secondary in Rashi's commentaries, it forms the central element of several other High and Later Medieval Ashkenazi works. Banitt mentions six Hebrew-French glossaries that are more or less complete, fragments of nine more glossaries and three dictionaries, all dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *la'azim* occurring in the commentaries of Rashi and in the independent glossaries have proved to be an invaluable source of information; from a linguistic point of view they have greatly enriched our knowledge of medieval French vocabulary and grammar, and from a socio-historical perspective they serve as evidence that, next to

⁷³ One of the reasons for this might be that the Talmud forbids the use of the Latin alphabet; see the discussion by Ben Zion Wacholder, 'Cases of Proselytizing in the Tosafist Responsa', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 51 (1960), 188-315 (pp. 302-304); Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 177.

⁷⁴ Menahem Banitt, 'The *La'azim* of Rashi and of the French Biblical Glossaries', in *World History of the Jewish People: The Dark Ages 711-1096*, ed. by Cecil Roth (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1966), pp. 291-96, (p. 291).

⁷⁵ Banitt, '*La'azim*', p. 293.

⁷⁶ Banitt, '*La'azim*', pp. 292-93; Menahem Banitt, 'Les *poterim*', *Revue des études juives*, 125 (1966), 21-33; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 78, n. 3; p. 312, n. 104; and p. 338, n. 46; see also Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 176-79.

Hebrew, the vernacular also occupied a significant place within the Jewish education system of the period, not only at intermediate but also, as Rashi's commentaries demonstrate, at a higher level.⁷⁷

Rashi's manuscripts of the Psalms contain fifty three different *la'azim*, of which Herbert includes twelve in his *Psalterium*. Since he absorbs these *la'azim* into his work in a variety of ways, I will briefly examine all instances in which they occur.

In Psalm 16:14.

ממתים ידך יהוה ממתים מחלד חלקם בחיים וצפינך המלא בטנם
ישבעו בנים והניחו יתרו לעולליהם :

O Lord, by your hand save me from such men, from men in this world whose reward is in this life. You still the hunger of those you cherish; their sons have plenty and they store up wealth for their children.

Herbert translates:

A mortuis manus tue Domine qui mortui sunt in rubigine quorum pars in uita et quorum de absconditis tuis replesti uentrem qui saciabuntur filiis et dimittent reliquias paruulis suis (19va)

The most important differences with the *Hebraica* are his readings of ממתים as *mortui* instead of *viri* and of מחלד as *in rubigine* instead of *in profundo*. He also follows the *Gallicana* against the *Hebraica* in his interpretation of לעולליהם as *paruulis suis* instead of *parvulis eorum*, a variant which he has in common with Scaliger 8. He comments on *mortui* and *in rubigine*:

Dicit eos esse mortuos manus Dei quos solus Deus sicut uult et quando uult morte destruit. Et a talibus petit saluari, hic dicens, salua animam meam, scilicet a mortuis manus tue; id est ab illis impiis quos tu solus sicut uis et quando uis per mortem perdere potes. Et isti sunt mortui manus tue Domini. Uel potest eiam iuxta Hebreum legi hic: a uiris manus tue. Et uocat uiros manus Domini: illos quorum sicut corda et corpora in manu Dei solius sunt. Eosdem sicut quos dixerat prius mortuos manus Domini, de quibus persequitur. Qui mortui sunt in rubigine uiciorum uel in profundo. Et rubiginis nomen hic Hebreo plus consonat, quorum scilicet mortuorum manus Domini uel mortuorum in rubigine uiciorum qui idem ipsi sunt: pars est in uita, scilicet presenti, nulla uero in futura. Unde et in parabola

⁷⁷ Banitt, 'La'azim', pp. 295-96.

euangelica talibus dicit Abraham *fili recordare quod recepisti bona in uita tua. Et Dominus: Amen dico uobis; receperunt mercedem suam* [Mt 6:2,5, 16]. (19va/b)

Herbert associates מתים with the root מות [die] and therefore understands the word as [dead ones], even though he appears to be aware that מתים usually means [men] in Hebrew. His source for this exegesis is Rashi, who explains ממתים ידך and מחלד as two different groups of people: those who die suddenly and those who die of old age respectively :

mimetim: your hand [i.e.], among those who die [*min hammetim*] by *your hand* upon their beds. I prefer to be *mimetim...meheled* [i.e.], among those who die in old age after having been afflicted with a skin rash [i.e.] *roilie* in Old French and among the virtuous, *whose share is in life*.⁷⁸

Possibly drawing on Esther Rabbah 3:8 Rashi relates חלד, [duration, world], here to the Rabbinical Hebrew word חלודה, which means [rust] but also [skin disease]. He translates it as רודייל, ‘rodjil’, an Old French form from which the modern French ‘rouille’, is derived.⁷⁹ Herbert incorporates the meaning [rust] as *rubigo* in his Latin translation but seems hesitant to follow Rashi in his interpretation of ממתים מחלד as the virtuous who die of old age. Instead he tries to reconcile his preference for *in rubigine* with the *Hebraica* reading of מחלד as *in profundo* by considering ממתים ידך and ממתים מחלד as one group of sinners. However, he adds the traditional Jewish Midrash almost as an afterthought of his commentary on Psalm 16 (17):

Uerum hunc psalmi uersiculum A mortuis manus tue Domine [Ps. 16 (17):14] et cetera quem nos iuxta psalmi consequenciam interpretati sumus de quadam impiorum specie, id est, de potentibus impiis, Hebreorum litteratorum nonnulli de iustis et hiis qui annorum suorum numerum in pace complent. Interpretantur dicentes mortuos manus Domini: qui dierum suorum terminum pro ut eis constituit Dominus peragunt; morte non illata sed naturali decedentes. Et tales sicut in psalmo adicitur mortuos dicunt in rubigine: non uiciorum sed multorum defectuum quos

⁷⁸ *Les gloses françaises de Raschi dans la Bible*, ed. by Arsène Darmesteter, Louis Brandin and Julien Weill (Paris: Durbacher, 1909) p. 107; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 106 (English) and p. 9 (Hebrew); I have not included variant spellings.

⁷⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 107, n. 25.

secum senectus afferre solet. Unde et admonet sapiens: *ut memor sis creatoris tui in diebus iuuentutis tue; antequam ueniat temporis afflictionis et appropinquent anni de quibus dicas: non michi placent; antequam tenebrescat sol et cetera* [Ecc. 12:1-2]. Ubi multi infirmi et rubiginosi senectutis comites connumerantur. (20ra)

The same translation of חלד as *rubigo* occurs in Psalms 38 (39):6 and 48 (49): 2, on both occasions inspired by Rashi's translation *rodjil* or *rodile* in the same verse. In 39 (40): 3

ויעלני מבור שאון מטיט היין ויקם על-סלע רגלי פונן אשרי :

He lifted me up from the pit of slime, from the mud of mire; he set my feet on a rock and gave me a firm place to stand

The *Hebraica* has:

et eduxit me de lacu famoso de luto caeni et statuit super petram pedes meos stabilivit gressus meos

Herbert follows a reading from Theodulf's version (Θ) and has de lacu sonitus instead of de lacu famoso. This choice seems prompted by Rashi, who comments:

Out of the pit of tumult [i.e.] out of the imprisonment of Egypt and out of the tumult of their roaring. The slimy clay [i.e.] from the Reed Sea. [The word] *hayyawen*, 'slime' is a synonym of *repes* 'mire'; [it means] *fanjos* 'mud' in O.F.⁸⁰

Herbert includes both Rashi's explanation of שאון, [roar, din], and of היין, [mud], into his commentary and translates פניוּש, *fanjos* back into Latin as *fenum*:

De lacu uel puteo sonitus, id est de carcere Egypti terribili quo me instanter ad operandum urgebant. Et de luto ceni, hoc tangit quod inperando lutum uel fenum, scilicet paleam commiscebant (40rb)

In 49 (50):11

ידעתי כל-עוף הרים וזיז שדי עמדי :

I know every bird in the mountains; and the creatures in the field are mine

The *Hebraica* translates:

Scio omnes aves moncium et universitas agri mecum est

⁸⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 192 (English) and p. 20 (Hebrew).

Herbert modifies *et universitas agri* to *et motus agrorum meorum*. His rendering of שָׂדֵי as *agrorum meorum*, [my fields], is peculiar, since the Hebrew just reads [field]. He might, however, have interpreted שָׂדֵי as the construct form of שָׂדֵה, which has the same meaning, with a first person singular pronominal suffix attached. If this is the case, it indicates that he was reading from an unpointed text, reading שָׂדֵי for שָׂדֵי. His translation of זִיז as *motus* relies on Rashi's explanation of the word:

The creatures [ziz] of the field, [i.e.], the creeping things of the field. [They are called ziz] because they move [zazim] from place to place. [I.e., ziz is the semantic equivalent of] *esmouvement* in O.F.⁸¹

Herbert reflects the meaning of אִישְׁמוּבְמִנֵּט, *esmouvement* in the use of *motus* and *mouencia* in his commentary:

Motus scilicet reptilia agrorum serpencia et huiusmodi se mouencia.

In Psalm 55 (56):2

חַנְּנִי אֱלֹהִים כִּי־שָׂאֲפֹנִי אָנוּשׁ כָּל־הַיּוֹם לַחֵם יִלְחָצֵנִי :

Have mercy upon me, God, because man persecutes me; all day long he has pressed his attack

Whereas the *Hebraica* has:

Miserere mei Deus quoniam conculcavit me homo; tota die pugnans tribulavit me

Herbert replaces *conculcavit me homo*, [man has trampled me] by *gulosavit me homo*, [man has devoured me] and adds:

Gulosavit dicit: ab hiatu gule et appetitu, hoc est ad degluciendum me querit. (58ra)

Gulosare, [to devour], related to *gula*, meaning [throat] but also [gluttony], is again based upon a *la'az* by Rashi, who has:

Men persecute me [se'apani 'enos], they seek to swallow me: *goloser*, 'desire passionately' in O.F.⁸²

⁸¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 240 (English) and p. 25 (Hebrew).

⁸² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 259 (English) and p. 27 (Hebrew).

In Psalm 57 (58): 9

כמו שבִּלְוִל תִּמַּס יִהְיֶה נֶפֶל אִשָּׁת בְּלִחְזוֹ שֶׁמֶשׁ :

Like a slug melting away as it moves along, like a stillborn child of woman, may they not see the sun

The *Hebraica* reads:

Quasi vermis tabefactus pertranseant quasi abortivum mulieris quod non vidit solem

Herbert modifies the *Hebraica* quite drastically to:

Quasi testudo tabefactus pertranseant; quasi talpa que non uidit solem

even though he retains the *Hebraica* reading as a superscript to his translation. שבִּלְוִל is a hapax legomenon meaning [snail] and it is unclear why Herbert renders it as *testudo* [tortoise]. While usually referring to a tortoise, *testudo* literally means ‘an animal with a lid/ shell’ (*testu*). Hence Herbert might have chosen the word in order to emphasise the notion of שבִּלְוִל as a shelled animal, in contrast to the *Hebraica*’s *vermis* [worm]. He clearly does not follow Rashi, who offers the *la’az* לִימָצָא, *limace* here. *Limace* has the unambiguous meaning of [slug] and, as it is related to the Latin word *limax*, it would have posed no problem at all had Herbert wanted to include it in his Latin translation. He does borrow from Rashi, however, in his interpretation of אִשָּׁת as *talpa*, [mole]. Rashi understands the noun נֶפֶל, derived from the root נִפַּל, [fall], in its most basic sense as [a fall], and explains אִשָּׁת as

The falling of an *’ešet*, [which is called] in O.F. *talpe* ‘mole’, which has no eyes. It is [the Biblical Hebrew] *tinšemet* ‘mole’ (Lev. 20:12), which we render into Aram. *’ašuta* ‘mole’; so did our Rabbids interpret it [*’ešet*], but some interpret it ‘a woman’s stillbirth’.⁸³

A passage in which he seems to reject Rashi’s *la’az* is Psalm 67 (68): 14:

אִם־תִּשְׁכַּבְוּ בֵּין שִׁפְתֵי כַּנְפֵי יוֹנָה נַחֲפָה בְּכַסֵּף וְאַבְרוֹתֶיהָ

⁸³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 266 (English) and p. 28 (Hebrew).

בִּירְקָרְק חֲרוּץ

While you sleep among the campfires, the wings of the dove are sheathed with silver, its pinions with shining gold

The *Hebraica* has:

Si dormieritis inter medios terminos pinnae columbae deargentatae et posteriora eius in virore auri

Rashi translates כַּנְפֵי, [wings], by the Old French פְּלוּמֵשׁ, *ploumes*, from which the Modern French ‘plumes’. אַבְרוּתֵהוּ he interprets as [pinions].⁸⁴ Interestingly, Herbert seems to consider the distinction between both words to be the other way round. He reads:

Si cubaueritis inter medios terminos, pinnule columbe deargentate et penne eius in uirore auri

replacing the *Hebraica*'s *pinnae* by *pinnule* and its *posteriora* by *penne*. He explains:

Et uocat pennulas, pennarum summitates prominentes. Hebreum enim positum hic nec pennas nec plumas sed pennarum pocius designat summitates; quasdam uidelicet quasi pennulas que pennis preminent quas Hebrei uno significant uerbo, pro quo nos posuimus pinnulas (71rb)

That Herbert has simply mixed up Jerome's reading or Rashi's exegeses of כַּנְפֵי and אַבְרוּתֵהוּ seems unlikely, since Rashi's explanation is unambiguous and straightforward.⁸⁵ Moreover, his explicit rejection of both *pennas* and *plumas* shows that he is aware of Jerome's as well as Rashi's interpretation. Instead he gives preference to another nuance of the noun כַּנֶּף, namely that of [extremity]. כַּנֶּף is used in that sense in, among other passages, Is. 24:16 מִכַּנֶּף הָאָרֶץ, [from the end of the earth]. There are several other passages where Herbert seems to have borrowed from Rashi's *la'azim*. In Psalm 74 (75):9

כִּי כּוֹס בִּידֵי־יְהוָה וַיִּיַן חֶמֶר מִלֵּא מִסַּךְ וַיִּגַר מִזֶּה אֶךְ־שֹׁמְרֵי־הָאָרֶץ יִמְצְאוּ
יִשְׁתּוּ כָּל רֹשְׁעֵי־הָאָרֶץ :

⁸⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 302 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew).

In the hand of the Lord is a cup full of foaming wine mixed with spices; he pours it out and all the wicked of the earth drink it down to its very dregs

Herbert translates as:

Quia calix in manu Domini et uino meraco plenus libamento et propinnabit ex eo: uerumptamen feces eius distillabunt et potabunt bibentes omnes impii terre

His reading of *plenus libamento* is a modification of the *Hebraica's usque ad plenum mixtus*. *Distillabunt* is superfluous and might originally have been a superscript gloss, which was later copied into the main body text. Alternatively, Herbert might have intended *distillabunt et potabunt* as a more literal translation of יִשְׁתּוּ יִמְצוּ [they will drink they will drink], which makes *bibentes* a more likely scribal error.

A substantial part of Herbert's commentary on this verse is devoted to the meaning of חמר ויין, which appears in the *Hebraica* and in the *Psalterium* as *uino meraco*. Rashi interprets חמר ויין as [strong wine], thereby associating חמר with חזק, [be heavy, be strong] and possibly with the Rabbinical Hebrew adjective חמור meaning [strong]. His Old French translation is וינורש, *vinose*.⁸⁶ An echo of this can be found in Herbert's clarification of *uino meraco*:

Et non dicitur hic mixtus a mixtura; quasi diuersi liquores in calice isto Domini sint commixti. Nam uino meraco, id est uinoso et puro: plenus erat; quod manifeste exprimitur cum dicitur hic: et uino meraco. (88rb)

In Psalm 78 (79): 11

תבוא לפניך אנקת אסיר כגדל זרועך הותר בני תמותה :

May the groans of the prisoners come before you; by the strenght of your arm preserve those condemned to die (litt. sons of dying).

the *Hebraica* translates:

ingrediatur coram te gemitus victorum in magnitudine brachii tui relinque filios interitus

⁸⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 33: 'כנפי יינה פלומש בל' ואברותיה כנפיה שמויפפות בהן'.

⁸⁶ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 349, p. 351, n. 21 (English) and p. 39 (Hebrew).

Herbert modifies *relinque filios interitus* to *solue filios mortificate*. His interpretation of הוֹתֵר as *solue* and of תְּמוּתָהּ as *mortificate* betrays influence from Rashi. In accordance to Menahem's system of biliteral roots, Rashi understands the hifil imperative הוֹתֵר as belonging to the root תֵּר and associates it therefore with forms such as וַיִּתֵּרֵהוּ [and he released him] and מִתֵּיר [setting free], which are generally considered to be derived from נָתַר [to be free, to be loose]. תְּמוּתָהּ, which throughout the Bible only occurs in this verse and in Psalm 101 (102):21, means [dying]. Rashi translates it as אֵינְמוֹרֵינִידָא, *enmorineda* and adds:

there is an example of it in Rabbinic Hebrew: 'It is better that Israelites should eat the flesh of *temutot* ritually slaughtered than that they should eat the flesh of *temutot*, which died a natural death'. Now our Rabbis explained [that *temutah* in the latter quotation] in [BT] Tractate Qiddushin [21b-22a] [designates] the flesh of an animal in danger of dying naturally, which was ritually slaughtered.⁸⁷

In this verse as well as in Psalm 101 (102): 21 Herbert follows Rashi's interpretation of תְּמוּתָהּ as [dying] and understands the 'filios mortificate' as the members of the faithful synagoge:

[*filios mortificate*], id est fidelis sinagoge, cuius filii in persecucione illa per Antiochum fere omnes aut mortui aut mortificati; quod dicit solue ad hoc respicit quod uinctos dixerat. Iuxta quod et alibi in psalmo. *Ut audiret gemitum uincti; ut solueret filios mortificate* [Psalm 101 (102): 21]. (94vb)

In Psalm 82 (83) 14

אלהי שיתמו כגלגל כקש לפני-רוח:

My God, make them like tumbleweed, like chaff before the wind

Rashi explains גלגל, [tumbleweed], as

[...] the tops of thistles of the field, which are called *cardons* 'thistles' in O.F. When the winter arrives they become detached and removed automatically, and

⁸⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 373 (English) and p. 42 (Hebrew).

they open up slowly so that the part which is detached assumes the appearance of the rim of the wheel of a wagon, and the wind carries it away.

Whereas Herbert keeps the *Hebraica* reading entirely:

Deus meus pone eos ut rotam; quasi stipulam ante faciem uenti

he includes the Latin equivalent of *cardons* in his commentary:

Ad litteram precatur ut decidant tanquam capita carduorum, que exsiccata; uenti impulsu uoluuntur instar rote uel rotelle per agrorum planiciem. (99ra)

In Psalm 88 (89): 18 Rashi's *la'az* is integrated in his main Psalm translation:

כִּי־תִפְאַרֶת עֲזַמּוּ אֶתָּה וְבִרְצֹנָךְ תִּרְיִם קִתְּנֹנִי :

For you are their glory and strength, and by your favour you exalt our horn

Herbert has:

Quia gloria fortitudinis eorum tu es; et in placacione tua eleuabis cornu nostrum

translating רִצֹן as [placacio] and not, like the *Hebraica*'s reading, as *misericordia*. He comments:

hoc est: Si placatus fueris ab hiis qui ea die in cornu iubilant, quod est quando ad diei solempnitatem et Dei honorem ex Dei amore et deuocione id faciunt, tunc inquam eleuabitur. (107ra)

while basing himself on Rashi's interpretation:

Through your favour [i.e.], when You are pleased with them [i.e., Israel]. [The noun *raison* 'favour' means] *apaiement* 'appeasement' in Old French'.⁸⁸

A possible borrowing of another one of Rashi's *la'azim* occurs in Psalm 108 (109):8

יְהִי־יָמָיו מְעַטִּים פְּקֹדָתוֹ יִקַּח אַחֵר :

May his days be few; may another take his place of leadership

⁸⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 409 (English) and p. 47 (Hebrew).

Herbert translates:

Fiant dies eius parui; preposituram eius accipiat altus

instead of the *Hebraica*'s *episcopatum*, arguing that the use of *episcopatum* in the Old Testament goes against the *Hebraica veritas*:

Secundum Hebreum preposituram non episcopatum dicit. Nusquam enim in ueteri testamento secundum ueritatem Hebraicam nomen episcopati seu episcopatus inuenitur. (130rb)

His translation 'preposituram' is reminiscent of Rashi's *la'az* פּרְבוּשְׁטִיאָה 'prevostieh', which means 'leadership', 'authority'.

Finally, in Psalm 148: 8

אֵשׁ וְיֶבְרֵד שֶׁלֵּג וְקִיטוֹר רוּחַ סַעֲרָה שְׁעָה דְבָרוֹ :
lightning and hail, snow and cloud/fog, stormy winds that do his bidding

the *Hebraica* reads:

Ignis et grando, nix et glacies; uentus et turbo, que facitis sermonem eius.

Herbert substitutes *bruma* for *glacies*, commenting:

Et dicitur bruma proprie, spississima nebula qualiter hic accipitur supra uero nomine grandinis; generaliter glaciem intellexit (158rb)

Bruma indicates [winter solstice, winter time]; *brumescio* in High Medieval Latin means *to grow foggy*.⁸⁹ Rashi offers a similar translation: בְּרוּאֵינָא, *broina* in his commentary.⁹⁰

c. Other Hebrew-Vernacular Glossaries?

The aforementioned examples demonstrate that Herbert's techniques and choices of translation are founded upon the work of two figures, which each represent a different religious tradition and which, within that tradition, fulfil a powerfully authoritative role.

⁸⁹ Latham, p. 57.

⁹⁰ Darmesteter, *Gloses*, p. 113.

Jerome, as main Christian source, provides both the core translation of the Psalms from which Herbert builds up his exegesis and a methodology of revising the Latin text of the Bible with the aid of Rabbinic thought. For Herbert, Rashi's commentary on the Psalms very much serves as a touch stone according to which he modifies his reading of the Latin text.

Herbert's integration of several of Rashi's *la'azim* shows that the use of the vernacular, as the only language common in equal measures to both Christians and Ashkenazi Jews at the time, was not restricted to the world of commerce or day-to-day speech. In Herbert's case, Old French was probably the only language in which he and his Jewish interpreter(s) felt comfortable discussing matters of exegesis. For Jews, and for the few Christians who had advanced that far in their study of Hebrew, it facilitated understanding of the Masorah and of Rashi's commentaries. In his article on this topic Banitt mentions the existence of independent Hebrew-Old French glossaries on the Bible. Although the manuscripts in which these glossaries have survived all postdate the twelfth century, they contain variants which, as Banitt convincingly argues, go back to a long and independent tradition. Unfortunately, only three glossaries have found their way into print so far⁹¹, yet it is interesting to note that several Old French translations in those glossaries, independently from Rashi, resemble changes made by Herbert in the *Psalterium*.

For example, in Psalm 9:17

נודע יהוה משפט שעה בפעל כפיו נוקש רשע הגיון סלה :

The Lord is known by his justice; the wicked are ensnared by the work of their hands.
Higgaion/ meditation. Selah.

which Herbert renders as:

Agnitus est Dominus iudicium faciens; in opere manuum suarum corrui impius
sermone sempiterno

⁹¹ *Sefer ha-pitronot mi-Bazel. Le glossaire de Bâle*, ed. and ann. by Menahim Banitt (Jerusalem: Académie nationale des sciences et des lettres d'Israël, 1972); *Le glossaire de Leipzig*, ed. and ann. by Menahim Banitt (Jerusalem: Académie nationale des sciences et des lettres d'Israël, 1995); Mayer Lambert and Louis Brandin, *Glossaire Hébreu-Français du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Leroux, 1905).

translating הגיון as *sermone*, [in speech], instead of the *Hebraica*'s reading *sonitu*, [in sound/ noise]. This choice mirrors the reading *parole*, meaning [speech], in the glossary.⁹²
In verse 26 (10:5)

יחילו דרכו בכל-עת מרום משפטיך מנגדו כל-צורריו יפיה בהם :

His ways are always prosperous; he is haughty and your laws are far from him; he sneers at all his enemies

Herbert has:

Prosperantur uie eius in omni tempore longe sunt iudicia tua a facie eius omnes inimicos suos exsufflat

thereby translating יפיה, [he sneers], as *exsufflat* and not as *dispicit* according to the *Hebraica* or *dominabitur*, which is what the *Gallicana* reads. The Hebrew-French glossary supplies *sufflera*.⁹³ The similarity between the *Psalterium* and the glossary is not consistent, however, because in Psalm 26 (27):12, where Herbert translates the noun יפה as *sufflatorium*, the glossary has 'parlont'.⁹⁴ In Psalm 14 (15): 3

לא-רגל על-לשנו לא-שעה לרעהו רעה וחרפה לא-נשא על-קרבו :

Who does not slander with his tongue; who does his fellow man no wrong and casts no slur on his neighbour/ nearest

Herbert translates:

Qui non accusat in lingua sua, neque fecit sodali suo malum; et obprobrium non sustinuit super proximum suum

He differs from the *Hebraica* in rendering לא-רגל as *qui non accusat* instead of *qui non est facilis*. Similarly to Herbert, the thirteenth-century glossary reads 'ankuza'.⁹⁵

Goodwin has identified another possible similarity in Psalm 73 (74): 3. The Masoretic text has

⁹² Lambert and Brandin, *Glossaire*, p. 168.

⁹³ Lambert and Brandin, *Glossaire*, p. 168.

⁹⁴ Lambert and Brandin, *Glossaire*, p. 171.

⁹⁵ Lambert and Brandin, *Glossaire*, p. 169.

הרימה פעמיך למשאות נצח כל־הרע אויב בקדש:

Lift high your steps/ your trembling through these everlasting ruins; all this destruction the enemy has brought upon the sanctuary.

while the *Hebraica* translates:

sublimitas pedum tuorum dissipata est usque ad finem omnia mala egit inimicus in sanctuario

Herbert modifies *pedum* [feet] to *pauorem* [trembling, dread]. Lambert and Brandin's glossary supply the translation *trezalemonz*, which also means [trembling].⁹⁶

Finally, in Psalm 128 (129):6

: יהיו כחציר גגות שקדמת שלף יבש

May they be like grass on the housetops, which withers before it can shoot.

the glossary translates the phrase *שקדמת שלף יבש* [before it can sprout, it withers] as 'ke éynzoys ke déchalzét sécha'.⁹⁷ 'Déchalzét' is a form of 'déchalcier', meaning [to take off (someone's) shoes, to crush].⁹⁸ It is related to the Modern French 'déchausser', meaning [to take off (someone's) shoes] or [to expose (the foundations of a building/ the roots of a plant)]. Whereas the *Hebraica* has *statim ut viruerit*, Herbert's reading resembles that of the glossary:

Fiant sicut fenum tectorum quod priusquam disalcietur arescit

The Medieval Latin verb *disalcicare* has a meaning similar to its Old French counterpart and means [to take off (someone's) shoes] or [to crush]. Although I have not been able to find any other attestation of *disalcicari* carrying the notion of [grow/ shoot], it is possible that *priusquam disalcietur*/ 'éynzoys ke déchalzét' carries the meaning of, [before it removes its outer shell, before it buds].

⁹⁶ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 197, n. 100; Lambert and Brandin, *Glossaire*, p. 181.

⁹⁷ Lambert and Brandin, *Glossaire*, p. 188.

⁹⁸ *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français: le Moyen Âge*, ed. by Algirdas Julien Greimas (Paris: Larousse, 1997), p. 149.

What conclusions can be drawn from our above analysis of Herbert's methods of transliteration and translation, his grasp of the Hebrew language, and use of reference tools?

The collection of Hebrew words occurring in the *Psalterium* seems to greatly outnumber that of similar Hebraist works of the time, such as Hugh's and Andrew's commentaries. Yet it stays in line with those contemporary works in the sense that Hebrew words only ever appear in transliterated form, for the reason of facilitating readership and copying by non-Hebraists. Although his spelling of Hebrew words in transliteration is inconsistent, which might be partly due to scribal errors, his interpretations of these words are usually accurate and only a minority of those words can be found in earlier, usually Hieronymian sources.

Herbert's method of translation seems to be geared towards one goal, which is inherently linked with his larger exegetical programme of expounding on the literal sense. He aims to clarify the meaning of the individual words of the Psalms in their context by modifying faulty translations and by explaining possibly misleading ones. He thereby follows three rules, albeit not systematically. His first strategy is to translate Hebrew lexica as literally as possible, even if a more figurative meaning has been used by Jerome. He thereby makes a particular effort to translate words from the same Hebrew roots by equivalents from the same Latin roots. Second, he seems to honour the principle that one Hebrew word should be rendered by one Latin one, which should preferably come from the same grammatical category as the Hebrew original. This 'a noun for a noun, a verb for a verb' procedure yields several highly apt and inventive readings but also results sometimes in a violation of Latin syntax. Yet it is not implemented as rigorously as some of the Hebrew-Latin psalters discussed by Olszowy-Schlanger, where even particles such as the Hebrew definite article and the object marker are given a Latin translation.⁹⁹ A third aspect of Herbert's translation method lies in his attempts, which are sporadic rather than systematic, to update Jerome's language.

On a second level, Herbert seems to have some awareness of text-critical problems surrounding the Masoretic text; this is noticeable in his choice of text in 32 (33):7 and in

⁹⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Or. 46 and Or. 62; Cambridge, Corpus Christi Library, MSS 5 and 7. Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', p. 116.

his reference to a *ketib qere* in Ps. 21:17. His knowledge of Hebrew grammar and vocabulary is better attested and seems to be larger than that of any other Christian Hebraist of his time. However, in contrast to the Hebrew grammar attributed to Roger Bacon, which is the only Hebrew grammar for Christians we possess of the Central Middle Ages, Herbert only seems to explain Hebrew grammatical rules and idiom when he deems it necessary and appears to concentrate on clarifying specific usages in their context rather than on supplying general rules.

His influences and reference tools are from both Christian and Jewish origin. His first source of reference is **Jerome**, whose works provide the ground text for his *Psalterium* and set a methodological precedent for Herbert's revision of that ground text. He supplements this lexical aid offered by Jerome with readings from the main Jewish authority on biblical literal exegesis at the time, **Rashi**. Herbert's resourceful absorption of a collection of Rashi's *la'azim* proves to be, as far as we know, unique for a Christian exegete. In addition to those *la'azim* the *Psalterium* also reveals similarities with a thirteenth-century **Hebrew-French glossary** edited by Lambert and Brandin, which confirms Banitt's claim that these glossaries are the result of a tradition going back at least two centuries. On the Christian side, the *Psalterium* shows remarkably strong resemblance to a mid-twelfth-century **Hebrew-Latin psalter** of English provenance. While it has been suggested that these psalters were used by Christians as learning aids and reference tools, solid evidence for this has up till now been wanting. Although the intertextuality between the *Psalterium* and Scaliger 8 does not prove that Herbert used this particular psalter, it does show that both works are part of the same underlying tradition of Hebrew learning and of textual criticism of the Psalms.

A fifth source for Herbert's *Psalterium* was at least one **contemporary tutor** who provided translations from the Masoretic text and from Rashi, and who possibly offered cross references. This last source, in combination with the ones previously mentioned, suggests that there existed at the time in French and English intellectual circles a framework which enabled Jews and Christians to exchange exegetical and text-critical knowledge and ideas, and which was more intense and better established than previously assumed.

Chapter Three: Herbert's Use of Jewish Sources

As Raphael Loewe has pointed out, Herbert refers to five interconnected sets of Jewish texts in his *Psalterium*. His main source is Rashi. He further uses Midrash Tehillim (Midrash on the Psalms); the Talmud; the Targums, which are Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible; and the tenth-century Sephardic grammarians Menahem ben Saruq and Dunash ibn Labrat.¹ It remains unclear to what extent Herbert made use of these sources independently from Rashi, a question which I aim to address in this chapter.

As Herbert seeks to expound on the literal sense of the Psalms, he tends to concentrate on Jewish exegesis, thereby mostly omitting the Christian tradition of Psalm exegesis, which was largely allegorical. An additional reason for generally omitting Christian sources might be found in his previous work, his edition of Lombard's Gloss on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles. Since his arrangement of the Gloss already exhaustively deals with the mainstream Christian tradition on those two biblical books, Herbert possibly no longer felt the need to cover this area in his *Psalterium*.

Apart from his written sources, Herbert also mentions an *oral* voice in his commentary. In Psalm 88(89):52 he translates

חרפו עקבות משיחך
they mocked the steps of your anointed one

as *exprobrauerunt uestigia christi tui* and comments:

et ipsa eiam explanationis uerba que ab Hebreo in Latinum per loquacem
meum fide, ni fallor, translata sunt.²

Although it is admittedly more difficult to trace the influence of an oral source than of a written one, I will explore the possibility that Herbert's commentary shows the benefits of an oral contribution by a Hebrew teacher. In order to be able to analyse Herbert's reliance on Jewish sources and awareness concerning the sources he used, I will treat

¹ Raphael Loewe, 'Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter', *Biblica*, 34 (1953), 44-77; 159-92; and 275-98 (pp. 46-69).

² I am emending Loewe's reading *fallor* to *fallor*, as a close look at the manuscript shows the superscript 'o' to be a copyist emendation of the 'a', which has a corrective dot underneath; I also prefer Loewe's reading of *per loquacem* (54) to Loewe's (68) and Goodwin's *perloquacem*; see Loewe, 'Commentary', pp. 54 and 68; Deborah Goodwin, 'A Study of Herbert of Bosham's Psalm Commentary (c.1190)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001), p. 86.

each potential source separately. First, however, it is necessary to discuss how Herbert refers to the Jewish tradition.

As Loewe and Smalley have already demonstrated, Herbert tends to refer to his Jewish sources as *litteratores*. In her analysis of this term, Goodwin states that it was an unusual way of addressing Jewish authorities, which was only shared in this sense by Herbert's later contemporary and fellow Hebraist Alexander Nequam. In Classical Latin a *litterator* has the meaning of 'grammarian' or 'philologist', an occupation which was not always held in high esteem. Aulus Gellius contrasts a *litterator* with a *litteratus*, a really learned man. However, the revival of interest in grammar and in the emphasis on the literal sense (*littera*) of scripture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries put the role of a *litterator* in a more favourable light.³ As is the case with the term *magister*, which can refer to a primary school teacher as well as to a scholar with a *licentia docendi*, *litterator* also seems to cover a wide range of educational levels in Herbert's time. In his discussion of *Halleluyah* in Psalm 104 (105):1 Herbert explains *yah* as the first half of the Tetragrammaton and adds:

Et tradunt Hebrei quod magnum illud nomen Domini siue dimidiatum siue integrum propter reuerenciam nominis nec interpretari quis debeat, nec ut in primis puerorum rudimentis sit litterari. (124rb)

A note in the margin clarifies *litterari* as *solere litteram ad litteram adiungere*.

Herbert's further comment that the Tetragrammaton can be written but not read as it is written (*tum etiam quia sicut scribitur legi non potest* (124rb)) indicates that with *litterari* he means not the writing down but the spelling out loud of a word letter by letter, as primary-school children are used to doing.

Nowhere in his commentary does Herbert attribute the term *litteratores* to Christian scholars. To him *litterator* refers to a Jewish source who explains the *littera* of the text, which is probably the main reason why Herbert is interested in that source in the first place. When the term appears in the singular, it often stands for Rashi; when it appears in the plural it seems to encompass a rabbinic interpretation of which the source is not always clear. Interestingly, while *litterator* never refers to a Christian authority,

³ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 86-90; Richard W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)*, ed. and rev. by Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 109; Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon*, PL 176: 799; *The Didascalicon of Hugh of Saint Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, transl. and introd. by James Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 136; John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, transl. by Daniel McGarry (Berkeley: University of California press, 1962), pp. 67-72.

magister can be either a Jew or a Christian. When used in the singular, *magister* always means Paul. When occurring in the plural we usually find an attribute to specify whether it concerns Jewish (*magistri Hebreorum*) or Christian (*magistri scolarum*) sources. *Magistri* never seems to include Rashi.

Litterator in the singular is found far more than the plural *litteratores* (over a hundred versus sixty one occurrences) with a strong emphasis on the first two thirds of the Psalter. From Psalm 100 onwards the terms are only rarely mentioned. This is in line with the fact that Herbert devotes most of his attention to the first hundred Psalms at the cost of the last third of the Psalter, with the exception of Psalms 117 (118), 118 (119) and 132 (133). I will now investigate to what extent and in what way Herbert uses Rashi.

1. Rashi

Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes) lived from c. 1040 to 1105 and produced extensive commentaries on most biblical and talmudic books. In addition to this, he also wrote a large collection of Responsa and instructed his disciples to the composition of several works on legal matters. His main intention in his commentaries is to expound on the *peshat*, the plain sense of scripture, which deals with the clarification of obscure words and stylistic and syntactic aspects of the Hebrew language. However, he frequently includes traditional *midrashic* interpretations among his comments when he finds the plain meaning to be inadequate. His style of writing is proverbial for its clearness and brevity and he is still considered as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, authorities on Jewish exegesis.⁴

His work on the Psalms was written towards the end of his life and some scholars believe he died before being able to finish it.⁵ One argument supporting this claim is that most of the earliest manuscripts we possess of the commentary, which date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, do not comment on Psalms 120 (121), 127 (128) and 133 (134), and that many omit Psalm 66 (67), thereby leaving the work

⁴ For a more detailed discussion of Rashi's life and works see Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963); Chaim Pearl, *Rashi* (London: Halban, 1988); *Rashi 1040-1105, hommage à Ephraïm E. Urbach, Congrès européen des études juives*, ed. by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna (Paris: Cerf, 1993).

⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 1-5.

incomplete.⁶ In later manuscripts, and in early editions of Rashi's commentary, discussions of these Psalms do occur but these are generally considered inauthentic.⁷

Rashi's commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud were an instant success among Ashkenazi communities and had spread to the Iberian Peninsula by the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁸ His popularity with Christian authors of that period however needs further study.⁹ Herbert wrote his commentary on the Psalms less than a century after Rashi's death. The manuscript of Herbert's *Psalterium cum commento*, which is dated between c. 1194 and c. 1225 therefore seems to coincide with the earliest known full copies of Rashi's commentary on the Psalms.

There are two modern editions of Rashi's commentary in existence. Isaac Maarsen's *Parshandatha*, published in the 1930s, is based upon Oxford Bodl., MS Opp. 34 and five other thirteenth and fourteenth-century manuscripts reflecting the same tradition.¹⁰ Mayer Gruber's edition and translation of Psalms 1-89, which appeared in 1989, takes the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century ms Vienna 220 as ground text but regularly includes Maarsen's readings in his text-critical discussions.¹¹ Since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to study the manuscript tradition of Rashi's commentary on the Psalms in detail, I will rely on the results of these existing published editions.

a. Rashi on the Psalms

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, Herbert often modifies his translation of the Psalms according to Rashi without elaborating on the matter. When explaining his modification he frequently does so without mentioning his source. However, on numerous occasions this source is easy to identify since his commentary follows Rashi's text almost verbatim. I will restrict the discussion of this aspect to a few examples only.

⁶ D.S. Blondheim, 'Liste des manuscrits des commentaires bibliques de Raschi', *Revue des études juives*, 91 (1931), 70-101 (pp. 92 and 155-174) mentions more than sixty manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Most are of Ashkenazi provenance, a minority originates from Sepharad or Italy; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 42 notes 9 and 10, does not provide a list of all manuscripts lacking those Psalms but gives as examples Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Opp. 34 and Opp. Add. Fol. 24 and Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 156.

⁷ Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 138-39; Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 4 and 38-39.

⁸ Hailperin, *Rashi*, pp. 103-07; Pearl, *Rashi*, p. 96.

⁹ Hailperin, *Rashi*, pp. 103-34.

¹⁰ *Parshandata: the Commentary of Raschi on the Prophets and Hagiographs*, ed. by I. Maarsen, 3 vols (Amsterdam and Jerusalem: Hertzberger and Central Press, 1930-36), III (1936).

¹¹ *Rashi's Commentary on Psalms 1-89 (Books I-III)*, ed. and transl. by Mayer I. Gruber (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); Blondheim, 'Raschi', p. 171.

In Psalm 30 (31):24

את־יהוה כל־חסידיו אמונים נצר יהוה ומשלם על־יתר שעה
אהבו נאֹה :

Love the Lord, all his saints! The Lord preserves the faithful, but the proud he pays back in full.

Herbert changes the Vulgate's reading

Diligite Dominum omnes sancti eius fideles servat Dominus et retribuet his qui satis operantur superbiam

to:

Diligite Dominum omnes misericordes eius: fideles servat Dominus: et retribuet super neruum hiis qui operantur superbiam

His modification of *sancti* to *misericordes* originates from his interpretation of חסיד, which has been discussed in the previous chapter. His variant reading of על־יתר [in full] as *super neruum* [upon the cord] is borrowed from Rashi, who comments on the latter half of this verse:

Upon the cord [is an idiom meaning] ‘measure for measure’; [this idiom refers to the fact that the punishment] is directed toward him [the guilty party] like an arrow upon the cord of the bow. Alternatively, one can interpret upon the cord [as standing for the cliché] ‘rope for rope, line for line’
(חבל כנגד חבל קו כנגד קו)¹²

Herbert takes over Rashi's comment but elaborates on his source's highly succinct style:

Super neruum dicit, id est cordam; hec est discrecio. Et sagittanti alludit qui directo sagittam super arcus neruum ponit, ut sagitte non frustretur emissio. Ita faciet superbis Dominus. Letalis uulneris sagittam ad eos directam dirigens non fraudabitur; aut quod dicit super neruum, id est cordam, sic intellige: id est ad lineam; id est recte et ad mensuram pro superbiendi modo, hiis plus, minus illis; recte et ad mensuram sicut linea ad mensurandum est et recta. (32rb/va)

His clarification of the Hebrew idiom goes far beyond the existing translations of על־יתר [upon the cord] as *satis* (*Hebraica*) or *abundanter* (*Gallicana*). The integration of Rashi's *peshat* into his own comment enables him to create a new tropological image of God as archer who punishes everyone according to the severity of their sins.

¹² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 160 (English) and p. 16 (Hebrew).

Another example where Herbert's commentary betrays almost verbatim influence of Rashi is Psalm 69 (70): 1

למנצח לדוד להזכיר :

For the director of music. Of David. A petition

which Jerome and Herbert translate as *Uictori Dauid ad recordandum*. In order to demonstrate to what extent Herbert borrows from Rashi it is necessary to give the exegesis of both on this verse in full. Rashi has:

For the leader. Of David. *Lehazkir*[...] I read in Midrash Tillim [*sic*] [that David may be] compared to a king who became angry at his flock so that he tore down the sheepfold, and he turned out the flock and the shepherd. Some time later he brought back the flock, and he rebuilt the sheepfold, but he did not remember [*lô 'hizkîr*] the shepherd. The shepherd said, 'Look! The flock has been returned, and the sheepfold has been rebuilt, but as for me, I am not remembered [*lô mûzkar*]'. In the same way it is stated above [in the previous psalm], *For God will deliver Zion* (Ps. 69:36a), and *those who cherish His name shall dwell there* (Ps. 69:37b). Look! The sheepfold has been rebuilt, and the flock has been gathered in, but the shepherd has not been remembered [*lô nizkar*]. Therefore, it is stated (here in Ps. 70:1-2), to remind [*lehazkir*] (v.1) God (v.2) Of David (v.1) that he should save me (v.2).¹³

The *Psalterium* reads:

In hoc psalmo: Dauid ad recordandum. Tanquam si dicat Dauid [...] scilicet pastoris Israel. Et ita quod circa finem precedentis et subsequentis psalmi principium dicitur: tractum est a parabola que secundum Hebreos in explanacione quadam super *tillim* inserta legitur. Ubi de quodam rege refertur quod iratus fuerit ouicule sue. Et ideo ouile obstruxit et ouiculam eiecit. Post multum uero tempus rex ouicule recordatur; ouiculam reduxit et ouile reparauit. Et pastoris recordatus non fuit. Hoc est quod in presenti psalmo huius alludens parabole dixit Dauid: *Quia Deus saluabit Syon et cetera* [Ps. 68:36a]. Uerum que rex ouicula reducta et ouili reparato pastoris recordatus non fuit; orat postremo pastor ut sui recordetur rex. Et hoc est quod hic in titulo dicitur Dauid ad recordandum. (78va)

Not only does Herbert follow Rashi's comment almost sentence for sentence, including one of the latter's cross-references, his use of the words *parabola...in explanacione super tillim* is also strongly reminiscent of Rashi's terminology. Rashi writes here משל מדרש, literally 'and in the midrash on Psalms I have read a parable'. מדרש, from the root דרש, [seek], means 'explanation, exposition'. which is

¹³ Gruber, p. 318 (English), p. 35 (Hebrew).

how Herbert translates it; תִּלְיִם or תְּהִלִּים, meaning ‘Psalms’, is transliterated as *tillim*. Finally, the noun מִשַּׁל indicating [proverb, parable] occurs here as *parabola*, which is in line with Herbert’s translation of the same Hebrew word in Psalms 43 (44):15 (differing from Jerome), 48 (49):5 and 77 (78):2.

In his discussion on the title of Psalm 88 (89) *Eruditionis Aethan Ezraitae* Herbert expands on Rashi’s comment with the aid of Jerome’s *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*:

In hoc psalmo in persona sua et totius fidelis sinagoge loquitur propheta Ethan qui secundum carnem frater fuit Eman cuius nomen in precedentis psalmi titulo positum est de quo et ibi diximus. Et fuit iste Ethan quem admodum frater eius Eman Ezraita, id est aduena quia orientalis. Ezra enim idem sonat quod ‘advena’. Unde et fuerunt nonnulli inter Hebreorum litteratores qui dicerent psalmum istum ab Abraham non ab Etham compositum. Eo quod Abraham prior inter patres et precipuus; ipse uere Ethan, id est robustus, et Ezraita, id est aduena, fuerit quia orientalis. De quo propheta: *Quis suscitabit ab oriente iustum* [*Isaiah 41:2*], id est Abraham qui ab oriente uenit. Et secundum hos: Abraham loquitur in psalmo hoc.

Sed uerior uidetur assertio ut psalmis iste erudicio sit Ethan fratris Eman, filii Zare. (104vb)

Rashi has:

A Maskil of Ethan the Ezraite.

He also is one of five brothers who were poets. However, our rabbis interpreted it [the name Ethan the Ezrahite] as [an epithet of] Abraham, our patriarch. [According to this interpretation, Abraham is called Ethan the Ezrahite] because of [the biblical verse], *Who has roused from the East?* (Isa. 41:2).¹⁴

Herbert takes over Rashi’s exegesis almost in full, including Rashi’s reference to his source, ‘our rabbis’, which are called ‘nonnulli Hebreorum litteratores’ in the *Psalterium*. He also adds that *Ethan* means [strong], which is not in Rashi but originates from Jerome.¹⁵

A peculiar similarity between Rashi’s commentary and the *Psalterium* appears in verse 39 of the same psalm, for which both the *Hebraica* and Herbert’s version have:

Tu autem reppulisti et proiecisti: iratus es aduersus christum tuum

But you have rejected and you have spurned, you have been angry against your anointed one
your Christ

¹⁴ Gruber, p. 408 (English), p. 47 (Hebrew).

¹⁵ Jerome, *Lib nom heb*. PL 23: 821; 1365.

Rashi's commentary reads:

Yet you have rejected. You dealt strictly with his [King David's] descendants, taking account of their iniquity, with respect to which you rejected them, and You spurned them in the reign of Zedekiah.¹⁶

Gruber remarks that his manuscript originally read הזקיה [Hezekiah] but has been corrected to זדקיה [Zedekiah] by the writing of a ז above the initial ה and a ד above the second letter ק . He states that Rashi refers here to the events surrounding Zedekiah, the last king of Judah (2 Kings 24:12-25:7) and not to the earlier reign of King Hezekiah (2 Kings 18-20).¹⁷ Interestingly, Herbert's interpretation conforms to the initial reading in Gruber's manuscript; he not only treats this verse as a reference to Hezekiah but also adds a lengthy exegesis arguing his case:

Quasi dicat 'o Domine tu ita Daud sole et luna duobus promissionis testibus promisisti. Attamen medio tempore antequam impleres promissum: tu semen Daud; scilicet reges Iuda repulisti et proiecisti, tanquam iratus aduersus Christum tuum scilicet Daud cui facta promissio'. Sed queri potest quando facta sit repulsio hec et proiectio. Reuera tempus Ezechie ad quem post grandem illam Dei offensam quod uidelicet omnia domus Dei archana quasi gloriam suam ostentando alienigenis et incircumcisis diulgasset sermo Domini per prophetam ad eum factus est. Audi sermonem Domini: *Ecce dies ueniunt, dicit Dominus, et auferentur omnia que sunt in domo tua et quod condiderunt patres tui usque in diem hanc in Babilonem non remanebit quicquam*. Ait Dominus, *Sed et de filiis tuis qui egredientur ex te quos generabis tollentur; et erunt eunuchi in palacio regis Babilonis* [2 Kings 20:17-18].

Ecce repulsio et proiectio, seu abhominacio. Sed nonne ante Ezechiam filiis Daud sub regibus Iuda et eciam ipsis regibus multe calamitates et clades multe contigerunt. Lege Malachim et Peralipomenon et repperies. Sed sub Ezechia presertim pro semine Daud quasi tunc repulso et abiecto maior sinagoge conquestio, eo quod in Ezechia aquam plurimis pacti Dei cum Daud; sperabatur aliquantisper expectata complecio. Ezechias enim talis et tantus apud Deum et homines erat ut a multis sinagoge putatetur quod in ipsum promissionem illam magnificam Dei cum Daud forent suscepturi. Unde eo scriptum est quod *post eum non fuit similis ei* [2 Kings 18:5] sed neque in hiis qui ante eum fuerunt.

Uerumptamen etsi mala que propheta supra comminatus est tempus Ezechie non contingerunt sicut ipse comminacione audita orauit: *fiat tamen pax et ueritas in diebus meis* [2 Kings 20:19]. Inducta tamen sunt sub peccato ipsius sub Mansasse filio suo. Et quod pro peccato suo inducerentur, ipsi per prophetam denunciata sunt. Patet igitur ex iam dictis qui quod per Ethan prophetam de repulsione et projectione Daud dicitur hic bene ad tempus Ezechie referendum. (108ra/b)

¹⁶ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 409 (English) and p. 47 (Hebrew).

¹⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 412, n. 25.

I have not been able to find another commentary, Jewish or Christian, which offers a similar interpretation to this verse. It is therefore possible that Herbert's source was a Rashi manuscript from the same tradition as Vienna 220, on which Gruber's edition is based. The length of this particular exegesis raises questions about its transmission. Did Herbert just happen to make use of a manuscript containing Hezekiah rather than Zedekiah or was *Hezekiah* the agreed reading among the Jewish scholars Herbert consulted? If *Hezekiah* was the agreed reading, then Herbert's elaborate justification of the relationship between Ps. 89: 39 and 2 Kings 18-20 might not be his own finding but could be the reflection of an already established Jewish exegesis. It would be illuminating to know whether there is any other manuscript evidence supporting the reading *Hezekiah*.

Another passage where Herbert's commentary might throw new light on contemporary interpretations of Rashi is Psalm 54 (55):20

ישמע אל ויענם וישב קדם סלה אשר אין חליפות למו ולא יראו
אלהים :

God, who is enthroned in the east/ forever, will hear them and answer/ afflict them- *selah*; men who never change their ways and have no fear of God.

Rashi explains as follows:

God hears the prayer of those [aforementioned (in v. 19)] multitudes, and the King, who is enthroned in the east answered them. Because there are no passings for them, [i.e.], for those [aforementioned] wicked people, who are pursuing me [the psalmist]. [there are no passings for them means that] they do not think of the day of their passing [i.e.], they are not in awe of the day of death.¹⁸

Modern commentators see two problems in Rashi's exegesis on this verse. The first one concerns the meaning of קדם, which can have the notion of either [beginning] or [east]. Gruber translates it as [east] but points out that it remains unclear whether or not Rashi understands it as such.¹⁹ The second problem revolves around the claim that Rashi failed to take note of the *paralellismus membrorum*, [parallel sentence structure] in this verse.²⁰ Gruber disputes this and argues instead that Rashi treats

¹⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 254 (English) and p. 27 (Hebrew).

¹⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 257, n. 30.

²⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 257, n. 30.

אל [God will hear] and ויענם וישב קדם [the one enthroned in the east/ forever will answer] as two synonymous parallel phrases, in which case ויענם [he will answer them] is seen not as a punishment, as some versions (i.e. NIV, NJV) translate it, but as a sign of God's mercy, in line with ישמע [he will hear]. וישב קדם [enthroned in the east/ forever] is then considered as a synonym for אל [God].

The *Psalterium* confirms Gruber's reading on both fronts. Herbert not only translates קדם as [east] and ויענם as [to answer], but also explains the object of the verb as 'the prayers of the multitude who love me':

Exaudi Deus et responde eis habitans in oriente. Non enim mutantur: neque timent Deum.

Exaudi scilicet preces multorum pro me et diligencium me. Et responde eis pro me orantibus tu rex habitans in oriente id est in tentorio quod ad archam tegendam Daud tetenderat, oracioni deputatum, et uersus orientem erat. Uel in oriente in illis scilicet qui relictis peccatorum tenebris luce gracie preuenti oriuntur tibi et cetera necesse. (78va/b)

He does however differ from Gruber in his clarification of קדם. Whereas Gruber states this is Jerusalem, Herbert explains it as the Tabernacle, an exegesis which gives the verse a more specific historical perspective.

In Psalm 66 (67):2

יחננו ויברכנו יאר פניו אתנו סלה :

May God be gracious to us and bless us and make his face shine upon us

the *Psalterium* helps settle a matter of disputed authorship. Gruber's edition of Rashi has:

May he make his face shine by exhibiting a smiling face by giving dew and rain.²¹

Exegeses from Rashi on this psalm are wanting in several of the 'best' thirteenth and fourteenth-century manuscripts, such as Oxford Bodl. Ms Can. Or. 60, Oxford Bodl. Ms Add. Fol 24, and Oxford Bodl. Ms. Opp. Add. 4to 52, but do occur in most of the early printed editions. This has led some modern scholars to believe that the commentary on

²¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 298 (English) and p. 32 (Hebrew).

Psalm 66 (67) is an addition, possibly inserted by the editors of those printed editions.²² However, this exegesis is reflected in Herbert's commentary:

Semper Benedicat nobis. Dando benedictionem id est copiam bonorum temporalium et illustret faciem suam ad rorem dandum et pluuiam. (69rb)

Although the inclusion of this particular comment does not prove that it originates with Rashi, it does demonstrate that there already existed an exegesis on this verse which was considered part of the Rashi tradition less than a century after the rabbi's death.

On several occasions Herbert refers to rabbinic sources or includes the translation of certain words from Arabic or Aramaic. This has led Loewe to suggest that Herbert made independent use of the Talmud, Midrash Tehillim and the Targums, and that he had, as he calls it 'a tame arabist' among his teachers.²³ While Herbert seems to have accessed some of his sources independently from Rashi, in some instances these elements of wider rabbinic material are borrowed from Rashi only. For example, Psalm 44 (45):2

רחש לבי דבר טוב אמר אני מעשי למלך לשוני עט סופר
: מהיר

My heart is stirred by a noble theme as I recite my verses for the king; my tongue is the pen of a skillful writer

which reads according to the *Hebraica*:

Eruclavit in corde meo uerbum bonum dico ego opera mea regi: lingua mea stilus scribe uelocis. (46rb)

Herbert modifies 'eruclavit' to 'titillat uel serpit', which is a more literal translation of רחש [to be astir] and which is inspired by Rashi. In the last phrase of the verse Herbert comments:

Et hoc est. lingua mea erit stilus scribe uelocis pro quo in sermone Arabico est: ueracis.

This is a reflection of Rashi's:

My tongue is glib with songs like the pen of an expert scribe.
I read in R. Moses the Interpreter's book [that the word] *mahîr* 'ready' [means] 'expert' in Arabic.²⁴

²² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 298 n. 1

²³ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 53.

As an alternate explanation for מְהִיר, [ready, skillful], Rashi gives בְּקִי, [expert].

Herbert translates this slightly differently as *verax* [truthful]. The reason for this might be that בְּקִי, derived from בִּקְוָה [prove], here has the connotation of ‘skillful’ in the sense of both ‘fast’ and ‘accurate’ (i.e. not sloppy). Herbert might have tried to reflect that meaning by translating the word as *verax*.²⁵

In Psalm 28 (29):8

קוֹל יְהוָה יַחִיל מִדְּבַר יְהוָה מִדְּבַר קִדְשׁ
the voice of the Lord shakes the desert of Kadesh

Herbert modifies the *Hebraica*'s

vox Domini parturire faciens desertum Cades

to include the repetition in Hebrew of יַחִיל יְהוָה מִדְּבַר [the Lord shakes the desert], and reads:

Uox Domini parcurire faciens desertum : parcurire faciet Dominus desertum
Cades.

He comments:

Desertum dicit: et quod desertum mox determinat scilicet desertum Cades. Hoc desertum Cades idem est quod desertum Synai in quo lex data. Quinque enim nominibus ut Hebreorum antiqui doctores tradiderunt desertum Synai uocatum est, scilicet desertum Synai, desertum Sin, Cademoth, Pharan, Cades. Et ut de aliis omittamus quod hiis modo locus non est; desertum illud Synai ratione interpretacionis Cades dictum est. Cades enim interpretatur sacrificacio. Et ibi sacrificati sunt filii Israel. Sicut scriptum est. *Uade ad populum et sacrificia illos* [Ex. 19:10].

