

Josephus Scottus's Abbreviation of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam*: A Partial  
Edition with Apparatus

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## Abstract

This thesis presents an edition of the first five books of Josephus Scottus's eighteen-book *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*, a text which has not previously been edited and has rarely been studied. The edition is eclectic, and has been based on the ninth-century manuscripts Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6296, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 12154, and St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 254, with partial collation of the tenth-century Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek 100 Aa 13 manuscript and the ninth-century Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss. manuscript. A critical apparatus is included. I have thoroughly described the surviving manuscripts of the *Abbreviatio* and their complex relationships to each other, as well as discussing my choice of editorial methods. As part of placing the edition and Josephus Scottus's work in context, I have considered and assessed previous scholarship on abbreviated exegesis and on Hiberno-Latin exegesis. I have also discussed the text of the Book of Isaiah and its history in early and patristic Christian thought in order to better understand Josephus Scottus's approach. A survey of the extant pre-ninth-century manuscripts of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* is provided as part of establishing the text's transmission. I have also compared passages from Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* and Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio* at greater length than any previous study, in order to understand the method Josephus Scottus used to abbreviate the *Commentariorum* and to analyse his style of abbreviation and his goals. It is my intention in creating this partial edition to provide a legible text that other scholars may use for further study of Josephus Scottus and the subject of abbreviated exegesis.

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**Author's Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is entirely a presentation of my own original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this or any other university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

## I. Introduction

### 1. A general introduction to the thesis and abbreviated exegesis

The aim of this dissertation is to present an edition of the first five books of Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*, an abbreviated version of St. Jerome's own *Commentariorum in Esaiam*. In order to place Josephus's Scottus's work in context and better appreciate it, some introductory discussion of both exegesis and abbreviated exegesis is necessary.

The first few centuries of Christianity, both pre- and post-Council of Nicaea, produced an impressive wealth of theological speculation and biblical exegesis,<sup>1</sup> written by learned scholars in both Greek and Latin and in some cases translated from one to the other. These texts could reach several volumes and consume a significant amount of valuable parchment, as well as an immense length of time spent in copying them. Their size, however, could enable them to include, depending on the exegete's background and priorities, vital historical, linguistic, and geographical information, along with other types of knowledge, and to provide detailed analysis from different angles of every significant word, line, or verbal image in the Bible.<sup>2</sup>

As important to Christian scholars as the knowledge contained within texts such as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* and the multiple commentaries written

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<sup>1</sup> For one survey of the literature produced, see Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 10 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1950-80).

<sup>2</sup> For further surveys of this area, see *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo di Berardino (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2014); *The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (750)*, ed. Angelo di Berardino (Cambridge: J. Clarke, 2006); *Clavis patrum latinorum*, 3rd edition, ed. Eligius Dekkers and A. Gaar (Steenbrugge: in Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995); Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols. (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1983-6).

by Jerome could be, however, the size of the books came with some challenges. Other factors could hinder the spread of texts as well; some might have espoused controversial views or simply fallen out of favor with contemporary scholarly thought, or been replaced by later, shorter texts, or, their subject having been thoroughly explored by early scholars, attention might have turned to less-studied areas of the Bible. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, the problem of spreading Christianity's attendant texts and the foundation of basic knowledge within them for educational purposes would also have arisen. How could these problems be solved?

There are difficulties in determining which texts enjoyed a wide dissemination during this period, but it is not impossible to draw some conclusions, using such evidence as E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores* with its listing of pre-eighth-century manuscripts and surveying quotations from early authors in later works of scholarship, among other methods. Among those works that have survived with a respectable showing in the CLA are a number of texts of tremendous length, such as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, which contains thirty-five books in its entirety. The three-volume Corpus Christianorum edition totals 1,880 pages spread across three sizable books.<sup>3</sup> Another is Cassiodorus's *Expositio psalmorum*, containing a lengthy preface with its own set of seventeen chapters along with separate lectures on each psalm; the Corpus Christianorum edition in two volumes contains 640

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<sup>3</sup> Gregory the Great, *S. Gregorii Magnus Moralia in Iob*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXLIII, CXLIIIA, CXLIIIB (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979); Gregory the Great, *Gregorius Magnus Moralia in Iob*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Scholars Version, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job by St. Gregory the Great, Translated with Notes and Indices. In Three Volumes*, trans. John Henry Parker (London: J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1844).

pages in the first volume and nearly 700 in the second, creating two hefty books.<sup>4</sup> Cassiodorus himself commented that the text's size could be onerous for a reader.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, there are also multiple commentaries by Jerome, of which the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* at eighteen books is the longest, with a two-volume Corpus Christianorum edition of 464 and 335 pages respectively.<sup>6</sup> The *Enarrationes in Psalmos* by Augustine of Hippo is another heavy three-volume work in the Corpus Christianorum edition, with the individual books weighing in at 603, 814, and 779 pages each.<sup>7</sup> Non-exegetical works such as Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* at twenty-two books<sup>8</sup> and Hilary of Poitiers's *De Trinitate* with twelve books make respectable showings as well.<sup>9</sup> Even in modern printed form, these are not lightweight books, and as manuscripts, they could have become quite bulky in their entirety.

As a quick look through the CLA can show, however, the early copies of these texts often survive in pieces rather than complete sets: five books here, a middle volume there, and sometimes only in fragments. A survey of surviving manuscripts of Jerome's Isaiah commentary, presented later in this thesis, found only one possibly complete pre-800 CE manuscript out of the thirteen versions of the work listed in all volumes of the CLA; an earlier survey of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, done for my master's dissertation, found that out of thirty-six manuscripts

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<sup>4</sup> Cassiodorus, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori expositio psalmsorum*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL XCVII, XCVIII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958); Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. P. G. Walsh, 3 vols. (New York City, New York: Paulist Press, 1990-91).

<sup>5</sup> Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning/On the Soul*, trans. James W. Halporn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 121; Cassiodorus, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 21-2.

<sup>6</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, ed. Marcus Adriaen et al., CCSL LXXIII, LXXIII A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963); Jerome, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*, ed. Roger Gryson and P.-A. Deproost, Vetus Latina series, 5 vols. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1993-9).

<sup>7</sup> Augustine, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. D. Eligius Dekkers and Iohannes Fraipont, CCSL XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956).

<sup>8</sup> Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, ed. B. Dombart et al., CCSL XLVII, XLVIII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955).

<sup>9</sup> Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, ed. P. Smulders, CCSL LXII, LXII A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979-80).



catalogued in the entire CLA, only one complete copy (CLA III.309, in Milan) has survived to the present day.<sup>10</sup> Of nine manuscripts listed for Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*, again a single complete pre-ninth-century copy (CLA X.1545, in Brussels) remains. For Cassiodorus's *Expositiones psalmorum*, ten manuscripts are recorded in the CLA, including two abbreviations, of which—according to Stoppacci—one abbreviated manuscript and one version of the complete text survive, along with one flawed copy lacking some psalms.<sup>11</sup> The shortest of these exegetical works, Hilary's *De Trinitate*, appears to come second best to Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, with three copies (CLA IV.485 in Verona and V.545 + V.572 in Paris) surviving intact—or nearly so; V.572 is missing part of book I.

The existence of abbreviated texts does suggest that those who sponsored the copying of larger works sometimes preferred to reduce them to a more compact version. On very rare occasions there are letters or dedicatory text which explain why a work was selected for abbreviation; more often there is not. Whether written on one's own initiative, as Lathcen's abbreviation of the *Moralia in Iob* may have been,<sup>12</sup> or at the behest of a teacher, as Josephus Scottus's abbreviation of the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* certainly was, single-volume abbreviations of multi-volume works could provide the highlights of patristic scholarship without the time, expense, and weight of reproducing the full texts, particularly if the text was to be shared with another monastic center. Alcuin himself mentioned in a letter to Sigewulf, for whom he wrote the *Quaestiones in Genesim*, that for those who were

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<sup>10</sup> Margaret Silvers, 'The Earliest Fragments of Lathcen's Egloga: An Edition with Textual and Paleographical Study,' MA diss. University of York (2011), pp. 23-31.

<sup>11</sup> Patrizia Stoppacci, *Expositio Psalmorum* (Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012).

<sup>12</sup> A recent article by David Ganz, 'The earliest manuscript of Lathcen's *Eclogae Moraliū Gregorii* and the dating of Irish cursive minuscule script' in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín*, ed. Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 597-624, addresses this subject in more detail.

forced to travel, the weight of books could be burdensome, and brevity was to be preferred.<sup>13</sup>

In the fifth century, the writer Prosper of Aquitaine produced two works meant to serve as Christian handbooks, the *Sententia* and the *Epigrammata*, which consisted of paraphrased prose highlights from the works of his mentor St. Augustine of Hippo along with some moralizing and versifying of Prosper's own.<sup>14</sup> The sixth-century abbot Eugippius,<sup>15</sup> in excerpting the works of St. Augustine, cites portability as one of his motivations and ease of understanding as the other;<sup>16</sup> his method included adding subject headings and summaries to make it easier for readers to find the sections they wanted, a useful feature which led to his manuscripts increasing the later transmission of Augustine's works.<sup>17</sup> His method, naturally, was even more severe than that of Lathcen or Josephus Scottus, as he compressed the entirety of Augustine's large body of writing into a work that could be written in a single volume.

St. Augustine was a very popular subject for florilegia. In addition to Eugippius and Prosper's collections, the Venerable Bede produced the *Collectio in epistulas Pauli Apostoli*, containing excerpts from Augustine's *Epistulae* featuring St. Paul as well as excerpts from other works, with some influence from Eugippius;<sup>18</sup> Florus of Lyons, a ninth-century deacon, produced a similar collection

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<sup>13</sup> Michael Fox, 'Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the *Quaestiones in Genesim*,' *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* ed. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 40-1.

<sup>14</sup> Steven Muhlberger, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers* (Redwood Press: Great Britain 1990), 51-2; Prosper of Aquitaine, *Sententiarum ex operibus S. Augustini Delibatarum*, *Patrologia Latina* 51 (J.-P. Migne: Paris, 1861), 423-96.

<sup>15</sup> James J. O'Donnell, 'Eugippius,' *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.: Grand Rapids 1999), 338.

<sup>16</sup> Mark Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries, Their Writers and Readers,' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 33 (1999), 58; Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini*, ed. Pius Knoell (Vienna: C. Gerold, 1885), 3.

<sup>17</sup> O'Donnell, 'Eugippius,' *Augustine Through the Ages*, 338-9.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph T. Lienhard, 'Florilegia,' *Augustine Through the Ages*, 371.

of excerpts from Augustine and other writers, the *Collectio in Apostolum*, which was sometimes attributed to Bede,<sup>19</sup> and manuscripts of both Bede and Florus's versions have been confused with Eugippius's abbreviation in earlier scholarly work.<sup>20</sup>

Josephus Scottus was not alone in abbreviating the exegetical work of Jerome. Rabanus Maurus, the ninth-century monk of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz, would later create an abbreviation of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* and *Commentarii in Ezechielem* that edited out Septuagint references and philological discussions, with the goal of providing a simplified, uncontroversial narrative.<sup>21</sup> There is also a manuscript in Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 463, which is currently misidentified as Josephus Scottus's abbreviation, but appears to be an independent project written by or at the behest of Bishop Remigius of Lyon.<sup>22</sup>

The abridged texts could serve other functions, as well, depending on the method of abbreviation. An abbreviation that reproduced all of its selected passages word-for-word might be used alongside a complete text in ways which are difficult to trace in the modern day. A more interventionist abbreviator might rephrase sentences to make them clearer to a less learned audience, to keep them in line with contemporary church doctrine, or to emphasise a debated scholarly point.

In his *Institutiones* and the *Expositio Psalmorum*, Cassiodorus adapted the established treatment of excerption and explanation as a partial replacement for

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<sup>19</sup> Lienhard, 'Florilegia,' *Augustine Through the Ages*, 371.

<sup>20</sup> Brandon W. Hawk, 'The *Expositio in epistolas Beati Pauli ex operibus S. Augustini* by Florus in Strasbourg, BNU MS.0.309,' *Revue Bénédictine* 124.1 (2014), 111.

<sup>21</sup> John J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies,' *Carolingian Essays*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 91.

<sup>22</sup> Lyon Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463, [http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/manuscrits/list.php?order\\_by=Relevance&cat=quick\\_filter&search\\_keys\[core\\_8\]\[0\]=%24col\\_lection\\_pid&recherche=463#](http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/manuscrits/list.php?order_by=Relevance&cat=quick_filter&search_keys[core_8][0]=%24col_lection_pid&recherche=463#), accessed 3 March 2016; this manuscript will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis.

human teachers at his Vivarium,<sup>23</sup> and did the same for copies of the Scriptures and the grammatical works of Donatus. He also provided lists of recommended reading and marked important passages with particular signs.<sup>24</sup> This technique was better adapted for individual study than for reading aloud or other possible classroom activities.<sup>25</sup> He mentions his motivations in book I of the *Institutiones* when he speaks of his own work on the Psalms, stating that a single volume containing all of the psalms 'might prove too burdensome for some brothers,' and suggesting that while a single volume version could still be useful for reference, dividing the work into three smaller volumes would not only be easier for the brothers to study, it could have symbolic weight as well by sharing the number of the Trinity.<sup>26</sup>

Cassiodorus's model of notation was useful not only for abbreviated texts, but for compilations. The ninth-century scholar Claudius of Turin used a similar technique when he wrote a commentary on Genesis, with quotes from earlier writers marked out by their initials and his own contributions delineated with his initials, so that he could not be accused of claiming their words as his own.<sup>27</sup> Claudius and his contemporary Hrabanus Maurus both were inspired in this practice by Bede, who used an even more precise version of this system that marked both the beginning and end of each quote in his exegetical work;<sup>28</sup> Laistner provides a partial list of manuscripts in which Bede's system was preserved in full or in part.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries,' 58-60 and 63; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 106.

<sup>24</sup> Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries,' 60-1; Mark Vessey, 'Introduction,' *Institutiones of Divine and Secular Learning/On the Soul* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 34-5 and 47-8.

<sup>25</sup> Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries,' 62-5; James O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 144.

<sup>26</sup> Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 121; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 21-2.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Gorman, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious,' *Speculum* 72 No. 2 (1997), 286-88 and 293.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Gorman, 'Source Marks and Chapter Divisions in Bede's Commentary on Luke,' *Revue Bénédictine* 112 (2002), 260-1.

<sup>29</sup> M. L. W. Laistner, 'Source-Marks in Bede Manuscripts,' *The Journal of Theological Studies* 136 (1933), 350-4.

The known abbreviated texts surviving from the seventh through the ninth centuries—Lathcen and Philippus's abbreviations of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*, Josephus Scottus's work on the *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, the abridged *Expositio Psalmorum* manuscript at Durham Cathedral, Durham B. II. 30,<sup>30</sup> and various florilegia—have not been studied in enough depth for any firm conclusions to be drawn, and indeed, some have never even been edited. With thorough examination, however, these works can provide a unique insight into a primarily unexplored area of early medieval scholarship. Why were some patristic works abbreviated and others left unabridged? What methods were used to shorten the texts, and how much rewriting and original work went into them? For what purpose were they made? Not all of these questions can be answered, but by studying the abbreviated texts in-depth with their prefaces alongside the full works and placing them in their historical and theological context, some light may be shed on the many possible reasons for their creation. This study will look in detail for the first time at one specific work, which has not previously been published: the abbreviation of St. Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* written by Josephus Scottus at the request of his teacher, Alcuin of York.

In turn, I will cover the basic background of the book of Isaiah, Jerome, and Josephus Scottus; the contents of Isaiah and the book's place in early and patristic writings; and the manuscript evidence for the reception of Jerome's *Commentariorum*. Following these surveys will be a short section of comparisons between the *Commentariorum* and Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio*, after which comes the introduction to my partial edition of the *Abbreviatio*, which will include a quick introduction to the manuscripts I used, my editorial process, the relationships

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<sup>30</sup> Stoppacci lists other abbreviations of the *Expositio* in her edition of the *Expositio Psalmorum* (Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012).

between the manuscripts and the *Commentariorum*, and full manuscript descriptions. The edition itself is the final chapter.

## 2. The Book of Isaiah, Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, and Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio*

In studying an abbreviated commentary, there are three primary topics to consider: the author of the original text, the commentator, and the abbreviator. There are, in addition, the secondary topics of why a particular text was selected for abbreviation, how the abbreviation has transformed the original text, and what these transformations reveal about the abbreviator. In the case of Josephus Scottus and his abridged version of Jerome's fifth-century *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, in addition to Isaiah, Jerome, and Josephus Scottus himself there is the shadow of a fourth primary factor, as the abbreviation was done at the request of Alcuin of York, the noted scholar who served as an advisor to Charlemagne. Although the focus of this section will remain on the writers themselves and the abbreviator of the commentary, the possible influence of Alcuin on the decision to create the final abbreviation should not be forgotten, and will be considered in later analysis.

The first subject, naturally, is Isaiah himself and his book of prophecy. Long considered a single person, modern scholarship has determined that the Book of Isaiah is in fact the product of at least two authors and possibly three: one who wrote Chapters 1-39 in the eighth century BCE; another, in the sixth, who produced Chapters 40-55; and a possible third who wrote Chapters 56-66.<sup>1</sup> It is likely, however, that additional writers contributed to the prophecies as well,<sup>2</sup> though none of this could have been known to Jerome or Josephus Scottus, as the book was considered the work of a single author until the eighteenth century, when scholars

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<sup>1</sup> A theory originated by Bernhard Duhm, specifically in *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922); Ulrich F. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, trans. Millard C. Lind (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> John F. Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the history of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 178.

began to take a more critical look at the abrupt change of style after Chapter 39.<sup>3</sup> The book contains a series of prophecies attributed to Isaias (Isaiah), the son of Amos I, which he supposedly pronounced to various kings of Judah, specifically Ozias, Joathan, Achaz, and Ezechias,<sup>4</sup> concerning the Assyrian invasions of Judah in the eighth century BCE and the coming of a Messiah. The book is in many ways a violent and erratic one; poetic passages describing the eventual paradise to come and the glories of God are mixed with bitter recriminations against foreign powers and the people of Judah alike, accusing them of numerous sins and listing in detail the punishments they will receive for scorning God. An unfortunate effect of the haranguing language used in Isaiah is that it was later invoked for Christian anti-Semitic polemics, despite the popularity of Isaiah in Jewish literature and its lengthy exegetical tradition in Judaism.<sup>5</sup>

On a more positive note, the primary point of interest for early Christian scholars and exegetes seems to have been the Messianic imagery of Isaiah and its possible prefiguring of Christ. Isaiah is one of the most frequently quoted books in both the Jewish tradition and in early Christian literature, including in the Gospels and the Book of Revelation.<sup>6</sup> Jerome himself considered Isaiah more an evangelist than a prophet for so clearly describing Christ and the Church, as he states in the prologue to his translation.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the book is sometimes colloquially known as

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<sup>3</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 178; see the work of Johann Christoph Döderlein in his *Esaias ex recensione textus Hebraei* (Norimbergae et Altdorfi: Apud Georg. Petr. Monath., 1789) and Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922).

<sup>4</sup> *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele, et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1994), Isaiah 1:1.

<sup>5</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 21-3 and 25-9; C. K. Barrett, 'The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New,' *Cambridge History of the Bible* vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 391; Rogerson et al., *The Study and Use of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing 1988), 5; Rikk E. Watts, 'Isaiah in the New Testament,' *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches*, ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson (Nottingham and Downers Grove, Illinois: APOLLOS and InterVarsity Press, 2009), 213-5.

<sup>7</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 1; Jerome's prologue to the Vulgate translation of Isaiah, which in the *Biblia sacra* edition of Isaiah reads: *Deinde etiam hoc adiciendum quod non tam propheta dicendus*



the Fifth Gospel, as passages from it can be used to create a near-complete version of the gospel story.<sup>8</sup> It even came into play at the councils of Nicaea (325 CE), Constantinople (381 CE), and Chalcedon (451 CE), where various lines were turned into evidence to support different theories on the nature of the Trinity and Christ,<sup>9</sup> and the book continues to be the subject of study.<sup>10</sup> It is only natural, then, that Isaiah became a focus for exegetical study in the patristic period, and that one of the period's most notable scholars should make it the subject of his longest biblical commentaries.

At the time when Jerome began to work on his Isaiah commentary (the task took him approximately two years, from 408-410 CE), he had already completed his ambitious project of translating the entirety of the Hebrew biblical canon into Latin using the Hebrew texts rather than the Greek Septuagint—a project which had occupied him for roughly sixteen years, from around 390 to 405/6 CE.<sup>11</sup> He had been living in Bethlehem at his monastery for nearly twenty years, prior to which he had travelled throughout the Holy Land on pilgrimage with his companion Paula.<sup>12</sup> He had already completed several exegetical works and would continue to write further commentaries until his death in 419/20 CE, though none reached the extent

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*sit quam evangelista: ita enim universa Christi Ecclesiaeque mysteria ad liquidum persecutus est, ut non eum putes de futuro vaticinari sed de praeteritis historiam texere* ('Indeed it should also be said that he is not so much a prophet as an evangelist: thus here the entire mystery of Christ and the Church are followed clearly, so that you would believe he did not prophesy about the future but wove a history about the past').

<sup>8</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 49-50.

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 51-2; Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church. Third Edition*, ed. Chris Maunder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 42-6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. such works as *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches*, ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson (Norton Street, Nottingham and Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2009); Ulrich F. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, trans. Millard C. Lind (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012); H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); and Charles E. Shepherd, *Theological Interpretation and Isaiah 53: A Critical Comparison of Bernhard Duhm, Brevard Childs and Alec Motyer* (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2000), 159-160.

<sup>12</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 118-20 and 127-8.

of the Isaiah commentary, which consists of eighteen lengthy books.<sup>13</sup> At the time he was working on the *Commentariorum in Esaiaem*, he had already become embroiled in the bitter disputes between supporters and detractors of the controversial early theologian Origen, disputes which ruined Jerome's old friendship with the pro-Origen Rufinus and likely influenced his work on the *Commentariorum*.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, in creating his commentary, Jerome drew heavily upon Origen's earlier commentary despite his continuing conflicts with Rufinus and other supporters of Origen; he also made use of contemporary Jewish exegesis, although primarily for the purpose of refuting it.<sup>15</sup> Jerome gave a similar treatment to Origen in order to remove heretical interpretations of lines such as Isaiah 6:2.<sup>16</sup> Jerome was familiar with the Alexandrian analytical school of spiritual and allegorical exegesis and the historical school of Antioch, making use of both methods; he attempted to place Isaiah in a historical context as well as he could, then followed up the historical interpretation with the spiritual meaning, including mystical and allegorical readings.<sup>17</sup> He quoted from both the Greek and Hebrew texts to compare the translations,<sup>18</sup> and made the effort to tie every prophecy into the New Testament and to recent history, including the invasions of his homeland in Dalmatia, no matter how tenuous the links might actually be.<sup>19</sup> For certain passages he also re-used an earlier literal exposition he had written for the Pannonian bishop, Amabilis,

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<sup>13</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 299.

<sup>14</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 195-98.

<sup>15</sup> Brevard S. Childs, *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 2004), 91.

<sup>16</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 301-2; Jerome, *Epistulae—Hieronymus* (Brepols Publishers Online: Brepols 2012), epist. 121.

<sup>17</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 93; Louis N. Hartmann, 'St. Jerome as an Exegete,' *A Monument to Saint Jerome: essays on some aspects of his life, works and influence*, ed. Francis Xavier Murphy (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1952), 51-3.

<sup>18</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 94; Kelly, *Jerome*, 301-2.

<sup>19</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 96-97.

in 397 CE.<sup>20</sup> The end result is a lengthy and thorough work of great interest to any theologian desiring to study the prophecies of Isaiah, a group that would include the Insular scholars of the early Middle Ages. A critical edition was created by Marcus Adriaen as part of the *Corpus Christianorum* series, using eight different manuscripts as well as twelve fragmentary manuscripts and earlier printed editions by Vallarsi, Erasmus, and Martianay.<sup>21</sup> The more recent *Vetus Latina* edition produced by Roger Gryson in the *Beuron* series relies on an even wider range of manuscripts and additionally draws on the pre-Jerome Latin Bible.<sup>22</sup>

This brings us to Josephus Scottus. The available biographical data is scant; little is known save that he was a monk, likely at the monastery of Clonmacnoise in Ireland during the abbacy of Colcu, and may later have briefly served as abbot himself.<sup>23</sup> He was a student of Alcuin of York at the same time as Liudger, the future bishop of Münster;<sup>24</sup> he later journeyed to the Continent and was associated with the Frankish court along with his teacher. Along with several others, he was sent to southern Italy by Charlemagne as an emissary, although the group became separated and the mission nearly failed.<sup>25</sup> He fell ill and died somewhere around 794/796 CE, prior to Alcuin's death in 804; prior to his death he may have spent time at Monte Cassino, or as an abbot in Passau, but we have no firm evidence for

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<sup>20</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 220.

<sup>21</sup> Marcus Adriaen, *Hieronymus Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I-XI* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963); Roger Gryson, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe Introduction Livres I-IV* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 120-130.

<sup>23</sup> J. F. Kelly, 'The Originality of Josephus Scottus' Commentary on Isaiah,' *Manuscripta* 24 (1980), 176.

<sup>24</sup> Mary Garrison, 'Joseph Scottus (d. 791x804), abbot and scholar,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 30 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61650> accessed 8 January 2013.

<sup>25</sup> Garrison, 'Joseph Scottus'; Mary Garrison, 'The English and the Irish at the Court of Charlemagne,' *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken. 1200 Jahrhundert Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, ed. Paul L. Butzer, Max Kerner, and Walter Oberschelp (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 105-6.

much of his later life.<sup>26</sup> He left behind a small amount of skillfully written acrostic poetry and his abbreviated version of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah, which he had composed at the request of his former teacher.<sup>27</sup>

This abbreviation survives primarily in three ninth-century manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. Ms 12154, St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 254, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6296.<sup>28</sup> An additional three manuscripts—two from the ninth century, one from the tenth—were recently brought to my attention: Hochschule Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Ms 100 Aa 13,<sup>29</sup> Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 463, and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss. The Lyon manuscript, however, appears to contain the text of a different abbreviation rather than Josephus Scottus's, and this will be discussed in the appropriate section. No complete edition of the text of the *Abbreviatio* has been published to date.

Of course, the subject of exegesis in the Carolingian era cannot be approached without raising questions about the heavily debated topic of Hiberno-Latin exegesis and the nature and extent of Irish scholarship in the early medieval period. Some have argued strenuously that what little learning the monks of Ireland could achieve was entirely derivative and often corrupted in its transmission;<sup>30</sup> others have sprung

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<sup>26</sup> Kelly, 'Josephus Scottus' Commentary on Isaiah,' 176; Donald A. Bullough, *Carolingian renewal: sources and heritage* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), 140-1.

<sup>27</sup> Garrison, 'Joseph Scottus'; Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985), entry 648-9, pp. 170-1; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters Erster Teil: von Justinian bis zur mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911), entry 89, pp. 547-9; James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (Dublin: Pádraic Ó Táilliúir, 1979), entry 341, p. 536.

<sup>28</sup> Kelly, 'Josephus Scottus' Commentary,' 176; Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi Tomus III* (Barcelona: Casimir, 1949), 5146, pp. 467-8.

<sup>29</sup> This manuscript is listed in Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum*, 5146, p. 468 as 'Fulda, Landesbibl. Aa Q. 13 (Weingarten),' along with Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 12154 as 'Paris, S. Germain des Prés 585.'

<sup>30</sup> Michael Gorman, in 'The Myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis,' *Revue Bénédictine* 110 (2000), 42-85, and many other articles; his sources for early criticism of Bischoff's work in the area include an article by Edmondo Coccia, 'La cultura irlandese precarolingia: Miracolo o mito,' *Studi medievali* 8

to the defense of Irish scholarship with their own measured analyses of the texts and manuscripts which remain as our scant evidence for education in the area.<sup>31</sup> In addition, there is the question about what the texts attributed to Irish authors may indicate about the nature of Irish scholarship.

Bernhard Bischoff, with his analysis of Irish writing styles and catalogue of texts he considered Irish or Irish-influenced in 'Wendepunkte',<sup>32</sup> was one of the more prominent voices supporting the strength of Irish scholarship. Many other scholars have worked to explore the nature and extent of Hiberno-Latin exegesis, including historian Dáibhí Ó Cróinín,<sup>33</sup> Martin McNamara,<sup>34</sup> and Michael Lapidge.<sup>35</sup> Michael Gorman has been at the forefront of the opposition, with multiple articles dissecting the work of Bischoff and his supporters as well as his

(1967), p. 257-420, and the work of Mario Esposito such as 'A Bibliography of the Latin Writers of Medieval Ireland,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 2.8 (December 1913), 495-518.

<sup>31</sup> For example: Aidan Breen, 'The Evidence of Antique Irish Exegesis in pseudo-Cyprian, *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 87C (1987), 71-101; Marina Smyth, 'The Body, Death, and Resurrection: Perspectives of an Irish Theologian,' *Speculum* 83.3 (2008), 531-71; and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Bischoff's *Wendepunkte* Fifty Years On,' *Revue Bénédictine* 110.3-4 (2000), 204-37.

<sup>32</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, 'Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages,' *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin: Dominican Publications 1976), 74-160. This, of course, was not his first or only work on the subject; see also 'Muridac Doctissimus Plebis, ein irischer Grammatiker des IX. Jahrhunderts,' *Celtica* V (1960), 40-4 and 'Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaft,' *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, XXV (1958), 5-20. Luke M. Reinsma, 'Rhetoric, Grammar, and Literature in England and Ireland before the Norman Conquest: A Select Bibliography,' *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 8.1 (Winter 1978), 29-48, is a valuable resource for literature available in that period. Some later scholarship includes Kelly's 'The Originality of Josephus Scottus' Commentary on Isaiah' and Charles Wright, 'Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis and the Genesis Commentary in Munich Clm 6302: A Critique of a Critique,' *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 115-75.

<sup>33</sup> Selected works include 'Hiberno-Latin literature to 1169,' *A New History of Ireland: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 371-404; 'The earliest Old Irish glosses,' *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen* (2001), 7-31; co-editing *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning, Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan* with Toby Barnard and Katharine Simms (Hants, England: Aldershot 1998); and *Early Medieval Ireland: 400-1200* (London and New York: Longman, 1995).

<sup>34</sup> Martin McNamara, 'Five Irish psalter texts,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 109C (2009), 37-104; editor of *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976).

<sup>35</sup> *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985), with Richard Sharpe.

own analysis of some texts, including abbreviations.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, Gorman's over-zealousness in attacking Bischoff's work and person has cast some doubt on his scholarship, albeit while encouraging new and closer looks at the available evidence.<sup>37</sup>

Josephus Scottus's life also complicates the matter of classifying his work. He was certainly Irish, and had his early education in Ireland,<sup>38</sup> but later studied under Alcuin in York, and it was Alcuin who requested that he abbreviate Jerome's commentary and may have given guidelines as to its style.<sup>39</sup> Did Josephus Scottus draw on his Irish background to create his abbreviation, or did he emulate the style of Alcuin and the English model of exegesis as he worked?<sup>40</sup>

A single edition of a single text, albeit one of unquestioned Irish authorship, can only contribute so much to the Hiberno-Latin exegesis debate on either side. It is to be hoped, however, that by providing a partial edition of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation I shall make the text easier and more accessible for deeper study, and by making a preliminary assessment of the text's Irishness itself, it may become a stone set firmly into the foundation of our overall knowledge.

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<sup>36</sup> Such as Gorman, 'A Carolingian Epitome of St. Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*,' *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 29 (1983), 137-44, in which he also discusses an earlier Irish abbreviation of the *De Genesi ad Litteram*; 'Patristic and Pseudo-Patristic Citations in the *Collectio Hibernensis*,' *Revue Bénédictine* 121.1 (2011), 18-93.

<sup>37</sup> Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards, 'Introduction: The Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture,' *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. Chazelle and Van Name Edwards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 14-15.

<sup>38</sup> Garrison, 'Joseph Scottus.'

<sup>39</sup> Fox, 'Alcuin the Exegete,' *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, 39-60, discusses in some detail Alcuin's methods in selecting, presenting, and rephrasing patristic material for the *Quaestiones in Genesim*.

<sup>40</sup> David Howlett has provided an excellent structural analysis of the original prologue and epilogue for the abbreviation in his work *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin and Portland, Oregon: Four Courts Press, 1995), 116-20, although I regret to point out that the epilogue is attested solely in the Paris manuscript, as the Munich manuscript lacks its final leaf, the Fulda manuscript contains only the text of books 1-9, and both the St. Gall and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts omit it. As the Paris manuscript is in most respects a solid, well-preserved manuscript, I cast no aspersions on the epilogue's legitimacy, but its omission or loss in the other manuscript witnesses is troubling.

### 3. An outline of the Book of Isaiah and its reception in the patristic period and early Middle Ages

As previously outlined, the book of Isaiah was long considered to be the work of a single author, despite many medieval readers picking up on the sharp changes in style that occur after Book 39.<sup>1</sup> It was not until the eighteenth century that scholars such as J. C. Döderlein and Bernhard Duhm began to work out the currently accepted theories of multiple authors and group together the sections that most likely shared an author.<sup>2</sup> The book is now divided into First Isaiah, the words of the original Isaiah, son of Amos, Chapters 1-39; Second Isaiah, Chapters 40-55, by an anonymous writer during the Babylonian Exile; and Third Isaiah, comprising Chapters 56-66, by a post-exile writer.<sup>3</sup>

Although this division is not entirely accurate, as some chapters within First Isaiah are considered to be later interpolations and the chapters of Second and Third Isaiah show signs of composite authorship,<sup>4</sup> the grouping given above is now generally accepted as the most useful.<sup>5</sup> In this section, a summary of each chapter of the complete book will be given, followed by a discussion of the book's interpretation by Christian writers in the patristic and early medieval periods, in order to supply context for understanding what Josephus Scottus accomplished and what Isaiah meant for his readers.

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<sup>1</sup> John F. Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the history of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 178.

<sup>2</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 178; Jacob Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Stromberg, *Isaiah*, 1; Rainer Albertz provides some further discussion and criticism of the theory in *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century BCE*, trans. David Green (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 378-81.

<sup>4</sup> Stromberg, *Isaiah*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> For purposes of modern interpretation, however, the book is still often treated as a unitary whole; cf. H. G. M. Williamson, 'Recent issues in the study of Isaiah,' *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches*, ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson (Nottingham and Downers Grove, Illinois: APOLLOS and InterVarsity Press, 2009), 23-6.

The first chapter introduces the book as the visions of Isaiah presented to the kings of Judah, primarily to Achaz and Ezechias, though Ozias and Joathan are also named. It calls for the repentance of Israel for ingratitude, pride, and unsatisfactory new rituals, or else the nation will be destroyed; God will restore it, but only through the destruction of the wickedness that has taken root in it. The second chapter concerns the final judgment of God upon the earth and the eventual peace that will reign, but only for the humble who have avoided idolatry and riches, as the proud will be judged. The third foresees the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem for the sins of the people, and casts judgment specifically on women who enjoy luxury and dressing up. The fourth chapter is a brief admonition that God will only forgive those who humble themselves, with an image of seven women asking one man for forgiveness, and the fifth begins with a metaphor of a well-tended vineyard that will be thrown open and left to ruin, followed by a lengthy tirade on the evils of drinking and hypocrisy which will be punished when God calls down the Assyrians on Judah.

The sixth chapter describes a vision of God and the seraphim sent to Isaiah, with the message that as Isaiah's prophecies will not be listened to, God can carry out the destruction of Judah as planned. The seventh chapter has a slightly more historical tone as it describes King Achaz successfully fighting Syria and Israel, followed by warnings from God through Isaiah not to overstep his limits and a prophecy of a child born to a virgin whose birth will be preceded by a great invasion. Chapters eight through eleven offer a series of descriptions of the looting, destruction, and oppression the Assyrians will bring to Judah interspersed with castigation of hypocrites and evil lawmakers, along with a further Messianic



prophecy and a promise that the Assyrians will themselves be destroyed with only a remnant of Judah's people saved; the twelfth chapter is a poem of praise.

Chapter thirteen marks a shift in subject, as it prophesies the sacking and destruction of Babylon, and chapter fourteen foretells the restoration of Israel as well as gloating over the fall of Babylon and comparing the city to the morning star. In addition, the death of King Achaz is mentioned. Chapters fifteen and sixteen concern the sacking of Moab for its pride and contain a prayer for the Messiah's coming; the seventeenth chapter predicts the destruction of Damascus and Syria. Chapters eighteen through twenty foresee destruction rained down upon Ethiopia and Egypt, with an altar to God set up in the latter country, and their people becoming captives. The twenty-first chapter returns to the fall of Babylon with a symbolic sequence of watchmen in the night; the twenty-second mourns the destruction of Judah and, focusing on more current events, predicts the replacement of the high priest Sobna by Eliacim. Chapter twenty-three prophesies the fall of Tyre with its eventual restoration as a city of God.