Et hoc quidem desertum Cades siue Synai Domini uox legem dantis: parcurire fecit, id est parcurientis more tremere et dolere id est illius deserti tunc habitatores, scilicet gentes. Et est figura methonomicos. Potest eciam pro ipso populo Israel deinde esse. Uox Domini parcurire faciens desertum et cetera. Nam sicut scriptum est: *Timuit populus qui erat in castris*. [Ex. 19:16] Et nota quod prius quodam usitato loquendi tropo uerbis futuri temporis referat, que iam tempore Dauid preterita fuerant. Sicut et ediuerso quodam prophetis usitacioni modo uerbis preteriti temporis que longe post futura sunt referuntur. (30rb)

In this passage Herbert mentions his source as *Hebreorum antiqui doctores* and implies that he summarises their exegesis (*Et ut de aliis omittamus. quod hiis modo locus non est*). The etymology of the five names for Sinai is indeed discussed in full in the

²⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 213 (English) and p. 22 (Hebrew).

²⁵ I would like to thank R. Robert Harris for his help on this matter.

Babylonian Talmud in a midrash attributed to Rabbi Jose, son of Rabbi Hanina.²⁶

However, Rashi adapts this midrash in his commentary on the same verse in a highly similar way:

The Lord convulses the wilderness of Kadesh. It [the wilderness of Kadesh is the wilderness of Sinai just as our rabbis said in [BT] Tractate Shabbat [89a], *Five names are applied to it: the wilderness of Sinai, the wilderness of Zin, the wilderness of Kadesh, the wilderness of Kedemoth, the wilderness of Paran.* [It was called] the wilderness of Kadesh because therein [the people of] Israel were sanctified.²⁷

This suggests that, whereas Herbert might have consulted the Talmud, possibly with the help of a Hebrew teacher, he does not mention anything in this exegesis that is not already found in Rashi. His explanation of ‘desertum’ as a metonymy for desert peoples is reminiscent of the Gloss and of Pseudo-Jerome’s *Breviarium*.²⁸ His interest in the psalmist’s use of the future tense when referring to a past event shows that he is aware of the imperfect (incomplete) tense of יחיל.

In Psalm 67 (68): 28:

שם בנימן צעיר רדם שרי יהודה רגמתם שרי זבלון
שרי נפתלי:

There is the little [tribe of] Benjamin leading them, there Judah’s princes in their purple/ in a great throng/ stoning them and there the princes of Zabulon and of Naphtali

which appears in the *Hebraica* as:

Ibi Benjamin parvulus continens eos principes Iuda in purpura sua; principes Zabulon principes Nephtali

Herbert replaces *continens eos* [containing them] by *dominator eorum* [their leader] and *in purpura sua* [in their purple (robes)] by *lapidabunt eos* [they will stone them]. *Dominator eorum* is a more literal translation of רדם from the root רדה [to rule], while רגמתם can be interpreted in several ways. The root רגם means [to stone], which is Herbert’s preference; its derivative רגמה is usually taken as [heap of stones] and, in a figurative sense, [crowd]. Jerome, however, seems to understand רגמתם as a form of

²⁶ *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation 2: Tractate Shabbat C*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 87; Jerome interprets *Cades* as ‘sancta’, ‘mutata’ or ‘sanctitudo’, *Lib. nom. heb.* PL 23: 786 and 802.

²⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 151 (English) and p. 15 (Hebrew); see also p. 154, n. 27.

²⁸ PL 113: 882; PL 23: 902.

רקמה [woven or embroidered material], which explains for his translation *in purpura sua*. Nowadays the word is considered to be a corruption of רגשה [throng]. Herbert discusses the traditional interpretations of both רדד and רגמתם at length in his commentary:

Hic tradunt Hebrei quod in maris transitum tribus Benjamin hesitantibus ceteris mare prima intrauit. Unde et ipsa iuxta horum assercionem non Iudi tribus ut multi ecclesiasticorum perhibent regnum meruit. Et inde est quod de tribu hac non de Iuda primus super Israele rex assumptus est. Sicut Samuel locutus est ad Saul qui indubitanter de tribus Benjamin fuit. Si tu paruulus in oculis tuis capud Israel tu pro quo nos. *Nonne cum paruulus esset in oculis tuis: caput in Israel factus es.* [1 Sam. 15:17]

Igitur sicut ex psalmo hic ita et ex Caldeo habetur expressius quod Benjamin mare primus intrauit. Sic enim in Caldeo scriptum est *tribus Benjamin que intrauit mare, in capite omnium reliquarum tribuum*. Et hoc est quod psalmus tangit hic. Ibi, id est, inter laudantes post maris transitum Benjamin dominator eorum scilicet laudantium omnium dominator propter primum maris ingressum uel continens eos tanquam princeps populos. [...]

Tradunt enim Hebrei quod principes Iuda propter primum maris ingressum uidentes Beniamitas laudem precipuam et dominium consecutos et inuidentes lapides in eos proiecerunt. Et narrat psalmus figura futuri, quod preteritum est: lapidabunt, id est ‘lapidauerunt’. Et hoc ipsum ex inuidia fecerunt principes Zabulon principes Neptalii uel ita secundum aliam litteram quam legunt litteratorum plerique: principes Iuda in purpura eorum. Uerbum enim Hebreum hic positum et ad purpuram et ad lapidacionem commune est. Et est principes Iuda in purpura eorum et cetera. Id est induti erant principes isti pre ceteris tribuum principibus uestibus culcuoribus. Uerum priori littere congruit magis quod sequitur precepit et cetera. Sic enim dictum est tanquam si cetera tribus inuidentes tribui Benjamin sub interrogacione alloquantur eam sic.
(75rb/va)

Again Herbert heavily relies on Rashi here, who gives the same explanation as to why Benjamin’s tribe is called רדד, and adds:

In the same vein, Samuel told Saul, *You may look small to yourself, but you are the head of the tribes of Israel* (1 Sam. 15:17), which Jonathan [b. Uzziel] rendered into Aramaic [as follows]: *The tribe of Benjamin passed through the [Reed] Sea ahead of all the other tribes.*²⁹

Herbert follows Rashi in his references to both 1 Samuel 15:17 and to the Targum Jonathan (*in Caldeo*). Alternatively, he could have cited a version of the Targum directly here. When discussing רגמתם, Herbert clarifies the double meaning of the word (*Uerbum enim Hebreum hic positum: et ad purpuram et ad lapidacionem*

²⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 305 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew).

commune est). Whereas he does not explicitly attribute the variant reading *in purpura sua* to a Jewish source, he is eager to point out that the majority of Jewish scholars support it (*secundum aliam litteram quam legunt litteratorum plerique*). Rashi traces this interpretation to the *Mahberet Menahem*:

Another equally plausible interpretation of *rigmatam* is [that it is a biform of] *riqmatam* ‘their embroidered [garments]’ (Ez. 26:16), [which is] a synonym of ‘*argaman* ‘purple-[dyed wool]’ (e.g. Ex. 25:4). So did Menahem construe it.³⁰

However, as Gruber has shown, the *Mahberet* does not contain this notion.³¹ It is therefore possible that Rashi borrowed it directly or indirectly from the Vulgate but attributed it to Menahem either by mistake or because he did not want to openly admit that he had included a Christian source in his commentary.³²

The *Psalterium* tends to reflect Rashi *ad locum* but occasionally it applies or summarises Rashi’s exegeses from elsewhere in the Psalms or, as has already been demonstrated in the previous chapter, from other biblical books. One recurrent example is the interpretation of the wording ‘your hand’ in Psalms 20 (21):8 (9), 31 (32):4, 38 (39):12 (11), 79 (80):18 and 87 (88):8. Herbert follows Rashi in understanding this expression as negative throughout the Psalter, even though Rashi does not provide extensive comments on every verse. On Psalm 20 (21):9,

תמצא ידך לכל-איביך ימינך תמצא שנאיך:

Your hand will lay hold on all your enemies; your right hand will seize your foes

where the pejorative use of ‘your hand’ is unambiguous, Rashi understands it as a metaphor for ‘plague’:

May your hand find all your enemies. Whatever plague of Your hand that You can bring, bring upon Your enemies.³³

In Psalm 31 (32):4,

כי יומם ולילה תכבד עלי ידך נחפך לשדי בחרבני קיץ סלה :

For day and night, your hand was heavy upon me; my strength was sapped as in the heat of summer.

³⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 306 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew).

³¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 312, n. 95.

³² For a further discussion of Rashi’s possible use of Christian sources, see Hailperin, *Rashi*, pp. 103-34; Pearl, *Rashi*, p. 28.

³³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 124 (English) and p. 12 (Hebrew).

where ‘your hand’ could have a slightly more positive connotation, Rashi explains the verse as

For night and day the fear of Your hand i.e., Your decrees, was heavy upon me.³⁴

In Psalm 38 (39):11,

חסר מעלי נגעך מתגרת ידך אני כלייתי :

Remove your scourge from me; I am overcome by the blow of your hand

he associates ‘your hand’ again with ‘plague’:

From the fear of Your hand, [i.e.] from the fear of Your plagues.³⁵

In Psalm 79 (80):18, where ידך [your hand] could be understood as a symbol of God’s protection

תהי-ידך על-יאש ימינה על-בן-אדם אמצת לך :

Let your hand rest on the man at your right hand, the son of man you have raised up for yourself

he comments:

May your hand be upon your right hand man [i.e.] upon Esau, who is about to collect payment from him [i.e. Israel].³⁶

Finally, on Psalm 87 (88):6

עוד והמה מידך נגזרו :

and by your hand they are cut off.

Herbert follows the *Hebraica*:

et qui a manu tua abscisi sunt

While ‘Your hand’ could theoretically be seen as positive if the preposition מ is interpreted as ‘from’ (as NIV does) and not ‘by’, Rashi explains the expression again, as

³⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 162 (English) and p. 16 (Hebrew).

³⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 188 (English) and p. 20 (Hebrew).

³⁶ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 378 (English) and p. 43 (Hebrew).

a synonym for 'plague'. It has to be noted, however, that he is here in line with both the Jewish and the Christian traditions.

And cut off by Your hand [i.e.] by means of Your plagues they were cut of from the world.³⁷

Herbert takes over Rashi's recurrent interpretation of 'Your hand' as plague or vindication from God in Psalm 20:8:

Manus tua id est uindicta et prosequitur generaliter de omnibus inimicis
and 31:3:

Et addit de uindicta Domini plagis conuersa est et cetera

without further justification. He fails to comment on the expression in Psalm 87 (88):6 but, according to the Christian tradition, explains the whole verse as referring to Christ. In 38 (39):11 he differs from Rashi in his translation of *מתגרת*, which he interprets as [strife], rather than as [fear]:

manus tue consumptus sum. Et quod expressius in Hebreo est uocat contencionem tanquam si uulgariter dicerem: guerram. id est 'a guerra manus tue'. (40ra)

On 79 (80):18 he follows Rashi's exegesis of Esau as the 'right hand man':

Hoc orat ut fiat Domini manus, id est ultio, super uirum scilicet Esau. Et que manus, scilicet manus dextera, hoc est ut ultio Domini super uirum sortis et grauis fit; quod notatur nomine dextere qua forcius percutitur quam sinistra. Eundem quem prius dixerat uirum mox filium hominis uocat. Quod notat. subdens. super filium hominis scilicet Esau. (96vb)

This comment strongly deviates from the Christological interpretation of Christian commentaries on this verse.³⁸ It is possibly for this reason that the *Psalterium* contains a marginal note clarifying the Hebrew idiom *יָדָךְ (עַל)*:

³⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 405 (English) and p. 46 (Hebrew).

³⁸ For a further discussion of the theological implications of this verse, see Chapter Five; see also Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham and the Horizons of Twelfth-Century Exegesis', forthcoming in *Traditio* (Autumn 2003).

Dicit enim quare quod dicitur ‘sic fiat manus super hunc uel super istum’ inscriptum secundum Hebreum idioma in malo semper accipi solet. Ut supra *Quoniam sagitte* [Ps. 37:3] contra finem. Et *Quoniam dura est manus super nos* [1 Sam. 5:7]. Et *Si leuauit super pupillum* [Job 31:21] Quod igitur dicitur hic fiat manus tuus et cetera nequaquam secundum Hebreum idioma: de Christo seu de quo uis eciam iusto congrue accipitur. (96vb)

This gloss is written in the same hand as the main text and probably originates from Herbert himself.

b. Rashi on Other Biblical Books

An interesting explanation occurs at length in Psalm 9:8

וַיְהוֹה לְעוֹלָם יֹשֵׁב כּוֹנֵן לְמִשְׁפַּט כִּסֵּאוֹ

The Lord reigns forever; he has established his throne for judgment,

translated in the *Hebraica* and the *Psalterium* as:

Dominus autem in sempiternum sedebit; stabiliuit ad iudicium solium suum ,

and is briefly hinted at in Psalm 46 (47):9

מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים עַל-גּוֹיִם אֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁב עַל-כִּסֵּא קִדְשׁוֹ :

God reigns over the nations; God is seated on his holy throne,

which Herbert renders as:

Regnauit Deus super gentes; Deus sedet super sedem sanctam suam.

The exegesis concerns the word כִּסֵּא [throne], which Herbert translates as *solium* (9:8)

and *sedes* (46:9). On the former verse he comments:

Quasi omnibus hiis completis scilicet Israele et Amalech in perpetuum destructo, Dominus deinceps in sempiternum sedebit; quasi in pace regnans, restitutis filiis et inimicis destructis. Et attendendum quod hic ubi nos habemus Dominus in Hebreo nomen Dei integrum scriptum est, quod est tetragramaton. Id est quatuor litterarum scilicet *Ioth, heth, uau, he*. Et dico nomen hoc integrum: respectu cuiusdam alterius nominis Dei, quod non est nisi uelud medietas huius nominis quod est quatuor litterarum. Constat enim illud nomen dimidium tantum ex duabus litteris istius nominis pleni et integri, scilicet *Ioth, he* et dicitur *ya*. Integrum uero Domini quod est tetragramaton cuius illud, scilicet *ya* non nisi medietas est [...]

Restituto igitur Israele et iuxta promissum Domini sicut hic in psalmo dicitur Amalech penitus deletum iustum fuit ut hiis completis consequenter nomen

Domini uelut uictoris et iudicis plenum poneretur, quod est tetragramaton pro quo Hebreus dicit *adonay*. Unde et hic ponitur non semiplenum uel dimidium eius, quod est *ya*. Istud enim dimidium nominis integri, scilicet *ya*, alibi positum est; ibi uidelicet ubi iure iurando deletio enim comminatur Dominus Amalechitis quod delens deleteret memoriam eorum de sub celo [Ex. 17:14]. Ubi subditur. Et dixit. *Quia manus sua per sedem ya*. Ubi nos habemus sic *dicens quia manus solius Dei et cetera* [Ex. 17:16]. Et ita dimidium nominis Domini, scilicet *ya*, ponitur in comminatione; sed integrum ponitur comminatione a Malechitis. Sedis Domini nomen dimidium ponitur quod est Hebraice *kez* per duas tantum litteras, scilicet *caph* et *samech*. Uerum hic in psalmo postquam certissime prophetata est quod est ac si sit iam completa Amalechitarum plena delectio; nomen sedis Domini plenum et integrum ponitur. Quod est Hebraice *kizce* per tres litteras, scilicet *caph* et *samech*, *aleph*. (12ra/b)

His comment on Psalm 46 (47):9 is very similar but in addition includes the traditional eschatological interpretation of the verse as a description of the Church's triumph.³⁹

Rashi writes much less extensively on each of those verses. On 9:8 he writes:

His name will be whole and his throne will be whole as is suggested by [the expression] his throne (v.8b). However, before he [Amalek] will have been blotted out it is written in the Bible, *For the hand [of Amalek] is against the thron' of the Lor'* (Ex. 17:16) [which is to say that] the thron' is defective and the name [of God] is defective.⁴⁰

His comment of 46 (47):9 is a brief repetition of 9:8.⁴¹ When comparing the *Psalterium's* detailed with Rashi's much briefer exposition on 9:8 it seems unlikely that Herbert would have been able to deduce from Rashi here the full exegesis behind the defective use of כס for כסא and יה for יהוה in Ex. 17:16:

וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי־יָד עַל־כַּס יְהוָה מִלְחָמָה לַיְהוּה בְּעַמְלֵק מִדֹּר דָּר :

He said: 'For hands were lifted up to the throne of Yah/ the Lord, the Lord will be at war with the Amalekites from generation to generation'

Instead Herbert's lengthy comment is reminiscent of Rashi on this verse:

The hand of the holy one, blessed be He, is raised to swear by His throne that He will have war and enmity against Amalek to all eternity. And what is the force of כס- why does it not say *as usual* כסא? And the Divine Name, also, is

³⁹ Psalm 46 (47): 9: Tunc recte Deus regnare et sedere dicetur cum sicut in se et in corpore suo quod est ecclesia triumphauerit. Nil de cetero patens sicut nec in se nec in suis omni tunc dominacione euacuata et contradicione cessante. Quando regnum eius plenum erit et sedes integra quomodo non nisi tanquam semiplena est cum quiescat in hiis paciatur in illis. Iuxta quod Saulo dictum est. Saule Saule quid me persequeris de hac tum Domini sede supra nos plenius dixisse meminimus. (50ra).

⁴⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 75 (English) and p. 5 (Hebrew).

⁴¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 222 (English) and p. 24 (Hebrew).

divided into half (יהוה is only half of the Tetragrammaton)! The Holy One, blessed be He, swears that His Name will not be perfect nor His throne perfect until the name of Amalek be entirely blotted out. But when his name is blotted out then will His (God's) Name be perfect and his throne perfect.⁴²

Another possibility, and one that is supported by Goodwin, is that Herbert based himself on *Midrash Tehillim* on Psalm 9. Since the *Midrash* essentially contains the same exegesis this might well be the case.⁴³

Herbert seems to borrow from Rashi on Isaiah in Psalm 72 (73):3

כִּי־קִנְאָתִי בַהוֹלָלִים שְׁלוֹם רְשָׁעִים אֶרְאֶה :

For I envied the arrogant when I saw the prosperity of the wicked

He translates this verse as:

uel malignantibus

Quia emulatus sum in mixtoribus: pacem impiorum uidens

replacing the *Hebraica's contra iniquos* by *in mixtoribus uel malignantibus*. The Hebrew original is הוֹלָלִים, the piel participle, masc. pl., of הָלַל, here meaning [to be boastful, to be arrogant]. Rashi explains it as 'those who are disturbed (מַעֲרַבְבֵי) in their behaviour' but does not elaborate on the matter.⁴⁴ Herbert comments:

Mixtores uocat: perfidos quosdam et dolosos. Penes quos solet pondus esse et pondus in ensura et mensura qui in his que uendunt fraudem pondus solent committere et emptorem decipere. Eaque uendunt quibusdam admixtionibus corrumpentes ut si uenditor in emptoris fraudem tritico puro non purum admisceat seu in quibus alia siue in materia sicca siue liquida contra fidem dolose agatur sic. De qualibus in improprium Ierusalem scriptum est: *Uinum tuum mixtum esse aqua* [Is. 1:22] pro quo in Hebreo: *Caupones tui uino aquam miscent*. Et tales uocat psalmus hic mixtores per dolos et malignantes hos generaliter malignantes accipiens. (82va)

Mixtor can have the literal connotation of someone who mixes something with something else, but also refers to a meddler, a troublemaker. Herbert's comparison of *mixtoribus* with fraudulent tradesmen who tamper with weights and with the quality of goods, can be traced directly to the synonym מַעֲרַבְבֵי offered by Rashi, which is

⁴² *Rashi on the Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary*, transl. and ann. by M. Rosenbaum and A.M. Silbermann (London: Shapiro, 1929-1934), *Exodus* (1930), p. 91.

⁴³ *The Midrash on the Psalms*, transl. by William G. Braude, 2 vols, Yale Judaica Series. 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), I, 141-42; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 200-201.

derived from the root ערב, meaning [to mix, to take on pledge, to exchange]. Herbert then includes Isaiah 1:22 in his exegesis: *Your silver has become dross, your choice wine is weakened with water*. The Hebrew word here translated as ‘weakened’ is מהוּל, which originates from a rare root מהל [to weaken, to circumcise]. In his commentary on Isaiah 1:22, however, Rashi treats the roots מהל [to weaken] and הלל [Piel to be boastful] as one and the same and links מהוּל in Is. 1:22 to מהוּלל [foolish, boastful] in Eccl. 2:2: *Laughter, I said, is foolish/ boastful. And what does pleasure accomplish?*⁴⁵ Like הוּללִים in the psalm verse concerned here, מהוּלל comes from the root הלל. By integrating Rashi’s exegesis on Is. 1:22 in his commentary on Ps. 72 (73):3, Herbert is able to draw in a new metaphor of ‘the arrogant’ (הוּללִים) as crooks who corrupt quality goods by mixing them with substandard ones, and who prosper as a result. Interestingly, Andrew mentions in his commentary on Isaiah 1:22 the same variant translation *Caupones tui miscent vinum aqua*, which he also attributes to the Hebrew. In fact, the phrase already occurs in Jerome and is a literal translation of the Septuagint. It is well possible that it was Andrew’s (or Jerome’s) reference which triggered off Herbert’s exegesis here.⁴⁶ He translates the same Hebrew word in the same way in Psalm 74 (75):5:

Dixi mixtoribus non misceatis; a impiis nolite exaltare cornu

I have said to the arrogant/ corruptors: boast/ corrupt no more; and to the wicked: do not lift up your horns

c. An Annotated Commentary or Interpreter?

The previous examples, suggesting that Herbert made use of Rashi on the Pentateuch and on the Prophets, raise the question to what extent he consulted these secondary sources directly and on his own account. Since his resort to Rashi on biblical books beside the Psalms is not systematic, Herbert’s interpreter might have either directed him towards these other passages or cited them from memory. Alternatively, Herbert might

⁴⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 332 (English) and p. 37 (Hebrew).

⁴⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 336, n. 3.

⁴⁶ Jerome, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*. PL 24: 38; Andrew of Saint Victor, *Commentary on Isaiah*, Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, MS 45, fol. 6a quoted by William McKane, pp. 56-57 and 220, n. 95.

have used a copy of Rashi on the Psalms which included cross references, annotations or even additional French glosses. For example, Herbert devotes a long and detailed explanation to Psalm 74 (75): 9, which goes far beyond Rashi's comment on the same verse.

פִּי כּוֹס בִּיד־יְהוָה וַיִּזֶן חֶמֶר מְלֵא מִסֶּךְ וַיִּגַּר מִזָּה אֶךְ־שִׁמְרִיהָ יִמְצוּ
יִשְׁתּוּ כָּל רְשָׁעֵי־אָרֶץ :

In the hand of the Lord is a cup full of foaming wine mixed with spices; he pours it out, and all the wicked of the earth drink it down to its very dregs

The *Hebraica* reads:

Quia calix in manu Domini est et vino meraco usque ad plenum mixtus et propinabit ex eo verumtamen feces eius epotabunt bibentes omnes impii terrae

Herbert replaces *usque ad plenum mixtus* [mixed to the brim] by *plenus libamento* [full of libation]; he also adds an extra verb *distillabunt* [they will drink] in the second half of the verse, before *epotabunt*. A number of superscript glosses clarify Herbert's interpretation of the structure of the verse. He contrasts God's act of pouring out (*propinabit*) strong, undiluted wine (*vino meraco*) in the first half of the verse to the fate of the wicked (*impii*) who drink (*potabunt*) dross (*feces*) in the second half. The undiluted wine is distributed to the righteous, indicated with a superscript *iustis* above *propinabit*. The dross is explained as *turbidum* [whirling, unclear] and by inserting a superscript *ex turbido* to *potabunt* Herbert stresses this is the drink reserved for the wicked.

He then expounds on the image of the cup held by God:

Quasi uere sic potest: Quia calix, id est iudicandi potestas est in manu eius, id est penes eum est. Et non est hec ut initiorum iudicum semiplena potestas, sed plena. (88ra)

The cup of wine as a metaphor for God's judgment is hinted at in Rashi on this verse:

There is a cup of debilitation in his hand. And the wine hamar [i.e.], *hazaq* 'is strong'; [it means] *vinose* in Old French. Full of mixed wine. [i.e.], the cup is full of mixed wine for pouring, i.e., for giving all nations to drink. From this he pours. From this cup He will pour and distribute drink for them. [The verb *wayyager* 'he poured'] is a cognate of [the participle *muggarim* 'poured out' in] *poured down a slope* (Mic. 1:4).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 349 (English) and p. 39 (Hebrew).

The phrase ‘giving all nations to drink’ refers to, among other verses, Jer. 25:15: *This is what the Lord, the God of Israel, said to me: ‘Take from my hand this cup filled with the wine of my wrath and make all the nations to whom I send you drink it’*. Herbert acknowledges this at the end of his discussion on Ps. 74 (75):9:

Sicut et alibi de calici hoc scriptum est: dicente Domino per prophetam: *Sume calicem uini furoris eius de manu mea: et propinabis de illo cunctis gentibus [Jer. 25:15]*. (88rb)

However, in his interpretation of the content of the cup of judgment he gives a wider scope to the verse than Rashi. Unlike Rashi he considers the cup as containing not just punishment for the wicked but also reward for the righteous. He starts off with a literal exegesis on the words **מלא מסך** [full of libation/ *plenus libamento*]

Et ideo addit: plenus libamento Idem enim in Hebreo et cum eisdem uocalibus uerbum ponitur hic quod cum de sacrificiis agitur ut in Exodo [30:9]. *Non offeretis super eo thuniama. Non offeret compositionis alterius, nec oblacionem et uictimam. nec libabitis libamenta*. Et in Leuitico [23:13]. *Et libamenta offerentur cum eo*. Hoc ipsum libamenti uerbum secundum Hebraicum ueritatem sequatur et hic in psalmo ponendum est ut legitur sic: *plenus libamento*. (88rb)

מסך usually means [mix], which is how the *Hebraica* translates it. However, by drawing attention to the use of **מסך** in Ex. 30:9 and in Lev. 23:13, where the root appears in Latin as *libabitis libamenta* and *libamenta* respectively, Herbert demonstrates that **מסך** can also have the notion of ‘pouring a drink-offering’. While the basis of this reading comes from Rashi (see above), Herbert has developed it further and refined it. By understanding ‘the cup of judgment’ as full of a libation of pure wine he avoids a more problematic and contradictory image of pure wine [**יין חמר** / *vino meraco*] being somehow mixed [**מסך**] with another substance.

He then proceeds to a discussion of **יין חמר** [pure wine/ *vino meraco*]

Et quo determinat scilicet uino et non quolibet uino sed uino meraco, id est preclaro et puro. Nam ut absque ueritatis preiudicio loquar et sine doctoribus me nota minime intelligendum est quod in isto de quo nunc in psalmo agitur. Domini calice mixtura aliqua fuerit preter uinum solum et illud purum, adeo etiam quod cum sacrificiis uini adhiberetur libacio; purum erat et absque omni mixtura uinum. Unde et in Numeri scriptum est. *Et libabitis uinum quartam partem hin [Num. 28:7]* quod si uinum purum non esset sed mixtum iam non

esset uini quarta pars hin. Et mox sequitur in Numeri: *liba libamentum ebrietatis Domino*. Quod tamen cum in Hebreo sit nostris deest codicibus. (88rb)

Building upon his earlier interpretation of מסך as drink-offering he now proves the validity of a number of other biblical passages which could, when interpreted differently, potentially undermine his exegesis. He also mentions a matter of textual criticism occurring in Num. 28:7, where the Vulgate does not translate the full verse in Hebrew:

ונסכו רביעת ההין לכבש האחד בקדש הסך נסך שכר ליהוה :
The drink offering is to be a fourth of a hin of fermented drink with each lamb. Pour out the drink offering to the Lord at the sanctuary

The phrase important to him, but which the Vulgate does not include, is הסך נסך שכר [pour out the drink offering of pure wine] where the root מסך [pour] and שכר [pure wine] appear together. He then highlights exceptions to the rule, such as the drink-offering at the feast of the Tabernacles and points out the difference between an oblation (*minha*/מנחה), which contains a mixture, and a libation, which usually does not:

Ecce libamentum ebrietatis quod si uinum mixtum esset non sic uocaret. Et infra hyrcum quoque et liba eius immaculata offeretis omnia cum libacionibus suis. Ecce quod omnia erant absque macula sicut oblacio et libacio. Et ita sine mixtura preter quam in sacrificiis scenofegie ut Hebrei tradunt sed de hoc alias. Propter quod forte legitur quod uinum quod Deo in sacrificium offerebitur aqua mixtum erat. [gloss: *scilicet sacrificium decime simile oleo consperse, Lev. 23:13; Ebraice minha*].

Uel secundum aliam litteram. Ad plenum mixtus. Quasi calix ille ad plenum mixtus est, id est totus plenus est, id est omnino integra et plena potestas penes Deum iudicem quod non apud iudicem alium. Et non dicitur hic mixtus a mixtura, quasi diuersi liquores in calice isto Domini sint commixti. Nam uino meraco, id est uinoso et puro, plenus erat; quod manifeste exprimitur cum dicitur hic et uino meraco. Igitur calix iste Domini non igitur mixto sed uino meraco plenus erat. (88va)

His description of the *vino meraco* as *vinoso et puro* can be traced to Rashi on the Psalms (see above) and on Deut. 32:14: וְדָם־עֵנֶב תִּשְׁתַּחֲמַר [and you shall drink the foaming blood of the grape]. Rashi comments on this phrase in his commentary on Deuteronomy:

חמר- This word means wine *in general* in the Aramaic language *but* this (the word חמר in our verse) is not a noun but it means excellent in taste, *vinos* in O.F.⁴⁸

The *Psalterium* also contains a marginal gloss explaining *mixtus* as

Supra dicitur hic mixtus quemadmodo uulgo Gallice dicitur *meisuz*.

I have not been able to find this word in a Medieval French dictionary but the etymological relationship with *mixtus* seems clear. After defining the key words of the verse, Herbert finally explains the difference in judgments received by the just and the wicked. Both drink from the same cup but whereas the just are allowed the quality wine, the wicked are left with the drosses at the bottom of the cup:

Et uocat uinum meracum quod letificat iudicia Domini bona et iocunda quibus Dominus iudicat in duobus aut parcendo aut castigando. Et in hiis quia perficit iocundatur iustus sciens quod si ei Dominus parcat est consolacio et ita plus diligit. Si uero cedat castigacio. Et ita scriptum plus corrigit. In hoc itaque calice meraco uino sic pleno Dominus propinabit ex eo scilicet ex meraco illo. Sed quibus non determinat sed intelligandum quod iustis.

Et hoc per iustorum contrarium, id est per impios quos quasi seorsum ponens aduersatiue dicit uerumptamen feces eius et cetera. Quasi ita propinabit Dominus iustis de preclaro uino et puro sed de uino turbido, quod de fece uini illius preclari et uinosi distillauit, potabunt impii terre. Et hoc est uerumptamen feces eius scilicet feces uini boni et preclari distillabunt uinum turbidum et insipidum. Et inde potabunt et cetera. Et quidem solet fieri sic: post uinum purum extractum feces uini residue ponuntur in fossiculum et suspenduntur donec totus ex inde uini emanauerit liquor. Et est hoc turbacius et spissius uinum. Et mos iste in psalmo hic tangitur cum dicit Uerumptamen et cetera. Et quemadmodum meracum uinum metaphorice dixit prius super iustos iudicia Domini iocunda; ita uinum spissum et turbidum dicit nunc super impios iudicia Domini terribilia. (88va)

A second marginal gloss explains *spissius uinum* as ‘Quod Gallici lingua sua *bufeth* uocant’. The *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* translates *bufeth* as ‘inferior wine’ (‘schlechter Wein’).⁴⁹

This remarkable, well-constructed piece of exegesis shows use of different types of Jewish sources. Whereas its backbone is Rashi on the Psalms and on Deuteronomy, the cross references to passages in Leviticus and Numbers as well as the Old French

⁴⁸ Rosenbaum and Silbermann, *Deuteronomy*, p. 161.

⁴⁹ *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch vol. 1*, ed. by Walther von Wartburg (Bonn: Klopp, 1928), p. 598; the editor places the use of this word in the fifteenth century; however, the expression ‘buffeter le vin’, meaning ‘altérer le vin’ dates from the tenth century onwards.

marginal glosses are additional, and suggest the aid of an annotated commentary or a Hebrew teacher, or both.

Another passage where the use of a cross reference system seems likely is Psalm 86 (87):5:

וּלְצִיּוֹן יֵאמָר אִישׁ וְאִישׁ יֵלֶד-בָּהּ וְהוּא יִכְוֶנְנָה עֲלֵיוֹן :

Indeed, of Zion it will be said, 'This one and that one were born in her, and the Most High himself will establish her'.

Herbert translates:

Ad Syon autem dicetur uir et uir natus est in ea: et ipse fundauit eam excelse.

He concentrates in his exegesis on the idiom אִישׁ וְאִישׁ [anyone, everyone; *literally*: man and man] and examines where else in the Bible it occurs:

Quasi cum gentes uenerint ad Syon, Israelitas et Deum scientes quasi donum Domino offerentes tunc ab omnibus dicetur ad Syon uir et uir natus est in ea, id est unusquisque Israelitarum Domini sciencium et colencium qui per nos gentes ad te de cunctis gentibus sunt adducti; unusquisque inquam illorum natus est in ea, id est in te o Syon. Quasi unusquisque ubicumque natus fuerit ad te pertinet quasi natus fuisset in te; quia Syon siue Ierusalem mater ciuitas est omnium Israelitarum quocumque nati fuerunt. Quod autem sic exponimus: uir et uir id est unusquisque; nemo miretur.

Nam idioma est Hebraee lingue; loqui sic: ut dicatur Hebraice *is is* uel *is et is*, id est uir et uir, pro unusquisque. Sicut scriptum est: *Is is qui patitur fluxum seminis*, id est *unusquisque qui patitur fluxum* et cetera [Lev. 15:2]. Ubi nos habimus: *Uir qui patitur fluxum seminis*. Similiter et ibi. *Is is* de domo, *is* si occiderit bouem, id est uir uel homo quilibet. Ubi nos expressim habemus: homo quilibet.

Similiter in eo quod ibidem sequitur quicumque de filiis Israel *Is is* de filiis Israel. Ubi nos habemus *quicumque de filiis Israel* [Lev. 17:13]. Et hoc quidem creberrime in scriptum et maxime in Leuitico. Si uero obiciatur quod non in Leuitico unde hec exempla sumpta *is et is*, id est uir et uir quemadmodum in psalmo; sed *is is* absque et recurre ad alium scripture locum et inuenies ibi iuxta Hebraee lingue idioma *is et is* pro unusquisque ibi scilicet *Sed rex statuerat preponens mensis singulos de principibus suis: ut sumeret unusquisque quod uellet* [Est. 1:8]. pro quo in Hebreo est: *is et is*, id est uir et uir, id est unusquisque quod uellet. (102rb)

He must have gathered these other biblical examples from another source than Rashi, who only mentions the idiom and offers one synonym as translation:

Every man was born there [...] to Zion it shall be said concerning each one (כל-אחד ואחד).⁵⁰

While the use of a body of cross references of some sort might have helped Herbert in the previous example, in Psalm 34 (35): 15 it seems more likely he needed the clarification of a teacher:

ובצלעי שמחו ונאספו ונאספו עלי נכים ולא ידעתי קרעו
ולא דמו :

But when I stumbled, they gathered in glee; attackers gathered against me when I was unaware. They slandered me without ceasing,

Herbert has:

et in infirmitate mea letabantur et congregabantur; collecti sunt aduersum me claudi et nesciebam; scindentes et non tacentes.

thereby changing the *Hebraica*'s reading of *percutientes* [attackers] to *claudi* [cripples] as a translation of נכים [attackers, cripples]. This modification is borrowed from Rashi but the exegesis derived from it is not:

Quasi ipsi econtrario nichilominus: in infirmitate mea letabantur et cetera et collecti sunt aduersum me claudi uel percutientes. Et uocat forte claudos illos pro quibus sicut scriptum est: *Dauid proposuit premium ille qui abstulisset claudos et cecos* [2 Sam. 5:8] odientes animam Dauid scilicet ipsos Iebuseos per debilitatem claudos et per stulticiam cecos de quo tamen diuersi diuersa dixerunt. Unde et alias super illum uidelicet libri regum locum de hoc dicendum plenius. (35ra)

Herbert associates the first half of this verse with the historical event of David's victory over the Jebusites as described in 2 Samuel 5:6-8. He then proceeds to explain 'scindentes et non tacentes' and offers 'sanguinantes' [bleeding] as a variant reading (*aliam litteram*) for 'tacentes' [to be silent]:

scindentes. Sed me dicit Dauid manu lingue sue, hoc est ipsi linguis suis michi detrahentes. Et ut notaret quod de hac lingue scissione loquebatur mox subdit. Et non tacentes. Uel ita secundum aliam litteram et utraque Hebreo congruit: scindentes et non sanguinantes id est non sanguinem extrahentes. Quod est persecutores mei adeo me interdum premebant quod pre pauore meo nimio et stupore si me in carne scinderent, sanguinem non extraherent. Naturale est enim quod ex pauore nimio et stupore sanguis se contrahat. Et quasi fugiens intra abscondita uenarum occultando se recipiat. (35ra)

⁵⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 401 (English) and p. 46 (Hebrew).

Again he follows Rashi in his interpretation of the verb דָּמָה as [to bleed]. In fact the Hebrew root [to bleed] is דָּמָה while [to be silent] is דָּמָה. His main source for the description of the anatomical phenomenon of a person's blood 'hiding in the veins' from fear or embarrassment is Rashi as well:

They tore, and they did not bleed. Had they torn my flesh, my blood would not flow to the ground when they were embarrassing.⁵¹

Rashi's comment seems rather too elusive for it to have been Herbert's only source. It is based upon a midrash found in the Babylonian Talmud Bava Mesia 60a and Sanhedrin 107b:

Said David before the Holy One, blessed by He, 'Lord of the world, it is perfectly clear to you that if they had torn my flesh, my blood would not have flowed [because I was so embarrassed]'.⁵²

It is possible that a Jewish scholar directed Herbert to this midrash or explained it for him. The extent of his knowledge and use of the Talmud will be discussed further below.

In Psalm 50 (51):6 (4) Herbert discusses an interpretation by Rashi and manages to tackle a number of exegetical problems in greater detail than the Rashi commentary supplies.

לָךְ לְבַרְךָ חֲטָאתִי וְהִרְעָה בְּעֵינֶיךָ עֲשִׂיתִי לְמַעַן תִּצְדֵּק בְּדַבְרֶךָ תִּזְכָּה
: בְּשִׁפְטֶךָ

Against you, you only, have I sinned and done what is evil in your sight so that/ in order that you are proved right when you speak and justified when you judge.

Tibi soli peccavi et malum in oculis tuis feci: ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis uincas cum iudicatus fueris.

Herbert modifies the *Hebraica's coram te* to *in oculis tuis* as a more literal translation of בְּעֵינֶיךָ. He also changes *iudicaveris* to *iudicatus fueris*, for which I have no explanation.

His first step is to interpret the phrase *tibi soli peccavi*:

⁵¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 172 (English) and p. 17 (Hebrew).

⁵² *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation 21: Tractate Bava Mesia, Chapters 3-4*, ed. by Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), p. 153.

Hoc benedicit peccans rex. Rex enim cum peccat soli Deo peccat qui solus regis peccatum punire potest, non inferior. Inferior uero cum peccat sicut peccauit Dauid. Ut homicidio seu adulterio manifesto uel huiusmodi et Deo peccat et regi. Deus enim eternaliter et rex qui non sine causa gladium portat temporaliter punit. Dauid uero quia rex recte soli Deo peccasse se dicit. Quia sicut regnum corda sic et regum peccata in manu Dei. Peccata uero pauperum sicut et eorum corda in manu regis. Rex enim et pauperum scilicet inferiorum peccata punit et corda ad nutum suum conuertit. (55ra)

He then gives as alternative interpretation that, according to the *litterator*, Uriah deserved to die because he had not followed David's command to go home:

Litterator uero aliter. Et dicit Dauid nequaquam occidendo Uriam in Uriam peccasse. Eo quod Urias mandate regis contemptor fuerit. Cui rex precepit ut domum suam intraret sed intrare contempsit [2 Sam. 11:6-14]. Et ideo benedicit: tibi soli peccaui in morte Urie. Deo enim solum et non in Uriam peccauit qui regis contempnens mandatum mortem meruit. Deo tamen peccauit eo quod mortem quam Urias meruit; sediciose procurauit. Qui tamen ut aiunt occidendus erat ne seruus diceretur: 'Domini et regis sui mandatum contempnissime impune'. Quod esset exemplo perniciosum. et facile ad consequenciam traheretur a subditis.

Ut iustificeris et cetera. Quasi ideo peccaui, id est ideo peccare permissus sum ut tu solus iustificeris, id est iustus appareas in sermonibus tuis uniuersis non ego qui dixeram: *proba me Domine et tempta me*. Nam in facto illo Urie tu quidem me probasti tanquam uas aliquid probari solet sed confractus sum minime repertus integer sicut de me presumens prius dixeram [Ps. 26:2] *proba me et tempta me*. Ex quo apparet solum Deum in omni uerbo suo ueracem cum ille rex et propheta. Cui et ipse Samuel tantum prius peribuerat testimonium ut pro eo diceret Dominum uirum secundum cor suum inuenisse uerbo suo extam profano Urie facto contrarius repertus sit, quo uelut presumptuose ante dixerat. *Proba me Domine et tempta me*. (55ra/b)

Rashi already suggests that David could have resisted the desire to commit adultery but instead submitted to temptation in order to comply with God's will, as expressed in Ps. 26:2.⁵³ Yet, Herbert is more explicit than Rashi in exonerating David from any crime against Uriah, which might have been the influence of a Talmudic midrash, which sees David's adultery as a test put upon him by God:

Said R. Judah said Rab, 'One should never put himself to the test, for lo, David, king of Israel, put himself to the test and he stumbled. He said before him. "Lord of the world, on what account do people say, "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob", but they do not say, "God of David"?" He said to him, "They endured a test for me, while you have not endured a test for me". He said

⁵³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 244 (English) and p. 46 (Hebrew).

before hem, “Lord of the world, here I am. Test me” For it is said, “Examine me, O Lord and try me” (Ps. 26:1).⁵⁴

Herbert subsequently adds more weight to Rashi’s interpretation by linking it with Paul’s statement on the truthfulness of God and deceit of human beings in Romans 3:

Et ista litteratoris explanacio est que eciam sensui apostolico ex parte congruit qui hanc uersiculi pericopen in epistula sua inducit. sic: *Est autem Deus uerax omnis autem homo mendax.* [Rom. 3:4] sicut scriptum est. Ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis et uincum iudicaris uincas cum iudicatus fueris. Quod est. ideo peccauit, id est ideo peccare permissus sum, dicit Daud, ut tu Domino uincas, id est omnes homines super cum fueris indicatus, id est aliis hominibus in iusticia et sanctitate collatus.[...] (55rb)

He ends his comment on this verse by addressing a grammatical problem which Rashi does not cover into detail:

Et uincas miserando cum iudicatus fueris ab impiis te in misericordem punitorem peccatorum. Et secundum hanc lectionem istud ut causatiue ponitur, secundum Hebreum accomodacium quam si consecutiue legeretur. (55rb)

The problem concerns the meaning of למען which can express both a purpose/ reason and a consequence. If interpreted as a purpose, the verse sees the psalmist’s sin as conditional in order to prove God right. If, as modern translators prefer, we take למען in a consecutive sense, it treats the verse as mere cause and consequence.⁵⁵ Herbert seems to prefer the former reading.

d. Christianising Rashi

As has become apparent in the previous example, Herbert frequently justifies a reading from the Masoretic text by embedding it within a Christian framework or by attempting to harmonise midrashic elements with New Testament exegesis. For example in Psalm 26 (27):4

אחת שאלתי מאת־יהוה אותה אבקש שבתי בבית־יהוה כל־ימי
חיי לחזות בנעם־יהוה ולבקר בהיכלו :

⁵⁴ *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation, 23: Tractate Sanhedrin, Chapters 9-11*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1985), p. 187.

⁵⁵ Revised Standard Version, Young’s; *The Anchor Bible, vol. 17: The Book of Psalms 51-100*, ed. by Mitchell J. Dahood (New York: Doubleday, 1968), p. 4.

One thing I ask of the Lord, this is what I seek: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life; to gaze upon the beauty of the Lord and to seek him in/ to come in the morning to his temple

Unum petii a Domino. hoc requiram: ut habitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus uite mee ut uideam pulcritudinem Domini: et manicabo in templum eius. (28rb)

Herbert changes the *Hebraica's attendo* [I await] to *manicabo* [I will come in the morning]. The word for 'morning' consists of the same consonants as the root **בקר** [to seek]. Dunash ibn Labrat states that **לִבְקֹר** here is no form of **בקר** [to seek] but is instead a denominative verb derived from **בקר** [morning]. Rashi follows Dunash on this verse;⁵⁶ Herbert, without referring to either source, probably borrowed this reading from Rashi. He then cleverly ties it in with Luke 21, which describes the weeks before the Last Supper when every morning the people hastened their way to the temple to hear Christ speak.

Manicabo in templum eius, id est mane accelerabo ad templum ad orandum. Quale est et illud. Et omnis populus manicabant ad eum in templo. Mane accelerabo ad templum: quia merito deuocionis huius [Luke 21:38]. (28rb/va)

On Psalm 22 (23):1 Herbert follows Rashi in a midrash on the difference between Psalm titles **לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר** [to David; a psalm] and **מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד** [a psalm of David]:

A psalm of David. Our rabbis said, 'Wherever it is stated [in the titles of the psalms] "a psalm of David" [it means that] he [David] plays the harp and thereafter *Shekinah* rests upon him.' [The purpose of the] music [*mizmor*] was to bring divine inspiration to David. 'Moreover,' [our rabbis said], 'every one [of the psalm titles] wherein it is stated, 'to David a psalm' [means that] *Shekinah* rested upon him, and afterwards he composed a song'.⁵⁷

but christianises the concept:

In titulo in quibus nomen psalmi preceedit hoc notatur quod prius tangebatur citharam David ut sic ex cithare dulcedine et cordis de nocione spiritus sancti gratiam ad se quasi attrahet. Et post prophecie spiritus in eum descendit. Et ita spiritum sancti inspiratione psalmum edidit.

⁵⁶ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 143 (English) and p. 14 (Hebrew).

⁵⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 132 (English) and p. 13 (Hebrew).

In illis uero titulis in quibus nomen Dauid precedit sicut in titulo psalmi subsequentis hoc notatur quod Dauid sancto spiritum inspirante psalmum edidit et post quasi gratias agens ad Dei laudem citharam tetigit. (26ra/b)

In the following example Herbert mentions a midrash supplied by Rashi, which he defends by minimising the difference between the Jewish and the Ecclesiastical reading. He translates Psalm 68 (69):32

: וְתִיטֵב לַיהוָה מִשׁוֹר פֶּר מִקֶּרֶן מִפָּרִים :

This [i.e. a song] will please the Lord more than an ox, more than a bull with its horns and hoofs as:

Et placebit Domino super bouem taurum: cornua producentem et ungulas.

while the *Hebraica* has

et placebit Domino super vitulum novellum cornua efferentem et ungulas

Herbert first explains that the Hebrew for *cornua producentem et ungulas* consists of two denominative participles of the words for ‘horn’ and ‘hoove’:

cornua producentem et ungulas. In Hebreo est tanquam si Latine diceretur ‘cornans et unguans’. Quod quia minus Latine dicitur pro eo posuimus sicut in alia edicione habetur cornua producentem et ungulas. (78rb)

He then draws attention to the reason behind the order of the words *cornua* and *ungulas*. According to a midrash found in Rashi ⁵⁸, the very first cattle emerged from the earth in an upright position, so that their horns appeared before their hooves:

Et rectus ordo: prius cornua ponit post ungulas. Boue quippe nascente: prius cum capite egrediuntur cornua, post cum pedibus ungule. Accedit eciam huic quod ut Hebreorum tradicio est quando bos primo de terra formatus est. Abscondita nature lege et iusta sicut uidetur primo egressum est capud cum cornibus et deinde pedes et ungule. (78rb/va)

Since the variant reading *cornua producentem* is in fact based on the *Gallicana* version, the midrash which Herbert’s *litterator* has provided for him merely supports an already existing ecclesiastical interpretation. He is eager to point this out in the final part of his exegesis:

Et quidem hec super uersiculum hunc explanacio iuxta litteram sensui ecclesiastico congruit sicut et non nulla alia que secundum litteratorem super

⁵⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 316 (English) and p. 34 (Hebrew).

psalmum hunc sunt explanata. Que prudens lector et diligens absque meo nutu
mox discernet. (78va)

However, when Rashi offers several interpretations, Herbert does not always agree with
the reading on which his authority finally settles. In Psalm 67 (68):17

למה תרצדון הרים גבננים ההר חמד אלהים לשבתו אף־יהוה
ישכן לנצח:

Why gaze in envy, O rugged mountains, at the mountain where God chooses to reign, where the
Lord himself will dwell forever?

the *Hebraica* translates:

quare contenditis montes excelsi adversum montem quem dilexit Deus ut
habitaret in eo siquidem Dominus habitabit semper

Herbert's main modifications are the rendering of תרצדון as *insidiamini* [lie in
ambush] instead of *contenditis* [compete with, compare, envy] and of גבננים [peaked,
pointed] as *acuti* [pointed] instead of *excelsi* [high]:

Quare insidiamini montes acuti monti quem diligit Deus ut habitaret in eo:
siquidem Dominus habitabit in sempiternum.

Rashi interprets Gabnunim (גבננים) as a synonym for 'mountains' (הרים) in general,
as opposed to 'the mountain' (ההר) in the singular, which refers to Mount Sinai or
Mount Bashan, God's dwelling place. He then gives two explanations for the
verb תרצדון:

terassedun. I read in the work by R. Moses the Interpreter [that the verbal root]
rsd means *meareb* 'lie in ambush' in Arabic. Menahem, however, interpreted
[the verb] *terassedun* as a cognate of *tirqedun* 'you dance' [Ps. 113 (114):6]⁵⁹.
The latter etymology is congruent with this [i.e. our aforementioned]
interpretation of the text.⁶⁰

In his lengthy comment of the verse Herbert first of all points out the contrast
between the *montes acuti* and the *monti quem diligit Deus*. The latter is Mount Sinai,
incomparable to and envied by other mountains because it was the spot where God gave
the Law to Israel; the former are the infamous Gilboa range where Saul and Jonathan
fell in battle against the Philistines (2 Sam. 1):

⁵⁹ This cross reference is my addition.

⁶⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 303 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew).

Adhuc ad maiorem propositi montis Dei commendacionem de aliis qui per terras diffusi sunt montibus inducit uelut increpans eos quod monti huic conferre se audeant [...] Unde et idem iste psalmista Daud sicut hic Dei montem Sinai in quo lex data fuit commendat ita et montes Gelboe ex infortunio⁶¹ quod ibi ex strage uirorum forcium Israel contigit; maledicendo increpat sic: *Montes Gelboe, nec ros nec pluuia ueniant super uos* [2 Sam. 1:21]. Igitur sicut ibi montem Gelboe ex infortunio quod in eo accidit maledixit sic uersauice ex eo quod in hoc monte bene benedixit huic. (72va)

He then proceeds to the alternate reading of *תִּרְצְדוּן* as [to dance]. He misinterprets Rashi here (or misunderstands his Hebrew teacher) and attributes the meaning of the verb to the Arabic:

uel secundum quod in Arabico est. ‘Quare tripudiatis montes acuti aduersum montes’ et cetera. Ita et cur simile alibi: *Montes tripudiauerunt quasi arietes* [Ps. 113 (114):4]. Et est. uos montes acuti quare tripudiauerunt id est cum gaudio uos erigitis aduersum montem et cetera. Tripudium est gaudium cordis intensum quod et aliqua corporis gestificatione exterius demonstratur. (72va/b)

Herbert seems to associate *תִּרְצְדוּן* with two emotions. In Psalm 113:4: *The mountains skipped like rams, the little hills like lambs*, the mountains’ skipping/dancing is usually interpreted as proof of God’s presence in nature. The phrase *vos erigitis aduersum montem* however suggests that the mountains are exalting themselves *over* God’s Mount and that their joy (*tripudium*) is somehow at the Mount’s expense.

From this statement Herbert moves on to a different interpretation reaching back to verses 12 and 13, and focuses on the two types of mountains as metaphors for the kings of verse 14 on the one hand and the proud and idolatrous unbelievers on the other:

Possunt eciam hec ad litteram aliter explanari ut per methaforam dicatur mons Dei: *reges ipsi dealbati* [Ps. 67 (68):13]. Mons propter uite super celestis altitudinem *basan*, id est pinguis propter spiritualium karismatum plenitudinem. Et mons acutus propter sublimium contemplacionem. Talem decet esse columbe istius deargentate et auree regem, talem ipsius esse doctorem ut sit ipse primo mons. Et post talis mons, qualis hic describitur *basan* scilicet id est pinguis et acutus. Alioquin non mons Synai, non mons Dei erit sed mons alterius, non Dei sed potius de montibus Gelboe, *super quos nec pluuie descendit nec ros*. [2 Sam. 1:21] Aut de illis de quibus scriptum est. *Consumuntur montes subtus eum: et colles cidentur sicut cera* [Mic 1:4].

Et ut methaforam prosequamur postea alios increpat montes, quod monti huic *basan* insidientur uel contendunt aduersum ipsum subdens. *Quare insidiamini et cetera*. Et uocat hoc secundarios montes inimicas gentium potestates. Montes: propter dignitates sublimitatem bene eciam montes: propter

⁶¹ Emendated from *ex infortunio*.

mentis tumidam elacionem. Et acuti propter doli et malicie machinacionem subtilem. Unde et benedicit hic sed sub interrogacione quod hee potestates. Huic monti Dei insidientur. Et reuera insidiabantur semper et infecti erant. Semper enim insidie et uirgia semper inter principes Israelitarum. Quasi inter auersores et fideles. Nulla enim unquam inter discolos unitas. (72vb)

Via this double metaphor Herbert has arrived at the image of the leaders of Israel as embodying the synagogue, which because of its lack of internal unity is an object of mockery to pagan philosophers:

Uel uocat hic montes acutos insidiantes monti quem dilexit Deus, id est regibus synagoge: philosophos gencium doctoribus synagoge in legis doctrina iugiter obuiantes et quibusdam argumentorum munitiis ipsis in lege uelut quibusdam in uia tendicula ponentes spes insidias. Et bene philosophi gencium et montes dicuntur et acuti. Montes propter sermonis sublimitatem et acuti propter argumentorum et minuciarum quarundam adinuencionem subtilem. Quos magister precanendos monens scribit sic. *Hec autem dico: ut nemo uos decipiat in sublimitate sermonum [Col. 2:4]. Et idem. Uidete ne quis uos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam [Col. 2]. Isti sunt philosophi qui statu legis littere fidelis synagoge spem deridebant et fidem. Iuxta quod in derisum ipsorum unus: Credat Iudeus Appella, [non ego] [Hor. 1 Sat. 5:100].*

Post uero sub lege gracie regis nostri messie fidem quibus poterant impugnabant multos secundum mundi elementa fallentes et retrahentes a fide. Cum fidos Christi qua in Christiano per Christum triumphante ratio spontanee cedit mox et succumbit donec fidei succedat uisio et in uisionem transeat ratio. Uerum montibus acutis monti Dei insidiantibus quocumque modo montes accipiantur omissis de monte Dei prosequitur subdens. (72vb/73 ra)

Herbert's exegesis culminates in Paul's warnings against the fallacy of intellectualism and pagan scepticism, which Herbert epitomises by Horace's quote. The question remains to what extent the use of *synagoga* here is restricted to the Christian *fidelis synagoga* only or also includes the Jews against the common enemy of paganism. The lack of unity within the 'synagogue' might thus be interpreted as the rift between Christianity and Judaism, with the Christians as *fideles* and the Jews as *aversores*, or with the Christians and messianic Jews as *fideles* and the anti-messianic ones as *aversores*. Alternatively, it could reflect discord between Christians internally. Herbert's disapproval of hair-cleaving argumentation also might contain an echo of anti-scholasticism with its tradition of disputation and its renewed interest in classical philosophy. In his emphasis on the ultimate triumph of Christianity through 'spontaneous reason', he possibly follows a more monastic view. I will further explore the role of Paul in the context of Herbert's modifications to the Psalms in the next chapter.

Finally, on Psalm 44 (45):6

חֲצִיף שְׁנוּנִים עִמָּי תַחְתִּיף יִפְלוּ בְלִבְ אוֹיְבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ :

Your sharp arrows, let people fall beneath you, in the heart of the enemies of the king

Just as the ‘lilies’ in v.1, Rashi also interprets the ‘sharp arrows’ as an image for Torah scholars:

We have found that students [of Torah] are called arrows, for it is stated in the Bible, *Like arrows in the hand of a warrior are sons born to a man in his youth* (Ps. 127:4). Moreover, Torah scholars who will argue with each other about the *halakah* are called each other’s temporary enemies in accord with what is stated in the Bible, *They shall not be put to shame when they contend with the enemy in the gate* (Ps. 127:5). Peoples fall at your feet. As a reward for [Israel’s studying] Torah the Gentiles will fall at Israel’s feet.⁶²

Herbert follows the *Hebraica* here and translates:

Sagitte tue acute populi sub te cadent in corde inimicorum regis.

He first draws on Rashi’s comment:

Et uocat secundum litteratorem sagittas regis acutas magistrorum discipulos in questionibus legis excercitatos, paratos et promptos, inquisicionibus et disputacionibus suis quasi quibusdam sagittarum suarum ictibus uulnerando, legi rebelles et contradictores argue. Et merito in hac regis armatura postremo ponitur de sagittis. Ex talibus namque doctoribus quorum doctrina insignis sub regie armate pretextu methaphorice significata est. Tales discipuli prodeunt, ingenio tam uigiles, studio sic feruentes, in inquirendo tam subtiles, in inueniendo tam faciles et in arguendo tam potentes. Et hoc est. ‘O rex in hac regia armatura tua hoc iter commendabile’; quod sagitte tue sunt acute, hii sunt doctorum discipuli qui ubi acumine corda penetrant eciam corda inimicorum regis, id est doctorum legis qui in hoc cantico regis censentur nomine. Quod perinde ac si diceret: qui penetrant corda inimicorum legis scilicet eorum cordi qui legi contradicunt seu legis doctoribus, quod idem est. (47rb/va)

Herbert then expands on this image and moves it away from Jewish legal disputes to Christian spiritual warfare and conversion:

populi sub te cadent. o rex. penetratis enim cordibus inimicorum legis ex acumine sagittarum sub rege mox cadunt populi id est conuictis legis contradictoribus gentilibus, scilicet et aliis ex subtilitate sensuum uerborum legis per discipulos magistrorum legis; mox qui prius legis inimici extiterant aut confunduntur de lege aut conuertuntur ad legem. Quod statu ueteris legis persepe accidit per discipulos legis doctorum sicut post statum noue legis per

⁶² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 213 (English) and p. 23 (Hebrew). For the interpretation of ‘sons’ as ‘Torah scholars’, see Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 217, n. 31.

discipulos apostulorum. Et hoc est: populi sub te cadent. Cadent dico aut dampnabiliter confusi aut salubriter conuersi. Ut ita. Et seriatim legitur. Cadent dico in corde scilicet humiliati ubi prius antequam per erudictos in lege discipulos in lege conuincerentur. (47va)

2. Midrash Tehillim

As has been demonstrated above in the discussion of the title of Psalm 69 (70), Herbert's references to Midrash Tehillim prove that he knew of the existence of this source. They do not necessarily imply that he consulted the work directly or independently, however. He mentions Midrash Tehillim four times in total, in the titles of Psalms 5, and 69 (70), and in 40 (41):4 and 43 (44):2. In each of these passages his references to Midrash Tehillim are reminiscent of Rashi. He also seems unsure about the form this midrashic work takes and writes about it as if he has never actually seen it. For example, on Psalm 40 (41): 4

יהוה יסדנך על-ערש דו כל-משכבו הפכת בחליו :

The Lord will sustain him on his sickbed; you will turn over his whole bed during his of illness

Rashi writes:

On his sickbed. When he [the one who guards the sick in verse 3] too gets sick, he will sustain him. Now what is the meaning of on his sickbed? It means a patient's seventh day [of illness] when he is extremely sick. Thus it is explained in Aggadath Tehillim.⁶³

In fact, Midrash Tehillim (as we have it now) mentions not the seventh but the fourth day as explanation for על-ערש דו [on his sickbed].⁶⁴ Herbert comments:

Et dicunt Hebrei quod uocat hic lectum infirmitatis. Quando scilicet totum egroti stratum uertitur sic ut diximus reuersatur diem infirmitatis septimum, quando etiam iuxta phisicos acius solet aggrauari infirmitas. Et quod strati hic in infirmitate uersati nomine septimus infirmitatis dies intelligi debeat, dicit unus litterator se hoc legisse in quadam ueteri epistula in modum explanacionis super tillim edita. (42rb)

Herbert's adherence to Rashi's reading of 'the seventh' instead of 'the fourth' day and the phrasing of his remark on Midrash Tehillim make it clear that his debt to this work

⁶³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 196 (English) and p. 20 (Hebrew).

⁶⁴ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 438.

is at second hand. His reference to Rashi as *unus litterator* suggests that *litterator* in the singular could be taken in a generic sense and is not restricted to Rashi only.

In Psalm 43 (44), which is attributed to the sons of Korah, Rashi comments on verse 2:

אלהים באזנינו שמענו אבותינו ספרו לנו פעל פעלת בימיהם
בימי קדם :

O God, we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us, what work you did in their days, in the times of old

With our ears we have heard. Here you learn that the sons of Korah [...] were speaking on behalf of these generations, who come after them, for were [it] on their own behalf [that they spoke], it would not have been appropriate for them to say our fathers have told us for in fact they [the sons of Korah] themselves saw the miracles of the wilderness, of the [crossing of the] Jordan [River on dry land], and the wars of Joshua. Thus is it [our verse] explained in Aggadath Tillim [sic].⁶⁵

Herbert paraphrases Rashi here and adds:

Et dixit litterator se reperisse sic in quadam epistula explanatoria super tillim, (45rb)

thereby stating Rashi and not Midrash Tehillim as his direct source. However, in his discussion of the title of Psalm 5:

למנצח אל־הנחילות מזמור לדוד :

For the director of music. For *nehiloth*. A psalm of David

Herbert discusses several translations in existence for נחילות, two of which are [torrent] and [inheritance]:

Et attendendum quod epistola quedam que inter Gamalielis libros reperitur super psalterii librum in modo commentarioli edita: explanavit uim huius Hebrei uerbi *nehiloth* pro torrentibus uel hereditatibus. (7ra)

He seems to consider Midrash Tehillim to be part of the Talmud (*inter Gamalielis libros reperitur*) and calls it ‘a small commentary’ (*commentarioli*) as well as a ‘letter’ (*epistola*). What is interesting in this verse is that Rashi does not mention ‘torrent’ as a

⁶⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 209 (English) and p. 22 (Hebrew).

possibility here but that Midrash Tehillim does.⁶⁶ In the light of Herbert's apparent ignorance about Midrash Tehillim displayed in the previous examples, this raises the question what course of access apart from Rashi Herbert could have had to this work.

In order to throw light on this problem it is necessary to examine a selection of other passages first. For example, in his treatment of Psalm 54 (55):13

כִּי לֹא-אֹיֵב יַחַרְפְּנִי וְאִשָּׂא לֹא-מִשְׁנָאֵי עָלַי הַגְדִּיל וְאִסְתֵּר מִמֶּנּוּ :

If an enemy were insulting me, I could endure it; if a foe were raising himself against me, I could hide from him.

Rashi only mentions in v. 4 that the Psalm concerns Doech and Ahitofel's betrayal of David and on v. 13 offers a short comment:

So long as I live I can bear my revilement with which you revile me for you are a person who is great in [knowledge of] the Torah.⁶⁷

Rashi's brief remark on Ahitofel's alleged knowledge of the Torah is based on a longer exegesis in Midrash Tehillim:

What is meant by the words *according to my order*? [v.14] According to R. Joshua ben Levi, David meant: 'Ahitophel was my orderer, that is to say, it was he who arranged laws in their proper order'; by the words *my guide* [v.14], David meant: 'Ahitophel was my master who instructed me in Torah,' for the next verse says *We took sweet counsel together* [v. 15].⁶⁸

Herbert's comment, which he attributes to the *Hebreorum litteratores*, is reminiscent of Midrash Tehillim:

Maius ciuitatis omissis ad proprium et singularem planctum suum Dauid redit. Quasi dicat. Conqueror ad Achitofel et de Doech et maxime de Achitofel, nec inmerito. Fuit enim ut tradunt Hebreorum litteratores familiaris Dauid quid eciam Dauid de nonnullis in lege instruxerat. Unde et eius aduersum Dauid detestabiliores inimicie. Quod seuera est tradicio hec super Dauid et Achitofel: litterator uideat.

Uerumptamen caueat ne propter sequens littere psalmi angustias in regem. scilicet nostrum messiam et psalmo tollat hoc fingat. Quicquid uero fingat de rege nostro messia et proditore suo Iuda psalmus manifeste prophetat. Et maxime cum dicit. Et tu homo unanims et cetera. Nos uero saluo sensu

⁶⁶ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 63 (English) and pp. 2-3 (Hebrew); Braude, *Midrash*, I, 81; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 212-14; Herbert was probably strengthened in his belief that 'torrent' was a correct translation for נַחֲלֵה by the *Hebraica*'s translation of this word in Ps. 123 (124): 5 as *torrens*.

⁶⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 253 (English) and p. 26 (Hebrew).

⁶⁸ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 492.

ecclesiastico secundum tradicionem Hebreorum iam dictam psalmi littera
prosequamur. (57rb)

It remains unclear whether *Hebreorum litteratores* in this passage is Herbert's term for the rabbinic tradition underlying the Midrash on the Psalms, in which case he would demonstrate he is aware of the source of his exegesis, or whether it should be taken to mean 'the Jewish tradition' in general. Alternatively, it could refer to contemporary Jewish grammarians who explained this verse to him. This in turn raises the question whether or not *litterator* here denotes Rashi or is again used in a generic sense.

In Psalm 56 (57):9

עִוְרָה כְבוֹדֵי עִוְרָה הַנְּבֵל וְכִנּוֹר אֶעִירָה שָׁחַר :

Awake, my glory, awake, harp and lyre! I will awaken the dawn.

Herbert translates:

uel psalterium

Expergiscere gloria mea es: expergiscere nablum et cithara: expergiscar mane

modifying the *Hebraica's surge/ surgam* to *expergiscere/ expergiscar* and providing *nablum* as an alternate reading for נבל [harp]. He comments:

Scilicet tu Domine Deus meus qui gloria mea os expergiscere; expergiscere inquam ut liberares seruum et perdas inimicum omnes aduersantes michi sine causa. Et ad expergiscendum Dominum adicit quod laudabit Dominum in nablo et cythara. Et hoc est quod dicit ad instrumenta ipsa conuertendo sermonem. Expergiscere nablum et psalterium et cythara. Ac si dicat: 'Ut expergiscatur Dominus tangam nablum scilicet psalterium et cytharam', id est psallam et cytharizabo que cum non sonant quasi dormiunt. Ac tunc expergiscuntur cum pulsantur ut sonent et hoc est: expergiscere et cetera. (59rb)

He adds an exegesis based on Rashi, who draws upon Midrash Tehillim:⁶⁹

Aliter tamen litterator. Expergiscere gloria et cetera. Et uocat Dauid hunc gloriam suam: instrumenta sua, scilicet nablum et cytharam, in quibus Deum gloriose laudare consueuerat. Et que eciam ipsum ad Dei laudem excitabant. Tradunt enim Hebrei quod hec duo instrumenta ad supra lectum Dauid penderent ad aperturam quandam in pariete. Unde et flauit uenti noctis medio subintrans pulsabat instrumenta. ad quorum sonitum mox excitabatur Dauid. Et ex tunc excitatus sic lectioni et oracioni uocabat noctis scilicet medio. (59rb)

⁶⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 263-64 (English) and p. 27 (Hebrew).

Litterator here seems to refer to Rashi whereas the phrase *tradunt Hebrei* denotes the rabbinic tradition. In the following step of his exegesis Herbert moves beyond Rashi's commentary. He mentions Ps. 118 (119):62 *At midnight I will rise to give thanks to you because of your righteous judgments*, which is not found in Rashi but does occur as a cross reference in Midrash Tehillim.⁷⁰ Herbert then integrates this new literal exposition into the Christian framework via the well-known Christian comparison of David's night time prayer and monastic office:

Et hoc est quod in alio psalmo dicit: *Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi [Ps. 118 (119): 32]*. Et erat tunc in domo Dauid instrumentorum officium quod est nunc religiosis domibus orologiorum. Et hoc est Expergiscere gloria mea. Et que sit gloria sua supponit ad ipsam gloriam suam conuertendo sermonem expergiscere nablum et cythara ut ad me expergiscendum reddatis sonitum ut preueniant oculi mei uigilias ut medicarere in eloquiis tuis, expergiscar mane. Quod est excitabo quasi a sompno ipsum mane horam scilicet matutinam. Ille uero horam matutinam quasi excitat qui uigilias anticipat. Et ut ita explanetur exigit idioma Hebreum. (59rb)

Whereas Herbert could have been aware of this cross reference in Midrash Tehillim, it is equally feasible that he came by it via an annotated Rashi commentary or a Jewish scholar.

A similar example is Psalm 67 (68):23

אמר אדני מבשן אשיב אשיב ממצלות ים :

The Lord said: 'I will retrieve from Bashan; I will retrieve from the depths of the sea'

Herbert translates and comments:

Dixit Dominus: 'de Basan conuertam: conuertam de profundis maris'

Dixit psalmus ex Israelis persona quod Deus noster Deus sit salutis. Nunc uero quomodo ab inimicis nacionibus Israelem saluare decreuerit, indicit. Conuertet enim eos circumquaque et reducet de regionibus gencium et de maris profundis, id de insulis maris ad quas excati uitatibus uariis dispersi fuerant. Ad quod significandum per ceteris regionum et ciuitatum nominibus: elegit unum et unius dumtaxat ciuitatis nomen scilicet *Basan*. Tum quia regnauit prius in ea famosus ille rex gencium Og tum interpretacionis racione. Sonat enim *Basan* confusio, uel pinguis, uel siccitas. Bene igitur per hanc gentes significate. In gentibus enim confusio absque ordine discipline, pinguedo tocius luxurie, et siccitas absque pluuiis doctrine et roze gracie. Quod eciam Og in ea regnauit; sanctificationi accidit qui gentis fuit et interpretatur confusio.

⁷⁰ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 502; *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation 1: Tractate Berakhot*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1984), p. 42.

Et reuera gencium naciones concludere omnes sub infidelitatis peccato. Et hoc est: dixit, id est disposuit, uel per prophetas promisit: 'conuertam', id est, reducam Israel em dispersum de *Basan*, id est de gentibus et de profundis maris, id est insulis. Sicut per Ezechiele promisit. *Ecce ego assumam filios Israel de medio nacionum ad quas abierunt et congregabo eos undique et adducam eos in gentem unam in terra et cetera* [Eze. 37:21] pariter et de Israelis reductione et in aliis prophetis Dominus crebro locutus est; ita et in psalmo nunc. (74ra/b)

Herbert's translation of the word *Basan* as [confusion] (*confusio*) or [drought] (*siccitas*) originates with Jerome.⁷¹ Rashi's commentary here consists of two cross references (Ps. 21 (22): 13 and Isa. 11:11), which Herbert does not mention. Instead he discusses this verse in the light of Israel's battle against its enemies and against Og, king of Bashan, in particular. This is reminiscent of Midrash Tehillim:

[the verse means that] even as the Holy One, blessed be He, requited Og, the king of Bashan, and requited Pharaoh and the Egyptians at the Red Sea, so will the Holy One, blessed be He, requite the mighty men of wicked Edom.⁷²

On verses 31b-32 of the same psalm:

בִּזְרַע עַמִּים קִרְבּוֹת יִחַפְצוּ : יֵאָתִיב חֲשֵׁמְנִים מִנִּי מִצְרַיִם כּוֹשׁ תִּרְיֵץ
יָדָיו לֵאלֹהִים :

Scatter the nations who delight in war. Envoys will come from Egypt; Kush will submit herself to God

Herbert translates:

Dispersit populos bella uolunt: 32. offerent uelociter ex Egypto. Ethiopia curret dare manus suas Deo.

He comments:

Adhuc de bestia calami [v.30] psalmus persequitur. Post mala ostensa que bestia uia habet in se describens eciam mala que aliis intulit et precipue tribubus Israelis. Et hoc est: Dispersit, scilicet bestia illa calami prenominata, scilicet semen Esau. Populos id est filios Israel qui eciam alibi populi uocantur ibi Dilexit populos [Deut. 33:3]. Nec mirum si bestia illa dispersit quare bella uolunt. [...]

Et quod dicitur hic uelociter et curret, hoc est quod ibi dicitur in audicione auris. Per Egyptum itaque et Ethiopiam gencium duo regna precipua gencium ad fidem introitus significatur hic. Aperte rotum. Completus sicut hodie cernimus in regi nostri messie aduentu quando iam iuxta hunc psalmi locum

⁷¹ Jerome, *Lib. nom. heb.*, PL 23: 1155.

⁷² Braude, *Midrash*, I, 546.

propheticum semen carnale Esau, semen Iacob carnale Israeliticum, scilicet populum iam non impugnat. Dicit itaque offerent et cetera. Quasi hec bestia calami bella uolunt sed secus erit quando subaudi: offerent uelociter ex Egypto scilicet Egypcii et extrema gencium Ethiopia curret uel festinabit et cetera hoc est quando gentes ad fidem conuerse fuerunt. (76ra)

Herbert's interpretation of *bestia calami* as the descendants of Esau and of *populi* as the Israelites reflects the traditional Jewish explanation of this verse and is, just as the messianic reference, borrowed directly from Rashi.⁷³ Herbert then proceeds to an explanation of the word **חשמנים** [envoys, tribute-bearers] and it is in this passage that he gives an interpretation mentioned in Midrash Tehillim but not in Rashi:

Et nota quod ubi nos habemus hic uelociter in Hebreo est *hasmannin* quod sonat etiam festina munera. Ut si dicamus offerent festina munera ex Egypto. Dicunt tamen litteratorum nonnulli quod *hasmannin* nomen ciuitatensium sit cuiusdam, scilicet ciuitatis Egypti que proprio nomine notata est *hasmona*. Et quoniam gencium uocationem et introitum ad fidem manifeste iam prophetauerat terrarum regna ad laudandum inuitat dicens. (76rb)

Whereas Rashi's commentary contains the notion, borrowed from Menahem, of **חשמנים** as the name of a country, it does not provide a basis for Herbert's translation of the word as *festina munera*.⁷⁴ Midrash Tehillim divides **חשמנים** into **חשת** [haste] and **מנים** [(the currency) minas], which could have influenced Herbert's reading here.⁷⁵ Alternatively, an annotated Rashi commentary or a teacher could have led him to this etymology just as well.

Considered together, the above examples demonstrate two things: first, that Herbert knew of the existence of Midrash Tehillim; second, that his commentary contains elements which are found in Midrash Tehillim but not in Rashi. Yet an analysis of the quantity and nature of references to Midrash Tehillim and of the degree of textual similarity between Midrash Tehillim and the *Psalterium* do not provide any solid evidence for direct or systematic use of this source by Herbert. A further argument supporting this conclusion is that Midrash Tehillim, with its overall messianic view and frequent etymological interpretations, would have formed an excellent starting point for Herbert's own exegeses. Moreover, it would have given him more refined ammunition with which to attack Rashi's anti-messianic statements. It seems therefore unlikely that

⁷³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 306 (English) and p. 28 (Hebrew).

⁷⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 306 (English) and p. 28 (Hebrew).

Herbert would have left such an opportunity deliberately unused and suggests instead that he accessed Midrash Tehillim via annotations or through discussions with his teacher(s). Another possibility, which has been suggested by Loewe, is that Herbert had access to a larger commentary on the Psalms by Rashi than we have now, or that he consulted a glossed Rashi commentary.⁷⁶

3. The Talmud

a. Herbert's References to *Gamaliel*

As has already been mentioned above in the discussion of Psalm 5:1, Herbert was aware of the existence of the Talmud. In concordance with his Christian contemporaries he calls this work 'Gamaliel'.⁷⁷ The word 'Gamaliel' occurs in five places throughout the *Psalterium*: on 5:1, 44 (45):9, 71 (72):1, 88 (89):52 and 110 (111):6. In all of these instances, except one, Rashi seems to have been the initial source of reference.

For example, on the title of Psalm 5 Herbert writes:

למנצח אל-הנחילות מזמור לדוד :

For the director of music. For *nehiloth*. A psalm of David

His full comment on the phrase *למנצח אל-הנחילות* [for the director of music. For *nehiloth*] runs as follows:

Nonnulli de antiquioribus Hebreorum magistris [marg. gloss: ut Menaem]: ubicumque in psalmorem titulis ponitur *nehiloth*, siue *almuz*, siue *getiz*, siue *ydithun* instrumentorum genera interpretati sunt. *Nehilot* uero cum sit instrumenti nomen idem sonat quod adunacio [...] Interpretatur enim ut super iam diximus *nehiloth* adunacio quasi muscarum pro quo dicunt Hebreorum litteratores sic in libris Gamalielis legere: *nehil sel deuorim* quod est adunacio muscarum scilicet apum [marg. gloss: *Circumdederunt me sicut apes* (Ps. 117:12)]. [...]

Et attendendum quod epistola quedam que inter Gamalielis libros reperitur super psalterii librum in modo commentarioli edita; explanauit uim huius Hebrei uerbi *nehiloth* pro torrentibus uel hereditatibus. Unde et omnes

⁷⁵ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 549.

⁷⁶ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 65.

⁷⁷ Frans van Liere, 'Gamaliel, Twelfth-Century Christian Scholars, and the Attribution of the Talmud', unpublished article.

libri Latini habent in huius psalmi titulo pro hereditatibus. Sed ut ab Hebreorum periciorum scriptis didici non est intellectus huius uerbi hic in titulo positus. scilicet *nehiloth*: torrens uel hereditas. Sed potius adunatio iuxta quod ut iam diximus in Gamaliele habetur *nehil sel deuorim*.⁷⁸ (6vb)

This passage is particularly illuminating when juxtaposed to Rashi's commentary:

On *nehiloth*. Menahem [b. Jacob Ibn Saruq] explained that all of the terms *nehiloth*, *alamoth* (Ps. 46:1), *gittith* (Ps. 8:1; 81:1; 84:1) and *Jeduthun* (Ps. 39:1; 62:1; 77:1) are names of musical instruments and that the melody for the psalm was made appropriate to the musical characteristic of the particular instrument named in the title of the particular psalm. An aggadic midrash on the Book [of Psalms] interpreted *nehiloth* as a synonym of *nahalah* 'inheritance', but this is not the meaning of the word. Moreover, the subject matter of the psalm does not refer to inheritance. It is possible to interpret *nehiloth* as a synonym of *gayyasôt* 'military troops' as is suggested by the expression *nahil sel deborim* 'swarm of bees'. [Thus our psalm could be understood as] a prayer referring to enemy troops who attack Israel. The poet has composed this psalm on behalf of all Israel.⁷⁹

In his discussion of *nehiloth* Herbert uses Rashi as a framework within which to build his own, more elaborate, exegesis. He closely follows Rashi's references to source material and their respective interpretations. His remark on Menahem is probably copied from Rashi, since Menahem's statement on Psalm titles is only to be found in the *Mahberet Menahem* as a general point and not with specific regard to נחילות.⁸⁰

Interestingly, in his explanation of נחילות as 'swarm of bees' Herbert does not just borrow from Rashi but also identifies Rashi's source as the Talmud (Mishnah Bava Qama 10:2). His definition of Midrash Tehillim as part of the books of Gamaliel (*inter libros Gamalielis reperitur*) suggests that for him the title 'Gamaliel' encompasses a wider range of rabbinic literature than the material contained in the Talmud only.

A similar problem occurs in Psalm 44 (45):9

מִרְוָאֵהֶלֶת קְצִיעוֹת כָּל־בְּגָדֶיךָ מִן־הַיִּכְלִי שֶׁן מְנִי שִׁמְחֹנֶךָ :

All your robes are fragrant with myrrh and aloes and cassia; from palaces adorned with ivory the music of the strings makes you glad.

Herbert translates:

⁷⁸ See also Goodwin's transcription and discussion, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 211-14.

⁷⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 63 (English) and pp. 2-3 (Hebrew).

⁸⁰ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 64, n.1.

Mirra et stacten et casia in cunctis uestimentis tuis de templis eburneis de me letificauerunt te.

thereby modifying the *Hebraica*'s *zmirna* to *mirra* and *domibus* to *templis*. He comments:

Pro uestimenta hic illorum qui bene presunt; intelliguntur opera que speciebus aromaticis nominatis hic bene comparantur quia suauem Deo et proximo odorem spirant. Coram Deo ad meritum et coram proxima ad exemplum. Dicit ergo litterator unus quod hec appellacio scilicet in cunctis uestimentis tuis generaliter omnia opera comprehendat non solum bona et sancta opera ut iam diximus sed eciam opera mala. Que omnia post ueram et fructosam penitenciam Deo in odorem suauitatis conuertuntur. Et hoc est quod hic generaliter dicitur in cunctis uestimentis tuis. Et quidem hoc eciam secundum sensum ecclesiasticum bene consonat. Iuxta quod magister dicit: *quod diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum his qui secundum propositum uocati sunt sancti* [Rom. 8:28]. (48ra)

The first part of this exegesis is reminiscent of Rashi, who has:

[The assertion, All your robes are myrrh... means], 'All your garments [*begadêka*] give off a fragrance like the fragrance of spices'. A midrash based upon it is 'All bigadêka, i.e., Your sins [*sêrhônêka*] are wiped away so that they give off a sweet fragrance'.⁸¹

Since Herbert's treatment of this verse faithfully reflects Rashi's comment and since there already seems to be a precedent in Psalm 40 (41):4 for using *unus litterator* as a reference to Rashi (see above), it would be logical to understand *litterator unus* here in the same way. However, a marginal gloss in the same hand as the body text, explains *litterator unus* as *Gamaliel*. The midrash attributed to this *litterator unus*, which is found in Rashi as well, originates with Rabbi Jonathan ben Napha in the Targum Jonathan Pe'ah 1:1.⁸²

If we do not consider this marginal gloss to be a mistake by either Herbert or a later scribe, we can interpret its combination with the phrase *litterator unus* in two ways. It could either denote 'Rashi', the gloss being an added acknowledgment that he has based his exegesis on *Gamaliel*; or it could directly refer to the author of the midrash in the Targum Jonathan, although Herbert might not have known that this *litterator* in question was R. Jonathan ben Napha. Either possibility leads to the conclusion that *Gamaliel* was thought to include not just the Talmud (and possibly Midrash Tehillim) but also the Targums.

⁸¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 214 (English) and p. 22 (Hebrew).

⁸² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 218, n. 44.

In Psalm 71 (72):1 Herbert points at the difference in interpretation between the ‘older Hebrew sages’ who, like the ecclesiastical authors, favour a messianic reading of this psalm, and the more recent ‘litteratores’ who explain it as a prophecy of David about Solomon. He comments:

Et est psalmus iste ab ecclesiasticis de rege nomen Messia diligenter satis expositus; quem similiter et Hebreorum antiquiores doctores et maiores de Messia interpretati sunt. Uerum litteratores moderni psalmum hunc sicut et plerosque de superdictis, quos et supra notauimus, ut sensui ecclesiastico obuiant et nostrum Messiam et scripturis amoueant, super Salomone illo Dauid et Bethsabee filio explanare conati sunt. (80ra/b)

A marginal gloss on *Hebreorum antiquiores doctores* supplies: *Gamaliel*. It is clear that with the *litteratores moderni* Herbert means Rashi, who firmly expounds this psalm as David’s prophecy on his son. Which work he refers to with *Gamaliel* is less straightforward. It could be a reference to BT Sanhedrin 98b, in which one of the explanations for this Psalm is messianic. It could also be based on Midrash Tehillim, which gives a messianic reading of verses 4, 8 and 17.⁸³

In Psalm 88 (89):52

אֲשֶׁר חָרְפוּ אוֹיְבֵיךָ יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר חָרְפוּ עַקְבוֹת מְשִׁיחֶךָ :

[The taunts] with which your enemies have mocked, o Lord, they have mocked the footprints/heels of your anointed one

The *Psalterium* has:

Quibus exprobrauerunt inimici tui Domine quibus exprobrauerunt uestigia christi

After Herbert has expounded this verse historically as a reference to David’s suffering by his various enemies, he brings in a messianic explanation drawn from Rashi:

uel quod dicit: quibus exprobrauerunt et cetera, potius de ipso Messia intelligendum in quo etiam proiciores Iudeorum litteratores scriptis suis scio consensisse. Ut uidelicet uersiculi istius finis super Messia explanetur. Ut sit sensus quibus, scilicet obprobriis. exprobrauerunt uestigia christi tui, id est finem regis Messie, hec est litteratoris explanacio et ipsa etiam explanationis uerba secundum quod ab Hebreo in Latinum per loquacem meum fide ni fallor translata sunt. Et addit in explanacione sua super hunc psalmi locum de Gamaliele, qui de Messia loquens istius quod hic in fine psalmi ponitur simile

⁸³ Braude, Midrash, I, 561-63; *Seder Nezikin in Four Volumes*, ed. by I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1935), III, 667-68; Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 324-31 (English), pp. 35-36 (Hebrew).

uerbum ponit dicens quod in uestigiis Messie iudicium crudele crescet uestigia
Messie uocans: Messie finem. (109va)

This passage offers a unique insight into the layers of source material used and assessed by Herbert. He mentions three types of sources: an *explanacio litteratoris*, a contemporary interpreter described as *loquacem meum*, and *Gamaliel*. He remarks that the *litterator* quotes *Gamaliel* (*Et addit in explanacione sua super hunc psalmi locum de Gamaliele...*). This firmly leads us to Rashi who, according to Gruber, interprets עקבות [footprints/ heels] as a metaphor for ‘time’.⁸⁴ Rashi then explains משיחך עקבות [the footprints of your anointed one] as ‘the time of the King Messiah’, adding a talmudic reference:

Now it [the use of the expression ‘*iqqebôt*, lit. ‘heels of’ to mean ‘time of’] is [typically] Mishnaic Hebrew [as is exemplified by the apothegm], “On the heels of the messiah arrogance will increase” (Mishnah Sotah 9:15).⁸⁵

Rashi, who usually declares himself opposed to the messianic interpretations by his predecessors elsewhere in the Psalms⁸⁶, here shows a rare agreement with the rabbinic tradition on that front. Herbert, in turn, does not waste this opportunity to use an unanimous Jewish messianic stance for Christian apologetic purposes. He interprets Rashi’s explanation מלך המשיח סופי not as ‘the time of the King Messiah’ but rather as ‘the end of the King Messiah’ (*finem regis messie*) and seems anxious to convince his reader that this is exactly how his interpreter has translated it for him from the Hebrew. Since the noun סוף does indeed mean [end] in biblical Hebrew, an association with Christ’s death seems only a natural step further. He subsequently emphasises the unity of thought between the rabbinic and the ecclesiastical tradition while at the same time lamenting the Jews’ topical lack of deeper understanding of their own scriptures:

Igitur litterator Iudeus sicut ecclesiasticus quod hic dicitur super Messia interpretatur dicens uestigia uidelicet christi tui: finem regis Messie. Sed finem hunc regis Messie quem Gamaliel indistincte sic ponit, intelligit catholicus: regis messie mortem, mortem uero ignominiosam, mortem crucis. Quod utinam sicut ecclesiasticus et Iudeus acceptaret. (109va/b)

⁸⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 410 (English) and p. 48 (Hebrew).

⁸⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 410 (English) and p. 48 (Hebrew).

⁸⁶ See for example his commentary on Psalms 2:1, 9:1, 20 (21):1, 39 (40):7, 79 (80):16, 87 (88):1, 97 (98):8, 104 (105):1 and 117 (118):22.

Although *Gamaliel* is mentioned here twice and in relative detail, it remains unclear whether, as Loewe believes, Herbert's comment reflects first-hand use of the Talmud.⁸⁷ It is equally possible that Herbert followed Rashi and relied on additional glosses or on his 'loquax' to provide the necessary background information.

On Psalm 110 (111): 6

כח מעשיו הגיד לעמו לתת להם גחלת גוים :

He has shown his people the power of his works, giving them the lands of the gentiles

Herbert has:

Caph. Fortitudinem operum suorum annuntiabit populo suo: Lameth. ut des eis hereditatem gencium

He comments:

Tunc quidem Dominus populo suo fortitudine operum suorum operando magis quam loquendo annunciauit quando gens de terra promissionis in sua non hominum fortitudine expulit. Quod maxime claruit in expugnanda Ierico. Et cum Iosue pugnante sol stetit et luna. In quibus sicut solius Domini fortitudo claruit et misterium latuit. Igitur uigencium ex terminio Domini fortitudo opere ipso fuit populo suo annunciata ut ita daret eis gencium hereditatem. (132rb)

He then proceeds to another interpretation, which a marginal gloss attributes to

Gamaliel:

Uel aliter. Annunciauit Dominus populo suo fortitudinem operum suorum loquendo hoc fuit quando per doctrinam Moysi manifestauit populo super mundi creacionem que per opera sex dierum distincta est. Et hoc fecit. Ut det id est ut ostenderet se licite daturum eis hereditatem gencium. Eo enim quo creator omnium est quod per Moysen docuit, ostendit licere sibi tanquam uero omnium Domino regna ad quamcumque uoluerit gentem transferre. Ut nulla gens a regno expulsa de facto Domini conquire habeat. Cum ipsius regna omnia sint. *Omnis terra et plenitudo eius* [Ps. 23 (24):1-2]. Et interferit hoc ne gentes ille tanquam ex hereditate iuste possent conquire seu populus Israel intromissus tanquam male fidei possessor sibi conscius foret. Cum iuste possideat qui auctore Domino possidet. (132rb)

Rashi relates this verse to the Creation narrative and to the giving of the 'inheritance of the nations' (the Land of Israel) to the Israelites. He adds:

In a midrash of Tanhuma [God] wrote to Israel of the deeds of creation to inform them that the world is his, and it is in his power to cause to dwell in it anyone he

⁸⁷ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 69.

wants, and to uproot these [people, i.e. the Canaanites] and to cause to dwell those [people, i.e. Israelites] after them, so that the nations [i.e. contemporary gentiles] would not be able to say to Israel ‘you are robbers, since you conquered the lands of the seven [Canaanite] nations’.⁸⁸

He does not mention Ps. 23 (24): 1-2 but his exposition of this verse and of 110 (111):6 refer to the same subject matter. Here again we find an example of *Gamaliel* used to denote a non-talmudic work. The authorised version of the Midrash Tanhuma, which discusses Ps. 110 (111):6 on both Gen 1:1 and Gen. 22, is substantially different from both Rashi’s and Herbert’s comments. This suggests that Herbert has paraphrased Rashi rather than cited the Midrash Tanhuma.⁸⁹ Overall, his use of the term *Gamaliel* to cover a wide range of midrashic and Talmudic material makes it seem questionable whether he was even fully aware of the differences between the individual collections. It confirms the theory offered above that for him (and probably for his peers as well) *Gamaliel* refers to the traditional corpus of rabbinica in general.

b. Other Possible Talmudic References

Although in the previous examples Herbert’s references to *Gamaliel* seem to have been borrowed from Rashi, there are a number of passages, mainly dealing with Jewish festivals, where the Talmud might have been of some influence.

For instance on Psalm 65 (66):1

הריעו לאלהים כל-הארץ :

Shout with joy to God, all of the earth

Herbert comments:

iubilare Deo omnis terra

Dicebatur iubilus ad litteram quidam clangendi modus in cornu subtilis crebro et intercese per cornu flatu emisso. Et erat precipue sollempnitatis signum et exultacionis eximie. Unde et in prima septembris qui secundum Hebreos capud anni est, fiebat iubilus. Ex eo ritu uerbum iubilacionis tractum in scripturis positum pro mentis exultacione uehementer intensa. Unde et dicitur hic. Iubilet Deo Litterator tamen et hic et alibi in scriptura solum illum iubilum accipit qui cornu arietino fit. Et quod dicitur hic omnis terra ad solam sed ad omnem Iudeam refert ut sola et tota synagoga. Deo iubilet, id est exultans ad Dei iubilum qui statu legis cornu fiebat deuote intendat. (68ra)

⁸⁸ Translation by R. Robert Harris.

⁸⁹ *Midrash Tanhuma (S. Buber Recension), vol. I: Genesis*, transl. by John T. Townsend (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1989), pp. 7 and 131.

Herbert offers here not just a literal exegesis of the verb form **הִרְיָעוּ** [shout with joy] but puts the verb in its liturgical context by providing background information on the sounding of the ram's horn (shofar) on Jewish New Year (Rosh Hashanah). However, in his placing of the date of Rosh Hoshanah *in prima septimebris* he appears to be strangely unaware that Jewish festivals, following a lunar calendar, do not have a fixed date in the solar year. An alternative explanation could be that *in prima septembris* is the result of a scribal mixup in the copying process. The Jewish tradition has four types of New Year, the most prevalent of which falls on the first day of Tishri, the seventh month (Lev. 23:24; BT, Rosh Hashanah, 1). In Latin 'the seventh month' (*septimus mensis*) could have been easily confused with the month September (*mensis septembris*), which possibly explains for the *Psalterium's* error.

Another verse referring to the sounding of the shofar is Psalm 80 (81): 4

תִּקְעוּ בַחֲדָשׁ שׁוֹפָר בַּכֶּסֶה לְיוֹם חַגֵּנוּ :

Sound the ram's horn at new moon and at full moon, on the day of our Feast

Herbert translates:

Clangite cornu in neiomonia et in medio mense die sollempnitatis nostre

He comments:

Cornu scilicet arietino quod ea die et alio non licebat in memoriam liberacionis Ysaac ne immolaretur ariete substituto et immolato pro eo. Et clangite bucina subaudi in medio mense, scilicet in cenofegia. Tunc enim clangebant bucina, non cornu. Et nota quod non solum in psalmis sed ubicumque fere nos habemus bucina, in Hebreo est cornu cum tamen interdum liceret uti hac quando non illo et ediuerso. Unde et sepe per bucinam cornu accipiendo est. Uel clangite in mense cornu innuero diei sollempnitatis nostre. Et est clangor in mense, id est in inicio mensis. Et cuius mensis illius scilicet mensis qui est in numero sollempnitatum tot clangendum erat in prima ipsius die cornu. Et hoc diei, id est ad honorem diei sollempnitatis nostre. dicit Asaph.

Et nota quod uerbum Hebraicum *kece*: hoc est in numero. Similis dictio ponitur ibi: *In die plene lune reuersus est in domum suam* (Pr. 7:20). Ubi nos habemus. *In die plene lune*; Hebreus habet. In die *hakece*, hoc est numerata uel prefixa, reuersurus est in domum suam (97va)

In these two passages, Herbert explains both the dates of Rosh Hashanah and of the Feast of the Tabernacles/ Sukkot (*scenofegia*), which fall on the first and on the fifteenth of Tishri respectively (see Lev. 23:23-24 and 23: 33-34). He also refers to the

biblical event lying behind the celebration of New Year and points out the difference between the sounding of the ram's horn (*cornu*) at Rosh Hashanah and of the trumpet (*bucina*) at Sukkot. Interestingly, in understanding 80:4a and b as concerning different festivals, he goes against BT, Mo'ed, 8a-b and Midrash Tehillim.⁹⁰ Still, part of Herbert's comments are reminiscent of the discussion of these feasts in BT, tractate Mo'ed:

R. Abbahu said: Why do we blow on a ram's horn? The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Sound before Me a ram's horn so that I may remember on your behalf the binding of Isaac the son of Abraham, and account it to you as if you had bound yourselves before Me (Rosh Hashanah, 16a).⁹¹

Another source which Herbert could have resorted to, is Rashi on the passages in Leviticus concerned. Since the latter refers to the connection between the sounding of the ram's horn and the binding of Isaac in his comment on Lev. 23: 24, this work could equally have served as basis for Herbert's exegesis.⁹² Whatever the Jewish source, it is likely that a Hebrew teacher directed him to it or paraphrased it for him. There might also be an echo of the *Breviarium* present, which mentions the Jewish tradition of playing the trumpet (*tuba*) 'in Pascha, Pentecoste, et Scenopegia'.⁹³

Another example where Herbert could have relied on the Talmud is on Psalm 85 (86):2

שמרה נפשי פי־חסיד אני הושע עבדך אתה אלהי הבוטח אליך :
Keep my soul, for I am pious. You are my God; save your servant who trusts in you.

Herbert translates:

Custodi animam meam quoniam misericors sum: salua seruum tuum tu Deus meus qui confidit in te.

The first part of his comment is based on Rashi. It explains the verse in two ways, either as an expression of David's unwillingness to take revenge on his enemies, or as a reference to the fact that David, in addition to his kingship, also used to fulfill the task of religious leader. The task described here concerns the examination of women at the end of their periods of religious uncleanness:

⁹⁰ *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Mo'ed in Four Volumes*, transl. by I. Epstein (London: Soncino, 1935), IV, 30; Braude, *Midrash*, I, 56.

⁹¹ Epstein, *Mo'ed*, IV, 60-61.

⁹² Rosenbaum and Silbermann, *Leviticus*, pp. 106-107.

⁹³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium*, PL 23: 1059.

Ideo Daudid et hic et alibi se misericordem dicit quia etiam cum rex esset et multis plerumque ab hiis super quos potestatem habebat contumeliis afficeretur et ita uirus tamen non iudicabat. Unde et ipse alibi. *Si reddidi retribuentibus michi* [Ps. 7: 5]. Uel ideo se misericordem dicit quia sicut tradunt Hebrei cum rex esset minorum tamen et priuatorum officia se humilians sepe suscipiebat. Ut discerneret inter sanguinem et sanguinem, sanguinem pollucionis, sanguinem purificationis. Habemus enim quod *mulier si pareret masculum: immunda erat septem diebus* [Lev. 12:2] fluens interim sanguinem pollucionis.

Triginta uero tribus diebus immunda quidem erat sed non adeo sicut primis septem diebus. Et manebat in sanguine non inquinacionis sicut in prioribus septem diebus. Sed in sanguine sue purificationis. Sanguis uero ille non iudicabatur inquinacionis ita dico sed naturaliter flueret. Nec erat sanguis ille nec adhuc est in puerpiis triginta trium dierum eius qualitatis cuius et die prior septem dierum. Interdum tamen aut ex infirmitate aut ex casu aliquo accidit quod expletis diebus septem talem sanguinem puerpera emitteret: qualem et prius sanguinem potius inquinacionis: cum purificationis deberet emittere. Sed hic discernere inter sanguinem et sanguinem non quidem omnium est sed industrium.

Similiter est in menstruis. Plerumque enim similiter ut supra diximus de sanguine puerpere aut ex infirmitate aut ex causa aliqua finito iam naturale tempus menstruorum: menstrua emittit sanguinem adhuc nec dum bene purificata. Et hic quidem discernere inter sanguinem et sanguinem probare experientie est. Quemadmodum et nunc uidemus in iudiciis unciarum (?) hanc uero industriam preminuisse dicunt in rege Daudid. Et cum necesse fuisset etiam eam humile non contempnebat iudicium. Unde ob hec et huicemodi multa humilitatis et deuocionis opera que infra regale fastigium longe infernis esse uidebantur. se hic et sepe alibi misericordem dicit. (101ra)

Rashi has:

For I am steadfast for I hear my being reviled and my being scorned, and I have the wherewithal to take revenge, but I am silent. Thus it [is interpreted] in Aggadat Tillim. An equally plausible interpretation is [that which] our rabbis interpreted in [BT] Berakot [4a]: ‘Am I not steadfast? All the kings of the east [and the west] are enthroned in their glory before me while as for me, my hands are stained with blood, with [aborted] foetus and with placenta.’⁹⁴

Herbert’s comment is broader than that of Rashi and since Rashi mentions the Talmud as his source, it is possible that Herbert followed up this reference. Berakot 4a reads:

A prayer of David: Keep my soul, for I am pious (Ps. 86:1-2).

Levi and R. Isaac.

One of them said, ‘This is what David said before the Holy One, blessed be he. “Lord of the world, am I not pious? For all kings, east and west, sleep to the third hour but as for me: *At midnight, I rise to give thanks to you* (Ps. 119: 62).”’

⁹⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 398 (English) and p. 46 (Hebrew).

The other said, ‘This is what David said before the Holy One, blessed be he, “Lord of the world, am I not pious? For all kings, east and west, sit in all their glory with their retinues, but as for me, my hands are sloppy with menstrual blood and the blood of the foetus and placenta, which I examine so as to declare a woman clean for sexual relations with her husband”’⁹⁵

Apart from Berakot, Herbert’s commentary is also reminiscent of BT tractate Niddah, folios 21a and 27b, which discuss the purity laws surrounding menstruation and miscarriage into greater detail, and of Rashi on Lev. 12:2. As is the case with Herbert’s comments on Psalms 65 (66): 1 and 74 (75): 3 examined previously, there seem to be traces of Talmudic influence present here as well. However, since very little verbal similarity exists between these Talmudic passages and their possible reflection in the *Psalterium* and since the same subject matter is also, albeit more briefly, discussed in Rashi on Leviticus, it is difficult to determine clearly which has been Herbert’s main source.

When assessing Herbert’s alleged reliance on Talmudic sources, a similar picture arises to that of his consultation of Midrash Tehillim. There seem to be influences of some sort but, compared with the colossal imprint made by Rashi’s commentary on the Psalms, these other influences appear vague and indirect. They could be echoes of explanations given by his teacher(s) or could be borrowed from a glossary on the Hebrew Psalms or on Rashi’s commentary.

4. The Targums

According to Loewe, Herbert consulted the Targum Onkelos and the Targum Jonathan, which are the official translations into Aramaic of the Pentateuch and the Hagiographa respectively, directly as well as indirectly. If he uses the Targums indirectly, Loewe states, his mediating source is Rashi. This in itself is an important conclusion, since it was believed until then that Rashi did not know the Targum Jonathan. As a result, a number of passages in Rashi’s commentary on the Psalms which seem to betray influence from the Targum Jonathan were considered to be later additions.⁹⁶ Modern scholars now generally assume that Rashi had access to an

⁹⁵ *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation 1: Tractate Berakhot*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1984), p. 42.

⁹⁶ Loewe, ‘Commentary’, p. 65.

unauthorised version of the Targum Jonathan that differed in places from the version we have now.⁹⁷

Herbert refers to the Aramaic translation of words on eight verses throughout the *Psalterium* (in Psalms 2: 12; 7: 1; 41 (42): 9; 67 (68): 5 and 28; 77 (78): 13; 79 (80): 17 and 131 (132): 6). As Loewe has analysed three of these already, I will start off with an overview of his examples.

A passage which suggests first-hand use of the Targum Jonathan is Psalm 2: 12a⁹⁸

נשקוֹ-בֶר פִּן־יֵאֲנֶף
Kiss the son, lest he be angry

Herbert adds as one of his variant readings:

In Caldeo 'suscipite legem ne forte irascatur' et cetera. Cui et nostra edicio consonat: *Apprehendite disciplinam* et cetera

By highlighting the similarity between the Aramaic translation and the *Gallicana* he is able to integrate this Targumic reading within Christian exegesis.

In Psalm 67 (68) a reference to Aramaic occurs in verses 5 and 28. Loewe claims that Herbert uses the Targums independently here.⁹⁹ Whereas I agree with Loewe that on both accounts Herbert's comments clearly show influence from the Targums, I believe on the whole he relied predominantly on Rashi in retrieving his information. His comment on verse 5 concerns the phrase שְׁמוֹ בִיהוּ [his name is the Lord/ Yah]. Herbert explains שְׁמוֹ בִיהוּ as:

Quasi dicat nomen istius ascendentis super celos uel campana est *Ya*. Que sonat 'fortis' uel 'iudex' [...] Hoc uero notandum quod pro hoc Hebreo nomine *Ya* in Caldeo ponitur hic tale Domini nomen quod 'timorem' designat. Sicut et in illo cantici uersiculo [Ex. 15:2/ Ps.117 (118):14]: *fortitudo mea et laus mea Dominus*. Ubi nos Dominus Hebreus habet *Ya*. Chaldeus uero tale Domini nomen quod timorem denotat. Iuxta quod forte scriptum est quod *iurauerit Iacob: per timorem patris sui Ysaac* [Gen. 31:53] illud Dei nomen in iuramento assumens quod secundum Chaldeum timorem designat et super omnia timendum Deum notat. Quem et Iacob ibidem timorem patris sui Ysaac uocat, dicens *nisi Deus patris mei Abraham et timor Ysaac affuisset michi: forsitan modo nudum me dimisisses* [Gen. 31:42]. Quod igitur hic in psalmo dicitur secundum nos 'in forti' seu 'iudice' et secundum Hebreum 'in *Ya* nomen eius', hoc est secundum Chaldeum tanquam si diceretur: 'in timore nomen eius'. (69rb/va)

⁹⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 15, n. 6.

⁹⁸ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 65.

⁹⁹ Loewe, 'Commentary', pp. 66-67.

The first part of his exegesis is based on Jerome¹⁰⁰ and on Rashi's exposition of יָהּ:

by His name, which is Yah, a name referring to fear [*Yir'ah*] in accord with the way in which we render it into Aramaic [in Targum Onkelos at Ex. 15:2 where we employ Aram.] *dehila* 'Fear' [in translating into Aramaic the Yah in the phrase] "my might and praise of Yah".¹⁰¹

Rashi then refers to the same translation for יָהּ in the Targum Onkelos on Ex. 17:16 and in the Targum Jonathan on Isa. 26:4. Herbert does not follow these cross references but instead offers two examples from Genesis which Rashi does not mention: Gen. 31:42 'If the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had not been with me, you would surely have sent me away empty-handed' and 53 '[...] So Jacob took an oath in the name of the Fear of his father Isaac'. This leads Loewe to believe that Herbert consulted the Targum on Genesis on his own accord and realised that its translation for 'fear' was derived from the same root as the translation of יָהּ in Ex. 15:2/ Ps. 117 (118):14 found in Rashi's commentary.¹⁰²

However, it is not certain that Herbert was searching for the lexical relationship between these references requiring knowledge of the Targum on Genesis. In order to prove his point to a Christian audience, the use of a synonym for 'fear' in the Hebrew and a corresponding Latin translation would be just as effective. In both Gen. 31:42 and 53 the word 'fear' as a reference to God appears unambiguously in the Masoretic (פָּחַד) and in the Vulgate version (*timor*) and has been expounded as such in the patristic tradition.¹⁰³ The reason why Herbert included these quotations in his exegesis, instead of following Rashi throughout, might be that the former would be familiar and intelligible to his Christian readers, and would ultimately render his whole discussion of the verse more convincing.

In verse 28

שֵׁם בְּנֵימִן צַעִיר רָדָם שְׂרֵי יְהוּדָה רִגְמָתָם שְׂרֵי זַבְלוּן שְׂרֵי נַפְתָּלִי:

There is the little [tribe of] Benjamin leading them, there Judah's princes in their purple/ in a great throng/ stoning them and there the princes of Zabulon and of Naphtali

¹⁰⁰ Jerome, *De decem Dei nominibus*, PL 23: 1269.

¹⁰¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 300 (English) and pp. 32-33 (Hebrew).

¹⁰² Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 67.

¹⁰³ Augustine, *Quaestiones in Exodum*, PL 34: 607, followed by Rabanus Maurus, *Commentarius in Genesim*, PL 107: 608, and Walafriid Strabo, *Commentarius in Exodum*, PL 113: 213.

which has been discussed extensively above, Herbert expounds בנימן צעיר רדם [the tribe of Benjamin leading them] according to the Aramaic as:

et ex Caldeo habetur expressius quod Benjamin mare primus intrauit. Sic enim in Caldeo scriptum est 'tribus Benjamin que intrauit mare in capite omnium reliquarum tribuum'. (75va)

According to Loewe, the first translation *quod Benjamin mare primus intrauit* corresponds to the Targum Jonathan on this verse, whereas the second one *tribus Benjamin que intrauit mare...* is based on Rashi.¹⁰⁴ Whereas this could be true, it seems just as likely, if not more so, that Herbert follows Rashi on both occasions, since the first phrase shows equal similarity with Rashi's comment לפי שירד תחילה בים [because he was the first to descend into the [Reed] Sea].¹⁰⁵

Similarly, the title of Psalm 7

שגיון לדוד אשר-שר ליהוה על-דברי-כוש בן-ימיני :

A *shiggaion* of David, which he sang to the Lord concerning Kush, a Benjaminite appears in the *Psalterium* as

in Caldeo Saulis

Ignoracio Daud quando cecinit Domino super uerbis Ethiopis filii Gemini

Kush (כוש) is generally interpreted as 'Ethiopian', and since Kish (קיש), a near-homophon, is said to be the father of Saul and a Benjaminite (see 1 Sam.9:3-21), Saul is compared with an Ethiopian in rabbinic exegesis:

[on Ps. 7:1] But was Kush the name of that Benjaminite? Wasn't it Saul? But just as a Kushite [Ethiopian] has a skin that is different, so Saul did deeds that were distinguished.¹⁰⁶

This association is reflected explicitly in the Targum Jonathan, which translates דשאול בר קיש דמן שבט בנימן כוש [Kush the Benjaminite] as [Saul, son of Kish from the tribe of Benjamin]. Herbert seems to have consulted this source

¹⁰⁴ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 305 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew).

¹⁰⁶ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 104; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 68 (English); *BT: An American Translation 11: Tractate Mo'ed Qatan*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 71.

here independently from Rashi since Rashi's commentary does not mention the Targum Jonathan on this verse.¹⁰⁷

Yet in most passages Rashi seems to have been his primary source. For example, on Psalm 41 (42):9

יומם יצוה יהוה חסדו ובלילה שירה עמי תפלה לאל חי :

The Lord will command His lovingkindness in the daytime, And in the night His song shall be with me-- A prayer to the God of my life.

Herbert translates and expounds:

In die mandabit Dominus misericordiam suam et in nocte canticum eius mecum; elacio Deo uite mee

Uel quod ponitur hic canticum, secundum Chaldeum idem sonare potest quod requies. Et in nocte inquit requies eius mecum. Quasi cum ego exterius affligor, in me Dominus requiescit quia eo plus consolatur et diligit. Uel ita. Et legitur uerbum preteriti temporis, scilicet mandauit sicut prius futuri. Et tangit illud quod precepit Dominus per Moysen filiis Israel de paschali obseruancia in die facienda, id est in uespera diei. Sicut scriptum est. *Immolabitque eum uniuersa multitudo filiorum Israel ad uespera [Ex. 12:6.]*.

Et hoc est. In die mandabit misericordiam suam, id est paschalem obseruanciam de esu agni in die faciendam. Scilicet in uespera diei. Per quam miserante Domino sumus ab exterminatore angelo liberati. Et in nocte mandauit canticum eius mecum eius. Domini. Dominicum uidelicet canticum. Nocte enim de Egypto eductus Domino cecinit Israel laudaciones et alterat ita cantica. (44va)

His observation that שירה can be understood in Hebrew as [song] but in Aramaic means [rest] is indebted to Rashi, as is his association between this verse and the Pesach rituals of sacrifice and prayer.¹⁰⁸

Another passage where he relies on Rashi in his translation is Psalm 77 (78):13

בקע ים ויעבירם ויצבמים כמורנד :

He divided the sea and let them through; he made the water stand firm like a wall

The *Psalterium* has:

Diuisit mare et transduxit eos: et stare fecit aquas quasi aceruum

Herbert comments:

¹⁰⁷ *Mikra'ot Gedolot: Psalms and Proverbs* (Tel Aviv: Pardes, 1954), 7.

¹⁰⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 201 (English) and p. 21 (Hebrew).

In Caldeo: quasi murum. Et uocat aceruum siue murum in altum aquarum conglomerationem (91va)

The noun נד means [heap] in Hebrew. Since Rashi mentions in his commentary on this verse the Aramaic translation [wall] borrowed from the Targum Onkelos on Ex. 15:8, it is likely that Herbert's direct source is Rashi rather than the Targum on Exodus.

Similarly, in Psalm 79 (80):17

שרפה באש כסוּחָה מגערת פניך יאבדוּ :

[Your vine] is cut down, it is burned with fire; at your rebuke [your people] perish

Herbert comments on the verb כסוּחָה [(*pass. part.*) cut down]:

Quasi: uisita Domine uineam hanc, scilicet domum Iacob modo per Esau succensam igni et conculcatam. Uel deramatam. Secundum Caldeum uero: putatam, huiuscemodi uastacio uinee domus Iacob sepe facta est per filios Esau, aut sic facientes per se, aut ferentes opem facientibus sic. Sequitur ab increpacione daciei tue deperditi sunt. (96vb)

Again this exposition is reminiscent of Rashi, who defines כסוּחָה as

the semantic equivalent of [the verb *zamar* 'prune' in] *lo tizmôr You shall not prune* (Lev. 25:4), [which Targum Onkelos renders into Aramaic by] *la'tiksah You shall not cut down*.¹⁰⁹

Rashi's comment on Lev. 25:4 mentions the Targum more explicitly than is the case in his treatment of the psalm verse above.¹¹⁰ It is possible that Herbert consulted both commentaries. The fact that his translation *putatam* [pruned] seems closer to the Hebrew תזמר [you will prune] than to the Aramaic תכסח [you will cut] might be the result of a misreading by Herbert of Rashi's commentary and could therefore be an indication that Herbert has copied Rashi without verifying the actual text of the Targum. Finally, in Psalm 131 (132):6

הנה־שמענוּה באפרתה מצאנוּה בשד־ייער :

We heard it in Ephrathah, we came upon it in the fields of Jaar

Herbert's comment runs:

Et attende quod Ephrata dicitur a Caldeo quam ab Hebreo. Nam si nomen Ephrata iuxta Hebreo lingue idioma poneretur hic, nomen esset loci scilicet

¹⁰⁹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 378 (English) and p. 43 (Hebrew).

¹¹⁰ Rosenbaum and Silbermann, *Leviticus*, p. 113.