Chapter twenty-four has an apocalyptic tone as it covers God's wrath falling upon the earth and all of its peoples, with the exception of those few who still praise God, with the two following chapters both being praise poems, one praising God's judgment and gifts, the other God's rescue of the favored few. In the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters, there is further judgment of both those who have oppressed the chosen people of God and of the sinners among those chosen people, in particular the drunkards. Chapter twenty-nine is another prediction for the fall of Jerusalem, but this time including a prophecy that the Gentiles, after some confusion, will be adopted into the ranks of God's chosen. The thirtieth and thirty-first chapters decry the kings of Judah's attempts to establish diplomatic relations

with Egypt in order to ward off the Assyrians, warning that the kings should be placing their faith in God rather than alliances.

Chapter thirty-two is a return to Messianic prophecy, including the replacement of fools and hypocrites in power with the Messiah's just reign; the thirty-third chapter describes the overthrow of the invading empire while Jerusalem is made a sinless paradise. Chapters thirty-four and thirty-five concern the future judgment of the world, which will be left a waste for the birds and animals to inhabit, and the remaking of desolate lands into gardens. In the following chapter, thirty-six, the historical narration reappears to describe the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, ruler of the Assyrians, and the negotiations that follow between Sennacherib's representative Rabsaces and Eliacim and Sobna of Jerusalem, which consist primarily of Rabsaces boasting while Sobna and Eliacim refuse to respond.

In chapter thirty-seven King Ezechias (Hezekiah) mourns the invasion, but Isaiah orders him to be steadfast because God will rescue them; according to this chapter, an angel of the Lord slays a large number of the Assyrians and Sennacherib is forced to return home where he will later be assassinated, but the former event is not noted in Assyrian records of the invasion.<sup>6</sup> Chapter thirty-eight is a brief interlude recording an illness of Ezechias and his prayers for health, which result in the sun briefly going backwards in the sky as well as his recovery. Later, in the thirty-ninth chapter, Ezechias makes a display of his wealth to a visiting party of Babylonians, for which Isaiah rebukes him and says that all of these riches will be stolen and taken to Babylon.

The fortieth chapter marks the first major authorial shift in Isaiah and consists of a lengthy passage comforting the people of Israel and reassuring them that God

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<sup>6</sup> R. E. Clements, *Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem: A Study of the Interpretation of Prophecy in the Old Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT Press 1980), 12-13.

will take care of them, as well as praising God's mightiness. Chapter forty-one presents further encouragement and praise of God's future benevolent rule along with a scathing dismissal of foreign idols and prophets. The forty-second chapter predicts the bringing of both judgment and enlightenment from a servant of God, and condemnation of those who scorn that servant. Chapters forty-three and forty-four provide more promises of God's care for the chosen people who remain faithful, but disdain for the ungrateful and the people who abandon God to worship idols. The forty-fifth chapter is a prophecy of Cyrus the Great of Persia which praises his might but reminds the audience that God is mightier, and forty-six and forty-seven return to the theme of Babylon's destruction, described in thorough detail.

Chapters forty-eight and forty-nine reiterate God's promises to rescue his chosen people, despite their ingratitude, and to protect Israel as well as to bring salvation to the desolate Gentiles; chapter fifty is an extended metaphor about God divorcing Israel, and the rebukes that God will suffer for Israel's sake. Chapter fifty-one calls for worship of God for all of his awesome works, and Chapter fifty-two promises that Jerusalem will be saved from captivity thanks to God's works. In the fifty-third and fifty-fourth chapters, the 'arm of the Lord' (presumably the Messiah) is prophesied to suffer without cause, but to eventually take his place as ruler, and the barren and desolate people will multiply and be comforted. In chapter fifty-five, the prophet exhorts the audience to listen to God and the Messiah, and they will be rewarded with prosperity and abundance in all things.

At chapter fifty-six a likely third change in authors occurs. It contains an injunction to obey God and be rewarded, while chapter fifty-seven rebukes sinners and states that God listens only to the prayers of the humble. The fifty-eighth

chapter rails against hypocrisy, promising that God will be pleased once hypocrites are no longer respected; chapter fifty-nine describes the woes of sinners and calls for them to listen to God's messenger. Chapter sixty promises future prosperity and power for Jerusalem under God's reign, and chapter sixty-one appoints Isaiah to preach as well as to prophesy, spreading the word of God even to the Gentiles. The sixty-second chapter is Isaiah's resolve to continue preaching; the sixty-third predicts that when the Messiah appears, none of the chosen people will aid him, and the sixty-fourth is a prayer for God's intervention and cleansing due to contemporary ruination. The sixty-fifth chapter is a prophecy that unbelievers will be the first to listen to the Lord while the chosen people turn away, and said unbelievers will profit while the chosen suffer until they too acknowledge God again. The final chapter, sixty-six, pronounces judgment all around, promising that good people from all lands will come to Jerusalem to take part in its ascendancy while those who have turned away from God will remain exiled.

The book of Isaiah provides obvious fertile ground for scholarly interpretation. Its combination of historical narrative, poetry, and prophecy is a rich field, of which early Christian writers took full advantage as part of their attempts to join the Old Testament with the New. Although an exegetical tradition for Isaiah already existed within Judaism, as evidenced by its use in contemporary synagogue worship and fragments of commentaries that appear in the Qumran scrolls,<sup>7</sup> the scholars of the Christian patristic era were naturally interested in a very different approach to the text. In fact, many of them were approaching a different text to begin with, because they used the Greek Septuagint translation of the Old Testament books rather than

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<sup>7</sup> Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel*, 24-5.

the Hebrew originals, as even the Gospel-writers themselves did.<sup>8</sup> The Septuagint links the 'good tidings' of the Hebrew with εὐαγγελίζω ('to give good news') and its relatives,<sup>9</sup> drawing a stronger tie to New Testament evangelism, as well as softening some of the prophet's harsh injunctions by translating Hebrew imperative verbs into future finite verbs.<sup>10</sup> In addition, later writers including Paul would blatantly misquote a text to better support his own arguments, in a way suggesting he was familiar with the Jewish interpretation;<sup>11</sup> these and other changes made in translation create a discontinuity between the two testaments separate from their philosophical differences.<sup>12</sup>

One of the earliest Christian writers to deal with Isaiah was Justin Martyr (approx. 100-165 CE),<sup>13</sup> a Palestinian-born convert who was later martyred;<sup>14</sup> although he did not produce a formal commentary on Isaiah, or at least none that has survived, his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* contains a great deal of direct citation and analysis of Isaiah.<sup>15</sup> His exegetical style relies on combining literal and figurative approaches to the text, and he frequently uses proof from prophecy as an argument in support of Christianity.<sup>16</sup> Although he had no problem with the Old

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<sup>8</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 1; for a much more in-depth treatment of this topic, please see Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*, trans. Mark E. Biddle (Edinburgh and New York: T&T Clark, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> This occurs in five passages: Isaiah 40:9, 41:21-8, 52:7, 60:6, and 61:1; *Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsches Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 16-17; for a more detailed breakdown of Paul's changes, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986), and David A. Sapp, 'The LXX, 1QIsa, and MT Versions of Isaiah 53 and the Christian Doctrine of Atonement,' *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins*, ed. William H. Bellinger Jr. and William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 32; Johannes Quasten, *Patrology Volume I: The Beginnings of Patristic Literature* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1988), 196-7.

<sup>14</sup> L. W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr, His Life and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1967), 13.

<sup>15</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 34-5.

<sup>16</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 37-8; Quasten, *Patrology Volume I*, 203 and 207-18.

Testament itself, only with its interpretation, his views regrettably laid the groundwork for later strife between Jewish and Christian exegesis.<sup>17</sup>

Another early writer who made use of Isaiah in his writing was Irenaeus of Lyon, born somewhere between 140 and 160 CE.<sup>18</sup> Though his surviving body of work also lacks an Isaiah commentary, he was influential among early patristic scholars as one of the first to separate the New Testament from the Hebrew Bible and to use the Old Testament, including Isaiah, as a prefiguration for Christ.<sup>19</sup> His works helped formulate the basic structure of the early Church.<sup>20</sup> Clement of Alexandria, a contemporary of Irenaeus, did write a complete commentary on both testaments, but only fragments of it have survived, none of which include direct commentary on Isaiah.<sup>21</sup> He was, however, a Platonist who believed in the simple and complex unity of Christ and God, and a founding thinker of the influential Alexandrian school of biblical exegesis, which focused on allegorical and philosophical interpretation of texts.<sup>22</sup>

Of particular interest for this survey is Origen, who was a primary source for Jerome's Isaiah commentary.<sup>23</sup> Much of his work is lost, and what has been

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<sup>17</sup> R. A. Greer and J. L. Kugel, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Jena: Frommanische Buchhandlung 1968), 146-7. For a full survey of literature on Justin Martyr, see Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity, Volume I* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 434-8.

<sup>18</sup> Quasten, *Patrology Volume I*, 287.

<sup>19</sup> Greer and Kugel, *Early Biblical Interpretation*, 155-6; Quasten, *Patrology Volume I*, 294-313, especially 292 and 306-8; Norbert Brox, 'Irenaeus and the Bible,' *Handbook Volume I*, 483-506.

<sup>20</sup> Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis Volume I: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Edinburgh: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and T&T Clark, 1998), 154 and 255; Quasten, *Patrology Volume I*, 302-4; Kannengiesser, *Handbook Volume I*, 477-83.

<sup>21</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 56-7; Quasten, *Patrology Volume II: The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1988), 6-19; Kannengiesser, *Handbook Volume I*, 507-15.

<sup>22</sup> Eric Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), 2-3 and 16; Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 58-9; Quasten, *Patrology Volume II*, 5-6.

<sup>23</sup> Origen has been a frequent subject of study for centuries. For more detailed accounts of his life and works, along with further bibliography, see Quasten, *Patrology Volume II*, 37-100 and Hermann J. Vogt, 'Origen of Alexandria (185-253),' *Handbook Volume I*, 536-74. On his theology and influence, see de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis Volume I*, 142-59 and 161-224. Hollerich suggests that

preserved exists mainly in Latin translations, paraphrases, or fragments; although he certainly wrote a commentary on the book of Isaiah, it is unfortunately not one of those preserved works. Some notions of its outline and Origen's hermeneutical methods can be gathered, however, both from Jerome's citations and from those commentaries of Origen that have survived in whatever form.

Origen was one of the most prominent names in the Alexandrian school of interpretation even prior to the later controversy over his work, and one of his primary concerns was reconciling Greek philosophy with the Bible, which doubtless won him few friends with later, stricter scholars;<sup>24</sup> allegory had been a focus of thought in Alexandria since approximately the first century BCE,<sup>25</sup> but by Origen's time opposition to the use of allegory had arisen in part due to conflicts with Gnosticism and other heretical sects.<sup>26</sup> Origen also concentrated on the theological context of the Bible, moving from the literal lines to their spiritual meanings without denigrating the literal words, but with emphasis on the spiritual meanings.<sup>27</sup> Despite the later controversy surrounding his work, which was a factor in the disappearance of most of it, he was unquestionably a strong influence on other commentators, most particularly Jerome, as was earlier noted.

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260-340 CE)<sup>28</sup> was another interpreter of Isaiah who wrote two treatises as well as a commentary on the book in Greek;<sup>29</sup> he wrote

Eusebius was a primary source for Jerome as well; cf. M. J. Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1999), 56.

<sup>24</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 63.

<sup>25</sup> R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and event: a study of the sources and significance of Origen's interpretation of scripture* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press 2002), 38.

<sup>26</sup> Hanson, *Allegory and event*, 134 and 136-7.

<sup>27</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 70-1; Quasten, *Patrology Volume II*, 45-51; Kannegiesser, *Handbook Volume I*, 545-8; de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis Volume I*, 142-4.

<sup>28</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 75.

<sup>29</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 79-80; cf. Quasten, *Patrology Volume III: The Golden Age of Patristic Literature* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1986), 311-45, for a full list of works, and 338 for his commentary on Isaiah, as well as Kannegiesser, *Handbook Volume II*, 675-83.

extensively on many other subjects, including four books about places in Israel of which only one volume survives, and his work is primarily valuable for the number of now-lost sources he cites.<sup>30</sup> His Isaiah commentary was written sometime after 325 CE and, though not translated into Latin, was used by Jerome and frequently cited in catenae.<sup>31</sup> He came to the conclusion that the prophet's metaphors required deep interpretation, focusing on the contrast between the literal and spiritual in Isaiah as well as their intertwined natures.<sup>32</sup> His commentary used a line-by-line style which became the dominant model for commentaries on the Bible,<sup>33</sup> and, in opposition to Origen's use of allegory and allusions, was committed heavily to literal and historical interpretations.<sup>34</sup>

John Chrysostom (c. 349-407 CE)<sup>35</sup> also wrote on all books of the Bible, but only six of his homilies on Isaiah and a fragment of a commentary remain, although a complete—if disputed—copy written in Armenia survives and would prove highly valuable if authenticated.<sup>36</sup> Unlike most of the other scholars discussed so far, Chrysostom followed the Antiochene school of interpretation, which was concerned more with the literal and historical interpretation of the Bible. His surviving work on Isaiah shows restraint in allegorization and an interest in the typology for the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 2 and 6.

<sup>31</sup> Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 8-9 and 56.

<sup>32</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 75 and 77; Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 87-94.

<sup>33</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 84-5.

<sup>34</sup> Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, 46 and 55-6.

<sup>35</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 104; Kannengiesser, *Handbook Volume II*, 783.

<sup>36</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 104-5; Quasten, *Patrology Volume III*, 435-6; Kannengiesser, *Handbook Volume II*, 784.

<sup>37</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 106-7. For further biographical and historical information, cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); and Chrysostomus Baur, *John Chrysostom and his time* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1959).



Cyril of Alexandria (c. 378-c. 444)<sup>38</sup>, another scholar of the Antiochene school but with a strong Alexandrian influence, wrote a five-book commentary on Isaiah;<sup>39</sup> he held the unusual (for the time) theory that some passages of the Bible were meant to be taken only in a literal sense, with no deeper spiritual meaning, and there is some confusion in his work as to the precise definition of the literal sense that he used.<sup>40</sup> He focused on the goals and scope of the sacred writers, a feature of the Antiochene school, but with less attention paid to the historical sense and more to metaphorical and allegorical analysis, which gives his scholarship an Alexandrian sensibility.<sup>41</sup> He emphasised the unity of the Old and New Testaments,<sup>42</sup> yet his work held a strong anti-Semitic bias, as well as anti-Arian, anti-pagan, and anti-Nestorian sentiments.<sup>43</sup> Cyril had a good sense of the relevant historical and geographical knowledge, particularly the geography, and made references to the Roman rule of the regions in question as fulfillment of the prophecies.<sup>44</sup>

The final commentator to be considered is Theoderet of Cyrus (c. 393-c. 460),<sup>45</sup> another scholar of the Antiochene school and possibly the only one besides John Chrysostom whose commentary on Isaiah survives in a complete copy.<sup>46</sup> He is known to have studied the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a scholar also cited in

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<sup>38</sup> N. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria* (London and New York: Routledge 2000), 3.

<sup>39</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 118; Quasten, *Patrology Volume III*, 121-2; Robert L. Wilken, 'Cyril of Alexandria, Biblical Exegete,' *Handbook Volume II*, 841-5.

<sup>40</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 112.

<sup>41</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 113-4; Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 71-95; Kannengiesser, *Handbook Volume II*, 847-52.

<sup>42</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 115.

<sup>43</sup> J. A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy* (Leiden: Brill 1994), 8-9; Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 71-95.

<sup>44</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 119-22; for some discussion of Cyril's exegetical style, see also Robert L. Wilken, 'Cyril of Alexandria as Interpreter of the Old Testament,' *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy and Daniel A. Keating (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 1-21.

<sup>45</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 130; Kannengiesser, *Handbook Volume II*, 885.

<sup>46</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 131-2; Quasten, *Patrology Volume III*, 541-2.

Irish texts.<sup>47</sup> Theodoret made use of a language-based approach, including grammar, word choice, and stylistic analysis, to explain the literal meanings, relating the figurative language to the literal and with a preference for literal interpretation.<sup>48</sup> He paid a great deal of attention to the historical context of Isaiah, but still considered Christ the key to understanding the book; his work contains some anti-Semitic attacks, although there is also support for Jews who held some level of Christian belief.<sup>49</sup> Theoderet commits to opposing Arianism by stressing the divinity of the Logos, but skirts around a full endorsement of Cyril of Alexandria's hypostatic union.<sup>50</sup> He handles the literal and figurative interpretation at the same time, as if considering them related, although his figurative interpretation focuses on the metaphorical sense rather than becoming allegory, and his typological method focuses on seeing the Old Testament events as significant in their own right in addition to prefiguring the New Testament.<sup>51</sup>

These authors remained the primary sources for the interpretation of Isaiah for the rest of the patristic and early medieval periods. Although their texts were used and criticised, a need for new commentaries and fresh interpretations does not seem to have arisen until the thirteenth century, with Thomas Aquinas and Nicholas of Lyra.<sup>52</sup> Instead the works of the patristic fathers, and particularly Jerome, formed

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<sup>47</sup> Paul B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451)* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 2007), 9; Bernhard Bischoff, 'Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages,' *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin: Dominican Publications 1976), 74-6. For more on Theodore of Mopsuestia, cf. Manlio Simonetti, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350-428),' *Handbook Volume II*, 799-828.

<sup>48</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 137; Jean-Noël Guinot, 'Theoderet of Cyrus (ca. 393-458),' *Handbook Volume II*, 896-911.

<sup>49</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 140-2; Quasten, *Patrology Volume III*, 542.

<sup>50</sup> Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus*, 170-2.

<sup>51</sup> Childs, *Isaiah as Christian Scripture*, 142-5.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam* (Strassburg: Johann Mentelin, 1472).

the basis for conversation and discussion of Isaiah through the time of Josephus Scottus and beyond.

Unfortunately, as the survey of the CLA in section 4 will show, early manuscripts of the Latin commentaries on Isaiah are poorly represented; there is a sixth- or seventh-century manuscript of *De Ratione Paschae* by Cyril of Alexandria listed in the CLA, but no copies of his five-book Isaiah commentary. There are also three manuscripts with works by John Chrysostom, one of which was likely written in Northern England, but again, none of them are his Isaiah commentary.<sup>53</sup> A lack of manuscript evidence does not prove lack of manuscripts, but a complete lack of early copies of commentaries by authors other than Jerome would seem to indicate that at least in the Latin-speaking world, Jerome's commentary was king.

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. the survey by Thomas N. Hall, 'John Chrysostom,' *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture. Volume 5: Julius Caesar to Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria*, ed. Thomas N. Hall (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, forthcoming), 2-5 and 7, <http://www.saslc.org/samples/c/chrysostom.pdf>, accessed 14 September 2016.

#### 4. The reception of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam*: manuscript evidence and other commentaries

To obtain a general idea of Jerome's reception in the early medieval period, a brief survey of early manuscripts of Jerome's Isaiah commentary, using E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, may be helpful.<sup>1</sup> Although the CLA includes only manuscripts considered by Lowe to have been written prior to 800 CE, and thus does not contain any of the surviving manuscripts of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation, it is one possible resource in studying Josephus Scottus, as it provides a sadly incomplete impression of what manuscripts may have been available to Josephus when he was working on his abridgment. This survey does not include separate copies of Jerome's translation of the biblical book of Isaiah, although a few are described in the CLA, usually bound with other Old Testament prophets.

##### 1. CLA II.196A

London, British Museum, Egerton 2831 (foll. 1-109): Contains books XIV-XVII in Frankish pre-Caroline minuscule, written in two columns with one quaternion in long lines, copied in the second half of the eighth century at Tours; the first folio has an ex-libris of St. Martin of Tours in Merovingian cursive.<sup>2</sup> Marginalia in both French and Insular minuscule occur.

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<sup>1</sup> The sigla for books I-IV of Gryson's edition include four of the manuscripts listed in this survey (Brescia, Bibl. civica Queriniana, A III. 14, Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 11627 and 2739, and Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. CLXXXI), as well as the abridged St. Petersburg/Leningrad F. v. I. 3 manuscript; this is out of a list of eighteen manuscripts, of which ten are dated to the ninth or possibly late eighth century, and the remaining three from the eleventh century. Jerome, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe I-IV*, ed. Roger Gryson and P.-A. Deproost (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1993-9), 129-30.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores, Part II: Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 22.

## 2. CLA II.196B

London, British Museum, Egerton 2831 (foll. 110-143): Book XVIII of the above manuscript written in Insular minuscule during the second half of the eighth century in two columns. It appears to have been written contemporaneously with the first part, pointing to the presence of an Insular scribe at Tours during this period; the script is very fine, neat, and distinctly pointed.

## 3. CLA III.282

Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, A. III. 14: A manuscript from the eighth century in uncial script with some colorful ornamentation, written in long lines on good parchment. Ruled on the hair side with marginal pricking, gatherings of eights, and shows some confusion of vowels in spelling, i.e. *scentella* and *copolans*. According to Lowe it was written in Italy, and likely in the North.

## 4. CLA III.365

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ambros. S. 45 sup.: A palimpsest, with Jerome's commentary the secondary script written over a Gothic copy of Ulfilas; in a compressed half-uncial bordering on minuscule of the early seventh century with some decoration, long lines. Written at Bobbio, during the abbacy of Atalanus or Atala, the successor of St. Columbanus. The script shows Merovingian influence in the compression and forms of *b* and *t*, and Irish influence in the practice of *diminuendo*.

## 5. CLA V.548

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2739: Excerpts from the works of Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, and others, including excerpts of Jerome's Isaiah commentary, a palimpsested work of the early eighth century in Luxeuil minuscule, long lines; the

lower script is uncial of the seventh or eighth century, but the text had not been identified at the time of Lowe's catalogue.

#### **6. CLA V.584**

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9527: Eighth-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule written in long lines, showing the Insular practice of pricking both inner and outer margins as well as the script feature of diminuendo. Written by two scribes, and likely at the same scriptorium as CLA V.588, a manuscript of Augustine's *De Trinitate*; Lowe proposes Echternach, as this manuscript has a title in the hand of a fifteenth-century Echternach librarian.

#### **7. CLA V.612**

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 11627: Two columns, written in Corbie *ab* script in the second half of the eighth century, with running titles in uncial or Caroline minuscule. Fol. 98 has a contemporary correction using an Insular form of an *autem* abbreviation. Written at Corbie, with a thirteenth-century ex-libris of the same on fol. 340v.

#### **8. CLA V.689**

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Nouv. Acq. lat. 1629 (foll. 1-2): Two leaves containing the *Praefatio Hieronymi in Esaiam*, written in eighth- or ninth-century uncial with two columns of text. Of uncertain origin; they were stolen by Libri and came to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1888.

#### **9. CLA VI.746**

Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 41 (3): A manuscript in pre-Caroline minuscule of the eighth century containing Jerome on the prophets (presumably including Isaiah), the *Epistulae* of Gregory the Great, and Augustine's *Opuscula*. Destroyed in 1944 with no surviving facsimiles.

**10. CLA VI.808**

Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 192 (169) (foll. 15-18, 20): Fragments in palimpsest form, with the primary script a text of Sallust; in seventh- or eighth-century uncial, long lines. Lowe presumes it was written at Fleury, where non-palimpsested pieces of the original Sallust manuscript were used in bindings.

**11. CLA VI.810**

Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 192 (169) (fol. 19): A single cut-down folio in sixth-century half-uncial, long lines, possibly written in South Italy. Contains a fragment of book II, chapter iv.

**12. CLA VIII.\*\*808**

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Lat. Qu. 364: A single folio from the palimpsest Orléans manuscript described in 10.

**13. CLA VIII.1086**

Carlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Aug. CLXXXI: A pre-Caroline minuscule manuscript of the eighth century in long lines containing books I-V; Italian, possibly written in the North, and later at the monastery of Reichenau with the monastery's fifteenth-century ex-libris.

**14. CLA Supp. 1686**

Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, HS. Z. 4 nr. 1: An eighth-century fragment in Anglo-Saxon minuscule containing the end of book XIV and beginning of book XV, two columns, probably written at an Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany. It was used as a jacket for a sixteenth-century account of a lepers' house which likely depended on Werden.

As can be seen from this survey, few early manuscripts of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah have survived. Of the thirteen distinct manuscripts catalogued in the CLA, four are merely fragments, one was destroyed during World War II, six seem to contain only a few books rather than the complete text, and one contains only excerpts of the text, leaving a single questionably complete manuscript.<sup>3</sup> This number still represents an astonishing popularity for the text even in older copies, as some patristic works have no pre-800 manuscripts known to survive at all, or only survive in a single copy. The number of manuscripts for the *Commentariorum* paints only a partial picture of Jerome's reception in the early medieval period, however. The CLA index lists some 150 manuscripts, of which the most numerous are various copies of some or all of Jerome's letters, numbering approximately thirty manuscripts; his commentary on Matthew has approximately thirteen early copies surviving in various conditions, the same as the Isaiah commentary.<sup>4</sup> Other surviving early manuscripts of Jerome include his *Chronicon*, tracts on various subjects, homilies, his *Vita S. Pauli*, and his commentaries on the Psalms, Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and other books of the Bible.

In addition to the manuscripts of the full commentary, there is one abbreviated commentary in the CLA which appears to be unrelated to the abbreviation written by Josephus Scottus; for the sake of completeness, a brief description is included. A complete study of this abbreviation, if one has not been made, might provide a fuller picture of Insular abbreviation practices.

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<sup>3</sup> Regrettably, Lowe does not always clarify in his descriptions whether a manuscript contains the complete eighteen books of the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* or only a smaller range, though in certain cases a guess may be made from the size of the manuscript and the number of folia.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Lowe, *CLA Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 75.



## 1. CLA XI.1600

Leningrad, Public Library F.v.I.3 (foll. 39-108): An abbreviation by an unknown author, written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, from the second half of the eighth century, long lines; most likely written in Northumbria, or in a Continental centre by Northumbrian scribes.<sup>5</sup> Bound with a manuscript of Job containing glosses from the commentary of Philippus Presbyter (CLA XI.1599).

The surviving manuscripts of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation all fall outside the range of the CLA, having been written sometime in the ninth century or the tenth. This list is intended only as a brief census of the witnesses, as full descriptions of the manuscripts will be given in the introduction to the edition.

## 1. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6296

200 folia, written at Freising around the middle of the ninth century in various forms of Caroline minuscule by multiple alternating scribes, long lines; twelfth- and thirteenth-century owners' marks of Freising, with a cathedral library ex-libris.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 254

254 pages, double columns in ninth-century Caroline minuscule by multiple scribes, produced at St. Gall. Mistakenly attributed to Bede. Written at the end is an account of the death of Bede, including Bede's death song in the original Old English.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See also Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), entry 840.6, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Günter Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising: Bd. 1. Clm 6201-6316* (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 2000), 168-9; full literature cited in the introduction to the edition.

<sup>7</sup> Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St.Gallen* (Halle 1875), 95-96.

### 3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms lat. 12154

192 folia, long lines in a mix of neat, upright ninth-century Caroline minuscule and Maurdrampus minuscule, with a Corbie ex-libris and later handwritten notes describing the contents at the top of the first leaf of the text.<sup>8</sup>

### 4. Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Ms 100 Aa 13

234 folia, in dry-ruled long lines by at least two scribes in a neat Caroline minuscule of the later tenth century. Likely written in the Lake Constance area.<sup>9</sup> An incomplete copy; folia 1v-120v contain the *Abbreuiatio*, stopping mid-sentence at the bottom of 120v with *Mysticę significat eos qui deserto creatore . se*, a line from book IX. Folia 121v-232v contain *In Lucae euangelium expositio* by Bede.

### 5. Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 463

171 folia, written in two columns in Caroline minuscule sometime during the second third of the ninth century; given to the cathedral of St. Stephen (Saint-Étienne) near Lyon.<sup>10</sup> May be a different abbreviation rather than the work of Josephus Scottus, a question that will be addressed later, but included here for the sake of completeness.

### 6. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss.

127 folia, in two dry-ruled columns. Written in Caroline minuscule at Weissenburg during the second half of the ninth century.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Exposition de S. Jérôme sur Isaïe, abrégée par l'abbé Joseph, disciple d'Alcuin* (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90666924>), accessed 20 January 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Regina Hausmann, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1992), 44.

<sup>10</sup> *Commentaire sur Isaïe [Manuscrit] / saint Jérôme* (<http://catalogue.bm-lyon.fr/?fn=ViewNotice&Style=Portal3&q=1354174>), accessed 13 April 2016; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen Teil II: Laon-Paderborn)* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2014), 139.

<sup>11</sup> Hans Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1964), 186.

From this brief survey of the witnesses to the *Abbreviatio*, we can already see that its text survived in a surprising number of early copies, primarily from the ninth century but with one witness copied in the tenth. The majority of the witnesses were written in the southern region of modern Germany, at Freising, Weingarten, and Weissenburg, with the St. Gall witness not far off, and thus the text appears to have had more local popularity than wide geographical distribution; the Paris manuscript likely written at Corbie, as the only probable French witness, has the most distant origin from the other witnesses, although its location in northern France means it originated closer to the British Isles and Ireland.

This concludes the preliminary discussion of the history of Isaiah, Jerome, and Josephus Scottus, as well as some basic information on the early manuscript witnesses of the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* and the manuscript tradition for the *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Esaiam*. It is now time to turn our attention to the similarities and differences between the two texts, and what can be learned from comparing them.

## II. Comparison of the text of the *Commentariorum* and the abbreviation by Josephus Scottus

A comparison of Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam* with Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* is one approach to understanding Josephus Scottus and his work. In this chapter, I shall compare a selection of passages by theme in order to provide a glimpse of Josephus Scottus's methods and interests in abbreviation, and look for signs of the exegetical style his work falls into, whether Irish or English.

A complete comparison of Jerome's *Commentariorum* and Josephus Scottus's abbreviation has not previously been attempted; considering the formidable length of Jerome's commentary as well as that of the abbreviation, and the lack of a published edition for the abbreviation, this gap in scholarship is understandable, if regrettable.

A brief survey was conducted by J. F. Kelly and published in *Manuscripta*, but Kelly compared only four major Christological passages and three minor ones—specifically on the sections discussing Isaiah 7:14, 9:6-7, 11:1-3, and 40:3-5 for major passages, Isaiah 28:14-15, 35:1-2, and 63:11-14 for minor—which is insufficient to allow a comprehensive statement about Josephus Scottus's technique of abbreviation to be made.<sup>1</sup> Kelly also looked at the text specifically to search for instances of original thought in Josephus Scottus's technique, rather than to evaluate his method, and concluded that Josephus Scottus primarily chose to keep Jerome's wording as closely as possible.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. F. Kelly, 'The Originality of Josephus Scottus' Commentary on Isaiah,' *Manuscripta* 24 (1980): 176-80.

<sup>2</sup> Kelly, 'The Originality of Josephus Scottus's Commentary,' 180.

Originality of thought, however, was not necessarily a priority for Josephus Scottus—as it was not for Alcuin or other Carolingian exegetical writers<sup>3</sup>—nor is it the only matter of interest in analysing his text. Although a complete line-by-line comparison of the two texts would be beyond the scope of this thesis, a detailed comparison of carefully chosen longer passages from Josephus Scottus's abbreviation, selected for their theological or historical interest, or for textual differences, with editions of the original text by Jerome, should prove more fruitful in sketching out an idea of Josephus's goals and methodology.

These comparisons will be organized into two separate sections, 1. Christological and other theological passages, and 2. linguistic passages, with a final third section detailing my conclusions. The Christological and theological passages are naturally of particular interest to theologians and ecclesiastical scholars, and by looking closely at the way that Josephus Scottus treated the text of Jerome, it is possible to gain insight into Josephus Scottus's own views and his goals in creating the abbreviation. Linguistic passages might demonstrate areas of education and interpretation considered especially useful or noteworthy by Josephus Scottus or by Alcuin. These are not the only possible themes of interest, of course, but they are varied enough to paint a somewhat fuller picture of Josephus Scottus's general approach to scholarship and abbreviation.

In analysing relationships between texts, it is of paramount importance to base comparisons on well-established, scholarly editions of the works in question. In the case of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation, no critical edition has previously

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<sup>3</sup> Donald A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age,' *Carolingian Essays*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 51; Michael Fox, 'Alcuin's *Expositio in epistolam ad Hebraeos*,' *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18.2 (2008), 332-4 and 335-6; Michael Fox, 'Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the *Quaestiones in Genesim*,' *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 39-41.

been made, and therefore passages will be drawn from the partial edition created for this thesis, citing by book and line numbers. Regarding the complete work of Jerome, the *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, the Corpus Christianorum edition of Adriaen was considered inadequate by Roger Gryson and P.-A. Deproost, who prepared a new edition published in five volumes from 1993-9.<sup>4</sup> Gryson's edition will be used in this thesis for comparisons between the two texts. Translations into English, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

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<sup>4</sup> J. K. Elliott, 'Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe by Jerome; R. Gryson,' *Novum Testamentum* 43.1 (Jan. 2001), 93.

## 1. Christological and theological passages

Within Josephus Scottus's lifetime, two theological controversies of note were ongoing: Adoptionism, which erupted into widespread controversy in the Spanish church with Bishop Elipandus of Toledo around 782,<sup>1</sup> and iconoclasm, a longstanding item of theological debate, particularly between the Eastern and Western churches.<sup>2</sup> The Adoptionist controversy is of particular interest, as Josephus Scottus's teacher Alcuin spoke against Adoptionism at the council of Frankfurt in 794, wrote a four-book refutation of Elipandus in 800, and had steadily been writing tracts against Elipandus's fellow bishop, Felix of Urgell, who also supported Adoptionism, from 796-99.<sup>3</sup> Alcuin's views on the controversy may have influenced his student, though it is not known whether Josephus took an active part in the debate himself; much of Alcuin's work on the subject was written after Josephus Scottus's death around 794/6.<sup>4</sup> While Isaiah and Jerome were not among the authorities the anti-Adoptionist side used to support their arguments,<sup>5</sup> it is worth taking a close look at the *Abbreviatio* to see if any of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation choices could have an anti-Adoptionist interpretation.

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<sup>1</sup> Cullen J. Chandler, 'Heresy and Empire: The Role of the Adoptionist Controversy in Charlemagne's Conquest of the Spanish March,' *The International History Review* vol. 24 no. 3 (2002), 510; John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> David Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought,' *The New Cambridge Medieval History* vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 762-3 and 773-5. For a thorough treatment of iconoclasm and the Carolingians, please see Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought,' 765; Michael Gorman, 'Alcuin before Migne,' *Revue Bénédictine* 112 fasc. 1-2 (2002), 103; Chandler, 'Heresy and Empire,' 512-3; Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 77-9 and 81-2.

<sup>4</sup> Mary Garrison, 'Joseph Scottus (d. 791x804), abbot and scholar,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 30 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61650> accessed 8 January 2013; Chandler, 'Heresy and Empire,' 512-3; Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 77-9 and 81-2.

<sup>5</sup> Alcuin referenced Augustine on the Gospel of John and the Gospel of John itself, as well as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the acts of anti-Nestorian councils; Agobard of Lyons, who wrote later, relied on Augustine, Cyril, Vigilius of Thapse, and Hilary. Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought,' 763 and 766; Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 84-6.

Regarding iconoclasm, while Alcuin does not appear to have written on the topic in his surviving works,<sup>6</sup> he and his students may have helped Theodulf compose the *Libri Carolini* against a decision by the Byzantine church to restore the veneration of images.<sup>7</sup> Whether this stance in Carolingian theology makes an appearance in the *Abbreviatio* is also worth investigation. There is also the matter of Josephus Scottus's approach to Jerome's theology to consider, and what the ways he chose to abbreviate or reword Jerome's text outside of the Adoptionist and iconoclastic contexts may suggest about his personal views.

An early example of noticeable rewording occurs in the *Abbreviatio*'s book I, lines 45-9, as part of the interpretation of Isaiah 1:3, which reads in the Vulgate:

cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui  
 Israhel non cognovit populus meus non intellexit<sup>8</sup>

The first sentence of the interpretative text is very similar in the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* and the *Abbreviatio*. The text of the *Commentariorum* is as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> Gorman, 'Alcuin before Migne,' 102-3 and 126-30; nothing specifically anti-iconoclast is listed under works with confirmed authorship or the dubia, though the *Libri Carolini* is under the spurious works (129) despite the now-usual attribution to Theodulf of Orléans. See Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, 'Opus Caroli regis contra synodum: An Introduction,' *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2003), 21-33, and Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 158-63 and 167-8.

<sup>7</sup> Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought,' 774; Donald A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age,' *Carolingian Essays*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 31-9; Freeman and Meyvaert, 'Opus Caroli,' *Theodulf of Orléans*, 18-23; Freeman, 'Additions and Corrections to the Libri Carolini: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy,' *Theodulf of Orléans*, 8-10.

<sup>8</sup> Isaiah 1:3, *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pauli Pp. VI. Cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Isaiae* (Rome: Vatican 1969). 'The ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's stall, but Israel does not know me and my people do not understand.'



Et est sensus perspicuus: ego eos adoptavi in filios et feci  
 populum peculiarem et partem meam ac funiculum hereditatis  
 meae appellavique primogenitos, illi autem ne hoc quidem  
 fecerunt quod bruta faciunt animalia, ut beneficiis  
 uincerentur et intellegerent pastorem ac nutricium suum.<sup>9</sup>

The corresponding sentence in the *Abbreviatio* reads:

Sensus est: Ego eos adoptavi in filios et populum peculiarem  
 et funiculum hereditatis meae, illi autem nec hoc quidem fecerunt  
 quod bruta faciunt animalia, ut beneficiis uincerentur et me  
 intellegerent pastorem ac nutricium suum.<sup>10</sup>

The primary differences are that Josephus Scottus has shortened the opening phrase, simplified the first third of the sentence by removing *partem meam* and *primogenitos*, and made the identification of God as the *pastorem* and *nutricium* explicit by adding *me*. These are all relatively small changes which do not affect the overall meaning of the sentence, but shorten the length while also clarifying the sense. In addition, the term *primogenitus* was one that Bishop Elipandus used in arguing his Adoptionist theology regarding the nature of the Son.<sup>11</sup> Possibly Josephus Scottus wished to remove it from close proximity to *adoptavi*, lest a reader misinterpret the passage despite its entirely different subject. More likely, it was the

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<sup>9</sup> 'And the clear sense is: I have adopted them as sons and made them a chosen people and my faction and the line of my inheritance, and I have addressed them as the firstborn, yet they have not done even what brute animals do, so that they were overwhelmed with blessings and recognised the shepherd and their foster-father,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 148.

<sup>10</sup> 'The sense is: I have adopted them as sons and a chosen people and the line of my inheritance, however they have not done even what brute animals do, so that they were overwhelmed with blessings and recognised me as the shepherd and their foster-father,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 46-9.

<sup>11</sup> Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 32-5.

fact that, in this instance, *primogenitus* referring to a 'chosen people' would weight that reference towards the Jewish people.

The next sentence in the *Abbreviatio* has no close equivalent in the same passage of the *Commentariorum in Esaiam*. The text of Jerome moves on to discuss the animal metaphor in further depth, interpret it, and provide related quotations;<sup>12</sup> the *Abbreviatio* instead elaborates on the result of the failure to recognise God:

Sed e contrario mala pro bonis reddentes me negauerunt  
et crucifixerunt.<sup>13</sup>

This addition is not directly related to or rephrased from anything else in the same section of the *Commentariorum*, nor is it attested in any of the manuscript witnesses to the *Commentariorum* that Gryson used. It appears to be an original contribution to the text by Josephus Scottus—and, unfortunately, one with an anti-Semitic undertone which ties God's past rebuke to the Jewish nation of Israel to the future Roman crucifixion of Jesus.

The interpretative material for Isaiah 1:16, in which Jerome discussed baptism, is not long in the *Commentariorum*, but the way Josephus Scottus dealt with it is interesting. Isaiah 1:16 reads in the Vulgate:

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<sup>12</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 148-9.

<sup>13</sup> 'But on the contrary, returning evil for good, they have denied me and crucified me,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 49-50.

lavamini mundi estote auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum  
ab oculis meis quiescite agere perverse<sup>14</sup>

Jerome divided the line into two parts for interpretation (*lavamini, mundi estote* and *auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis meis*), but left out *quiescite agere perverse*, an omission which Josephus Scottus shared. Josephus Scottus did not, however, split the line or the interpretation as Jerome had done, and he simplified the interpretation greatly. The first and longest sentence in Jerome's interpretation reads:

Pro superioribus uictimis et holocaustis et adipe pinguium  
et sanguine taurorum et hircorum, et pro thymiamate,  
neomeniis, sabbato, die festo atque ieiuniis, kalendis et  
aliis sollemnitatibus, euangelii mihi placet religio, ut  
baptizemini in sanguine meo per lauacrum regenerationis,  
quod solum potest peccata dimittere.<sup>15</sup>

In the *Abbreviatio*, the equivalent passage reads:

Pro legalibus obseruationibus euangelii mihi placet religio,  
hoc est baptismum et post baptismum *mundi estote*...<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> 'Wash yourselves, be clean; carry away your evil thoughts from my eyes, cease to do perverse things,' Isaiah 1:16, *Biblia sacra*.

<sup>15</sup> 'Instead of better sacrifices and burnt offerings and rich fat and the blood of bulls and goats, and instead of incense, on new moons, the sabbath, the festival day and fasting, the kalends and other traditions, the ritual of the Gospel pleases me, therefore baptize yourselves in my blood through the bath of regrowth, which alone is able to wash away sins,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 168.

<sup>16</sup> 'Instead of observing the laws, the ritual of the Gospel pleases me, that is baptism and after baptism be clean,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 140-1.

Josephus Scottus reduced the list of specific Jewish customs, some of which were previously mentioned in Isaiah 1:11 and 1:13-14, to a single short phrase, as well as completely changing the last two clauses of the sentence: first by placing baptism as central without including Jerome's more elaborate wording, and then by referring back to the Vulgate line in repeating *mundi estote*.

The final section of the *Abbreviatio*'s first book, lines 324-8, is an interesting example of Josephus Scottus abbreviating with a clear focus. The interpretation is for Isaiah 2:22:

quiescite ergo ab homine cuius spiritus in naribus eius  
quia excelsus reputatus est ipse<sup>17</sup>

In Jerome's *Commentariorum*, the interpretation covers some discussion of the original Hebrew vocabulary, longer discussion of the spiritual meaning including a quote from the Psalms, and a short citation of Origen's interpretation.<sup>18</sup> Josephus Scottus culled it all down to one sentence with few changes. Jerome's version of the sentence reads:

Ergo e contrario sic intellegendum: cum haec uniuersa  
uentura sint uobis et prophetali spiritu praedicantur, moneo  
atque praecipio ut quiescatis ab eo qui secundum carnem  
quidem homo est et habet animam, et ita spirat et naribus  
halitum trahit ut nos homines spiramus et uiuimus, sed  
secundum diuinam maiestatem excelsus et est reputatur

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<sup>17</sup> 'Therefore cease from the man whose breath is in his nose, for he is highly thought of,' Isaiah 2:22, *Biblia sacra*.

<sup>18</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 213-6.

et creditur.<sup>19</sup>

Josephus Scottus wrote:

Hoc est cum haec quae praedixi uentura sint uobis, moneo  
 ut quiescatis ab eo qui secundum carnem quidem homo est et  
 habet animam, et ita spirat et naribus halitum trahit ut nos  
 homines spiramus et uiuimus, sed secundum diuinitatem excelsus  
 et est et reputatur et creditur.<sup>20</sup>

The bulk of the sentence Josephus Scottus did not change at all; he shortened the opening from *Ergo e contrario sic intellegendum* to *hoc est*, simplified the next clause, and removed the redundant *atque praecipio*. This creates only a small change in overall length, but makes the beginning of the sentence clearer in meaning and easier to parse grammatically.

As a selection from the rest of the *Commentariorum* passage, this is particularly interesting because by leaving out the surrounding grammatical commentary and more in-depth discussion of the meaning that Jerome wrote, Josephus Scottus has placed the focus only on the most literal interpretation of the Isaiah verse. It is also of interest to note that this literal meaning is one that

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<sup>19</sup> 'Therefore on the contrary it should be understood thus: when these things, taken all together, which were predicted by the spirit of prophecy, have come to pass for you all, I warn and advise you to cease from him who in accordance with flesh is a man and has breath, and thus breathes and drags air through his nose as we humans breath and live, but in accordance with divine majesty is lofty and well-thought-of and believed,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 215.

<sup>20</sup> 'This is when these things which I have predicted will have come to pass for you all, I warn you to cease from him who in conformity with flesh is a man and has breath, and thus breathes and drags air through his nose as we humans breathe and live, but in conformity with divine majesty is lofty and well-thought-of and believed,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 325-8.

emphasises the human nature of the man so described, even though Jerome and Origen both interpret the line to refer to Christ.

In *Abbreviatio* book II, lines 154-8, another focused excision occurs. This passage interprets Isaiah 4:4, which reads in the Vulgate:

si abluerit Dominus sordem filiarum Sion et sanguinem  
Hierusalem laverit de medio eius spiritu iudicii et spiritu  
ardoris<sup>21</sup>

Jerome's interpretation in the *Commentariorum* is not very long, but the precise way in which Josephus Scottus truncated it is intriguing. The first sentence of interpretation in the *Commentariorum* is as follows:

...tunc saluabuntur reliquiae de Israhel, quando in baptisate  
saluatoris eis fuerint peccata dimissa et ille sanguis ablutus  
quem super se errans populus imprecatus est: *Sanguis eius super  
nos et super filios nostros.*<sup>22</sup>

In the *Abbreviatio*, this becomes:

Hoc est peccata per baptismum dimiserit, et sanguinem  
Hierusalem, id est cum ablutus fuerit ille sanguis quem

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<sup>21</sup> 'If the Lord will wash away the filth of the daughters of Sion and wash the blood of Jerusalem from their midst with the spirit of judgement and the spirit of fire,' Isaiah 4:4, *Biblia sacra*; in all three of the *Abbreviatio* manuscripts and in Gryson's edition, *cum abluerit* is found instead of *si abluerit*. Cf. *Abbreviatio*, book II line 139 and apparatus, and Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 259.

<sup>22</sup> '...then the remainder from Israel will be saved, when in their baptism of salvation their sins are dismissed and that blood washed away, which concerning themselves the straying population has uttered the curse: "His blood be on us and on our children,"' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 259.

errans populus super se imprecatus est: *Sanguis eius super nos et reliqua.*<sup>23</sup>

Josephus Scottus partially rephrased the sentence in a way that centers baptism, and also abbreviated the *Sanguis eius...filius nostros* quote, which is from Matthew 27:25 and refers to the response of the crowd to Pontius Pilate after the condemnation of Jesus. The shortening of the Gospel quote is not unusual in the *Abbreviatio*, but it is worth noting that Josephus Scottus also left out the next sentence of the *Commentariorum*, which contains two other quotations, both from earlier in Isaiah.

The next part of Jerome's interpretation for the passage is slightly longer than the first. Jerome wrote:

Et nota quod sordes filiarum Sion lauerit spiritu iudicii, sanguinem autem Hierusalem spiritu combustionis; quod enim leue est lauatur, quod grauius exuritur. De quo iudicii spiritu et spiritu combustionis Iohannes baptista in euangelio loquebatur: *Ego uos baptizo in aqua; qui autem post me uenit, ipse uos baptizabit in spiritu sanctu et igni.* Ex quo discimus quod homo tantum aquam tribuat, deus autem spiritum sanctum, quo et sordes abluuntur et sanguinis peccata purgantur.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> 'This is he will wash away sins through baptism, and also the blood of Jerusalem, that is when that blood has been washed away which the straying population concerning themselves uttered the curse: "His blood be on us" and the rest,' *Abbreviatio*, book II lines 155-7.

<sup>24</sup> 'And observe that he will wash the filth of Sion's daughters with the spirit of judgement, and then the blood of Jerusalem with the spirit of burning; for then what is light is washed, that which is heavier is burned. About this spirit of judgement and spirit of fire John the Baptist said in the

Josephus Scottus used only a fraction of this passage, writing:

*Spiritu iudicii et spiritu ardoris: Id est quod leuius est  
lauatur, quod grauius exuritur.*<sup>25</sup>

Out of the material in Jerome, why take only this rather cryptic line? The lines on baptism, which could be considered relevant, given Josephus Scottus's earlier emphasis, are not even referred to, nor rephrased in a briefer way in order to clarify or further explain the line that Josephus Scottus did use. It does, however, leave the reader with a singularly vivid and memorable image, and changing *leue* to *leuius* in order to parallel *grauius* directly creates an intriguing slant rhyme. Perhaps this instance of abbreviation was less about interpretation and more about appreciating Jerome's language—or improving it.

The interpretation for Isaiah 5:10, in both the *Commentariorum* and the *Abbreviatio*, is an interesting mixture of linguistic side-notes and numerological analysis. Isaiah 5:10 itself reads:

decem enim iuga vinearum facient lagunculam unam  
et triginta modii sementis facient modios tres<sup>26</sup>

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Gospel: "I baptize you in water; he who will come after me, he will baptize you in the holy spirit and fire." From which we learn that man provides only water, but God the holy spirit, by which both filth is washed away and sins of blood are cleansed,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 260.

<sup>25</sup> "'Spirit of judgement and spirit of fire": that is, that which is lighter is washed, that which is heavier is burned,' *Abbreviatio*, book II lines 157-8.

<sup>26</sup> 'For ten yards of vines will produce one small bottle, and thirty pecks of seeds will produce three pecks,' Isaiah 5:10, *Biblia sacra*.



In the *Commentariorum*, Jerome spent a sentence explaining the variation in his translation from the Septuagint,<sup>27</sup> and then continued with further description of the measurements:

In sterilitate ergo nimia quae sequitur captiuitatem,  
decem iugera uinearum facient batum, id est tres  
amphoras, et triginta modii seminis, id est corus, faciet  
epha, quod LXX TRES MENSURAS interpretati sunt,  
id est tres modios. Batus autem in liquidus speciebus  
dicitur, et oephi siue epha eiusdem mensurae in  
aridis, sicut in Hiezechihel iuxta hebraicum legimus...<sup>28</sup>

Josephus Scottus retained this information, but rephrased it as follows, with the line about barrenness placed after the measurements:

*Lagunculam unam uel batum [unum]:* Id est tres anforas,  
*et triginta modii,* id est choros Haebraice, *modios*  
*tres,* id est oephi. Eadem autem mensura est batus et in  
liquidis et oephi in aridis. Haec autem dicuntur de nimia  
sterilitate quae captiuitatem sequitur.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 279.

<sup>28</sup> "Therefore in the excessive barrenness which follows the captivity, ten acres of vines will produce a bath, that is three amphoras, and thirty pecks of seeds, that is a cor, makes an epha, which the Septuagint interpreted as THREE MEASURES, that is three pecks. A bath thus is said for liquid in appearances, and oephi or epha for measurements for dry things, as we read in Ezechiel according to the Hebrew," Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 279-80.

<sup>29</sup> "One small bottle or [one] bath": That is three amphoras, "and thirty pecks," that is cor in Hebrew, "three pecks," that is an oephi. These however are measures, a bath for liquids and oephi for dry things. These are said from excessive barrenness which follows the captivity," *Abbreviatio*, book II lines 227-30.

Interestingly, the M and S manuscripts have the reading *quattuor* rather than *tres* in relation to *anforas*; did this error follow from an incorrect interpretation of a Roman numeral in an exemplar, or perhaps from a flawed secondary resource about Hebrew measurements?

Jerome then moved from the measurements to the meaning of this line when combined with the preceding line of Isaiah 5:9, regarding 'great and fair houses' which will become desolate. These Jerome had interpreted as the houses of heretics.<sup>30</sup> He wrote two long passages connecting them with the barrenness of Isaiah 5:10,<sup>31</sup> including one particular line:

Porro haeretici imaginem tantum habentes umbramque  
uirtutum et non ipsam ueritatem absque fructu operum  
uerborum folia pollicentur...<sup>32</sup>

A version of this appears in Josephus Scottus, who wrote it as the following:

Mystice heretici habent uineam, id est scripturam, sed *uinea*  
*eorum uinea Sodomorum* et reliqua, et non habentes ueritatis  
fructus folia uerborum promittunt.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 278-9.

<sup>31</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 280.

<sup>32</sup> 'Moreover heretics, having only the image and shadow of virtues and not the truth, promise the leaves of words without the fruit of works,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 280.

<sup>33</sup> 'Mystically heretics have vineyards, that is scripture, but "their vineyard is the vineyard of Sodom" [Deut. 32:32] and the rest, and they guarantee the leaves of words while not having the fruit of truth,' *Abbreuiatio* book II lines 230-2.

The sense of Jerome is kept, but simplified, and Josephus Scottus gave the lines his own sense of style, including an inversion of Jerome's chiasmus (changing *fructum operum uerborum folia* to *ueritatis fructus folia uerborum*).

Josephus Scottus also inverted the order of interpretation; in Jerome, the following passage about the numbers in Isaiah 5:9 occurs before the lines discussed above:

...idcirco *DECEM IVGERA VINEARUM* siue *VBI DECEM IUGA BOVM OPERANTVR* facient batum unum et *TRIGINTA MODII SEMENTIS* facient oepi, ut de denario numero, qui in scripturis sanctis mysticus atque perfectus est, et de tricenario, in quo prophetauit Hiezechihel et dominus baptizatus est, redigantur ad oepi, qui ad comparationem multiplicis numeri unione constringitur.<sup>34</sup>

Josephus Scottus placed his version of the line after *Mystice heretici...promittunt* and reworded it as follows:

Ideo de denario numero, qui perfectus est, et de trigesimo numero, in quo dominus baptizatus est, rediguntur ad oepi, qui in comparatione multiplicis numeri unione constringitur, ut ostendas

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<sup>34</sup> '...therefore "ten yards of vines" or "where ten yoke of oxen are working" makes one bath and "thirty pecks of seed" make an oepi, so that from the number of the denarius, which in the holy scriptures is mystic and perfect, and about the number thirty, in which Ezechiel prophesied and the Lord was baptised, they are returned to an oepi, which in comparison to multiples of the number is constrained by a union,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 280; with help from St. Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck (New York and Mahwah, NJ: The Newman Press, 2015), 136.

eos solos esse; id est sine ueritate et Christo.<sup>35</sup>

This version is both simplified—removing *mysticus* and the references to the prophet Ezechiel as well as the direct quotations of Isaiah, replacing *idcirco* with *ideo* and *ad comparationem* with *in conparatione*—and enlarged by adding an original clarification of Jerome's interpretation, not directly based on any other lines in the rest of the passage.

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<sup>35</sup> 'Therefore from the number of the denarius, which is perfect, and from the number thirty, in which the Lord was baptised, they are returned to an oepi, which in comparison to multiples of the number is constrained by a union, so that they are shown to be deserted; that is without truth and Christ,' *Abbreviatio* book II lines 232-5.

## 2. Linguistic and grammatical passages

One of the more obvious areas in which Josephus Scottus excised a great deal of material in abbreviation is Jerome's etymologies and discussion on the languages of the Bible. Whether Greek or Hebrew, many of Jerome's musings upon the meanings of various words and names, as well as comparisons of his Latin translation with the Septuagint, were not retained by Josephus Scottus. The sections which Josephus Scottus did keep, however, are the more interesting for it. Jerome had also written a treatise on the meanings of Hebrew names in the Bible, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, which consists of a short introductory section, followed by alphabetical lists of names with their definition, and organized by the books of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Despite its brevity, it might have been abbreviated further by Alcuin himself as the *Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum*, though the definitive authorship of that text is still a subject of debate for some.<sup>2</sup>

There has long been debate about the extent of Insular learning in Greek and Hebrew, particularly during the seventh and eighth centuries. Bischoff touched upon it briefly in a general treatise on the multilingualism of the medieval period,<sup>3</sup> as did Walter Berschin in his book about Greek literacy throughout the medieval period.<sup>4</sup> David Howlett has written extensively, with both zeal and meticulous attention to detail, in favor of Irish fluency in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin,<sup>5</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> P. Antin, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* CCSL LXXII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden and Boston: Brill 2004), 274-5; Michael Gorman, 'Alcuin Before Migne,' *Revue Bénédictine* 112 fasc. 1-2 (2002), 129.

<sup>3</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages,' *Speculum* 36.2 (1961), 212-15.

<sup>4</sup> Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 95-101.

<sup>5</sup> David Howlett, "'Tres Linguae Sacrae" and Threefold Play in Insular Latin,' *Peritia* 16 (2002), 94-115; 'Hibero-Latin, Hiberno-Latin, and the Irish Foundation Legend,' *Peritia* 19 (2005), 44-60; and 'Hellenic Learning in Insular Latin: An Essay on Supported Claims,' *Peritia* 12 (1998), 54-78.

Michael Herren used correspondence between scholars in southern England and Ireland to draw conclusions supporting a basic level of grammatical knowledge for Latin and at least partial—if sometimes confused—knowledge of Greek.<sup>6</sup> In this light, Josephus Scottus's decision to omit such material seems puzzling, as one might assume that Greek and Hebrew knowledge would be a priority for preservation. What might his choices suggest about his own knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and his goals in abbreviation, or the resources about those languages that he thought might be available?

One passage that Josephus retained occurs in the very first section of interpreted text, on Isaiah 1:1, which in the *Abbreviatio* reads:

Visio Isaię filii Amos quam uidit super Iudam et Hierusalem  
in diebus Ozię Ioathan Achaz Ezechiae regum Iuda.<sup>7</sup>

Jerome chose to analyse the symbolism of the letters in the name of Isaiah's father, Amos, and naming the Hebrew letters, claimed that they represent strength or robustness, and the hardy or difficult population:

Iste primam et extremam litteras habet ALEPH et SADE, ille AIN  
et SAMECH, et iste secundum quosdam interpretatur fortitudo  
siue robustus, ille populus durus uel grauis; de quo in Amos

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Herren, 'Scholarly Contacts Between the Irish and the Southern English in the Seventh Century,' *Peritia* 12 (1998), 24-53.

<sup>7</sup> 'The vision of Isaiah, son of Amos, which he saw concerning Juda and Jerusalem in the days of Ozias, Joathan, Achaz, and Ezechias the kings of Juda,' Josephus Scottus, *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*, book I lines 10-11.

plenius diximus.<sup>8</sup>

Josephus Scottus reproduced the first section of this quotation nearly word-for-word,<sup>9</sup> but ignored the second, which contains the interpretation, in favor of skipping ahead to lines of Jerome that directly describe an allegorical method of reading Isaiah.<sup>10</sup> He briefly referenced the meaning later,<sup>11</sup> but only as part of another direct quotation from Jerome, who wrote in full:

Qui igitur domino praesidente saluatur et est filius Amos, id  
est fortis atque robusti, cernit spiritaliter uisionem  
confessionis, dum antiqua peccata deplangit...<sup>12</sup>

In Josephus Scottus's commentary, which left out the earlier line with the symbolic meanings of the Hebrew letters, the *id est fortis et robusti* of his text becomes a more puzzling reference for a reader. Curiously, this definition is cited in the *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, but not in the section on Isaiah—rather it is listed under Amos, where Jerome wrote *Amos fortis siue robustus uel populus auulsus siue populum auellens*,<sup>13</sup> and this definition still does not include the

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<sup>8</sup> 'This [name] has at the beginning and the end the letters ALEPH and SADE, which are AIN and SAMECH, and this following interprets these certain letters as strength or hardness, that is a people hardy or difficult; about which we have spoken more in Amos,' Roger Gryson, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe I-IV* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder 1993), 141; the accepted modern transliteration for these letters are alef, sadhe, ayin, and samekh.

<sup>9</sup> 'Et iste apud Hebræos primam et extremam litteras habet ALEPH et SADE, ille AIN et SAMECH;' 'And this name has in Hebrew at the beginning and the end the letters ALEPH and SADE, which are AIN and SAMECH,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 23-4.

<sup>10</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 142; *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 26-8.

<sup>11</sup> '...et filius est Amos, id est fortis et robusti,' *Abbreviatio*, book I line 29.

<sup>12</sup> 'Therefore he who with the Lord's guarding is the savior and the son of Amos, that is strong and hardy, discerns spiritually the vision of confession, while mourning ancient sins,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 143-4.

<sup>13</sup> 'Amos, strong or hardy, or a people torn away, or the tearing away of a people,' Antin, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, 123.

explanation for the symbolic meaning of the Hebrew letters. Why leave out this particular piece of interpretation?

Josephus Scottus excised less of the text with another passage on Hebrew nouns and grammar that follows immediately after. In the section interpreting Isaiah 1:2 (which reads *Audite, caeli, et auribus percipe, terra, quoniam dominus locutus est* in the *Abbreviatio's* text<sup>14</sup>), Jerome wrote a short paragraph on the Hebrew equivalent to the Latin *caelos*, as well as on grammatical genders and number in Hebrew:

Pro caelo hebraicum SAMAIM <<caelos>> sonat plurali numero, maxime cum <<audite>> dixerit, id est SEMU, quod plurali effertur numero, non singulari. Sed quidam uolunt pluraliter quidem dici caelos, sed singulariter intellegi iuxta illud quod singulas ciuitates Thebas et Athenas uocamus. Estque hebraici characteris IΔIωMA ut omnia quae in syllabam finiuntur IM masculina sint et pluralia, ut cherubim et seraphim, et quae in OTH feminina pluralia, ut sabaoth.<sup>15</sup>

Josephus Scottus simplified the beginning of this passage and chose to leave out Jerome's examples of a plural noun used to refer to a singular object, but included the rest of the grammatical exposition, which uses the Biblical examples of

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<sup>14</sup> 'Hear, heavens, and listen with your ears, earth, because the Lord has spoken,' *Abbreviatio*, book I line 33.

<sup>15</sup> 'Instead of 'sky' the Hebrew SAMAIM 'heavens' sounds plural in number, so the majority have said 'Hear [plural], that is SEMU, because it is uttered in the plural number, not in singular. But some indeed wish to say 'heavens' in the plural, but understand it in the singular like the way we call the city-states Thebes and Athens in singular. And also in the distinct character of Hebrew it is such that all words which finish in the syllable IM are masculine and plural, like cherubim and seraphim, and those in OTH feminine plural, like sabaoth,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 145.



cherubim, seraphim, and *sabaoth* (a Hebrew name for God meaning 'Lord of Hosts,' used once in Exodus):

Hebraicae caeli SAMAIM sonat, Hebraici enim characteris idioma est, ut omnia quę in IM syllabam finiuntur masculina et pluralia sint, ut cerubim et seraphim et quę in OTH feminina et pluralia, ut sabaoth.<sup>16</sup>

In this case, the choice to omit the grammatical explanation does not affect the religious interpretation of the line, which Josephus Scottus kept, but the explanation had been relevant to Jerome's translation process; in the manuscripts of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation and the Vulgate, Isaiah 1:2 begins *Audite, caeli*,<sup>17</sup> while both the Gryson and Adriaen editions of the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* read *Audi, caelum*.<sup>18</sup> The latter is a translation from the Hebrew which keeps the sense of a singular address, according to Jerome's knowledge, rather than literally translating the phrase as plural.

A few passages later, in the exposition of Isaiah 1:8, Josephus Scottus included from Jerome a short phrase identifying the Latin *mens* with the Greek *νόος* (*voŭς* in the Attic, rendered as *voYς* by the P manuscript of Josephus Scottus, *Νοῦς* by M, and *principalis custos* by S<sup>19</sup>). In Jerome's text, it is a mere aside, with no impact on the remainder of the sentence. The three witnesses to the text of Josephus Scottus treat it in two different ways. M and P retain the Greek word, although in

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<sup>16</sup> 'In Hebrew heavens is heard as SAMAIM, as is the peculiar characteristic of Hebrew, so that all [words] finished with the syllable IM are masculine and plural, such as cherubim and seraphim, and those with OTH are feminine and plural, such as sabaoth,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 36-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Abbreviatio*, book I line 33; *Biblia sacra*, Isaiah 1:2.

<sup>18</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 144; Marcus Adriaen, *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I-XI CCSL LXXIII* (Turnhout: Brepols 1963), 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Abbreviatio*, book I line 102; M folio 4r, P folio 3v, S p. 6; Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 159. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript of Josephus Scottus also shares S's reading.

different forms, and in the case of M, corrupting it to the Greek word for ship, ναῦς. In the S manuscript, however, the Greek was replaced with a Latin paraphrase that refers to the intended mystical meaning which Jerome explained in the rest of the line, rather than to the more literal meaning of mens. While a minor change on the surface, this break from the manuscript readings of both Jerome's text and the other manuscripts of Josephus Scottus has interesting implications.

The full text of Jerome's sentence is as follows:

Iuxta ANAΓωΓHN uinea dei et pomorum paradisi anima nostra appellari potest, cui si mens, id est NOYς, praefuerit, habet custodem mentis deum; sin autem uitia nos quasi quaedam bestiae fuerint depraedata, relinuemur a custode deo et omnia nostra redigentur ad solitudinem.<sup>20</sup>

The primary nonorthographical differences from this sentence in Josephus Scottus's text in manuscripts M and P are the switch from *iuxta ANAΓωΓHN* to *mystice*, the substitution of *est* for *appellari potest* and *si* for *sin*, and the omission of *et omnia nostra redigentur ad solitudinem*, so that the passage reads:

Mystice uinea dei et pomorum paradisi anima nostra est, cui si mens, id est voYς, praefuerit, mentis custodem habet deum; si autem uitia nos quasi quaedam bestiae fuerint depraedata,

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<sup>20</sup> 'Equally 'anagogically' the vineyards of God and the paradise of orchards can be called our spirits—which the mind, that is 'sense,' is in charge of—and it has as guardian of the mind God; if, however, vices, like beasts, have spoiled us, we are left behind from God's custody and reduced entirely to waste,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 159.

relinquemur a custode deo.<sup>21</sup>

The first three changes do not significantly affect the meaning of the complete sentence, although the loss of a Greek word when one is retained later in the sentence seems odd; the lack of an obvious definition for *ANATΩΓHN* within the text may have inspired Josephus Scottus to change the phrase for a better-known Latin word that might be more comprehensible to his readers. The omission of the final clause is slightly more puzzling and difficult to answer. Perhaps it was seen as redundant and cut for that reason, or Josephus Scottus considered the ambiguity of its interpretation problematic and unsuitable to transmit. Of greatest interest is the change in S where the Greek is entirely removed. Did the scribes of S or their overseer decide that preserving a single Greek word was less useful than adding an independent clarification for the mystical interpretation of mens? Or perhaps their exemplar had been glossed to provide the meaning of the Greek, and they mistook the gloss for a correction and used it in the text.

Also in the *Abbreviatio* book I, lines 279-80, Josephus Scottus wrote an amusingly abrupt piece of summation. The relevant line of Isaiah is 2:16:

et super omnes naves Tharsis et super omne quod visu  
pulchrum est<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> 'Mystically the vineyards of God and the paradise of orchards are our spirits—which the mind, that is 'sense,' is in charge of—and it has as guardian of the mind God; if, however, vices, like beasts, have spoiled us, we are left behind from God's custody,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 101-3.

<sup>22</sup> 'And on all the ships of Tharsis and on everything which is beautiful to see,' *Biblia sacra*, Isaiah 2:16.

In his *Commentariorum*, Jerome dealt with the line as a whole, but the bulk of his interpretation concerned the first half, the ships of Tharsis. Jerome wrote a brief pair of lines on the literal meaning of Tharsis:

Pro Tharsis, quod omnes similiter transtulerunt, soli LXX  
mare interpretati sunt. Hebraei putant lingua proprie sua  
mare THARSIS appellari, quando autem dicitur IAM, non  
hebraico sermone appellari, sed syriaco.<sup>23</sup>

He then continued to discuss Tharsis, its possible meanings in exegesis, and existence as an actual sea or port city,<sup>24</sup> including a reference to Josephus (presumably Flavius Joseph, the Jewish historian):

Iosephus Tharsis urbem Ciliciae Tharsum arbitratur,  
alii regionem putant Indiae, et hoc nomine etiam de  
duodecim gemmis lapidem appellari qui apud nos  
uocatur XPYÇOAIΘOÇ ob marini coloris similitudinem.<sup>25</sup>

Josephus Scottus, however, quoted the first half of the line separately and placed *et super omne quod uisu pulchrum est* as part of the next lines of Isaiah.<sup>26</sup>

He also reduced Jerome's exposition on Tharsis to the following:

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<sup>23</sup> 'For Tharsis, which everyone translates similarly, only the Septuagint interprets it as sea. The Hebrews believe that in their own language the sea is named THARSIS, when indeed it is said IAM, not named in the Hebrew speech, but in Syrian,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 208-9.

<sup>24</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 209-10.

<sup>25</sup> 'Josephus believed that Tharsis was the Cilician city Tharsus, others believe it a region of India, and this by name also from one of the twelve gems named precious stones, which by us is called CHRYSOLITHOS (gold-stone), by reason of its sea-like color,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 210.

<sup>26</sup> *Abbreviatio*, book I line 308.

Hoc est maris, nam Syriaca lingua Tharsis mare dicitur.<sup>27</sup>

This brief sentence preserves the literal interpretation of the line and Jerome's etymology of Tharsis, but all the rest Josephus Scottus removed or placed in the next section of interpretation.<sup>28</sup>

A second small instance of Greek vocabulary occurs in book I, line 316 of the *Abbreviatio*, although one with less metaphorical importance. Isaiah 2:20 contains the phrase *ut adoraret talpas et uespertiliones* ('to worship moles and bats'), and Jerome chose to discuss the nature of the animals in question as well as give their names in Greek.<sup>29</sup> Josephus Scottus kept these lines in shorter form, but excised the Greek name for the mole while keeping that for the bat. The three primary manuscripts of Josephus Scottus's work also fail to agree on the correct Greek (νυκτερίς); S has the reading closest to that of Gryson (ΝΥΚΤΕΡΕΣ in S vs. ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΣ in Gryson), while P is somewhat close with Νυκτερες and the scribe for this section of M has managed to misread or misspell it as ΝΥΚΤΑΣ, perhaps confusing it with an inflected form of νύξ (night).<sup>30</sup>

Interestingly, in *Abbreviatio* book II, lines 212-16, which deals with Isaiah 5:7, the linguistic lines are the ones that Josephus Scottus kept almost in their entirety, while most of the rest of the passage—including a reference to Genesis and the story of Cain and Abel—he discarded. Jerome began the section by calling attention to a feature of the Hebrew text of Isaiah 5:7 which he found elegant,

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<sup>27</sup> 'This is "sea," since in the Syrian language sea is said Tharsis,' *Abbreviatio*, book I lines 306-7.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Abbreviatio*, book I, lines 318-19: *Mysticę naues Tharsis ecclesiam hereticorum idola falsa significant dogmata, quę quasi idola simulata et conficta sunt*; 'Spiritually the ships of Tharsis signify the church of heretics, false idols, and dogmas, which like idols are counterfeited and fabricated.'

<sup>29</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 212-3.

<sup>30</sup> *Abbreviatio*, book I line 316; M folio 10r, P folio 8r, S p. 12.

namely the similarity in sound between the words for judgment and inequality (or wastefulness), and between those for justice and clamor:

Volumus latinis insinuare auribus quod ab Hebraeis didicimus:  
iudicium apud eos appellatur MESPAT, iniquitas siue dissipatio,  
ut interpretatus est Aquila, uocatur MESPAA; rursum iustitia  
dicitur SADACA, clamor appellatur SAACA.<sup>31</sup>

He then elaborated on the beauty of the Hebrew line before discussing the overall meaning of the passage. Although it is not a long section in his source, Josephus Scottus trimmed it even shorter, as well as rearranging it; he took one line of explanation from the exegetical discussion and placed it directly after the quotation of Isaiah, then rephrased the opening sentence from:

Volumus latinis insinuare auribus quod ab Hebraeis didicimus<sup>32</sup>

To:

Pulchrę hęc nomina Hebraicę inter se respondent.<sup>33</sup>

He thereby summarized and foregrounded an explanation of the line's aesthetic value without laying claim to Jerome's own learning in the matter of Hebrew.

Neither Josephus Scottus nor Jerome sought to interpret the wordplay figuratively,

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<sup>31</sup> 'We wish to work in for Latin ears what we have learned from Hebrew: judgment in their works is called MESPAT, inequality or squandering, as Aquila interpreted, is called MESPAA; on the other hand, justice is said SADACA, clamor is called SAACA,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 275.

<sup>32</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 275.

<sup>33</sup> 'The names respond to each other beautifully in Hebrew,' *Abbreviatio*, book II line 214.

so in Josephus Scottus's case, why include it at all? Was it to pass on a scrap of knowledge, or perhaps out of a love for language?

In *Abbreviatio* book III, linguistic interpretations are joined with the Christological, as lines 151-60 discuss a passage of Isaiah that announces a sign for the coming of the Messiah. In the Vulgate, the passage (Is. 7:14) reads:

propter hoc dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum ecce virgo concipiet  
et pariet filium et vocabitis nomen eius Emmanuhel<sup>34</sup>

These lines have long been important to Christian writers, as the belief in Jesus Christ's virgin birth is a central tenet of Christian faith, and prior to the eighteenth century most Christian writers interpreted it to support Christ as the Messiah.<sup>35</sup>

Jerome wrote at some length about the passage, but with a focus on the specific Hebrew vocabulary used and the historical context. Josephus Scottus excised much of this and also, as in previous sections, reordered the interpretation by combining later lines of Jerome's text explaining the meaning of the name Emmanuhel and placing them after his version of Jerome's introductory line:

Id est nequaquam multifarię uel multis modis uel per prophetas  
quod dicitur loquetur, sed qui ante per alios loquebatur, dicit  
ipse adsum Emmanuhel. Ergo iste puer qui nascetur ex uirgine, o  
domus Daud, nunc a te appelletur Emmanuhel, id est nobiscum

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<sup>34</sup> 'After this God himself will give as a sign to you: Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and you will call him by the name Emmanuhel,' *Biblia sacra*, Isaiah 7:14.