Bethleem. Sicut Iacob loquitur ad Ioseph de loco ubi Rachel mortua est dicens, *Mortua est Rachel et sepeliui eam iuxta uiam Ephrate: que alio nomine appellatur Bethleem* [Gen. 35:19]. Non igitur Ephratha hic nomen. Loci est sed potius iuxta Chaldeum significatur hic per Efratha: loci qualitas scilicet eminentia amenitas et gracia. Ostendens quod locus in quo templum edificari debuerat foret eminens amenus et graciosus. Quem admodum Helcana pater Samuelis dicitur effratithes: secundum Caldee lingue idioma scilicet strenuus et graciosus. (147va/b)

Whereas Rashi does not explicitly state the difference between the Hebrew and the Aramaic meaning of *Ephrata*, he does mention that it indicates ‘a beautiful place’.¹¹¹

Having examined every instance in which Herbert mentions an Aramaic reading, it has become clear that in six out of eight cases his exegeses are built upon Rashi. In two instances, in Ps. 2:12 and 7:1, Rashi does not provide any guidance and it is possible that Herbert here consulted the Targums on his own account, probably with the help of a teacher, or relied on a glossed Rashi on the Psalms.

5. Menahem ben Saruq and Dunash ibn Labrat

a. Menahem

The *Psalterium* contains three references to the *Mahberet Menahem* (in Psalms 5:1, 6:8 and 86 (87):7) and one to Dunash ibn Labrat (Ps. 67 (68):14). In his comment on נחלִית in the title of Psalm 5 Herbert mentions Menahem’s interpretation of the word as the name for a musical instrument. He attributes this explanation to *nonnulli de antiquioribus Hebreorum magistris*, which a marginal gloss clarifies as *ut Menaem*. Yet, as said before, this exegesis is more likely to originate from Rashi than from Menahem himself since the latter does not comment on נחלִית specifically and since the structure of Herbert’s whole discussion of 5:1 closely follows Rashi’s.

The following examples however suggest access to Menahem independently from Rashi. On Psalm 6:8

עֲשֵׂה מַכְעַס עֵינַי עֲתִיקָה בְּכָל־צוּרָרַי :

My eye is weak/ is glassy with sorrow; it is frail because of all my enemies

which Herbert translates as:

¹¹¹ Maarsen, *Parshandata*, III, 117.

Lanternauit pre ira oculus meus: inueteratus est ab uniuersis hostibus eis.

his comment reads:

Caligauit et cetera. Quod uero minus usitate ponimus hic lanternauit ad Hebrei uerbi hic positi proprietatem exprimendam factum est. Hic enim iuxta Hebreum tale ponitur uerbum quo notatur quod hic is cuius oculus¹¹² caligat uisus sic est quasi uideat per lucernam igne incluso. Quemadmodum etsi per uitrum intuat quis. Nec enim in Ebreo uerbum ponitur hic quo simpliciter solet oculorum caligo designari. Et dicit iste penitens quod pre ira et amaritudine lanternauit oculus eius. Ira enim et dolor sicut interiorem ira et exteriorem turbant oculum.

Uel est hic alia littera, scilicet demolitus est oculus meus que habetur ex libro qui apud Hebreos est et ab eis *mahebereth* dicitur quod sonat addicio. Dicit itaque penitens hic oculum suum pre ira et amaritudine demolitum. Demoliri est extra molem facere quodquod est deicere. Et huius quidem oculi pre amaritudine et ira quasi extra molem, id est, extra statum tuum sunt facti pre amaritudine et ira adeo turbati. (8rb/va)

Herbert's first interpretation of עַשְׂשָׁה [(my eye) is weak] is taken from Rashi who associates the verb with the root עִשָּׂה [to be foggy, to be glassy]. His subsequent integration of one of Rashi's *la'azim* on this verse has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Herbert's second interpretation of עַשְׂשָׁה as *demolitus est oculus meus* [my eye has been destroyed], the source of which he clearly states as the *Mahberet*, does not occur in Rashi. He seems to understand the word as derived from עִשָּׂה [to waste away]. It has been recorded by Menahem under the root עִשָּׂה.¹¹³ Herbert's translation *addicio* for *Mahberet* is a correct one as the root חָבַר means [to join].¹¹⁴ In his discussion on Psalm 86 (87):7 he gives a more elaborate definition of Menahem's work.

וְשָׂרִים כְּחַלְלִים כָּל־מַעֲיָנֵי בָךְ :

As they make music they will sing 'All my fountains are in you'.

uel organiste

Et cantores quasi in choris: omnes fontes mei in te

He offers two translations for מַעֲיָנֵי [fountains], *fontes* and *organiste*. The latter explanation, he comments, originates with Menahem (see also app. 3, fig. 2):

¹¹² Emendated from *oculi*.

¹¹³ Menahem ben Saruq, *Mahberet*, ed. by Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Grenada: Universidad de Grenada and Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1986). p. 293*.

¹¹⁴ See also Loewe 'Commentary', p. 62.

Plerique habent fontes sed in Hebreo fontes. Et potuit facile scriptor errare fontes pro fontes ponendo. Et est fontes, id est proximi. Et conuicanei mei qui de eisdem patribus et loco imo nati, non alieni.

Et loquitur psalmista fontes inquam mei. Cantores erunt, id est officium cantandi habebunt quasi in choris, id est quasi in instrumentis illis¹¹⁵ que chori dicuntur. In te o ciuitas Dei Ierusalem uel ita ut non sit in hoc uersu fontes sed organiste. Quod habetur ex libro quodam Hebreorum, qui ab eis dicitur *maberez*. Quod sonat ‘addicio’ eo quod uarias uerborum significationes distinguens significationem significationi adiungat. Secundum hoc itaque talis est littera: *Omnes organiste mei in te*. Nam idem uerbum ponitur hic quod ibi ubi Iosue loquitur ad Moysen. *Non est clamor adhortancium ad pugnam. neque uociferacio compellencium ad fugam sed uocem cantancium ego audio* [Ex. 32:18] pro cantancium in Hebreo organistarum.

Et attende quod secundum psalmi huius expositionem litteralem hic sicut et alibi per uaria scripture loca et in prophetis maxime Israelis in terram suam reductio prophetatur. Quam quidem in Ierusalem reductionem et in ipsa siue in Iudea natiuitatem. Iudeus carnaliter, ecclesiasticus uero spiritualiter accipit.
(102vb)

His definition of the *Mahberet* as a book which distinguishes lexica from as well as relating lexica to one another is accurate and well put. As Loewe has already pointed out, Herbert’s exegesis does rely here on the *Mahberet Menahem* without having Rashi as a mediating source. Menahem categorises מעיני under the biliteral root ען of which one of the subdivisions is ענה [sing]. He gives two biblical examples of this subdivision: Ex. 32:18, which Herbert copies from him, and this psalm verse.¹¹⁶

Herbert’s descriptions of the genre of the *Mahberet* are strikingly specific compared with his references to other Hebrew works, with the possible exception of Midrash Tehillim. This awareness of the genre and purpose of the *Mahberet*, in addition to the fact that he did not access the work via Rashi, suggests he used it first-hand with the help of a teacher, or learnt it from a teacher who knew it well enough to cite from it. If this is the case it lends more weight to the claim made earlier that Herbert was aware of Menahem’s theory of biliteral roots, and applied this knowledge in his translations.¹¹⁷
For example, he translates Psalm 48 (49): 13

ואדם ביקר בל-ילין נמשל כבהמות נדמו :

But man, despite his riches, does not endure; he is like the beasts that perish

as:

¹¹⁵ Emendated from *illi*.

¹¹⁶ Loewe, ‘Commentary’, p. 62.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter Two, pp. 45-49.

Et homo cum in honore non commorabitur: assimilatus est iumentis et
uel silebitur
exequatus,

thereby adding the reading *silebitur* to the *Hebraica* translation. His comment on נדמו [they will perish] runs as follows:

Homo iste diues et uanus de quo premisit: assimilatus est iumentis et exequatus.
Uel silebitur. Uerbum enim Hebreum hic positum utrumque sonat. Et bene dicit
silebitur contra hoc quod premiserat: interiora sua et cetera. Ipse siquidem per
edificia sua uelut eterna et per nominaque terris suis dedit nominis sui
memoriam facere querebat inmortalem sed secus accidet quia silebitur. (52va)

In verse 21 of the same Psalm the same verb נדמו appears in the *Hebraica* as *silebitur*,
which must have triggered off Herbert's exegesis here. In fact, both translations find
their origin in different roots: נדמו is the nifal impf. 3rd pl. derived from דמה [cease]
whereas the root דמ, of which the nifal impf. would be vocalised as נדמו, means [be
dumb/ silent]. Rashi offers no explanation on this verb form in either verse. Again this
could be influence from Menahem, who classifies both דמה and דמ under the
root דם.¹¹⁸

b. Dunash

Whether he was directly influenced by Dunash ibn Labrat is more dubious. Labrat's
name, corrupted in the copying process, appears in a marginal gloss to Herbert's
commentary on 67 (68):14

אם־תשכבון בין שפתים כנפי יונה נחפה בכסף ואברותיה
בירקרק חרוץ :

Even while you sleep among the campfires, the wings of the dove are sheathed with silver, its
feathers with pale/ greenish gold

In his discussion of בירקרק חרוץ [with pale/ greenish gold] he concentrates on an
exegesis attributed in the text to *non nulli Hebreorum litteratores*:

Et ubi nos habemus hic in uirore uel pallore auri, in Hebreo uerbum Hebraicum
ponitur preciosissimum auri genus designans. Quod ut non nulli litteratorum
tradiderunt: non de ophir sed quod adhuc carius de terra Euilach et Ethiopia

¹¹⁸ Sáenz-Badillos, *Mahberet*, pp. 126*-27*.

defertur, nec penitus rubeum nec penitus uiride, sed quodam modo pallice uirens et uiride pallens, id est subpallidum. Unde et codices nostri uarie habent: alii in pallore, alii in uirore auri quo tale auri genus designetur.

Et in Hebreo idem Hebreum uerbum ad talis auri designacionem ponitur hic quod ibi: cum de lepra agitur ubi dicitur. *Et cum uiderit in pariecibus illius ualliculas pallore siue rubore deformes* [Lev. 14:37]. Ubi nos pallore, Hebreus habet hoc ipsum uerbum hic positum quod est. *Cherach cherach*. Et est hoc unum de septem nominibus [marginal gloss: ut dicitur Gallice *uerdaz*] quibus aurum apud Hebreos appellatur ad diuersa ipsius auri genera designanda [marginal gloss: Jer. 10:8 *pariter insipientes et fatui probabuntur doctrina vanitatis eorum lignum est*].

Interque hoc genus auri hic in psalmo positum: preciosius est ad quam auri speciem segregatim et expressim designandam: in lingua nostra unum nomen proprium et speciale non est nisi quod pro eo quasi describendo dicimus: aurum pallidum seu uiride. (71 va)

A marginal gloss on *non nulli Hebreorum litteratores* reads *Dones* or *Dunes filius Leward in parcario (?) suo*. Whereas *parcario* (which could equally be *pariario* or *panario*) does not seem to make any sense, it is possible to trace *Leward* back to *Labrat* if we allow for the possible confusion between a small hand gothic *br* or *bb* and a small hand gothic *w*.

This passage is strongly reminiscent of the *Dunash Teshubot*, which also appears almost verbatim in Rashi on this verse. Dunash defines ירקרק חרויך as a particularly precious type of gold imported into Israel from Havilah and Ethiopia. He explains the grammatical structure of ירקרק as a form of ירק [yellow] of which the final syllable has been reduplicated in the same way as the adjective אדמדם [pink, pale red] is the reduplicated form of אדם [red] in Lev. 13:42. The reduplicated forms are supposed to describe a paler version of the colour expressed by their originals.¹¹⁹ Herbert follows this exegesis closely in his translation of ירקרק as *pallor* [pallor, paleness] and his description of its meaning as *pallice uirens et uiride pallens, id est subpallidum*. He also refers to Lev. but, instead of 13:42, has aptly chosen 14:37, which mentions ירקרק and אדמדם together. This resourceful adaptation of Dunash's exegesis for his own purpose would require a serious familiarity with the Masoretic text of Leviticus and suggests the help of a Jewish scholar. It is unclear whether Herbert has consulted the *Teshubot* here directly. While this possibility of course exists, the fact that

¹¹⁹ *Teshubot de Dunas ben Labrat*, ed. by Ángel Sáenz-Badillos (Grenada: Universidad de Grenada, 1980), pp. 41-42; Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 302-03 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew); see also p. 309, n. 44.

Dunash's treatment of this phrase is so faithfully included in Rashi's commentary renders it more likely that he and not Dunash was Herbert's first-hand-source.¹²⁰ I have not been able to find any other instances where Herbert might have followed Dunash independently from Rashi.

6. *Litterator and litteratores*

Loewe gives two passages where he believes Rashi to be mentioned by name: Psalms 23 (24):1-2 and 71 (72): 17. In the former example, discussed earlier, Herbert attributes an exegesis borrowed from Rashi to *litterator meus*. A marginal gloss clarifies this title as *Salomon*, which is Rashi's first name.

Psalm 71 (72) is among Christian exegetes traditionally considered to be a prophecy of Christ, while the Jewish tradition understands it as a prophecy on both the reign of Solomon and the Messianic era.¹²¹ Rashi, arguing his case on mainly philological grounds, interprets it as concerning the reign of Solomon only and Herbert acknowledges the 'Hebrew truth' of some of his explanations.¹²² On verse 17:

יהי שמו לעולם לפני-שמש ינין שמו ויתברכו בו כל-גוים
יאשריהו :

May his name endure forever; may it continue as long as the sun. All nations will be blessed through him/ will bless themselves in him and they will call him blessed

he comments:

Quod minime sicut nec illud supra et ab iniquitate redimet animam eorum: Salomon illi sed potius nostro congruit. Quemadmodum illud in Genesi tribus promissum patriarchis. *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes terre.* [Gen. 22:18, 26:4, 28:14] Quod magnificum amplum et gloriosum promissum: infidus interpres interpretando adnullat sic: *In semine tamen benedicentur omnes gentes terre*, id est quisquis de gentibus alii benedicere uolens semen tuum in exemplum adducet ut dicat. Sic benedicaris ut semen Abraham uel Yaac uel Iacob: *es benedictum*. Iuxta quod ipse Iacob benedicens duobus filiis Ioseph: dixit. *In te benedicetur* [Gen. 48:20] Israel atque dicetur: faciat tibi Deus sicut¹²³ Ephraim. Ita dicetur in gentibus: faciat tibi Deus sicut Abraham siue Ysaac siue Iacob et semini eorum.

Uerum secundum interpretationem hanc ad patriarchas tres facta iam euacuata est et extinguitur promissio. Nec est enim modo in gentibus qui alii

¹²⁰ Loewe, 'Commentary', p. 61.

¹²¹ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 557-63; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 330, n. 37-38.

¹²² Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 326-27 (English) and p. 35 (Hebrew); see also p. 330, n. 37-38.

¹²³ Emendation of *Deus sicut Deus sicut*.

bona in precans. Benedicat sic. Aut si est, uix est; nescio eciam si unquam inter genus talis benedictionis usus fuerit. (83vb/82ra)

A marginal gloss to *infidus interpres* contains the word *litterator* followed by *s*. Loewe interprets the word as *Salomon*. However, since everywhere else in the *Psalterium* an individual *s* means *scilicet*, this is how I argue it should be read here as well. Whichever reading is correct, there is no doubt that Herbert is referring in this passage to Rashi's interpretation of God's blessing to Abraham in Gen. 12:2-3.¹²⁴ A little later the same description *infidus interpres* crops up a second time and is explained by a gloss supplying *litterator scl*, which also seems to be an abbreviation for *scilicet*. The passage again refers to Rashi's anti-messianic view.¹²⁵ Similar negative descriptions appear in other psalms where Rashi offers an anti-messianic interpretation. In Pss 63 (64): 1, 68 (69): 1 and 117 (118): 22 Herbert, in his attack on Rashi's exegeses, refers to him as *litterator interpres infidus*.

Since *litterator* in the singular, sometimes joined to adjectives such as *modernus* or *unus*, is so often used to denote Rashi, it is tempting to read every mention of the word as a direct reference to Rashi's works. The passage on Ps. 23 (24):1-2 in particular, which associates *litterator meus* with the name *Salomon* in the margin, could lead to the idea that *litterator* is as good as synonymous with Rashi. The possessive pronoun *meus* would then suggest that Rashi plays the role of Herbert's personal guide on the Psalms. Yet, as has been shown above, *litterator* covers a larger area of Jewish material than is found in Rashi's commentaries. In Ps. 44 (45):9 it refers to *Gamaliel* (in this case the Targum Jonathan Pe'ah 1:1.) and in Pss 35 (36):1, 36 (37):1, 44 (45): 18; 49:18; 68 (69): 38, 88 (89): 52 to name only a few instances, it is meant as a generic term for 'the Jewish tradition', in the same way as *ecclesiasticus* is used for the ecclesiastical tradition.

A second passage where *litterator meus* occurs is in Herbert's lengthy comment on Ps. 67 (68):14:

אִם־תִּשְׁכַּבֶּן בֵּין שַׁפְתִּים כַּנְּפֵי יוֹנָה נֶחֱפָה בַּכֶּסֶף וְאַבְרוֹתֶיהָ
בִּירְקָרֶק חֲרוּץ :

Even while you sleep among the campfires, the wings of the dove are sheathed with silver, its feathers with pale/ greenish gold

¹²⁴ Rosenbaum and Silbermann, *Genesis*, p. 49.

¹²⁵ For a discussion on the relationship between marginalia and body text of the *Psalterium*, see Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 49.

He disagrees with Rashi's interpretation on this verse of כנפֿי as [wings] and אַכְרוּתִיהָ as [pinions] and translates the words as *pinnule*, which he explains as [the wings' endings] (*summitates pennarum*) and *penne* [wings] instead:

Et uocat pennulas pennarum summitates prominentes. Hebreum enim positum hic nec pennas, nec plumas sed pennarum potius designat summitates; quasdam uidelicet quasi pennulas que pennis preminent quas Hebrei uno significant uerbo, pro quo nos posuimus pinnulas. (71rb)

As has already been demonstrated in the previous chapter, Herbert's exegesis of כנפֿי is based upon another nuance of the noun כַּנֶּף, which can refer to [wing] as well as [extremity]. Interestingly, he attributes this explanation to 'his' grammarian:

Sed litterator meus dicebat uerbum Hebreum hic positum magis significare pennarum summitates quas pinnulas dicimus quam plumas. (72ra)

Unless Rashi's comment on this verse has been totally misunderstood by Herbert, the *litterator* mentioned here cannot be him, since Herbert has already dismissed Rashi's exegesis on this point. Moreover, the imperfect tense in *dicebat* suggests Herbert is not talking about a written source, which is usually cited as *dicit* or *dixit*, but to an oral one who used to tell him (repeatedly) how כַּנֶּף should be interpreted here. If this is the case, the word *meus* can be seen as a reflection of Herbert's personal relationship with a contemporary Hebrew teacher rather than as a homage to his main Jewish authority.

If we accept this view, the term *litterator* gains yet another meaning, encompassing not just Rashi or the Jewish tradition, but also Herbert's contemporary interpreters. It also raises the question how we should interpret the *litterator meus* at the beginning of Ps. 23 (24). Apart from its basic clarifications on Hebrew grammar, the passage concerned undoubtedly draws on Rashi and, unless we allow for the coincidence of Herbert's interpreter sharing his first name with his main written Jewish authority, the gloss *Salomon* is a further indication that Rashi is identified as the source of the exegesis. One solution for this apparent contradiction would be to assume that *litterator meus* was meant to refer to Herbert's oral source for the grammatical explanations of the verse and that the gloss *Salomon* is later addition by someone who recognised part of the exegesis as borrowed from Rashi; another one is that Herbert could have used *litterator meus* as a reference to more than one source.

One area in which Herbert would most likely have required the help of a contemporary Jew is that of Jewish liturgy. As has already become clear in the discussion on possible Talmudic influence in the *Psalterium*, Herbert shows himself interested in references made in the Psalms to Jewish Holy days and festivals. On Psalm 80 (81) for example he points out that the *Gallicana's* title *quinta sabbati* should not be considered to be part of the psalm itself but is a note for synagogue practice:

Quod autem hic secundum edicionem aliam in titulo additum est 'quinta sabbati', error manifestus est. Similiter et talis eciam addicio in plerisque aliorum psalmorum titulis reperitur. Ut infra in tituli psalmi nonagesimi secundi ubi additum est 'in die ante sabbatum'. Similiter et psalmus nonagesimus tertius titulum habet: *psalmus Daud quarta sabbati*. Cum tamen utrique psalmi isti secundum Hebreum omnino titulo careant.

Uerumptamen quod in huius psalmi titulo erronee adiectum est *quinta sabbati*; sumptum est de consuetudinario Hebreorum qui solent signare psalmos quos cantabant in sinagoga per ebdomodam. Istum uero psalmum statu legis leuite cantare solebant quinta sabbati sicut nonagesimum secundum, scilicet *Dominus regnauit* die ante sabbatum. Et nonagesimum tertium, scilicet *Deus ultionum Dominus* quarta sabbati. Uicesimum uero tertium, scilicet. *Dominus est terra* prima sabbati. Quadragesimum septimum, scilicet. *Magnus Dominus* secundi sabbati. Octogesimum primum scilicet, *Deus stetit in synagoga* tercia sabbati. (97ra/b)

In another example, on Ps. 103 (104): 19

עֲשֵׂה יָרַח לְמוֹעֲדִים שֶׁמֶשׁ יָדַע מְבוֹאוֹ :

The moon marks off the seasons and the sun knows when to go down

Herbert explains the Jewish method of reckoning time by the moon.

Per uel in tempora, id est, tam distinguenda tempora. hoc maxime Iudei faciunt qui tempora solum secundum lunam computant. Sicut annum anni mense terminos anni et festiuitatum suarum tempora que fiebant circa inicia et fines anni. Unde et annus secundum eos qui lunam secuntur non habet nisi trecentos quinquaginta quatuor dies. Mensis nunc uiginti nouem nunc dies triginta alternatum preterquam in octobri et nouembri ibi uariat. (123rb)

He then describes the calculation of the original Jewish festivals and their later additions, such as Hanukah and Purim, according to the lunar calendar:

Inicia uero festiuitatum semper similiter secundum lunam. Ut phase mense Nisa luna xiiiiia ad uesperum et terminabitur luna xxiiia ad uesperum. Et a phase quinquagesimo die: luna xvia mense tercio. Luna via semper fiebat Pentecostes. Et eodem die secundum legem terminabatur ad uesperum.

Prima uero die septembris quando neomenia fiebat festum tubarum. Et eodem die secundum legem terminabatur ad uesperum. Decima uero die eiusdem mensis fiebat festum expiacionis uel purefacionis. Et eodem die terminabatur ad uesperum. Quintagesima uero die eiusdem mensis fiebit festum Scenophegie. Et terminabatur luna xxiiia ad uesperum. In crastino uero fiebat festum collecte et eodem die terminabatur ad uesperum. Et fiebatur dies collecte uel quod Hebreo plus consonat dies recencionis. Sic enim in Hebreo est recencionis ille ubi nos habemus. Est enim cetus atque collecte

Et non solum iam dicte sed et alie sinagoge festiuitates postea supra legem adiecte similiter secundum lunacionem fiunt. Ut Iudith et Hester quarum prior Hebraice dicitur Hanuca, id est, dedicacionis. Et fiebat xxva die nouembris. Altera uero scilicet de Hester Hebraice dicitur Purim, id est, sorcium. Et fiebat xiiiiia et xva die mensis Adar qui est anni Iudeorum mensis ultimus. (123rb/va)

In his description of *Hanuca* Herbert seems to allocate a fixed solar date to a lunar festival. Since he has just explained that the Jewish year is based upon a lunar calendar, it is impossible that he was unaware that the date of Hanukah fluctuates. As with his previous discussion on the dates of Rosh Hashanah and Sukkot in Ps. 65 (66):1 (see above), the phrase *die nouembris* might again be a misinterpretation or scribal error for ‘the ninth month’ (Kislev), during which Hanukah falls.¹²⁶

In this chapter I have been able to demonstrate that Herbert interprets the text of **Rashi’s commentary on the Psalms** frequently and often verbally, but never slavishly, discussing some of its finer points with insight and sensitivity. On two occasions his comments provide us with new insights into the Rashi tradition. On Psalm 66 (67) his inclusion of what has previously been considered by some scholars to be a fifteenth-century addition to Rashi’s commentary has strenghtened the counter claim that the commentary on that psalm does originate from Rashi. On Psalm 88 (89): 39 his lengthy discussion of the verse in the context of *Hezekiah’s* reign corresponds with the reading in the Rashi manuscript used by Gruber. Since the latter states that this reading was later emendated, in his view correctly, to denote the reign of *Zedekiah*, Herbert’s comment either indicates that he used a Rashi text from the same tradition as Gruber’s, containing the same error, or that *Hezekiah* is what Rashi intended in the first place and that the later emendation is wrong.

However strongly Rashi’s commentary on the Psalms has influenced Herbert, his knowledge of other rabbinic works, including **Rashi’s other commentaries**, seems to be rather fragmented. Yet there are indications that he had access to a **body of cross**

references to passages from Rashi and other rabbinic works. Within the non-Rashi material the most substantial influence seems to come from **Midrash Tehillim** and **Menahem**, which he probably consulted independently from Rashi but with the help of a Jewish scholar. His use of Menahem possibly resulted in some grasp of the theory of biliteral roots.

There are indications that Herbert also used the **Targums** independently from Rashi and that he had some notion of the **Talmud** and of **Dunash's** *Tesubot*. However, Rashi's commentary on the Psalms is the only source which Herbert consulted consistently and systematically, and also probably the only Jewish text, apart from the Bible, from which he worked directly. Behind all of Herbert's Hebrew sources stands the mediating presence of **one or more contemporary Jewish scholars** who helped translate and contextualise the Psalms and Rashi's commentary, and who, perhaps complemented by annotations in the Rashi text, provided additional liturgical information as well as cross references to other Biblical and Talmudic comments.

With his Hebrew teacher(s), referred to as *loquax meus* and probably also as *litterator meus*, Herbert seems to have had a relationship which was collaborative and amiable enough to allow him to progress further in the knowledge of Hebrew and of rabbinic sources than any of his peers.

¹²⁶ I would like to thank Deanna Klepper for her help on this matter.

Chapter Four:

Herbert's Use of Christian Sources

It remains largely unclear to which Christian sources Herbert was indebted and to what extent this was the case. First I will discuss those scholars whose influence on the *Psalterium* is predominantly methodological and factual, or concerns the study of Hebrew. A second part of this chapter will be devoted to Herbert's relationship with Paul, whose imprint on the *Psalterium* is mainly theological.

1. (Pseudo-) Jerome

In his prologue to the *Psalterium* Herbert calls Jerome *modernus ille synagoge alumpnus, tocius litterature fundamentum, pater Ieronimus* and in his comment on Ps. 4:1 he describes the Church Father as *Hebraice lingue doctissimus inquisitor pater Ieronimus*. Indeed Jerome exerted enormous influence on Herbert in three areas. First of all, he was responsible for the ground text on which the *Psalterium* is based; second, in his treatises and commentaries discussing various aspects of the Hebrew language, he gave Herbert grammatical and lexical information on specific words and grammatical categories; finally, through his translation of the Psalms *iuxta Hebreos* and his commentaries, he provided Herbert with methodological precedents for the study of biblical text-criticism and for the systematic consultation of Hebrew sources. As stated before, since Herbert and his contemporaries attributed to him also writings which are now believed to be inauthentic, I will consider the authentic and the inauthentic works together.

a. The Hebraica

Jerome seems to have had access to a version of the Masoretic text of which the consonantal framework was by and large identical to the one Herbert used, and which is highly similar to the one we possess now.¹ Yet as far as his own translation of the Psalms is concerned, differences from the *Hebraica* occur frequently. In fact, when taking into

¹ Emmanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, Assen and Maastricht: Fortress Press and Van Gorcum, 1992), p. 27.

account not just Herbert's two editions of the Psalms but also bilingual psalters such as Scaliger 8, it appears that by the twelfth century the *Hebraica* had accumulated a body of variant readings and had been subjected to additional revisions according to the Masorah. As systematic studies and editions of the distribution and development of the versions of the Psalms and of the Gloss in the Middle Ages are lacking, it would be far beyond the scope of this present study to explore this matter in its wider context. I will therefore concentrate on providing a sample of occurrences of such textual variants in Herbert's works.²

Throughout the *Psalterium* Herbert often mentions that he has consulted several versions of a particular verse before deciding upon his own preferred reading. He thereby shows awareness not just of the difference between the *Gallicana* on the one hand and the *Hebraica* on the other, but also of the variants within both versions, and he applies text-critical methods in his comparison of incongruent translations. He tends to call the *Gallicana* 'edicio alia', whereas he usually refers to a *Hebraica* reading differing from his own as 'alia littera'. According to Loewe, Herbert was influenced by three versions of the Psalter. He used, first, Theodulf's recension (Θ), compiled in the late eighth-early ninth century. In spite of the fact that it displays Spanish ornamental elements, which can be explained by Theodulf's Spanish origin, it is essentially based on Italian Psalters and shows signs of revision according to the Masoretic text. Another recension from which Herbert worked was that of Alcuin (Φ), which dates from the late eighth century and usually displays only the *Gallicana*. In the third place he draws upon a later Parisian text (Ω), which was interdependent of the Psalm text as set out in the *Gloss*, in Lombard's *Sententiae* and in the *Magna Glosatura*.³

It is true that in several psalms Herbert follows readings from those traditions, and from Θ in particular. For example, in Psalm 12 (13):4, which the modern edition of the *Hebraica* renders as:

² Hans H. Glunz. *The History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 4 and pp. 200- 258; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar among Christian Scholars in Pre-Expulsion England: The Evidence of "Bilingual" Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts', in *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. by Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 107-28 (pp. 118-20).

Convertere exaudi me Domine Deus meus illumina oculos meos ne umquam obdormiam in mortem.

Turn back, hear me, O Lord, my God. Enlighten my eyes, that I never sleep in death.

Herbert has:

Respice et exaudi me Domine Deus meus: illumina oculos meos ne umquam obdormiam in morte

Consider and hear me Lord my God

Both the additional *et* before *exaudi* and the ablative *morte* instead of *mortem* are variants to be found in versions C (a Spanish type dependent upon Σ), Σ (a mixed text containing pre-Jeromian elements) and Θ. Similarly, in Psalm 15 (16):4, Herbert writes:

Multiplicabuntur dolores eorum, ad alienos accelerancium; non libabo libamina eorum de sanguine

The sorrows of those who hastened to strangers were multiplied: I will not offer libations of blood offerings

thereby using the alternate reading *libabo* [I will bring a libation] appearing in the ΘSh versions instead of the more generally accepted *litabo* [I will sacrifice].

However, the majority of his modifications which are not borrowed from the *Gallicana* seem to be the result of a more complicated process of comparison between a wider range of manuscript readings. Herbert's commentary occasionally provides an insight into the type of manuscripts at his disposal and his assessment of their readings. For example, he translates Psalm 109 (110): 3 as

Populi tui spontanei <erunt> in die fortitudinis tue: in splendoribus sanctuarii quasi de uulua decidens tibi ros adolescencie tue

Your people <will be> willing in the day of your strength: in the brightness of the sanctuary: as coming out of the womb you have the dew of your youth

³ Loewe, 'Mediaeval History of the Latin Vulgate', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. by G.W.H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 102-154, fig. 1. See also Chapter One, p. 23.

The modern edition of the *Hebraica* differs from Herbert's reading in two places: it has *erunt* following *spontanei* and reads *orietur* instead of *decidens*. Manuscript traditions F (a mixed Italian type which influenced Theodulf), Σ, and L (an Irish type) contain the variant *populi tui duces spontanei* while Θ supplies *iudices* instead of FΣL's *duces*. Herbert compares these versions with the Hebrew in his commentary:

Spontanei erunt, id est, uoluntarie sequuntur te et pugnant tecum in die fortitudinis tue, id est in die belli quando maxime fortitudo necessaria. [...] Quod uero in plerisque libris habetur *populi tui iudices* uel *duces spontanei erunt*. In Hebreo nec habetur *iudices* uel *duces*, neque *erunt*. Sed sic populi tui spontanei et post sequitur in splendoribus sanctuarii de uulua decidens uel orietur. (181va)

This passage suggests that the majority of psalters to which Herbert had access belonged to the transmissions mentioned above and that with his modification according to the Hebrew he followed a minority of manuscripts. His reference to *orietur* shows that he was aware of this orthodox *Hebraica* reading but preferred the textual variant *decidens*. Since he does not seem to feel the need to justify this reading it is possible that it was also accepted within the *Hebraica* tradition.

In Psalm 86 (87):7 he corrects a text-critical error. The *Psalterium* has

uel organiste
Et cantores quasi in choris: omnes fontes mei in te

The singers say as in chorus, 'All my springs/ organ-players are in you'.

while the *Hebraica* renders *cantabunt* instead of *cantores*. Already in Herbert's edition of the *Magna Glosatura* an original reading *cantabunt* is amended in the margin to *cantores*. However, in the *Psalterium* his main concern is *fontes*. He comments:

Plerique habent fortes sed in Hebreo fontes. Et potuit facile scriptor errare fortes pro fontes ponendo. Et est fontes, id est proximi et conuicanei mei qui de eisdem patribus et loco imo nati, non alieni. Et loquitur psalmista fontes inquam mei cantores erunt. (102vb)

This passage gives us an interesting glimpse of Herbert's efforts to achieve the best text. It shows how, by combining text-critical skills with a knowledge of Hebrew, he is able to successfully defend a translation which differs from the majority of manuscript readings at his disposal. On a broader level Herbert's comment can be seen as an example of the

scholarly activity present at the time, which aimed to preserve Jerome's *Hebraica* in a state as uncorrupted as possible.

Herbert frequently points out that his translation of preference goes against the majority reading but conforms to the *Hebraica veritas*. For example, he supplies Psalm 60 (61):3 as:

De nouissimo terre ad te clamabo in spasmate cordis mei in petra exaltata super me
tu eris ductor meus

To you have I cried from the ends of the earth, in the anguish of my heart, on a rock exalted over me. You will be my guide.

while the *Hebraica* translates the underlined part of the verse as

cum triste fuerit cor meum cum fortis elevabitur aduersum me

when my heart will have been sad when the strong will be elevated against me

He comments:

plerique hunc: de nouissimo terre ad te clamabo cum triste fuerit cor meum cum fortis eleuabitur aduersum me; tu eris ductor meus. Et patet. Sed prior littera Hebreo plus consonat (63vb)

Similarly, in 79 (80):16 the *Psalterium* has:

Et funda quod plantauit dextera tua et super filium confirmasti tibi.

And root (let take root) which your right hand has planted: and upon the son of man whom you have confirmed for yourself.

instead of the *Hebraica*'s *Et radicem quam...* Herbert explains:

Quod uero plerique habent. Et in alia edicione est: Et radicem quam plantauit dextera tua. In Hebreo non habetur radicem nec esse potest iuxta Hebrei uerbi idioma. Posset quidem aliud hic esse nomen, scilicet putamen. Ut diceretur sic. 'Et putamen quod plantauit dextera tua'. Et quidem congruere magis uidetur nomen putaminis quam radicis. Crebrius enim quam radix uinee; uinee putamen plantari solet. Sed esto et sic et sic legi potest. Sed prior lectio preualet, scilicet. Et funda quod plantauit et cetera. (96va/b)

In other cases when variant readings occur, no clarifications about the proportion of other Latin manuscripts holding differing translations are given. For example, in Psalm 73 (74):14 he writes:

Tu conquassasti capita Leuiathan: dedisti eum escam populo adunacionum.

You have cut off the heads of the dragon; you have given him to be meat for the people of the gathering

Both the *Gallicana* and the *Hebraica* have *confregisti* instead of *conquassasti* and *Aethiopum* instead of *adunacionum*. Herbert does not explain the first modification, probably because he has not substantially changed the meaning of the word. Interestingly, his edition of the *Gloss*, providing yet another synonym, has *contriuisti* but keeps the accepted reading *Ethiopum*. In the *Psalterium* Herbert explains:

dedisti eum escam populo adunacionum uel congregacionum Idem sensus. [...] Quod iuxta litteram tangitur hic cum dicitur dedisti eum escam populo Ethiopum. Uerum quod habetur Ethiopum Hebraice ueritati minime consonat. (84rb)

Herbert's references to what he considers to be less correct readings from a majority group of manuscripts raise the question how we should assess the originality of his final choices of translation in such passages. Are these translations his own, directly based upon the Masoretic text with perhaps some guidance from Jewish sources? Or does his use of *plerique* imply that, as opposed to the majority group whose readings he rejects, he is drawing upon a minority group of manuscripts, also belonging to the *Hebraica* tradition, which have supplied him with the translations he prefers? If we accept the latter view, we have to see the *Psalterium* in the context of a larger Christian tradition in Western Europe at the time of revising the biblical text against the Masorah. A comparison between Herbert's commentary and the twelfth-century bilingual psalter Scaliger 8 has provided a solid argument in favour of the existence of such a tradition and suggests that many of its lineaments still need to be unearthed.⁴ However, since the possible extent and nature of such a tradition has not yet been systematically investigated, and since there is no other evidence available of shared readings between Herbert's work and contemporary or earlier commentaries it is impossible to fully judge Herbert's originality.

As has already been demonstrated in Chapter Two, a number of Herbert's consistently re-occurring variant readings appear also in Scaliger 8. The main ones are *sodalis* for *amicus*, *misericors* for *sanctus* and *humilis* for *pauper*. On other occasions there

⁴ Chapter Two, pp. 83-92.

are more intricate links between the various versions and manuscripts. For example, the *Hebraica* translates Psalm 2:12a נשקן-בר [kiss the son] as

adore pure ne forte irascatur;

Scaliger 8 follows the *Hebraica* but gives an alternate reading closer to the Hebrew:

adore filium uel adore pure ne forte irascatur;

Herbert's edition of the *Gloss* has kept the *Hebraica*'s *adore* but offers a synonym to Scaliger's *filium*:

adore puerum

Puerum seems to be a very tidy amendment of *pure*, probably in the same hand as the original. A marginal gloss in the *Magna Glosatura* explains:

in Hebreo legitur *nescubar* quod interpretari potest *adore filium*. Apertissimus itaque de Christo propheta (13va).

In the *Psalterium* he amends *adore* to *diligite*:

Diligite filium ne forte irascatur

Similarly, in 7:10 he translates:

Consumetur malum inimicorum et confirmetur iustus et prudator cordis et renuncolorum Deus iustus

The wickedness of sinners shall be brought to nought; and the just will be strengthened; the searcher of hearts and kidneys is God the Just

Consumetur instead of the modern edition's *consummatur* is borrowed from a variant in the versions I (part of an early Italian mixed type), A (part of the Southern Italian or Northumbrian type) and K (which is dependent upon Alcuin's version); his reading *iustus* instead of the *Hebraica*'s *iustitia* is also found in Scaliger 8 and is already present as an interlinear gloss in Herbert's *Magna Glosatura* where it appears as *alibi iustus* above the more orthodox reading *iusticia*. If we interpret *alibi* as a reference to another translation of the same verse rather than to the translation of צדיק [just] as *iustus* later on in the verse or

elsewhere in scripture, we can assume that Herbert was already familiar with this variant reading shared by Scaliger 8 twenty years before embarking upon his revision of the Psalms in the *Psalterium*.

Another element of similarity between the *Gloss* on the one hand and the *Psalterium* and Scaliger 8 on the other, is that several shared modifications, among others those of *sanctus* to *misericors* in the latter group also occur, inconsistently, as amendations in the *Gloss*.⁵ The script of the amendations in the *Gloss* seems to be mid- to late twelfth-century. However, as a palaeographical analysis of these corrections is lacking it remains unclear whether they were made by the same hand as that of the main text or not, and if not, how much that different hand postdates the production of the manuscript. If we accept that these amendations were added by Herbert or under his supervision *before* the composition of the *Psalterium* we can assume that they foreshadow Herbert's second work. If they appeared *afterwards*, or if they were not made under Herbert's supervision, the person responsible must have compared the text of the *Magna Glosatura* with either the *Psalterium* itself, or with another text reflecting the tradition to which both the *Psalterium* and *Scaliger 8* belong. More research into the development and distribution of these interlinked, revised texts of the *Hebraica* is clearly needed.

b. (Pseudo-) Jerome's Reference Works on Hebrew

During the Middle Ages Jerome was believed to be the author of several treatises about various aspects of the Hebrew language. Apart from the three titles *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*, *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* and *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, which are considered to be authentic, other writings were falsely attributed to him, such as an early medieval tract on the Hebrew alphabet and the *Breviarium in Psalmos*. Next to these reference works also Jerome's prologues to the Vulgate and his letters, in particular nr 25 to Marcella concerning the various names for God, which was probably elaborated upon by one or more anonymous authors later on, served as sources of information on Hebrew. As many of Jerome's interpretations of Hebrew words were later integrated into the writings of others, such as Cassiodorus, Isidore, Peter Lombard and

⁵ For example, in Psalms 2. 9, 15 (16), 63 (64), 130 (131), 131 (132).

Hugh and Andrew of Saint Victor, we have to allow for direct as well as indirect influence on Herbert.

Several passages of the *Psalterium* are clearly reminiscent of Jerome, predominantly those containing translations of individual Hebrew names. Most prominent are Herbert's explanations of the names for God, which he repeats several times throughout the *Psalterium*. Yet we have to take into account that, whereas Jerome was probably the first source which taught Herbert the meaning of key words in the Hebrew bible, by the time he composed the *Psalterium* other aids such as Rashi's commentary on the Psalms, bilingual psalters and possibly Hebrew-French glossaries had become more central to his exegesis. A comparison between the *Psalterium* and the *Magna Glosatura* is particularly illuminating in this respect. Although the *Magna Glosatura* concentrates mainly on the ecclesiastical tradition according to the *Gallicana*, a number of additional marginalia, from the same hand as the body text, show some interest in and knowledge of Hebrew. In the large majority of cases the source of these marginal glosses is identifiable as Jerome or Pseudo-Jerome. Most of this group of marginalia are concerned with the accurate spelling and translation of Hebrew words and are based on Jerome's *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*. For example, on Psalm 67 (68):23 Herbert adds to the interpretation of the name Bashan, which in the *Gloss* is given as *confusio*:

Sed quomodo Basan confusio, siquidem Ieronimus sic: Babilon- confusio, Basan-
pinguis.⁶

He does not seem to be aware or does not pay any attention to the fact that further down in the same work Jerome does translate Bashan as *confusio*.⁷ As has been mentioned above, Herbert's lengthy explanations in the *Psalterium* of לַמְנַצֵּחַ/ *victori* [for the director] in Ps. 4, of *Cush* in 7:1, of *Ethan* 73 (74) and 88 (89) and of *Rahab* in Ps. 86 (87):4, which are also borrowed from Jerome, already appear as marginalia in the *Magna Glosatura*.⁸ On one occasion he points out a difference in translation within the works he attributes to

⁶ Jerome, *Liber de nominibus hebraicis*, PL 23: 775.

⁷ Jerome, *Lib. de nom. heb.*, PL 23: 792.

⁸ Chapter Two, pp. 45-47; See also Smalley, 'A Commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), 29-65 (p. 45).

Jerome. In a marginal gloss on 73 (74):3 he compares Jerome's reading in the *Hebraica* with that of the *Breviarium*:

Ieronimus in explanacione sua sic: *Mons Syon in quo habitasti in eo* [...] In psalterio uero suo quod transtulit secundum ueritatem Hebraicam posuit *montem sine eo*.⁹

This text-critical inconsistency clearly kept him occupied since in the *Psalterium* he develops this marginal gloss into a detailed grammatical analysis of the underlying Hebrew text of the verse, integrated into the main body of his commentary.¹⁰ Apart from serving as an illustration of Herbert's budding interest in the tradition of translating the Psalms from the Hebrew, this gloss also seems to confirm the suggestion that Jerome was Herbert's first authority on this area of scholarship.

I will illustrate Herbert's debt to (Pseudo)-Jerome through the discussion of Herbert's treatment of the Divine Name, which is a recurrent theme in the *Psalterium*. As Deborah Goodwin has already stated in her examination of the same theme, he bases himself mainly on letter 25 to Marcella and its medieval additions.¹¹ The letter contains a list of ten Hebrew names for God and runs as follows:

Primum nomen Dei est EL, quod Septuaginta Deum, Aquila etymologiam ejus exprimens ἰσχυρόν, id est, fortem interpretatur. Deinde ELOIM et ELOE, quod et ipsum Deus dicitur. Quartum SABAOth, quod Septuaginta, Virtutum, Aquila, Exercituum, transtulerunt. Quintum ELION quod nos Excelsum dicimus. Sextum ESERIEIE, quod in Exodo legitur: *Qui est misit me* (Exod. 3:14). Septimum ADONAI, quem nos Dominum generaliter appellamus. Octavum IA, quod in Deo tantum ponitur: et in ALLELUIA extrema quoque syllaba sonat. Nonum, quod ἀνεκφώνητον id est, ineffabile putaverunt, quod his litteris scribitur, Jod, He, Vav, He. Quod quidam non intelligentes propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in Graecis libris repererint Π Ι Π Ι [as a hellenised reading of יהוה] legere consueverunt. Decimum, SADDAI, et in Ezechiele non interpretatum ponitur.¹²

Elements of this letter crop up throughout the *Psalterium*, often combined with information from Jewish sources. For example, on Psalm 9:8

⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL: 26: 1033.

¹⁰ Chapter Two, pp. 59-60.

¹¹ Deborah Goodwin, 'A Study of Herbert of Bosham's Psalm Commentary (c.1190)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001), pp. 197-206.

Dominus autem in sempiternum sedebit; stabiliuit ad iudicium solium suum.

But the Lord will remain for ever. He has prepared his throne in judgment:

his commentary reads:

Et attendendum quod hic ubi nos habemus Dominus in Hebreo nomen Dei integrum scriptum est, quod est tetragramaton. Id est quatuor litterarum scilicet *Ioth heth vau he*. Et dico nomen hoc integrum respectu cuiusdam alterius nominis Dei, quod non est nisi uelud medietas huius nominis quod est quatuor litterarum. Constat enim illud nomen dimidium tantum ex duabus litteris istius nominis pleni et integri scilicet *Ioth he*. Et dicitur *ya*. Integrum uero Domini quod est tetragramaton cuius illud scilicet *ya* non nisi medietas est; dicunt Hebrei nomen Domini ineffabile quod in lamina aurea scriptum fuit. Et tamen pronunciant illud sic scilicet *adonay*. Non quod omnino expriment est enim ineffabile sed ne omnino taceant et pro ipso ineffabili aliquid dicant.

His discussion of the Tetragrammaton seems borrowed from Jerome with the added clarification that the title *adonay* is used to replace the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton. Oddly enough, Herbert makes the mistake of giving the second letter as *heth* (ח) instead of *he* (ה). Although the letters ח and ה are very easy to confuse, it seems unlikely that Herbert would have been in the dark about the correct spelling of the Tetragrammaton, in particular because he spells the name correctly in other places of the *Psalterium*. The anomaly could have been caused by a copyist mixing up the letters either in Latin transliteration or in Hebrew.¹³ If the latter is the case we must allow for the possibility that the text from which our present manuscript was copied contained Hebrew characters. The remainder of his comment on this verse draws on Rashi's and possibly Midrash Tehillim's exegeses of the defective words יהי (instead of יהוה [Yahweh]) and כס (instead of כסא [throne]), which have been discussed previously.¹⁴

Similarly, on Psalm 28 (29):11

Dominus fortitudinem populo suo dabit: Dominus benedicet populo suo in pace

The Lord will give strength to his people: the Lord will bless his people with peace

¹² Jerome, *De decem Dei nominibus*, PL 23:1274; the bracketed sentence is my addition.

¹³ See Psalms 104 (105): 4, 121 (122): 4.

¹⁴ Chapter Three, pp. 126-28.

The association of *Deus* with ‘strength’ is already present in Jerome’s letter but that of ‘judge’ or ‘master’ comes, as Goodwin has stated, from the rabbinic tradition.¹⁷ On 79 (80):1 Herbert analyses the hierarchical meaning of יהוה/ *adonay*, אלהים/ *eloym* and צבאות/ *sabaoth*. After first explaining that the Psalm refers to the three captivities of Israel suffered by Asaph, under the Syrians, the Greeks and the Romans respectively, he continues:

Contra has captiuitates tres, triplex in hac psalmi serie oratio quasi triplex remedium ponitur. Et pro modo grauaminis magis ac magis crescit et cumulatur oratio. Unde et contra primam captiuitatem que grauis facta per Azael orat sic: *Deus conuerte nos*. Ubi et contra apud Hebreos unum solum de Dei nominibus ponitur, scilicet *heloym*. Contra captiuitatem secundam que grauior facta per Antiochum epiphanen orat sic: ‘Deus exercituum conuerte nos’. Ubi apud Hebreos duo Dei ponuntur nomina, scilicet *eloym* et *sabaoth*. Contra terciam uero captiuitatem que ceteris grauior facta per Ydumeam: orat in finem psalmi sic: *Domine Deus exercituum conuerte nos*. Ubi apud Hebreos tria Dei ponuntur nomina scilicet *adonay eloym* et *sabaoth*. Ecce quomodo secundum quantitatem grauaminum gradatim creuit et quasi augmentatum est oracionis remedium. (81ra)

The name Eloi is discussed in Ps. 87 (88):2

Domine Deus salutis mee, per diem clamaui et nocte coram te.

O Lord, the God of my salvation, I have cried in the day, and in the night before you.

In primis igitur attendendum quod nomen Domini non ponitur hic tanquam appellatum uel commune cum ceteris sed tanquam ipsius Dei proprium, quod est *adonay* quatuor illis litteris sacramentalibus scriptum que erant in lamina summi sacerdotis quod erat tetragrammaton. Et illud ponitur hic *adonay eloi*. (103va)

On 90 (91):1-2 Herbert elaborates on two more attributes for God, עליון/ *helyon* and

שדי / *saday*:

Qui habitat in abscondito excelsi in umbraculo Domini commorabitur dicam
Domino spes mea fortitudo mea Deus meus confidam in eo.

He who dwells in the obscurity of the most High, shall abide under the shadow of the God of Jacob.
He shall say to the Lord: You are my protector, and my refuge: my God, in him will I trust.

He comments:

¹⁷ Goodwin, ‘Herbert of Bosham’, p. 199.

Qui, id est quicumque habitat in abscondito, id est subprotectione. Excelsi: Quam absconditum excelsi dicit eo quod excelsus abscondit hic suos quasi sub alis: a conturbacione hominum; excelsi, Hebraice *helyon* unum de Dei nominibus et sonat excelsus [...]

Et nota quod ubi nos Domini in Hebreo est *saday*, unum item de Dei nominibus et sonat omnipotens. Et quidem bene hoc ubi de protectione agitur nomen potencie ponitur. Nam potencie opus est aliorum protectio. Et est hic quasi exhortacio Moysi qua omnes Adam filios exhortabatur ut ipsi ad Deum accedentes sub ipsius protectione se ponant. (112ra)

Interestingly, the *Magna Glosatura* already provides a precedent of this comment on the same verse. Four interlinear glosses in the same hand as the body text read *elyon* above *excelsi*, *saday* above *Domini*, *adonay* above *Domino* and *elohay* above *Deus meus*. This suggests that by the time Herbert edited the *Magna Glosatura* he was already familiar enough with these divine names to apply them to the right passages in the psalm text. He might have used a bilingual psalter as reference.

A remarkable comment incorporating an explanation of the Divine Name *adonay* reminiscent of Jerome and a wider Jewish interpretation occurs on Psalm 109 (110):1.¹⁸

Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis donec ponam inimicos scabellum pedum tuorum.

The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool.

In the Christian tradition this verse was taken to refer to God speaking to Christ. Rabbinic sources usually understand it as God's promise to Abraham to conquer four hostile kingdoms. In his commentary Herbert refers first of all to the accepted christological interpretation of this verse. He then announces he will explain the verse according to the *litteratores* but hastens to distance himself from the Jewish view by drawing in the Christian polemical topos of the blindness and deafness of the synagogue of his time.

Et quam de Christo prout a Christo et ab ecclesiasticis diligenter satis expositus est patet. Psalmi seriem secundum Hebreorum litteratores prosequemur. Ut uideat et audiat ecclesia qualiter uidens non uideat et audiens non audiat nostri temporis sinagoga excecata et surda [Matt. 13:14]. Et loquitur in hoc psalmo secundum Hebreorum litteratores Dauid de uictoria quam habuit Abraham aduersus reges quatuor [Gen. 14:14 que cum audisset] Ut in Genesi legitur. Dicit ergo Dauid. Dixit

¹⁸ See also Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 204-205.

ergo Dauid. Dixit Dominus, id est, Deus; Domino meo id est Abrahe quem Dauid dominum suum uocat ratione paternitatis quem eciam et filii Heth dominum uocauerunt dicentes. *Audi nos domine* [Gen. 23:15]. Sunt tamen inter Hebreorum litteratores qui dicunt Dauid in persona propria sed sub nomine Eliezer serui Habrahe loqui hic. Et tunc bene consonat. Eliezer Abraham dominum suum uocet.

Et nota quod primum Domini nomen quod hic scribitur nomen Domini est ineffabile scilicet tetragramaton quod pronunciant *adonay*. Secundum uero domini nomen quod subsequitur commune est et creatori et creaturis conueniens. Dixit ergo Dominus, scilicet *adonay*, Domino meo, id est Christo secundum quod homo, sede et cetera, hoc secundum ecclesiasticum. Sed secundum malefidum interpretem: Dixit Dominus, scilicet *adonay*, domino meo, id est Abrahe. Et quid dixit Abrahe: sede et cetera, id est, quiesce uel morare sub protectione mea donec ponam et cetera, id est, donec quatuor reges plene tibi subiciam. (131rb)

Other references to Jerome's works on Hebrew names include explanations of Adam (68rb), Belial (17ra) and Raphaim (104ra).¹⁹ A passage familiar of Jerome's procedure in *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* is Ps. 90 (91):7. Herbert follows the *Hebraica* in his translation:

יפֹל מצדך אלף ורבבה מימינך אלף לא יגש :

A thousand will fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but [pestilence] will not come near you

Cadet a latere tuo mille et decem milia a dextris tuis ad te autem non appropinquabit.

but points out in his commentary that the Masoretic text differs from Jerome's:

uerbum enim Hebreum, scilicet *gipol*, quod ponitur hic, duo significat: et "cadere" et "requiescere" et hoc sensui magis consonare uidetur. [...] Nota tamen quod in Hebreo non pluraliter sed singulari numero dicitur: *Cadet* uel *requiescet*. Et tunc legitur sic: *A latere tuo cadet uel requiescet mille*. (112rb)

This method of leaving the accepted reading intact in his rendering of the verse, while modifying it in his commentary, mirrors Jerome's similar treatment of the Vetus Latina of Genesis in his *Hebrew Questions*. One example is Gen. 6:4:

Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis, et post haec quomodo ingrediebantur filii Dei ad filias hominum, et generabant eis.

Now giants were upon the earth in those days. For after the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they brought forth children.

¹⁹ Jerome, PL 23: 773, 799 and 1331.

Jerome's comment runs:

Illi erant gigantes a saeculo homines nominati. In Hebraeo ita habet: Cadentes erant in terra in diebus illis, id est, ANNAPHILIM (נפלים).²⁰

2. Other Patristic, Early-Medieval and Contemporary Sources ²¹

As has been said before, Herbert concentrates in his *Psalterium* on Jewish sources and generally omits traditional Christian exegeses, often stating that these have already been sufficiently explained by the *ecclesiastici*. One example is Psalm 21 (22)

Deus meus Deus meus quare dereliquisti me,

My God my God why have you forsaken me

where Herbert comments on verses 1-16:

De rege nostro Messia ab ecclesiasticis exposita patent.

The only other Church Fathers Herbert mentions by name are Origen and Augustine, who are referred to once in the commentary on Ps. 4, together with Jerome. Herbert calls Augustine *beatus Aurelius Augustinus rerum obscurarum diligentissimus indigator et inter ardua sine offensione discurrens*. Origen he simply mentions by name. Both sources are invoked for their interpretation of the term *sela/ diapsalma*. Herbert quietly disagrees with Augustine and follows Jerome's opinion that *sela* differs from *diapsalma* in connotation and frequency of use, the former being *continuacionem spiritus sancti*, the latter meaning *semper*.

There are two passages in the *Psalterium* which mention an anonymous source I have not been able to identify with certainty. The first one is Herbert's comment on Psalm 13 (14):1.

Dixit stultus in corde suo 'non est Deus' corrupti sunt et abhominabiles facti sunt
studiose; non est qui faciat bonum

²⁰ Jerome, *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim*, PL 23: 948.

²¹ For an overview of Herbert's (few) references to classical authors, see Smalley, 'Commentary', pp. 32 and 36.

The fool has said in his heart: 'there is no God'. They are corrupt, and are become abominable in their ways; there is none that does good.

Ideo ut ait orthodoxorum unus ex omnibus doctorum in doctorumque sententia barbarumque gentium religionibus cognosci potest. Unde et stultus qui dicit non est. Et uere stultus. Quia illum dicit non esse a quo stultus ipse essendi habet principium. Et cuius esse omnium esse est. Sicut egregius ille ex philosopho theologus testatur dicens esse enim omnium est superesse dignitatis; unde et bene a Grecis ON dicitur uniuersale eo quod bonitate sua uniuersali suum esse omnium esse uniuersale sit; et reuera stultus diceretur illum non esse cuius quod infinitum est esse; tu nequis esse comprehendere qui non intellectum sed solum capitur ceterarum rerum priuacione.