<sup>35</sup> C. R. North, 'Immanuel,' *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia vol. 2 E-J* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), 685-8; there was naturally disagreement from Jewish scholars interpreting Isaiah, who considered the line a reference to the birth of Hezekiah (*ibid.*, 687).

deus quia rebus ipsis probabis deum te habere presentem a duobus inimicis regibus liberata.<sup>36</sup>

He then completed his passage with a much shorter discussion of the Hebrew words for virgin:

Uirgo Hebraice BETULA dicitur, quod in hoc loco conscriptum non sit, sed ALMA quod et adoliscntula et abscondita potest dici, ut significet secretam uirginem quę numquam uirorum patuit aspectibus.<sup>37</sup>

Jerome had gone into much greater detail on the precise definition of the words for the *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, including references to other usages in Genesis and the Song of Solomon, and even mentioned a related language as part of his discussion: *Lingua quoque punica, quae de Hebraeorum fontibus ducitur*.<sup>38</sup> While the digression is interesting in and of itself, one might understand why Josephus Scottus would choose to cut it down; it does not have immediate or obvious theological significance, and the general facts of the historical discussion which follow it in Jerome's text were covered earlier. The bare bones of the Hebrew categories for virgins, however, are of interest for those considering or

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<sup>36</sup> 'That is by no means in many places or many modes or said according to the prophets he spoke, but he who before through others spoke, himself says "I am near, Emmanuel. Therefore, this boy who is born from a virgin, o house of David, now should be called by you Emmanuel," which means "God is with us" because in those trying times God is present with you, freeing you from two hostile kings,' *Abbreviatio*, book III lines 152-6; Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 346 and 349. Kelly created a comparison of the passages in his article, p. 178.

<sup>37</sup> 'Virgin in Hebrew is said BETULA, which ought not be written in this place, but ALMA because it is able to express both "youth" and "hidden," so that it signifies a concealed virgin who has never been visible to the sight of men,' *Abbreviatio*, book III lines 156-9.

<sup>38</sup> 'Also the Punic language, which is derived from the source of the Hebrews,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 348.



debating the nature of Mary, the mother of Christ, and thus a natural choice for Josephus Scottus to retain in the text.

*Abbreviatio* book IV, which contains many geographical and historical references, is rather lighter on the grammar and vocabulary compared to the *Commentariorum*. One of the few instances that Josephus Scottus retained is a short mention in lines 163-5 explaining the place-name Horreb (M, both Oreb and Horeb in P and S, Oreb in Gryson<sup>39</sup>). Horreb is a place mentioned very briefly in Isaiah 10:26, which is part of the longer passage being discussed wherein God is threatening doom to the invading Assyrian army.<sup>40</sup> The relevant section of Jerome's interpretation reads as follows:

...quando Oreb et Zebee principes Madianitarum occisi sunt  
super petra durissima, id est silice, quae hebraice appellatur  
SUR, ita ut ex petra et ex rege qui in ea occisus est locus  
petrae Oreb nomen acceperit.<sup>41</sup>

Josephus Scottus followed Jerome's text closely in these lines, with only a few very minor omissions and lexical changes:

...principes Madianitarum Horreb et Zebee occisi sunt super petra  
durissima, id est silice quę Hebraice dicitur SUR, ita ut ex petra et

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<sup>39</sup> M folio 35r, P folio 30r, S p. 41; Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 426.

<sup>40</sup> *Biblia sacra*, Isaiah 10:24-7.

<sup>41</sup> '...when Oreb and Zebee the chiefs of the Madianites were killed on a very hard rock, that is flint, which in Hebrew is called "SUR," so that from the rock and from the king who was killed on it the place received the name the rocks of Oreb,' Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 427.

ex rege occiso locus nomen petrę Horreb acciperet.<sup>42</sup>

This instance of including a Hebrew synonym, as with *voũç* and *voκτεπίç* in book I, is a mere aside given no particular theological weight by either Jerome or Josephus Scottus, despite the word-play between *petrum* and the proper name *Petrus*.<sup>43</sup>

Neither Jerome nor Josephus Scottus gave the type of stone, whether named in Latin or Hebrew, any relevance to the history of the place-name or the name itself. It is simply a small detail which grounds the story and provides a reader with both a mental image of the rock in question and a word of Hebrew vocabulary.

In the next passage, concerning Isaiah 10:28-32, is a similar brief aside which Josephus Scottus kept verbatim from Jerome:

Tunc et filia Gallim que Hebraice dicitur BETH GALLIM, ita  
eiulabit ut equorum arbitreris hinnitum.<sup>44</sup>

The word given here for daughter, *beth*, appears to share a root with a word defined earlier in book III—*betula*, one of the Hebrew words for 'virgin' as described in the section on Isaiah 7:14. The connection is not made explicit in the text of either Jerome or Josephus Scottus, and may be coincidental, but it does provide a possible explanation for *beth* being retained in the abbreviation.

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<sup>42</sup> '...the chiefs of the Madianites, Horreb and Zebee, were killed on a very hard rock, that is flint which in Hebrew is said SUR, so that from the rock and the king-slaying the place received the name the rocks of Horreb,' *Abbreviatio*, book IV lines 163-5.

<sup>43</sup> Based on the paronomasia of Matthew 16:18, *et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*; cf. Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1998), 637-9, pp. 285-8, which also mentions the MESPHAT/MESPHAA/SADACA/SAACA passage of Isaiah, for more on this technique.

<sup>44</sup> 'Then also the daughter of Gallim, which in Hebrew is said BETH GALLIM, shall thus wail as you might hear the neighing of horses,' *Abbreviatio*, book IV lines 186-7; Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 431.

In the *Abbreviatio*'s combined version of books V and VI, the overall emphasis is once again on historical moments and their typological interpretations, but one small linguistic reference occurs in lines 468-9, part of the long interpretation of Isaiah 16:1-5. Josephus Scottus wrote:

Pro miser in Hebreo SOD est, quod et uastator intellegi potest.<sup>45</sup>

Josephus Scottus copied this line very closely from Jerome's book V interpretation, which reads in Gryson:

Pro misero in hebraico legitur SOD, quod potest et uastator  
intellegi.<sup>46</sup>

This is part of an interpretation of Isaiah 16:4, which in Latin uses both uastator and miser:

habitabunt apud te profugi mei Moab esto latibulum eorum  
a facie uastatoris finitus est enim pulvis consummatus est  
miser defecit qui conculcabat terram<sup>47</sup>

Jerome apparently wished to note this minor instance of wordplay in the Hebrew text, not unlike his earlier choice to draw attention to the wordplay in Isaiah 5:7, but

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<sup>45</sup> 'For "wretched" in Hebrew is SOD, which can also be understood as "destroyer,"' *Abbreviatio*, book V-VI lines 468-9.

<sup>46</sup> 'For "wretched" in Hebrew is read SOD, which can also be understood as "destroyer,"' Gryson, *Commentaires V-VII*, 591.

<sup>47</sup> 'My fugitives will dwell with you; Moab, be a hiding place for them from the face of the destroyer; for the dust is at an end, the wretched is finished, he who oppressed the world has failed,' *Biblia sacra*, Isaiah 16:4.

without any elaboration; perhaps Josephus Scottus kept the reference for the sake of passing on the single word, or perhaps he also found the wordplay of enough interest to share with future readers.

### 3. Conclusions

From these comparisons, some conclusions about Josephus Scottus's methods and style can be drawn. While Josephus Scottus did often keep Jerome's text unchanged, he did not hesitate to modify Jerome's words in order to simplify a point or to focus on a specific point of exegesis without the entanglement of Jerome's tangents. He was also capable of contributing the occasional original sentence of his own, although he does not seem to have done so frequently. The balance of word-for-word quotations of Jerome with modified quotations, rephrasing, and additions displays skill and ingenuity. Additionally, the reorganisation of books 5 and 6 into a unified whole, particularly in the second half of the hybrid book, attests to a familiarity with the text of Jerome and provides a creative solution for the problem of the repeated text. The overall sense of his method is that he abbreviated Jerome's work with a clear aim—not entirely without appreciation of Jerome's prose style and the language of the Book of Isaiah, however, as his inclusion of passages regarding wordplay in the Hebrew attest.

As for Josephus Scottus's place in the Hiberno-Latin exegesis debate, in this work there is a distinct lack of Irish symptoms as described by Bischoff. Bischoff's catalogue of Irish exegetical symptoms includes the use (borrowed from antiquity) of the *locus, tempus, and persona* schema for exploring questions,<sup>1</sup> the citation of rare or unusual sources,<sup>2</sup> the treatment of questions with translations of Irish phrases such as *ni anse*,<sup>3</sup> and rendering selected words in the 'three languages' of Hebrew,

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages,' *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976), 84.

<sup>2</sup> Bischoff, 'Turning-Points,' 83.

<sup>3</sup> Bischoff, 'Turning-Points,' 85.

Greek, and Latin.<sup>4</sup> Bischoff also describes an emphasis on historical and literal interpretation, as per the Antiochene school of exegesis, and on the ordering of topics and allegorical interpretation of numbers.<sup>5</sup>

Irish tags such as *ni anse* or its Latin equivalents *quin dubium*, *non deficile*, and *non dubium* do not occur in the passages of the *Abbreviatio* that I edited and studied. Nor is there a particular focus on the literal and historical senses of interpretation as opposed to the spiritual and allegorical, or a strict formula for answering questions in a certain order; the passages I have compared are instead a mixture of senses, usually historical followed by spiritual, but without an overarching emphasis on one over the other. For example, in book IV, lines 157-74, Josephus Scottus devotes several lines to the historical explanation and only four to the spiritual sense, but in lines 207-15 shortly thereafter, dealing with Isaiah 11:1-2, the entire section is devoted to the more spiritual and allegorical meanings of the passage, without being signposted by *mystice*. The frequent use of *mystice* to introduce the spiritual interpretation may be an Irish tic, although it does not appear with the consistency one might expect of a writer following the Irish schema.

Including a greater amount of Hebrew and Greek does not seem to have been of much interest, either. In fact, as seen in section 2, Josephus Scottus removed or greatly shortened many of Jerome's longer passages about both Greek and Hebrew; the few that are kept are generally not of much religious significance, nor are they given special emphasis in context or explained in detail. That lines such as book II's 212-16, about the MESPHAT/MESPHAA/SADACA/SAACA wordplay, were kept at all may indicate some small leaning towards the Irish style, but if so, it is only a minor inclination, not a conclusive symptom. Josephus Scottus also did not bring in

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<sup>4</sup> Bischoff, 'Turning-Points,' 85.

<sup>5</sup> Bischoff, 'Turning-Points,' 86-8.

other, unique sources to his abbreviation, or even include Jerome's citations of his own sources. Additionally, interpretation of significant numbers is minimal at best.

In contrast, an Irish text such as the anonymous commentary on the Catholic Epistles at the Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek<sup>6</sup> (35 in Bischoff's catalogue of Irish works<sup>7</sup>) cites, in addition to the usual catalogue of patristic writers, several Irish exegetical writers, including Lathcen, Manchianus, and Breccanus.<sup>8</sup> It sometimes brings in spiritual parallels from other texts, but is primarily concerned with literal interpretation.<sup>9</sup> Even a casual inspection of the 'Commentarius' shows that it makes much greater use of a question-and-answer format—raising a question to answer it in the next sentences—while such a structure does not seem to appear in the *Abbreviatio* at all. The Irish schema of answering questions according to the *locus, tempus, persona* formula is much more present in the 'Commentarius' than in the *Abbreviatio*, although both texts very consistently use *id est* as an introduction to their explanations. According to the text's editor, Robert E. McNally, there are also instances of words being given in the 'three languages' of Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, something which rarely occurs in Josephus Scottus.<sup>10</sup> Some of the differences between the texts may be explained by the divergent goals of the writers—Josephus Scottus to create a mostly faithful version of Jerome's work, the anonymous author of the 'Commentarius' to compile a commentary of various sources—but the contrast in style remains strong.

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<sup>6</sup> Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. perg. 233, <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/Handschriften/content/titleinfo/20848> ; Robert E. McNally (ed.), 'Commentarius in epistolas catholicas Scotti anonymi,' *Scriptores Hibernae Minores Pars I CCSL 108B* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973), VII-XIX and 1-50.

<sup>7</sup> Bischoff, 'Turning-Points,' 141.

<sup>8</sup> McNally, 'Commentarius,' VIII; cf. p. 5, lines 106-7 for a citation of Breccanus, and folio 11r in the Karlsruhe manuscript, <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/Handschriften/content/pageview/17413> .

<sup>9</sup> McNally, 'Commentarius,' VIII.

<sup>10</sup> McNally, 'Commentarius,' VIII.

For the *Abbreviatio*, Josephus Scottus does display some Irish influence, but he appears to have followed more closely in the tradition of his master, Alcuin, and such works of Alcuin's as the *Quaestiones in Genesim*,<sup>11</sup> than in his Irish education. Like the *Quaestiones*, the *Abbreviatio* relies primarily upon its source text, but still contains some originality and rephrasing, while balancing the four senses of medieval interpretation in its selections from Jerome's text rather than focusing on the literal and historical senses.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For more detailed analysis of the *Quaestiones* and Alcuin, cf. Michael Fox, 'Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the *Quaestiones in Genesim*,' *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 39-60.

<sup>12</sup> For more on these senses—usually classified as historical, allegorical, tropological, and sometimes anagogical—cf. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 6-7 and 12-13, and Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 1, trans. Mark Sebanc and E. M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Edinburg: William B. Eerdmans and T&T Clark, 1998-2009), 1-3, 83-9 and 90-6.



### III. Introduction to the edition

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an initial introduction to the manuscripts used for producing the edition, which were briefly described in chapter I, subsection 4; to discuss the method of editing the text and a sketch of the possible relationships between the manuscripts; and to provide full descriptions of the manuscripts at the end of the chapter, prior to the edition itself. Sub-headings for different topics are provided for ease of reading.

## 1. General introduction to the manuscripts

Three complete manuscript copies, a fourth lacking its final leaf, and a fifth that ends partway through the ninth book comprise the surviving witnesses to Josephus Scottus's work, the *Abbreviatio commentarii Sancti Hieronymi super Isaiam*. All but one of these manuscripts can be dated to the ninth century, with the last one having been copied during the tenth century, while Josephus Scottus died at the end of the eighth; they are therefore second-generation copies at best from the author's original manuscript. I have classified these manuscripts into two categories: the primary manuscripts I have based my edition on (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6296, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 12154, and St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 254), and the secondary manuscripts which were brought to my attention after the edition was completed (Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek 100 Aa 13, Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463, and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss.).<sup>1</sup>

The provenances of these manuscripts can be established with reasonable certainty, particularly for the primary manuscripts this edition is based on. Two of the manuscripts—Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6296 (hereafter M) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 12154 (hereafter P)—can be assigned reasonably certain origins thanks to later handwritten ex libris marks on their respective first leaves: the former with a reference to the patron saint of Freising, St. Corbinian, and the latter likely written at Corbie. The third manuscript, St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 254 (hereafter S), bears both the stamp of St. Gall and a handwritten *lib(er) s(an)c(t)i galli* on the opening leaf, and is almost certainly a product of the St. Gall

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<sup>1</sup> These secondary manuscripts were recently added to the online digital archive Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/abbreviatio-commentarii-hieronymi-in-isaiam-title/19350>), accessed 3 March 2016); when I began my work, only the three primary manuscripts were listed.

scriptorium, which also produced an earlier ninth-century copy of the unabbreviated *Commentariorum in Esaiam* by Jerome and another copy of its first five books written slightly later, though still prior to the tenth century. These manuscripts are, in order of catalogue number, St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 111, 112, 113, and 115.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, I became aware of three other manuscripts too late to take full advantage of their availability, but they must be described nonetheless, at least in part. They are Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek 100 Aa 13 (hereinafter F), Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463 (hereinafter L), and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss. (hereinafter W). Despite being listed as a copy of Josephus Scottus's work on *Mirabile*,<sup>3</sup> L appears to be its own separate abbreviation, the particulars of which I will discuss later in this chapter, during the section on the relationships between manuscripts. L and W are both later ninth-century manuscripts, while the incomplete F, with text that stops near the end of book 9 and the rest of the manuscript containing text from Bede's commentary on Luke, was copied in the second half of the tenth century. F has an ex libris from Weingarten in the upper margin of folio 2r, reading *Monastery Weingartensis Ad 1630*, but Hausmann, in her catalogue of the Fulda library, suggested it was written in the Lake Constance area.<sup>4</sup>

The dedication on the first leaf of L indicates that the manuscript was likely written in the Lyon area, having been dedicated to St. Stephen by the local bishop

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<sup>2</sup> All listed manuscripts are available through the St Gall website:

<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0111>

<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0112>

<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0113>

<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0115>

<sup>3</sup> *Mirabile*, <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/abbreviatio-commentarii-hieronymi-in-isaiam-title/19350>, accessed 3 March 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Regina Hausmann, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda Erster Band: Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1992), 44.

Remigius.<sup>5</sup> W bears the inscription *Codex s(an)c(t)i petri In wyßenburg* on folio 1r and was likely written at Weissenburg before eventually coming to the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.<sup>6</sup> Fuller descriptions of F and W will be provided at the end of the chapter along with the full descriptions of the primary manuscripts.

All of the manuscripts have been digitised and made available online by their respective libraries, although in the case of P this is only in the form of a black-and-white microfiche digitisation of the original.<sup>7</sup> None of the three primary manuscripts bears any identifiable ex libris marks from anywhere other than the likely scriptorium of origin or current location, and the provenances of the other three are also reasonably well-attested. It may be useful to briefly characterize the primary manuscripts before the full descriptions, in order to keep an idea of their basic qualities in mind for the discussion of the editorial process.

The three primary manuscripts each have their own idiosyncratic traits. M is perhaps the least ornate of the three, with virtually no decoration or rubrication and evidence of several scribes with varying hands at work on the manuscript, and such changes of scribes occasionally occur on the same leaf. Its parchment also has frequent small flaws which have been written around, indicating that they were present prior to the writing of the manuscript. There are multiple corrections, including several lines that were erased and written over, as well as inserted letters. At the time when it was likely written, Hitto was the bishop of Freising, and under him the scriptorium was exceptionally active and produced around forty books in a

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<sup>5</sup> Lyon Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463, [http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/f\\_view/BML:BML\\_06PRV01000Ms463811](http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/BML:BML_06PRV01000Ms463811) , accessed 3 March 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Hans Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Klosterman 1964), 186.

<sup>7</sup> The digitisation is available through the Bibliothèque nationale de France website: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90666924/f1.image> .

little over twenty years.<sup>8</sup> Judging by its size and workaday quality, it was likely meant for the internal use of the cathedral school or one particular individual.

P and S are somewhat neater in presentation. While S is still undecorated for the most part, with no space for later decoration to be added, the multiple scribes working on S all have relatively consistent individual scripts, and there are frequent in-line red initials. The parchment is better preserved and often better prepared, with flaws generally confined to the margins rather than in the written space,<sup>9</sup> and the corrections to the text are less obtrusive than the erasures in M. Direct quotations from Isaiah are also consistently marked in the margins with a small ¶ sign, and Isaiah's chapter divisions are similarly marked by the use of Roman numerals. Changes of scribe tend to be limited to the ends of quires, or very occasionally between folia.

P is perhaps the neatest of the three primary manuscripts, with the greatest consistency in script and overall appearance. There seem to be no more than two or possibly three scribes at work, all with extremely similar hands, and few parchment flaws, although there are some wormholes in the first few leaves. Such wormholes would be later damage, not present when the manuscript was copied. Like S, it also consistently marks quotations from Isaiah with marginal signs, usually ¶- or s-shaped, although it does not mark chapter divisions. Two different leaves were trimmed, though only one (folio 141) has lost text.

None of the three primary manuscripts is grand in size. S is the largest with an approximate leaf size of 290 x 230 mm and 256 leaves, with P a very close second at an approximate size of 295 x 200 mm and 196 leaves, and M the smallest at

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<sup>8</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), 65.

<sup>9</sup> One such marginal flaw can be seen in the lower corner of folios 45-6 ( <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0254/45/0/Sequence-438> ), with five holes likely caused during the preparation of the parchment. Traces of the animal's veins are also visible.

approximately 275 x 180 mm and 201 leaves. Of the secondary manuscripts, F is the smallest of the entire tradition at roughly 245 x 175mm, L is approximately 288 x 245 mm, and W is 290 x 205 mm. While hardly pocket-fitting miniatures, books of this size—the approximate dimensions of an A4 (295 x 210 mm) notebook—would be quite manageable for individual study.

Michael Gorman, in an article arguing against the idea of an Irish exegetical tradition, raises the point—among several others—that many of the texts Bischoff considered Irish in origin or influence are extant in only a single copy or in fragments of copies of dubious origin, and therefore, if Irish at all, were unlikely to have had a wide circulation, or to have been intended to circulate rather than being private works.<sup>10</sup> That the work of Josephus Scottus, a known Irish writer, should survive in four complete copies, three of them written at well-known scriptoria—of which St. Gall, at least, also possessed a copy of Jerome's original commentary or access to another library's copy—indicates that the text was considered worth owning by these three major centers in the early ninth century, as well as other centers, and speaks to the influence of Alcuin and the prestige of his students.

As an abbreviator, however, Josephus Scottus primarily keeps to the words of Jerome, with some rephrasing for clarity or to compensate grammatically for the lines he removes. There is thus little opportunity for him to display the characteristics of Irish writing and exegesis that Bischoff described, although any such instances have been discussed in the general analysis of his style in chapter II.

Freising, Corbie, and St. Gall all had active scriptoria and large (for the time) libraries; why include an abbreviation in their collections when a full version might be available? As discussed in the introduction, there was increased interest in books

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Gorman, 'The Myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis,' *Revue Bénédictine* 110 (2000), 48.

of both secular learning and theology in Carolingian schools and monasteries, and providing abbreviated texts concentrated on the most theologically valuable words of Augustine, Jerome, and other authors could be one way to respond to that interest.

### **The challenge of a stemma**

The relationship between the three primary copies of the text is complicated, and the existence of the secondary manuscripts complicates the matter further. Discussion will focus on the primary manuscripts, as the secondary manuscripts were brought to my attention too late for me to take full account of them. One obvious connection between two of them, S and P, is that they both include the full text of Josephus Scottus's preface to the abbreviation, while M contains only the second half, which means it lacks the reference to Alcuin and begins the text with *Omnes sancti prophetae sicut Hieronimus multis exemplis adfirmat* instead. F and W also include the full preface, while L has no version of it at all, but rather its own separate introduction on the recto of the first leaf. However, P includes an epilogue which was omitted by S and W, and the last leaf of M is lost, which makes it impossible to know whether it once had an epilogue or not.

Leaving out a portion of text which names such an influential teacher as Alcuin, particularly in a manuscript copied not long after his death, is an odd choice for the scribes of M to make. Additionally, even though S contains the full preface, a reader from the eleventh or twelfth century has mistaken the text for the work of Bede and added an attribution to Bede after the preface—a mistake which, fortunately, did not occur to any readers of P, where two out of the three titles on

the opening leaf credit Josephus Scottus with his work. Returning to M, one possibility for the omission of the preface's opening lines is that its exemplar lacked those lines as well, perhaps due to manuscript damage. For quick reference, I am providing a table listing each witness and its relationship to the preface:

**Table 1**

Witness	Text of Preface
M	Incomplete
P	Complete
S	Complete
W	Complete
F	Complete
L	Omitted

### Treatment of Bible text

In other respects, P and S differ significantly. M and P as a rule quote lines from Isaiah in full, with some exceptions, such as at the end of the abbreviation of book IV in M. S, however, abbreviates virtually all direct quotations of Isaiah by including only the first and last few words with an *usque* in between, which presumes that the reader will already be familiar with the quotation, or that they would have a copy of Isaiah's text to hand. In some places one manuscript will include an extra line from either the Book of Isaiah or from Jerome's *Commentariorum* while the other two do not,<sup>11</sup> but which manuscript does so for

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<sup>11</sup> For example, in line 119 of book I, M reads *Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum uestrarum, dicit dominus*, while P reads *Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum et reliqua* and S has *Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum reliqua*.



any given line varies, although it is primarily M that provides the longer lines. As Biblical quotations in medieval literature are sometimes modified or used in secular contexts as part of the Vulgate Bible's diffusion into standard prose style,<sup>12</sup> however, this also does not make for reliable evidence of affiliation.

The use of abbreviated Biblical quotations in S could indicate that it was produced after the other two, or it could reflect an expectation that the text of Isaiah would be well-known enough or close enough at hand that the complete reference would not be necessary for understanding, or perhaps both. P often uses the long-form Isaiah quotations, like M, but occasionally will shorten them or leave them out altogether like S, and is also prone to shortening sections of the already abbreviated M text at the same places as S. Each of the three primary manuscripts occasionally prefers one reading for certain words in direct quotations where Gryson's text of Jerome uses a different word, which might indicate that a copy of the Vulgate with a textual variant for those words was also consulted during the copying of the manuscripts, or that a copyist might have supplied the quotation from memory rather than referring to the exemplar.

### **Corrections**

All three primary manuscripts have been corrected at many different places in the text, with a few of the most noticeable corrections appearing in M, where in some places entire lines have been erased and written over, or scratched out completely. Unfortunately, the thoroughness of the erased corrections make it impossible to determine what error was being corrected, unlike simpler spelling

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<sup>12</sup> R. B. C. Huygens, *Ars edendi: A practical introduction to editing medieval Latin texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 12-14.

corrections or insertions. Corrections in S and P are as a general rule for a single letter or word rather than whole lines; particularly in S, deletions are often neatly marked with expunction marks. In many cases, by correcting vocabulary or verb tenses, these corrections to the commentary bring the text closer in line with Gryson's edition of the unabbreviated text by Jerome, although not in every case. Otherwise, most corrections appear to be contemporary with the writing and done by the same hand as the surrounding text, indicating that mistakes were likely corrected immediately against the exemplar.

### **Punctuation**

All three primary witnesses use a similar system of punctuation, though particularly in the case of M, not always consistently. Capitalisation usually but not always marks the beginning of a direct quotation from Isaiah in each manuscript; S also deploys initial letters in red ink. The most frequently used forms of punctuation are: a *punctus* (.), which can indicate both a minor pause similar to a modern comma or a full stop, a *punctus versus* (., or ;), a *punctus elevatus* with a vertical, angled, or curved dash (., ./, or .~), or a *punctus* with both a tail and a dash (.,/), all of which generally serve to mark a full stop, or in some cases seems to indicate an interrogative. Two or three *punctus* arranged in a colon or triangle (: or .:), with or without a tail or dash (:, or :/), also appear. While not applied with perfect regularity, similar punctuation marks often appear in many of the same places in these three manuscripts, which suggests that the system of punctuation may reflect a shared exemplar, or the influence of Alcuin and his support of a

consistent punctuation system in copying texts.<sup>13</sup> The level of consistency in punctuation style, if not always in placement, is especially interesting given the variations in orthography and the treatment of quotations.

### **Demarcation of quotations**

P and S also share the fairly consistent use of an ∫-shaped marginal symbol to mark lines with direct quotations; the same mark is used with somewhat less consistency in M. Unlike the other two manuscripts, S also often utilises red ink for the initials or first words of quotations from Isaiah, and the beginning verse of each chapter of Isaiah is marked with the chapter's number in Roman numerals in either the inner or outer margin. These appear to be in a later hand, possibly in the eleventh or twelfth century, or at least were written by a different scribe, and may have been added to facilitate the study of the text by making it easier to find discussion of specific chapters. This suggests that the manuscript was still being consulted for some time after it was copied. The regular use of symbols in M, P, and S, and sometimes red ink in S, to delineate the quotations from Isaiah also suggests that separating the word of God from the exegetical text was a priority for the scribes, and quite possibly for Josephus Scottus as well.

### **Secondary witnesses**

A few brief observations on the secondary manuscripts are in order. Like S, both L and W are written in double columns, rather than long lines like M, P, and F.

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<sup>13</sup> M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 30-2.

F, which contains the text only through part of book 9, occasionally but not consistently uses the s-shaped marks in the margins to mark verses from Isaiah, while the scribe of W usually—though not always—writes them in red ink, unlike any other of the viewable manuscripts. W has also been foliated in a contemporary hand, with the leaf number written directly next to the first line of the outer column on the recto of each leaf. Curiously, the scribes of F appear to have excised the closing lines for each book, perhaps in an attempt to save even more space. F is also bound with a copy of Bede's *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, which begins on the verso of folio 121.

### **The relationship of W and S**

Although not identical, there is a distinct similarity between the initials and layout of the first page of text for W and S. Butzmann, in his catalogue, considered W the exemplar for S.<sup>14</sup> My own collation of W's text, spanning the first book of Josephus Scottus, supports the idea of a relationship between them, as they generally share omissions, alternate readings, and the abbreviated lines of Isaiah, as well as a palaeographic peculiarity, namely that of a stretched capital N, which occurs primarily in the first few quires. Without further close analysis and collation, however, the possibility that W was copied from S or that they shared an exemplar should not be ruled out.

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<sup>14</sup> Butzmann, *Weissenburger Handschriften*, 44.

### **The Lyon manuscript**

L, having been written in double columns, initially seemed like a potential relative to W or S. It entirely lacks the preface, however, nor is there any mention of either Alcuin or Josephus Scottus in the dedicatory lines on the title page. A closer examination of the text shows that it differs from Josephus Scottus's entirely. It is likely its own separate abbreviation of Jerome, perhaps created by Bishop Remigius of Lyon himself or at his behest, as there is a set of dedicatory capital lines on folio 1r which read:

LIBER OBLATUS AD ALTARE S(AN)C(T)I STEPHANI  
 EX UOTO REMIGII  
 HUMILIS EPI(SCOPI)  
 SIT UTENTI GRATIA  
 LARGITORI UENIA  
 FRAUDANTI ANATHEMA

I have created a table comparing a portion of the text on the first page of L with my edition of Josephus Scottus and Gryson's edition of Jerome in order to highlight the differences between the texts, leaving out the preface from M, P, S, F, and W, which is not present in L. This table is presented in the following pages as Table 3. As can be quickly seen in the tables, from the very start of the text L retains very different selections of Jerome's text, with less rewording than the beginning of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation. In addition, L has its own introductory section written on the recto of the first leaf, of which I provide a partial

transcription in Table 2 to show its difference from the preface of Josephus Scottus's text. Text that is the same in both the *Abbreviatio* and the Lyon manuscript has been bolded.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 2**

<b>Lyon Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463 Preface</b>	<b>Josephus Scottus's Preface to the <i>Abbreviatio</i></b>
<p>LIBER ame lectus explicit richirannus  qui uoco .  Sup(er) saia(m) pheta(m) geronim(us)  uociatur ;  Grates illi refero qui illu(m) mutauauit  ex mihi ;  Bonu(m) quod omne amator cultor de  eamq(ue) d(e)i .  Anagogen altus uulgaris est et  p(er)fectus  Chr(ist)i ex stephani p(ro)to uetestis  ipse libellus  Aliquid set mendosus ne est uicioque  scriptoris  Rigereco poterit illu(m) qui sciuerit  artem  Libri quod sunt nouem tot uersus ego  digessi  EXPLICIT FABU DE LIBROLA</p>	<p>[ISAIAS BREUIBUS LECTOR  mysteria uerbis pandere quis poterit  tractantur et cuncta uoluntas, hinc  prius Hieronimus longis tractatibus  usus exposuit. Sapiens magnis  ambagibus illum cuius ab in mensis  temptabo excerpere libris, quę breuiter  ualeant sensum nudare prophetę. Si  placet Albino talem nos ferre  laborem.] Omnes sancti prophetae,  sicut Hieronimus multis exemplis  adfirmat, pleniter intellegabant corde  quod proferabant ore, et uel loqui uel  tacere, ad suam uoluntatem habebant.  Nec aer uoce pulsatus ad aures eorum  perueniebat, sed deus in eorum animo  loquebatur, ut est illud angelus qui  loquebatur in me.</p>

<sup>15</sup> Lyon Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463, <http://florus.bm-lyon.fr/visualisation.php?cote=MS0463&vue=5> , accessed 3 March 2016.

Table 3

Gryson ed. Jerome	Josephus Scottus's <i>Abbreviatio</i>	Lyon Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463 1v
<p><i>VISIO ESAIAE FILII AMOS, QVAM VIDIT SVPER IVDAM ET HIERVSALEM IN DIEBVS OZIAE IOATHAM ACHAZ EZECHIAE REGUM IVDA.</i> Pro Iuda, in quo significantur duae tribus, LXX et Thloedotio posuere Iudaeam, quae totam terram duodecim tribuum ostendit, et pro eo quod nos ex hebrae uertimus <i>SVPER IVDAM ET HIERVSALEM</i>, illi interpretati sunt &lt;&lt;contra Iudaeam et Hierusalem&gt;&gt;, Symmachus more suo manifestius &lt;&lt;de Iuda et Hierusalem&gt;&gt;, ut nec prospera nec aduersa uelit titulo demonstrari, sed ea quae de Iuda et Hierusalem in utramque partem propheticus sermo praedixerit. Ergo Esaias principaliter de duabus loquitur tribubus Iuda et Benjamin, exceptis decem quae in Samaria erant et uocabantur Ephraim et Israhel, et quas sub Ozia rege Iuda et Hierusalem Phul rex Assyriorum uastare iam coeperat.</p>	<p><i>Visio Isaię filii Amos quam uidit super Iudam et Hierusalem in diebus Ozię Ioathan Achaz Ezechiae regum Iuda.</i> Ergo Isaias <b>principaliter de duabus loquitur tribubus Iuda et Benjamin, exceptis decem quę in Samaria erant, et uocantur Effraim et Israhel, quas sub Ozia rege Iuda et Hierusalem Phul rex Assyriorum uastare coepit.</b> Ozias autem ipse est qui et Azarias et uno tempore Isaias, Osee, Iohel, et Amos ut ex regibus qui sunt in titulis cognoscimus prophetabant. Uisio autem non tantum ubi quod uidetur infertur dicitur, ut uerbi gratia <i>uidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum</i>, sed etiam quando ea quae oculis cordis prophetae uidebant, [unde] uidentes dicebantur narrabant.</p>	<p>Visio esaię filii amos quam uidit super iudam et hierusalem /. in diebus ozię . ioatham . ahaz . et ezechię regum iuda ; Cum dicit super iudam et hierusalem . <b>principaliter de duabus loquitur tribubus iuda et beniamin /. exceptis decem quae in samaria erant . et uocabantur ephraim et israhel /. et quas sub ozię rege iudae et hierusalem . phul rex assyriorum uastare iam coeperat ,</b></p>

Gryson ed. Jerome	Josephus Scottus's <i>Abbreviatio</i>	Lyon Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463 1v
<p>Denique quinquagesimo et secundo imperii eius anno, regnante apud Samariam Phacee filio Remeliae, <i>uenit Theglathphalassar rex Assyriorum et cepit Ahion et Abel domum Maacha et Ianue et Cedus et Asor et Galaad et Galileam, omnem terram Neptalim, et transtulit eos in Assyrios</i>. Ex quo ostenditur uicinia euersione Samariae in commonitionem duarum tribuum haec uniuersa narrari. Ozias autem ipse est qui et Azarias duplici nomine, et uno quidem atque eodem tempore Esaiam Osee Iohel et Amos prophetasse ex regibus qui ponuntur in ititulo cognoscimus; sed principium uerbi domini fuit in Osee filio Beheri. Amos autem pater Esaias non, ut plerique autumant, tertius duodecim prophetarum est, sed alius, diuersisque apud Hebraeos scribuntur litteris. Iste primam et extremam litteras habet ALEPH et SADE, ille AIN et SAMECH, et iste secundum quosdam interpretatur fortitudo siue robustus, ille populus durus uel grauis;</p>	<p>Uisio appellatur: <i>Ut audite caeli</i> et reliqua. Quid autem sub uno quoque ex his quattuor regibus Isaias uiderat, non confuse ut in aliis prophetis sed seorsum usque ad finem libri scriptum refertur. Ezechias quoque in Hierusalem duodecimo anno Romuli qui Romam condidit regnare coepit, et iste Amos pater Isaie, non ille qui <b>tertius est in duodecim prophetis. Et iste apud Hebræos primam et extremam litteras habet ALEPH et SADE, ille AIN et SAMECH</b>. Spiritualiter quicquid de Hierusalem dicitur ad Christi ecclesiam refertur, et ad eos qui uel propter peccata e grediuntur ex ea, uel propter penitentiam reuertuntur ad sedem pristinam. Isaias autem interpretatur saluator domini, Iudæa confessio, Hierusalem uisio pacis, Ozias fortitudo domini, Ioatham domini perfectio, Achaz robustus, Ezechias imperium. Qui ergo domino p̄sidente saluator uel sui ipsius uel aliorum et filius est Amos, id est fortis et robusti,</p>	<p>Deniq(ue) quinquagesimo et secundo imperii eius anno . regnante apud samariam faceae filio romeliae /. uenit theglat falasar rex assyriorum . et coepit ahion . et abel domum maacha /. et ianuae . et cedus . et asor . et galaad . et galileam omnem terram nephthalim . et transtulit eos in assyrios ; Ex quo ostenditur uicinę euersione samarię /: in commonitionem duarum tribuum haec uniuersa narrari ; Amos autem pater esaias Non ut pleriq(ue) autumant . <b>tertius duodecim prophetarum est / . sed alius ; diuersisq(ue) apud hebraeos scribuntur litteris ; Iste . primam et extremam litteras habet . aleph . et sade . ille . ain . et sameth</b> ; et iste secundum quosdam interpretatur fortitudo . siue robustus : Ille . populus durus uel grauis ;/</p>



Gryson ed. Jerome	Josephus Scottus	Lyon MS 1v
<p>de quo in Amos plenius diximus. Non solum autem hic propheta, sed et alii, cum habeant in titulo <i>VISIO QVAM VIDIT ESAIAS</i> siue Abdias, non inferunt quid uiderint, uerbi gratia: <i>Vidi dominum sabaoth sedentem super thronum excelsum et eleuatum et seraphim duo in circuitu eius</i>, sed quae dicta sunt narrant, id est: <i>Audi, caelum, et auribus percipe, terra</i>, et: <i>Haec dicit dominus deus ad Idumeam, auditum audiui a domino et legatum ad gentes misit</i>. Prophetæ enim prius uocabantur uidentes, qui dicere poterant: <i>Oculi nostri semper ad dominum</i>, et: <i>Ad te leuauit oculos meos qui habitas in caelo</i>. Vnde et apostolis a saluatore praecipitur: <i>Leuate oculos uestros et uidete regiones, quia iam albae sunt ad metendum</i>. Istos cordis oculos et sponsa habebat in Cantico canticorum, cui sponsus dicit: <i>Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea sponsa, uno ex oculis meis</i>; et in euangelio legimus: <i>Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus</i>. In ueteri quoque dicitur instrumento quod populus uiderit uocem dei.</p>	<p>ipse cernit uisionem confessionis dum antiqua peccata plorat, et pacis, dum post penitentiam ad aeternam pacem transit, et cuncta illius tempora transeunt sub fortitudine domini et perfectione eius ac robore et imperio.</p>	<p>De quo in amos plenius diximus, Non solum autem hic propheta. sed et alii cum habeant in titulo Uisio quam uidit esaias. siue abdias. Non inferunt quid uiderint; Uerbi gratia. uidi d(omi)n(u)m sabaoth sedentem super thronum excelsum et eleuatum /: et seraphim duo in circuitu eius ;, Sed quae dicta sint narrant. Id est audi caelum ./ et auribus percipe terra : Et haec dicit d(omi)n(u)s d(eu)s ad ydumeam ; Auditum audiui a d(omi)no ./ et legatum ad gentes misit ; Prophetę enim prius uocabantur uidentes qui dicere poterant oculi n(ost)ri semper ad d(omi)n(u)m : et ad te leuauit oculos meos qui habitas in caelo ; Unde et apostolis a saluatore praecipitur : Leuate oculos uestros . et uidete regiones . q(uonia)m albae sunt iam ad metendum , Sciamus quo(que) ezechiam in hierusalem duodecimo anno romuli . qui sui nominis in italia condidit ciuitatem regnare coepisse ' : ut liquido appareat quanto antiquiores sunt n(ost)rae historię quam gentium ceterarum ,</p>

## 2. Editorial process and stemmatic discussion

My goal in creating this edition of the first five books of Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio* has been to assemble an eclectic edition<sup>1</sup> that provides a full, legible text and thoroughly documented apparatus in order to give future scholars a solid base from which to conduct further analysis and study. As each of the primary manuscripts has some idiosyncratic traits in their texts, a diplomatic edition that faithfully reproduced the text of a single manuscript would not provide a full picture of Josephus Scottus's work. Neither would a traditional Lachmannian edition, striving to recreate the author's original text or its archetype, given that the witnesses vary enough and in different areas to prevent any one from being preferable to the rest.