Sicut prefatus scribit theologus dicens essenciam diuinam dissimilibus manifestacionibus ad ipsis eloquiis super mundane laudari eam inuisibilem et infinitam et in incomprehensam uocantibus. Et que ex quibus non quid est sed quid non est significatur. Stultum eciam diceretur illum non esse cuius essencia certis et eciam apodicticis argumenti quacumque procariter obsistenti comprobatur. (15va)

This passage seems reminiscent of Hugh of Saint Victor's treatment of the three 'manners' of things (*de tribus rerum maneriis*) in his *Didascalicon*. Hugh distinguishes between the very being (*esse*), that what is (*id quod est*) and those things which have both a beginning and an ending (*quae principium et finem habent*). The *philosophus* of Herbert's comment could be Plato, who sets out the difference between τὸ ὄν (the being), which is eternal, and perpetual and temporal things in the *Timaeus*. To whom Herbert attributes the title *theologus* is unclear. It might be Hugh or, alternatively, the philosopher and theologian William of Conches, tutor of King Henry I, who wrote glosses on the *Timaeus* and who seems to be Hugh's source here.²² A third possibility is Anselm of Canterbury, who discusses the nature of human and divine essence (*essentia hominum* and *essentia divina*) at length in two of his dialogues. His *Dialogus de casu diaboli* deals with the relationship between good and evil on the one hand, and essence and nothingness on the other; his *Dialogus de veritate* discusses the difference between the true essence of things and falsehood.²³

The work of which Herbert's passage seems to be the closest reflection, however, is that of the ninth-century philosopher and theologian Johannes Scotus. In the third book of

²² Hugh of Saint Victor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of Saint Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, transl. and introd. by Jerome Taylor, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies*, 64 (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 184-85.

²³ Anselm of Canterbury, *Dialogus de casu diaboli*, PL 158: 327.

his *De divisione naturae* Scotus explains the divine essence and knowledge of God based upon Neo-Platonic terminology:

Esse autem ipsum existentibus omnibus nunquam deseritur, ipsum vero esse ex ante existente, et ab ipso est esse, et principium, et mensura ante essentiam ON, et on ipse esse, et cum habet esse, et ὄν, et existentis, et seculi, et omnium substantificum principium, et medietas, et consummatio. Et propterea ab eloquiis ipse vere ante ὄν juxta omnem existentium intelligentiam multiplicatur. Et quod erat in ipso, et quod est, et quod erit, et quod factum est, et fit, et fiet, proprie laudatur. Haec enim omnia divinitus intelligentibus secundum omnem excogitationem ipsum superessentialiter esse significant, et ubique existentium causalem.²⁴

A similar explanation is to be found in Hugh of Saint Victor's commentary on Scotus' translation of Pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti ierarchia*.²⁵

On Psalm 64 (65):2, which is damaged and therefore illegible at places, Herbert translates and comments:

Tibi silencium laus Deus in Syon: et tibi reddetur uotum

Praise, O God, awaits you/ silence to you in Sion: and a vow shall be paid to you.

Et eo ipso magis laudet: quo silet. Iuxta quod egregius ille ex philosopho theologus. *Super nos secretum: silencio hono* [rest damaged] Et tibi reddetur uotum ibi scilicet in Syon seu Ierusalem. sicut prius ante captiuitatem. (66va)

The rest of the passage is too damaged to read but a marginal gloss contains the abbreviation 'Iera'. The phrase *super nos secretum silencio honorificantes* occurs also in identical fashion in Hugh's commentary on Scotus' translation of Pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti ierarchia*. Since this phrase does not appear in the same form in Scotus' original we can assume that Herbert accessed Scotus' philosophy indirectly via Hugh's work. It remains unclear whether Herbert intends *theologus* and *philosophus* as references to Hugh and Scotus, or to Scotus and Plato respectively.

As Smalley has already demonstrated, Herbert shows strong influence from Andrew of Saint Victor in his preface to the *Psalterium*.²⁶ However, he seems to be hardly

²⁴ John Scot, *De divisione naturae libri quinque*, PL 122: 682.

²⁵ Hugh of Saint Victor *Commentarium in hierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii Areopagitae secundum interpretationem Ioannis Scoti*, PL 175: 1075.

²⁶ See Smalley's elaborate comparison between Andrew's prologue to the Prophets and Herbert's preface to the *Psalterium* in 'Commentary', pp. 43-44.

indebted to Andrew in the rest of the work. This should not automatically lead to the conclusion that Herbert never met Andrew in Paris or was unfamiliar with the latter's numerous commentaries on almost the entire Old Testament. There might be two reasons why he seems to have borrowed so little from Andrew. First, Andrew's knowledge of Hebrew appears to have been less extensive than Herbert's. Second, while Andrew consulted a wider range of Jewish sources than Herbert, including Joseph Bekhor Shor and Joseph Kimhi, very little of his Jewish material seems to have been direct, textual influence. Moreover, the proportion of Jewish sources used seems to have been a very small part of the total. For example, in his commentary on Jeremiah, less than twenty percent of all material can be traced to independent Jewish sources. The remainder comes from Jerome.²⁷ Herbert is probably indebted to Andrew in his programme to expound on the literal sense only. The relationship between his definition of the literal and historical senses of scripture and those of Andrew and Hugh of Saint Victor needs to be further explored. I will return to this matter in the next chapter.

Herbert also uses Peter Comestor's *Historica Scholastica* anonymously on Exodus 34 in his exposition of Psalm 104 (105): 40. The *Hebraica* and the *Psalterium* read:

Pecierunt et adduxit ortigo metram: et pane celi saturavit eos

Herbert comments:

Ortigo hec avis dicitur Hebraice: *celaue*, avis ut dicunt pinguis. Sed que avis species fuerit, nesciunt. De nostris uero aliqui dicunt fuisse illam quam usualiter dicimus *coturnicem*. Alii uero illam que uulgo *curleus* uocatur. Iosephus uocat eam *ortigiam*. Grecus *ortigo metram*, qualiter hic scribitur. (125vb)

This passage is reminiscent of Comestor's passage:

Cumque orasset Moyses ad Dominum dixit ad eos: *Audivit Dominus murmurationes vestras contra eum, et dabit vobis vespere carnes, et mane panes in saturitate. Factumque est vespere. Et ascendens coturnix [Ex. 34:] de sinu Arabico, ubi praecipue nutritur, transceso medio mari operuit castra, et ad libitum populi capiebatur. Est autem coturnix avis regia, quam Iosephus ortygiam vocat, Graecus orthogometrum, nos vulgo curlegium dicimus a currendo.*²⁸

²⁷ Christine Feld 'Judaizer or Plagiarist?: Jewish Influences on Andrew of St Victor's Commentary on Jeremiah', paper at the International Medieval Conference, Leeds, 2003; *Andrew of St Victor: Commentary on Samuel and Kings*, ed. by Frans A. van Liere, PhD thesis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. xxiii-xxv; William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 42-75.

²⁸ PL 198: 1159; Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 46.

The same happens on Psalm 113 (114):4. The *Hebraica* and the *Psalterium* translate:

Montes tripudiauerunt uel subsilierunt quasi arietes; colles quas filii gregis

Herbert locates the *montes* and *colles* as follows:

Hoc forte est quod innueri legitur. Scoluli torrencium inclinati sunt ut requiescerent in Arnon et recumberent in finibus Moabitarum. (133va)

This seems to be borrowed from Comestor's comment on Numbers 29:

Et forte de eodem dixit David. *Montes exultauerunt, ut arietes*, etc. [Ps. 113]. Inde profecti per aliquas mansiones uenerunt ad torrentem Zared, quae transierunt siccis pedibus, ut mare Rubrum [Num. 21]. Quem relinquentes castrametati sunt contra Arnon, qui, ut ait Josephus, fluius est a monte Arabiae descendens, et per desertum fluens in stagnum Asphaltidem erumpit, dividens Moabitidem et Armonicam [...]

Fuerunt qui dicerent describi situm Arnon, quia cum scopuli praerupti et altissimi sint in deserto, paulatim inclinantur humiliando, donec requiescant, id est finiantur, juxta Arnon. Potuit esse ut aliqui scopuli montium, juniorum et minorum coram Israelitis inclinati sunt, ut de facili transirent, quod forte erat praedictum in benedictione Joseph, ibi: *Donec ueniret desiderium collium aeternorum* [Gen. 49].²⁹

I have not found any specific reference to Peter Lombard in the *Psalterium*, apart from Herbert's mentioning him as his teacher, already discussed by Smalley.³⁰ Two possible reasons for this are that Herbert might have felt that he had already reflected his former teacher's interpretation of the Psalms adequately in his edition of the *Magna Glosatura* and that, because Peter Lombard did not expound on the literal sense of the Psalms, there was no need to refer to him.

3. Paul

Since Herbert's edition of Lombard's *Magna Glosatura* includes not just the Psalms but also the Pauline Epistles, it is not surprising that in the *Psalterium* a strong link with Paul remains. In fact, Paul is the Christian source whose authority Herbert most frequently

²⁹ PL 198: 1235-36; Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 46.

³⁰ Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 41.

invokes. While he calls Jerome *modernus alumpnus synagoge*, Paul is for him *magnus ille synagoge alumpnus quondam inter litteratores legis cinulator uehementissimus* (48ra). Usually referred to as *magister*, he is quoted more than fifty times over a total of thirty nine psalms. Of those fifty one references to Paul, over thirty originate from Romans and Corinthians (1 and 2). In order to analyse the relationship between Herbert's translation of the Psalms and his use of Paul, and between Pauline theology and Jewish exegesis as reflected in the *Psalterium*, I will examine the function occupied by references to the Epistles in a selection of passages.

a. Paul as Well-Known Source

In several passages Herbert's interest seems to lie in establishing strong cross references between Paul and the subject matter covered by the psalm verse. For example, on Psalm 61 (62):10, which he translates as

Verumptamen uanitas filii Adam mendacium filii uiri inpositi stateris: uanitas ipsi simul

But vain are the sons of men, the sons of men are liars when placed on balances; together they are but vanity.

he comments:

quod est si uanitas seu mendacium et filii Adam de uanitate in id ipsum simul stateris imponerentur et sic posset fieri eque ponderarent et uanitas seu mendacium et filii Adam, nec magis ponderarent filii Adam quam uanitas seu mendacium. Quod est dicere: filii Adam michi in stateris ponderarent sicut nec uanitas uel mendacium que nichil sunt. Unde et premiserat quod ipsi filii uanitas sunt et mendacium. Et uocat stateras iudicii Dei examen coram quo nichil est impius et omnia opera eius quasi nichil. Specialiter enim pro impiis qui secundum carnem uiuunt et solum terrena sapiunt hec dicuntur. Et hoc est. impositi stateris ipsis simul scilicet filii Adam, id est terreni et secundum carnem uiuentes, ipsi inquam impositi stateris et uanitas seu mendacium simul cum ipsis uanitas, id est non plus ponderant quam sola uanitas ut iam dictum est, uel ita ipsi simul, id est omnes filii Adam quotquot: uanitas sunt. Iuxta quod eam premissum est. *Omnia uanitas, omnis homo stans*. Et magister. *Uanitati creatura subiecta est non uolens* [Rom. 8:20] (64vb)

He might have based himself on Rashi here but could equally have come up with the explanation of the verse himself.³¹ His modification of the *Hebraica's* *fraudulenter agunt simul* to *uanitas ipsi simul* is closer to the Hebrew יחד מהבל [together they (are)

mere breath] and shows consistency with the translation of הבל [breath, vanity] as *uanitas* in the beginning of the verse. It is possible that the repetition of *uanitas* triggered off in Herbert's mind the cross reference to Romans 8 *For the creature was made subject to vanity: not willingly, but by reason of him that made it subject, in hope.* Yet, Paul's statement does not serve as a justification for the variant reading *uanitas ipsi simul*.

A similar connection occurs on 18 (19):2 (1)

Celi enarrant gloriam Dei: et opus manus eius annunciat firmamentum

The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declares the work of his hands.

The *Psalterium* offers an explanation of the verse which ends with a reference to Romans 1:20, *Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse:*

Celi, id est celorum fabrica, enarrant gloriam Dei. Et uocat hic celum non empireum quod nobis est inuisibile nec firmamentum distinguendo nunc subdit. Et opus eius annunciat firmamentum. Sed celum dicit hic: ethereum celum uel sidereum in quo sidera posita sunt. Quod inter firmamentum et regionem hanc sublimarem medium est. Similiter et firmamentum, id est fabrica firmanti, annunciat opus eius scilicet Dei. Et hoc ipsum est quod magister docet: *quod inuisibilia Dei: a creatura mundi per ea que factam sunt intellecta conspiciuntur. Sempiterna quoque eius uirtus et diuinitas [Rom. 1:20].* (23va)

b. Paul's Neutralising Influence

In a number of instances Paul seems to provide Herbert with a justifiable means to integrate his borrowings from Jewish sources into the Christian domain. For example, he revises Psalm 14 (15):3, which occurs in the *Hebraica* as:

Qui non est facilis in lingua sua neque fecit amico suo malum; et obprobrium non sustinuit super vicino suum

He who is not easy with his tongue; nor has done evil to his friend; nor taken up a reproach against his neighbour

to:

³¹ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 283 (English) and p. 30 (Hebrew).

Qui non accusat in lingua sua neque fecit sodali suo malum; et obprobrium non sustinuit super proximum suum

He who does not accuse with his tongue, nor has done evil to his companion, nor taken up a reproach against his neighbour

Whereas the modifications of *amico* to *sodali* and of *vicino* to *proximum* have Christian precedents in Scaliger 8 and in the *Gallicana* respectively, *accusat* does not. Herbert translated it from the Masoretic reading רגל [slander, go about]. Since רגל occurs as ‘ankuza’ in a thirteenth-century Hebrew-French glossary on this psalm, it is possible that Herbert also used a similar Jewish aid to obtain his translation.³² In his commentary he interprets Ps. 14 (15):3 as a warning against passing moral judgement too easily and supports his reading by relating it to 1 Cor. 4.

In lingua accusare: est de facili et ex lingue lubrico crimen impropere. Unde in edicione alia: Qui non est facilis in lingua sua scilicet ad accusandum. Idem sensus.

Sunt quidam de quibus propter speciem uiuendi non bonam; non bene suspicamur sed male. Et hos quidem interdum accusare solemus non in lingua hoc enim illicitum sed solum in consciencia de talibus minime conscienciam hominibus bonam. Et quidem talis forte suspicio humane temptacionis species est. Et sepe aut nullum aut si peccatum est, ueniale est; solum caueatur ne talis suspicio prosiliat ad humane temeritatis iudicium, hoc nunc dampnabile. Unde magister. *Nolite ante tempus iudicare* [1 Cor. 4:5]. Non igitur talis accusacio apud proximum que in sola consistit consciencia nec illa qua interdum quis zelo iusticie ad accusandum criminis armatur sed solum illa accusacio que in lingua est inhibetur hic. (16va/b)

With the interpretation of רגל על-לשנו as ‘the making of a verbal accusation’

(*accusacio que in lingua est*) Herbert gives a more narrow definition of the phrase than Jerome has done with *lingua est facilis*, which could be understood as deceit or lack of discreteness in general. His translation *accusat* fits in better with Paul’s verse:

itaque nolite ante tempus iudicare quoadusque veniat Dominus qui et inluminabit abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium et tunc laus erit unicuique a Deo. (28ra)

Through Paul Herbert is able to widen the scope of his literal translation drawn from the Hebrew and give Ps. 14 (15):8 not just tropological but also eschatological significance.

A similar transition from the literal to the tropological via Paul occurs in Herbert's comment on Ps. 25 (26):4. He supplies the verse as

Non sedi cum uiris uanitatis et cum absconditis non ingrediar

I have not sat with men of vanity and neither will I go in with hypocrites/ hidden ones

whereas the *Hebraica* has:

Non sedi cum uiris uanitatis et cum superbis non ingrediar

I have not sat with men of vanity and neither will I go in with the proud

Absconditis is a closer rendering of the Masoretic reading נעלמים [hypocrites (literally: hidden ones)] than Jerome's *superbis*. In his commentary Herbert relates this modification to Paul's warning against the corrupting influence of hypocrites in Eph.5:12

Absconditos dicit illas de quibus magister: *Que in occulto fiunt ab ipsis: turpe est eiam dicere* [Eph. 5:12]. Quales sunt omnes ypocrite et quicumque tales ypocrite sunt. Et quod dicit non ingrediar animo scilicet uel consensu de corporali enim et manifesto cum talibus ingressis non loqueretur. Absconditi enim sunt. (28ra)

Since Psalm 25 (26) and Ephesians 5 share the same subject matter, namely a description of the moral profile of a true believer, Herbert's reference to Paul in this verse is not in itself farfetched. However, through his literal translation of נעלמים as *absconditis* he has created a semantic link with *in occulto* in Eph. 5:12 which allows him to build a much more solid and convincing 'exegetical bridge' between the two texts.

A passage where Herbert shows himself particularly adept in his choice of translation is on Ps. 11 (12):6. The *Hebraica* reads:

Propter uastitatem inopum et gemitum pauperum nunc consurgam dicit Dominus; ponam in salutari auxilium eorum.

By reason of the misery of the needy, and the groans of the poor, now will I arise, says the Lord. I will set their help in safety

Herbert amends the final words *auxilium eorum* to *loquetur pro eis* [he will speak on their behalf], which is a more correct translation of the Masoretic יפיה לו [he will utter to

³² See Chapter Two, pp. 105-06.

him/ breathe against him]. His translation and subsequent historical exegesis are partly borrowed from Rashi who defines **יִפְיֵחַ** here as a *verbum dicendi* (לְשׁוֹן דְּבוּרָה) and who interprets the verse as reflecting a promise by God to rescue David and his supporters from the hands of Saul.³³

Litterator sicut psalmi inicium ita et hunc psalmi locum Daud adaptare conatur. Et uocat secundum eos Daud inopes et pauperes se et suos et qui propter ipsum crucidati sunt sacerdotes Nobe. Quibus propheticè per ipsum promittit auxilium Dominus dicens: nunc consurgam scilicet contra Saulem et satellites suos persecutores Daud. (14va)

יִפְיֵחַ is derived from the root פִּיחַ [breathe, snort, utter], which occurs also in Psalm 9:26 (10:5). Yet there it appears as *exsufflat*, a translation based on Rashi and reminiscent of the Old French ‘suflera’ contained in a Hebrew-French glossary.³⁴ Since Herbert tends to translate the same Hebrew words by the same Latin equivalents elsewhere in the *Psalterium*³⁵, his incorporation of Rashi’s exegesis of **יִפְיֵחַ** as a *verbum dicendi* in this verse should not be taken as an automatic procedure. In the second half of his comment Herbert relates the reading *loquitur pro eis* to Paul’s letter to the Hebrews 12:24.³⁶ He argues:

Et ponam in salutari. Et quid Dominus in salutari positurus sit mox subiungit hoc, scilicet Loquetur pro eis, quasi dicat: ‘Ipsum salutare’, id est ipsum opus salutis loquetur pro eis. Iuxta quod magister dicit *aspersionem sanguinis Iehsus Christus melius loquentem quam Abel* [Heb. 12:24]. Et est ipso opere dictos inopes et pauperes saluabo. Daud scilicet et suos et sanguinem sacerdotum uindicabo. Uel ponem in salutari auxilium eorum. Quod planum est sed Hebreo minus consonat. Et hec salus a Domino promissa certissima est dicit Daud. (14va/b)

While Herbert follows Rashi’s literal explanation of **יִפְיֵחַ** and is willing to reflect his historical interpretation, he does not accept the rabbi’s avoidance of Messianism in the latter half of the verse. By tying in *nunc consurgam dicit Dominus: ponam in salutari loquetur pro eis* with Paul’s *et testamenti novi mediatorem Iesum et sanguinis sparsionem*

³³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 91 (English) and p. 7 (Hebrew).

³⁴ See Chapter Two, pp. 105-06; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 83 (English) and pp. 5-6 (Hebrew).

³⁵ See Chapter Two, pp. 105-06.

³⁶ Although Hugh of Saint Victor contests the authenticity of Hebrews in his *Didascalicon* 4.6: ‘Ultimam autem ad Hebraeos plerique dicunt non esse Pauli’ (PL 176: 781), which Herbert possibly read, Paul’s authorship of Hebrews is not questioned in the *Psalterium*. I will therefore refer to the work as Paul’s.

melius loquentem quam Abel Herbert both justifies his literal reading of יפִיחַ and adds a prophetic Christian dimension to Rashi's historical exegesis.

Another example where the authority of Paul is used in his assessment of Jewish sources is Psalm 87 (88):16. The *Hebraica* has

Pauper ego et aerumnosus ab adulescentia; portavi furorem tuum et conturbatus sum

I am poor, and in labour from my youth; I have suffered your anger and am troubled

Herbert replaces *aerumnosus* by *obiens* [passing over, dying] and comments:

Obiens a uerbo quod est obio, obis unde et obitus. Simile enim uerbum illi quod in morte Abraham et hic positum est. In Genesi enim ubi nos habemus de Abraham: *et deficiens mortuus est in senectute bona* [Gen. 25:8]. Similiter de Ismahele: *et obiit et mortuus est* [Gen. 25:17].³⁷ Sic etiam de Ysaac ubi nos habemus *consumptusque etate mortuus est* [Gen 35:29] in Hebreo est. *Et obiit Ysaac et mortuus est*. Cum igitur crebro scriptura dicat *et obiit et mortuus est* claret quod aliud est obire, aliud mori uel mortuum esse. In hoc enim uerbo obire etiam secundum Latine lingue non solum Hebreo significatur transitus quidam e uita presenti sed bonus uelut quidam occursus Deo uenienti ad se. [...] Plerique habent: erompnosus, sic pauper ego et erumpnosus. Sed Hebreus habet *obiens*, id est transiens, sicut ab hac uita et cotidie quasi Deo occurrens per mala que pacienter et deuotus semper Deo continue patitur Israel. (104rb/va)

He then suggests the alternate reading *ex submersione* [from immersion] for *ab adulescentia* and supports this modification with a cross reference to Paul's description of his unwavering faith in the face of adversity in 2 Cor. 11:26.

Unde addit obiens dico: ab adulescentia mea. Et nota uerbum Hebreum *nohar*: duo significare aliquando: infanciam seu adulescentiam etatem uidelicet teneram. Sicut et nostri transtulerunt hoc ab adulescentia mea. Aliqui uero submersionem que in aquis sit. Unde etiam plerique litteratorum, ubi nos hic habemus adulescentiam, ponunt et exponunt submersionem legentes sic: *obiens ex submersione*. ac si dicat cum magistro. *Periculis in fluminibus, periculis in mari* [2 Cor. 11:26]. Iuxta quod et bene premiserat: *et cunctis fluctibus tuis afflixisti me* [Ps. 87 (88):8] Et uide tu etsi litterator non uideat. (104rb/va)

³⁷ In fact, the Vulgate on this verse reads *et deficiens mortuus est*.

Herbert's translation of *nohar*/נֹהַר in Ps. 87 (88): 16 as both *adolescentia* and *submersio* is correct. The word can be interpreted either as the noun נֹהַר, meaning [youth], or as the gerund of a different, homonymic root, meaning [shake, sweep (out/ off)]. His influence seems to have been Rashi who understands נֹהַר in the latter sense and relates it to the verb form וַיִּנְעַר in Ex. 14:27 '[...] and the Lord swept [the Egyptians] into the sea'.³⁸

As is the case with Psalm 25 (26) and Ephesians 5, Psalm and 2 Cor. 11 also show similarity in their subject matter. By associating the translation *submersio* with verse 8 *you have overwhelmed me with all your waves* and with 2 Cor. 11:26, Herbert has opened up new exegetical possibilities for this verse. On a semantic level he has forged links between the words *fluctibus* (v. 8), *submersio* (v.16) and *fluminibus* (2 Cor. 11:26), which together evoke the image of immersion in water as a punishment or humbling test from God. In the mind of his Christian audience this image could be taken to refer to baptism (as described by Paul in Eph. 5:26 or Heb. 10:22) or to well-known New Testament passages such as the trial of the Apostles' faith on the Lake of Genesaret (Matt. 8:23-27; Mark 4:35-41; Luke 8:22-25).

Thus Herbert integrates a reading drawn from the Hebrew and favoured by Jewish scholars (*plerique litteratorum*) into a Christian framework. His final remark on the blindness of the Jews, in combination with his previous reliance on Jewish authority, reflects the Christian topos that Jews, while unable to see the true significance of scripture for themselves, can nevertheless provide textual knowledge which, if used correctly, confirms the validity of the Christian faith.³⁹

A passage where Paul's authority is applied to an aspect of Hebrew grammar occurs in 26 (27):8, which Herbert translates as:

Tibi dixit cor meum querite faciem meam; faciem tuam Domine et requiram.

My heart has said to you: seek my face; your face, O Lord, will I (still) seek.

³⁸ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 405 (English) and p. 47 (Hebrew).

³⁹ E.g. Augustine, *De fide rerum invisibilium* 6.9, PL 40: 178-79; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistulae* 363, PL 182: 564-68; see also Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Cal. and London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 219-270.

Having first explained that the Hebrew equivalent for *tibi* means both [to you] and [on your behalf/ *loco tui*], which in this verse refers to God on whose behalf David is speaking,⁴⁰ he compares David with religious Christian authorities who act on behalf of Christ:

Dixit cor et cetera. Quemadmodum et prelati Domini in terris uice fungentes multa ex persona Domini in presenti ecclesia agunt. Et ipsius Domini uocem plerumque suscipiunt. Iuxta quod magister. *An experimentum queritis eius qui in me loquitur Christus* [2 Cor. 13:3]. Et alibi. *Nam et ego quod donauit sicut donauit: propter uos in persona Christi* [2 Cor. 2:10]. Uel ita tibi, id est ad honorem et laudem tuam dicit Dauid Deo, dicit cor meum, scilicet Israeli, hoc querite faciem meam, id est, querite faciem illam que mea est, dicit Dauid, scilicet faciem Dei. Quam Dauid dicit suam quia eam querere non cessabat. Unde subdit: faciem tuam Domine requiram. Quasi quod alios facere moneo: ego facio super et faciam ad quod ipsum et in alio psalmo monet *Querite faciem eius iugiter* [Ps. 104 (105):4]. Semper enim Dei facies, id est presencia inquirenda, hic per fidem, in futuro per speciem. Nec est enim quod inquisitionem inuenio finiat. Quin potius amore crescente crescet et inquisicio infiniti. Sed solum de hoc tetigisse sufficiat de quo solum experientie liber docere nos poterit. (28ra/vb)

He refers thereby to 2 Cor. 2:10: *Now whom you forgive anything, I also forgive. For if indeed I have forgiven anything, I have forgiven that one for your sakes in the presence of Christ.* By establishing an analogy between David's request on behalf of God in Ps. 26:8 and Paul's embodiment of the will of Christ in 2 Corinthians, Herbert manages to tie in a Jewish literal exposition with the Christian tradition. In a similar fashion to his comments on Psalms 8:3 and 87 (88):16 discussed previously, he links the figures of David and Paul to one another through clever juxtaposition of verses with overlapping subject matter.

c. Paul as Christianising Force

Herbert's method of justifying the use of Jewish sources through Paul on the one hand and strengthening Christian (Pauline) theology through the use of Jewish sources on the other is not restricted to passages with textual modifications. On several occasions where he follows the *Hebraica* entirely, Herbert's aim seems to be to enlarge the body of Christian Psalms exegesis by allowing it to absorb selected elements from the rabbinical tradition. For example, a verse where Herbert manages to introduce a variant translation

⁴⁰ See Chapter Two, pp. 53-54; the interpretation of לְךָ as [on your behalf] is also found in Rashi on this verse, see Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 143 (English) and p. 14 (Hebrew).

based on Rashi while at the same time elaborating on the course of exegesis already outlined by Cassiodorus and included in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, is 8:3.⁴¹ Herbert maintains the *Hebraica* text:

Ex ore infancium et lactencium perfecisti laudem [propter] aduersarios tuos ut quiescat inimicus et ultor.

Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings you have perfected praise, because of your enemies, that you may destroy the enemy and the avenger.

but offers *sordencium* [of filthy ones] as an alternative to *infancium*. He comments:

Ex ore sordencium et cetera. Uerbum enim Ebraicum hic positum scilicet *eholerim*: commune est et ad infantem et ad sordentem et est idem sensus. Dicuntur enim hic sordes: sordes infancie, hoc ab ecclesiasticis explanatum et a Messia nostro sicut in euangelio legitur contra legis peritos inductum patet. Litterator uero infantes hic et lactentes uocat leuitas et sacerdotes qui, cum primitus fuissent, in infancie sordibus et lacte mamillarum enutriti ad hoc tandem diuino munere perducti sunt, ut quasi ore diuino diuinis personent laudes in quo claret Domini perfecta laus; quod uidelicet de prius talibus tales fecit qui eius laudes ore diuino personarent. Et hoc est: Ex ore infancium. Uel sordencium et lactencium, id est, ex ore illorum qui primum erant in infancie sordibus et lacte mamillarum educati. (10vb)

His translation and explanation of *eholerim*/ עורללים [filthy ones, children] is a close reading of Rashi who has:

From the mouths of [children]: the Levites and the priests, who are people who have grown up in filth, and nursing babes [...] With reference to filth children are called '*olelim*'.⁴²

The Gloss relates this verse to 1 Cor. 1. Herbert does not mention Cassiodorus nor the *Glossa* here but a marginal gloss on the phrase *leuitas et sacerdotes* in his commentary provides a cross reference to 1 Cor. 1:26: *For you see your calling, brethren, that not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called.* By using both Rashi and 1 Cor. 1:26 on this verse Herbert establishes an Old Testament parallel to the portrayal of the humble origins of the first Christians and enriches the already existing exegetical relationship between this verse and 1 Cor.1. In Psalm 88 (89): 33 he takes over the *Hebraica*'s translation unchanged:

⁴¹ Cassiodorus, *In Psalterium Expositio*, PL 70: 75; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113: 856.

⁴² Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 72 (English) and p. 4 (Hebrew).

Uisitabo in uirga scelera eorum: et in plagis iniquitatem eorum

I will visit their iniquities with a rod and their sins with stripes.

While he uses Rashi as basis for his exegesis, he pushes the latter's comment into a different direction. Rashi relates this verse to God's promise to David about Solomon in 2 Sam. 7:14: *I will be his Father, and he shall be My son. If he commits iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the blows of the sons of men.* He further interprets 'rod' (שִׁבְטָ / *uirga*) as a metaphor for Rezon, one of Solomon's major adversaries in 1 Kings 11:23, and takes 'plagues' (נִגְעִים / *plagis*) as a synonym for 'demons', whom he equates with 'the sons of men' from 2 Sam. 7:14.⁴³ Herbert reflects Rashi's comment and links the notion of demons with Paul in 2 Cor. 12:7 *Therefore, to keep me from being too elated, a thorn was given me in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to torment me:*

Et est Hebreorum tradicio plage uirga grauiore post peccatum illate fuerunt Salomoni per regem demonum Asmedai et per ministros eius malignos spiritus qui Salomonem post peccatum plagis uariis affecerunt. Et hee fuerunt ille de quibus in regum dicitur: *plage filiorum hominum* [2 Sam. 7:14], id est demonum. Quemadmodum et magister dicit de se: *quod ne magnitudo reuelacionum extolleret eum, datus sit ei stimulus carnis angelus Sathane qui eum colaphizaret* [2 Cor. 12:7]. Qui eciam ob delicta non nullos excommunicando tradidit Sathane in interitum carnis. Ut ita in carne uexari a Sathana sicut nonnulli doctorum tradiderunt cicuius resipiscerent. (107vb)

In addition to Rashi, Herbert clarifies the expression 'sons of men' as an euphemism for '(nightly) demons' in correlation with the well-known phrase 'the sons of God' in Gen. 6:2 which is understood in a similar way:

Credibile itaque et tale quid in Salomone factum. Fuit igitur argutus Salomon et in uirga uirorum scilicet per Adad Ydumeum et per Ramzam filium Eliadam. Et quod adhuc grauius cesus fuit plagis filiorum hominum, id est secundum Hebreorum tradicionem molestiis et uexacionibus demonum. Utpote excomitatus a Deo. Qui demones secundum eos benedicuntur filii hominum. Iuxta illud ut inducunt *Cumque uidissent filii Dei filias hominum* [Gen. 6:2] et cetera filios Dei dicunt demones incubos. (107vb)

⁴³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 409 (English) and p. 47 (Hebrew).

In fact, Rashi refers here to a number of midrashim relating how during the hundred and thirty years between the death of Abel and the conception of Seth Adam refused to have intercourse with Eve. He subsequently had wet dreams, which impregnated nightly spirits and made him unwittingly father a race of demons. Therefore, the expression ‘sons of man’ (בְּנֵי אָדָם) should be read as ‘sons of Adam’, and denotes demons.⁴⁴ If Herbert was aware of the midrashim underlying Rashi’s reference he glosses over them. He explains the verse according to the literal and historical sense and arrives at the interpretation of *plagis* (88:33) and *fili hominum* (2 Sam. 7:14) as ‘demons’. In a next step he uses Paul on 2 Corinthians to lift this notion of Solomon’s torment by demons into the tropological domain and extend its meaning to include a warning against boastfulness and temptation, and a reminder that strength is to be found in human weakness.

Herbert returns to 2 Corinthians in Psalm 90 (91) which, interestingly, is also understood as dealing with the works of demons. In his comment on verses 5-6:

scutum et protectio veritas eius; non timebis a timore nocturno

his truth shall compass you with a shield; you shall not be afraid of the terror of the night;

a sagitta volante per diem a peste in tenebris ambulante a morsu insanientis meridie

of the arrow that flies in the day, of the pestilence that walks about in the dark: of the destruction that comes at noonday,

he follows both the Jewish and the Christian traditions in his interpretation of פַּחַד/ *timor*, מַחֵץ/ *sagitta*, דָּבַר/ *pestis* and קָטַב/ *morsus* as demons and contrasts these with the angels mentioned in verse 11. He then points out that the two Testaments contain ample evidence that demons are as much commissioned with tasks as good angels.

Nec miretur quis quatuor nos in huius psalmi serie nunc distinxisse demonia. Hec et enim suos sequens psalmi littera palam et quasi ex nomine methaphorice exprimit dicens et ad iustum loquens: *super aspidem* et cetera sicut nos ibi demonstrabimus et ex tocius instrumenti ueteris testimoniis consonis hec que de angelis temptatoribus dicimus conprobantur. Ubi angelorum bonorum et malorum et diuersa officia et malorum uarie distinguntur immissiones. Et post uetus ad nouum

⁴⁴ See *Midrash Tanhuma (S. Buber Recension), vol. 1: Genesis*, transl. and introd. by John T. Townsend (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1989), p. 19, *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation 3: Tractate Erubin*, transl. by Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 83; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 412, n. 22.

instrumentum recurrendum ubi et in euangeliis et apostolicis scriptis angelorum tam horum quam illorum disperciuntur officia. Interque et illud scriptum est. *Sobrii estote et uigilate. quia aduersa uester diabolus [tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret; 1 Petr. 5:8] et cetera.*

Et illud de angelis loquentis magistri. *Nonne inquit omnes administratorii spiritus in ministerium missi propter eos qui hereditatem capiunt salutis [Heb. 1:14].* Et quidem hoc de angelis bonis ex quo datur intelligi quod et mali similiter in ministerium mittantur propter eos qui hereditabunt regnum perdicionis. Qualis fuit angelus ille Iob qui dicit *se circuissse terram. et perambulasse eam [Job 1:7; 2:2].* Et magister *ut non circumueniamur a sathana [2 Cor. 2:10-11].* Ista uero de angelis quisquis plenius et planius nosse desiderat a beati Iohannis Apocalipsi non discendat. (112va)

He further expounds on the nature of the four demons *timor, sagitta, pestis* and *morsus* by comparing them with the four animals mentioned in verse 13:

super aspidem et basiliscum calcabis conculcabis leonem et draconem

you shall walk upon the asp and the basilisk and you shall trample under foot the lion and the dragon

Morsus insanientis, which finds its equivalent in *draco*, he interprets as *fallacia* [deceit] or unintentional sin. Via Paul's remark on ignorance in 1 Cor. 14:38 *But if any man know not, he shall not be known*, goes on to explain the procedure of sin offering described in Leviticus 4. He comments:

fallacia [...] putatur bonum esse quod malum est aut quod malum est minus malum esse quam sit. Quod est peccatum ignorancie, de quo magister: *Ignorans ignorabitur.* [1 Cor. 14:38] Quod quidem in filiis Adam dum in presenti seculi tenebris agunt creberrimum est. Unde et in Leuitico [Lev. 4] ad expianda huiusmodi ignorancie peccata cuique tam sedulo sacrificiorum medicina adhibetur. Siue peccauerit anima, siue turba filiorum Israel, siue princeps uel sacerdos Et hinc manifeste colligitur quod cum supra dixit: *Non timebis a timore nocturno* [Ps. 90:5] et cetera. Magis quam temptacionum temptancium uel temptatorum diuersitas numerando distinxit.

Uel quod iusto dicitur *super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis* et cetera Perinde est ac si iusto spondeatur quod nec uenenosa nec seuera ipsi nocitura sint. Unde scriptum est: *In nomine meo demonia eicient* [Matt. 7:22] et cetera que iustis in illa euangelii serie promissa sunt. (113rb)

He seems to understand *filiis Adam* not according to the rabbinic tradition as demons but as human beings who are possessed by them. This fits in with Paul's typology of Christ as the new Adam, who delivers humankind from sin. Herbert's reference to 2 Cor. 2:11 *lest Satan should take advantage of us; for we are not ignorant of his devices* is also reminiscent of

Ps. 26 (27):8 in which he supports his interpretation that David is speaking on behalf of God by citing the previous verse: *Now whom you forgive anything, I also forgive. For if indeed I have forgiven anything, I have forgiven that one for your sakes in the presence of Christ.*

Another passage in which he further develops well-known Christian exegetical connections with Paul is Psalm 39 (40):7-9. The *Hebraica* reads:

Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti; aures autem perfecisisti mihi holocaustum et pro peccato non postulasti

Sacrifice and oblation you did not desire; but you have pierced ears for me. Burnt offering and sin offering you did not require.

Herbert's most important revision is that of the generic *sacrificium* to the more specific *victimam*. In accordance with, among other sources, Cassiodorus and the Gloss, he refers to Paul's inclusion of those verses in Hebrews 10:5-6. Drawing on Leviticus Herbert then defines at length the different types of Hebrew sacrifice:

Hunc et duos qui subsequuntur⁴⁵ psalmi uersiculos magister in Epistula ad Hebreos super reprobacione sacrificiorum legalium in regis et saluatoris nostri Messie aduentu interpretatur. Magister enim de Messia loquens uersiculos istos inducit sic: *Ideo ingrediens mundum dicit hostiam et oblationem [Heb. 10:5] et cetera. Quod hic uictima, ibi dicitur hostia. Et distinguntur in hac psalmi serie quatuor sacrificiorum genera, scilicet: Uictima uel hostia, oblationem, holocaustum et pro peccato.*

Et est uictima siue hostia de animatis. Quod ipsum nomen uictime indicat. Nam a consuetudine Hebreorum uictima a uinciendo dicitur. Quia uinctum adducebatur animal primo ad hostium atri, post ad hostium templi. Unde hostia dicitur sine aspiracione sicut et uictima. Secundum gentiles uero hostia cum aspiracione ab hostibus uictiis dicitur quam tunc offerebant quam eciam et a uictis uictimam appellabant. Secundum quod eciam Hebraice dicitur *zeuach*, quod sonat laniacio. Est igitur hostia siue uictima: de animatis; oblacio: de aliis, scilicet de materia sicca. Ut de simila, pane, thure. Et hec proprie dicebatur oblacio uel munus. Hebraice uero: *minaha*, quod sonat munus. Et erat uictima oblacio dignior.

Notandum uero quod cum nomen uictime uel hostie ad omne sacrificium de animalibus generale sit, hic tamen restringitur. Ut uocet nunc uictimam talem, scilicet uictimam que fiebat pro pace seu pro graciaram actione propterea quia sequitur holocaustum et pro peccato non petisti. Alioquin si nomen uictime generaliter prius acciperetur omne sacrificium quid de animalibus fiebat includeret tam holocaustum quam pro peccato. Et ita de holocausto et pro peccato post

⁴⁵ Emendated from *subsequuntur*.

inconcinne supporteret. Sed oblacionis nomen generaliter accipit, non restringit; siue fuerit de sicca materia quod sicut iam diximus proprie oblacio dicebatur. (40va/b)

Having pointed out that *victima* here is not a generic term for live sacrifice but is restricted to the notion of peace or mercy offering only, he reflects the Christian tradition originating with Paul on Hebrews that under the New Covenant ritual sacrifice has become irrelevant. He underscores the crucial significance of Christ's passion as the ultimate sacrifice by drawing attention to the internal hierarchy between the four kinds of sacrifice mentioned:

Et ita uictime et oblacionis nomine omne quod Domino offerri solet siue de animatis intelligit. Et ea in Messie aduentu ab ipso reprobata dicit. Omne inquam quod offerebatur preter holocaustum et pro peccato de quibus mox adicit quod etiam ipsa licet in lege maiora et digniora non curauerit.

Hoc enim attendendum quod enumerans quatuor sacrificiorum genera gradatim ascendat. Prius ponens quod minus dignum. Ut uictimam inde quod maius, scilicet oblacionem; post quod adhuc maius, scilicet holocaustum. Demum uero quod maximum et peccatori plus omnibus necessarium, scilicet pro peccato. Ac si dicat psalmista Domino. Nec qui minora in lege erant sacrificia uoluisti, nec que maiora. Ita quod etiam illud homini tam necessarium pro peccato sacrificium non postulaueris, eo ipso significante Domino quod ipsemet qui uenerat, mundo pro peccato postea futurus erat. Secundum quod scriptum est: *Eum qui non nouerat peccatum: pro nobis peccatum fecit* [2 Cor. 5:21]. (40vb)

His final quote of 2 Cor. 5:21: *For He made him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in him*, forms the culmination of an exegesis which covers an almost self-explanatory intertextual link. Yet, by including a semantic definition of *victima*, *oblacio*, *holocaustum* and *pro peccato*, partly based on the Hebrew, and by placing these words in a wider ritual context, Herbert roots that link into the *littera* of the verse. In this way he reaffirms and sophisticates the relationship between Ps. 39 (40):7 and Paul. He might have been influenced by the hymn *victima paschali laudes* which was part of the Easter liturgy at that time.⁴⁶

Two overlapping themes recurrent in Herbert's borrowings from Paul are those of vanity and idolatry. For example, earlier in Psalm 39 (40) we find verse 5 translated as:

⁴⁶ *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 54. 2.1, ed. by Clemens Blume and H.M. Bannister (Leipzig: Reislander, 1915), pp. 12-13.

Beatus uir qui posuit Dei confidenciam suam et non est auersus declinans mendacii

while the *Hebraica* has:

Beatus uir qui posuit Domini confidenciam suam: et non est auersus superbias
pompasque mendacii

Both the Jewish and the Christian exegetical tradition interpret this verse as a warning against idolatry. In his modification of *pompasque* to *declinans* he follows Rashi's on כִּזְבַּר רְשָׁטִי [and the followers of falsehood]:

those who turn aside [*hassotim*] from the path of virtue to the falsehood of idolatry.⁴⁷

Herbert's comments:

Quod per subaudicionem legendum sic: declinans, scilicet a uia recta et sequens subaudi mendacium, id est ydola et falsa mundi bona. Sunt quidam qui habent ad superbias pompasque mendacii, id est qui non est auersus ita ut sequeretur superbias et pompas mendacii, id est ydola superbe facta et pompose. Que nomine mendacii frequenter significantur eo quod nichil sint. Unde et Hebraice dicuntur *elil* quod sonat nichil. Unde magister *ydolum nichil est* (1 Cor. 8:4; (10:19). (40va)

He correctly mentions that the Hebrew noun אֵלִיל [worthlessness, nothingness] is often used in the context of idolatry; it occurs in that sense in Psalms 95 (96):4 and 96 (97):7, and is on both occasions given in the *Hebraica* and the *Psalterium* as *idola*. Herbert could have borrowed the translation of אֵלִיל as *nichil* from Jerome or Peter Lombard, or have come across it while learning Hebrew.⁴⁸ By first establishing the relationship between *mendacii*, *elil* and *nichil*, his reference to Paul on 1 Corinthians (*Therefore concerning the eating of things offered to idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is no other God but one*) is only a logical transition. In a procedure similar to that on verse 7 of this psalm, demonstrated above, Herbert has here created a link which lends validity to the Hebrew reading *elil* within Christian exegesis and which adds a literal dimension to Paul's statement. On a text-critical level Herbert's remark about the

⁴⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 192 (English) and p. 20 (Hebrew).

Hebraica's reading, *Sunt quidam qui habent ad superbias pompasque*, suggests that he is not the first nor the only Christian scholar to suggest a variant translation of this phrase.

Another verse with vanity and idolatry as its subject matter is Psalm 138 (139):20, which Herbert translates as:

uel elati sunt
 Qui amicantur tibi scelerate eleuauerunt frustra aduersarii tui,
 For they are pleasant to you wickedly, your enemies elevate (you) in vain

substituting thereby amicantur for the *Hebraica*'s contradicunt and eleuauerunt for its elati sunt.

Qui, scilicet uiri sanguinum, amicantur uel contradicunt tibi o Deus; amicantur dicit pro hiis qui labiis honorant Deum cum cor longe sit. Uel pro ydolatriis dicit qui quasi ex deuocione et amore rememorantes Dei nomina in quo amicari Deo uidebantur ipsa tamen in ydola commutabant. Unde et scelerate amicabantur Deo. Quod Dei solius est dantes idolo. De quibus magister. *Et mutauerunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis [Rom. 1:23]*. Et isti sunt qui Deo amicantur scelerate uel qui contradicunt tibi. Idem sensus. Sic enim amicientes contradicunt eleuauerunt aduersarum tui eleuauerunt, scilicet te uel nomen tuum, frustra quia ad uanitatem, id est ad ydolum, honorandum. Confitebantur enim Deum omnipotentem, iustum, fortem, misericordem et huiusmodi sed hec que Dei erant dabant ydolo. Unde et amicabantur Deo scelerate et eleuabant nomen ipsius frustra. Uel elati sunt, id est superbierunt contra te. aduersarii tui frustra. Sed eleuauerunt magis congruit. (153rb)

Herbert's translation of *amicantur scelerate* for *יאמרך למזמה* [they speak to you with false intent] and of *eleuauerunt frustra* for *נשא לשוא* [(they are) using/ elevating (you) for nothing] presents 'God's adversaries' as former true believers who still pretend to worship God but who have in their hearts become idolators. This element of hypocrisy is lacking in the *Hebraica* readings *contradicunt tibi* and *elati sunt*. Yet it is through his interpretation of this verse as a portrayal of apostates and hypocrites that Herbert is able to connect it smoothly with Paul in Romans 1:23: *And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man and of birds, and of fourfooted beasts and of creeping things.*

⁴⁸ Jerome, *Lib. nom. heb.*, PL 23: 801; Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos davidicos*, Psalm 95. PL 191: 884.

d. Paul vs the litteratores

Herbert does not just refer to Paul to justify or complement Jewish exegesis; he also occasionally uses him as ammunition against rabbinic interpretations. One example is Psalm 42 (43):3, which Herbert translates as:

Mitte lucam tuam et ueritatem tuam; ipsa deducunt me et introducent ad montem sanctum tuum et ad tabernacula tua

Send forth your light and your truth; they have conducted me, and brought me unto your holy hill, and into your tabernacles.

Within Christian exegesis this verse is taken as a prophecy of either Christ or the Church. Midrash Tehillim interprets 'light' and 'truth' as metaphors for the prophet Elijah and the Messiah respectively, whereas Rashi understands these images the other way around.

Herbert contests the rabbinic view of this verse containing a reference to Elijah:

Quasi ut redimar mitte lucem tuam, scilicet Messiam qui bene luci comparatur sicut supra scriptum est: *Quam apud te est ductus uite et in lumine tuo uidemus lumen* [Ps. 35 (36):10]. Et magister: *Qui cum splendor glorie*. Et ueritatem tuam. hoc idem de Messia patens per quem missum Dei promissa sunt completa. Unde et Dei ueritas dicitur ipsa, scilicet lux tua et ueritas tua que tum in subsistenti unum sint; unus scilicet Christus propter appellacionum tamen diuersitatem pluraliter dicit: ipsa. Et quia ipse appellaciones uarie et si non in subsistenti tamen in effectibus uariant. Ex alio enim competit regi Messie nomen lucis et ex alio nomen ueritatis sicut ipse Deus ex alio dicitur iustus et ex alio misericors. Cum tum in subsistenti, id est in ipsa Dei natura, idem sit iusticia quod misericordia et misericordia quod iusticia idem. Sed de hoc alias.

Hebreorum uero litteratores hoc de Helie missione quem expectant interpretantur. Iuxta quod Israeli per prophetam promittit Dominus dicens: *Ecce ego mittam nobis Heliam prophetam antequam ueniat dies Domini magnus et cetera* [Mal. 4:5]. Uerum si secundum litteratorem Helias hic intelligitur, necesse est secundum littere uersus consequenciam ut Helyam fateatur Dei lucem et Dei ueritatem. Quod nisi emphatice quin potius nisi apostatice de homine paro dici potest. (45ra)

Herbert disagrees with two aspects of the rabbinic exposition of this verse: first, that 'light' and 'truth' here apply to two different figures and, second, that one of those figures would be a mere prophet (Elijah). Through his quotation of Hebrews 1:3 *He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power.*

When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, he draws attention to the variety of names and virtues used to denote Christ, thereby demonstrating that it is he who is meant by both 'light' and 'truth'. Since Paul's verse is part of a longer passage describing Christ's superiority over the angels and prophets it also serves to unhinge the exclusive nature of the link between these words Elijah.

Another psalm on which Herbert disputes the Jewish tradition with Paul is 104 (105):15

Nolite tangere christos meos et prophetas meos nolite affligere
Touch ye not my anointed and do no evil to my prophets

After explaining according to the historical sense that these are the words God spoke to Pharaoh and Abimelech in Gen.12:17 and 20:18⁴⁹, he argues that משיחִי [my anointed ones/ *christos meos*] should be understood as both 'anointed' and as 'Christians':

Quod uero dicit christos meos pretereundum non est. Iam enim ante Christum: Abraham, Ysaac, Iacob et si qui eorum similes ne dicam Christiani sed et christi erant. Uncti sicut et Christus noster oleo non uisibili sed inuisibili. De quo supra: *Dilexisti iusticiam* et cetera [Ps. 44 (45):8]. Uncti igitur erant isti oleo inuisibili, id est graciaram plenitudine repleti. Unde et bene christi dicuntur. Sed quia pro modo perfectionis humane ita graciaram plenitudine repleti sunt quod de plenitudine acceperunt, datum est enim eis ad mensuram; conferit quod sic fuerint christi quod eciam Christiani. Et ita uelit nolit litterator fatebitur, nisi hic littere proprietati renunciaret, quod et ante Christi nostri aduentum Christiani tunc fuerint. Christus uero noster non de plenitudine sed ipsam graciaram accipiens plenitudinem nequaquam secundum uerbi proprietatem Christianus dici debet sed ipse Christus. Reliqui uero ita christi quod et Christiani. (125ra)

As an example of someone who was anointed with invisible oil he gives Cyrus, who in Isaiah 45:1 is also referred to as *christus* because he delivered the Israelites from captivity. He then elaborates on the concept of spiritual anointment:

Cum apud gracios reges faceret sola impositio diadematis quemadmodum apud Hebreos uisibile sacramentum unctionis. Ex hiis igitur que prophete locuti sunt manifeste habemus quod in Iudeis et eciam in gentibus illa qua reges spirituales

⁴⁹ These cross references also occur in Midrash Tehillim; see *Midrash on Psalms*, transl. by William G. Braude, 2 vols, Yale Judaica Series, 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), I, 181-82.

inuisibiliter inunguntur: unctio inuisibilis et spiritualis est. Pariter secundum consequenciam circumcisio erit spiritualiter, sabbatum spirituale, sacrificia spiritualia. Et ita singulis enumeratis: lex tota spiritualis. Unde et magister. *Scimus inquit quia lex spiritualis est [Rom. 7:14]*. Necesse igitur et ex hiis ut legis obseruator spiritualis sit. Contra carnalem legis litteratorem hec loquor qui de spiritu ad legis carnalia me compellit cum spiritus sine carne et sine spiritu caro uiuere non potest. Et hoc pretereundum non est quod istum hic in psalmo Christorum, id est unctorum, locum Hebreorum litteratores tanquam inuncti aride nimis exponant, nulla hic expressim nec inuisibilis nec uisibilis unctionis mericionem facientes. Sed sic Nolite tangere christos meos, id est, meos magnos quos magnos reputo dicit Dominus. Dicunt enim quod unctionis nomen magnitudinem in scriptura et Dominum notet. (125ra/b)

In this passage Herbert includes both the literal interpretation of *Christus*/משיח as *unctus* [anointed] and the rabbinic one of משיח as a reference to the patriarchs, denoting here greatness rather than real anointment.⁵⁰ Whereas he follows the rabbinic exposition of משיח as referring to the patriarchs, he dismisses their understanding of the word as *magnos meos* [my great ones], considering it to be a deliberate move to avoid a messianic interpretation. The starting point of his exegesis is the literal interpretation of משיח as [anointed]. Via the translation of משיח as *Christus* he claims that the word should cover the notion *Christianus* as well, in which case it includes all those who lived under the spiritual law whether before or after Christ. This argument is founded upon Paul's theory in Romans on Christ's new, spiritual law, as opposed to the Jews old 'carnal' law, which has rendered sacraments such as animal sacrifice, physical circumcision and traditional observance of the sabbath irrelevant.

Herbert's two references to Jewish grammarians, which could be aimed at written as well as oral sources, namely *et ita uelit nolit litterator fatebitur: nisi hic littere proprietati renunciaret* and *contra carnalem legis litteratorem hec loquor qui de spiritu ad legis carnalia me compellit*, shows that he felt challenged by their views. His quotation of Paul in Romans 7:14, *we know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin*, seems to serve as both an admittance of and a defense against this challenge. Yet his strongest argument against these Jewish sources is his allegation that by denying the word

⁵⁰ Braude, *Midrash*, II, 182; Rashi, *Parshandata: the Commentary of Raschi on the Prophets and Hagiographs*, ed. by I. Maarsen, 3 vols (Amsterdam and Jerusalem: Hertzberger and Central Press, 1930-36), III, 98.

משׁיח its meaning of ‘anointed’ they are stripping it of its literal sense and are thus themselves distorting Hebrew scripture.⁵¹ I will return to this passage in Chapter 5.

Herbert uses Paul in Romans on another passage assessing the lot and purpose of the Jewish people. In 13 (14):7

Quis dabit ex Syon salutem Israel? Quando reduxerit Dominus captiuitatem populi sui exultabit Iacob et letabitur Israel

Who shall give out of Sion the salvation of Israel? When the Lord shall have turned away the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad

He comments:

Hoc testimonio contra Iudeos magister utitur ut ostenderet ipsis ex ipsis salutem fore. Dicit enim quod cecitas ex parte contigit in Israel donec plenitudo gencium intraret et sic omnis Israel saluus fieret. Sic scriptum est. *Ueniet ex Syon qui eripiet et auertat impietatem a Iacob* [Jes. 59:20; Rom. 11:26]. Hoc est quod hic sub interrogacione legitur: *Quis ueniens ex Syon*, id est ex Iudeis, dabit salutem Israel. Quia aliquis erit scilicet Messias. Et tunc: quando Dominus per eum reduxerit et cetera. Sed queri potest de qua captiuitate populi reducenda per illum qui ueniet ex Syon, id est per regem nostrum Messiam; loquatur hic psalmus an de captiuitate actuali an de spirituali. Et potest dici quod de utraque et de actuali siue corporali qua nunc per terras dispersi sunt. Et opprimuntur ubique et de spirituali per Messiam reducentur quando sicut alibi propheticè psalmus testatur: *conuertentur ad uesperam et famem patientur ut canes* [Ps. 58 (59): 15 (14)]. Ad quod et magister sicut supra posuimus hoc psalmi testimonio usus est. (16rb/va)

Interestingly, this reference to Paul on Romans 11 forms the final paragraph of a wider comment which predominantly follows Rashi’s interpretation of this psalm as a prophecy on Nebuchadnezzar and his son Belshazzar and, in the case of verse 5, on the Judaeen King Jeconiah.⁵² Whereas Herbert states at the beginning and end of his commentary that the psalm should be understood as about the Jews, he still makes the effort to include Rashi’s explanations faithfully and almost in full, without dismissing or attacking them. This suggests a genuine interest in Jewish literal and historical exegesis from his part that went

⁵¹ This is reminiscent of the early rabbinic saying that ‘no text can be deprived of its *peshat*’, with *peshat* understood as ‘context’; see Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 5; David Weiss Halivni, *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 25.

⁵² Gruber, *Rashi*, pp. 95-96 (English) and p. 7 (Hebrew).

beyond the desire to modify the *Hebraica*, to lend additional support to the Christian tradition, or to polemicise. I will again discuss this passage further in the next chapter.

e. Herbert on the Fence?