I have therefore not attempted to re-interpret the manuscript evidence into the theoretical text of an archetype. Instead I have chosen to focus on creating the most comprehensive possible edition of the first five books of the text, as an edition of the full work is too long for a single thesis. I have also endeavoured to maintain as much as possible the medieval nature of the text. The original manuscript of Josephus Scottus has been lost, as have any copies earlier or later than the extant manuscripts; the copies that remain are the only witnesses we have to approach and appreciate the tremendous piece of scholarship Josephus Scottus completed.

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<sup>1</sup> The eclectic style of editing relies on choosing variants from a variety of manuscripts according to the editor's evaluation of the witnesses. Cf. Philip Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography & Textual Criticism* (Nashville, Tennessee: B&H Publishing Group, 2005), 383; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration. Second Edition* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 175-9; and J. K. Elliott, *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles. Essays on Manuscripts and Textual Variation* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 41-9.

Despite the many technological advancements made in recent years, editing a text has more the nature of an art than a science. Many scholars<sup>2</sup> have drawn up sets of guidelines for determining the best witnesses for a text and the relationships between various manuscript traditions, even to the point of mathematical formulas and statistical surveys for eliminating 'useless' manuscripts, but every method has its exceptions, most notably in the area of intra-manuscript contamination.

Editors must choose a method best suited to the historical transmission of their text while taking into account that method's flaws, and use their own judgment in cases where method and manuscripts disagree; yet that judgment can be taken too far to create emendations without evidence, or to favor a witness that, when evaluated by others, proves unreliable. An editor with a large number of manuscript witnesses must find some way to select a manageable number to work with, while one working with a single manuscript or very small number of witnesses will encounter flaws and corrupted text that cannot be easily emended by reference to better manuscripts, by whatever method one chooses to determine those. Michael Lapidge discussed some of the difficulties he saw for modern editors of medieval Latin texts in an article for *Sacris Erudiri*,<sup>3</sup> and Michael Reeve did similarly for both medieval and classical editions in a 2000 article.<sup>4</sup>

In the case of too many witnesses, one may at least console oneself that should the selected manuscripts prove unsuitable for determining relationships, the

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<sup>2</sup> Of some note are Dom Quentin, who edited the Vulgate at the behest of the Catholic Church, with *Essais de critique textuelle (ecdotique)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1926), though not without criticism; Karl Lachmann, who helped to establish some basic principles of stemma creation in his editions of Lucretius, Propertius, Catullus, Tibullus, and medieval German poetry; the classicist Paul Maas and *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); the editor/grammarians Ludwig Bieler and *The grammarian's craft: an introduction to textual criticism* (New York: The Catholic Classical Association of Greater New York, 1960s); and R. B. C. Huygens, who wrote *Ars edendi: A Practical Introduction to Editing Medieval Latin Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'The Edition of Medieval Latin Texts in the English-speaking World,' *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998/9), 199-220.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Reeve, 'Cuius in Usum? Recent and Future Editing,' *Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000), 196-206.

discarded witnesses may be consulted. If there are too few witnesses, an editor must rely on their own judgement. Conjectural emendation is an established editorial technique,<sup>5</sup> but there is an element of risk involved in assuming sure knowledge of an author's style or skill, and not every conjecture can be supported by further examination, or if new witnesses come to light.<sup>6</sup> For medieval texts in particular, an edition emended to perfect classical Latin grammar runs the danger of ignoring the evidence of the witnesses and the observed nature of medieval Latin,<sup>7</sup> but without some emendation, the edition's text may read as nonsense. It is therefore necessary in these cases to take a cautious and balanced approach both to conjectural emendation and the testimony of the witnesses. In the case of Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio*, the nature of the witnesses makes a stemma impossible to establish at this time, but the number of early witnesses attests to contemporary interest in the text and a solid transmission, along with some fluidity in the treatment of Biblical quotations. An eclectic edition for the *Abbreviatio* can therefore provide an optimal version of the texts that were available, rather than an uncertain recreation of an authorial exemplar.

It is important to remember that while he edited the work of a late antique Latin master, Josephus Scottus himself wrote in an even later Latin tradition that had its own unique systems of spelling, grammar, and vocabulary.<sup>8</sup> The manuscripts of Jerome's work and the Vulgate that he based his text on may have

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<sup>5</sup> Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 16-17.

<sup>7</sup> Huygens, *Ars edendi*, 41-6.

<sup>8</sup> Scholarship on the complexity and nature of medieval Latin includes Pascale Bourgain and Marie-Clotilde Hubert, *Le latin médiéval* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters* (München: C. H. Beck, 1996-present); and *Medieval Latin: an introduction and bibliographical guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996). For work by scholars dealing with medieval Greek and Latin texts, there is *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook*, ed. Elisabet Göransson, Gunilla Iversen, Barbara Crostini, et al. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016).

already developed general errors and variants in the process of transmission.<sup>9</sup> To eliminate the linguistic, grammatical, and orthographic peculiarities completely for the sake of a more uniform appearance would be to lose a part of what makes the text worth preserving: its place in the evolution of medieval Latin and the manuscripts' connections to the exemplar of Josephus Scottus, any lost intervening copies, and even to earlier generations of Jerome's *Commentariorum* and his translation of the Vulgate.

Accordingly, I have preferred to maintain the readings of the manuscripts. We do not know what manuscripts of Jerome and the Vulgate Josephus Scottus used for his abbreviation, but by analysis of the readings and shared errors in the manuscripts of his work compared to known manuscripts of Jerome and the Vulgate,<sup>10</sup> some clues may be found. Such analysis will be covered in subsection 3, as part of the discussion on the relationships between the manuscripts.

### **Editorial choices**

I have selected M as the base text for my edition. Although the first half of the preface is omitted in its text and its final leaf is lost, as a general rule it provides the long-form quotations from the Book of Isaiah and has longer versions of passages from the text of Jerome than P or S, and is thus more suitable for a base.

In the interests of preserving manuscript witness readings, some of the choices I have made include the use of e-caudata for **ae** or, sometimes, **e**, such as *hęc* rather

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<sup>9</sup> Gryson wrote about the manuscript tradition for the *Commentariorum in Esaiam* in separate articles, as well, including 'La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Jérôme sur Isaïe: État de la question' in *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient: XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem*, ed. Yves-Marie Duval (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1986), 403-25.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatum versionum ad codicum fidem: Liber Isaiae: Orthographica* (Rome: Vatican, 1969) for a full listing of orthographic variants in the Rome edition of Isaiah.

than *haec* and *prę-* for *prae-*, and non-assimilated consonants over duplicated consonants, such as *adprehendent* for *apprehendent* and *obprobrium* for *opprobrium*. Where the three primary manuscripts offer different readings for a word or phrase that does not appear in Gryson's edition of the full *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, I have generally preferred the reading of M as the base text; I have also generally preferred the text of M in cases where all three primary manuscripts have an error in spelling for words or phrases that do occur in Gryson's edition, with Jerome's spelling according to Gryson's text noted in the apparatus. I have also modernised the punctuation and capitalisation, using Gryson's edition as a guide where the manuscript punctuation is unclear,<sup>11</sup> and silently expanded all abbreviations. Where Greek letter forms occur in both Gryson's edition of Jerome's full commentary and the primary manuscripts, I have reproduced them exactly as they appear, including variations in case; for the sake of comprehensibility, in these cases I have preferred the reading of whichever manuscript approaches closest to the standard Greek.

### **Editorial method**

As I mentioned earlier, as a general rule M contains longer versions of text directly copied or rephrased from Jerome's commentary than the other two primary manuscripts. Where one or the other of P and S include additional words or lines, however, I have included these in the edition, except where they may confuse the grammar of the sentence. I have marked these additions with square brackets and a

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<sup>11</sup> Gryson discusses his choices in orthography and textual presentation in the introduction to the first volume of *Commentaires de Jérôme sur la prophète Isaïe*, 120-6; the Rome Vulgate of Isaiah generally presents the text without punctuation and capitalisation only for proper names, place names, and the openings of chapters.

note in the apparatus. While M very often contains longer quotations from Jerome and Isaiah than P or S, it does not do so consistently. With its final leaf lost, M's conclusion cannot be compared with those of the other two primary manuscripts. In some cases where the meaning of a sentence might be confused, I have chosen to use a clearer reading from P or S rather than from M, but I have noted all such choices in the apparatus. Where all three primary manuscripts disagreed with Jerome or sense, I have selected either the most understandable of the manuscript readings or the base manuscript's reading. I have preferred *lectio facillior* in most cases for ease of understanding; *lectio difficilior* can be a valuable tool in dealing with an original work, but for an abbreviation that hews close to its inspiration, a difficult reading that is not supported by the non-abbreviated text requires stronger evidence, and I have preferred to rely on the readings of the manuscripts rather than conjecture.

I undertook the process of creating this edition in multiple steps. First, I created a complete diplomatic transcription of M with marked expansions of abbreviations, and then I supplemented the transcription with the extra lines of the prologue and the final section of text from P and S. After the creation of the transcription, I went through it to remove obtrusive transcription marks and to separate the eighteen books by their closing lines;<sup>12</sup> then I copied each book into a separate text document for the purpose of giving each book its own line numbering and breaking the work into manageable sections.

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<sup>12</sup> Some difficulties in book division are present in both the text of Jerome's *Commentariorum* and in Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio*, primarily in regards to books 5-7. Gryson's edition treats them as three separate books, with books 6 and 7 containing new passages discussing the same lines of Isaiah as book 5; in the primary Josephus Scottus manuscripts, passages from books 6 and 7 are combined with the corresponding passages from book 5. Specifically, in M there is no closing line for a book 5, but rather one book following book 4 which ends with the line *MYSTICUS ECCE LIBER FINITUR IN ORDINE SEXTUS*, with the next book closed by the line *SEPTIMUS ET QUINTUS FINEM DUCUNTUR IN UNUM*.

I then began to go through the text, starting with the first book, and performed multiple tasks at the same time: indenting the quotations from the Book of Isaiah into separate paragraphs with the associated commentary and italicising the quotations; standardising punctuation and capitalisation; correcting my own errors in transcription against M, P, and S; collating the texts of the three primary manuscripts with each other and with Gryson's edition of the *Commentariorum* as well as with the Stuttgart text of the Vulgate; and creating an apparatus of variant readings. In order to provide the most complete text and a thorough apparatus, I also consulted the Rome edition of the Vulgate,<sup>13</sup> which proved helpful in tracking down variant readings not provided by the Stuttgart Vulgate for collation with the readings of the Josephus Scottus manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> After editing books 1-4 and the combination of books 5 and 6 (see footnote 12 for a brief explanation of the problems with books 5-7), I read through each edited book and apparatus again to correct typographical errors or other problems, standardise the apparatus notes in accordance with convention, and search for significant correlations in manuscript readings and errors.

I have also added variants from F and W to the apparatus of the first book, though regrettably I did not have time to include them in the apparatus for the other books. W's readings corresponded very closely with those of S and thus provided little in the way of new information, but F displayed an intriguing mixture of new variants, variants shared with one or more of the other witnesses, and readings not attested in the other witnesses but present in Gryson's edition or the Rome Vulgate edition of Isaiah. As F is the only post-ninth-century manuscript, I have chosen not

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<sup>13</sup> *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pauli Pp. VI. Cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Isaiiae* (Rome: Vatican, 1969).

<sup>14</sup> B. Fischer, I. Gribomont et al., *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).



to prefer its readings over those from the earlier manuscripts, but it is a witness worth further study in the future.

Some difficulties stand in the way of creating a traditional Lachmannian stemma. One such complication is the small number of manuscripts; having few witnesses is not automatically problematic, but in this case, the nature of the variants and the similar age of the extant witnesses does create difficulties.<sup>15</sup> While in some cases it is possible to establish a clear stemmatic relationship between a small group of witnesses, and a complete collation of the secondary manuscripts F and W may help in this case, for the three primary manuscripts in particular it is not. That all three primary copies were likely written in the first half of the ninth century, without more definitive dating, precludes preferring any one manuscript over the others on the basis of age, as does the lack of variants which demonstrate clear relationships, further aggravated by the fluid treatment of Biblical quotations. Of course, this does not mean there are no significant relationships to be found or conclusions about the exemplar to be drawn; all such conclusions, however, should be considered hypothesis only, until such time as the evidence of the additional manuscripts can be fully integrated. Further analysis, with examples from the edition and manuscripts, is discussed in the next subsection.

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<sup>15</sup> For a similarly troublesome situation, cf. Roger W. Clement, 'Two Contemporary Gregorian Editions of Pope Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* in Troyes 504,' *Scriptorium* 39.1 (1985), 89-97.

### 3. The relationships between the manuscripts of Josephus Scottus's *Abbreviatio* and Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam*

To reach an understanding of the three primary manuscripts' relationship, I consulted the collated variants for the five books I edited to identify significant places of shared errors and omissions. My primary criterion for significant manuscript variants—that is, ones worth discussing as possible indications of a relationship—is that the variant should involve omission, substitution, or addition of more than one word. It should also be shared by at least two of the primary manuscript witnesses. I have been flexible about these criteria if either a conjunctive or disjunctive error involved a single word that differed greatly from other manuscript readings, as such variants may correlate with variants from Gryson's edition of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* or with the Vulgate, or if each of the three primary manuscripts has a disjunctive error.

#### **Orthographical variants**

Some common shared readings I discarded as statistically insignificant, the most numerous of these being confusion between **ae**, **e-caudata**, and **e**; while P and S will frequently share an **ae** spelling against M's **e-caudata** or **e**, it is almost as often that one will share M's spelling against the other, and one or both use **e** or **e-caudata** while M retains the **ae**. In addition, this particular spelling confusion is one of the more common errors in medieval Latin. The most sensible conclusion is thus that rather than indicating a firm connection, this particular similarity between P and S occurs by chance, or due to similar spelling conventions.

Similarly, confusion between **t** and **c** is common in all three primary manuscripts, and at points the same manuscript will spell the same word with either **t** or **c**; it is therefore unlikely that such an error could be the result of a relationship unless other manuscript witnesses from Jerome's full commentary or the three secondary manuscripts attest to the error being shared. Other common errors, such as confusion of **f** and **ph** or **i** and **y**, have also been discarded, along with the omissions of short connecting words such as *et*. The spellings of Biblical names and vocabulary have generally not been considered as significant; each of the three primary manuscripts tends towards its own individual spelling for Biblical names, which may indicate that each scriptorium had its own reference for the names that it preferred over their exemplar's reading.

### **List of variants**

A partial breakdown of selected significant or interesting variants by book and line number follows, arranged by which of the three primary manuscripts agree or disagree with each other. The table of sigla at the end of this chapter contains a full list of references. As in the sigla at the end of this chapter, *Gry.\** refers to a reading from the critical apparatus of Gryson's edition of Jerome, and *Vul.\** to a reading from the critical apparatus of the Rome Vulgate edition of Isaiah. As I have not verified those readings myself, they should be considered with an especially critical eye. Where applicable, I have considered corrections to be the final reading of a manuscript and sorted them accordingly, as corrections in the primary manuscripts appear primarily to be contemporary with the copying of the text, and thus are more likely to be corrections against an exemplar than later contamination or conjecture.

**M vs. PS**

I.1-4 *Isaie breuibus lector...nos ferre laborem*: PS, om. M

I.32 *quoniam dominus locutus est*: om. PS

I.66 *preuaricationes*: M, *praeuaricationem* PSGry.Vul.

I.83 *contrucidatus*: MGry., *trucidatus* PS + Gry.\*

I.114 *quoniam*: MGry.Vul., *quia* PS + Gry.\*

I.119 *Quo mihi...dicit dominus*: MGry.Vul., *Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum [et] reliqua* PS

I.122-3 *holocaustas arietum...hyrcorum nolo*: om. PS

I.155 *quia os domini locutus est*: M + Gry.\*, om. PSGry.

I.160-1 *Et haec...inmutari*: om. PS

I.172 *postea*: M, *id est* PS

I.193 *perspicue*: M, *aperte* PS

I.194 *hoc est domini*: om. PS

I.196 *et reducent eam in iustitia*: om. PS

I.207 *ut fauilla stuppe*: M, om. PS, *ut fauilla stuppae* Gry.Vul.

I.211 *et non erit qui extinguat*: om. PS

I.212-14 *Quæ omnia...pabulum sit*: om. PS

I.217 *et ibunt populi multi*: om. PS

I.225-6 *Tu es...ecclesiam meam*: PSGry.Vul., *Tu es Petrus usque ad ecclesiam meam* M

I.228-9 *Omnes gentes...terminos terre*: om. PS

I.230 *Et dicent*: om. PS

I.264 *Et repleta est terra eius aequis*: om. PS

- I.291-2 *sublimes...quercus Basan*: om. PS
- I.296 *Et super...eleuatos*: om. PS
- I.303 *demergentur*: M, *dimergentur* S, *demergentur* corr. *dimergentur* P
- II.3 *non*: M, om. PS
- II.66 *ut*: M, *ut et* PS
- II.91 *feminarum*: M, *uel feminarum* PS
- II.94-7 *In die illa...uittas et teristra*: M, om. PS
- II.122-3 *Et erit...cilicium*: M, om. PS
- II.129 *desolata in terra sedebit*: M + Ga.Vi., *desolata sedebit in terra Gry.*,  
om. PS
- II.140 *cupientes*: MGry., *uolentes* PS
- II.145 *propterea*: MGry., *ideo* PS; *uolunt*: M, *uoluit* PS, *cupiunt* Gry.
- II.167 *protexit*: PS, *protexisti* M + Gry.\*
- II.180-1 *Et sepiuit...exstruxit in ea*: om. PS
- II.180 *Et sepiuit*: om. PS, *Et sepsit* Gry.; *uineam Sorech*: om. PS, *eam electam*  
Vul.
- II.188 *Et expectaui...labruscas*: M, om. PS
- II.209-10 *Uinea domini...delectabile eius*: M, om. PS
- II.212 *Spectaui ut...ecce clamor*: M, om. PS
- II.224 *sint*: MGry., *erunt* PS
- II.240 *solum*: MGry., *tantum* PS
- II.291 *conclamarent*: MGry., *clamarent* PS + Gry.\*
- II.301-2 *Non enim...blasphemiam*: M, om. PS
- III.1-2 *uidi dominum...implebant templum*: MGry., om. PS
- III.14 *deus*: M + Gry.\*Vul.\*, om. PSGry.Vul.

- III.31 *Et dixi*: M, om. PS
- III.55 *impleri*: MGry., *implere* PS; *iussionem*: MGry., *uisionem* PS + Gry.\*
- III.79 *a facie uenti*: PS, om. M
- III.98 *reliquus*: MGry., *relictus* PS + Er.Vi.
- III.105 *nouem*: M, *xi* PS
- III.131 *quam*: MGry., *quia* PS
- III.328 *magno*: M, om. PSGry.
- III.341 *lacum appellat*: MGry., *dicit lacum* PS
- III.363 *tumultus*: MGry., *tumultuatio* PS
- IV.15-16 *quadro lapide*: MGry., *quadris lapidibus* PS
- IV.31-7 *Succensa est enim...manus eius extenta*: M, om. PS
- IV.98 *distruendum*: M, *distruendum* corr. *destruendum* P, *destruendum* S, *destruatur* Gry.
- IV.101 *in posterioribus idem propheta commemorat*: MGry., *post modum legimus* PS
- IV.129 *tradunt*: MGry., *dicunt* PS
- IV.143 *dicens*: M, om. PS
- IV.184 *paululum*: MGry., *populo* PS + Gry.\*
- IV.190 *tamen*: M, *tantum* PSGry.
- IV.272 *dissident*: SGry., *desident* MP, corr. *dissident* P
- IV.276 *uexillum*: SGry., *uixillum* MP + Gry.\*, corr. *uexillum* P
- V-VI.39 *et quasi ouis et non erit qui congreget*: MGry., om. PS
- V-VI.53 *misereantur*: MGry.VIVul., *miserebuntur* Gry.V, om. PS
- V-VI.57 *paruuli*: MGry., *hoc est non paruulorum* PS
- V-VI.121 *simulabat*: M, *simulabatur* PS, *uidebatur* Gry.

V-VI.130-1 *Numquid iste...aperuit carcerem*: M, *Numquid iste uir et reliqua*

PS

V-VI.183 *tam*: M, *tantum* PS, *solum* Gry.

V-VI.201 *propria*: MGry., *quasi propria* PS

V-VI.338 *enim*: M, *autem* PS

V-VI.444 *dicunt*: M, *dicuntur* PS

V-VI.456 *peccatum*: M + Gry.\*, *peccata* PSGry.

## MP vs. S

I.77 *confossi*: MPGry., *confusi* S + Gry.\*Ga.

I.83 *confossus*: MPGry., *confusus* S + Gry.\*

I.92 *succendantur*: MP, *succendantur* Gry., *succendantur* corr. *succendantur*

S

I.159 *deuorauit*: MGry., *deuorabit* S, *deuorabit* corr. *deuorauit* P

I.174 *mira*: MP + Gry.\*Ga., *mera* SGry.

I.176 *inoboedientes*: MPGry. + Vul.\*, *infideles* SVul.

I.248 *quo*: MP, *quando* Gry., *quod* corr. *quando* S

I.270 *lapidem*: *lapidem hic lege et incuruauit se homo et reliqua* S

II.11 *iudicentur*: MP, *iudicantur* S, *iudicent* Gry., *iudicant* Gry.\*

II.22 *ab*: M, *a* PS, corr. *ab* P

II.33 *sub Tito*: MP, *subito* S + Gry.\*

II.159 *creabit*: SGry.Vul., *creauit* MP + Gry.\*Ga.Er.Ma.Va.Vul.\*

II.190 *labruscas pessimos*: MP, *labruscas id est pessimos* S; *hoc est*: MP, *qui*

S

II.195 *hastilibus subrexi: hastilibus calamisque subrexi* Gry. + S corr.

II.278 *quoniam*: MP, *quo* SGry.

III.56 *et reliqua*: MP, om. S, *et aures aggraua et oculos claude* Gry.

III.60 *homine*: MPVul. + Gry.\*, *hominibus* Gry., om. S

III.97 *permanebitis*: MPGry., *permanebit* S

III.158 *adoliscentula*: MP, *adulescentula* SGry.

III.161 *nunc te liberat*: MP, *nunc liberat te* S, *te nunc liberet* Gry.

III.239 *sumeret*: MP + Gry.\*, *assumeret* SGry.

III.318 *dominum nostrum*: MP + Gry.\*Ga., *dominum deum nostrum* S, *deum nostrum* Gry.

III.379 *confirmabit*: MP, *confirmauit* S, *confirmet* Gry.

IV.10 *imperii ergo*: MP, *imperatorum* S

IV.18 *ergo*: MPGry., *eorum* S

IV.85 *significare*: M, *significat* S, *sig(nificat)* corr. *significare* P

IV.128 *tam paucierunt*: MP, *pauerunt* S

IV.159 *gladio*: MP, *gaudio* S

IV.202 *Percutiam pastorem et reliqua tradita sit*: MP, om. S

IV.235 *maris*: MP, *maioris* S

IV.247 *iste*: MPGry., *id est* S

IV.285 *destructum*: MGry., *distructum* PS, corr. *destructum* P

V-VI.7 *exaltata*: M, *exaltata deo* PS, corr. *exaltata* P

V-VI.9 *destinati*: M, *distinati* PS, corr. *destinati* P

V-VI.39 *fugiens*: MPGry.Vul., *fugit* S

V-VI.41 *ululatum*: MPGry., *ululatu* S + Gry.\*

V-VI.68 *ruinarum*: MPGry., *uinarum* S



- V-VI.94 *exactor*: MPGry.Vul., *actor* S
- V-VI.100 *gestientes*: MPGry., *gestigentes* S
- V-VI.174 *occisa*: MP, *succisa* S, *deleta* Gry.
- V-VI.217 *necdum*: MPGry., *nondum* S + Er.Adr.
- V-VI.220 *fortitudinis*: M + Gry.\*Er.Adr., *fortitudines* PSGry., corr. *fortitudinis* P
- V-VI.241 *peccantium*: MP, *peccatorum* S, *peccati* Gry.
- V-VI.268 *nimia*: MP, *nimis* S
- V-VI.282 *interficit*: M + Gry.\*, *interfecit* PSGry., corr. *interficit* P
- V-VI.291 *possideant*: *possedeant* PS, corr. *possideant* P
- V-VI.362 *Ad utrumque*: MPGry., *Ab utrisque* S
- V-VI.364 *conceptus*: MPGry., *natus* S
- V-VI.376 *sessio*: MPGry., *possessio* S
- V-VI.482 *deserti*: M, *desertum* PS, corr. *deserti* P, *deserta* Gry.
- V-VI.550 *nec ad lateris muros*: MP, *nec ad leteris murus* corr. *ad latericium murum* margin S, *nec ad latericium murum* Gry.
- V-VI.553 *Ex tunc*: MP, *Exeunte* S

### MS vs. P

- I.129 *Ut ambularetis in atriis meis uel*: MS, om. PGry.
- I.136 *est deo*: MS + Gry.\*Er.Adr., *deo est* PGry.
- I.171 *Eloquia domini eloquia casta*: MS, *casta argentum reliqua* P
- I.218 *hic autem quod*: MS, *hic autem uerbum quod* P, *hic uerbum quod* Gry.
- II.13 *ut in Balaam*: MS, *ut in babyloniam* corr. *uel in balaam* P

- II.13-14 *Et est sensus*: MS, *et consensum est corr. uel ergo uel consensus est* P
- II.53 *Responderunt illi*: MS, *Respondebunt illis* P
- II.133 *secundum*: MS, *per* P
- II.135 *Et merebunt usque sedebit*: MS, *Et merebunt atque lugebunt portę eius, et desolata in terra sedebit* P
- II.197-8 *Nunc habitatores...feci ei*: MS, *Nunc habitatores Hierusalem et uiri Iuda iudicate inter me et uineam meam: quid est quod debui ultra facere uineae meae et non feci ei* P
- II.220 *uoluptatem*: MSGry., *uoluntatem* P + Gry.\*
- II.227 *tres*: PGry., *quattuor* MS
- II.262 *secundum*: MS, *pro* P
- II.282 *eligentes*: M + S corr., *elegentes* PS
- II.310 *Manum suam*: MS, *Et extendit manum suam super eum et percussit eum* P
- II.328 *qui*: P, *quod* MS
- III.4 *Uidi*: PGry., *Uidit* MS
- III.9 *sunt*: MS, *erant* PGry.
- III.67 *multiplicabitur*: MS, *multiplicatur* P + Gry.\*, *multiplicetur* Gry.
- III.105 *obsidens coepit*: MS, *obsedens cepit* P, *obsederit* Gry.
- III.225 *grandi libro*: MS, *libro grandi* P, *grandi uolumine* Gry.
- III.227 *humano*: MS, *manu* P
- III.248 *auxiliare*: MS + Gry.\*, *auxiliari* PGry.
- III.285 *omne quod*: MS, *quod omne quod* PGry.
- III.296-7 *Emmanuhel est...euangelium susceperunt*: MS, om. P
- III.325 *dissolutio genuum*: MS, *de sono gemituum* P

- IV.14 *dicuntur*: MS, *dicunt* PGry.
- IV.21 *dicunt*: MSGry., *reddunt* P
- IV.45 *sed dexteram referens*: MS, *sed dextera deserens* Gry., *sed dextera referens* corr. *dextera deserens* P, *sedextrare ferens* Gry.\*, *dexteram* Gry.\*
- IV.82 *coepi*: MS, *coepi* corr. *cepi* P, *cepi* Gry. 2x
- IV.123 *et*: om. MS
- IV.190 *tuti*: MS, *tuti locorum* PGry.
- IV.223 *Iudicabit*: MS, *Iudicabat* PGry.
- IV.275 *nauibus*: MS, *nauigibus* corr. *nauigis* P
- IV.293-6 *quoniam iratus es...factus est mihi*: P, om. MS
- IV.308 *quia magnus in medio tui*: P, *usque* MS
- V-VI.108 *scemę*: MPS, corr. *scematis* P, *scaenae* Gry.
- V-VI.115 *sentiens*: MS + Gry.\*, *senties* PGry.
- V-VI.163 *coartata*: PGry., *coartatu* MS
- V-VI.172 *est*: MS, *est ad* PGry.
- V-VI.192 *sanctus sum*: P, om. MS
- V-VI.201 *ad proximum suum stupebit*: MS + Gry.\*, *unusquisque ad proximum suum* P + Gry.\*, *Vnusquisque stupebit ad proximum suum* Gry.
- V-VI.410 *iuxta morbi*: MS, *iuxta(m) orbi* P
- V-VI.432 *prouocarem*: MS, *prouocem* PGry.
- V-VI.526 *occisis*: MS, *excisis* P, *exciderent* Gry.
- V-VI.566 *meretur*: *merebitur* PS, corr. *meretur* S

**M vs. P vs. S**

- I.39-040 *in caelestibus*: MGry., *in caelum* P, *in caelo* S
- I.88 *haec*: M, *hec* P, *autem* S
- I.102 *voYç*: P, *Navç* M, *NOYç* Gry., *principalis custos* S
- I.120 *arguite me*: M, *disputemus* PGry., *disputemus simul* S
- II.58 *comedet*: PVul. + Gry.\*Ga., *comedent* M, *comederunt* SGry.Vul.\*
- II.83 *pedibus*: MGry., *in pedibus* PVul., om. S
- II.136 *uocetur*: MGry.Vul., *inuocetur* P + Gry.\*Vul.\*, om. S
- II.154-5 *Cum abluerit...spiritu ardoris*: M, *Cum abluerit sordem* P, *Cum abluerit sordes* S
- II.181 *Sepiuit*: M, *Sepsit* P,<sup>1</sup> *Sepiuit* S
- II.192 *fecerim ei*: M, *feci* P + Gry.\*Ga.Er.Vi., om. S, *feci ei* Vul.
- II.184 *potabitur*: MPGry., corr. *putabitur* P, om. S, *putabitur* Vul.
- II.218 *solī uos in medio terrę*: M, *solī uos in medio terrae* PVul., om. S, *solī super terram* Gry.
- II.230 *sequitur*: PGry., *sequetur* M + Gry.\*, *sequuntur* S
- II.293 *Qui iustificatis...aufertis ab eo*: P, *Qui iustificatis impium reliqua* M, *Qui iustificatis impium et reliqua* S
- II.305 *populum suum*: MGry. + Vul.\*, *populo suo* PVul., om. S
- II.319 *erit*: MGry. + Vul.\*, *est* PVul., om. S
- II.320 *lumborum*: MGry., *renum* PVul., om. S
- III.44 *a nobis*: M, *nobis* PGry.Vul., om. S
- III.48 *auditu*: MGry., *audientes* PVul. + Gry.\*, om. S

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<sup>1</sup> Thus matching the earlier reading in Gryson's edition and the Rome Vulgate, while disagreeing with M, S, and the Stuttgart Vulgate.

- III.49 *uisu*: MGry., *uisionem* PVul. + Gry.\*, om. S
- III.92 *mala*: M + Gry.\*, *malum* PVul., *pessima* Gry., om. S
- III.116 *quando*: M, *ut dicunt quando* P, *ut dicuntur quando* S
- III.118 *annos*: SGry., om. M, *annis* P
- III.125 *Duae caudę*: M, *Duę caudę* P, *Duae autem caudae* S, *Duas autem caudas* Gry.
- III.181 *in cauernis*: MGry., *in* om. PVul. + Gry.\*Ga., om. S
- III.193 *quia*: M, *quod* PGry., *quae* S
- III.210 *confugient*: M, *confugiant* PGry., *confugiunt* S + Gry.\*
- III.266-7 *et confortamini*: M + Gry.\*, *et confortamini et uincimini* Gry., *confortamini et uincimini* PVul., om. S
- III.289 *habitanti*: M + Gry.\*Ga., *habitatio* S, *habitantibus* PGry.
- III.325 *caligo*: MGry., *caliginem* P, *caligines* S
- IV.27 *beatum dicunt*: MGry., *beatificant* PVul., om. S
- IV.28 *beati dicuntur*: MGry., *beatificantur* PVul., om. S
- IV.71 *plurimarum*: MGry., *paucarum* PVul., om. S
- IV.96 *ut ne*: MGry., *ut nec etiam* P, *et nunc etiam* S
- IV.107 *Sicut si*: M, *Si* P, *Sicut* S, *Quomodo si* Gry.
- IV.135 *saluati fuerint*: MGry. + Vul.\*, *fugerint* PVul., om. S
- IV.150 *et prophete*: M, *et r(e)l(iqua)* P, *Israhel* S, *prophetae* Gry.Vul.
- IV.159 *tamen*: MGry., *et tamen* P, *tandem* S
- IV.178 *Nob*: *nobis* M + Gry.\*, *Ob* corr. *Nob* P, om. S
- IV.200 *de Iesse*: MP, corr. *dei esse* M, *diei esse* S
- IV.232 *et bos comedent*: M, *quasi bos comedet* PGry.Vul., om. S
- IV.235 *operient eos*: M, *operientis* P + Gry.\*Ga., *operientes* SGry.Vul.

- IV.247 *cauernam*: MGry., *cauerni* P, *cauerna* S
- V-VI.26 *expaendent*: M, *expandit* P, om. S, *expandent* Gry.
- V-VI.64 *erunt*: MGry.V, *requiescent* PVul. + Gry.VIGry.\*Ga., om. S
- V-VI.83 *solum*: M + Gry.\*Er.Adr., *solo* Gry.; *In hoc solum artari uidetur*: M, *Angustiantur autem* S, *Angustiatur autem* P + S corr.
- V-VI.107 *emphaticos*: M + Gry.\*Ga.Er.Ma., *ea per antiphrasin ΦΑΤΙΚΑÇ* P (marg. *faticas*), *ea φΦΑΤΙΚΑÇ* S, *eMΦΑΤΙΚωÇ* Gry.
- V-VI.143 *protraxit*: M, *traxit* PGry., *eius traxit* S
- V-VI.234 *aduenae*: S, *aduenae* M, *adiungiter aduena* P
- V-VI.327 *occidit*: M, *occidat* P, *occidet* S, *occidere dicitur* Gry.
- V-VI.344 *quur*: M, *cur* P, *Vir* S, *quare* Gry.
- V-VI.402 *pecudibus*: *pecoribus* M, *pecodibus* corr. *pecudibus* P, *peccoribus* S, *pecudibus ac iumentis* Gry.
- V-VI.534 *calcauit*: M, *conculcabit* P, *calcabit* S
- V-VI.563 *Potest et de*: MGry., *Potest ergo et de* P, *Potest et ergo* S

### MPS vs. Gry.

- I.97 *fructibus*: MPS + Gry.\*, *frugibus* Gry.
- I.138 *fuderunt*: MPS + Gry.\*, *fuderint* Gry.; *interfecerunt*: MPS + Gry.\*, *interfecerint* Gry.
- I.198-9 *Et hoc erit...consumeret*: om. Gry.
- II.31 *irruet*: MPVul., *irruet* S, *corruet* Gry. + Vul.\*
- II.35 *tenuerunt*: MPS + Gry.\*, *tenuerint* Gry.
- II.38 *inclitus*: MPS, *inclutus* Gry.