There are two passages in which the Hebrew/ Jewish tradition and Paul lead into diametrically opposed directions. One is psalm 67 (68): 19, already discussed above, which also occurs in Paul in Ephesians 4:8 in a slightly altered form. The Masoretic text has:

עלית למרום שבית שבי לקחת מתנות באדם ואף סוררים
לשכן יה אלהים

When you ascended on high, you led captives in your train; you received gifts from/ for men, even from the rebellious that you, Lord God, might dwell there,

which Herbert translates as:

Eleuasti in excelsum captiuasti captiuitatem, accepisti dona in homine; insuper et non credentes habitare Dominum Deum.

The stumbling block is the third main verb, which in the Masorah is לקחת [you received], but which appears in Ephesians as ἔδωκεν [he gave]. According to the Jewish as well as the Christian tradition this verse describes a central event in their respective religious histories. Midrash Tehillim and Rashi understand it as a reference to Moses' reception of the Torah on Mount Sinai, and its later distribution to the people.⁵³ Paul re-interprets the verse as a reference to Christ's ascension and his bestowal of grace among the people.

Herbert explains Paul's altered version first:

Qui ergo prius legem dedit: postea de uirtutum suarum thesauro dona accepit: ad legem perficiendam distribuenda hominibus. Et hoc est quod magister apostolica autoritate uerbum commutans si uerbi commutati sensum declamamus: dicit *dedit dona hominibus*. Istud enim accipe sicut magister aperte exprimit dare est secundum quod et nos iam explanauimus. Uidetur autem de hiis presertim hic loqui psalmus qui ante legem littere sub lege nature: Dei unius cultores erant; sed lege data ad ipsam sine gracia perficiendam inualide sine qua lex sicut magister docet iram operatur. Quam et propter transgressionem posita perhibet. De hiis igitur ante legem ueris Dei cultoribus loquitur: maxime cum distinguendo subiungat [marg. gloss: Gal. 3:19 *Quid igitur lex*]. (73va)

⁵³ Braude, *Midrash*, I, 545-46; Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 304 (English), p. 33 (Hebrew).

With his quote of Galatians (*What purpose then does the law serve? It was added because of transgressions, till the Seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was appointed through angels by the hand of a mediator*) he introduces the notion that the Old Law revealed to Abraham and Moses was only temporary. This leads him to a literal explanation of the verse according to the *Gallicana*, which here more closely reflects the Masoretic text, in a comment based on Rashi:⁵⁴

[...] Uel aliter iuxta litteram que in alia habetur edicione: Ascendisti in altum et cetera. Et loquitur secundum litteratorem psalmus ad Moysen sicut prius ad Deum de Moyse de quo manifeste habetur quod in montem ad Deum ascendit. Sicut scriptum est. *Moyses autem ascendit ad Deum [Exo 19:3]*. Quod uero psalmus adicit captiuasti captiuitatem accepisti dona et cetera. De Moyse itidem intelligendum non quia ipse fecerit sed quia per ipsum a Domino factum sit ut in lectionem precedenti expositum est. (73va/b)

When both exegeses have been set out he tackles the problem of Paul's apparent deviation from the *Hebraica veritas*.

Minime tamen pretereundum quod iste psalmi uersiculus ab ecclesiasticis ad regis nostri Messie ascensionem referatur. Unde et a magistro inducitur sic. Propter quod dicit: *Ascendens in altum captiuam duxit captiuitatem; dedit dona hominibus [Eph.4:8]*. Uerum magister ad probandum quod intendit uerba aliter quam in Hebreo sint apostolica ut iam predicum est auctoritate commutat. Maxime in eo quod dicit: *dedit*, cum iuxta ueritatem Hebraicam: *accepit* legendum sit, nisi quod sicut iam supra ostensum est eadem hic utriusque uerbi potest esse sententia. Salua igitur sit sicut hic et in aliis ecclesiastica interpretacio. Quod nos ab Hebreorum litteratoribus seu aliorum benedictis accepimus sicut eciam sedenti michi interdum reuelauerit Dominus quod ad psalmorum sensum pertineat litteralem hoc absque ecclesiastice interpretacionis preiudicio aliis communico. (73vb)

Although Herbert states clearly that Paul possessed the authority to change the meaning of the verse, he also concedes that the *littera* of the text should be respected. He reconciles the two versions by interpreting their *sententia* as the same, explaining that Christ has *accepted* gifts from God in order to *distribute* them among humankind:

Accepisti in qua dona tua de sursum in homine distribuenda subaudi ut uidelicet post legem datam dona tua celestia interius, scilicet in cordibus hominum diuideres. (73va)

⁵⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 304 (English) and p. 33 (Hebrew).

A second example of divergence of opinion between Paul and Herbert's *litteratores* concerns the authorship of Psalms 89 (90) to 100 (101). While the rabbinic tradition usually attributes this group to Moses, Paul in Hebrews 4 treats Psalm 94 (95) as composed by David: *He designates a certain day, saying in David, 'Today,' after such a long time, as it has been said: 'Today, if you will hear his voice, do not harden your hearts' [Ps. 94 (95):7-8].* Herbert comments:

Undecim psalmi isti qui sunt usque ad centesimum, scilicet *miser ricordiam et iudicium* secundum Hebreorum litteratores sunt psalmi Moysi ab ipso Moyse editi. Quod sicut Dominus ex hoc habetur quia nullus eorum prescribitur uel nomine Dauid, uel nomine Asaph seu alicuius aliorum. Unde et tradunt quod ille cuius nomen in hoc titulo ponitur, scilicet Moyses auctor fuit omnium.

Et quidem posset ista eorum credi assercio nisi quia magister ad probandum quod intendit in Epistula ad Hebreos de nonagesimo quarto psalmo testimonium adducens testimonii auctoritatem de psalmo illo sumptam non alii attribuit quam Dauid, dicens sic: *Quam ergo super est quosdam introire in illam et hii quibus prioribus annunciatum est non introierunt propter incredulitatem: iterum terminat diem quamdam hodie in Dauid dicendo post tantum temporis [Heb. 4:7-8].* (109vb)

This issue could prove problematic for Herbert, since elsewhere in the *Psalterium* he explicitly supports the theory, favoured by the Jewish tradition and by Jerome, of multiple authorship.⁵⁵ However, as is the case in the previous example, regarding this matter he seeks to harmonise the opposing views. Whereas he stresses that Paul's authority, which naturally supersedes that of the *litterator*, demands respect, he does not discard the Jewish tradition altogether:

Unde quia ex magistro quicquid litterator fingat habetur quod psalmus ille sit Dauid merito et titulum habebit Dauid nomine prescriptum, nisi forte quis Hebreorum assercioni super horum undecim psalmorem auctore assenciens dicat nonagesimum quartum psalmum a magistro attribuit Dauid, non quod Dauid eius auctor fuerit sed ob auctoritatem precipuam. Qua sicut nos iam ab inicio dixisse meminimus omnes psalmi quorumcumque auctor fuerunt attribuuntur Dauid. Unde et omnes simul

⁵⁵ He explains his view in the Prologue and in Ps. 71 (72): 19-20:

Si uero dixerimus complete, id est 'finite sunt oraciones Dauid' secundum quod in Hebreo una est dictio, scilicet *colu*, necesse ut dicamus psalmos quorum auctor fuit ipse Dauid non simul nec ex ordine in psalmi uolumine digestos sed dispersim et uage, aliis interpositis quorum ipse auctor non fuit.

The attribution of the above psalms to Moses occurs in Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12: 1056b; Jerome, *Ep. ad Cyprianum*, PL 22: 1167; *Contra Rufinum*, 13, PL 23: 408; see also Raphael Loewe, 'The Mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England: Herbert of Bosham and Earlier Scholars', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 17 (1953), 225-49 (p. 243).

centum quinquaginta psalmi dicuntur esse dauitici. Iste uero psalmus qui nunc premanibus est secundum assercionem Moysi est. (110ra)

In the light of his overall stance on the authorship of the Psalms it would be inconsistent of Herbert to reject the Jewish opinion on Psalm 94 (95). The final paragraph of his comment shows that, on the contrary, he agrees with it. Yet, at the same time he diminishes the importance of the actual identity of the author of the Psalms by stating that, whoever their author is, the Psalms are generally, and with apostolic authority, attributed to David.

In her first article on the *Psalterium* Smalley points out that Herbert, when highlighting contradicting views between Jewish and Christian sources, often does not reach a final conclusion. One of her examples, which also includes a reference to Paul, is Psalm 115 (116), which Herbert, following Rashi, interprets historically as relating to David's flight from Absalom and encounter with Mephibosheth's servant Siba (2 Sam. 15-16). On the final verses,

Uota mea Domino reddam in conspectu omnis populi; in atriis domus Domini in medio tui Ierusalem Alleluia

I will pay my vows to the Lord in the sight of all his people. In the courts of the house of the Lord, in the midst of you, O Jerusalem. Hallelujah.

Herbert comments:

Nos sensum psalmi prosecuti sumus litteralem. Uerumptamen psalmum illud ad fidei confessionem spiritualiter pertinere manifeste magister docet, primum psalmi uersiculum inducens et dicens sic: *habentes autem eundem spiritum fidei sicut scriptum est: Credidi propter quod locutus sum* [2 Cor. 4:13; Ps.115:1]. Et nota quod secundum Hebreos in hoc psalmo *alleluia* psalmi finis sit, non titulus subsequentis. (135rb)

With his inclusion of Paul on 2 Cor. he seems to want to remind the reader of the Psalm's spiritual interpretation, or at least point out that he is aware of Paul's understanding of the verse as spiritual. Smalley counts this passage among a number of examples, including that of Ps. 67 (68):19 discussed above, demonstrating Herbert's confusion and indecisiveness when confronted with contradictions between the two traditions. What she believes to be

the ambiguity here and in Ps. 67 (68) is Herbert's failure to state his preference for either the Jewish literal or the Christian spiritual exposition.⁵⁶

Whereas I agree with her that he tends to be cautious in his introduction of Jewish exegetical material which could be read as undermining ecclesiastical authority, I do not believe that this is the result of confusion on Herbert's part. Throughout the *Psalterium*, Herbert focuses mainly on the literal sense of scripture as explained in Hebrew sources. However, rather than treating the literal sense as a means for exposing ecclesiastical errors, his main aim seems to be to clarify the Psalms text itself and to enrich its existing body of Christian interpretation by highlighting its much-overlooked foundational layer, the *littera*. Thus, when referring to Paul's apparently contrasting exegeses on Ps. 67 (68):19 and 115 (116): 18-19 Herbert was not shying away from making a daring decision but instead believes to have found in both passages a meaning which is internally consistent on different levels. In Ps. 67 (68):19 he considers the *sententia* of the verse and of Paul's variant translation to be the same, even though he deems the *Hebraica* reading to be the correct one according to the Hebrew truth, and in Ps. 115 (116) he seems to regard Rashi's historical and Paul's spiritual interpretation to be complementary. Yet, since his interest in Jewish exegesis seems to be focused on retrieving the literal sense of scripture (*littera*) and since his references to Paul mainly concern christological and moral statements, Smalley's views raise the question how he establishes the connection not just between these two religious traditions but also between these two levels of interpretation. On a wider scale we need to further explore Herbert's definition of the literal and other senses of scripture, his method of exegesis and his assessment the relationship between Jewish and Christian strategies for categorising the different layers of scriptural interpretation.

The analysis of Herbert's treatment of Paul's Epistles in relationship to his use of Jewish sources leads to four main conclusions. First, Herbert appeals to Paul's authority to either justify the inclusion of closer readings of the Masoretic text into the Christian domain or to reject a Jewish interpretation. Second, this building of exegetical bridges between modified translations from the Hebrew and passages from Paul results in a strengthening of ties between the Psalms and Paul's Epistles which, third, feeds in turn the validity of Paul's theology. In the fourth place, Herbert dares to disagree with Paul albeit

⁵⁶ Smalley, 'Commentary', pp. 58-60.

very cautiously, when he is convinced the latter's view differs from the *Hebraica veritas*. Overall we can state that, by using Paul to support and validate his commentary on the Psalms according to the *Hebraica veritas*, Herbert seeks to prove that his interpretations not just conform to Christian orthodoxy but also confirm it.

Chapter Five:

Herbert *ad litteram*: Conclusion

1. Herbert's Knowledge and Assessment of Hebrew and of Jewish Sources

From the findings set out in chapters one to four it has become clear that Herbert of Bosham's *Psalterium cum commento*, while part of an already existing tradition in its choice of biblical text for revision (Jerome's *Hebraica*) and in its exegetical approach (a literal exposition of scripture), is as far as we know unique in its *combination* of those two strands of scholarship with one another. Two fundamental aspects underlying Herbert's successful application of the literal sense of scripture on the Psalms are his extraordinary proficiency in Hebrew and his unusual familiarity with rabbinic material in general and with Rashi in particular.

As I have set out in Chapters Two and Three, his knowledge of the language extends over Hebrew grammar, vocabulary, some lexicology based upon the *Mahberet Menahem* and the *Tesubot Dunash*, and elements of textual criticism of the Masoretic text such as variant readings and *ketib qere*. Yet we should be careful not to judge Herbert's linguistic skills by modern standards. Compared with twenty-first-century students of Hebrew, Herbert's grasp of the language might seem patchy. On the one hand he is perfectly able to explain the difference between the causative (*hifil*) and the 'plain' (*qal*) active verb form of זָכַר in Psalm 86 (87):4, to translate Hebrew verbal nouns by their closest Latin equivalents, namely gerunds, or to identify variant interpretations of the adverb לַמַּעַן in Psalm 50 (51); on the other hand it is questionable whether he has, for example, a full notion of the basic Hebrew idiom of the so-called construct-chain or could systematically conjugate a Hebrew verb. Similarly, it is likely that his lexical horizon was defined by the vocabulary he needed in order to read the Psalms and to consult Rashi with the help of an interpreter.

On a second level it would be contrived to try and divorce the extent of his Hebrew knowledge from the type of learning tools he used and from the help he received from his teacher(s). In the *Psalterium* we possess an, at the moment, unique case study of a twelfth-

century Hebraist revising the Psalms with a variety of reference aids from both Christian and Jewish origin. Herbert is the only scholar we know whose work bears undeniable influence of a Hebrew-Latin psalter of which a witness, in the form of Scaliger 8, is still extant. Herbert is also our only attestation of a Christian scholar at the time who quotes Rashi verbally with such frequency, refers to the *Mahberet* or to Dunash, or absorbs *le'azim* from Rashi and from Hebrew-French glossaries into his own translations.

Herbert's rather functional knowledge of Hebrew which seems to be so defined by his reference tools and by the directions of his teacher(s) raises the question to what extent we can call his individual revisions of the Psalm text 'independent' or 'original'. My discovery of similarities between Herbert's translations and Scaliger 8 in Chapter Two has strongly suggested that he picked up some of the vocabulary and translation techniques from studying one or more bilingual psalters, and his comments on text-critical aspects of the *Hebraica* reveal that he was familiar with an already existing body of variant readings on Jerome's text. His choice of translations borrowed from Rabbinic sources seems to have been guided by directions from his 'loquacious' interpreter.

However, Herbert shows impressive resourcefulness in complementing text-critical skills with his knowledge of Hebrew. By purposefully selecting readings from a variety of Latin witnesses to the *Hebraica*, including at least one Hebrew-Latin psalter, and combining them with translations and interpretations from the Masoretic text by Rashi and other Jewish sources, including at least one oral one, he has produced a revision of the Psalms which, as a whole, is truly original. As a result, instead of marking Herbert as an isolated figure on a lonely mission, I consider him as standing on the crossroads of several contemporary movements, such as interest in the literal sense of scripture and in Christian Hebraism, and an already established scholarly tradition, namely the revision of the Vulgate text, which to some extent had always included reliance on Jewish or Christian Hebraist sources. Within these different intellectual strands he stands out not so much as an innovator but as a scholar who, being more linguistically advanced than his fellow Hebraists, was not just able to continue the work of colleagues such as Andrew of Saint Victor, but could also improve it.

Although Herbert seems to have immersed himself more deeply into the study of Hebrew than any of his peers, he shows but little interest in the theoretical aspects of the

language. He hardly ever refers to Hebrew grammar rules and, unlike some of his contemporaries, never expresses a value judgment on Hebrew as a language. John of Salisbury calls Hebrew 'more natural than other languages' in his *Metalogicon*, and an anonymous *Tractatus de philosophia* considers Hebrew to be 'the only language in which a child expresses itself naturally without any instruction'.¹ Ralph Niger offers a different opinion in his commentary on *Chronicles*; perhaps prompted by frustration about the difficulties encountered while learning Hebrew, he states that vowels are a language's spirit. Since the Hebrew script lacks vowels, it indicates that its speakers (meaning the Jews) lack the ability to interpret Scripture spiritually. This notion of letter and spirit imbedded in language itself was popular during the Middle Ages, as was the one that Hebrew was the mother of all languages.² Herbert, however, seems to be more interested in the practice of Hebrew than in the theories surrounding it.

a. Herbert's General Attitude towards Jewish Sources

Concerning his use of Jewish sources, I have demonstrated in Chapter Three that Herbert consulted Rashi on the Psalms directly and was influenced by Rashi on other biblical books through an annotated commentary or a teacher. This teacher probably also directed him to Midrash Tehillim, to the Talmud, to the Targums and to Menahem ben Saruq, although Herbert must have accessed these works through Rashi as well. I have also been able to show that the term *Gamaliel* covers not just the Talmud but also other rabbinical literature, such as Midrash Tanhuma and Midrash Tehillim. An analysis of Herbert's use of the terms *litterator* and *litteratores* has revealed that these always denote rabbinic sources, never Christian ones. Since Rashi is by far Herbert's most pervasively used authority, the singular *litterator* often, but not in every case, refers to him. *Litterator meus*, for example, should be understood as a reference to a contemporary Jewish teacher.

In the following section I will further examine Herbert's engagement with Jewish sources but will now concentrate on his assessment of Jews and of Judaism. Herbert is

¹ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, PL 199: 835; Gilbert Dahan, 'Une introduction à la philosophie au XIIe siècle: le *Tractatus quidam de philosophia et partibus eius*', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 57 (1982), 155-93 (p. 189).

² G.B. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger: an Introduction to his Life and Works', *Mediaeval Studies*, 2 (1940), 104-36 (pp. 110-11); Deborah Goodwin, 'A Study of Herbert of Bosham's Psalm Commentary (c.1190)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001), p. 66.

eager to point out agreement between the *ecclesiastici* and the *litteratores*. For example, in Psalm 21 (22):30 he reads:

Comederunt et adorauerunt omnes pinguedines terre; ante faciem eius
curuabunt uniuersi qui descendunt in puluerem

All the fat ones of the earth have eaten and have adored: all they that go down to the earth shall fall before him.

and comments that authorities on both religious sides interpret this verse as about the Messiah:

Comederunt omnes, id est comedent hoc tempore redempcionis sub Messia, in quo et Hebrei assenciunt. Et quid comedent omnes pinguedines terre: hoc uere in futuro quando inebriabuntur ab uberate domus Dei. Uerum non sic impii de quibus subdit (26ra)

On other Psalms he remarks that Christian and Jewish texts in fact carry the same message, even though the Jews of his time do not recognise it. On the title of Psalm 71 (72), *Solomoni*, he writes:

Et est psalmus iste ab ecclesiasticis de rege nostro Messia diligenter satis expositus, quem similiter et Hebreorum antiquiores doctores et maiores de Messia interpretati sunt. Uerum litteratores moderni psalmum hunc sicut et plerosque de superdictis, quos et supra notauimus ut sensui ecclesiastico obuiant et nostrum Messiam et scripturis amoueat, super Salomone illo Dauid et Bethsabee filio explanare conati sunt. Et quia nobis ecclesiastica explanacio super psalmum hunc patens est, litteratorum erroneam prosequemur nisi quod non nulla interseremus que iuxta sensum litteralem ecclesiastico sensui nequaquam obuiant sed potius iuuent que prudens et diligens lector mox discernet. (80ra)

His argument that he will pursue the ‘erroneous explanation of the grammarians’ because, as a diligent reader will notice, it in effect supports the ecclesiastical stance, is a clever one. It allows him to incorporate Rashi’s (non-messianic) exposition of this psalm into his own commentary while transferring the responsibility for its correct interpretation unto the shoulders of the reader. It also ties in with the Christian view, based on Augustine, that the Jews in their scriptures blindly preserve the prophecy of Christ and are therefore witnesses to a truth which they themselves do not understand.³

³ Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Cal.: London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 23-65.

In verse 17 of the same psalm Herbert again draws attention to the difference between the Jewish and the Christian interpretation concerning the words *et benedicentur in eo omnes gentes* ('and all nations will be blessed in him'). While the ecclesiastical writers see this phrase as a clear christological prophecy, Rashi firmly expounds it as about King Solomon. Herbert comments:

Et quod dicitur hic: et benedicentur in eo omnes gentes, de Salomone quidem accipiatur, sed non illo sed isto cuius benedictionem cotidie nunc experitur illuminata ecclesia gentium, maledictionem uero synagoga excecata Iudeorum. Multa quidem psalmi huius Salomoni illi aptari possunt. Uerum sicut scripture mox in prophetis maxime et in psalmis non nulla crebro interseruntur que uelit nolit infidus interpres prudentem et diligentem ad sublimiorem mox intelligenciam eleuant, scriptura informante lectorem sic ut eciam in sensu litterali et communi sensus adhuc sublimioris singularitas requiratur. Sicut de usitatis et communibus terre plebis ab exercitatis in hiis aurum se cernitur et de glareis gemme. (82ra)

As in his discussion of the psalm title he admits that the *infidus interpres* (Rashi) of this verse is mistaken in his view but states that, in spite of the latter's attempts to limit the interpretation of 'Salomon' to the biblical historical figure, the discerning reader might still reach a deeper understanding of which 'Salomon' is referred to here.

In Psalm 68 (69):1, Herbert uses the Jewish explanation as a negative example, claiming he will set out Rashi's 'error' in order to make his audience realise how just sound the ecclesiastical interpretation is:⁴

Salua et cetera Psalmus iste de regis nostri Messie passione ab ecclesiasticis expositus patet. Quem litterator interpres infidus Messie odio de populi Israeletici persecutione explanare conatur. Iuxta cuius explanacionem erroneam et nos psalmi dicta prosequamus. Ut ecclesiasticus eo plus sensu ecclesiastico sapiat quo de insulso infidelitatis errore quod degustauerit. (76vb)

⁴ A passage expressing the same sentiments because of its importance in the Christian tradition (see Mt 22:44, Mk 12: 36, Luke 20: 42, Acts 2: 34) is to be found on Psalm 109 (110): 1

Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis. donec ponam inimicos scabellum pedum tuorum. Et quam de Christo prout a Christo et ab ecclesiasticis diligenter satis expositus est. Patet. Psalmi seriem secundum Hebreorum litteratores prosequemur. Ut uideat et audiat ecclesia qualiter uidens non uideat et audiens non audiat nostri temporis synagoga excecata et surda. Et loquitur in hoc psalmo secundum Hebreorum litteratores Dauid de uictoria quam habuit Abraham aduersus reges quatuor.

Two passages in which Herbert seems to include midrashic material without any specific exegetical purpose at all are Psalms 49 (50):10 and, to a minor extent, 22 (23): 3. In 49 (50): 10 Herbert translates and comments:

Mea sunt enim omnia animalia siluarum behemoth in moncium milibus.

Behemoth bestia infinite magnitudinis. [...] Fabulantur hinc montes uero Hebreorum litteratores quod sicut psalmi littera sonare uidetur hic cotidie pascat in montibus mille. Et adiciunt quod eciam cotidie depascat eos. Et adhuc quod diebus singulis miraculose quidem herbarum pascua ipsi ad pascendum renouemur. Et dicunt quod in ultima Israhelis redempcione istum Behemoth parabit Deus in conuiuium omnibus amicis suis ut de eo epulentur et exultent in conspectu Domini. Hec et huius comodi littere sectator uehemens *credat Iudeus, Appella* [Hor. 1 Sat. 5:100], Christianus minime. (53vb/54ra)

He does not have a high opinion of the midrash which the *litteratores* ‘tell’ or ‘make up’ (*fabulantur*) and adds rather dismissively with a pun to Horace that, while a Jew might believe this, a Christian does not at all. It is unclear how we should take his description of this Jew as ‘a fervent follower of the letter’. Does Herbert find it ironic that the Jews, who have the reputation of not being capable of looking further than the letter of scripture, would be prone to believing such fables? Or does he consider this midrash, which is included in Rashi’s commentary as well, as a part, albeit it an irrelevant one, of the *littera* of this verse? I will return to this problem below.

On 22 (23): 2-3:

In pascuis herbarum acclinauit me. Super aquas refectionis enutriuit me

Herbert explains the meaning of the Hebrew equivalent of *pascuis herbarum*:

Et cecinit Daud ut tradunt Hebrei psalmum hunc *iaharharez*, id est in nemore teste. *Iahar* enim Hebraice: nemus; *harez*: testa. Et dicebatur nemus teste: eo quod esset siccum Et propter aque penurias herba carens. Uerum sicut fabulantur nescio tamen si uera fabula dicto psalmo hoc nemus mox herba uestrum est. Unde et hic dicit In pascuis herbarum et cetera. Attamen de hoc nemore teste in historiis nostris expressi quicquam non habemus [...] Quod si uera est Iudeorum fabula de nemore teste, patet sensus litteralis.

Again he treats the etymology in this passage as an additional ‘story’ (*fabula*), yet does not dismiss it altogether (*quod si uera est Iudeorum fabula*) and implies that it does not distort the literal sense of this verse. Since it is an etymological explanation, which he has

borrowed from Rashi, he probably sees it as belonging to the domain of the *littera*. Since these two passages above are not essential to Herbert's exposition of the Psalms and do not provide strong arguments for Christian apologetic or polemical purposes, we can wonder why he included them at all. The most plausible answer appears to be that he was genuinely interested in, if not somewhat bemused by, Jewish biblical exegesis, which prompted him to venture outside the boundaries of what was strictly necessary for his understanding and literal exposition of the Hebrew Psalms.

b. Rashi as Polemical Opponent

There are however several instances where Herbert does enter the polemical domain and where he shows himself deeply frustrated with what he perceives as the inability or unwillingness of his Jewish authorities to understand their own scriptures. This frustration comes to the surface most outspokenly in those psalms which Herbert understands as inherently christological while the explanation offered by Rashi is non-messianic. As Smalley, Goodwin and, to a lesser extent, Cohen have already discussed this issue, I will mention a few examples only.⁵ The first verse of Psalm 2:

למה רגשו גוים ולאמים יהגו־דריק :
Why do the nations rage and the people plot a vain thing?,

which Herbert translates as:

Quare turbate sunt gentes et populi meditare sunt inania

is taken by both the earlier rabbinic and the Christian traditions as a messianic reference. In order to distance himself from the Christian tradition, Rashi however claims that, according to the *peshat*, this verse should be read as a reference to the Philistines:

Our rabbis interpreted the subject of the chapter as a reference to the King Messiah. However, according to its basic meaning and for a refutation of the Christians it is

⁵ Jeremy Cohen, 'Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom', in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to the Reformation*, ed. by Jeremy Cohen (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 310-41 (pp. 320-21); Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 240-53; Smalley, 'A Commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), 29-65 (p. 57); see also Psalms 7: 8, 39(40): 8, 45 (46), 63 (64): 1, 68 (69): 1, 71 (72): 1, 109 (100): 1.

correct to interpret it as a reference to David himself in consonance with what is stated in the Bible 'When the Philisines heard that Israel had annointed David as king over them' (2 Sam. 5:17).⁶

This elicits from Herbert a furious reply:

Dicunt eciam moderni Hebreorum litteratores quod ista psalmi quare turbate et cetera ab antiquis magistris suis super Messia sint explanata. Verum ut ipsimet in fatuis suis expositiunculis peribent malunt his diebus super rege Dauid interpretari. quod dicitur Quare fremuerunt et cetera ne ecclesiastice explanacioni assenciant. Et ut sicut ipsimet scribunt in promptu habentes cui psalmi dicta coaptent ecclesiasticis obloquantur fatuum reuera generacionis praue et peruerse et pertinax odium ueritatis. Qui malunt a propriis magistris suis et auctoritate suorum ueterum dissentire et scientes et prudentes scripturas peruertere nec sensum ecclesiasticum teneant quem tamen antiqui ipsorum magistri tenuerunt. (3va)

He is clearly astounded at Rashi's open and deliberate rejection of his own tradition with the purpose of avoiding any congruence with the Christian reading of this verse. A similar attack from Herbert on Rashi occurs in Psalm 20 (21):1a

יהוה בעוזך ישמח-מלך

O Lord, the king rejoices in your strength

Rashi has:

Our rabbis interpreted it as a reference to the King Messiah, but it is correct to interpret it as a reference to David himself as a retort to the Christians who found in it support for their erroneous beliefs.⁷

Herbert again reacts angrily:

Domine in fortitudine tua letabitur rex

Psalmum ab antiquis sinagoge magistris super Messia interpretatum fuisse sicut ecclesia interpretatur nunc; moderni Hebreorum litteratores contestantur. Uerum ipsi odio regis uiri Messie et ut perhibent disputationis causam super Dauid interpretari conantur. Reuera pertinax et ceca inuidia ueritatis odio manifeste in scripturis sacrilegam falsitatem uidens ut et se et post se multos in infidelitatis errorem mittat. (24rb)

⁶ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 52 (English) and p. 1 (Hebrew).

⁷ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 123 (English) and p. 12 (Hebrew).

In these comments Herbert touches upon a religious problem which is starting to preoccupy Christians towards the end of the twelfth century. Up to that time Christian authors generally assumed that Judaism was a stagnant belief which had lost its relevance with the coming of Christ. During the latter half of the twelfth century, however, possibly aided by intensified contacts with Jewish scholars, they become increasingly aware of developments within Judaism and of the discrepancies between what they understand as 'biblical Judaism' and its contemporary, rabbinical counterpart. In Herbert's case the split runs between an older, messianic, rabbinic tradition and the anti-messianic, more polemical oriented school of literal exegesis developed by Rashi. His judgment on Rashi and his followers, including accusations of stubbornness, conscious distortion of scripture and belligerence, reveals that he considers them not as merely blind and misguided but as positively unwilling to see what in his view is the obvious truth. It also shows that he was familiar enough with the prevailing ideas within French and English Ashkenazi communities to be able to identify this very real Jewish shift away from messianic interpretation.

In a final example on Psalm 15 (16):10

כי לא־תעזב נפשי לשאול לא־תתן חסידך לראות שחת :

because you will not abandon me to the grave, nor will you let your faithful/ holy one see decay

Non enim derelinques animam meam in inferno: nec dabis misericordem tuum uidere corruptionem

Herbert argues that Rashi has cunningly limited the *peshat* of שחת [pit, part of Sheol, decay] in order to be able to apply the verse strictly to David or Abraham and so avoid a messianic interpretation. Instead of reading the word also as 'decay' (*corruptionem*), Rashi understands it as 'pit, Sheol' (*infernum*) only.

Sciendum uero quod ueritatis inimici Hebreorum litteratores non explanant corruptionem sed 'infernum', ut sit littera talis 'nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere infernum'. Si enim nomen corruptionis legeretur, hoc Dauid siue Habraam conuertire non posset quorum corpus in corruptionem descendit. Cum tamen uerbum Hebreum hic positum commune sit et ad corruptionem et ad infernum. Sed litteratores alterie legunt, scilicet nomen inferni ut ad sensum suum uersiculi particulam trahant. Et ne, si nomen corruptionis legeretur, ad Messie

resurrectionem astruendam cogere inuiti. Sed quid uerbum Hebreum ad duo illa equiuocum magis pro corrupcione quam pro fouea uel inferno accipi debeat ex sequenti probatur. [...] Quod illi postea super quod Christi sanguis interpretatus est odio Christi usque ad hos dies peruerterunt. Hoc sicut et alia multa. (18ra)

In his criticisms of Rashi's school of exegesis Herbert resorts to traditional anti-Jewish rhetoric, describing Jews as 'blind' or 'envious', or acting 'out of hatred for Christ'. Yet apart from the use of these stereotypes, which are endemic with Christian authors throughout the Middle Ages, the *Psalterium* stands out in its absence of attacks on Jews *ad hominem*. Herbert criticises Rashi on theological points which constitute crucial differences between Christian and Jewish opinion at the time, just as Rashi openly disputes the christological interpretations of the same psalms a century earlier. In effect, instead of treating these anti-Jewish remarks in Herbert's work as downright condemnations of the Jewish people and as part and parcel of the general *contra Iudeos* sentiment of the time, it would make more sense to consider them in the context of Herbert's wider discussion of Jewish sources.

Throughout his commentary Herbert eagerly and respectfully absorbs Rashi's linguistic and historical interpretations into his own work without, as some of his contemporaries do, dismissing Jewish thought as irrational, evil or steeped in black arts.⁸ Where he inevitably and viciously disagrees with Rashi, his attacks focus on the argument rather than on the Jewish-ness of Rashi, since he often does agree with Rashi's predecessors, the 'older masters of the Hebrews'. To some extent his discussions can be seen as one half of an inter-religious debate, of which Rashi is providing the other half. Herbert's tackling of the views of a real Jewish scholar forms an interesting counterbalance to Gilbert Crispin's and Peter Abelard's dialogues between Christians and imaginary Jews.⁹

⁸ Peter the Venerable *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*, PL 189: 507-650; Peter of Blois, *Contra perfidium Iudeorum*, PL 207: 870; see also Robert Chazan, 'Twelfth-Century Perceptions of the Jews: A Case Study of Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable', in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. by Jeremy Cohen, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), pp. 187-201; Cohen, *Living Letters*, pp. 245-54.

⁹ Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani et anonymi auctoris disputationis Iudei et Christiani continuatio*, ed. by Bernard Blumenkranz, *Stomata Patristica et Mediaevalia*, fasc. 3 (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1956); *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, ed. by Anna Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans, *Auctores Britannici medii aevi*, 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Peter Abelard, *A Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*, transl. by Pierre J. Payer, *Medieval Sources in Translation*, 20 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979).

c. Church and Synagogue

The tone of Herbert's criticism of Jewish exegesis is often one of frustration and of disappointment that the similarities in thought between Jews and Christians cannot be carried through to include also Jewish acceptance of Christ as Messiah. More than once Herbert expresses the wish that his Jewish authorities would understand a verse the way the ecclesiastical writers do. Two passages, also discussed by Goodwin, demonstrate this attitude in particular. On the title of Psalm 87 (88)

uel super
Canticum psalmi filiorum Chore uictori pro choro ad precinendum erudicionem
Eman Ezraite (102vb, 103ra)

A canticle of a psalm for the sons of Core: to the leader, for/ about a choir, to answer understanding of Eman the Ezraite

Herbert explains that according to the rabbinic tradition this psalm is on behalf of the Faithful pining away of love for God. While these Faithful used to be the synagogue, now they are the Church. Eman dictated this psalm to the sons of Korah, who taught it to the Synagogue; from there it was transmitted to the Church (*Et ita psalmus iste per Eman primo deuenit ad filios chore ad synagogam: sicut et nunc per synagogam ad ecclesiam*).

He continues:

Et ex ipso psalmo eciam alii eruditi sunt: primo filii Chore alii, scilicet tota sinagoga, nunc uero ecclesia. Et ita ex eo quod in isto quemadmodum et in plerique aliorum psalmorum titulis ponitur erudicionis uerbum ex qua filii Chore erudiciores facti sunt et etiam ipse Eman cuius tanta fuit sapiencia erudiciores grande et occultatum psalmi huius manifestum declaratur fore misterium.

Quod utinam cum littera sicut ecclesia et sinagoga intelligeret. Nec enim istius que nunc pre manibus est, seu huiusmodi psalmorum siue de captiuitate populi siue de cuius uis hominis peccatoris miseri calamitate, expositio litteralis tante ignorancie nostre tenebras sapiencie sue luce illuminat ut digne propter hoc in psalmi titulo poni mereretur erudicio Eman uel Ethan et istorum uel illorum nisi grande et occultum in eis latens insinuaretur misterium. (103rb)

Eman's ability to explain the mysteries of this psalm concerns the concept of captivity on two levels: first, the Babylonian captivity of the Israelites and, second, the captivity of all human beings in sin. While the Jewish and Christian authors agree on the first, historical,

level, the Synagogue fails to grasp the deeper mysteries of faith which the Church does understand. On 88 (89):6

Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua Domine; et ueritatem tuam in ecclesia sanctorum (106ra)

The heavens shall confess your wonders, O Lord: and your truth in the church of the saints.

Herbert comments:

Nam confitendo filii Dei secundum carnem facti filii Dauid carnis mortem: per medium confessi sunt pariter et eiusdem secundum carnem ex Dauid: carus naturitatem. Si enim Dei et Dauid filius secundum carnem fuit mortuus consequens ut secundum carnem idem fuerit natus. Et est hic secundum sensum litteralem erudicio Ethan quam utinam litterator, qui locum hunc quasi superioribus psalmi non choerentem in expositum preterit, intelligeret ut essent in uno sensu synagoga et ecclesia. (106ra)

He has already set out in his exposition of the title that this psalm is composed on behalf of the Faithful Synagogue. The notion of the Faithful Synagogue (*synagoga fidelis*) has been elaborated upon throughout Christian literature and is generally interpreted on three levels. The term refers, first, to the part of historical Israel which remained true to God. On a historical-allegorical level it includes figures such as Abraham and Moses, who, though living before Christ, are nevertheless considered to be 'proto-Christians' because their virtues and belief in Christ's coming are foreshadowing Christianity. Also allegorically, the term incorporates the Church which has eclipsed the old Synagogue as object of God's love. On an anagogical level the term refers to the righteous believers at the End of Days.¹⁰ As it is Herbert's intention to concentrate on the literal sense of scripture, it seems natural for him to interpret the term *fidelis synagoga* in its literal-historical context, namely as faithful Israel.

In her discussion on Herbert's treatment of the Asaph psalms, which include Psalms 87(88) and 88 (89), Deborah Goodwin has argued that for Herbert the term *fidelis synagoga*, while at the present applying to Christians only, will at the End of Time include

¹⁰ See for example Cassiodorus, *Explanatio in Psalmos*, CCSL, 97 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 440; Bede, *De psalmodum libro exegesis*, Psalm 49, PL 93: 740; Hugh of Saint Victor, *De Scripturis*, Cap. 12, PL 75: 20; Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos*, Psalms 74: 75; 77, PL 191: 697-723.

Jews as well.¹¹ She states that Herbert's rejection of the Jews at present is not final but that he 'seems to suspend judgment on the Jews until the end-time'.¹² She concludes that Herbert's attitude against the Jews is remarkably lenient since he allows for the possibility that 'God's chosen people might, at the end of days, consist of Jews and Christians' and that redemption by 'our King Messiah (as Herbert unfailingly calls Jesus Christ) is a work in progress, awaiting the twilight of the world'.¹³ She supports her thesis with two main examples, Psalm 44 (45) and Psalm 79 (80), where Herbert's commentary does not focus on the Christian tradition but elaborates on Rashi instead. In Psalm 44 (45), which is usually interpreted by ecclesiastics as a love song between God as bridegroom and the Church as bride, he discusses at length Rashi's interpretation of the text as a praise on Torah scholars, even though he points out that Rashi is wrong. He further borrows from Rashi in his interpretation of the 'maidens' (*uirgines*) as a reference to the Gentiles in v. 15:

uel ad te

In plumariis ducetur ad regem; uirgines sequentur eam, sodales eius ducentur tibi

She shall be brought to the King in his embroidered robes; the virgins will follow her, her companions will be brought to you.

He also takes over Rashi's cross reference here to Zach. 8:23 on the Gentiles' submission to God, *They will take hold of a Jew's garment [...] saying 'Let us go with you, for we have heard God is with you'*.¹⁴ This leads Goodwin to suggest that Herbert might be partial to Rashi's interpretation of the Gentiles as contemporary Christians. However, Herbert defines the *gentiles* quite differently in verse 11b, in which is said to the bride:

et obliuiscere populum tuum et domum patris tui

and forget your people and the house of your father

Herbert understands here *populum tuum*, 'your people', as the Gentiles as well, but defines them strictly historically as the polytheistic ancestors of Abraham:

¹¹ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 279-99.

¹² Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', p. 297.

¹³ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 269 and 299.

¹⁴ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 215 (English) and p. 22 (Hebrew).

obliuiscere populum tuum scilicet gentiles cum quo longo tempore educate obliuiscere, non imitando. Et domum patris tui: paternos, scilicet mores et ritus. Et dicit maxime hoc propter ydola quibus patres filie huius scilicet synagoge aliquo tempore seruierunt. Sicut scriptum est. *Trans fluuium habitauerunt patres uestri ab inicio. Thare pater a trans fluuium Abraham et pater Nachor seruierunt diis alienis.* (48rb/va)

By partly following Rashi's comment, yet giving a different interpretation to it, Herbert kills two birds with one stone. His exposition, first, allows him to keep Rashi's basic notion of the 'maidens' as Gentiles, including Rashi's cross reference to Zaccherias 8: 23. Second, by shifting Rashi's dichotomy between Jews and Gentiles away from the contemporary polemical to the historical domain, understanding it as the contrast between historical Israel and the ancient idol-worshipping Gentiles, he leaves open the possibility of a Christological eschatological exposition of the maidens in verse 15 as unbelievers in general, who will be converted at the End of Time. In this way he cleverly manages to honour both the literal-historical sense of the verse and what he perceives to be the Christian truth.

A further indication that Herbert does not favour Rashi's interpretation of this psalm in general are his severe condemnations the latter's non-messianic exposition¹⁵ and his statement at the end that he has given the Jewish view in order for it to be interpreted in so far as it conforms to the Christian tradition:

Ecce super hoc amoris canticum litteratoris explanacio, lectores uero ecclesiastici erim probare, id et eligere siquid in ea est quod sensui ecclesiastico consonet. Et quia est litteratoris sensum sum persecutus. (49ra/b)

According to the Jewish tradition, Psalm 79 (80) expresses a lament about the Jews' oppressions by various peoples. Rashi expounds it as concerning the oppression of the Jews by the Babylonians, Greeks and the descendants of Esau, the Edomites, meaning

¹⁵E.g. he writes on on verse 8: Uerum in hoc amoris cantico excecate et misere synagoge compaciens satis nequeo odium admirari. Que regis nostri messie odio scripturam quasi euangelicam uertit sic et interuertit. Aut quia nolunt nostro suo messie quem adhuc regem magnum et sanctum uenturum expectant hanc tam manifestam scripturam cur non adaptant: O liuor pertinax semper sancta persequens. Messie regi nostre amoris hoc canticum dare nolunt et suo adimunt. (47vb)

on verse 12: non excecatus Iudeus sed intelligens ecclesiasticus uideat. [...] De rege uero nostro manifestum hoc qui filie sue ecclesie decorem concupiscit quia ipse est sicut pater: Et sponsus et Dominus et quia Dominus ab ea est adorandus. (48va)

Rome before and during the Christian era. Herbert takes over this exegesis but stops short of including Christian Rome among the interpretations for 'Edomites'. As Goodwin points out, he does venture into an unheard of exposition of verses 9, 16 and 20. On verse 9:

Uineam de Egipto contulisti; eicisti gentes et plantasti eam

You have brought the vine from Egypt, you have cast out the nations and planted it

he comments:

Ad terciam deinceps que ceteris grauior quia sceleracior erat Israelis captiuitatem seu potius persecucionem accedit. Ex odio fraterno orta que inter Iacob est Esau fuerat. Et loquitur de Israel sub methafora uinee dicens quomodo uinea illa de Egipto translata et eiectis gentibus quasi aspersione et perniciosis germinibus extirpatis in terra promissionis plantata fuerit. Et postea qualiter propagata creuerit. (96ra)

He has purposefully avoided the established christological interpretation of the vine as a metaphor for the Church. The same happens at verse 16:

Et funda quod plantauit dextera tua: et super filium confirmasti tibi.

And the vineyard which your right hand has planted, and about the son you have confirmed for yourself

While the ecclesiastical tradition understands this as a prophecy to Christ, Herbert takes it as a historical reference to Esau. This to him ties in with the phrase *manus tua* in verse 18, which he interprets, as shown before, as always pejorative and so impossible to relate to Christ.¹⁶ Whereas I agree with Goodwin that Herbert is innovative in expounding these verses as entirely non-messianic, I would not consider this to be a direct result or proof of Herbert's lenient stance against the Jews and Judaism. I believe instead that it was the *littera* of the text which to him held this historical interpretation and which did not warrant a messianic one. In fact, Herbert implies as much in his comment on Psalm 117 (118): 22, which will be discussed below.¹⁷ Herbert ends his comment on verse 20 as follows:

Domine Deus exercituum conuerte nos: et illumine faciem tuam et salui erimus
Lord, God of hosts, convert us; let your face shine and we shall be saved

¹⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 124-26.

¹⁷ See p. 250.

Psalmus eciam iste secundum quod et ab ecclesiasticis interpretatus est de unica illa et ultima uinee uastacione que per Uaspasianum et Titum facta est accipitur, quorum uterque aper silue uocari potest; qui de gentilitate uenientes feri et superbi erant. Que captiuitas quia ceteris grauior tripliciter hic et semper cum augmento Dei nominum Israelis hic oratur conuersio usque ad mundi uesperam differenda. (97ra)

Goodwin suggests that, since Herbert follows Rashi in his interpretation of the vine as Israel and of its worst oppressors as the Edomites, he could imply that the Jews' suffering at the hand of Christian Rome is the most vicious. She also concludes from the final sentence on verse 20 that the Jews pray for their own conversion.¹⁸ It is indeed possible that Herbert had the current persecution of Ashkenazi Jews in mind when writing on this psalm. Yet I believe that with *Israelis hic oratur conuersio* he refers not to the Jews but rather to historical Israel and to spiritual Israel, namely the Christian world.

It is indeed true that Herbert takes the interpretations of his Jewish sources seriously and avoids *ad hominem* argumentation, concentrating his attacks on fundamental differences of opinion between his Jewish authorities and the Christian tradition. This, and the ample proof in his commentary of a fruitful collaboration with contemporary Jews, allow for the possibility that his views on Jews and Judaism were less extreme than those of some of his contemporaries.¹⁹ Still, since his main interest in the *Psalterium* is in my view biblical literal exegesis and since his references to Jews and Judaism are determined by this programme, it is impossible to fully judge his opinion on contemporary Jewry from it.

I would argue that Herbert's eschatological view is profoundly Christological, as the following passage on Psalm 105 (106): 3, which (in spite of Goodwin's claim) uses the name *Ihesus* as a common and as a proper noun, shows.

Recordare mei Domine in repropiciacione populi tui: uisita me in salutari tuo

Remember me, O Lord, with the favour [you have] toward your people; visit me with your salvation

Uidetur propheta psalmigraphus ad ultima respicere tempora: quando ex Iudeis et ex gentibus unum fiet ouile et uiuus erit pastor et plena erit repropiciacio populi Dei qui fiet per Iehsum. Unde dicit. uisita me in salutari tuo, id est in iehsu tuo. (16va/b)

¹⁸ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 266-67.

¹⁹ See p. 234.

While I agree with Goodwin that the image of the *fidelis synagoga* in its various interpretations, including the anagogical one, is a recurring theme in the *Psalterium*, I do not consider it to be as central to his work or as exceptional as she believes it to be. The notion that Jews should be left in peace because they will be converted at the End of Time is, as she points out as well, a topos throughout Christian literature and was used as an argument against the persecution of Jews in the wake of the Crusades.²⁰ A most notable inspiration for Herbert on that was possibly Paul on Romans 11:25-28.²¹

Although the *Psalterium* contains references to the *fidelis synagoga* on a regular basis, many of which allow for the interpretation that the Jews will be part of that Synagogue, this issue is in my view not the focus of Herbert's work. As my previous chapters have shown, his first and foremost concerns, which he also explains in his prologue, lie with the production of a revised translation of the *Hebraica* according to the Masoretic text and of a literal exposition of the Psalms, in order to make a correct spiritual interpretation possible. His relatively positive assessment of Jews and Judaism is in my view a by-product of this double programme of textual criticism and biblical exegesis based on intensive use of Jewish sources. Yet from his method of employing these it is clear that they serve first of all to inform Christian readers of the correct translation(s) of the Psalms and to instruct them in the literal interpretation of scripture which should be inevitably congruent with the 'Christian truth'.

²⁰ *Sancti Bernardi opera: Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, ed. by J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot and H.M. Rochais, 2 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957), II, 76-77, 275; *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica: Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. E.M. Buytaert, CCCM, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), pp. 265 and 307-17; Peter Lombard, *In Epistola ad Romanos*, PL 191: 1481-95; both Abelard and Lombard seem to interpret 'omne Israel' as consisting of only a part of the Jews; Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 269-72.

²¹ *For I do not desire, brethren, that you should be ignorant of this mystery, lest you should be wise in your own opinion, that blindness in part has happened to Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in. And so all Israel will be saved, as it is written: 'The Deliverer will come out of Zion, and He will turn away ungodliness from Jacob. For this is my covenant with them, when I take away their sins.' Concerning the gospel they are enemies for your sake, but concerning the election they are beloved for the sake of the fathers.*

2. *Littera, Spiritus and Peshat*

a. What is *littera*?

Herbert uses the word *littera* to refer to a particular Latin reading of the biblical text. For example, he supplies Psalm 60 (61):3 as:

De nouissimo terre ad te clamabo in spasmate cordis mei in petra exaltata super me
tu eris ductor meus

To you have I cried from the ends of the earth, in the anguish of my heart, on a rock exalted over
me. You will be my guide.

while the *Hebraica* translates the underlined part of the verse as

cum triste fuerit cor meum cum fortis elevabitur aduersum me

when my heart will have been sad when the strong will be elevated against me

He comments:

plerique hunc: de nouissimo terre ad te clamabo cum triste fuerit cor meum cum
fortis eleuabitur aduersum me; tu eris ductor meus. Et patet. Sed prior *littera*
Hebreo plus consonat. (63vb)

Prior littera in this case refers to his preferred translation, which is a modification of the *Hebraica*.²² A psalm can have multiple correct readings. In Psalm 67 (68): 31, for example, Herbert demonstrate how different *litterae* can lead to one *sensus*:

He translates:

Increpa bestiam calami congregacio pinguium uituli populorum
uel calcitrancium contra rotas argenteas
complacantur nisi in complacione argenti.

Rebuke the beast of the reed, the herd of bulls with the calves of the peoples, till everyone submits
himself with pieces of silver.

and comments :

complacantur nisi in complacione argenti. Sicut supra filio Esau notauit pingues seu
forces et feroces ita et hic designat cupidos non componentes nec pacem cum
aliquibus habentes nisi in acceptione argenti. Et hoc est complacantur et cetera, id
est non complacantur nisi in complacacione argenti.

²² See also Chapter Four, pp. 181-84.

Plerique habent: complacantur in rotis argenteis. Et uocat rotas propter masse argenteae seu potius propter monete rotunditatem. Sic enim moneta cuditur in rotundum. Uel rotas argenteas dicit quod argentum semper quasi in cursu sit uarii humanarum rerum assidue emergentibus necessitatibus transiens ab hoc ad illum. Unde et bene per rotas argenteas argentum intelligitur.

Sunt uero qui habent calcitrancium contra argenteas rotas. Et dicit calcitrancium quasi applaudencium. Qualiter equi cum nullius uinculi retinacula senciant calcitrare solent quasi reddere sibi liberati applaudentes. Ita et applaudent hii contra rotas argenteas, hoc est quod ex quacumque causa argenteae eis rote obuenerint. Et triplicis littere quam eam posuimus idem est sensus. Sed ea quam primo posuimus Hebraice ueritati pre ceteris consonat. (75vb/ 76ra)

Herbert gives in this passage three variant readings for the ambiguous Hebrew phrase ברצי-כסף מתרפס [trampling pieces/wheels of silver *or* pleased with favours of silver] but points out that, although all variants convey at the same sense (*idem est sensus*), his first reading conforms most to the Hebrew truth.

The above example is not the only one where Herbert uses Jerome's concept of the *Hebraica Veritas* to argue his case, although it has to be noted that he is not consistent in this technique. While he often concedes that more than one *littera* of a verse can be correct, the *littera* which conforms most closely with the *Hebraica Veritas* is the one which should be preferred. For example, on Psalm 2:12a,

נשקו-בר פן-יאנק

love the son lest he become angry

which he translates as:

diligite filium ne forte irascatur

he points out the different readings of this verse according to the *Hebraica*, the *Gallicana* and the Targums and, while not dismissing any of those, he gives priority to the translation *iuxta veritatem Hebraicam*.

et de quo nunc in psalmi fine dicitur: diligite uel desiderate filium uel currite ad filium uel osculemini fillium. Iuxta illud: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui* [Cant.1:1] . Quod autem hic *bar* pro filio accipi debeat.

Sequens littera manifestat cum mox subditur: Ne forte irascatur. Scilicet filius de quo proxime dixerat. Nec eiam iuxta ueritatem Hebraicam supponitur hic nomen Domini ut dicatur ne forte irascatur Dominus quod in alia edicione est. Sed simpliciter et absolute sic ne forte irascatur.

Quod autem omnes aut fere omnes libri solent sic habere: adorate pure ne forte irascatur et cetera Hebreo non consonat. Et quidem Hebraea dictio *bar* significare potest, ut iam diximus, purum seu mundum. Sed sepe iam dictum nomen Hebreum scilicet *nascu* iuxta ydeoma Hebreum adoracionem nullo modo ut ab Hebreis sedulo inquisiui significat. In Caldeo: suscipite legem ne forte irascatur et cetera. Cui et nostra edicio consonat: Apprehendite disciplinam et cetera. (4rb/va)²³

Since the hieronymian notion of *Hebraica veritas* is at the heart of Herbert's method for evaluating different *litterae* we should consider it to be one of the fundamental concepts which shaped his text-critical awareness and directed him towards the exploration of the literal sense of scripture.

b. What is *sensus litteralis*?

Hugh of Saint Victor compares the literal sense with the foundations of a building.²⁴ In several of his works he warns against negligence of literal exposition. In a passage from *De Scripturis*, translated by Smalley, he writes:

If, as they say, we ought to leap straight from the letter to its spiritual meaning, then the metaphors and similes, which educate us spiritually, would have been included in the Scriptures by the Holy Spirit in vain. As the Apostle says: *That was first which is fleshly, afterwards that which is spiritual* [1 Cor. 15 :46]. Do not despise what is lowly in God's word, for by lowliness you will be enlightened to divinity. The outward form of God's word seems to you, perhaps, like dirt, so you trample it underfoot, like dirt, and despise what the letter tells you was done physically and visibly. But hear! that dirt, which you trample, opened the eyes of the blind. Read Scripture then, and first learn carefully what it tells you was done in the flesh.²⁵

In *De Meditando* he again makes a three-fold distinction between the senses of scripture but this time equates the *sensus litteralis* to the *sensus historialis*:

In our reading a triple kind of research is undertaken, in accord, namely with the dictates of history, allegory and tropology. This research can be considered historical, when we see or marvel at an explanation for the things that have

²³ See also Loewe, 'Commentary', pp. 56-57; a similar exposition occurs in 6:11 and 73 (74): 14.

²⁴ Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon*, 6.2, PL 176: 801.

²⁵ Hugh of Saint Victor, *De Scripturis*, 5:13-15, PL 175: 13; Smalley, *Bible*, pp. 93-94.

happened, in terms of their own time and space. An explanation like this is perfectly suitable in its own way.

He then defines allegorical interpretation as a 'reflection [which] attends to the significance of what will happen in the future which fits together in a marvelously providential scheme' (*meditatio [...] futurorum significationem attendens mira ratione et providentia coaptam*). Tropology is geared towards an 'investigation into what these sayings recommend as needing to be done' (*meditatio [...] quem fructum dicta afferant exquirens quid faciendum insinuent*).²⁶ In fact, history in the ecclesiastical tradition has been understood as a type of *allegoria* as well as of *littera* and should not be automatically grouped with the literal sense.²⁷

Herbert's description of his own approach to the Psalms in the prologue to the *Psalterium* is strongly reminiscent of Hugh's imagery of the *littera* as the foundational layer of a building, or as dirt:

Satius iudicaris in amicitia vires vel imperitiam quam voluntatem recusari, nisi quidem laboris solamen est quod non ad arduam spiritualem sensuum intelligentiam nitor, sed uelud cum animalibus gressibilibus super terram terre hereo, solum littere psalmorem sensum infimum prosequens; super quem, velud primum positum fundamentum, deinceps a spirituali architecto spiritualis intelligentie structura solida erigatur. Michi in presentiarum sufficit in fundamento ponere grossiora. (1rb)²⁸

Herbert clearly considers this type of interpretation to be neglected by the ecclesiastics to such an extent that he does not mind 'lowering himself down to the ground like an animal'. Throughout the psalms he repeatedly announces that a psalm, which has already been treated extensively by the allegorical tradition, needs a second glance 'because of its *sensus litteralis*'. For example, he begins his commentary on Psalm 49 (50) with:

Psalmus iste de utroque et maxime de seculo aduentu ab ecclesiasticis expositus: patet. Uerum propter edicionum diuersitatem et maxime propter sensum litteralem non nulla psalmi punctatum transcurremus. (53rb)

²⁶ Hugh of Saint Victor, *De Meditando*, PL 176: 994; translation by Mark Sebanc, in Henri S.J. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, vol. 1: The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grands Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), p. 100.