- II.59 *legistis*: MPS + Gry.\*, *legitis* Gry.
- II.130 *peccauerit*: MPSVul., *aberrauerit* Gry.
- II.139 *uirum unum*: MPS + Gry.\*, *unum uirum* Gry.
- II.303 *exibit*: MPSVul., *egredietur* Gry.
- III.1 *In*: MPSVul., om. Gry. + Vul.\*
- III.55 *et reliqua*: MPS, *et uideant eum et non cognoscant* Gry.
- III.69 *remanserit*: MPS + Gry.\*, *remaneat* Gry.
- III.142 *per oboedientiam*: MPS, *oboedientia* Gry.
- III.165 *Quia antequam*: MPSVul. + Gry.\*, *Prius enim quam* Gry.
- III.205 *esum*: M, *esum* PS, *comedendum* Gry.
- III.236 *ex hoc*: MPSVul., *amodo* Gry.
- III.358 *humeros*: MPS, *uniuersos* Gry.
- III.371 *predixit*: M, *predixit* PS, *supra dictum est* Gry.
- IV.79 *irę*: S, *ire* MP, *iracundiae* Gry.
- IV.123 *captiuitatem*: MPS + Gry.\*, *tenuitatem* Gry.
- IV.239 *immolandus*: MPS, *qui immolatur* Gry., *i(m)molatus* Gry.\*Ga.
- IV.252 *erit*: MPS + Gry.\*, om. Gry.Vul.
- IV.272 *coniungentur*: MPS, *iungentur* Gry.
- IV.273 *sudent*: MPS, *desudent* Gry.
- V-VI.34 *quicquid*: MPS, *omne quod* Gry.
- V-VI.63 *inclitas*: MPS + Gry.\*Ga., *inclutas* Gry.
- V-VI.145 *inuenient*: MPS + Gry.\*, *accipient* Gry.
- V-VI.154 *regnauit*: MPS + Gry.\*, *regnarit* Gry.
- V-VI.154-5 *deleta est*: MPS, *deleatur* Gry.
- V-VI.173 *et Iudeam*: M, *et Iudeam* PS, *Iudaeamque* Gry.

V-VI.311 *fracta*: MPS + Gry.\*, *confracta* Gry.; *solebat*: MPS, *solitus erat* Gry.

V-VI.422 *tacerent*: MPS, *conticescerent* Gry.

V-VI.456 *tollit*: MPS + Gry.\* Ga., *tollat* Gry.

V-VI.506 *construere*: MPS, *exstruere* Gry.

V-VI.517 *potente*: MPS + Gry.\*, *putante* Gry.

The variety of errors and variants shown in the above list make it clear that none of the three primary manuscripts can be easily established as a direct copy of another, but that establishing some form of connection between them remains possible. One of the most common shared errors is the omission of a phrase or even multiple lines of text, known as homeoteleuton; this error is most frequently found shared by P and S, as are some otherwise minor variants such as switches in verb tense, changes in word order, and word replacement. In addition, though not frequent, P displays more than one instance of correction to match a reading in S.

Based on this, some relationship undoubtedly exists between P and S that is not shared with M. It seems unlikely that one was copied from the other; if P had been copied from S, it would almost certainly have continued S's practise of abbreviating the direct quotations from Isaiah. Should S have been copied from P, P would seem to have been corrected against its own copy. Additionally, multiple variants between P and S exist regardless of support on either side from M, such as some expanded quotations from Isaiah in the combination of books 5 and 6 which occur only in P,<sup>2</sup> and a section in P where a quotation that occurs later in M and S is

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. the apparatus for book V-VI regarding lines 213, 218-19, 224, 232, 239, 243, 258, 270, 277-8, and 288.



transposed to an earlier section.<sup>3</sup> Some of P's corrected readings are not attested in M, S, or any manuscript witness in Gryson.

I would propose that the connection between P and S is an exemplar, perhaps one with multiple errors of its own. Errors in the exemplar might have led the scribes of P and S to correct themselves according to other manuscripts of Jerome or the Vulgate, thus leading to the variation in variants. This exemplar may prove to be the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, W, but a complete collation of W with P, S, and M is necessary first. My partial collation of W and F with M, P, and S for book 1 of the *Abbreviatio* shows a tendency for W's readings to match the variants in P and S where P and S share variants, but to match variants in S over P where P and S have disjunctive errors. In addition, W, like S, does not have the epilogue after book 18 that is present in P. It seems more likely that S and W represent one branch of a tradition and P a second branch, which may have had a second exemplar to correct against and which provided the epilogue that is present in P but not in S and W.

It is even more difficult to characterize the relationship of M to the other two primary manuscripts. One of its most notable lacunae is the omission of half of the preface. P and S share the first four lines of the preface, along with secondary manuscripts F and W. M is as likely to agree with P against S as it is to agree with S against P; often it will agree with neither P nor S, or it will agree with both of them. In particular, the closing of each book it usually shares in part or whole with S, while P uses a different formula for closing books. Its relation to Gryson's manuscript witnesses of the unabbreviated text and the Vulgate is equally variable. Its differences from P, S, and likely the secondary manuscripts, particularly regarding the preface, suggest that it represents a separate branch of transmission.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. the apparatus for book V-VI regarding lines 176 and 298-305.

One plausible possibility is that M was copied from an earlier draft of Josephus Scottus's text, while P and S were copied from a final version. This does not entirely satisfy as an explanation, however, particularly considering the many areas of both agreement and disagreement between all three manuscripts. In addition, there are the single variants which appear to crop up out of nowhere but which share a similarity to witnesses from the manuscript tradition of Jerome's full commentary. I cannot thus conclusively state that M's variants are sufficient to declare it an entirely separate edition of Josephus Scottus's text, though it may be a different recension.

It is for these reasons that I have foregone the attempt to create a stemma and have opted for the eclectic edition, as explained earlier in subsection 2 on editorial method. The list of significant variants provided above clearly shows that the evidence does not support a stemma at this time. The precise relationship between M, P, and S may remain murky, but with a comprehensible text, a clear, thorough apparatus, and eventual complete collation of F and W, further study may shed a better light on the *Abbreviatio*'s transmission.

### **The edition of the *Abbreviatio* and editions of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam***

Before discussing the manuscripts of the *Abbreviatio*, a brief discussion of the transmission for Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam* is necessary. In analysing relationships between texts, it is of paramount importance to base comparisons on sound versions of the works in question. In the case of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation, no critical edition has previously been made, and therefore passages

for the comparison chapter have been drawn from the edition of books 1-5 created for this thesis. Regarding the complete work of Jerome, the *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, the Corpus Christianorum edition of Adriaen was considered inadequate by Roger Gryson and P.-A. Deproost, who prepared a new edition published in five volumes from 1993-9.<sup>4</sup> Adriaen's edition had primarily used the Brescia manuscript (an eighth-century Northern Italian manuscript, shelfmark Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, A III. 14),<sup>5</sup> which Gryson claimed has many faults.<sup>6</sup> The Adriaen edition was also less conservative than the 1735 edition by Vallarsi,<sup>7</sup> perhaps in an attempt to offer a significantly different text. His break away from the traditional editing did the edition no favors, however.<sup>8</sup> Gryson and Deproost drew upon a wider range of manuscripts, including early copies such as the aforementioned Brescia manuscript and Paris Bibliothèque nationale lat. 11627,<sup>9</sup> as well as later manuscripts from St Gall, Cologne, Monte Cassino, and Salzburg.<sup>10</sup> Gryson's edition has been used for the comparisons between the two texts in chapter II of this thesis, as well as for reference in editing the text of the *Abbreviatio*.

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<sup>4</sup> J. K. Elliott, 'Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe by Jerome; R. Gryson,' *Novum Testamentum* 43 Fasc. 1 (Jan. 2001): 93.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Gryson and P.-A. Deproost, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe Introduction Livres I-IV* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1993), 21; this manuscript is listed in Lowe as CLA III.282 (cf. chapter I, subsection 4).

<sup>6</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 118.

<sup>7</sup> Dominic Vallarsi, *S. Hieronymi opera omnia post monachorum e congregatione S. Mauri recensione quibusdam ineditis monumentis aliisque lucubrationibus aucta, notis et observationibus illustrata vol. IV* (Verona: apud Petrum Antonium Bernum & Jacobum Vallarsium, 1735).

<sup>8</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 118-9.

<sup>9</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 129; CLA III.282 and V.612.

<sup>10</sup> Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV*, 129; shelfmarks St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 113, Köln Dombibliothek 48, Monte Cassino Biblioteca dell' Abbazia 94 EE, and Salzburg Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter a X. 22. For more of Gryson's work on the manuscript tradition of Jerome, see 'La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Jérôme sur Isaïe: État de la question' in *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient: XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem*, ed. Yves-Marie Duval (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1986), 403-25; 'Saint Jérôme traducteur d'Isaïe. Réflexions sur le text d'Isaïe 14, 18-21 dans la Vulgate et dans l'In Esaiam,' *Le Muséon* 104 1-2 (1991), 57-72; with Paul-Augustin Deproost, 'La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Jérôme sur Isaïe (Livres I et II),' *Scriptorium* 43.2 (1989), 175-22; and with Dominique Szmatala, 'Les commentaires patristiques sur Isaïe d'Origène à Jérôme,' *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 36 (1990), 3-41.

#### 4. Manuscript descriptions

Primary manuscript descriptions are based partially on available catalogue descriptions, such as Günter Glauche's *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* vol. 1,<sup>1</sup> Coyecque's catalogue of the Paris Bibliothèque nationale,<sup>2</sup> and Gustav Scherrer's *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*,<sup>3</sup> and also on my own observations of both the digitisations and the original manuscripts. Descriptions of the secondary manuscripts are based on available catalogue descriptions and the digitised scans available through their respective libraries' websites. I have chosen not to describe the Lyon manuscript, since it is my belief, from the comparisons shown earlier this chapter, that it is not in fact a manuscript of Josephus Scottus's abbreviation.

**M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6296** s. ix<sup>1-2</sup>

Halm 1873, 675: p. 88; Bischoff 1940, 72: p. 112; Bierbrauer 1990: p. 145; Glauche 2000 vol. 1: p. 168.

201 leaves 275 x 180 x 90 mm book, 275 x 178 mm page, 215 x 120 mm written space

Freising

Contents:

ff. 1-201 *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*

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<sup>1</sup> Günter Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising: Bd. I. Clm 6201-6316* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Ernest Coyecque, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (1893-1907).

<sup>3</sup> Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle: 1875).

## Description:

Two hundred and one parchment leaves, consistently foliated in the upper right-hand corner of the recto with Arabic numerals in dark brown ink. Quires are arranged in the Gregorian manner with hair side facing hair side and flesh side facing flesh side, with the first leaf hair side out. Glauche counts the quires as  $12 IV^{96} + V^{106} + 10 IV^{186} + (V-2)^{194} + (IV-1)^{201}$ , which my personal evaluation confirmed;<sup>4</sup> there are no running titles, but the last leaf of each quire is marked in the lower margin of the verso with Roman numerals in order from i to xxiiii, save for the last quire where the final leaf and its marking have been lost. The parchment is of highly variable quality but is generally well-preserved, ranging from white to light cream to beige or dark tan in color, with some leaves scraped to a supple thinness while most others are of medium thickness and somewhat stiff. There is some slight warping, primarily shallow grooves central to the leaves. Folia 64, 88, 103, and 165 have been trimmed, with 64 having lost its outer margin including a small amount of text on the recto, 88 missing its entire lower margin without loss of text, 103 having had a rectangle cut from its lower margin, and 165 having had its outer margin trimmed without loss of text. In addition, folio 93 may have had its lower outside corner trimmed, though that may also be a natural unevenness of the parchment, and folio 58 has had the same done to its upper outside corner, though in that case it was likely a very early trimming, prior to the manuscript's foliation, as the folio number was not trimmed away. There are multiple small to medium-sized holes which have not been repaired, but when occurring in the written space have been written around, rather than causing disruption to the text; one such small hole on folio 51 appears to have been caused or made larger by overenthusiastic scraping

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<sup>4</sup> Glauche, *Katalog*, 168. The two leaves cut from quire 24 (xxiiii), leaving behind only stubs, were most likely blanks, as there is no interruption in the text.

during the preparation of the parchment. There are a few small wormholes in the first and last few leaves as well, but these do not significantly affect the text. Folia 156 and 161, the connected second and seventh leaves of quire xx, both have some small cracks along the ruling which have been partially written around. This may indicate that this particular sheet of parchment was ruled before it was entirely ready to be used as a writing surface, or otherwise damaged during the ruling process.

The manuscript was ruled in dry point with narrow separate columns for initials, but the ruling is not always consistently followed; the pricking is visible at the edges of many leaves. The text is in long lines with generous lower and outside edge margins, approximately 35 mm for the lower margin and 40-45 mm for the outer margin, and 25 lines per column.<sup>5</sup> The binding is leather over thick wooden boards, very worn with numerous scratches and heavy cracking along the spine, and the remains of two leather ties on the rear board, along with a small hole along the top edge where another tie or a chain may have been removed; it is most likely an early sixteenth century rebinding which is holding together remarkably well despite the wear. There are four paper tags on the spine, three of which are labeled with *Cod. lat. 6296* and the fourth of which has been too heavily chipped to reveal a shelf mark (Glauche reads [C]G 7)<sup>6</sup>. A paper tag reading *Jeronimus super Ysaïam* is affixed to the front board, with another heavily chipped and illegible tag beneath it.

The text is written entirely in caroline minuscule with various degrees of skill by multiple scribes. The first hand is generally upright, solid, and smooth, with slight clubbing of ascenders and descenders, a pointed arrowhead shape for its *e*-caudata, and some slight vertical compression. Folio 6 recto provides a noticeable

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<sup>5</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, Teil I: Die bayerischen Diözesen* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1940), 112.

<sup>6</sup> Glauche, *Katalog*, 168.

switch, as a second scribe, with a less compressed hand and a different method for abbreviating *-orum* takes over from lines 4-9 (*metaphora...principes tui*), and does so again for the first three lines of the verso, while the surrounding lines are written by a third scribe with a looser hand using more wedge-shaped clubbing or none at all, and a small hooked or droplet-shaped *e*-caudata. The verso of folio 13 offers another such brief switch in lines 5-7, particularly noticeable due to the crookedness of the lines and inattention to the ruling, while the change in lettering size on folio 46 recto at lines 4-5 is more likely due to pen problems. A fourth hand, visible on folio 68 recto,<sup>7</sup> is extremely compressed with a square affect. Folio 76 verso, lines 5-9, are also in a fifth different and rather cramped, narrow hand, and have been written over a lengthy erasure. Some changes in script are subtle enough to be the result of a new pen rather than a new scribe; others shift more obviously from a larger, looser hand to one squarer and more vertically compressed (cf. folio 194 verso, where the more compact hand continues for the remainder of the manuscript), or another with a narrow presentation and different methods of ligature and abbreviation.

Considering the uniformity of script Bernhard Bischoff associated with Hitto's regime,<sup>8</sup> the variety in hands is quite impressive and intriguing; perhaps some of the work was done by older scribes who had learned their script under Arbeo or Atto. The overall impression is that while the manuscript was not prepared without care, there was some hastiness or other irregularity in the copying.

The first line of the text is in capitals that have been highlighted with red and yellow ink, and two other smaller capitals within the text have also been so

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6296, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00049256/images/index.html?id=00049256&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=137>, accessed 17 October 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen Teil I*, 65-7.

highlighted. Capitals in the rest of the text are generally undecorated, except for the explicits and initial at the beginning of individual books, which sometimes are in red ink or have some slight uncolored decoration. Single-letter prepositions such as a for ab and duplicated vowels following each other in separate words are frequently marked with an accent. The ink is a smooth, consistent dark brown or black, with rare but occasional bleeding (cf. folio 19 recto), until the final quire, where a slightly lighter ink is used starting from the second line on folio 195. Most corrections and notes are contemporary, but the occasional later hand can be spotted; the verso of folio 31, with five separate small notes in very light ink, is the most notable example, and includes an inscription in the upper margin reading approximately *Cap(it)ul(u)m ecc(lesi)e frisig(e)n dilecto i(n) chr(ist)o ui(n?)don*, as well as a second in the lower margin appearing to read *pat(er) nost(er) q(ui) nos e[u]s*.

Provenance:

There is a circular stamp reading *BIBLIOTHECA REGIA MONACENSIS* in the lower margin of last leaf verso; there is also a book plate depicting a crowned figure holding a sword and a baby, both baby and figure with halos, and the inscription *INSIGNIA CAPIT* on inner front board, along with the pencil note *Fris. 96* and a small paper tag reading *Cod. lat. 6296* in a combination of print and handwriting. Contemporary inscriptions with the name Freising and its founding saint, St. Corbinian, are on the recto of the first leaf, including one that reads *Capitulu(m) ecc(lesi)e frisinge dilecto in chr(ist)o*, a second reading *Liber s(an)c(t)e marie factique corbiniane frisige*, and a third reading *dic comunia diuersoru(m) temporu(m) ut postqua(m) simul hac olim ia(m) dudu(m) quando . et e(?)*, along with another *BIBLIOTHECA REGIA MONACENSIS* stamp. On the rear parchment



pastedown is a contemporary inscription reading *Caluine S. (?) pac in g(?) Amen Cum caluis reg.* The book was almost certainly written in Freising and likely remained there until it came somehow to the undetermined owner of the bookplate, and then into the care of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.<sup>9</sup>

**P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12154** s. ix<sup>1-2</sup>

Coyecque 1893 XIX: p. xi-xlvi; Bischoff 2014: p. 185; Ganz 1990: p. 135.

192 leaves 295 x 200 x 75 mm book, 285 x 195 mm page, 210 x 148 mm written space

Corbie

Contents:

ff. 1-192 *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*

Description:

One hundred and ninety-two parchment leaves with paper pastedowns and frontispiece/backpiece, foliated in the upper right-hand corner of the recto with Arabic numerals in light brown ink. The parchment is generally well-preserved, with few holes, although there is some small marginal worm damage in the first few leaves which does not significantly affect the primary text and the corners are often irregular. A thin rectangle has been cut from the outer margin of folio 141 for an unknown reason with slight loss of text, as has the entire lower margin of folio 88, though without impacting the written space. The parchment is generally thick with a few thinner leaves, and lightly warped, with uneven edges. The appearance is overall bright with some minor yellowing. Some holes appear, but not in the written space. The quires have been arranged in the Gregorian manner, hair side

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<sup>9</sup> Glauche, *Katalog*, 168.

facing hair side and flesh facing flesh, with the first leaf flesh on the recto and hair on the verso. Due to the manuscript's later rebinding, the original quiring is difficult to determine, but my approximation is as follows:  $(V-1)^9 + (IV-1)^{16} + (V-1)^{25} + 13 IV^{137} + (V-1)^{146} + 2 IV^{162} + (IV-1)^{169} + 2 IV^{185} + (IV-1)^{192}$ . The quires have not been marked except for one notation in the lower margin of folio 120 verso which reads *q $\overline{xxv}$*  (with a line over all three letters), presumably marking the end of the original fifteenth quire (the sixteenth by my count).

The manuscript was ruled in dry point, with pricking occasionally visible and very close to the written space. Each page includes a column for initials as part of the ruling, but its use is restricted to the slightly flourished initials at the beginning of each book. In multiple places the ruling was either heavy enough that the parchment has cracked along it or was done with an edge sharp enough to cut through the parchment; either way the cracks are extraordinarily straight and do not interfere with the text. The text occasionally breaks past the outer margin, but is generally quite neat with respect to its ruling otherwise, and is written in long lines, averaging twenty-five lines to a column, with interlinear and occasional marginal corrections. Book numbers serve as running-titles and begin to be used at irregular intervals around folio 38, partway through book five. What appears to be a crude alphabet has been scratched into the lower margin of folio 4 verso, possibly someone's early practice. The eighteenth-century binding is mottled paper-covered boards with a brown gilt-stamped calfskin spine, very heavily worn so that the inner binding shows through, with both a contemporary gilt-stamped dark red leather title tag and a printed paper tag reading *LATIN 12154*.

The script is remarkably even and a consistent mix of Maurdramnus minuscule and a more caroline-influenced minuscule, both without decoration.<sup>10</sup> There seem to be very few changes of scribes; the first occurs at folio 65r,<sup>11</sup> where a slightly more right-slanted and smoother but otherwise very similar hand takes over, and another at folio 129r,<sup>12</sup> where a third scribe who blends the styles of the first two appears. At folio 177r a subtle third change takes place.<sup>13</sup> The overall appearance of the first script is square, compressed, and upright, with minor clubbing on descenders and ascenders but pointed feet on most minims, which creates a slightly angular look; the cross-stroke of *x* is frequently very fine and close to vertical, with the other hands give *x* a more diagonal, sweeping cross-stroke. The second hand has slightly more even minims with a less pointed appearance, virtually no clubbing on descenders and ascenders; where the first hand writes *f* with its upper bowl very close to the cross-stroke and somewhat flattened, *f* in the second hand has a higher, distinct upper bowl. The second hand also uses different forms of in-text capitals, mostly notably an upright modern *T* with heavy serifs rather than the larger version of the curved *t* used by the first scribe, and more frequent appearance of *V* over *U*. The third hand lacks the slight slant of the second and may simply be the first scribe returning with a different pen, but there is a delicacy and lightness to the affect which is lacking in the first script, although several of the letter forms are otherwise very similar. The fourth hand is most notable for the inconsistent use of an *re* ligature wherein the down-stroke stem of the *r* is partially split from the bowl, giving it the look of a modern *v*.

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<sup>10</sup> David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1990), p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> Incorrectly noted as 67 in the list of folia due to a scanning error several leaves earlier: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90666924/f67.zoom>

<sup>12</sup> Also incorrectly noted as 131 in the list of folia due to the scanning error: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90666924/f131.image.zoom>

<sup>13</sup> Incorrectly noted as 180 in the folio list: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90666924/f180.item.zoom>

Many corrections to the text are primarily interlinear and written in the same hand and ink as the primary scripts, so it is likely the scribe or scribes made simultaneous corrections as they wrote; others appear to be contemporary but are in a lighter ink, including several corrections of *e* to *e*-caudata in the early folia, and may have been made by the second scribe or a separate corrector. All hands primarily use the Tironian note ÷ for *est*, rather than  $\bar{e}$  as in M and S, and the Tironian note for *et* also appears at least once. Open-bowled *a*, usually in the *cc* form, is frequent. Red ink appears only in the capitals of the first leaf, where it has faded into a rather bright pinkish color. The first sixty-four folia are written in a thick, dark brown or black ink, generally very clear and without bleeding, although on some pages the script has been lightly or heavily rubbed (cf. folia 1, 33, and 46 recto, and folia 47 and 192 verso). At folio 65, the ink becomes slightly lighter, although the darker ink reappears by folio 79 and reoccurs inconsistently throughout the later leaves. It should here be noted that the first leaf, with the exception of the final line on the verso, is written in a thicker and squarer form of the first scribe's hand, but I believe the change marks only a shift in formality rather than scribe.

Provenance:

The first written leaf has a handwritten *lib(er) de ant[i]qua corbeia YSAIAS* above the beginning of the text, written in a variation of Merovingian capitals, as well as three different versions of the title and author of the text in three different later hands; top to bottom, they read:

Expositio S. Hieronymi in Isaiam a Joseph abbate et Alcuini discipulo  
in epitomen redacta,  
expositio sup(er) ysaiam,

and

Co(m)mentario S. Ieronymi in Ysaïam ab Abbate Ioseph, iubente

Alcuino eius Magistro, in Epitomen redacta

Also on the first page in the lower margin are three scrawled notes reading respectively *olim*, 585, and *N. 730*, as well as another 585, each in different hands and inks. The numbers are presumably earlier catalogue numbers. The first and last written leaves each bear the red stamp of the Bibliothèque nationale (recto side for the first leaf, verso for the last), and there is a small printed bookplate on the front paste-down with the catalogue number, *LATIN 12,154*. Next to the library stamp on the first leaf is a small handwritten note that reads *s(anc)ti Germani a Pratis*. With no other identifying library marks, it seems likely that the manuscript was written at Corbie before being taken to Paris at a later date and eventually acquired by the national library; an eleventh-century catalogue from Corbie which lists a *Hieronymus in Isaiam prophetam* among its contents would support this proposition.<sup>14</sup>

**S St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 254**

s. ix<sup>1-2</sup>

Scherrer 1875: p. 95-6.<sup>15</sup>

128 leaves 290 x 230 x 60 mm, 286 x 225 mm page, 210 x 190 mm written space

St. Gall

Contents:

ff. 1-126 *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*

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<sup>14</sup> G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: 1885), No. 55.

<sup>15</sup> Scherrer, *Verzeichniss*, 95-6.

ff. 126-8 *INCIPIT DE UALITUDINE ET OBITU VENERABILIS BEDA  
PATRI*

f. 128 *EPITAPHIUM BEATI BEDANI PATRI*

f. 128 *YMNUS*

Description:

One hundred and twenty-eight parchment leaves, paginated in the upper outside corners of each leaf with Arabic numerals in very light pencil, with parchment pastedowns. The parchment is generally clean and of a dark creamy color, often darkened to beige or tan on the hair sides, with few holes and relatively even edges. It is consistently of medium thickness and somewhat supple, with a few slightly thinner leaves, and very little warping. The quires are bound in the Gregorian manner with hair side facing hair side and flesh side facing flesh, with the first quire hair side out; the quiring is somewhat irregular and without running titles, but the end of each quire has been consistently marked in a contemporary hand with Roman numerals in the lower margins. Some of the quire numbers show signs of having been corrected during the process of numbering, including quire vi (corrected from vii), quire viii (corrected from viiii), quire x (from xi), quire xi (from xii), quire xiii (from xiiii), quire xiiii (from xv), and likely also quire xv (from xvi). The full quiring by my count is  $IV^8 + (V-1)^{17} + IV^{25} + I^{27} + 2(V-1)^{45} + 2IV^{61} + III^{67} + IV^{75} + (IV-1)^{82} + 2III^{94} + IV^{102} + III^{108} + 2IV^{124} + II^{128}$ . Two small holes in folio 5 (p. 9-10) may have been caused by careless scraping, to judge by their rough edges and non-rounded shapes, and the same leaf also contains a small spot scraped so fine as to be translucent. The first and final leaves of quire xiiii have some minor cracking along the ruling not affecting the legibility of the text; as with

M, the parchment may have been ruled too heavily or before it was completely ready for use as a writing surface.

The leaves are ruled in dry point in two columns with space for initials at the start of quotations and individual books; the prick-holes are frequently visible at the outer margins, and there are twenty-five lines per column. The horizontal lines of each column were ruled separately, with no horizontal ruling within the initial columns, and writing begins above the first line of the ruling. Original Carolingian binding of worn light brown leather over boards with two functional leather and metal ties, which attach to two thick nails in the outer edge of the rear board; the front binding shows traces of a title in ink, as does the spine. The spine also has two handwritten paper tags, of which one reads *V. Bedae Co(m)mentarius in Isaiam in fine de Obitu et Epitaphium*, and the other 254.

The script is Caroline minuscule throughout; as with M, multiple scribes seem to have been at work, though unlike M most scribal changes seem to have occurred between quires at a more regular pace. The first hand, beginning on folio 1v, is generally smooth, even, and well-spaced, with slight vertical compression and finely drawn lines, slight upticks to the feet of minims, and a faint right slant. The bowl of *h* is broad and curves very close back to its ascender, tapering to a fine point; open *a* appears in its hooked form. *V* is often used in capitals rather than *U*, and capital *N* and the *Ni* ligature, when they appear, are sometimes stretched out.<sup>16</sup> A second hand, visible beginning on p. 35 (folio 18 recto, the first leaf of quire iii), is somewhat thicker and more angular, with greater compression and slight clubbing but less of a slant; the ink changes as well on the verso of folio 18 from a watery medium brown to a crisp black, which lightens again by folio 23. In contrast to the

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0254/34/0/Sequence-438> , lower right column.

first hand's loose, hooked or droplet-shaped *e*-caudata, this second hand uses a pointier, leaf-shaped tail with a clubbed flourish.

A possible third hand, appearing on p. 55 (folio 28 recto, the first leaf of quire v) has distinct clubbing on the ascenders, but not descenders, and is somewhat vertically compressed but broad, giving it a heavy, square appearance. The *e*-caudata has an arrowhead appearance, and the lower bowl of *g* is always completely closed, with a flat bottom, as compared to the looser, slanted, and often open loops of the first two hands. After the first leaf in this hand, the lines become slightly thinner and finer, perhaps due to a change in pen. A fourth hand with thick lines, heavy wedge-shaped clubbing on the ascenders, and serifs on the descenders of *q* shows up on p. 73 (folio 37, beginning of quire vi). The *g* is distinct in having an entirely open lower bowl, and the *e*-caudata generally has the shape of a leaf. This hand is also notable for having a large number of corrections and may belong to a more careless scribe.

An interesting difficulty appears around pp. 88-90 (folia 44-5, end of quire vi), where the first hand briefly reappears, but shows both its initial fine, pointed appearance and a thicker, heavier look similar to the fourth hand; possibly a recalcitrant pen is to blame. It appears again midway through the right-hand column on p. 104 (folio 52 verso, end of quire vii) in the finer form to complete the quire. A possible fifth hand combining aspects of both the first and second hands appears at p. 107 (folio 54 recto, beginning of quire viii) and continues through quire xi, although some variation in forms suggests that these quires may have been more of a group effort.

The first hand takes over once again at p. 165 (folio 83 recto, beginning of quire xii), but appears to be replaced at p. 217 (folio 109 recto, beginning of quire



xvi) by the possible fifth hand. The shorter texts filling up the final three leaves of the manuscript are not in any of the previous hands. Most corrections are interlinear with a few marginal notes, and all appear to be roughly contemporary with the writing of the manuscript, with the possible exception of a faint pencil *XV* in the inner margin of p. 51 (folio 21 recto). As previously mentioned, direct quotations from Isaiah are marked with a marginal J-shaped symbol, and an occasional small capital *R* or set of three dots arranged in either a triangle or straight line can be found in the margins as well (cf. pp. 152-3, folia 126 verso and 127 recto, for an example of all three marks); the latter may be marks intended for students to take note of particular lines. Otherwise the manuscript is remarkably free of marginal notation. The ink is generally smooth and dark brown to black in color, well-preserved with little rubbing or bleeding, though there are occasional sections in medium brown where it may have been slightly watered down to make a batch last longer. Overall, the impression is of a book that was produced in some haste, but not thoughtlessly, as time was still taken to correct the text and rubricate the initials.

The initials of Isaiah quotations are usually but not always in lightly faded or sometimes darkened red ink, and often the initials at the beginnings of Jerome's text are in red ink as well; explicits at the end of the individual books are also generally in red ink. Green ink appears on only two leaves, folio 25 verso (p. 50) and folio 26 recto (p. 51), as a complement to the red initials on those leaves. Chapter divisions in Isaiah have been marked with Roman numerals in the margin and generally match up very well with the modern divisions; additionally, the end of each book has been marked with a small rectangular tag of paper colored in purple, green, and red glued to each side of the leaf on the outer margins, although the tags for books I-VIII, XI-XII, XIV, and XVIII were removed at some point and remain only as faint

imprints. Beyond the opening initials of the preface and of the text itself, which are oversized and lightly flourished, there is little to no decoration. *Beda* has been added between the end of the preface and the beginning of the text in a later but pre-Gothic hand. The care taken to make navigation of the manuscript easier, with divisions in both Isaiah and Jerome marked, suggests that it was intended for study and reference.

Provenance:

The first leaf bears a handwritten *lib(er) s(an)c(t)i galli*, followed by an inscription reading *Quam clari appates Zozpertus et ymmo operantes*, as well as the St. Gall library's stamp. On the front parchment pastedown, there is an offprint of the stamp, a printed paper tag reading *STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK ST. GALLEN* with a handwritten 254, and a larger paper tag with a handwritten cursive inscription which reads *Cum Bedae Comentarius in Ysaiam ab Exuditis pro deperdito fuerit habitus, hinc Codex iste valderarius. Vide Calmeti Itinerarium germanicum*. Listed in a mid-ninth-century manuscript catalogue of St. Gall, St. Gall 728,<sup>17</sup> as *Item excerptio de libris hieronimi in esaiam libri xviii in uolumine uno*, but the entry has been scratched out for unknown reasons. St. Gall 247, a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* written around 860, also includes a list of Bede's other works attached at the end and attributes the excerpts of Jerome to Bede.<sup>18</sup> As the book has no other library marks, it is reasonable to assume that it was written at St. Gall and has remained there ever since.

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<sup>17</sup> See: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0728/7> .

<sup>18</sup> See: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0247/301> .

**F Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Ms 100 Aa 13** s. x<sup>2</sup>

Stegmüller RB 3 Nr. 5146; Hausmann 1992, Aa 13: p. 44.<sup>19</sup>

234 leaves 245 x 175 mm, 175 x 120 and 185 x 130 mm written space

Lake Constance area

Contents:

ff. I-II list of names in various hands palimpsested over a fragment of the

*Vetus Latina*<sup>20</sup>

ff. 1v-120v *Josephus Scotus Epitome commentarii Hieronymi in Isaiam*

ff. 121v-232v *Beda Venerabilis In Lucae evangelium expositio*.

Description:

Two hundred and thirty-four parchment leaves with later paper pastedowns and pencil foliation in the upper right corner of each recto. The first ten leaves are somewhat worn, in particular the two leaves written over with names and the first leaf of Josephus Scottus, but the primary text is legible save for the section on 1v in red ink, which is heavily faded.<sup>21</sup> 232v is also darkened, but the other leaves are generally clean and often bright. A somewhat worn paper tag with handwritten titles has been pasted into the lower margin of 1v without obscuring the text. There is some warping in the parchment and occasional small holes occur, but overall the parchment appears to be of decent quality.

The parchment was ruled in dry point, with pricking still clearly visible in the outer margins on some leaves; the ruling defines a single column of written text with space for initials, with twenty-one lines per column except for 1v, which has twenty lines. The first half of the preface (*Isaiae breuibus lector...nos ferre*

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<sup>19</sup> Regina Hausmann, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda Erster Band: Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 44.

<sup>20</sup> Hausmann, *Handschriften*, 44.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. digitisation: <http://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN321275837/14/>

*laborem*) is written in rustic capitals with red ink, as is a brief introductory set of lines on 2r which read:

INCIPIT EX[...]TUM CUIUSDAM  
 STUDIOSI . [DE E]XPLANATIONE S(AN)C(T)I  
 HIERONIM[. .]N ESAIAM PROPHETAM

The rest of the manuscript is written in Caroline minuscule by at least three scribes. The first scribe has a loose but bold, confident hand with light clubbing and some pointing, most notably on the descenders of *p*, as well as a rather distinct small, vertical *v*-shape for the tail on *e*-caudata; a possible second scribe with a similar hand but longer tails on *e*-caudata is visible starting folio 5r. A third scribe with a more compressed hand, frequent red capitals, and an *e*-caudata tail resembling a stylised lightning bolt begins on folio 73r, and a fourth with a similar rigid, compressed and angular hand but different style of capitals takes over on the third line of folio 81r and continues to folio 121v, where the text of Josephus Scottus ends.

The binding is textured dark brown leather from 1958,<sup>22</sup> with two leather ties, and in good condition.

Provenance:

Listed in a 1343 catalogue from Konstanz Cathedral;<sup>23</sup> inscription reading *Monastery Weingartensis Ad 1630* in upper margin of folio 2r. Likely written in the Lake Constance area, perhaps in Konstanz itself.

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<sup>22</sup> Hausmann, *Handschriften*, 44.

<sup>23</sup> Hausmann, *Handschriften*, 44.

**W** Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 49 Weiss. s. ix<sup>2</sup>

Bischoff 2014, 7398: p. 509; Butzmann 1964, Weissenburg 49: p. 186;<sup>24</sup>

Heinemann, 4133.

127 leaves 290 x 205 mm

Weissenburg

Contents:

ff. I-IV blank; f. 1r title and 11th-century verse beginning *Plangimus  
Heinricum quem Mismia*<sup>25</sup>; ff. 1v-127v *Exp(osit)o ysaia excerpta ex dictis  
s(an)c(t)i Jeronymi*; f. 127v *DE S(AN)C(T)A MARIA MAGDALENA*; ff. I\*-IV\*  
blank

Description:

One hundred and twenty-seven parchment leaves with later paper paste-downs and four paper blanks at beginning and end; foliation in ink written at the upper right corner of the recto's outer text column in Arabic numerals. The parchment appears generally clean and bright in scans, with occasional small instances of darkening or light stains around the edges, and some noticeable darkening to folio 1r. Some small holes are present, but all have been written around, indicating they occurred during the preparation of the parchment rather than as a result of later damage, and at folio 5r<sup>26</sup> a remnant of hair can be seen around two small holes, as well as at folio 69r with a single larger hole. The lower margins of two folia, 77<sup>27</sup> and 80,<sup>28</sup> have had large rectangular sections cut out, which in the case of folio 80 removes a presumed quire mark, though the primary text has not been affected.

There are small leather tags, some with a pinkish color and some faded, at folia 6,

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<sup>24</sup> Hans Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Klosterman, 1964), 186.

<sup>25</sup> Butzmann, *Weissenburger Handschriften*, 186.

<sup>26</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00019>

<sup>27</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00163>

<sup>28</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00169>

11, 17, 22, 32, 47, 54, 67, 74, 82, 89, 95, 107, and 116, which mark the end of individual books, although the ones at folia 47, 74, 89, 95, 107, and 116 are each a leaf too early. In the case of the early tags, the end of the book itself is on the recto of the following page, while in the case of the others, the end is on the verso of the tagged leaf. The tag for the end of book 15, which should be attached to folio 100 by this pattern, has been removed or was never added; the end of the combined books 5 and 6 has not been marked at all, as in the Paris manuscript. The quires have been numbered in ink Roman numerals on the verso of each quire's last leaf, in the lower margin, and by this numbering the quiring is as follows:  $2 \text{ IV}^{16} + \text{III}^{22} + \text{II}^{26} + 3 \text{ IV}^{50} + \text{III}^{56} + 3 \text{ IV}^{80} + \text{II}^{84} + 2 \text{ IV}^{100} + \text{III}^{106} + (\text{III}-1)^{111} + 2 \text{ IV}^{127}$ .

The manuscript is, like the St. Gall manuscript, written in two columns of text, although there are twenty-seven lines to a column rather than twenty-five. It was primarily ruled in dry point, although some leaves appear to have been ruled in very light ink or graphite instead (cf. folio 87<sup>29</sup>). Written in caroline minuscule throughout, with at least two or possibly up to four scribes at work, all writing in a clear, dark brown or black ink, with quotations from Isaiah often written with red ink in whole or in part. The first scribe has a strong, practiced hand with some looseness and fluidity along with very light clubbing, but distinctly pointed feet on both minims and descenders, creating a sharp effect. The tail of *e*-caudata is generally small and faint, and capital *N* is sometimes stretched to fill space as in the first hand of the St. Gall manuscript (cf. 20v<sup>30</sup>), though not to the same exaggerated extent. Capital *A* is highly stylized, with a very small, narrow bowl and a bold downstroke.

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<sup>29</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00183>

<sup>30</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00050>

At 27r (the first leaf of the fifth quire), a second scribe takes over; this hand is more compressed vertically, creating a square appearance, and uses half-uncial script in red for Isaiah through 28r, but on 28v switches to caroline minuscule for all text. The non-uncial script has long, narrow, leaf-shaped tails on *e-caudata* and more distinct clubbing for descenders and ascenders. Open *a* is often used alongside two forms of closed *a*, the standard caroline minuscule form and an *oc* form used primarily in ligatures with or next to *r*. The *n*-shaped *ri* and the *NT* ligatures also make an appearance. Another change takes place at 57r, the first leaf of the ninth quire. This hand is neat, upright, and pointed, with little clubbing, and with the same sharp effect as the first hand, but it uses a different form of capital *A*, though this may reflect a decision regarding the manuscript's presentation rather than an actual third scribe, as the hands are otherwise extremely similar.

A new hand with a heavy, solid effect and elements from both of the previous hands appears on 85r, the start of the thirteenth quire. On 93r, the second hand with its open *a*-forms and square appearance takes over for a few lines (approximately *Redimentur...peregrinatus e[st]*<sup>31</sup>) before the other hand resumes, and this occurs again on 104r (*Ne uideatur...cordis cubiculo*<sup>32</sup>). What looks like another change on 106v (the end of quire xv) is more likely a change in pen or in ink, but the second hand takes over again on 107r, though with somewhat less compression and a more open, smooth effect. The third hand makes its own brief reappearance on 108r (approximately *et lum[en]...ecce eni[m]*<sup>33</sup>). At 112r, the start of quire xvii, a fourth hand with strong vertical compression takes the stage. This hand features a connected *g* form with occasional open bowl and small feet on minims, as well as a softly rounded *z* and a short, nearly vertical tail on *e-caudata*; in addition, the

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<sup>31</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00195>

<sup>32</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00217>

<sup>33</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/49-weiss/start.htm?image=00225>

capitals are formed with thick, heavy strokes. One of the earlier, lighter hands supplants it starting on 113v, and the open *a* scribe makes a short appearance on 114r, as well as taking over on 120v and finishing out the manuscript. The overall impression is of a small group of three to four scribes working very closely together, perhaps with some influence on each other's writing, and with a moderate amount of haste. The few corrections are generally interlinear, though one addition is footnoted on 91r.

The binding is a modern red leather binding in good condition, with *JOSEPHUS SCOTTUS JESAJAS KOMMENTAR* stamped in gilt on the spine.

Provenance:

On the recto of the first leaf is written in a fifteenth-century hand *Codex s(an)c(t)i petri In Wyßenburg*; there is also a stamp depicting a rearing horse that reads *BIBLIOTHEK ZU WOLFENBÜTTEL*, which is duplicated on the verso of the final leaf. The manuscript was likely written in Weissenburg before arriving at the Wolfenbüttel library. Due to the similarities in presentation, such as the double columns, it is highly possible that this manuscript was the exemplar for the St. Gall manuscript.



**Sigla**

*M:* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6296

*P:* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 12154

*S:* St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 254

*F:* Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek 100 Aa 13

*W:* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss.

*Gry.:* Jerome, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le Prophète Isaïe*, Roger Gryson

*Adr.:* Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, Marcus Adriaen

*Er.:* Jerome, *Divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis, Opera omnia quae extant*,  
Desiderius Erasmus

*Ga.:* Jerome, *Opera Diui Hieronymi in hoc volum[mine] co[n]tenta*,  
Bernardino Gadolo

*Ma.:* Jerome, *Sancti Hieronymi Operum*, Jean Martianay

*Va.:* Jerome, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri Operum*,  
Domenico Vallarsi

*Vi.:* Jerome, *Opera divi Hieronymi Stridoniensis*, Marianus Reatinus  
Victorius

*Gry.\*:* Jerome, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le Prophète Isaïe*, Roger Gryson,  
a reading from the manuscript apparatus

*Vul.:* *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu  
Pauli Pp. VI. Cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti  
Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Isaiae*

*Vul.\*:* *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem  
iussu Pauli Pp. VI. Cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti*

*Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Isaiae*, a reading from  
the manuscript apparatus

IV. Edition of books I-V of the *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super  
Isaiam* with apparatus

This edition has been organised so that the Latin text for each book of the *Abbreviatio* is given first, and is then followed by the apparatus, which contains the variant readings for each page, separated by a blank line. As the fifth book is a combination of text from books V and VI of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, it is referenced as Book V-VI; where a reading from the body of the text in Gryson's edition of Book V disagrees with a reading from the body of Book VI, they are noted as *Gry.V* and *Gry.VI*, respectively, in the apparatus. If not otherwise noted in the apparatus for Book V-VI, the reading is from Gryson's Book V or its apparatus.

## 1. Preface + Book I

[ISAI AE BREUIBUS LECTOR mysteria uerbis pandere quis poterit tractantur et cuncta uoluntas, hinc prius Hieronimus longis tractatibus usus exposuit. Sapiens magnis ambagibus illum cuius ab inmensis temptabo excerpere libris, quę breuiter ualeant sensum nudare prophetę. Si placet Albino talem nos ferre laborem.]

5 Omnes sancti prophetae, sicut Hieronimus multis exemplis adfirmat, plene intellegabant corde quod proferebant ore, et uel loqui uel tacere, ad suam uoluntatem habebant. Nec aer uoce pulsatus ad aures eorum perueniebat, sed deus in eorum animo loquebatur, ut est illud angelus qui loquebatur in me.

10 *Visio Isaie filii Amos quam uidit super Iudam et Hierusalem in diebus Ozie Ioathan Achaz Ezechiae regum Iuda.* Ergo Isaias principaliter de duabus loquitur tribubus Iuda et Benjamin, exceptis decem quę in Samaria erant, et uocantur Effraim et Israhel, quas sub Ozia rege Iuda et Hierusalem Phul rex Assiriorum uastare coepit. Ozias autem ipse est qui et Azarias et uno tempore Isaias, Osee,

15 Iohel, et Amos ut ex regibus qui sunt in titulis cognoscimus prophetabant. Uisio autem non tantum ubi quod uidetur infertur dicitur, ut uerbi gratia *uidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum*, sed etiam quando ea quae oculis cordis prophetae uidebant, [unde] uidentes dicebantur narrabant. Uisio appellatur: *Ut audite caeli* et reliqua. Quid autem sub uno quoque ex his quattuor regibus Isaias

20 uiderat, non confuse ut in aliis prophetis sed seorsum usque ad finem libri scriptum refertur. Ezechias quoque in Hierusalem duodecimo anno Romuli qui Romam condidit regnare coepit, et iste Amos pater Isaie, non ille qui tertius est in duodecim prophetis. Et iste apud Hebręos primam et extremam litteras habet ALEPH et

SADE, ille AIN et SAMECH. Spiritualiter quicquid de Hierusalem dicitur ad Christi  
 25 ecclesiam refertur, et ad eos qui uel propter peccata egrediuntur ex ea, uel propter  
 penitentiam reuertuntur ad sedem pristinam. Isaias autem interpretatur saluator  
 domini, Iudæa confessio, Hierusalem uisio pacis, Ozias fortitudo domini, Ioatham  
 domini perfectio, Achaz robustus, Ezechias imperium. Qui ergo domino præsentente  
 saluator uel sui ipsius uel aliorum et filius est Amos, id est fortis et robusti, ipse  
 30 cernit uisionem confessionis dum antiqua peccata plorat, et pacis, dum post  
 penitentiam ad aeternam pacem transit, et cuncta illius tempora transeunt sub  
 fortitudine domini et perfectione eius ac robore et imperio.

*Audite, caeli, et auribus percipe, terra, quoniam dominus locutus est.* In caelo  
 angelicas uirtutes in terra mortalium genus significat, ab his quæ continent ea quæ  
 35 continentur. Uel simpliciter ea in testimonium uocat, ut cuncta elementa  
 cognoscant iuste deum in ultionem mandatorum suorum irasci. Hebraicae caeli  
 SAMAIM sonat, Hebraici enim characteris idioma est, ut omnia quæ in IM syllabam  
 finiuntur masculina et pluralia sint, ut cerubim et seraphim, et quæ in OTH feminina  
 et pluralia, ut sabaoth. Mystice si quis caelum est et municipatum habet in  
 40 caelestibus audiat spiritualiter quæ dicuntur; si terrenus, simplicem sequatur  
 historiam.

*Filius enutriui et exaltaui, ipsi autem spreuerunt me.* Nunc propheta dicit quid  
 dominus sit locutus, quod populum Israhel, quos communi lege seruos condiderat,  
 in filios uerterit dixeritque: *Filius primogenitus meus Israhel.*

45 *Cognouit bos possessorem suum et asinus præsepe domini sui, Israhel non  
 cognouit, populus meus non intellexit.* Sensus est: Ego eos adoptaui in filios et  
 populum peculiarem et funiculum hereditatis meæ, illi autem nec hoc quidem  
 fecerunt quod bruta faciunt animalia, ut beneficiis uincerentur et me intellexerent

pastorem ac nutricium suum. Sed e contrario mala pro bonis reddentes me  
 50 negauerunt et crucifixerunt. Mystice bos ad Israhel qui legis iugum portauit; asinus  
 ad populum gentium peccatis oneratum refertur. Scribis ergo et pharisæis non  
 credentibus, qui legis habuere notitiam et uere Israhel dicebantur, id est animus  
 uidens deum, credidit simplicior pars populi Iudeorum, ut una die tria milia et  
 quinque milia altera. Et sapientibus sæculi non suscipientibus crucem Christi  
 55 indocta nationum turba suscepit, *quæ stulta sunt elegit deus ut confundat sapientes*  
 et reliqua.

*Ue genti peccatrici, populo graui iniquitate, semini nequam, filiis sceleratis;*  
*dereliquerunt dominum, blasphemauerunt sanctum Israhel, abalienati sunt*  
*retrorsum.* [Increpat peccatricem populum, qui naturæ bonum suo uitio  
 60 perdiderunt.] Ipse Israhel et gens appellatur et populus et filii scelerati, ut qui prius  
 per beneficium filii dei, postea suo uitio filii iniquitatis uocarentur. *Populo graui*  
*iniquitate* ut dicitur quod iniquitas sedeat super talentum plumbi. *Blasphemauerunt*  
*sanctum Israel:* Hoc propriè de Iudeis dicitur clamantibus, *nonne hic est filius fabri,*  
*et demonium habet et Samaritanus est,* idcirco *abalienati sunt retrorsum,* ut qui  
 65 prius pars et filii dei, postea dicerentur: *Filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi.*

*Super quo percutiam uos ultra addentes preuaricationes?* Hoc est nullas  
 inuenio plagas quibus uestram frangam duritiam, quanto enim tormenta maiora sunt,  
 tanto magis crescit impietas. Ideo enim deus delinquentes percutit ut corrigat, et  
 non tam poena sit quam emendatio.

70 *Omne caput languidum et omne cor merens.* Ne letitia animi corporis dolores  
 mitiget; corporis aegrotationi animi duplicatur aegritudo. Capite autem dolente  
 omnia membra debilia sunt. Et per metaphoram docet quod a principibus usque ad

extremam plebem, a doctoribus usque ad imperitum uulgus in nullo sit sanitas, sed omnes pari modo impietati consentiant.

75 *A planta pedis usque ad uerticem non est in eo sanitas; uulnus et liuor et plaga tumens.* Seruat metaphoram: Hoc est ab imo usque ad summum ab extremis usque ad primos toto confossi sunt corpore; aut enim uerberibus liuent corpora aut plagis tument aut uulneribus hiant. *Non est in eo sanitas:* Hoc est in populo uel in corpore uel in capite. Hoc autem ad extremam refert captiuitatem sub Tito et  
80 Uespasiano et postea Helio Adriano a quo tempore usque ad præsens nullum remedium est, illis ut sequitur.

*Non est circumligata nec curata medicamine neque fota oleo:* Ut eorum duritia lacrimis paenitentiae molliretur. Iacet ergo confossus et contrucidatus Israhel, quia interfecit medicum qui ad curandam uenit domum Israel. Ex quo dixit  
85 *in quo percutiam uos usque neque fota oleo,* eadem metafora seruatur et in remediabilium descriptio uulnerum aeternam captiuitatem exprimit Iudaeorum.

*Terra uestra deserta, ciuitates uestrę succensę igni, regionem uestram coram uobis alieni deuorant et desolabitur sicut in uastitate hostili.* Historialiter haec ex parte sub Babylois succensa et subuersa Hierusalem conpleta sunt, sed plenius  
90 quid sub Romana captiuitate futurum sit describitur, ex qua Iudeorum regionem inpräsentiarum alieni deuorant. Mistice de peccatoribus accipitur a pristina sanctitate corruentibus, quibus demoniis traditis omnia bona eorum ad desertum ueniunt et igne diaboli succenduntur.

*Et derelinquetur filia Sion ut umbraculum in uinea et sicut tugurium in cucumerario, sicut ciuitas quę uastatur.* Quando uinea uuarum plena est agricolae, ponunt custodes in umbraculis, et in cucumerario paruę fiunt casulae pro solis ardore declinando, et inde homines uel bestias quae insident fructibus abigunt. Et

dum abstulerint fructus, remanent arentia umbracula casuleque recedente custode,  
 quia non habet ultra quod seruet. Sic deus, qui prius custos erat templum et filiam  
 100 Sion Hierusalem et Israhel, hoc est uineam domini sabaoth deseruit, quando nullum  
 boni fructum habuit in eis. Mystice uinea dei et pomorum paradisis anima nostra  
 est, cui si mens, id est νοῦς, praefuerit, mentis custodem habet deum; si autem uitia  
 nos quasi quaedam bestiae fuerint depraedata, relinquemur a custode deo.

*Nisi dominus exercituum reliquisset nobis semen, quasi Sodoma fuisset et*  
 105 *quasi Gomorra similes essemus.* Hoc est nisi Christus omnipotens elegisset  
 apostolos, et per eos credentes ut tria milia una die et quinque milia altera; hoc est  
 semen et reliquias quasi Sodoma et Gomorra sic omnis Israhel sub uastatione  
 Romana funditus interiret.

*Audite uerbum domini, principes Sodomorum, percipite auribus legem dei*  
 110 *nostri, populus Gomorrae.* Credentibus reliquis per apostolos ad scribas et  
 phariseos et ad populum clamantem *Crucifige, crucifige*, sermo propheticus  
 conuertitur et uocat eos principes Sodomorum, ut est illud in consequentibus  
*peccatum suum sicut Sodoma adnuntiauerunt* et infra dicentes *alligemus iustum,*  
*quoniam inutilis est nobis.* Hoc est *Non habemus regem, nisi Cæsarem.* Aiunt  
 115 Hebrei ob duas causas Isaiam interfectum quod uocauit eos principes Sodomorum et  
 populum Gomorrae, et quod dixit, *uidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum,*  
 domino dicente ad Moysen, *non poteris uidere faciem meam,* cum te gentibus  
 seraphim faciem et pedes dei Isaias media tantum eius se uidisse dicat.

*Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum uestrarum, dicit dominus:* Omnis capituli  
 120 huius continentia usque quo dicit *uenite et arguite me, dicit dominus,* respuit  
 sacrificia uictimarum et euangelii oboedientiam docet esse super sacrificia.



*Plenus sum, holocaustas arietum et adipem pinguium et sanguinem vitulorum et agnorum et hyrcorum nolo: Hoc est nullare indigeo, domini est terra et reliqua.*

Potest hoc et de his accipi qui praecepta non complementes muneribus deum

125 redimere se posse putant.

*Quis quesiuit haec de manibus uestris: Uictime ergo non principaliter a deo quesiite sunt, sed ne idolis fierent, et ut ex his quasi per typum ad spirituales hostias transiremus.*

*Ut ambularetis in atriis meis uel calcare atrium meum non apponetis.*

130 Ultimam sub Tito et Uespasiano destructionem templi significat, quae usque ad finem mundi permanebit.

*Ne adferatis ultra sacrificium frustra: incensum abominatio est mihi.*

*Neomeniam et sabbatum et festiuitates alias non feram; iniqui sunt coetus uestri.*

*Kalendas uestras, et sollemnitates uestras odiuit anima mea.* Omnis conuentus qui

135 non offert hostias spirituales, ut est *sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus*, abominabilis est deo. *Anima mea* nostro loquitur affectu.

*Manus uestrae sanguine plene sunt.* Causa est cur deus illos non exaudit, quia fuderunt sanguinem iusti et pessimi coloni heredem ad se missum interfecerunt.

*Lauamini, mundi estote; auferte malum cogitationum uestrarum ab oculis meis.* Pro legalibus obseruationibus euangelii mihi placet religio, hoc est baptismum et post baptismum *mundi estote*, et sic *auferte malum cogitationum uestrarum ab oculis meis*, ut est *declina a malo et fac bonum*.

140

*Discite benefacere.* Uirtus ergo discenda est et magistrorum sapientium terenda sunt limina, nec sufficit naturae bonum ad iustitiam, nisi quis erudiatur congruis disciplinis.

145

*Quaerite iudicium, subuenite obpresso, iudicate pupillo, defendite uiduam et uenite et arguite me, dicit dominus.* Uictimis Iudaeorum euangelica mandata succedunt. *Quaerite iudicium:* Non enim omnium est recte iudicare, sed eorum qui prudentes sunt, et *arguite me* si non reddidero praemia quae pollicitus sum.

150 *Si fuerint peccata uestra ut coccinum quasi nix dealbabuntur, et si fuerint rubra quasi uermiculus, uelut lana alba erunt.* Hoc est si quod praedixi feceritis, peccata uestra quae prius ut coccinum sanguinea fuerunt dimittentur, et opera cruoris ueste domini mutabuntur, quae de agni uellere confecta est.

*Si uolueritis et audieritis, bona terrae comedetis. Quod si nolueritis et me*  
 155 *prouocaueritis ad iracundiam, gladius deuorabit uos, quia os domini locutum est.* Liberum reseruauit arbitrium, ut in utramque partem non ex praedicio dei, sed ex meritis singulorum uel poena sit uel praemium. *Bona terrae:* Id est terra uiuentium uel carnali Israhel praesentia bona pollicetur, ut uel ex his inuitati faciant quae praecipita sunt. Sed quia noluerunt gladius deuorauit eos, hoc est Romanus deleuit  
 160 exercitus. Et haec, inquit, omnia fient *quia os domini locutum est*, cuius sententia permanentibus hominum peccatis non potest inmutari.

*Quomodo facta est meretrix ciuitas fidelis, plena iudicii? Iustitia habitauit in*  
*ea, nunc autem homicidae.* Miratur prophético spiritu quod urbs fidelis olim uel  
 165 fidelium receptaculum, id est Daud et Nathan et Gad prophetarum et filiorum chore et aliorum iustorum subito facta sit meretrix, quod et in diebus Isaiiae fuit, sed plenius ad passionem Christi refertur. Et quae prius plena iudicii et iustitiae fuit, nunc plena est homicidis, qui interfecerunt prophetas et ipsum saluatorem. Mystice animam sancti et iusti quondam significat, si postea peccauerit et pro hospite deo demones homicidae in ea morentur.

170 *Argentum tuum uersum est in scoriam.* Hoc est doctrina scripturarum, ut est  
*Eloquia domini eloquia casta*, in purgamenta et sordes quę igne coquantur seruato  
 metaphora, uel qui iusti et sancti prius in urbe fuerunt, postea in sordes uersi sint  
 peccatorum.

*Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.* Hoc est lex dei sincera, et mira ueritate subnixa  
 175 uiolata est traditionibus Iudeorum, sed et de hereticis potest intellegi.

*Principes tui inoboedientes, socii furum.* Hoc est scribę et pharisei Christo  
 inoboedientes et socii proditoris Iude et furis fuere. Sed et nobis cauendum, ne  
 secularium munera, quę per rapinam miserorum congregant, accipientes socii furum  
 appellemur.

180 *Omnes diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones.* Hoc est ut laudent eos a  
 quibus aliquid acceperint, uel ut nulli tribuant nisi a quo se recepturos putauerint.

*Heu! consolabor super hostibus meis, et uindicabor de inimicis meis.* Corripit  
 lugens clemens pater scribas et pharisęos et hostes ac inimicos uocat, quod nolunt  
 agere penitentiam. Consolatio ergo dei de inimicis est ut qui non senserunt  
 185 beneficia, subpliciis corrigantur.

*Et conuertam manum meam ad te, et excoquam ad purum scoriam tuam, et  
 auferam omne stagnum tuum.* Hoc est percutiam te ut per ignem tormentorum ac  
 tribulationum ad purum sordes peccatorum tuorum purgentur.

*Et restituum iudices tuos ut fuerunt prius, et consiliarios tuos sicut antiquitus.*  
 190 Hoc est sicut Moyses et Hiesus filius Naue, et Dauid et alii reges eorum iusti fuere.  
 Sic deus post Babylloniam captiuitatem, ut Iudei uolunt, Zorobabel et Ezram et  
 Neemiam sed uerius apostolos et eorum successores restituiturum se dicit.

*Post hec uocaberis ciuitas iusti, urbs fidelis.* Haec perspicue de ecclesia et ciuitate iusti; hoc est domini saluatoris, dicitur quę in omnibus deo suo fidelis consistit.

195

*Sion in iudicio redimetur, et reducent eam in iustitia.* Non omnes redimentur nec omnes salui fient, sed reliquię de quibus supra dictum est.

*Et hoc erit cum conteret sceleratos, et peccatores simul; et qui dereliquerunt dominum consumentur.* Cumque saluati fuerint.

200

*Confundentur [enim] ab idolis quibus sacrificauerunt, et erubescant super hortis quos elegerant:* significat locum luxuriae, lucos et nemora.

*Cum fueritis uelut quercus defluentibus foliis.* Hoc est non tantum sine spiritali euangelii fructu, sed etiam sine foliis uerborum et sine ulla legalis iustitię uiriditate, steriles eritis ut ficus, cui Christus maledixit et aruit.

205

*Et uelut hortus sine aqua.* Id est quasi populus dei et plebs legalis sine spiritali gratię inrigatione, et ideo sine fructu est.

*Et erit fortitudo uestra ut fauilla stuppe.* Id est fortitudo sceleratorum Israhel ut purgamenta stuppe, quę leui incendio uorantur.

*Et opus uestrum quasi scintilla.* Id est ut ignis exuret uos et fortitudinem uestram.

210

*Et succendetur utrumque simul, et non erit qui extinguat.* Id est opus et fortitudo, uel idolum et Hierusalem in qua fuit idolum. Quę omnia de contrariis quoque dogmatibus accipienda, quod et magistri et discipuli pariter peræant et omne opus eorum ignis pabulum sit.

215

*Uerbum quod uidit Isaias filius Amos super Iudam et Hierusalem.* *Et erit in nouissimis diebus: preparatus mons domus domini in uertice montium, et eleuabitur super colles, et fluent ad eum omnes gentes, et ibunt populi multi.* Prius ibi

uisionem uidit, hic autem quod *fuit in principio apud patrem*, et in illa Iudæis  
 comminans ad gentium uenit salutem, in ista a gentium salute incipiens punito  
 220 Israhel credentes ex utrisque in ecclesiam Christi congregat. *In nouissimis diebus*:  
 Id est noui testamenti. *Preparatus est mons*: Id est Ihesus Christus in dei  
 prescientia et uoluntate ad salutem mundi preparatus, super quem ciuitas ecclesiae  
 quę est domus domini posita est. *In uertice montium*: Id est prophetarum et  
 apostolorum, qui et ipsi montes sunt et fundamenta [ecclesiae]. Sicut super unum  
 225 illorum Christus fundauit ecclesiam, dicens ad eum, *Tu es Petrus [et super hanc  
 petram aedificabo] ecclesiam meam*. Sed Christus in uertice eorum quia sicut  
 profunditate altior, ita celsitate illis sublimior est. *Et eleuabitur super colles*: Id est  
 successores apostolorum et principes ecclesiarum. *Omnes gentes ad eum fluent*:  
 Cui dictum est: *Postula a me usque terminos terre*.

230 *Et dicent: Uenite, ascendamus ad montem domini, et ad domum dei Iacob, et  
 docebit nos uias suas, et ambulabimus in semitis eius*. Non propria salute tantum  
 contenti populi se mutuo cohortantur ad fidem, ut est qui credit dicat *ueni*. *Ad  
 montem domini et ad domum [dei]*: Id est ad Christum et ecclesiam. *Et docebit nos*  
 et reliqua: Prius descendę sunt uiae domini et postea in illis ambulandum.

235 *Quia de Sion exhibit lex, et uerbum domini de Hierusalem*. Non de Sina et  
 solitudine et monte Choreb, sed de Sion et Hierusalem ubi primitiua ecclesia fuit lex  
 noui testamenti et uerbum euangelii exiuit uel egredietur; hoc est non ibi tantum  
 manebit, sed de illo fonte omnes gentes inrigabit. *De Sion et Hierusalem*: Id est de  
 ecclesia in qua est specula et uisio pacis.

240 *Et iudicabit gentes et arguet populos multos*. Ergo non omnes increduli paria,  
 sed pro meritis diuersa passuri sunt. Uel sic iudicantur gentes, id est quia crediture

sunt: *Qui enim non credit iam iudicatus est*; populus Israhel non iudicabitur, sed arguetur, quia ad se missum filium dei non recepit.

245 *Et conflabunt gladios suos in uomeres, et lanceas suas in falces. Non leuabit gens contra gentem gladium, nec exercebuntur ultra ad proelium.* Hoc est omne studium et arma bellandi in agriculturę usum conuertent omnibus gentibus in pace conpositis, ut nascente domino et sub Cęsarę Augusto contigit. Mystice omnem seueritatis usum in uerbum dei legendum et predicandum conuertent, quo quasi uomere cordis duritia scinditur et uitiorum spinę quasi falcibus eradicantur.

250 *Domus Iacob, uenite, et ambulemus in lumine domini. Proiecisti enim populum tuum domum Iacob.* Post uocationem gentium propheta hortatur populum suum, ut de tenebris erroris ad lumen euangelii uenirent. Et cernens cor eorum in penitens apostropham facit ad deum et dicit: ideo hortor eos, ut ad te ueniant, quia pro merito peccatorum suorum reliquisti eos. Quidam haec de Babylonia, alii de  
255 Romana captiuitate interpretati sunt.

*Quia repleti sunt ut olim.* Id est auguribus et sordibus idolatrię. *Ut olim:* Id est antequam legem suscepissent.

*Et pueris alienis adhęserunt.* Id est unusquisque ad se non pertinentibus alterius pueris, uel etiam gentilibus pueris, ad usum stupri adhererant.

260 *Repleta est terra argento et auro.* Inter idolatrię et stupri uitia auaritia condemnatur.

*Non est finis thesaurorum eius.* Id est in animo possidentium et cupientium quia semper auarus eget.

265 *Et repleta est terra eius aequis et innumerabiles quadrigę eius.* Innumerabiles quia non est dignum numero quod contra dei imperium possidetur. Tradunt historię Iudeorum nihil, et Romanorum gente esse auarius.

*Et repleta est terra eius idolis, opus manuum suarum adorauerunt quod fecerunt digiti eorum. Et incuruauit se homo et humiliatus est uir; ne ergo dimittas eis.* Ubi dei religio et templum erat, ibi Adriani statua et Iouis idolum collocatum est, et homo rationale animal incuruatus ęs adorauit et lapidem. *Ne ergo dimittas eis:* Id est Romanis, qui talia scelera fecerunt, qui subuertentes templum dei non eum adorauerunt qui uictoriam tribuit, sed idola. *Incuruauit se homo:* [Sed et hec] mystice significat omnes a statu rectitudinis in contraria dogmata se inclinantes, et surgere non ualentes nisi deus erigat.

275 *Ingredere in petram, abscondere in fossa humo a facie timoris domini, et a gloria maiestatis eius.* Hoc est quod me prius non audistis hortantem, *ambulemus in lumine eius.* Et ideo uos deus proiecit, nunc predico uobis uentura mala et hortor ut in speluncis abscondamini a facie Babylonis uel Romani exercitus. Mystice a facie maiestatis in petra et in spelunca abscondere est in Christo roborari, et in clauso  
280 cubiculo patrem orare, ne mundi transeuntem uideat tempestatem.

*Oculi sublimis hominis humiliati sunt et incuruabitur altitudo uirorum, exaltabitur autem dominus solus in die illa.* Hoc est in Babylonia uel Romana uastatione nullum diuitię uel nobilitas uel potentia defendent, sed omnium erit una captiuitas, et deus solus exaltabitur, cuius iram nullus declinare poterit. Hoc alii de  
285 die iudicii intellegunt, quod omnis creatura in comparatione diuinę glorię nihil esse se sentiat.

*Quia dies domini exercituum.* Id est ultimus dominicę.

*Super omnem superbum et excelsum et super omnem arrogantem, et humiliabitur.* Hoc est super magnos et principes, qui quanto plus superbierint tanto  
290 amplius deprimuntur. Si de die iudicii dicatur, superbus diabolus significat.

*Et super omnes cedros Libani sublimes et erectas, et super omnes quercus Basan.* Hoc est super templum de cedro Libani factum, uel metaphoricè super principes in superbiam erectos, qui sunt et quercus Basan. Basan est ubi Og regnabat et interpretatur ignominiosa; significat principes ignominie libidinum seruietes.

295

*Et super omnes excelsos montes, et super omnes colles eleuatos.* Montes excelsos et colles superbos reges et elatos homines significat, uel demones si in die iudicii.

300

*Et super omnem turrem excelsam, et super omnem murum munitum.* Hoc est nulla turrium sublimitas, nullus murus munitus, nulla nauium multitudo, et negociationis industria aduersum Romanos preualebit, sed sicut factum est pro intolerabili formidine cum coniugibus et liberis, cum auro et argento eorum, in profundissima antra demergentur. Alii hæc de Babyllonia captiuitate accipiunt. Mistice turris et murus non defendunt ab hostibus demoniorum, si quis non cum humilitate, sed cum superbia uirtutum structuram erexerit.

305

*Et super omnes naues Tharsis.* Hoc est maris, nam Syriaca lingua Tharsis mare dicitur.

310

*Et super omne quod uisu pulchrum est et incuruabitur sublimitas hominum, et humiliabitur altitudo uirorum, et eleuabitur dominus solus in die illa, et idola penitus conterentur. In die illa proiciet homo idola argenti sui, et simulacra auri sui, que fecerunt sibi ut adoraret talpas et uespertiones. Et ingredientur in fissuras petrarum et cauernas saxorum, a facie formidinis domini, et a gloria maiestatis eius, cum surrexerit percutere terram.* Haec de Romana captiuitate, sed Iudei de Babyllonia captiuitate, alii de die iudicii [accipiunt]. Talpa animal absque oculis, quod terram fodit et radices subter comedens frugibus noxium est.

315



Uespertilio, quę Grece ΝΥκτερες dicitur, parua auis nocturna murium similis  
 stridore sonans, quibus animalibus idola comparantur, quę cęca et tenebrosa coluntur  
 a cęcis. Mysticę naues Tharsis ecclesiam hereticorum idola falsa significant  
 dogmata, quę quasi idola simulata et conficta sunt. Aurum et argentum sensus et  
 320 sermones, quę hominibus ad sentiendum data sunt et laudandum, sed illi his in  
 idolorum simulationem abutuntur. Cum autem quis pauore domini percussus in  
 spelunca pectoris sui idola absconderit non audens proferre quę male finxerit,  
 secundus profectus est ut celata proiciat.

*Quiescite ergo ab homine, cuius spiritus in naribus eius, quia excelsus*  
 325 *reputatus est ipse.* Hoc est cum haec quę praedixi uentura sint uobis, moneo ut  
 quiescatis ab eo qui secundum carnem quidem homo est et habet animam, et ita  
 spirat et naribus halitum trahit ut nos homines spiramus et uiuimus, sed secundum  
 diuinitatem excelsus et est et reputatur et creditur.