²⁷ Bede, *Beda Venerabilis Opera, vol. 4: opera didascalica 1*, ed. by Ch. W. Jones, CCSL, 123 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp. 152-53.

²⁸ Smalley, 'Commentary', p. 32.

Almost identical statements occur on Psalms 16 (17), 47 (48), 94 (95) and 98 (99). In each of these he briefly provides the Christian allegorical interpretation and then justifies his decision to comment on this particular psalm by pointing out that the differences among the editions of the Psalms and his programme of literal exposition demand it. This demonstrates that for him textual criticism of the Psalms and literal exegesis, first, are inherently linked with one another and, second, form the central purpose of his project, as he has already explained in his introduction.²⁹ Since he concentrates on the exposition of the literal sense it would only be expected for him to limit himself to covering *historia* only when it is part of the *littera*. For example, on Psalm 77 (78): 1 he seems to group *historia* with *littera*:

Erudicio Asaph. Cum dicit erudicio: notat quod in psalmo isto qui totus historialis sub littere uelamento tegatur spiritus. Aut eciam que alibi minus dicta hic suppleat: asculta et cetera. Loquitur in hoc psalmo Asaph in persona Domini siue Dominus per hos Asaph, populum suum Israelem ad ascultandum. (91ra)

For Herbert, literal exposition seems to include not only the placing of a verse in its historical context but also covers the clarification of obscure words and the supply of background information about Old Testament places, rituals and customs. For example, on Psalm 65 (66): 1:

Iubilare Deo: omnis terra

he explains the meaning of the word *iubilus* and places it in its historical and liturgical liturgical context:³⁰

Dicebatur iubilus ad litteram: quidam clangendi modus in cornu, subtilis crebro et intercise per cornu flatu emisso. Et erat pricipue sollempnitatis signum et exultacionis eximie. Unde et in prima septembris qui secundum Hebreos capud anni est fiebat iubilus. Ex eo ritu uerbum iubilacionis tractum in scripturis ponitur pro mentis exultacione uehementer intensa. (70rb)

Similarly, on Psalm 47 (48) :2-3

²⁹ Loewe, 'Commentary', pp. 71-72; Smalley, 'Commentary', pp. 31-33.

Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis: in ciuitate Dei nostri: in monte sancto suo.
Specioso germine gaudio uniuerse terre: monte Syon lateribus aquilonis ciuitas
regis magni

Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in His holy mountain, beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth, on Mount Zion on the sides of the north, the city of the great King

he first explains the correct meaning of almost every word, and then elaborates on the historical background of *lateribus aquilonis*:

Et uocat ad litteram latera aquilonis: altare illud quod exterius erat et uersus aquilonem positum; altare scilicet holocaustorum in quo pre sacrificiorum diuersitate et multitudine magnus predicabatur Dominus et laudabilis. Maxime ex sacrificio pro peccato post quod is qui offerebat ueniam se consecutum gratulabatur, laudans ex hoc et benedicens Dominum. (49vb/50ra)

c. Sensus litteralis and Figures of Speech

In accordance with the ecclesiastical tradition and as set out by Bede in his *De schematibus et tropis*, to Herbert figures of speech such as metaphor, metonymy and comparison can be part of the *littera* as well as the *allegoria*.³¹ Mostly, however, he mentions metaphors which he considers to belong to the *littera*. A clear example is his commentary on Psalm 90 (91): 5-6. In these verses the psalmist invokes God's protection against four types of harm that can befall humankind, namely fear, pestilence, death and insanity. These, Herbert explains, should be interpreted metaphorically as demons or as good and evil angels:

Nec miretur quod quatuor nos in huius psalmi serie nunc distinxisse demonia; hec et enim suos sequens psalmi littera palam et quasi ex nomine methaphorice exprimit, dicens et ad iustum loquens: super aspidem et cetera sicut nos ibi demonstrabimus et ex tocius instrumenti ueteris testimoniis consonis hec que de angelis temptatoribus dicimus conprobantur. Ubi angelorum bonorum et malorum et diuersa officia et malorum uarie distinguntur immissiones. Et post uetus ad nouum instrumentum recurrendum ubi et in euangeliis et apostolicis scriptis angelorum tam horum quam illorum disperciuntur officia. (112vb)

In some instances a figurative interpretation is necessary in order for the psalm verse in question to make sense. For example, on Psalm 80 (81):17, which Herbert translates as:

³⁰ On the liturgical background and on Herbert's sources here, see Chapter Three, pp. 158-59.

Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti et de petra melle saturavit eos.

He fed them with the finest of wheat; and with honey from the rock he satisfied them

he comments upon the at first glance unrealistic description of a rock producing honey:

Quod fuit cum ambularent in uis eius. Unde et alibi : *ut suggeret mel de petra* [Deut. 32 :13]. Ad litteram in Heremo de petra non mel sed aqua producta est. Dicens igitur hic: de petra melle et cetera ad sensum litteralem omnium rerum copiam deorat; uel melle, id est aqua de petra producta ut dulce mel, maxime sitibundis et tante obnoxiiis graciae.

Yet by interpreting *melle* as a metaphor for sweet water, the *littera* makes sense. The use of a metonymy helps Herbert to solve an apparent logical problem in Psalm 132 (133): 3

Sicut ros Ermon qui descendit super montana Syon quoniam ibi mandavit Dominus benedictionem uitam usque in aeternum

It is like the dew of Hermon, descending upon the mountains of Zion; for there the Lord commanded the blessing-- Life forevermore

Herbert points out that a narrowly literal interpretation of the first half of the verse is geographically impossible. He continues:

Igitur ut littera stare possit non est intelligendum quod psalmigraphus dixit unum penitus et eundem rorem ab uno moncium descendere in alterum sed est relacio simplex cum dicit qui descendit. Ut sit sensus: de celis desuper cadens ros primo uenit super cacumina moncium superiorum. Et postea descendit super montana inferiorum moncium et sic tandem ad infima. Non est enim intelligendum quod Ermon specialiter hic montem illum significet qui transiordanem fuit et alibi dictus mons Syon dictus mons Seon per Ermon qui inter montes unus supremorum erat accipiuntur quorum libet magnorum moncium superiora. Similiter per Syon qui mons inferior erat quorumlibet moncium inferiorum montana. (149rb/va)

By moving away from an all too literal geographical understanding of these two mountains and by taking them as a metonymy for high (*Hermon*) and lower (*Syon*) mountains in general he has removed the stumbling block that prevented him from expounding the dew on the mountains as a metaphor for oil anointing a unity of brethren from the highest to the lowest ranks. However, Herbert is aware of the danger of attributing all metaphorical

³¹ Jones, *Bede*, pp. 152-53.

interpretations automatically to the domain of the literal-historical sense. On Psalm 117 (118): 22

Lapis quem reprobauerunt edificantes hic factus est in caput anguli

The stone which the builders rejected, has become the cornerstone

he exclaims in the first part of the comment how appropriate it would be for this verse, which has been used so fruitfully in the New Testament to denote Christ, to contain a messianic prophecy:

Quam sit insulsa quam distuta ista quam prosecuti sumus super psalmum istum secundum Hebreos expositio in qua Messias tollitur, eciam trado manifestum. Quam uero sapida quam consona quam aperta sit si Messias interseratur propheta: psalmi maxime ultima indicant. Ubi dicit. Lapis quem reprobatur et cetera huius profecto lapidis uirtutem melius quam phariseus in lege edoctus: piscator simplex sensit et ennarauit dicens: *Ad quem cedentes lapidem uiuum ab hominibus quidem reprobatum a Deo autem electum et honorificatum* [1 Pt. 2:4]. Et infra: *Uobis igitur credentibus honor. Non credentibus autem. Lapis quem reprobauerunt edificantes hic factus est in caput anguli* [1 Pt. 2:7]. (136va/b)

In the second part he distinguishes cautiously between the *historia* of the verse, which does not contain a messianic element, and its interpretation achieved via the use of ‘metaphorical history’:

Solet queri si qua tangatur hystoria cum dicitur lapidem quem reprobauerunt et cetera. Ego uero, nolens ad inuencionum quorundam uenias scribere sed potius uelut fabulosa preterire, dico non hiis uerbis historiam tangi sed per hystoricam methaphoricam de Messia sic prophetatum esse. Et dicitur hic historice Messias lapis sicut alibi in psalmo populus Israel hystorice per methaforam uinea appellatur ibi. *Uineam de Egypto transtulisti* [Ps. 79 (80):9] Et uinea mea domus Israel est. (136ra/b)

It is unclear whether in this passage he considers this *hystoricam methaphoricam* to be part of the allegorical historical sense or a sub-category within the *littera* which is still different from the literal historical sense.

d. Sensus litteralis and Prophecy

One verse can yield multiple literal interpretations of different types, as Herbert's comment on the title of Psalm 9 reveals:³²

Uictori *almuth laben* psalmus Dauid
To the director of music; a psalm of David on the death of the son

He first clarifies the different meanings the Christian and Rabbinic traditions give to the phrase *עלמות לבן* [on the death of the son]. The term *almuth*, he argues can be interpreted as one word or two. If it is one word, it is the name of a musical instrument in the plural (*organa*). *Ben* can then be interpreted as 'to learn' (*ad discendum*). Herbert, following Rashi, does not favour this reading. If *al muth* is seen as two words, which is how Jerome and Rashi understand it, it can either be translated as 'on the death' (*in morte*) or as 'in the youth' (*in iuventute*). *Laben* could be taken to mean 'of the son' (*fili*), according to the *Hebraica*, or 'renewal/ whitening' (*dealbacio*), according to Rashi.³³

Uerum quare psalmus sic intituletur, scilicet organa ad discendum ipsorum qui sic explanant: iudicio derelinquo nostrorum interpretacioni inherens secundum quos psalmus inscribitur pro uel super morte pro quo Hebreus habet *almuth* ut sint dictiones due: *al* scilicet et *muth*. *Al*: quod est super; *muth*: quod est mors. Et hoc est quod nos hic dicimus: pro uel super morte. [...] (11va)

He accepts either reading:

Quod enim illi supra in priori titulo transtulerunt filii, hoc isti interpretati sunt dealbacionem. Et utrumque congruit. (11va)

Interestingly, Herbert offers two exegeses on this verse, one for each reading. He first provides a historical and non-messianic interpretation of *pro morte filii*, stating that David composed this song after the death of Absalom. In order to avoid conflict with other biblical passages in which David grieves for his son, he points out that David's gratitude was prompted not so much by the death of Absalom but rather by the killing of Achitofel and his men: *gratias agens, non tam pro filii sui cui post mortem tam miserabilem exhibuit threnum quam pro consiliarii sui Achitophel et reliquorum suorum complicum prophano exterminio* (11rb).

³² See also Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 219-23.

His second interpretation, based upon the translation of *almuth laben* as *pro iuuentute dealbacio*, leads to an eschatological comment partly borrowed from Rashi:

Sed in fine: ex tot dealbabitur quando omnis Israel saluabitur. Quando iuxta quod scriptum est *delebitur memoria Amalech de sub celo* [Ex. 17: 14]. Et de hac Israel dealbacione siue salute et de Esau et de seminis eius delecione perpetua secundum litteralem sensum psalmus hic loquitur. Unde et Daud ad ultimam illam Israelis dealbacionem respiciens. Et in persona tocius Israelis Domino gratias agens. (111va)

While the first, historical, explanation unambiguously belongs to the domain of the literal sense, and lacks an allegorical christological overtone, it is striking that to Herbert also the second interpretation, revealing a prophecy of David about the End of Time, qualifies as a literal exposition. This suggests that for him prophecy, if present in the *littera* can be part of the literal sense. His comment at the beginning of his exposition of Psalm 98 (99) corroborates this:

Dominus regnauit et cetera. Psalmus Daud. In hoc psalmo sicut in precedenti loquitur Daud. Et agit ad litteram de rege nostro Messia super quo et ab orthodoxis iuxta edicionem aliam explanatus est. Unde et nos pauca et tamen nulla explanacioni necessaria. propter edicionum uarietatem adicere necesse est. (118rb)

While he considers this psalm to be inherently messianic, on other psalms, such as 54 (55) he points out that the literal sense does not contain a messianic interpretation:

Psalmus iste de passione et resurrecione regis nostri ab ecclesiasticis expositus: patet. Ad litteram uero contra Achitofel et Doeck Ydumeum orat in hoc psalmo Daud et mala eis inprecatur, aliquando conuinctum aliquando diuisum sicut in psalmi serie demonstrabitur. [...]

Nos uero saluo sensu ecclesiastico secundum tradicionem Hebreorum iam dictam psalmi litteram prosequamur. Dicit itaque: Non enim et cetera, quasi de Achithofel precipue conqueror. (56vb)

In her examination on Herbert's use of the literal sense, Goodwin remarks that this inclusion of Christian prophecy into the literal sense was possibly influenced by Rashi. She adds that '[Herbert] limited his christological reading to situations in the psalms which permitted them'.³⁴ While I agree with her basic idea on Herbert's exegetical technique, I

³³ Gruber, *Rashi*, p. 74 (English) and pp. 4-5 (Hebrew).

³⁴ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 293-94.

would argue that it is not a christological reading but a prophetic reading in general which to Herbert should be warranted by the psalms text itself. Since the Psalms are a prophetic book, prophecy can be part of the *littera* of a psalm. Yet prophecy does not equal messianism, as the following passage on Psalm 71 (72): 19 demonstrates:

Et benedictum nomen glorie eius in seculum: et implebitur gloria eius uniuersa terra; amen amen.

And blessed be his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory; amen, amen.

Psalmus ad litteram propheticæ tangit hic quod in dedicatione templi cum compleret Salomon fundens preces, ignis descendit de celo et maiestas Domini impleuit domum Sed et omnes filii Israel uidebant descendentem ignem et gloriam Domini super domum Et hoc est quod dicitur hic implebitur gloria eius uniuersa terra tota scilicet Iudea aut alie eciam terrarum naciones hoc audientes et ex hoc Domini attentius glorificantes. (82ra)

e. Peshat and derash; caro and spiritus

Because Rashi is Herbert's most important written source on the literal understanding of the Psalms, it is necessary to investigate to what extent the Rabbi's use of the *peshat* shaped Herbert's interpretation of the *sensus litteralis*. Goodwin has already suggested that Herbert's take on the literal sense shows similarities with the *peshat*.³⁵ As Benjamin Gelles points out in his study of *peshat* and *derash* in Rashi's commentaries, Rashi concentrates on the *peshat* but regularly includes allegorical explanations (*derashim*), effectively arriving at a 'partnership' between the two modes of exegesis.³⁶ He also states repeatedly about a verse that, whereas the rabbis have already explained it, he wants to settle it according to its plain sense (על-פשוטו).³⁷ It is possible that this type of justification inspired Herbert in his various statements about the need for literal exegesis in addition to the well-established allegorical ecclesiastical tradition of a particular psalm.

Herbert also incorporates some of Rashi's midrashim, sometimes, as has been shown above, out of disbelief. More often, however, he takes over a midrash when he

³⁵ Goodwin, 'Herbert of Bosham', pp. 234-35.

³⁶ Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 34-35.

³⁷ Gelles, *Peshat and Derash*, pp. 10-11.

thinks it ties in particularly well with the *littera*. One example mentioned earlier is the parable (משל) on the title of Psalm 69 (70), *ad recordandum*, about the king who became angry at his flock and tore down the sheepfold.³⁸ Another can be found on Psalm 23 (24) :

Leuate porte capita uestra et eleuamini ianue sempiterne et ingredietur rex glorie

Lift up your heads, O you gates and be lifted up, you everlasting doors! And the King of glory shall come in

Ab ecclesiasticis uarie exposita patent. Uerumptamen quid litterator super hiis senciati non omittam. Illud sicut fabulatur ad litteram tangit quod edificato templo cum uellet Salomon archam introducere mox miraculose ne ingrederetur fores quasi sponte sunt obseruatae. Et statim rex ad oracionem se conuertit. Et post cantus uiginti quartus ad deprecandum editos tandem ad talem oracionis formam se conuertit orans sic: *Domine Deus ne auertas faciem christi tui. Memento misericordiarum Dauid serui tui* [2 Chron.6:42] et continuo fores aperte sunt. Quod et Dauid in spiritum futurum prouidens orat hic: leuate et cetera. (27ra)

Although Herbert might not have had a clear concept of the distinction between *peshat* and *derash*, his use of *sicut fabulatur* suggests that he considers it to be a story additional to the letter of the text. His phrasing *ad litteram tangit* demonstrates that to him this *fabula* ‘borders on’ the letter and does not contradict or distort it. He also occasionally makes more than just a fleeting mention of Christian allegorical interpretation. For example on Psalm 115 (116):18-19

Uota mea Domino reddam in conspectu omnis populi: in atriis domus Domini in medio tui Ierusalem. Alleluia.

I will pay my vows to the Lord now in the presence of all the people
In the courts of the Lord's house, in the midst of you, o Jerusalem. Praise the Lord. Hallelujah

he comments:

Nos sensum psalmi prosecuti sumus litteralem. Uerumptamen psalmum illum ad fidei confessionem spiritualiter pertinere: manifeste magister docet, primum psalmi uersiculum inducens et dicens sic: *habentes autem eundem spiritum fidei* [2 Cor. 2:11], sicut scriptum est: Credidi propter quod locutus sum [Ps. 115 (116):1; 2 Cor. 4:3]. Et nota quod secundum Hebreos in hoc psalmo alleluia psalmi finis sit: non titulus subsequens. (135ra/b)

³⁸ See Chapter Three, pp. 114-15.

Herbert does not deny the Jews' capability to expound scripture allegorically. On Psalm 73 (74):16

Tuus est dies et tua est nox: tu ordinasti luminaria et solem

The day is yours, the night also is yours; you have prepared the light and the sun

he remarks that 'the grammarian has changed/ converted from a literal into an allegorical interpreter':

Litterator uero de litterali in allegoricum conuersus interpretem hic: legit sic. Tuus dies id est Israel tecum est: tempus prosperitatis. Et tua nox idem eciam tempus aduersitatis tecum Israel. Et ita israel semper tecum siue cedant prospera: seu occurrant aduersa. Uerum quod sequitur. Tu ordinasti et cetera: litterator allegorice non persequitur.

Since he does not elaborate on the matter it is unclear whether or not he regrets that Rashi does not continue with his allegorical exposition. There is in any case no sign of disagreement with Rashi's exegesis. On Psalm 121 (122):3 Herbert mentions an instance where the Jewish tradition agrees with the Christian allegorical one. He translates:

Ierusalem que edificaris: ut ciuitas que associata est ei

Jerusalem is built as a city that is joined with him [i.e. God]

and, having provided a literal explanation of *Ierusalem*, comments:

Possumus quidem hec ab inicio psalmi iuxta sacracriorem intelligenciam de superna Ierusalem interpretari quemadmodum et ab ecclesiasticis interpretatum est. Cui interpretationi et Hebreorum litteratores assentiunt qui et similiter spiritualiter exponunt (142vb)

This Jewish exegesis is borrowed from Rashi and possibly from Midrash Tehillim.³⁹ More often, however, Herbert accuses the Jews of expounding 'carnally' (*carnaliter*) while the ecclesiastics expound 'spiritually' (*spiritualiter*). On 36 (37): 1, for example,

Noli contendere cum malignis neque emuleris facientes iniquitatem

Do not fret because of evildoers, nor be envious of the workers of iniquity.

³⁹ *Midrash on Psalms*, transl. by William G. Braude, 2 vols, Yale Judaica Series, 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), II, 300; Rashi, *Parshandata: the Commentary of Raschi on the Prophets and Hagiographs*, ed. by I. Maarsen, 3 vols (Amsterdam and Jerusalem: Hertzberger and Central Press, 1930-36), III, 114.

Nolite tangere christos meos et prophetas meos nolite affligere
 Touch ye not my anointed and do no evil to my prophets

which has already been discussed above.⁴¹ As pointed out before, Herbert argues here that משיחַי [my anointed ones/ *christos meos*] should be understood as both ‘anointed’ and as ‘(proto)-Christians’. Giving the example of Cyrus, who in Is. 45:1 is also called *christus*, he expands on the notions of invisible, i.e. spiritual, against visible anointment. He thereby dismisses the Jewish understanding of the word as a metaphor for greatness and claims that also the *litterator* should admit this, unless it is his intention to distort the letter of scripture:

Et ita uelit nolit litterator fatebitur, nisi hic littere proprietati renunciaret, quod et ante Christi nostri aduentum Christiani tunc fuerint

He continues:

Cum apud gratias reges faceret sola impositio diadematis quemadmodum apud Hebreos uisibile sacramentum unctionis. Ex hiis igitur que prophete locuti sunt manifeste habemus quod in Iudeis et eciam in gentibus illa qua reges spirituales inuisibiliter inunguntur: unctio inuisibilis et spiritualis est. Pariter secundum consequenciam circumcisio erit spiritualiter, sabbatum spirituale, sacrificia spiritualia. Et ita singulis enumeratis: lex tota spiritualis. Unde et magister: *Scimus inquit quia lex spiritualis est [Rom. 7:14]*.

Necesse igitur et ex hiis ut legis obseruator spiritualis sit. Contra carnalem legis litteratorem hec loquor qui de spiritu ad legis carnalia me conpellit cum spiritus sine carne et sine spiritu caro uiuere non potest. Et hoc pretereundum non est quod istum hic in psalmo Christorum, id est unctorum, locum Hebreorum litteratores tanquam inuncti aride nimis exponant, nullam hic expressim nec inuisibilis nec uisibilis unctionis mericionem facientes. Sed sic Nolite tangere christos meos, id est, meos magnos quos magnos reputo dicit Dominus. Dicunt enim quod unctionis nomen magnitudinem in scriptura et Dominum notet.
 (125ra/b)

Although Herbert speaks out in clear terms against the Jewish tradition (*contra carnalem legis litteratorem hec loquor*), its interpretation of this verse unsettles him and drives him (*conpellit*) towards this ‘carnal’ interpretation. His reference to Romans 7:14 is telling. He quotes the first half of the verse: *We know that the law is spiritual*; the second half, unquoted but certainly understood to be thought of by the reader, *but I am carnal, sold under sin*, seems to be a personal expression of his stance here. He admits that the Jewish

⁴¹ See Chapter Four, pp. 215-17.

non-christological interpretation of משיחִי is compelling because spirit and flesh need each other (*cum spiritus sine carne et sine spiritu caro uiuere non potest*). Yet he still rejects this ‘carnal’ exposition because it is ‘barren’ (*aride*) and does not lead anywhere.

This discussion suggests that to Herbert a literal interpretation should be fertile, in the sense that it leads to a spiritual understanding of the text, even if he is not the one who will expound it as such. A ‘carnal’ interpretation is one that blocks a further spiritual understanding and is therefore ‘infertile’.

If we accept this distinction, which is modelled upon Paul’s concept of carnal versus spiritual law, we get a picture of Herbert as an exegete who, while being deeply interested in literal exegesis, did not believe in literal interpretation for the sake of it. Seen in this light, there might be yet another aspect to Herbert’s frequent cross references to the Epistles. In addition to his procedure, demonstrated in Chapter Four, of legitimising his Hebrew readings through Paul and, in turn, strengthening Paul’s exegeses by rooting them in the *littera* of the psalms text, he also directs the reader to a further, spiritual interpretation. This spiritual interpretation is often tropological and is presented as a logical, spontaneous progression from the literal sense. For example, on Psalm 87 (88):16 the *Hebraica* has

Pauper ego et aerumnosus ab adulescentia; portavi furorem tuum et conturbatus sum

I am poor, and in labour from my youth; I have suffered your anger and am troubled

Herbert suggests the alternate reading *ex submersione* [from immersion] for *ab adulescentia*, which is a correct translation for *nohar*/נֹחַר. He supports this modification with a cross reference to 2 Cor. 11:26: *in journeys often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of my own countrymen, in perils of the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren.*

Unde addit obiens dico: ab adulescentia mea. Et nota uerbum Hebreum *nohar*: duo significare aliquando: infanciam seu adolescenciam etatem uidelicet teneram. Sicut et nostri transtulerunt hoc ab adulescentia mea. Aliqui uero submersionem que in aquis sit. Unde eciam plerique litteratorum, ubi nos hic habemus adolescenciam, ponunt et exponunt submersionem legentes sic: *obiens ex submersione* ac si dicat cum magistro. *Periculis in fluminibus, periculis in mari* [2 Cor. 11:26]. Iuxta quod

et bene premiserat: *et cunctis fluctibus tuis afflixisti me* [Ps. 87 (88):8] Et uide tu etsi litterator non uideat. (104rb/va)

As stated in Chapter Four, Herbert's association of the translation *submersio* with Paul's description of all the dangers suffered in 2 Cor. 11:26 has opened up new exegetical possibilities for this verse. By forging links between the words *fluctibus* (v. 8), *submersio* (v.16) and *fluminibus* (2 Cor. 11:26), he evoked the tropological image of immersion in water as a punishment for the sinner or as a test of faith from God.⁴² Other examples are Psalm 14 (15):3 and 25 (26): 4.⁴³ In 14 (15): 3 Herbert modifies the *Hebraica's*

Qui non est facilis in lingua sua

He who is not easy with his tongue

to:

Qui non accusat in lingua sua

He who does not accuse with his tongue,

a reading which is corroborated by the Old French *ankuza* in a thirteenth-century Hebrew-French glossary.⁴⁴ In his commentary he relates this verse to 1 Cor. 4: 5: *Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord comes, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness and reveal the counsels of the hearts. Then each one's praise will come from God.* As a result of this clever semantic association, Herbert is able, through Paul, to widen the scope of his literal translation drawn from the Hebrew and to give the verse a tropological significance. A similar transition from the literal to the tropological via Paul occurs in Herbert's comment on Ps. 25 (26): 4. He supplies the verse as

Non sedi cum uiris uanitatis et cum absconditis non ingrediar

I have not sat with men of vanity and neither will I go in with hypocrites/ hidden ones,

whereas the *Hebraica* has *superbis* [proud ones] instead of *absconditis* [hypocrites]. *Absconditis* is not only a closer rendering of the Hebrew but also allows Herbert to relate this verse to Paul's warning against the corrupting influence of hypocrites in Eph.5:12: *For it is shameful even to speak of those things which are done by them in secret.*

⁴² See Chapter Four, pp. 204-05.

⁴³ See Chapter Four, pp. 201-03.

⁴⁴ See Chapter Two, p. 105.

f. Give to the *littera* What Belongs to the *littera*

From a modern purist's point of view, Herbert's exegeses in the *Psalterium* sometimes exceed the boundaries of the strictly literal. Like Rashi, he incorporates spiritual, which in his case mainly means tropological, elements into his commentary. On some occasions he even includes midrashim, although we cannot be sure to what extent he considers these to be outside the *littera*'s territory. In spite of this inclusiveness of allegorical, tropological and anagogical elements in his work, an examination of his assessment and use of the literal sense has shown that he makes clear distinctions between what in his view belongs to the *littera* and what does not.

Concerning his evaluation of Jewish sources it has become clear in this chapter that, although Herbert regularly ventilates his frustration about the *litteratores Hebreorum*, this anger is directed more towards the tendency of the high-medieval Jewish literal school to avoid messianic interpretations in the Psalms than to the Jewish people or Judaism in general. Overall, he appears to have used Jewish exegesis far more frequently and, in the case of the earlier messianic rabbinic literature, in a much more positive way than any of his peers. Since he refers to the older tradition several times as *Gamaliel*, this raises the question whether his consistent reliance on Paul has not yet another function. As Paul is traditionally assumed to have studied under Rabbi Gamaliel, while at the same time holding a position of unquestionable authority on Christian doctrine, he would be the ideal source of legitimation for Jewish exegesis in general and for the books of his own teacher in particular.

Finally, although Herbert clearly identifies literal exegesis on the basis of the *Hebraica Veritas* as an overlooked aspect of biblical exegesis, it seems to be his intention not to close off the *littera* or downplay the importance of the allegorical senses but to demonstrate that the correct *littera* leads to the orthodox *spiritus*. His contribution to psalm exegesis, even though it still remains unclear whether he has any direct *Nachleben*, lies in his ability to delineate and enrich the domain of the literal sense with the help of Jewish exegesis while at the same time keeping it open for further interpretation by a 'master-builder of spiritual understanding' (*architecto spiritualis intelligentie* (prologue, 1rb)).

3. Areas of Further Research

Areas which need further research can be divided into three interrelated parts.

First, as has become clear from the previous section, the assessment of the literal sense in the twelfth century needs to be readdressed in the context of its application and not just its theory. It still remains unclear how the definition and application of terminology such as *littera*, *historia* and *allegoria* develop during that time. While modern scholars tend to focus on Hugh and Andrew of Saint Victor, it would be more than relevant to include also scholars who focus on history such as Ralph Niger or exegetes who do not provide theoretical background to their commentaries such as Herbert in order to obtain a fuller picture of the role of and the distinction between the senses in twelfth-century exegesis.

Second, since text-critical activity at that time underlies and to some extent determines and is determined by the application of literal exegesis to scripture, a much wider and more systematic examination of the textual transmission of the biblical text in general and, from the perspective of this thesis, the Psalms in particular, would be extremely useful. In particular, a study of the development and influence of the so-called Paris text (Ω), to which both the *Magna Glosatura* and the *Psalterium cum commento* are related would be of invaluable benefit to further research on liturgy, biblical exegesis and the rise of scholasticism in that period. It might also lead to further discoveries of Jewish-Christian collaboration on the biblical text and on additional influence from the Masorah.

Third, while Herbert might be one of the, if not the, most advanced Christian Hebraist of the Central Middle Ages, a comparative study including him and contemporaries such as Nicolas Manjacorina, Alexander Nequam and Ralph Niger would dispel much of the fog surrounding the field of medieval Christian Hebraism. On a wider scale, a systematic analysis of Hebrew scholarship by Christians in the Central Middle Ages and of Jewish Christian intellectual relations in general, and of the influence of Hebrew learning tools, such as Hebrew-Latin psalters and perhaps Hebrew-vernacular glossaries, would greatly contribute to our knowledge of multilingualism and translation studies in this area. They would, in addition, substantially facilitate research on both the literal sense and on textual criticism of the Bible during that time.

Appendix 1:
Lists of Non-Latin Words

Hebrew Words and Phrases

- adam (68rb)	:	אדם
- adonay (10va, 53rb, 58va +...)	:	אדוני
- agelez asaar (25ra)	:	אילת השחר
- almuth laben (11va)	:	עלמות לבן
- am, amin (135rb)	:	עם, עמים
- azechir, ezechor (101vb)	:	אזכיר, אזכור
- babma (140rb)	:	במה
- basan (72rb)	:	בשן
- bet hachaueroth (103vb)	:	בית הקברות
- celaue (125vb)	:	שלו
- cefer (2rb)	:	ספר
- cherach (71va)	:	חרוץ
- chetue (112va)	:	קטב
- chus, chuz (9vb)	:	כוש
- deuer (112rb)	:	הבר
- eholerim (10vb)	:	עוללים
- el (53rb)	:	אל
- elil (40va)	:	אליל
- eloim, eloym (12vb, 53rb, 58va)	:	אלהים
- ephot (85vb)	:	אפוד
- geionim (143vb)	:	גאיונים

- getiz, gitim (10rb, 97ra)	:	גתית
- gipol (113ra)	:	יפל
- goiecha (126vb)	:	גויך
- goim (135rb)	:	גוים
- harez (26rb)	:	חרת
- hasmannin, hasmona (76rb)	:	חשמנה, חשמנים
- heiza , (51vb)	:	חידה
- helyon (112ra)	:	עליון
- hetz/ hez (112rb)	:	חץ
- horma, hermoniim (44ra)	:	חרמונים
- hv (74vb)	:	הוא
- iahar (26rb)	:	יער
- ieshuah (100ra)	:	ישע
- is (102rb)	:	איש
- ka (134va)	:	כה
- karu, kari (25va)	:	כ(א)רו, כארי
- kece, hakece (97va)	:	כ(ה)כסה
- kez, kizce (12ra/b)	:	כסא, כס
- ki (134va)	:	כי
- lamanascea (5rb)	:	למנצח
- lannod (103ra)	:	לענות
- macethil (103ra)	:	משכל
- mahebereth (8rb. 102vb)	:	מחברת
- mahelat (103ra)	:	מחלות
- ma, mazai, man (119vb, 120ra)	:	מה, מתי, מן

- mechtam (17ra, 59va)	:	מחתם
- mehita (108va)	:	מחתה
- minaha, minha (40rb, 88ra)	:	מנחה
- missaa (148vb)	:	מדותיו
- nahaloth (7ra)	:	נחלות
- nascu bar (4rb)	:	נשק־בר
- nazacheti (3vb)	:	נזחתי
- nehila, nehiloth, neiloth (7ra)	:	נחילה, נחילות
- nehil seldeuorum (7ra)	:	נחיל של הבורים
- nisan (70rb)	:	ניסן
- nohar (104va)	:	נער
- ophir (24va, 71va)	:	עפר
- pi (148vb)	:	פי
- rafaim, raphaim (104ra)	:	רפים
- rahaue, raab (106vb)	:	רהב, רחב
- rohebame, robem rahabe (111ra)	:	רהב, רחב
- ros (154va)	:	ראש
- rua (122ra)	:	רוח
- ruen mispahaz haruueni (143ra/b)	:	ראובן משפחת הראובני
- sabaim (89ra)	:	שמים
- sabbatum, sabbath, sabbezai (84va)	:	שבת, שבת
- saday (112ra)	:	שדי
- salis (96ra)	:	שלש
- sela (4vb)	:	סלה
- selmon (72ra)	:	שלמון

- semehn (148vb)	:	שמך
- seol (51va)	:	שאול
- seminiz (8ra)	:	שמינית
- sorerai (7va)	:	שוררי
- sulaim (149ra)	:	שלמים
- teraphin (85vb)	:	תרפים
- themam (92ra)	:	תימן
- tillim (78vb)	:	ת(ה)ילים
- tohegor (89rb)	:	תחגור
- ydithun (39ra)	:	ידיתון
- zeuach (40vb)	:	זבח
- zimmrath (135vb)	:	זמרת
- zoza (135ra)	:	זודה

Greek Words

- cleros (71rb)	:	κλήρος
- curon (24va)	:	κυρόν (?)
- emblema (51vb)	:	εμβλημα
- enthimamata (93:10)	:	ἐνθυμήματα
- epithimium (115va)	:	ἐπιθύμημα
- phedia (115va)	:	παιδεία
- poliandrion (74vb)	:	πολιάνδριον
- psallim (1va)	:	ψάλλειν

Vernacular Words

- amanue (?) (120ra)
- bufeth (88rb)
- chastum (48vb)

- **meisuz** (88ra)
- **pluvialis** (70va)
- **uerdaz** (71va)

Appendix 2:
Edition of Psalm 67 (68) [ff. 69va-76vb]

Victori Daud psalmus cantici Exsurgat¹ et cetera.

In hoc psalmo in propria seu potius in Israelis persona loquitur Daud suis et Israhelis inimicis mala imprecans et maxime filiis Esau qui semper odio tam iniquo fratrem suum Israelem sunt persecuti. Post ad Domini laudem et ad gracias referendas commemorat Domini beneficia populo suo collata et in aduersarios irrogata supplicia. Et non nulla alia interserit circa hec que in psalmi serie prosequemur. Orando itaque psalmista inchoat sic.

uel dissipentur Esau maxime

2. Exsurgat Deus et dispergantur² inimici eius et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius.

3. Sicut deficit fumus deficient, sicut tabescit cera a facie ignis: sic pereant impii a facie Dei. Patet

4. Iusti autem letentur et exultent in conspectu Dei: et gaudeant in leticia.

Iusti scilicet Israhelite letentur dicentes et se mutuo adhortantes. Sic:

5. Cantate Deo psallite³ nomine eius: preparate uiam ascendenti super celos.⁴ In iudice nomen eius et exultate coram eo

Preparate uiam bene operando, scilicet et laudando ascendenti super celos uel campana. Uerbum enim Hebreum positum hic ad utrumque se habet; super campana: deserti. Deo uidelicet qui per campana deserti populum suum duxit et de inimicis nacionibus triumphos contulit incredibiles. Uel super campana, id est celi cardines altas et planos. Sicut scriptum est: *Et circa cardines celi perambulat* [Job 22:14]. Et quis sit iste ascendens super celos seu campana deserti'. Nominatim exprimit, subdens: In iudice uel forti nomen eius. Quasi dicat nomen istius ascendentis super celos uel campana est *ya*. Quod sonat 'fortis' uel 'iudex'. Et hoc pre ceteris Dei nominibus bene ponitur hic. Et eciam bene hic tali Deum dicit uocari nomine eo uidelicet

¹ Emendated from *exurgat*.

² Hebraica + Gallicana (hereafter called H and G respectively): dissipentur; variant of SLh.

³ H: canite; G: psalmum dicite.

⁴ H: per deserta; G : super occasum.

quod Dominus super deserti campana ascendens et populum suum ducens; utrumque in se habere ostensus est et fortitudinem et iudicium ad quorum utrumque *ya* ipsius ascendentis nomen se habet fortitudinem quippe ostendit in miraculose gestis. Ut in manne dacione et in aquarum de petra educatione fortitudinem uero simul et iudicium ut in gencium inimicarum subuersione. Sic glorificando filium et sic conterendo inimicum. In quo iustum Domini iudicium claruit. Quod significat: ipsius hic positum Hebreum nomen *ya*. Hoc uero notandum quod pro hoc Hebreo nomine *ya* in Caldeo ponitur hic tale Domini nomen quod 'timorem' designat. Sicut et in illo cantici uersiculo *fortitudo mea et laus mea Dominus* [Ps. 117 (118):14]. Ubi nos Dominus: Hebreus habet *Ya*. Chaldeus uero tale Domini nomen quod 'timorem' denotat. Iuxta quod forte scriptum est quod *iurauerit Iacob per timorem patris sui Ysaac* [Gen. 31:53] illud Dei nomen in iuramento assumens, quod secundum Chaldeum 'timorem' designat et super omnia timendum Deum notat. Quem et Iacob ibidem timorem patris sui Ysaac uocat, dicens: *nisi Deus patris mei Abraham et timor Ysaac affuisset michi, forsitan modo nudum me dimisisses* [Gen. 31:42]. Quod igitur hic in psalmo dicitur secundum nos: 'in forti' seu 'iudice' et secundum Hebreum: 'in *ya* nomen eius'; hoc est secundum Chaldeum tanquam si diceretur: 'in timore nomen eius'. Ut sit sensus preparate uiam ascendenti super campana ita ut timeatis ipsum et exultetis coram ipso. Unde et mox subicit et exultate coram eo. Et hoc idem est quod in alio psalmo dicitur: *Seruite Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore* [Ps. 2:11]. Diligenter tamen attendendum quod non dixerit consueto scripture more *ya* nomen eius sed *in ya* nomen eius, pro quo nos 'in iudice nomen eius'. Hoc quidem attendendum: nec enim uacat quod ita insolenter dictum est. Unde sciendum quod Dominus et integris habeat nomen et dimidium. Et quidem nomen Domini integrum synagoga fidelis sic posteris pronuntiandum tradidit, scilicet *adonay*. Non quod illud sic omnino exprimetur; ineffabile enim est sed ne penitus taceretur. Et est nomen istud Domini integrum: quatuor litterarum. Unde et 'tetragrammaton' dicitur. Nam uero ipsius dimidium ex duabus tamen illius nominis integri litteris constat. Et hoc est dimidium integri illius nomen quod secundum Hebreum hic positum legitur, scilicet *ya*, continens in se medietatem integri nominis quod dicimus quatuor esse litterarum ex quibus due sunt in hoc dimidio nomine, quod est *ya*. Et hoc est quod psalmus hic notat dicens: 'In *ya* nomen eius', id est pars quia medietas nominis eius integri de hoc tamen nomine Domini integro et nominis eius dimidio alibi super hunc psalmorem librum plenius dixisse nos meminimus [m. Supra 9 *Dominus in sempiternum*]. Et ideo nunc pertranismus.

6. Patre⁵ pupillorum et iudice⁶ uiduarum Deus in habitaculo sancto suo

Quasi exultate coram eo; eo uidelicet patre pupillorum eiam quasi hoc erit de laude eius quod dicetur pater pupillorum et iudex uiduarum. Pater pupillorum fuit quando pupillus fuit Israel. Sicut scriptum est: *Pupilli facti sumus absque patre* [La. 5:3]. Et iudex fuit uiduarum quando iudicium fecit de Ierusalem. Sicut

⁵ H: patri; G: patris.

⁶ H: defensori; G: iudicis.

scriptum est: *facta est quasi uidua Dominus⁷ gentium* [La. 1:1]. Et accipitur nunc pater et iudex, scilicet castigator, uel quid dicet pater pupillorum et iudex uiduarum sic accipe id est alumpnus et tutor
uel monachos

7. Deus habitare facit solitarios in domo; deducit⁸ uinctos in oportunitate; auersores⁹ autem habitauerunt in siccitatibus

Quos ante dixerat iustos, nunc solitarios uel monachos uocat. Ierusalem scilicet prius per captiuitates que sustinuit dispersum. Et tunc quasi seorsum manentem. Hii istinc, illi illinc, sicut et hodie cernimus Iudeos per regna, urbes et opida separatim habitantes./ 70rb/ Et ideo solitarios uocat. Sed cum Dominus miserans captiuitatem soluisset in terram suam reducti habitabant simul. Et hoc est Deus solitarios, id est illos qui ante captiuitatis tempore soli et separatim a se erant; habitare facit in domo, id est ut queque familia habitet in domo sua in pace. Et familie ipse uicine sint inter se. Unde bene subdit educit uinctos, id est uinculis captiuitatis attrictos ut habitaremus simul quaque familia in domo sua. Hoc demum Israeli fecit Dominus ipso post longos deserti circuitus et regum uictorias et populorum strages in terram promissionis introducto. Uinctos uero dicit captiuitatis Egypciace uincula notans, sicut et in psalmo alibi: *Et eduxit eos per uiam rectam* [Ps. 106:7]. Et infra habitantes in tenebris et umbra mortis alligati inopia et ferro educit inquam uinctos; et hoc in oportunitate, id est quando tempus erat oportuno, scilicet uerno tempore: mense nisan post hyemis aspera tempore oportuno ad uiandum. Pro quo monuit Dominus ut orarent *Orate inquit non fiat fuga uestra hyeme uel sabbato* [Mt. 24:20]. Auersores scilicet Egypcii habitauerunt in siccitatibus, id est relicta eorum terra arida et infecunda tale per decem plagas Egyptus facta est Israele egresso. Nec est furte usque ad diem hanc ad pristina ubertatem reuersa.

8. Deus cum egredieris¹⁰ ante populum tuum: dum gradereris¹¹ per desertum semper

Nota quod dicit dum gradereris per desertum. Hoc est quod ante dixerat: ascendenti super campana. Cum inquam ingredereris ante populum tuum.

9. Terra commota est et celi distillauerunt a facie < Dei hac < Synai a facie Dei.¹² Dei < Israel.¹³

⁷ emendation of *Domina*.

⁸ H + G: educit.

⁹ H + G: fortitudine; increduli.

¹⁰ H + G: -eris; variant from KΘSL.

¹¹ H: ambulores; G: pertranieris.

¹² H: <tua> Deus; G + variant from RIAK: distillauerunt, Dei.

¹³ H: <est in>.

Terra commota id est circumque gencium nationes conturbate. Sicut scriptum est. Ascenderunt populi et irati sunt et cetera. Et celi scilicet aerei distillauerunt a facie Dei, id est Deo presenciam suam indicante et uisibiliter operante. Quomodo uero distillauerunt celi: infra astendit subdens pluuiam uoluntariam et cetera. Uerum de qua ceperat terre commocione: interponit prius dicens hoc id est in terre commocione hac eciam mons Synai commotus est. /70va/ Et hoc: a facie, id est presenciam Dei et non Dei cuiuslibet: sed Dei Israel

10. Pluuiam uoluntariam uentilasti¹⁴ Deus: hereditatem tuam laborantem tu confortasti.

Ecce quod de celis distillantibus in genere premiserat sed de stillici diis seu pocius stillis non expresserat; exprimit nunc sic. Pluuiam, et cetera. Et uocat pluuiam uoluntaria: manna quod instar pluuiie distillabat de celis. Sicut in alio psalmo scriptum est. *Et pluit super eos manna* [Ps. 77:24]. hereditatem tuam prius in Egypto laborantem: tu postea confortasti, eductam uel aliter: pluuam uoluntariam et cetera. Et uocat pluuiam uoluntariam: pluuiam de domini placito ad annue messis plenitudinem datam. Ut erat temporanea in autumpno ad iacta semina nurriencia. Serotina in uere ut iam nutritis seminibus incrementa prestaret. Hanc uero dicitur Dominus hic uentilasse. Sicut enim stelle quedam ita et sunt uenti quidam pluuiam inducentes, unde a propheta quedam stelle dicte sunt stelle pluuiarum. Sicut scriptum est: *Quam ob rem prohibite sunt stelle pluuiarum: et serotinus ymber non fuit* [Jer. 3:3]. Similiter est et uentus quidam qui in Gallico quasi nomine proprio 'pluuialis' appellatur. Eo quod flans ipse pluuiam inducere soleat, hanc pluuiam dedit Deus hereditati sue, id est populo suo mandata eius custodienti. Et hoc est. O Deus pluuium uoluntaria uentilasti, id est uentorum tuorum flatu induxisti. Et hereditatem, id est populum tuum quem quasi ad inhabitandum et colendum pre ceteris elegisti laborantem prius in Egypto ut diximus et in deserto; tu confortasti dans ei ex pluuiis uoluntaria bonorum temporalium plenitudinem. Uel ita ut uocet hereditatem non populum sed ipsam terram Iudeam. Quam expulsis nacionibus inimicis et omni iure ex hereditatis Dominus eam sicut uulgo dicitur: in gladio adquisiuit et bello. Unde et sic adquisita bene ipsius hereditas dicitur quam et dedit primogenito suo Israel. Et hanc hereditatem suam, id est terram hanc multociens propter inhabitancium peccata laborantem, id est ex pluuiarum defectu sitibundam et aridam, Deus confortauit. /70vb/ Sicut scriptum est: *Aperiet Dominus thesaurum optimum: selum ut pluuiam tribuat terre sue in tempore suo* [Deut. 28:12] uersa incede terra propter inhabitancium peccata laborante. Sicut scriptum est: *det Dominus ymbrem terre sue puluerem, uel ariditatem sterilem, et de celo descendat super te cinis* [Deut. 28:24]. Uocans igitur hereditatem Dei terram scilicet Iudeam quam gladio adquisiuit bene subdit.

11. Bestia¹⁵ tua habitauerunt in ea; preparasti in bonitate tua pauperi Deus

¹⁴ H: elevasti; G: segregabis.

¹⁵ H + G: animalia.

Et uocat Dei bestiam septem illas inimicas gentes que bestie erant morum, scilicet bestialium. Et hec bestie habitauerunt in ea, scilicet hereditate, id est in Iudea quam tamen pauperi Israeli preparauit Deus. Et attende quod nomen bestie ponit hic singulariter et collectivae. Unde pluraliter subdit habitauerunt ut sintasis ad intellectum referatur. Uel si hereditatis nomine populus ipse ut premisimus intelligatur dicere itidem quod bestie Dei habitauerunt in ea, scilicet hereditate ita ut simplex fiat relatio; ut uocet hereditatem nequam prius, scilicet populum sed potius terram ipsam. Et est sententia eadem. Dicit uero litterator quod per bestiam Dei possint etiam hic intelligi Philistiim qui fines Iudee frequenter ingressi sunt. Et de Iudea per uim multa occupauerunt. Sed ita ingredi et occupare habitare non est nec propterea diceret psalmus habitasse et si occupasse sic constet. Unde ante Israelis ingressum de septem inimicarum gentium habitatione melius accipiendum est. Uel quod adhuc accommodatius est. Bestiam Dei uocat ipsum populum Dei Israel, synagogam scilicet. Et bene fidelis singagoa Dei dicitur bestia; bestia propter simplicitatem. Et Dei propter subiectionem. Et hoc est: Bestia tua habitauerunt in ea, scilicet hereditate quam tu o Deus preparasti in bonitate tua pauperi scilicet Israeli, ut supra. Super hunc locum fabulantur Hebrei dicentes illum annorum quadraginta errorem per solitudinem Dei fuisse beneficium. Eo quod habitatores terre promissionis primo audientes aduentum Israel in terram suam pro timore et ut aduentantibus inimicis terram delectabilem minus et minus fecundam efficerent: arbores fructuosas ceciderint. Sed post cum tanto tempore in uasta detinerentur solitudine /71ra/ quasi iam securi nouas arbores replantauerunt; unde contigit quod Israel terram ingrediens fructuum ubertatem in qua plurimum delectabatur inueniret. Et hoc est secundum eos quod psalmus tangit hic, dicens preparasti in bonitate tua et cetera.

12. Domine dabis sermonem euangelizantibus¹⁶ exercitui plurimo¹⁷

Quasi ita commouebitur terra et hec et illa dabit Dominus populo suo et hoc euangelizabitur in uniuersa terra. Quia Dominus faciet euangelizari sic. Et hoc est quod psalmista conuerso ad Dominum sermone dicit. Domine tu ipse dabis sermonem euangelizantibus non simpliciter dicit annunciantibus sed euangelizantibus, ut non solum annunciationem sed et bonam annunciationem designaret. Et quibus sint euangelizaturi subdit exercitui plurime, hoc est exercitui gentium. Uerum psalmus euangelizantium personas non determinat. Liberam nobis dans facultatem ut aut prophetas aut alias fidelis sinagoge personas intelligamus euangelizantes hos. Et quidem credibile quod de prophetis fuerint uel secundum aliam litteram que tamen Hebreo minus consonat: Domine dabis sermonem annuntiatricibus fortitudinis plurime. Et uocat annuntiatrices quos prius euangelizantes. Sed genere feminino. Notans sinagoge inbecillitatem et impotenciam contra gentium fortitudinem etiam in precipuis. ipsius filiis nisi Dominus opem ferret. Dabit igitur Dominus sermonem illis qui plurimam fortitudinem suam annuntiabunt contra reges gentium pro populo suo Israel. Et quoniam dixerat euangelizantibus exercitui plurime seu annuntiatricibus fortitudinis

¹⁶ H: adnuntiatricibus; influence from G.

¹⁷ H: fortitudinis plurimae; G: virtute multa.

plurime. Et non determinauerat quid euangelizare uel annunciare deberent exercitui; nunc determinat quid subdens:

uel federabuntur federabuntur

13. Reges exercituum mouete mouete¹⁸ et pulcritudo domus diuidet spolia

Quasi hoc est quod euangelizare debent. O reges exercituum plurimorum, id est ouos reges gencium multarum; mouete mouete, id est discedite discedite de medio terre Israel seu eciam de uestris propriis regnis. Quod uero germinat dicens mouete mouete festinam mouet [*m.* uel festinanter] ipsorum mocionem. Et scitote quod uobis motis pulcritudo domus Dei, scilicet Israel, diuidet /71rb/ inter se spolia uestra. Sicut in propheta expressim scriptum est: *Et erunt negociacio eius et mercedes eius* [Isa. 23:18]: sanctificate Domino. Hoc eciam multociens et maxime regnante Daud Israeli contigisse et spoliā triumphatorum regum gencium diuisisse [1 Sam. 28:1]: nemo dubitat nisi qui Malachim ignorat. Hoc est post Daud tempora sub Achab etsi rege iniquo similiter contigit. Sicut scriptum est: *Porro Benadab rex Syrie congregauit omnem exercitum suum et triginta duos reges secum* et cetera [1 Ki. 20:1]. Similiter et sub Ezechia, sicut scriptum est: *factum est igitur in nocte illa uenit angelus domini et percussit castra Assiriorum* et cetera [2 Ki. 19:35]. Uel secundum aliam litteram: Reges exercituum federabuntur federabuntur. Quasi hic erit sermo euangelizantium exercitui plurimo quod dicent Reges exercituum federabuntur federabuntur et tamen pulcritudo et cetera. Ac si euangelizantes dicant: ‘Quantumcumque contra Israelem firmiter obligati fuerunt reges gencium quod notat uerbum federis geminatum’; Israel tamen preualebit et ipsorum diuidet spolia.

uel dormieritis

14. Si cubaueritis¹⁹ inter medios terminos; pinnule²⁰ columbe deargentate et penne²¹

uel pallore

eius in uirore auri

Adhuc sunt uerba hec prophetarum seu aliorum fidelium sinagoge euangelizantium ad exercitus gencium. Et est sensus: licet reges gencium requiescant in ipsis confiniis terre Israel, nichil Israelem formidantes sed securissimi, ibidem quasi in Israel contemptum ocio et deliciis perfruentes; Israel tamen contra ipsos a Domino defensabitur tanquam columba Domini habens pinnulas deargentatas. Et cuius penne de auro precioso et uiridi talis quippe columba omni custodia digna. Et uocat pennulas: pennarum summitates prominentes. Hebreum enim positum hic nec pennas nec plumas sed pennarum pocius designat summitates quasdam uidelicet quasi pennulas que pennis preminent quas Hebrei uno significant uerbo pro quo nos posuimus pinnulas. Quod uero dicitur hic inter medios terminos, scilicet hoc ipsum est quod in alia edicione

¹⁸ H: foederabuntur foederabuntur.

¹⁹ H: dormieritis.

²⁰ H + G: pinne.

²¹ H: posteriora; G: posteriora dorsi.

habetur inter medios cleros, hoc est: inter medias hereditates, id est in terminis seu conterminiis hereditatum /71va/ hereditatis gencium et hereditans Israel. Quod uero clerus pro hereditate accipiatur habes ex propheta [m. Jer. 12:13 *Seminauerunt tricicum*] dicente hereditatem acceperunt et non eis proderit pro quo septuaginta. Cleri, id est hereditates, non proderint eis. Et bene clerorum nomine hereditates accipiuntur. *Cleros* enim Grece; Latine ‘sors’. Et quidem hereditates sorte distribui solent. Cleri igitur, id est sortes, transumptiue dicuntur hereditates. Que magis proprie clero nomine appellantur. Ut cleros sic sors, cleronomia uero quod ex sorte prouenit, scilicet hereditas ipsi. Et uocat hic reges exercituum reges gencium; annunciant sic. Quos reges exercituum, scilicet gencium. Igitur id est quamuis cubaueritis quasi delicias et nil formidantes inter terminos regni Israel medios inter uos et Ierusalem uel secundum edicionem aliam: inter medios cleros, quod non differt ut expositum est; tamen Israeli nil timendum. Subaudi quia columbe, scilicet Israelis pinnule, id est summitates pennarum eius, sunt deargentate. Et eciam ipse penne eius sunt in uirore, seu pallore, auri, id est de illo auri genere sunt penne eius, quod preciosissimum est. Et ideo columba hic sicut speciosa et preciosa dignam se custodiam habet. Et raptores seu ancupes formidare non oportet. Et ubi nos habemus hic in uirore uel pallore auri, in Hebreo uerbum Hebraicum ponitur preciosissimum auri genus designans. Quod ut non nulli litteratorum tradiderunt [m. Dones filius Leward in parciario (?) suo] non de ophir sed quod adhuc carius: de terra Euilach et Ethipia defertur, nec penitus rubeum nec penitus uiride, sed quodam modo pallice uirens et uiride pallens, id est subpallidum. Unde et codices nostri uarie habent: alii in pallore, alii in uirore auri, quo tale auri genus designetur. Et in Hebreo idem Hebreum uerbum ad talis auri designacionem ponitur hic quod ibi: cum de lepra agitur ubi dicitur. *Et cum uiderit in pariecibus illius ualliculas pallore siue rubore deformes* [Lev.14:37]. Ubi nos pallore, Hebreus habet hoc ipsum uerbum hic positum quod est *Cherach cherach*. Et est hoc unum de septem nominibus quibus aurum apud Hebreos appellatur ad diuersa ipsius auri genera designanda [m. Gallice dicunt *uerdaz*; Jer. 10:8: *pariter insipientes et fatui probabuntur doctrina vanitatis eorum lignum est*]. Interque hoc genus auri hic in psalmo positum preciosius est ad quam auri speciem segregatim et expressim designandam. In lingua nostra unum nomen proprium et speciale non est nisi quod pro eo quasi describendo dicimus: aurum pallidum seu uiride aut tale quid. Propterea igitur hoc Domini columba cuius pinnule sunt /71vb/ deargentate et penne de auro illo preciosissimo in tuto est. Et uere columbe huius, id est synagoge fidelis, pinnule, id est pennarum summitates, deargentate quantum ad exteriorem legis et prophecie intelligenciam. Penne uero ipse auree et de auro preciosissimo hoc quantum ad spiritualem et super celestem legis et prophetarum sensum sacracionem. Ut sint columbe huius penne due propheta et lex uel ita. Et loquitur psalmus secundum usitatum in uulgo morem. Tanquam si quis prepotens de aliquo sibi caro in publico uoce preconia personaret. Nemo tangat istum quia pupilla oculi mei est. Iuxta quod Dominus sacerdotibus suis. Qui tangit uos, tangit pupillam oculi mei. Ita et Dominus per euangelizantes dicit hic regibus exercituum: quamuis cubaueritis uel dormueritis inter medios terminos populi mei Israel, non tamen tangatis seu tangens ipsum quia columba mea est habens pinnulas deargentatas et pennas aureas, id est tam diligenter custoditur a me Israel tanquam si esset columba deargentatas pinnulas et pennas aureas habens. Et hoc est: Si cubaueritis uel dormieritis inter medios terminos non tamen Ierusalem tangens subaudi quia columbe pinnule sunt deargentate et cetera, id est a Deo studiose custoditur tanquam si esset columba

talis que a domino suo diligentissime custodiretur uel sic ut pro se ipso dicat hoc Dauid. Nec mutatur sensus: nisi quod ipse Dauid non populus Israel ut prius nunc columba appellatur. Sicut et alii in psalmi alterius titulo qui sic inscribitur *uictori pro columba muta* [m. Supra Ps. 55:1 *uictori pro columba*]. Qui et psalmo alio columba pennas dari sibi desiderat dicens. *Quis dabit michi pennas sicut columbe* [Ps. 54 (55):7]: et hic igitur datas affirmat dicens: Et penne eius in uirore seu pallore auri. Et reuera fuit Dauid columba per simplicitatem, cuius pinnule deargentate propter uerborum ipsius uenustatem. Et penne auree et de auro precisissimo propter abditam diuinorum misteriorum intelligenciam. Nec est ergo quod talem columbam omni custodia dignam formidare oporteat. Quod dicitur hic inter medios terminos potest eciam sonare inter medias creacas uel in medio creacarum. Et sunt creacre culinarum instrumenta coquendarum carniū deputata officiis. Per que intelliguntur hic carnalium uoluptatum desideria et carnalium uita carnalis. Hoc est igitur quod predicti euangelizantes annunciant exercitui plurimo, id est regibus gencium /72ra/ et exercitibus eorum decentes eis. Si cubaueritis uel dormueritis inter medias creacas uel in medio creacarum quod idem est. Hoc est: Quos reges gencium etsi omnibus carnis affluatis deliciis tamen Israeli nil timendum quia pinnule columbe et cetera non mutatur. Sunt qui legunt hic: plume columbe deargentate. Et quantum ad sensum: satis pro indifferenti est. Sed litterator meus dicebat uerbum Hebreum hic positum magis significare pennarum summitates, quas pinnulas dicimus, quam plumas.

uel dum diuidet

15. Dum extenderet²² robustissimus reges in ea; ninxit²³ in Selmon.

Quomodo columba ista deargentata seu aurea fuerit ostendit. Et quando et ubi hoc fuit quando Dominus per Moysen legem dedit et in sinagoga reges ordinauit. Et uocat ad litteram reges in temporalibus aliorum rectores; et similiter, sed per methaphoram, legis doctores se et alios in spiritualibus bene regentes. Super quos sicut dicitur hic: ninxit, id est ipsos tanquam niuem dealbavit. Dealbavit inquam et candore uite et illuminatione sciencie. Et hoc ipsum est quod sub alia premisit methaphora: columbam hanc deargentatam describens et auream dealbavit inquam tanquam niuem. Et hoc in Selmon, id est in umbra scilicet in deserto, quod non solum umbra sed et umbra mortis a propheta appellatur. Sicut scriptum est. *Qui transduxit nos per desertum. per terram sitis. et imaginem mortis* [Jer. 2:6]. Et hoc est: Cum robustissimus extenderet, id est legem suam extendendo ordinaret reges, id est doctores et in lege peritos. Et alios, scilicet seculi reges et participes in ea, hoc est super eam. Iuxta quod in edicione alia. Dum discerneret celestis reges super eam, scilicet columbam, dum inquam robustissimus faceret hoc. Ninxit, id est uelut niue dealbavit, doctos regis subaudi. Et hoc in Selmon, scilicet in umbra. Selmon Hebraice; umbra Latine. Et uocat umbram ut iam diximus desertum. Uel ideo dicit reges dealbatos in umbra quia lex in qua dealbati sunt ipsa in umbra et caligine data fuit. Sicut scriptum est: *Totus mons Synai fumabat* [Ex. 19:18]. In umbra eciam dicit: quod sicut

²² H: cum divideret; G: dum discernit.

²³ H: nive dealbata; G: nivi dealbabuntur.

magister docet: *in umbra omnia illa contingebant* [1 Cor. 10:11]. Et nota quod ad legis insinuandam dacionem uerbum extensionis signanter posuerit. Nam quasi pannum extendit. cum legem dedit: qua uetum panno totum humanum genus contra infidelitatis frigus operiret. Et isti legis doctores et seculi principes qui indistincte hic reges appellantur, intelligi per metha /72rb/ phoram possunt: columbe huius pennule sunt. Id est pennarum summitates prominentes principes seculi qui in exterioribus presunt; penne uero que interius sunt et uicinius inherent corpori, legis doctores et prelati qui de spiritualibus curam gerunt. Et Dei abscondita quo ab exterioribus remociore eo libius et uicinius contemplantur uel secundum aliam litteram. Dum diuideret. et cetera. Istam regum diuisionem fecit Dominus quosdam de populo suo constituens sacerdotes, alios familiarum principes. Et ita diuisim istos ad hoc et illos ad illud officium deputans. Diuidens singulis ut uolebat per manum Moysi; propterea uero reges hos diuidens et ipsis diuisim terram distribuens per manum Iosue. Tandem uero cultu Dei sub Daud ampliato: ad diuina presertim ministeria reges in synagoga diuisit per manum Daud. In fine uero seculorum precibus filii successerunt. Et diuisi sunt reges in ecclesia matri synagoge filia succedente per manum filii Daud, scilicet per regem nostrum Messiam. Et hoc est. Dum diuidet et cetera.

uel pinguis uel excelsus uel pinguis

16. Mons Dei mons basan;²⁴ mons acutus;²⁵ mons basan

Adhuc de loco prosequitur in quo lex extensa et reges in uel super eam columbam ordinati sunt et tanquam nix dealbati. Et quia dixerat hic in Selmon, id est in umbra, facta nec dum tamen umbre nomine ubi hec facta satis expresserat; adiungit expressim de monte in quo ista robustissimus operatus est. Unde et bene tale in hoc uersiculo nomen Domini positum est quo Dominus omnia potens et robustissimus designatur. Quod Domini nomen Hebraice dicitur *sady* pro quo nos dicimus 'robustissimus' uel 'omnipotens' ad insinuandum quod ea que de legis extensione et regibus in synagoga ordinatis et dealbatis breuiter hic tacta sunt; non create fuerunt potencie sed eius pocius que increata et omnipotens est. Nunc uero de monte subdit in quo ista Dominus operatus est. Unde et mons Dei dicitur. Et ad commendacionem montis additur *basan* Hebraice, Latine 'pinguis'. Et pinguis reuera mons iste Dei ubi lex digito Dei scripta et homini data de mundi creacione et formacione hominis, theodocto illo Moyse docente hominem, homo contra uarios qui tunc percrebuerant mundi errores apprime instructus est. Ubi et reges in synagoga constituti et dealbati. Et iuxta exemplar hoc re /72va/ges eciam nunc in ecclesia synagoge illius filia usque ad seculorum fines procreantur. Et ita mons iste Dei, mons pinguis, de cuius eciam commendacione addit adhuc: mons acutus, id est excelsus; acutus uero non tam tumore terre quam uirtutum Dei in ipso operatione quod uero repetit mons basan pro quo nos mons pinguis ex affectu est. Eo ipso iudicans ex quanto affectu montem commendat ex quo descendit ad hominem super celestis pinguedinis uelut affaciones quidam et preciosa refectio

²⁴ H + G: pinguis.

²⁵ H: excelsus; G: coagulatus.

17. Quare insidiamini²⁶ montes acuti monti²⁷ quem diligit²⁸ Deus ut habitaret in eo siquidem Dominus habitabit in sempiternum.²⁹

Adhuc ad maiorem propositi montis Dei commendacionem de aliis qui per terras diffusi sunt montibus inducit uelut increpans eos quod monti huic conferre se audeant. Et loquitur de monte hoc quemadmodo de regno aliquo preclaro et quod ceteris preferre uolumis solemus dicere. Taceant regna cetera. Non est regnum in terra sicut regnum illud. Ita uulgari hoc more ad montes ceteros psalmus loquitur. Quasi increpans eos omnes ut non insidiamur monti huic quasi attemptando ut sibi comperentur eciam ex equo contendant. Omnes enim nichil sunt comperacione huius ex quo homini tot celestium donorum beneficia prouenerunt. Usitatus eciam et loquencium et scribencium mos est; illa plurimum commendare loca in quibus uel ex quibus pociora nobis solent prouenire beneficia. Sicut ediuerso locis illis interpretari quasi infortunatis in quibus sinistra uobis euenerunt. Unde et idem iste psalmista Dauid sicut hic Dei montem Sinai in quo lex data fuit commendat ita et montes Gelboe ex infortunio³⁰ quod ibi ex strage uirorum forcium Israel contigit maledicendo increpat sic. *Montes Gelboe. nec ros nec pluuia ueniant super uos [2 Sam. 1:21]*. Igitur sicut ibi montem Gelboe ex infortunio quod in eo accidit maledixit sic uersauice ex eo quod in hoc monte bene benedixit huic; uel secundum quod in Arabico est: *Quare tripudiatis montes acuti aduersum montes* et cetera. Ita et /72vb/ Cur simile alibi. *Montes tripudiauerunt quasi arietes [Ps. 113:4:6]*. Et est: uos montes acuti quare tripudiauerunt, id est cum gaudio uos erigitis aduersum montem et cetera. Tripudium est gaudium cordis intensum quod et aliqua corporis gestificatione exterius demonstratur. Possunt eciam hec ad litteram aliter explanari ut per methaforam dicatur mons Dei: reges ipsi dealbati. Mons propter uite super celestis altitudinem: basan, id est pinguis propter spiritualium karismatum plenitudinem. Et mons acutus: propter sublimium contemplacionem. Talem decet esse columbe istius deargentate et auree regem, talem ipsius esse doctorem ut sit ipse primo mons. Et post: talis mons qualis hic describitur: basan, scilicet idem pinguis et acutus. Alioquin non mons Synai, non mons Dei erit sed mons alterius, non Dei. Si pocius de montibus Gelboe super quos nec pluuia descendit nec ros. Aut de illis de quibus scriptum est: *Consummentur montes [Mich. 1:4]* subtus eum et colles cindentur sicut cera. Et ut methaphoram prosequamur: postea alios increpat montes quod monti huic basan insidientur uel contendant aduersum ipsum subdens. *Quare insidiamini* et cetera. Et uocat hoc secundarios montes inimicas gencium potestates. Montes: propter dignitates sublimitatem; bene eciam montes: propter mentis tumidam elacionem. Et acuti: propter doli et malicie, machinacionem subtilem. Unde et benedicit hic sed sub interrogacione quod hee potestates huic monti Dei insidientur, Et reuera insidiabantur semper et infecti erant. Semper enim insidie et uirgia semper inter principes Israelitarum. Quasi inter auersores et fideles. Nulla enim unquam inter discolos unitas. Uel uocat hic montes acutos insidentes monti quem dilexit Deus, id est regibus synagoge: philosophos gencium

²⁶ H: contenditis; G: suspiciamini; H: excelsi; G: coagulatos.

²⁷ H: aduersum montem; G: mons.

²⁸ H: quem dilexit; G: in quo beneplacitum est.

²⁹ H: semper; G: in finem.

doctoribus synagoge in legis doctrina iugiter obuiantes et quibusdam argumentorum munitiis; ipsis in lege uelut quibusdam in uia tendiculis ponentes semper insidias. Et bene philosophi gencium et montes dicuntur et acuti. Montes: propter sermonis sublimitatem et acuti: propter argumentorum et minuciarum quarumdam adinuencionem subtilem. Quos magister precanendos monens scribit sic. *Hec autem dico: ut nemo uos decipiat in sublimitate sermonum* [Col. 2:4]. Et idem. *Uidete ne quis uos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam* [Col. 2:8]. Isti sunt philosophi qui statu legis littere fidelis synagoge spem deridebant et fidem. Iuxta quod in derisum ipsorum unus. *Credat Iudeus Appella* [Hor. 1 Sat. 5:100]. Post uero sub lege gracie regis nostri Messie; fidem quibus pote / 73ra/ rant impugnabant multos secundum mundi elementa fallentes et retrahentes a fide. Cum fide Christi qua et Christiani efficimur gracie sit non nature qua in Christiano per Christum triumphante: ratio spontanee cedit mox et succumbit donec fidei succedat uisio et in uisionem transeat ratio; uerum montibus acutis monti Dei insidiantibus quocumque modo montes accipiuntur omissis de monte Dei prosequitur subdens: quem dilexit Deus ut habitaret in eo. Sicut scriptum est: *Descenditque Dominus super montem Synai in ipso montis uertice siquidem Dominus habitaret in sempiternum* [Ex. 19:20]; hoc magis quam prosignificante pro monte significato accipi potest. Siquidem mons ille Synai tunc forte onocratolorum magis et ericiorum habitacio est. Aut forte in mone Synai perpetuum aliquod remansit sanctitatis uestigium eciam post legem datam, propter quod psalmista Dominum montem illum diligere ad inhabitandum et in eo in sempiternum habitare prohibeat.

18. Currus dei. bis decem³¹ milia habundancium; Dominus in eis \diamond ³² Synai in sancto.

Adhuc supra Dei euangelizantes inter cetera et hoc annunciant quod currus Dei et cetera. Et recolunt hec ad rememorandum quanta fecerit Deus pro columba sua quam auream deargentauit; in qua et reges ordinauit. Propter quam eciam et ipsemet in montem descendit. Et non solus sed ut maior ad columbam dilectio ipsius monstraretur cum innumerabili angelorum multitudine uenit ex quibus omnibusque euangelizant hii et psalmista recolit; columbe huius ad hunc dominum et Deum suum intensius feruere debet dilectio. Eo enim solo recitantur et scribuntur ut columba hec deargentata et aurea ad maiorem dilectionem prouocetur. Et hoc est: Currus Dei in quo super montem Synai descendit Deus; erat bis de milia habundancium scilicet angelorum qui omnibus habundant et nullo carent. Uel potius habundancium nomine significat angelos pre nimia ipsorum multitudine qui tunc cum Domino et in quibus descendit tunc Dominus. Dominus in eis. Quasi isti erant currus Dei quod addit: ne quis Dei currum carnaliter cotigaret. Et ita fuit Dominus subaudi: Synai in sancto transposicio est, hoc est in sancto Synai. Qui ex hoc sanctificatus est et Dei mons dictus. Uel Synai in sancto, id est ita fuit Dominus in Synai tanquam sancto, id est sanctuario suo, id est tanquam in templo /73rb/ suo. Et quod cum tanta angelorum multitudine qui hic Dei currus dicuntur uenerit Dominus legem populo suo

³⁰ Emendation of *infortinio*.

³¹ H: innumerabilis; G: decem milibus multiplex.

in Synai monte daturus eciam habetur ex eo quod alibi scriptum est: *Dominus de Sinai uenit et de Seyr ortus est nobis. Apparuit de monte Pharan: et cum eo sanctorum milia [Deut.33:2]*. Quod enim inducit ibi Moyses de Seyr et Pharan gracia montis Synai est. Eo quod illi montes huic conuincti sunt. Ex quo apparet sicut et ex hoc psalmi loco habundancium id est angelorum milia innumerabilia in legis dacione in montem cum Domino descendisse.

19. Eleuasti in excelsum captiuasti³³ captiuitatem. accepisti dona in homine:³⁴ insuper et non credentes habitare Dominum Deum.

Nunc psalmista seu ipsi euangelizantes sermonem ad Deum conuertunt sic. O Domine tu eleuasti in excelsum, id est in montis Synai cacumen: Moysen subaudi et per eum captiuasti, id est ad presentis uite captiuitatem misisti; captiuitatem, id est legem. Que bene captiuitatis censetur hic nomine eo quod ipsa ab ipsa Dei sapientia uelut a patria sua celesti descendens ad hanc peregrinationis et mortalitatis miseriam celitus delapsa est, ubi et ipsa inter captiuos quasi tenetur captiua. Eo quod hic ipsam et increduli superbe contempnant. Et qui receperunt contumaciter preuaricent. Unde bene hic non modo captiuasset et ipsa captiuitas dicitur. Et ita accepisti de sublimi et profundo sapientie sue thesauro dona, id est diuina legis tue mandata hominibus donanda; in homine, id est per hominem, scilicet per Moysen, hoc est in Moyses hec dona tua que de abdito sapientie tue thesauro accepisti et que hominibus donasti, hominibus distribueret. Et est Hebreæ lingue familiare ‘in’ pro ‘per’ ponere. Iuxta quod magister dicit: *conuiuificauit nos in Christo [Eph. 2:5]* ut ostenderet diuicias glorie sue super non in Christo et multa in hunc modum. Usitattissimus enim est loquendi modus ut dicatur in hoc, id est per hoc. Ita et hic in homine, id est per hominem. Uel ita ut non uocet Dei dona hic legis mandata per hominem Moysen homini a Deo data sed potius diuina carismata homini celitus /73va/ data per que prius data perficerentur mandata. Et hoc est quod dicit: ‘Et item tu Domine lege sic captiuata accepisti dona ex excelsis tuis de celesti plenitudine tua’. Iuxta quod scriptum est *Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est [Jas. 1:17]*; accepisti in qua dona tua de sursum in homine distribuenda subaudi ut uidelicet post legem datam dona tua celestia interius, scilicet in cordibus hominum diuideres. Unde signanter ponit in dicens in homine. Nam frustra legem dedisset nisi et pariter gratiam contulisset adimplendi unicuique sicut Deus diuisit alii plus, alii minus. Qui ergo prius legem dedit postea de uirtutum suarum thesauro dona accepit ad legem perficiendam distribuenda hominibus. Et hoc est quod magister apostolica autoritate uerbum commutans sed uerbi commutati sensum declarans; dicit *dedit dona hominibus [Eph. 4:8]*. Istud enim accipe sicut magister aperte exprimit: dare est secundum quod et nos iam expleuimus. Uidetur autem de hiis presertim hic loqui psalmus qui ante legem littere sub lege nature Dei unius cultores erant; sed lege data ad ipsam sine gracia perficiendam inualide sine qua lex sicut magister docet *iram operatur [Rom. 4:5]*. *Quam et propter transgressionem posita perhibet [Gal. 3:19]*. De hiis igitur

³² H + G: in.

³³ H + G: ascendisti; H: captivum duxisti; G: cepisti captiuitatem.

³⁴ H + G: hominibus.

ante legem ueris Dei cultoribus loquitur maxime cum distinguendo subiungat: Insuper et non credentes habitare Dominum Deum. Quasi data lege non solum accepisti dona tua distribuenda in homine, id est in uero Dei cultore, sicut iam expositum est, sed insuper tu Domine qui Moysen eleuasti in excelsum et dando legem captiuasti fecisti quod eciam hii qui unius et ueri Dei cultores non erant, conuersi ad fidem et legem tuam suscipientes fierent habitatio tua. Et hoc est insuper tu Domine fecisti subaudi Dominum Deum scilicet Deus ipsum habitare, id est inhabitare eciam non credentes, id est eos qui ante legem datam non crediderunt. Ut lege data fieret de curru Dei qui ante fuerant uehacula diaboli. Uel fecisti Domine non credentes habitare Dominum Deum, scilicet ut qui prius non credebant inhabitarent te Deum. Multi enim ex gentibus audientes magnalia Dei facta cum populo suo in Egypto et terribilia in legis dacione ad fidem lege data conuersi sunt. Quod et dicit psalmus sic Insuper et non credentes et cetera. Uel ita accepisti dona in homine, id est ipsos homines data lege dona accepisti, eo quod legis mandati obedientes Domini esse ceperunt. Uel aliter iuxta /73vb/ litteram que in alia habetur edicione: Ascendisti in altum et cetera. Et loquitur secundum litteratorem psalmus ad Moysen, sicut prius ad Deum de Moyse, de quo manifeste habetur quod in montem ad Deum ascendit. Sicut scriptum est: *Moyses autem ascendit ad Deum* [Ex. 19:3]. Quod uero psalmus adicit captiuasti captiuitatem accepisti dona et cetera. De Moyse itidem intelligendum non quia ipse fecerit sed quia per ipsum a Domino factum sit ut in lectione precedenti expositum est. Minime tamen pretereundum quod iste psalmi uersiculus ab ecclesiasticis ad regis nostri Messie ascensionem referatur. Unde et a magistro inducitur sic. Propter quod dicit. *Ascendens in altum captiuam duxit captiuitatem; dedit dona hominibus* [Eph. 4:8]. Uerum magister ad probandum quod intendit uerba aliter quam in Hebreo sint apostolica ut iam predictum est auctoritate commutat. Maxime in eo quod dicit *dedit* cum iuxta ueritatem Hebraicam accepit legendum sit, nisi quod sicut iam supra ostensum est eadem hic utriusque uerbi potest esse sententia. Salua igitur sit sicut hic et in aliis ecclesiastica interpretacio. Quare nos ab Hebreorum litteratoribus seu aliorum benedictis accepimus sicut eciam sedenti michi interdum reuelauerit Dominus quod ad psalmorem sensum pertineat litteralem hoc absque ecclesiastice interpretacionis pre iudicio aliis communico.

20. Benedictus Dominus per singulos dies; onerabit³⁵ nos Deus salutis nostre

Supra psalmus synagogam fidelem ad Dei laudem inuitauit, dicens: Cantate Deo [v. 5] et cetera. Nunc idem interponit ad laudem ipsius pertinens. Et ut laudantes dicant sic: Benedictus Dominus et cetera. Onerabit nos, id est cumulum glorie et salutis dabit plenitudinem quantum quisque portare poterit, hoc est pro cuiusque capacitate.

21. Deus noster Deus salutis: et Domini Dei mortis egressus.

³⁵ H: portabit.

Deus salutis, id est potens et pronus ad saluandum. Et quemadmodum ipse est Deus salutis ita et ab ipso mors eadem et ipse mortis egressus sicut ipsa mors, ita et mortis species qua quisque uiuens ab hac presenti uita egreditur ab ipso est. Et inde est quod disponente altis /74ra/ simo sic, alii moriuntur sic, alii uero sic. Utpote in cuius manu totius uite nostre fortes et tempora. Et egressus mortis singulorum a Domino

22. Uerumtamen Deus confringet capita inimicorum suorum uerticem crinis ambulantis in delictis suis.

Confringet: quasi terribiliter ut more terribili moriantur capita inimicorum suorum, id est nostrorum dicit populus Dei qui iuxta Dei promissum et Dei inimici sunt. Sicut scriptum est: *Inimicus ero inimicis tuis et affligam affligentes te* [Ex. 23:22]. Et pre ceteris inimicis confringet terribilius uerticem, id est superbam elacionem crinis et cetera, id est Esau scilicet Ydumeos qui in peccatis suis et maxime in odio fraterno perseuerant. Unde et in propheta Dominus hostes eos Israel dicit sempiternos Et hic de eis psalmus ambulantis in delictis suis, id est, non reuertentis sed continue peccata peccatis cumulantis. Bene autem crinis nomine: significat semen Esau qui crinitus natus. Et totus sicut scriptum est *in morem pellis hispidus* [Gen. 25:25]. Unde et Esau dictus est. Quod sonat perfectus. Uel uerticem crinis uocat cuius uis peccatoris superbi elacionem qui collum suum iugo legis non dignatur supponere. Et loquitur de eo bonis instar cui nec dum est impostium iugum. Unde et uerticem crinitum, id est pilosum habet. Sicut equa pilo caret cui iugum imponi consuevit.

23. Dixit Dominus de basan conuertam; conuertam de profundis maris.

Dixit psalmus ex Israelis persona quod Deus noster Deus sit salutis. Nunc uero quomodo ab inimicis nacionibus Israelem saluare decreuerit indicit. Conuertet enim eos circumquaque et reducet de regionibus gencium et de maris profundis, id est de insulis maris ad quas ex captiuitatibus uariis dispersi fuerant. Ad quod significandum per ceteris regionum et ciuitatum nominibus elegit unum et unius dumtaxat ciuitatis nomen scilicet basan. Tum quia regnauit prius in ea famosus ille rex gencium Og tum interpretacionis racione. Sonat enim *basan* confusio, uel pinguis, uel siccitas. Bene igitur per hanc gentes significate. In gentibus enim confusio absque /74rb/ ordine discipline pinguedo totius luxurie et siccitas absque pluuiam doctrine et rore gracie. Quod eadem Og; in ea regnauit sanctificationi accidit qui gentis fuit et interpretatur confusio. Et reuera gencium naciones conuoluit omnes sub infidelitatis peccato. Et hoc est dixit id est disposuit uel per prophetas promisit. conuertam id est reducam Israelem dispersum de basan, id est de gentibus et de profundis maris, id est insulis. Sicut per Ezechiele promisit. *Ecce ego assumam* [Ez. 37:19] filios Israel de medio nacionum ad quas abierunt et congregabo eos undique et adducam eos in gentem unam in terra et cetera pariter et de Israelis reductione et in aliis prophetis dominus crebro locutus est, ita et in psalmo nunc.

24. Ut calcet pes tuus in sanguine: lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis a semet³⁶ ipso.

Prosequitur de Israelis conuersione seu reductione ex gentibus insinuans quod nequaquam absque prelio fiet ista ex gentibus Israelis conuersio, sed erit uictoriosa a Deo ut pes Israel calcet in sanguine inimicorum suorum. Et eciam lingua canum suorum eorundem lambet sanguinem. Iuxta illam Domini comminationem per prophetam. *In loco hoc in quo linxerunt canes sanguinem nabaoth: lambent quoque sanguinem tuum* [1 Ki. 21:19]. Et quidem hec tanta non hominis sed ipsius Dei regis sicut mi(?) pro populi sui conuersione erit uictoria. Et hoc est quod conuerso ad Israelem sermone prophetans in futurum psalmista dicit. Ut calcet et cetera. Quasi ‘o Israel conuertam te, conuertam inquam ex inimicis tuis’, hoc est quod sub tropi nubilo premiserat de basan conuertam, conuertam inquam. Et eciam a Deo uictoriose conuertam: ut pes tuus calcet in sanguine similiter eciam et linga canum tuorum lambet de sanguine subaudi et hoc ex inimicis tuis repete. Hoc est in conuersione tua ex inimicis pes tuus calcabit in sanguine et eciam lingua canum tuorum lambet de sanguine inimicorum tuorum. Loquens uero de lingua exprimere uoluit quod ex iam posito de facili sub intelligi potuit. Quia sicut pedis est calcare quod iam expressit ita et lingue est lambere quod mox ex /74vb/ supposito lingue nomine de facili intelligi potuit. Et huiuscemodi subaudicio frequens maxime in Hebreorum scriptoribus qui potissimum iuxta lingue sue ydioma breuitati deseruiunt quemadmodum paucis plurima comprehendit. Hec autem tam uictoriosa Israhelis non sine sanguine inimicorum conuersio, non ab homine erit neque per hominem, sed potius ab ipso Deo. Unde subdit. a semet ipso ab ipso, scilicet Deo non ab alio. Et dicit hic a semet ipso quem admodum in exceptis actionibus solet dici: ‘ipse pluit’, ‘ipse tonat’, ‘ipse choruscat’. Nec est que querat quis ipse de solo quippe Deo intelligitur qui solus in talibus per hoc pronomen significatur sic. In quibus ponit Hebreus unum de Dei nominibus proprius, scilicet *hv* quid sonat ‘ipse’ apud nos tanquam si iuxta Hebreum dicatur: ‘*hv* tonat’, ‘*hv* choruscat’, ubi nos: ‘ipse tonat’, ‘ipse choruscat’. Hoc tamen notandum quod cum *hu* unum sit secundum Hebreos de propriis nominibus Dei, non nisi Deo competit. Cum tamen pronominales dictiones, scilicet ille et ipse, apud nos communes sint sicut Deo esse aliis; hic uero in psalmo ubi habemus a semet ipso, Hebreus habet *hv*, tanquam si dicatur apud nos a semet hv, ex quo iuxta Hebrei sermonis proprietatem determinatur quod dicitur hic a semet ipso ad solum Deum referendum. Et quod ipsius solius opus sit, Israelis tam uictoriosa in sanguine occisorum conuersio et ex inimicis reductio. Significanter enim dicit a semet ipso ex quo notatur discrecio proprietatis; non communio generis sicut in exceptis actionibus operationis singularitas non communio. Hoc autem tam uictoriosa conuersio iuxta prophetarum testimonia in nouissimis erit. In quorum uno de conuersione Israelis sic scriptum est: *Ecce ego assumam filios Israel de medio nacionum ad quas abierunt* [Ez. 37:21] et cetera. Et infra de inimicorum Israel strage, in eodem propheta. Et ipsorum poliandron mox recognosces [*m.* scilicet multitudo hominum simul (?)]. Qui tamen omnia sicut super eundem prophetam habetur iudeus et nostri iudaizantes carnaliter, ecclesiasticus uero spiritualiter accipit. Ego uero ut absque sensus ecclesiastici

³⁶ H: temet.

preiudicio loquitur que hic in psalmo tanguntur³⁷ et alibi in prophetis et maxime in Ezechiele describuntur prolixius circa finem dierum in Antichristi aduentu ad hystoriam fore complenda timide quidem utinam non temere dixerim quando Dominus uerum Israelem catholicorum ecclesiasticam post multas tribulaciones et angustias quas sustinebit tunc in multa occisorum strage seu per angelos suos exterminatores /74vb/ seu qua uis alia celitus immissa plaga ab inimicis nacionibus liberabit. Et hoc esse quod hic in psalmo dicitur Ierusalem ex inimicis conuertendum. Et hoc a semet ipso, id est per solius Dei fortitudinem quicumque ad conterendos ecclesie inimicos de super immissa plaga. Et hoc est quod propheta testatur quia rex noster Messias impium spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet. *Et spiritu inquit labiorum suorum interficiet impium (Is. 11:4)*. Et prophete magister consonat sic. Quem Dominus Iehsus interficiet spiritu oris sui. Quod igitur psalmista ante dixerat: a semet ipso, hoc est quod propheta dixit post: *spiritu labiorum suorum*. Et hoc idem quod magister *spiritu oris sui*, hoc est sola uissionis seu uirtute, seu solum ei maledicendo seu solo diuini uerbi precepto plagam aliquam desuper inmittendo. Ut ignem sulphur aut tale quid [*Gen.19:24; Ez. 38:22*]. Unde et Dominus de nouissima super impium hunc et complices eius plaga per prophetam loquitur sic. Gog. hec dicit Dominus. Tu ille es de quo locutus sum in diebus antiquis in manus seruorum meorum prophetatum Israel. Et infra de eo. *Ignem et sulphur pluam super eum et super exercitum eius et super populos multos qui sunt cum eo [Ez. 38:22]*. Et ne arbitretur quis ad destructionem Antichristi et suorum demonstrandam me erronee ad plagas Gog in Ezechiele recurrisset. Istum enim Gog nonnulli magni in propheta Antichristo interpretati sunt. Et que de Gog prophantur, in Antichristo complenda. Quamquam noui testamenti propheta Iohannes: Gog et Magog solum gencium naciones interpretari uideatur. Uerum de Gog et Magog plenius alias solum ex psalmo occasione data de hiis tetigisse sufficiat. Ceptam iam de inimicis Israelis uictoriosam conuersionem prosequamur quam ex iam factis a Domino psalmista prophat faciendam adhuc. Sicut enim traducens populum suum Dominus per mare liberauit ab Egyptiis ita et Israelem uerum in nouissimo a mundi conturbacione et tumultu conuersum: et inimicis saluabit. Et hoc est quod subdit

25. Uiderunt itinera tua Deus; itinera Dei mei regis mei in sancto

Ac si dicat prophetando hic conuersionem Israelis Dauid: ‘O Israel, de conuersione tua ex inimicis ne dubites quia ipsa Dei itinera in mari, scilicet rubro, uidisti ut traduceret te et saluaret’. Et hoc est quod commiso ad deum sermone dicit: Uiderunt et cetera. Et dominatur hec ipsius Dei itinera. quia tale populi Dei per mare itinerarium solius Dei uirtus /75ra/ non angeli uel hominis fuit. Et ex affectu et in admiracione uirtutis repetit itinera Dei mei regis mei qui est uel erat, tunc in sancto id est in populo suo transeunte. Et sicut premisit dicit: Dei mei propter deuocionem, ita et congrue addit regis mei propter populi transeuntis curam et regimen, eo bene tunc rex quod populum suum ita rexit qua pharao minime suum potuit. Quod igitur ad Deum dicitur hic. Uide itinera et cetera hoc ipsum est quod alibi in psalmo. Similiter conuerso ad Deum sermone dicitur. *In mari uia tua et semite tue in aquis multis et uestigia tua non sunt agnita [Ps. 76:20]*. Eo ipso quod de itinere

³⁷ amended from dittography of *in psalmo tanguntur*.

hoc loquens ad Deum sermonem dirigit: innuens itinerarium tale solius Dei operationem esse. Loquens uero de generali que in fine dierum erit Israel conuersione ex inimicis et post in future liberationis argumentum de illo maris rubri miraculoso transitu Egypciorum ex terminio et Israelis liberatione paucis insinuando annectuens, mystice notat in omnibus hiis future contricionis inimicorum populi sui que in nouissimis erit et nouissime liberationis ipsius tipum iam precessisse. Ac si dicere: 'Quia precessit iam figura conuersionis quandocumque sequetur ipsi populi Dei conuersio, scilicet nouissima a captiuitate reductio'.

Uel recesserunt

26. Preuenerunt cantores organistas³⁸ in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum.

Quasi Dei itinera in mari populum suum per ipsum traduentis meminerat de hiis que post Domini cum illum maris transitum gesta sunt tangit. Et primo de glorioso illo et triumphali maris cantico quod sicut scriptum est: *cecinit Moyses et filii Israelis dicentes: Cantemus Domino gloriose enim magnificatus est* et cetera [Ex. 15:1]. Et isti sunt illi de quibus hic in psalmo habetur quod Preuenerunt uel precesserunt eam cantores organistas, id est pulsantes organa. Et hoc in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum, id est cum iuuenulis que sumpserunt timpana ad diuine laudis augmentum. Qualis fuit Maria Moysi soror et eius comites. Sed carminis triumphalis precentrix erat Maria. Sicut scriptum est. *Sumpsit ergo Maria soror Moysi tumpanum in manu egressaque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum timpanis et choris quibus precinebat dicens: Cantemus Domino* et cetera [Ex. 15:20-21]. In uiris igitur et mulieribus triplex licet habetur hic laudancium erat uarietas. Cantores organiste et iuuenule /75rb/ tympanistrie. Et hoc ordo triplex: cantores primo, organiste secundo, et hii et illi in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum. In ecclesiis et cetera. Quasi et hoc est quod inter laudancium crebro continebant sic se inuicem ad laudem inuitantes

27. In ecclesiis benedicite Deum; Dominum³⁹ de ductibus⁴⁰ Israel.

Eo uidelicet quod tam gloriose duxit Israel. Et hoc est quod dicitur hic de ductibus Israel, adeo gloriosus ductus quod eciam infantes in matrum uteris ut Hebrei tradunt pro ductu hoc diuinas Domino laudes personarent. Uel aliter. Et dicuntur ductus: origines foncium. Sicut nos supra in alio psalmo dixisse meminimus. Sunt ergo ductus foncium: patres duodecim patriarcharum a quibus [m. supra Ps. 35: *Qui tecum est ductus uite*] uelud foncium ductibus tribus duodecim descenderunt de Abraham, scilicet Ysaac et Iacob. Et de hiis ductibus, id est de hiis precipue patribus psalmus hic Deum benedicere monet. Ut dicatur. Benedictus Deus Abraham Ysaac et Iacob. Ut ita de ductibus Israelis benedicatur Deus.

³⁸ H: praecesserunt...qui post tergum psallebant...puellarum; G: praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus.

³⁹ H: Deo Domino; influence from G.

⁴⁰ H + G: fontibus.

28. Ibi Benjamin paruulus dominator⁴¹ eorum, principes Iuda lapidabunt eos⁴²; principes Zabulon principes Neptalii

Hic tradunt Hebrei quod in maris transitu tribus Benjamin hesitantibus ceteris mare prima intrauit. Unde et ipsa iuxta horum assercionem non Iuda tribus ut multi ecclesiasticorum perhibent regnum meruit. Et inde est quod de tribu hac non de Iuda primus super Israele rex assumptus est. Sicut Samuel locutus est ad Saul qui indubitanter de tribus Benjamin fuit: Si tu paruulus in oculis tuis capud Israel tu; pro quo nos: *Nonne cum paruulus esset in oculis tuis: caput in Israel factus es* [1 Sam. 15:17]. Igitur sicut ex psalmo hic ita et ex Caldeo habetur expressius quod Benjamin mare prinus intrauit. Sic enim in Caldeo scriptum est: 'tribus Benjamin que intrauit mare in capite omnium reliquarum tribuum'. Et hoc est quod psalmus tangit hic. Ibi, id est inter laudantes post maris transitum Benjamin dominator eorum, scilicet laudantium omnium dominator propter primum maris ingressum uel continens eos tanquam princeps populos. Unde principes ut dicuntur anguli populorum populos, scilicet continemus et propterea lapidabant te /75va/ eos principes scilicet Beniamitas. Tradunt enim Hebrei quod principes Iuda propter primum maris ingressum uidentes Beniamitas laudem precipuam et dominium consecutos et inuidentes lapides in eos precerunt. Et narrat psalmus figura futuri quod preteritum est: lapidabunt, id est lapidauerunt. Et hoc ipsum ex inuidia fecerunt principes Zabulon principes Neptalii uel ita secundum aliam litteram quam legunt litteratorum plerique: principes Iuda in purpura eorum. Uerbum enim Hebreum hic positum et ad purpuram et ad lapidacionem commune est. Et est: principes Iuda in purpura eorum et cetera. Id est induti erant principes isti pre ceteris tribuum principibus uestibus culcioribus. Uerum priori littere congruit magis quod sequitur: precepit et cetera. Sic enim dictum est tanquam si ceteris tribus inuidentes tribui Benjamin sub interrogacione alloquitur eam sic:

29. Precepit Deus tuus fortitudini⁴³ tue; robora⁴⁴ Deus hoc quod operatus es in nobis

Ac si dicant: 'Numquid o tribus Benjamin precepit Deus fortitudini tue', id est ac si nobis omnibus forcior sis ut prima intrare mare presumeres subaudi. Quod uero subdit. robora uel conforta et cetera, psalmiste oratio est. Et est: Robora nos Deus, et nos conforta qui iam omnia hec operatus es in nobis in patribus scilicet nostris. Ac si orando dicat. Sicut magnifice operatus es olim in patribus ita et magnifice nunc operare in filiis. Magnifice inquam in nobis filiis, ita ut de templo tuo quod me disponente et preparante fiet tibi in Ierusalem reges eciam gencium ipsius uisum honorem et gloriam tibi munera offerent. Et hoc est

30. De templo tuo quod est in Ierusalem; tibi offerent reges munera

⁴¹ H: continens.

⁴² H: in purpura sua.

⁴³ H: de fortitudine.

⁴⁴ H: conforta; G: confirma.

De templo tuo, quod est in Ierusalem, id est quod secundum dispositionem et preparacionem meam iam quodammodo est in Ierusalem; tibi offerent reges munera. Quod est hoc oro ut reges de gloria et decore templi tui in Ierusalem quam uideant laudis tue sumentes materiam ad offerendum tibi pro mores fiant. Et est magis oratio quam assertio de templo tuo et cetera. Quod uero dicit quod est in Ierusalem cum nec dum tempore Dauid templum factum fuisset; in /75vb/ tellige illud sicut iam diximus in corde Dauid factum secundum dispositionem et eorum eciam que templo necessaria preparacionem Dauid enim sicut scriptum est: *omnia ad templi fabricam necessaria: filio suo Salomini preparauit* [1 Chron. 28:1].

31. Increpa bestiam calami congregacio pinguum⁴⁵ uituli populorum

uel calcitrancium contra rotas argenteas

complacantur⁴⁶ nisi in complacione argenti.⁴⁷

Post quam pro se et pro toto Israele orauit ibi: Robora Deus quod operatus es in nobis; interpretatur inimicis subdens Increpa tribulando bestiam, scilicet Esau qui hic bestia dicitur et alibi apro silue comparatur . Propterea eciam bene bestia dicitur quod sicut scriptum est: *est Esau uir gnarus uenandi et homo agricola* [Gen. 25:27]. Et licet bestie nomine intelligitur hic Esau adhuc de bestia hac, sub methaphora tamen subdit expressius dicens: congregatio pinguium uel taurorum. Quasi dicat hec bestia calami de qua loquor non est accipienda pro aliqua bestia singulariter sed pluraliter potius. Quia ipsa est congregacio pinguum uel taurorum uel forcium ac si dicat. Per hanc bestiam calami accipe uniuersos filios Esau pre ceteris igitur finitimis gentibus inter prius in pinguatos, fortes uiribus et animo ferociores. Ut, id est quorum respectu reliqui de gentibus sunt subaudi uituli populorum; uituli, scilicet inter populos. Quasi filii Esau sunt uelut tauri, reliqui uero in populis ipsorum respectu tanquam uituli lasciui quidem et leues sed tamen filiis Esau in pinguedine et in robore impares complacantur nisi in complacione argenti. Sicut supra filio Esau notauit pingues seu forces et feroces ita et hic designat cupidos non componentes nec pacem cum aliquibus habentes nisi in acceptione argenti. Et hoc est complacantur et cetera, id est non complacantur nisi in complacione argenti. Plerique habent: complacantur in rotis argenteis. Et uocat rotas propter masse argenteae seu potius propter monere rotunditatem. Sic enim moneta cuditur in rotundum. Uel rotas argenteas dicit quod argentum semper quasi incursum sit uarii humanarum rerum assidue emergentibus necessitatibus transiens ab hoc ad illum. Unde et bene per rotas argenteas argentum intelligitur. Sunt uero qui habent calcitrancium contra argenteas rotas. Et dicit calcitrancium quasi applaudencium. Qualiter equi cum /76ra/ nullius uinculi retinacula senciant calcitrare solent quasi reddite sibi liberati applaudentes. Ita et applaudent hii contra rotas argenteas, hoc est quod ex quacumque causa argenteae eis rote obuenerint. Et triplicis littere quam eam posuimus idem est sensus. Sed ea quam primo posuimus Hebraice ueritati pre ceteris consonat.

⁴⁵ H: fortium; G: taurorum.

⁴⁶ H: in vitulis ... calcitrantium.

Dispersit populos \diamond bella uolunt⁴⁸: 32. offerent⁴⁹ uelociter ex Egypto, Ethiopia curret dare manus suas Deo.⁵⁰

Adhuc de bestia calami psalmus prosequitur. Post mala ostensa que bestia uia habet in se describens etiam mala que aliis intulit et precipue tribubus Israelis. Et hoc est: Dispersit, scilicet bestia illa calami prenominata, scilicet semen Esau; populos, id est filios Israel qui etiam alibi populi uocantur, ibi Dilexit populos [Deut. 33:3]. Nec mirum si bestia illa dispersit: quod bella uolunt; pluraliter dicit uolunt loquens de bestia nomine bestie singulariter. Ut sic indicaret bestiam non hic accipiendam singulariter sed collectiue et pluraliter bestia igitur calami hec bella uolunt. Ut iuxta regulam sithaseos: non ad nudum uerbum sed ad sensum referatur constructio. Et est sensus: filii Esau semper bella uolunt, bella querunt. Sed tanquam aliqui filiorum Israel ab hac bestia grauiter afflicti de bestie huius ex terminio tacite quererent, docet psalmus quando bestia hec destruetur, scilicet quando sulcitabitur rex Messias. Cuius aduentum non exprimendo sed describendo subdit dicens: offerent uelociter et cetera; hoc est quod supra in alio psalmo dictum est. *Populus quem ignorauit seruiuit michi: in audicione auris obediet michi* [Ps. 17:45]. Quod enim ibi dicitur *populus quem ignorauit*, hoc est quod dicitur hic Egyptus et Ethiopia. Et quod dicitur hic uelociter et curret, hoc est quod ibi dicitur *in audicione auris*. Per Egyptum itaque et Ethiopiam gencium duo regna precipua gencium ad fidem introitus significatur hic. Aperte totum. Completus sicut hodie cernimus in regis nostri Messie aduentu quando iam iuxta hunc psalmi locum propheticum semen carnale Esau, semen Iacob carnale Israeliticum, scilicet populum, iam non impugnat; dicit itaque: offerent et cetera. Quasi hec bestia calami bella uolunt sed secus erit quando subaudi: offerent uelociter ex Egypto, scilicet Egypcii et extrema gencium Ethiopia curret uel festinabit et cetera hoc est quando gentes ad fidem /76rb/ conuerse fuerint. Et nota quod ubi nos habemus hic uelociter, in Hebreo est *hasmannin*, quod sonat etiam festina munera. Ut si dicamus: 'offerent festina munera ex Egypto'. Dicunt tamen litteratorum nonnulli quod *hasmannin* nomen ciuitatis sit cuiusdam scilicet ciuitatis Egypti que proprio nomine notata est *hasmona*. Et quoniam gencium uocationem et introitum ad fidem manifeste iam prophetauerat terrarum regna ad laudandum inuitat, dicens:

33. Regna terre cantate Deo psallite⁵¹ Domino. Semper.

Ecce quod non solum angustum istud Iudee regnum sed pluraliter regna ad cantandum inuitat. Utpote de quorum ad fidem introitu proxime actum est. Secundum uero litteratorem agitur de ultima in hac psalmi serie

⁴⁷ H: contra rotas argenteas.

⁴⁸ H: disperge populos qui bella uolunt.

⁴⁹ H: -a; G: uenient.

⁵⁰ H: festinet dare manus Deo.

⁵¹ H: canite; influence from G.

Israelis redempcione que erit tempore Messie quem expectant de qua premiserat: offerent uelociter et cetera. Tunc enim ut fabulantur uenient de cunctis gentibus ut offerant et adducent Israhelem per terras dispersum in equis et quadrigis et uehiculis aliis quasi gratum domum domino ad montem Syon in Ierusalem. Iuxta illud sicut interpretantur Ysaie uaticinium. Et mittam ex eis qui salluati fuerunt et infra annunciabunt gloriam meam gentibus: *donum Domino in equis et in quadrigis et in lecticis et in mulis et in carrucis ad montem sanctum meum Ierusalem* [Is. 66:20]. Et hoc ipsum est quod dicit hic psalmus: offerent uelociter et cetera per Egyptum, Ethiopiam, reliquas gentes intelligens a parte totum ut et supra secundum ecclesiasticum. Unde et pro hac ultima Israelis redempcione regna terre cantare monet, eo quod Dominus ostensa magnitudine et clemencia circa populum suum ipsum ab inimicis gentium nacionibus liberauerit. Uerum secundum ipsos litteratores regnis terre magis lugendum tunc quam cantandum. Eo quod in ultima Israel redempcione ut aiunt omnia regna secundum quod expectant carnali Israeli seruili quadam condicione subicientur tunc.

34. Qui ascendit super celum celi a principio: ecce dabit uoci sue uocem fortitudinis

Ab ecclesiasticis expositum patet. Litterator nil explanans; hunc psalmi pertransit uersiculum, eo /76va/ forte quod de regis nostri Messie super celos celorum ascensu euangelicet magis quam prophetet Totum itaque pertransit, nisi quod dabit pro dat exponit hic; dabit uoci sue et cetera, id est 'dat'. Ipsius enim dicere facere est.

35. Date fortitudinem⁵² Deo super Israel; magnificencia eius et fortitudo eius in celis.

Date Deo fortitudinem super Israel est soli Deo ascribere et ipsum solum laudare super hiis que magnifice fecit cum Israel. magnificencia eius et fortiter pro Israhele in terra operatus est cuius fortitudo et magnificencia et fortitudo in celis non ideo dicitur quod ubique eadem et equalis non sit sed in celis precipue uidetur et ad terras per opera uisibili uenit. Et hoc est. Date fortitudine et cetera

36. Terribilis Deus de sanctuariis tuis⁵³: Deus Israel ipse dabit fortitudinem et robur populo benedictus Deus.

Quasi. Et si egerit Dominus cum Israele magnificie et clementer, nichilominus tamen plerumque agit eciam terribiliter. Ut quando populum suum castigat et uerberat. Et secundum hoc Dei sanctuaria uocat psalmus synagogam fidelem et presertim in ea diuinis mancipatis obsequiis, sacerdotes scilicet et leuitas et alios eciam

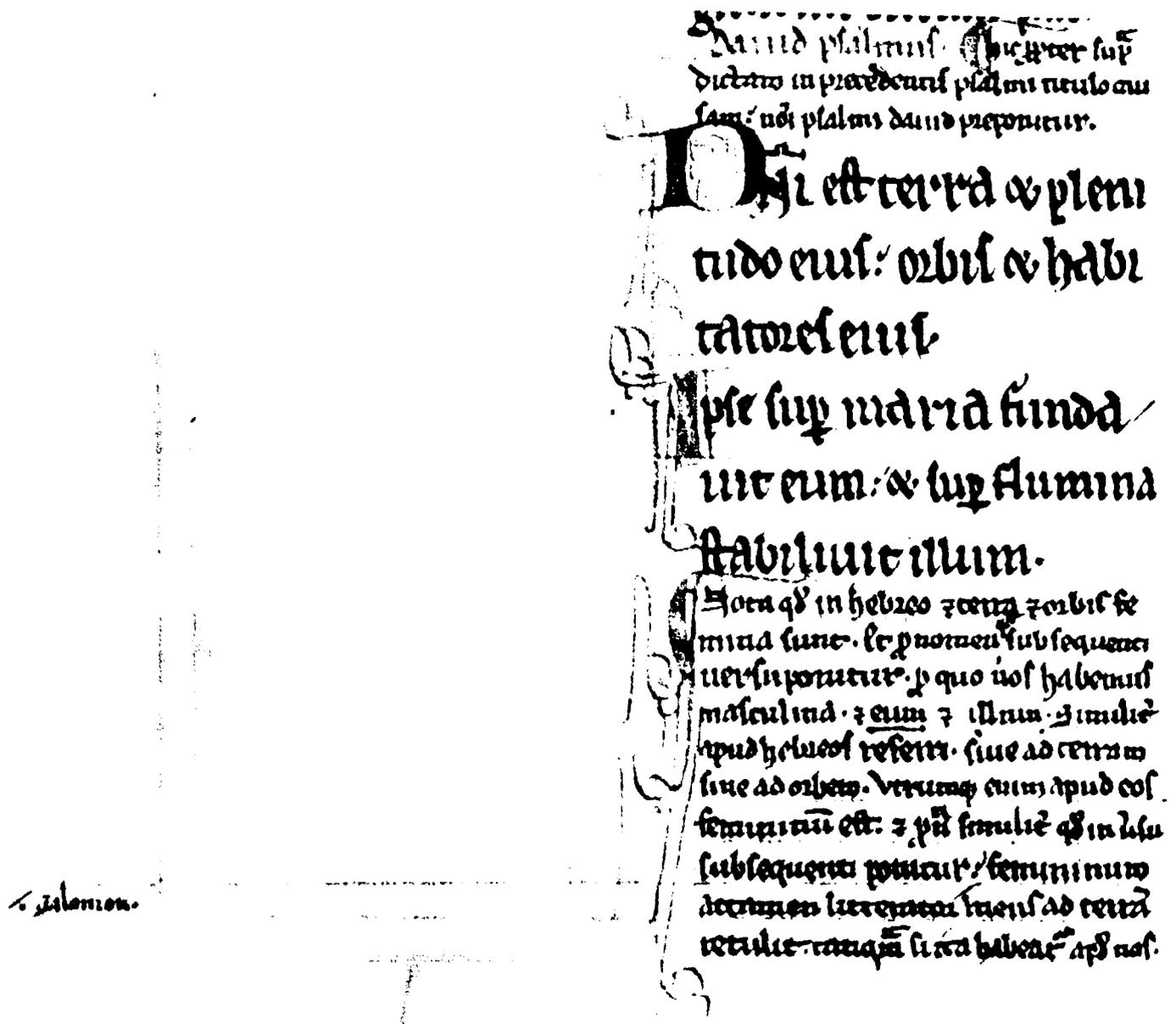
⁵² H + G: gloriam.

⁵³ H: -o; G: sanctis.

inferioris gradus orditus. Eo ipso multum terribilis quod nec templo suo partat nec suis. Unde bene sanctuarium ponit qui minime sicut nec reliquus populus a flagello immunes. Uel Daud, in spiritu loquens, sanctuaria uocat templum et templi edificia per Salomonem filium suum post exstructa. Quorum propheticè preuidit in posterum destructionem. Unde dicit hic: Terribilis et cetera. Uerumtamen non continebit in ira sua miseraciones suas. Unde subdit. Deus Israel ipse dabit et cetera. Uel dicitur Deus terribilis de sanctuariis suis quia ipsum de sanctuariis suis terribilem predicant sed fortitudine insuperabilem et iusticia inflexible ipsius sanctuaria talem ipsum esse docent et laudant. Et dicit sanctuaria sua: iustos suos et in celo et in terra loca eciam diuinis laudibus deputata. In quibus talis et tantus dictus Deus annunciatur ut fuit /76vb/ tempus Daud tabernaculum quod ipse nec dum exstructo templo ad laudandum Dominum posuerrat. Post uero tempore Salomonis templum. Sed nunc sub Salomone uero uarie per orbem et diuerse ecclesiarum fabricæ. Et hoc est Terribilis Deus de sanctuariis suis et cetera. Dicit uero litterator modernus quod antiqui ipsorum magistri psalmum hunc ab eo loce: Benedictus Dominus et cetera super dono legis interpretati sunt. Et pluuiam uoluntariam similiter super dono legis. Et quod dicitur bestie tue habitabunt in ea: filii scilicet Israel in meditatione legis. Similiter reges exercituum et cetera: super angelis interpretantur. Uerum aut nusquam aut uix repperietur in scriptura ut angeli reges exercituum nominentur.

Appendix 3

detail of Psalm 23 (24): 1-2 (26v)



This detail shows Herbert's discussion of the Hebrew gender of *terra* and *orbis*. He attributes this exegesis to *litterator meus* (penultimate line), which is explained in the margin as *Salomon* and is possibly a reference to Rashi. See also Chapter Two, pp. 58-59 and Chapter Three, pp.173-75.

cantores quasi in choris.
 omnes fontes mei in te.

Merito hinc fontes. s. in hebreo fontes. Et
 potest sicale scripsi curare: fontes y fo
 tes potest. Et est fontes. i. pyrami. et
 conuincat mei. qui de eisdem p[ro]p[ri]is
 a loco: imo nati. non alieni. Et loquitur
 psalmista. fontes inquit mei. cantores
 erunt. i. officium cantandi habebunt.
 q[ui] in choris. i. q[ui] in instrumentis illi que
 chori dicuntur. in te occurrent dei uerbo
 ut ut non sit in hoc uerbu fontes.
 s. organiste. q[ui] habetur q[ui] libris quod
 hebreo. qui ab eis dicitur mabberet. q[ui]
 sonat addicio. eo q[uo]d uarias uerbor[um] sig
 nificationes distinguens: significatio
 nem significationi adiungat. Sed hoc
 itaq[ue] talis est scilicet. Omnes organiste mei
 in te. Nam idem uerbu potestur hic q[uo]d
 ubi: ubi uolue loquitur ad moysen. Et
 est clamor adhortatiu[us] ad pugnam.
 neq[ue] uociferatio compellenti[us] ad fugi
 s. uocem cantanti[us] ego audio. y can
 tatiu[us] in hebreo: organiste. Et
 attende q[uo]d sed psalmi hui[us] explicatio
 litterales: hic sicut et alibi p[er] uaria sp[iritu]
 cure loci. et in p[ro]p[ri]is maxime israelis in
 terram suam reductio: p[ro]pheta. Quam
 quidem in uerbu reductione et in pla
 sine in iudea natiuitatem: iudeus car
 nalis: ecclesiasticus uero spiritali
 accipit.

This detail contains one of Herbert's references to Menahem ben Saruq's *Mahberet*, translating the title of the book as *addicio* (lines 12-14). See Chapter Three, pp. 169-7

Claritudine opum
suoꝝ annuntiabit po
pulo suo: Lamech. ut det
eis hereditatem genium

Lamech

Sunt quidam dñi populo suo fortitudi
suo. opus magis qm loquendo annun
ciatur. qm gens de terra promissionis
in sua non hominum fortitudine ex
pult. q maxime claruit in expug
nanda ierico. Et cum iohue pugnant
sol tectis et luna. In quib; sicut solus
dñi fortitudo claruit: et miseratio
litue. Ignit merita exermis
dñi fortitudo ope sp sue populo suo an
nunciata ut ita dicit eis genium he
ditatem. Ut aliter Annuntiam dñi
populo suo fortitudinem opum suoꝝ
loquendo hoc fuit. qm p doctrinam moy
si manifestavit populo suo fortitudi
nem opum suar. mundi creationis
que p opa sex dierum distincta est. Et he
re. ve. 27. 1. ut ostenderet se licet
dicitur eis here. gen. Locum quo rei
tor. ammu est. qd p moyses docuit. oba
de licet sibi tanqm si occidit dno regu
to qm cumq; uoluerit gentes transire
ut nulligeni a regno expulsi. De hoc dñi
conqueri habet. Sum ipsius regna
omnia sunt. Omnis terra et plebitudo
ei. Et in hoc est hoc ne gentes ille cumq;
ex hereditate uille iohue coqueri.
seu populus ista metomissus tanq; uille
sibi possidet. sibi concaus fone. Quis
uille possidet: qui aucto: e dno possidet.

S. Gamaliel

This alphabetic psalm contains an anonymous reference to Midrash Tanhuma on Gen. 1 which is referred to in a marginal gloss as *Gamaliel*. See Chapter Three, pp.157-58.

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