330 HIERONIMUS PRIMUM CLAUSIT HAC PARTE LIBELLUM.

## 1b. Apparatus for Book I

1-4 Isaie breuibus lector...ferre laborem] *P S F W*, *om. M* 2 tractantur] trantantur *W*  
hinc prius] hin[.....is] *P* 5 prophetae] prophetae *M*, prophetę *P F W* 5 adfirmat]  
affirmat *F* plene] *M P*, pleniter *S* 7 habebant] habeant *S W*, *corr.* habebant *S* 8  
animo loquebatur ut est illud] animo loquebatur, Iuxta eum qui dixit, Audiam quid  
loquatur in me dominus deus, Vel angelus, Ut est illud *F* Beda *S* 9 INCIPIT  
EXC[.]TUM CUIUSDAM STUDIOSI DE EXPLANATIONE S(AN)C(T)I  
HIERONIM[.]M ESAIAM PROPHETAM *F* 10-11 quam uidit...regum Iuda]  
usq(ue) regum Iuda *S W* 10 Isaię] Isaię *P S Vul.*, Esaię *Gry.* Ozię] Ozie *P*,  
Ozia *F Gry. Vul.* 11 Ioathan] *M Ga.*, Ioatham *P F Gry. Vul.* Ezechiaę] Ezechię  
*P* 12 decem] decim *P Gry.\** quę] quę *P S Gry.* 13 Effraim] Efraim *F*, Ephraim  
*Gry.* Assiriorum] *M W*, Asiriorum *P*, Assyriorum *S F* 14 uastare coepit] uastare  
iam coeperat *Gry.*, iam *om. Gry.\** Azarias] Azarias duplici nomine *Gry.* uno  
tempore] uno quidem atque eodem tempore *Gry.* Osee] Osee *S W Gry.\** 15 ut ex  
regibus...prophetabant] prophetasse ex regibus qui ponuntur in titulo cognoscimus  
*Gry.* qui sunt] qui ponuntur *Gry.* Uisio] Viso *corr.* Visio *W*  
16-7 uidi...excelsum] *Isa. 6:1* 17 thronum] solium *Vul.* 18 prophetae] prophetę *S W*  
uidebant...narrabant] uidebant narrabant *S F W*, unde *om. M* Uisio appellatur] *om.*  
*F*, Uisio autem appellatur *S W, del. S* 18-19 Ut audite caeli] *Isa. 1:2*, Audi, caelum,  
et auribus percipe, terra *Gry.*, audite caeli et auribus percipe terra *Vul.* 19 Quid  
autem] Vnde et prophetę uidentes dicebantur Quid autem *W* Isaias] Esaias *F*  
20 uiderat] uiderit *F* ad finem] in finem *S F W* 21 quoque] *eras. et rest. S*,  
quoquoque *corr.* quoque *W* 22 et iste] nam iste *S W*, Iste *F* Isaię] Isaię *P S*,  
Esaię *F* non ille] non ille intelligitur *F* duodecim] xii *F* 23 Et iste] Iste enim

*F*, Iste primam *Gry.* Hebręos] *M W*, Hebreos *P S F*, Hebraeos *Gry.* litteras] litteram *S F W Gry.\**

24 SADE] SADE] *M* SAMECH] SAMETH *P* 25 ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* uel propter] propter *inser. S* 26 penitentiam] poenitentiam *P S F*, pęnitentiam *W*, paenitentiam *Gry.* Isaias autem interpretatur] Esaias autem interpretatur *F*, Interpretatur autem Esaias *Gry.* saluator] salus *S F W* 27 Iudęa] Iudea *P*, Iuda *S F W Gry.\**, Iudaea *Gry.* Ioatham] Ioathan *S W Ga.* 28 Ezechias] Ezechia *P* imperium] imperium domini *P F Gry.* pęsidente] presidente *W*, praesidente *P Gry.* 29 saluator] *M S F W Gry.\**, saluatorem *P*, saluatur *Gry.* 30 plorat] ploret *corr.* plorat *P*, deplorat *F*, deplangit *Gry.*, plangit *Gry.\** 31 pęnitentiam] poenitentiam *P S F*, paenitentiam *W Gry.* aeternam] eternam *S*, ęternam *F W* 32 ac robore] cum robore *P* 33 Audite, caeli] *omn. et Vul.*, Audi, caelum *Gry.* quoniam dominus locutus est] *om. P S F W* caelo] cęlo *F*, caelum *P* 34 his quę] his qui *P S F W* ea quę] *M F*, ea qui *P*, ea quae *S W* 35 testimonium] testonium *F* 36 Hebraicae] Hebraice te *P*, Hebraice *F W* 37 Hebraici] *M F W*, Hebręici *P*, Hebreica *corr.* Hebreici *S* characteris] *omn. et Gry.\**, characteris *Gry.* quę] quae *P F W Gry.* syllabam] syllaba *M S W Gry.\** 38 cerubim] *M P S W Gry.\**, *corr.* cherubim *P*, cherubim *F Gry.* quę] quae *S F W* OTH] aoth *S F W* feminina] femina *corr.* feminina *W* 39 Mystice] Mistice *M W* municipatum habet] habet municipatum *Gry.* 39-40 in caelestibus] *M Gry.*, in caelum *P*, in caelo *S W*, in cęlo *F* 40 audiat] adiat *corr.* audiat *P* spiritaliter] mystice *Gry.* quę dicuntur] quae dicuntur *P Gry.*, quod dicitur *F*, quod ab eo dicitur *S W* si terrenus] si quis terrenus *Gry.* 40-1 sequatur historiam] historiam sequatur *S* 42 Filios enutriui...spreuerunt me] Filios enutriui usque spreuerunt me *S W* Filios] Filius

*corr.* Filios *M* enutriui] *omn. et Gry.\**, genui *Gry. Vul.* spreuerunt me] spreuerunt me *P S W*, me spreuerunt *F Gry. Vul.* Nunc propheta dicit] Ab hoc loco narrat propheta *Gry.* quid] quis *W* 43 quod] quo *corr.* quod *S*, qui *W* 44 Filius...Israhel] *Exo. 4:22*, Filius *om. F* 45-6 Cognouit bos possessorem suum...intellexit] Cognouit bos possessorem suum usque non intellexit *S W* 45 presepe] presepe *P*, praesepe *F Gry. Vul.* 45-6 non cognouit] non cognouit me *P*, me non cognouit *Gry.\** 46 populus meus] et populus meus *P F Gry.\** Sensus est] Et est sensus perspicuus *Gry.* 46-7 et populum peculiarem] et feci populum *Gry.* 47 et funiculum hereditatis meę] et partem meam ac funiculum hereditatis meae appellauique primogenitos *Gry.* meę] meae *P S W Gry.* nec hoc] ne hoc *F Gry.* 48 faciunt animalia] *M P W*, animalia faciunt *S F* et me intellegerent] me *om. Gry.* uincerentur] uinceretur *corr.* uincerentur *W*

50 Mystice] Mistice *S W* 51 Scribis ergo et pharisęis] Pharisaeis ergo et scribis *Gry.* pharisęis] phariseis *P S F W*, Pharisaeis *Gry.* 52 qui legis habuere notitiam] qui habebant legis clauem atque notitiam *Gry.* uere Israel dicebantur] uere appellabantur Israhel *Gry.* animus] mens *Gry.* 53 Iudęorum] *M W*, Iudeorum *P S F*, Iudaeorum *Gry.* 53-4 tria milia...altera] milia *om. P*, milia simul crederent et quinque milia *Gry.* 54 Et...suscipientibus] Sapientibus quoque saeculi non recipientibus *Gry.* seculi] *M F*, saeculi *P W Gry.*, seculi *S* 55 que...sapientes] *I Cor. 1:26-27* que] quae *P S W Gry. Vul.*, et que *F* elegit] mundi elegit *Gry. Vul.* 56 et reliqua] *om. F* 57-9 Ve...retrorsum] Uae genti peccatrici usque retrorsum *S W* 57 Ve] Uae *P S F Gry. Vul.*, Vae *W* sceleratis] sceleratis *P F Gry. Vul.* 59-60 Increpat...perdiderunt] *S F W, om. M P* 59 peccatricem] *corr.* peccatorem *W* populum] gentem et populum *F* uitio] *F W Gry.*, uicio *S* 60 populus] populos

*corr.* populus *M* prius] primum *Gry.* 61 uitio] uicio *S* 62 quod] quia *P* sedeat]  
*F Gry.*, sedet *corr.* sedeat *S*, sedet *M P W* 63 proprie] propriae *S W*, proprie *F Gry.*  
 Iudęis] *M W*, Iudeis *P S F*, Iudaeis *Gry.* clamantibus] conclamantibus *Gry.*  
 nonne...fabri] *Matt. 13:55* filius fabri] *M P S W Ga. Er. Vi. Gry.\**, fabri *inser. S*,  
 fabri filius *F Gry. Vul.* 64 dęmonium...est] Samaritanus es tu et dęmonium habes  
*Ioh. 8:48* dęmonium] demonium *P S W*, dęmonium *F Gry. Vul.* 64-5 ut qui  
 prius] ut qui appellabantur *Gry.* 65 filii dei] filii dei uocabantur *F* dicerentur]  
 diceretur de eis *F* 57-8 Filii...mihi] *Psalms 17:46* 66 Super] *M P S Vul.*, In *F Gry.*  
 pęuaricationes] *M*, p(rae)uaricationem *S*, p(rae)uaritationem *W*, pęuaricationem *F*,  
 praeuaricationem *P Gry. Vul.* 67 duritiam] duriciam *M S* 68 Ideo...corrigat] Quo  
 testimonio discimus idcirco dominum percutere delinquentes ut percussos corrigat  
*Gry.* 69 emendatio] emendacio *S* 70 męrens] merens *P S F W Gry.\* Ga.*, maerens  
*Gry. Vul.* Ne letitia animi] Animi laetitia interdum *Gry.* letitia] *M S*, lętitia *F*,  
 laetitia *P W Gry.* 70-1 corporis...aegritudo] quod si ad aegrotationem corporis  
 accedat aegritudo animi, duplicatur infirmitas *Gry.* 70 animi] animę *S F W* 71  
 aegrotationi] egrotatione *P*, egrotationi *S W*, ęgrotationi *F* aegritudo] egritudo *P S*  
*F W* Capite autem dolente] cum igitur caput doluerit *Gry.* dolente] dolenti *S*,  
*corr.* dolenti *W* 72 metaphoram] metaforam *P Gry.\**, metaphoran *S*, metaforan *W*  
*Gry.\** principibus] princibus *M*

73 imperitum] inperitum *M* nullo] nulla *P* 74 pari modo impietati] in impietati  
 pari ardore *Gry.* impietati] impietate *corr.* impietati *P* 75-6 A planta...tumens] A  
 planta pedis plaga tumens *S W* 76 Seruat metaphoram] Seruat metaforam *P*, Seruat  
 metaforan *W*, Seruat coeptam translationem *Gry.* Hoc est ab imo] id est a summo  
*Gry.* ab imo] *M P S F W Gry.\* Er. Va.* 77 confossi] confusi *S F W Gry.\* Ga.*

liuent] luent *M*, libent *W* 78 plagis] plagas *corr.* plagis *M* uulneribus hiant] hiant  
 uulneribus *Gry.* 78-9 Hoc...capite] Quodque infertur *non est in eo sanitas* uel in  
 populo intellege uel in corpore uel in capite *Gry.* 79-80 sub...tempore] quando post  
 Titum et Vespasianum et ultimam euersionem Hierusalem sub Aelio Hadriano *Gry.*  
 80 Uespasiano] Uespasiono *M*, Uespasiano *P* Helio] *P S F W Gry. \**, Elio *M*  
*Gry. \**, Aelio *Gry.* Adriano] *M P S F W Gry. \**, Hadriano *Gry.* 80 quo] *qo corr.*  
 quo *W* tempore] temporae *P* ad pręsens nullum] ad praesens tempus *Gry.*  
 pręsens] *M S F*, p(rae)sens *P*, presens *W* 81 illis ut sequitur] in illis ut sequitur *F*,  
 impleturque quod scriptum est *Gry.* 83 duritia] duricia *S F* paenitentia]  
 penitentiae *M*, poenitentiae *S F* confossus] confusus *S F W Gry. \**  
 contrucidatus] trucidatus *P S F W Gry. \** 84 interfecit] interficit *W Gry. \** uenit]  
 uenerat *Gry.* 85 neque] *ne corr.* neque *P* eadem metafora seruatur] eandem *S F*,  
 eandem *corr.* eadem *W*, translationis similitudo seruatur *Gry.* metafora]  
 metaphora *F* 86 aeternam] eternam *P* Iudaeorum] *M F*, Iudeorum *P S*, Iudęorum  
*W* 87-8 Terra...hostili] Terra uestra deserta usque in uastitate hostili *S W*  
 87 succensę igni] *M P Gry. \**, igne succensae *F Gry. Vul. \**, succensae igni *Vul.*,  
 succense *M* 87-8 regionem...uobis] *M P Vul.*, regionem uestram in conspectu uestro  
*F Gry. Vul. \** 88 desolabitur] dissolabitur *corr.* dessolabitur *P* haec] hec *P*, autem  
*S F W* 89 Babyloiiis] *M P Gry.*, Babiloniis *S F*, Babylloniis *W* succensa]  
 succenso templo *P*, incenso templo *Gry.* completa] completa *S F W* 90 quid] qui  
*S F W, corr.* quid *S* quid...describitur] quid futurum sit sub romana captiuitate  
 describitur *Gry.* Iudęorum] *M F W*, Iudeorum *P S*, Iudaeorum *Gry.*  
 90-1 regionem inpręsentiarum] inpresentiarum *P*, usque *inser. P* 91 Mistice] *M S*  
*W*, Mystice *P F* 91-2 Mistice...corruentibus] conruentibus *corr.* corruentibus *P*,  
 corrventibus *F*, Possumus autem haec tropologice et de peccatoribus accipere qui de

sancitate pristina corruerunt *Gry.* 92 demoniis] demonis *corr.* demoniis *M*,  
demonibus *P W* 93 ueniunt] *M P S W Gry.* \*, ueniunt *F*, ueniant *Gry.* igne] *M P*  
*Gry.* igni *S F W* diaboli] diabolico *S F W* succenduntur] *M P F W Gry.* \*,  
succendantur *Gry.*, succendantur *corr.* succenduntur *S* 94-5 Et  
derelinquetur...uastatur] Et derelinquetur filia sion usque uastatur *S W*  
94 derelinquetur] derelinquetur *F* tugurium] tegurium *corr.* tugurium *P* 95 sicut  
ciuitas que uastatur] et sicut ciuitas quae uastatur *Vul., om. Gry.* que] *M P*, quae *F*  
agricolae] agricola *P*, agricolę *S F*, agricole *W* 96 ponunt custodes in umbraculis,  
et] ponunt custodes et in umbraculis *P*, et *inser. P* in cucumerario] *om. P*  
parue] *P S*, parue *M W*, paruę *F*, paruulę *Gry.* casulae] *M S F Gry.*, casule] *P W*  
96-7 pro...declinando] propter ardorem solis ac radios declinandos *Gry.* 97 inde  
homines] inde uel homines *Gry.* bestias] bestiolas *Gry.* quae insident] que  
insident *P F*, quae insident *corr.* quae insidunt *W*, quae insidiari solent natis *Gry.*  
fructibus] *M P S F W Gry.* \*, frugibus *Gry.* 97-8 Et dum abstulerint fructus] Cum  
autem ablata fuerint istiusmodi genimina *Gry.*

98 arentia umbracula] arentia vmbracula *F*, arentia fructicum umbracula *Gry.*  
casuleque] casulaque *S F W Gry.* \* recedente] recedente *F* custode] custode] *M*  
99 prius custos] custos prius *P* 100 Sion Hierusalem] id est *inser. S*, Sion, id est  
Hierusalem *F W* 101-2 Mystice...nostra est] Iuxta ANAΓΩΓHN uinea dei et  
pomorum paradus anima nostra appellari potest *Gry.* 101 Mystice] *M F*, Mystice]  
*P*, Mistice *S W* dei] domini *M* paradus] paradysus *M Gry.* \* 102 voYç] *P*,  
Ναυç *M*, principalis custos *S F W* praefuerit] praefuerit *M*, pre]fuerit *F W*  
mentis...deum] *M P S F W Gry.* \*, habet custodem mentis deum *Gry.* si] *M P S F*  
*W Gry.* \*, sin *Gry.* uitia] uicia *S F* 103 quaedam bestiae] *P S*, quędam bestię *M*,

quędam bestiae *F W* relinuemur] relinuemur *F* 104-5 Nisi...essemus] Nisi  
 dominus exercituum usque essemus *S W* 106 quinque milia] milia *om. P* altera]  
 altera die *S F W* 107 Gomorra] gomurra *M* 109-10 Audite...Gomorrae] Audite  
 uerbum domini usque gomorrae *S W* 110 Gomorrae] gomurre *M*, gomurre *P*,  
 gomorre *W* 110-11 Credentibus...clamantem] Saluis factis reliquiis per apostolos  
 populi Israhel ad scribas et pharisaeos et populum succlamentem *Gry*.  
 111 phariseos] phariseos *W* Crucifige, crucifige] *Luc. 23:21, Ioh. 19:6* sermo  
 propheticus] prophete *F*, prophete *S W*, propheticus sermo *Gry*. 112 principes  
 Sodomorum] Sodomorum et reliqua *P* ut est illud in consequentibus] iuxta illud  
 quod in consequentibus legimus *Gry*. 113 peccatum...adnuntiauerunt] peccatum  
 suum quasi Sodomae praedicauerunt *Isa. 3:9* peccatum suum] Iniquitatem suam  
*Gry*. adnuntiauerunt] adnuntiauerunt *S* 113-4 alligemus...nobis] circumueniamus  
 ergo iustum quoniam inutilis est nobis *Wis. 2:12* 114 quoniam] *M Gry. Vul.*, quia *P*  
*S F W Gry.\** Non...Cęsarem] *Ioh. 19:15* Cęsarem] *M W*, Caesarem *P S F Gry.*  
*Vul.* Hebrei] *M W*, Hebrei *P S F*, Hebraei *Gry*. 115 Isaiam interfectum] Esaiam  
 interfectum *F Gry.\* Adr.*, interfectum Esaiam *Gry*. 115-6 quod uocauit  
 eos...Gomorrae] quod principes...Gomorrae eos appellauerit *Gry*. 116 Gomorrae]  
 gomurre *M*, gomorre *F W* quod] quia *P S F W* uidi...excelsum] uidi dominum  
 sedentem super solium excelsum *Isa. 6:1* 117 Non poteris uidere faciem meam]  
*Exo. 33:20* cum te gentibus] contegentibus *S F*, contegentibus *W* 118 tantum]  
 tamen *S F W* eius se uidisse dicat] eius Esaias uidisse se scribat *Gry*.  
 119 Quo...dominus] Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum et reliqua *P*, Quo mihi  
 multitudinem uictimarum reliqua *S F W* Quo] Quod *corr.* Quo *F*



120 uenite...dominus] et uenite et arguite me dicit dominus *Isa. 1:18* arguite me]  
*M Vul.*, disputemus *P Gry.*, disputemus simul *S F W* 121 euangelii] *P Gry.*,  
 euuangelii *M*, euangelicam *S F W*

122-3 holocaustas arietum...hyrcorum nolo] *om. P S W* 122 holocaustas] holocausto  
*F Gry.\**, holocausta *Gry. Vul.* 133 hyrcorum] ircorum *F Gry.\**, hircorum *Gry. Vul.*  
 nolo] nolui *Gry. Vul.*, nolui cum ueneritis ante conspectum meum *F Vul.* Hoc  
 est] Plenus sum hoc est *F* domini est terra] *Psalms 23:1* 124 qui praecepta] qui  
 cum dei praecepta *Gry.* complementes] complementes *P W*, faciant *Gry.*

125 redimere] redemere *corr.* redimere *P* putant] credunt *Gry.* 126 quesiuit] *M S*  
*W*, quaesiuit *P*, quesuiuit *F*, enim quaesiuit *Gry.* haec] hec *S* principaliter]  
 pleniter *S* 127 quesiuit] quaesitē *P*, quesiuit *S F W*, quaesita *Gry.* per typum] per  
 typum et imaginem *Gry.* 129 Ut ambularetis in atriis meis] *Isa. 1:12, om. P Gry.*  
 uel] *om. P Gry. Vul.* calcare...apponetis] *om. Vul.* apponetis] apponatis *S W*  
 130 Ultimam] Ergo ultimam *Gry.* Tito et Uespasiano] Vespasiano et Tito *Gry.*  
 templi] *om. P* significat] indicat *Gry.* quē] *P*, que *M*, quae *S F W*

130-1 ad...permanebit] ad consummationem mundi perseueratura est *Gry.* 132-4 Ne  
 adferatis...anima mea] Non afferatis ultra usque anima mea *S*, Non adferatis ultra  
 usque anima mea *W* 132 Ne] *M P Ga.*, Non *S F W* adferatis] *M W Vul.*, afferatis  
*P S F* Ne...mihi] *M P F Ga.*, *om. Gry.* abominatio] abhominatio *F Ga.*

133 Neomeniam] *M P Vul.*, Neomenias vestras *F Gry.* sabbatum] *M P Vul.*,  
 sabbata *F Gry.* 134 sollempnitates] sollempnitates *P* 135 sacrificium deo spiritus  
 contribulatus] sacrificium dei spiritus contribulatus *Psalms 50:19*

136 abominabilis] *M W*, abhominabilis *P S F* est deo] *M S F W Gry.\* Er. Adr.*,  
 deo est *P Gry.* Anima...affectu] *ODIT ANIMA MEA: ANΘΡΩΠΟΠΑΘΩΣ*, non

quo animam deus habeat, sed nostro loquitur affectu *Gry.* 137 uestre] *M S*, uestrae *P F W Gry. Vul.* plene] *S F*, plenae *P Gry. Vul.*, plene *M W* Causa est] Causa manifesta *Gry.* cur] quur *M* exaudit] exaudiat *Gry.* 138 fuderunt] *M P S F W Gry. \**, fuderint *Gry.* interfecerunt] *M P S F W Gry. \**, interfecerint *Gry.* 139-40 Lauamini...meis] auferte...meis *om. P*, Lauamini mundi estote usque ab oculis meis *S W*, lavamini mundi estote auferte malum cogitationum uestrarum ab oculis meis quiescite agere perverse *Vul.* 140 euangelii] euuangelii *M* religio] relegio *P W*, *corr.* religio *P* 140-1 hoc...post baptismum] hoc est baptizemini et post baptismum *P*, hoc est lauamini baptismo et per baptismum *S F W*, ut baptizemini in sanguine meo per lauacrum regenerationis *Gry.* 141 auferte] offerte *corr.* auferte *W* 142 ut est] ut est illud *S F W* declina...bonum] recede a malo et fac bonum *Psalms 36:27* 143-4 et magistrorum...limina] *om. P* 144 terenda] *M Gry.*, tenenda *S F W* nec... iustitiam] nec naturae tantum bonum sufficit ad iustitiam *Gry.* nature] naturae *Gry.*

146-7 Quaerite...dominus] Quaerite iudicium usque uenite et arguite me dicit dominus *S W* 146 Quaerite] *P S Gry. Vul.*, Querite *M*, Querite *F W* obpresso] oppresso *F Gry. Vul.* uiduam] uideam *M* 147 Uictimis] Uictimas *M Gry. \** Iudaeorum] Iudeorum *S W*, Iudeorum *P F* euangelica] euangelii *S F W* 148 Querite] Quaerite *P W Gry.*, Querite *F* Non enim omnium est] ostendit non esse *Gry.* 149 reddidero] reddiro *F* praemia] *P*, premia *M*, p(rae)mia *S F W*, praemia *Gry.* que] *M W*, quae *P S F Gry.* 150-1 Si fuerint...alba erunt] Si fuerint peccata uestra usque alba erunt *S W* 151 uelut] *M P Ga. Er. Vi. Vul.*, ut *F Gry. Vul. \** alba] *M P S F W Gry. Vul. \*, om. Vul.* Hoc est si quod] Id est si que *S F W* praedixi] *M S*, praedixi *P*, p(rae)dixi *F W* 152 peccata uestra] tunc peccata quae

*Gry.* quę] quae *P F* ut coccinum] in modum coccini *Gry.* fuerunt] *M P S F W Gry.* \*, fuerant *Gry.* 153 quę] quae *S F W* 154-5 Si uolueritis...locutum est] Si uolueritis usque gladius deuorabit uos *S W* 155 quia os domini locutus est] *M Ma. Va. Adr. Vul., om. P S F W Gry.* 156 reseruauit] seruauit *S F W Gry.* \*, seruat *Gry.* preiudicio] *M S*, preiudicio *P*, praeiudicio *F Gry.*, p(rae)iudicio *W* 157 meritis] meriti *M* uel poena sit uel praemium] proemium *corr.* premium *P*, premium *M*, p(rae)mium *S F W*, uel poena uel praemium sit *Gry.* Bona terre] Bona terrae comedetis *S F W* terra uiuentium] terre *M*, terrae *P* 158 Israhel] Israheli *M* presentia] presentia *P S*, p(rae)sentia *F W* quę] *M W*, quae *P S F* 159 precepta] *S*, precepta *M P*, p(rae)cepta *F W*, praecepta *Gry.* quia noluerunt] quia si noluerint *S F W* deuorauit] deuorabit *P S F Gry.* \*, *corr.* deuorauit *P* hoc est] id est *Gry.* deleuit] delebit *S F W Gry.* \* 160-1 Et haec...inmutari] *om. P S F W* 146 inmutari] immutari *Gry.* 162-3 Quomodo...homicidae] Quomodo facta est meretrix usque homicidae *S W* 162 ciuitas] ciuitatis *F* habitauit] *M P Vul.*, requieuit *F Gry. Vul.* \* 163 homicidae] *M S F Gry. Vul.*, homicidę *P*, homicide *W* quod urbs] quia urbs *S F W*, quod ciuitas *Gry.* 164 Gad] Gath *M* et filiorum] uel filiorum *S F* chore] core *W* 165 facta sit] facta est *S F W Gry.* Isaiae] *S*, Isaie *M*, Esaię *P F*, Isaię *W* 166 quę] quae *P Gry.*, qui *S F W*, *corr.* quę *W* 167 ipsum saluatorem] ipsum dominum saluatorem *Gry.* 168 significat] significant *corr.* significat *S* 169 demones] demones *P S F*, daemones *Gry.* homicidę] homicide *W*, homicidae *Gry.*

170 doctrina] dotrina *M*, dona *P* ut est] ut est illud *S F W* 171 Eloquia...casta] Eloquia domini eloquia munda *Psalms 11:7*, casta argentum reliqua *P* coquuntur] cocuntur *M* 171-2 in purgamenta...metaphora, uel qui...fuerunt] *transp. P S F W*,

seruato metaphora *om. P S F W* in purgamenta...metaphora] postea in scorium  
 purgamenta et sordes quae igne coquuntur *P*, in tria in scorium...quę igne  
 excoquuntur *S*, tria in scorium...quę igne excoquuntur *F*, tria...qui igne coquuntur *W*  
 172 fuerunt] fuerant *P S F*, fuerunt *corr.* fuerant *W* postea in sordes] id est in  
 sordes *P S F W* 174 Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua] *omn. Vul.\**, est *om. Vul.*,  
 Caupones tui miscent uinum aqua *Gry.* mira] *M P Ga. Gry.\**, mera *S F W Gry.*  
 175 Iudeorum] Iudeorum *P S F W* 176 inoboedientes] *M P Gry. Vul.\**, infideles *S F*  
*W Vul.* scribe] *P*, scribe *M W*, scribae *S F*, scribas *Gry.* pharisei] *M P S F*,  
 pharisaei *W*, phariseos *Gry.* 177 socii proditoris] socii fuerunt proditoris *S F Gry.*  
 Iude et furis fuere] et furis Iudae fuere *P*, et *exp.* furisque Iude *S*, furisque Iude *S*  
*corr.* Iude *F*, Iude fuere et furis fuere *W*, Iudae *Gry.* 178 secularium] saecularium  
*P*, saeculi *Gry.* que] quae *S F W*, qui *Gry.* accipientes] accipientes *P*, *corr.*  
 accipiētes 180 sequuntur] secuntur *M F* 181 aliquid] aliquid *corr.* aliquid *M*  
 acceperint] *M Gry.*, accipiant *P*, accipiunt *S F W Gry.\** uel ut] uelud *F*  
 182 Heu!...inimicis meis] Heu consolabor usque de inimicis meis *S W* meis] mes  
*M* 183 pater] *om. S F W* phariseos] *M W*, phariseos *P S F*, pharisaeos *Gry.*  
 quod] quia *P*, qui *S F W* nolunt] *omn. Gry.\**, nolint *Gry.* 184 penitentiam]  
 paenitentiam *P Gry.*, poenitentiam *S* 185 subpliciis] suppliciis *P S W Gry.*,  
 subplicia *F*

186-7 Et conuertam...stagnum tuum] Et conuertam manum meam usque stagnum  
 tuum *S W* 188 tribulationum] tribulationes *P S F W*, *corr.* tribulationis *P* 189 Et  
 restituam...antiquitus] Et restituam iudices tuos usque antiquitus *S W* 190 Hiesus]  
*M S F Gry.*, Iesus *P W Gry.\** et Dauid] et *om. S F* fuere] fuerunt *S F W Gry.*  
 191 post] *inser. S* Babylioniam] Babiloniorum *P*, Babiloniae *S F Gry.\**,

Babyloniae *W* captiuitatem...uolunt] captiuitatem secundum Iudeos *P*,  
 captiuitatem Iudeos *S*, captiuitatem Iudeos *F W* 192 restitutum] *M P*,  
 restitutum *S F W*, restituet *Gry*.

193 Post hec...urbs fidelis] Post hec uocaberis ciuitas usque fide *S*, Post haec  
 uocaberis ciuitas usque fidelis *W* hec] haec *P F Gry. Vul.* perspicue] aperte *P S*  
*W*, apertae *F* ecclesia] *P*, aecclesia *M*, eclesia *S W* 194 hoc est domini] *M Gry.*,  
*om. P S F W* que] quae *P* deo suo fidelis] fidelis deo suo *S F W* 196 in iudicio]  
*in om. S F Gry.\** et reducent...iustitia] *om. P S F W* 197 nec omnes salui fient]  
*om. P S F W* reliquie] *M W*, reliquiae *P S F* de quibus supra dictum est] supra  
 dictae quae saluae fient *P F*, supra dictae...fient *S*, supra dictae...fiant *W* 198-201 Et  
 hoc...elegerant] Et hoc erit quando conteret sceleratos et reliqua usque in hortis quos  
 elegeratis *S W* 198-9 Et hoc...consumentur] *om. Gry.* 198 Et hoc erit cum conteret]  
 Et conteret *Vul.* cum] quando *S F W* sceleratos] *M P S F W Vul.\**, scelestos  
*Vul.* dereliquerunt] dereliquerunt *F* 199 Cumque saluati fuerint] *om. P F*  
 200-1 erubescant...elegerant] erubescitis super hortis quos elegeratis *P F Vul.*  
 200 enim] *P F Vul., om. M Gry.* 201 hortis] ortis *F* significat] significans *P*  
 locum] loca *Gry.* luxuriae] luxurie *M*, luxoriae *P* 202 Cum fueritis uelut quercus]  
 Erunt enim quasi terebinthus *Gry.* uelut] uelud *F* tantum] tamen *P*, -en *exp.*  
 203 iustitie] iustitiae *P S F W* 205 uelut] uelud *F* hortus] hortus siue paradisus  
*Gry.* sine aqua] absque aqua *Vul.* populus] populi *F* plebs] ples *F W*, *corr.*  
 plebs *W* legalis sine] legalis sed sine *P* 206 spiritali] spiritalis *P S F W* gratie]  
 gratie *M*, gratiae *P* 207 ut fauilla stuppe] *om. P S F W*, ut fauilla stuppae *Gry. Vul.*  
 208 ut purgamenta stuppe] ut fauilla id est ut purgamenta stuppe *P S F W*, stuppe *S*  
*F W* que] quae *P S F W Gry.* 209 scintilla] scintille *M*, scintillae *Vul.\**

211 simul] *om. S F W* et non erit qui extinguat] *om. P S F W* 212-4 Quę  
omnia...pabulum sit] *om. P S F W* 213 accipienda] accipere possumus *Gry.*  
peræant] pereant *Gry.* 215-7 Uerbum quod...populi multi] Verbum quod uidit Isaias  
usque fluent ad eum omnes gentes *S*, Uerbum...usque et fluent ad eum omnes gentes  
*W* 215 Isaias] Esaias *F* Hierusalem] Iherusalem *F* 216 præparatus] præparatus *P*  
*Gry. Vul.*, p(rae)paratus *F* in] super *F* montium] motium *corr.* montium *M*  
217 et ibunt populi multi] *om. P S F W*

218 hic autem quod] hic autem uerbum quod *P*, hic uerbum quod *Gry.*  
fuit...patrem] erat in principio apud deum *Gry.*, hoc erat in principio apud Deum  
*Ioh. 1:2* apud] aput *F* Iudeis] Iudeis *P* 219 uenit] ueniat *Gry.* ad gentium  
uenit salutem] ad salutem gentium peruenit *P*, ad salutem gentium uenit *S F W* a  
gentium salute] *M Gry.*, salutem gentium *P S F W Gry.\** 220 utrisque] utraque *Gry.*  
ecclesiam] aecclesia *M*, eclesiam *S W* congregat] congreget *Gry.* 221 Præparatus  
est] Praeparatus *P S W*, Preparatus *F*, est *om. P* 222 prescientia] praescientia *P*,  
pręsentia *S*, p(rae)sentia *F W* preparatus] praeparatus *P W*, p(rae)paratus *S F*  
ecclesiae] aecclesie *M*, eclesiae *S*, aecclesiae *F* 223 quę] quae *S F W* posita est]  
posita *corr.* posita est *M* uertice] uerticem *F S* prophetarum] profetarum *P*  
224 ecclesiae] *om. M*, eclesiae *S*, ecclēsiae *F* Sicut] Unde et *Gry.* 225 illorum]  
montium *Gry.* ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M F*, eclesiam *S W* dicens] loquitur *Gry.*  
225-6 Tu es...meam] *Matt. 16:18*; Tu es Petrus usque ad ecclēsiam meam *M*  
226 aedificabo] edificabo *P*, edificabo *W* ecclesiam] eclesiam *S*, aecclesiam *F*  
Sed] Sed tamen *S F W* uertice] uerticem *S F W* 227 celsitate] in celsitudine *S F*  
*W* Et eleuabitur] *om. P* 228 ecclesiarum] aecclesiarum *M F*, eclesiarum *S*

228-9 Omnes gentes...terminos terre] *om. P S F W* 229 Postula...terre] Postula a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae *Psalms 2:8* postula] postua *corr.* postula *M* 230 Et dicent] *om. P S F W* Uenite ascendamus] Uenite et ascendamus *S F W Gry. \* Vul.* 230-1 ad montem...eius] *om. P S F W* 231 suas] sus *corr.* suas *M* Non] Nunc *F W*, Nunc *corr.* Non *S* 232 contenti] contemti *corr.* contenti *F* 233 dei] *om. M* ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M F*, eclesiam *S* 233-4 Et docebit nos et reliqua] Et docebit nos uias suas et ambulauimus in semitis eius *P F*, ambulauimus *corr.* ambulabimus *P*, Et docebit nos usque in semitis eius *S W* discende] discende *M S F*, discendae *Gry.* 234 ambulandum] ambulandum est *S F W*, ambulandum in semitis eius *Gry.* 235 Quia...Hierusalem] Quia de Sion usque Hierusalem *S W* Hierusalem] Iherusalem *F* Sina] Sinai *S Gry.* 236 Choreb] Horeb *S F W Gry.* Hierusalem] Ierusalem *F* ecclesia] ecclesia *P W*, eclesia *S F* 237 exiuit uel] *om. P* 238 inrigabit] *corr.* irrigabit *P*, inrigabuntur *S F W*, *corr.* irrigabuntur *S* Hierusalem] de Hierusalem *S F W* 239 ecclesia] acclesia *M*, eclesia *S W*, aecclesia *F* 240 multos] *om. P S F W* increduli] incredeli *S W*, *corr.* increduli *S*, *corr.* incrudeli *W*, incrudeli *F* 241 iudicantur] iudicare *P S F W* quia crediture] que crediture *P*, qui credituri *S F W*, quia crediturae *Gry.*

242 Qui enim...est] qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est *Ioh. 3:18* populus Israel] populus enim Israel *S* iudicabitur] iudicatur *P S F W* 243 recepit] recipit *corr.* recepit *W*, receperit *Gry.* 244-5 Et conflabunt...proelium] Et conflabunt gladios suos usque praelium *S W* 245 exercebuntur] execrabuntur *corr.* exercebuntur *P* proelium] *M P F W*, praelium *S* 246 agriculturę] agriculture *M*, agriculturę *P F* 247 conpositis] compositis *F* et] *om. S F W* Cęsarę] Cesare *P*

*S F W* contigit] regnante contigit *P*, contingit *corr.* contigit *S* Mystice] Mistice  
*W* 248 predicandum] praedicandum *P*, p(rae)dicandum *S F W* quo] quod *S F W*,  
*corr.* quando *S*, quando *Gry.* 249 duritia] duricia *S F*, *corr.* duritia *S* spine] spine  
*M* 250-1 Domus Iacob...domum Iacob] Domus Iacob usque Iacob *S W*  
251 propheta] profeta *P* 251-2 hortatur populum suum] populum suum hortatur *P*  
252 euangelii] euangelii *F* 253 penitens] *S W*, penitens *M F*, poenitens *P*  
apostropham] apostrofam *P S F W Gry.\** deum] dominum *Gry.* 254 haec] hoc *M*,  
hec *S* 256 Quia repleti sunt ut olim] et augures habuerunt ut Philistim *Gry.*,  
Philistim *Vul.* idolatriae] idolatrie *M*, idolatrię *W* 258 adhesionem] adheserunt *P*  
*S F W Vul.*, adhaeserunt *Gry.* 259 gentilibus] gentilium *F* adherent] adhererat  
*P*, adherebant *S F W* 260 et auro] *om.* *S F W* idolatrię] idolatrie *M*, idolatriae *P F*  
*W* uitia] uicia *S F* auaritia] auaricia *F* 261 condemnatur] contemnatur *P*, *corr.*  
contemnatur 262 thesaurorum] thesaurorum *corr.* thesaurorum *F* eius] *om.* *S F W*  
possidentium] possedentium *P* 264 Et repleta est terra eius aquis] *om.* *P S F W*  
aquis] *M Gry.\**, equis *Gry.\**, equis *Gry. Vul.* Innumerabilis] *om.* *P S F W*  
265 non est dignum] Non enim dignum est *Gry.* imperium] imperio *S F W*  
historię] historie *M*, istoriae *F*, historiae *W* 266 Iudeorum nihil] nihil Iudeorum *P*,  
Iudeorum nihil *S* nihil, et Romanorum] nihil Romanorum *S F W* auarius]  
auarus *P F*, *corr.* auarius *P*  
  
267-9 Et repleta...dimittas eis] Et repleta est terra eius idolis usque ne ergo dimittas  
eis *S W* 267 opus] *inser.* *M* 268 dimittas] dimittes *corr.* dimittas *W* 269 religio]  
relegio *P W*, *corr.* religio *P* Ubi dei...erat] Ubi quondam erat templum et religio  
dei *Gry.* Adriani] Hadriani *Gry.* statua] statuam *M W* 270 es adorauit] es *exp.*  
aes *add.* *P*, aes *inser. sq.* adorauit *S*, adorauit aes *F*, eras. *W* lapidem] lapidem hic



lege et incuruauit se homo et reliqua *S F W* 272 tribuit] *omn. Gry. \**, praebuit *Gry.*  
 idola] idolo *P* Incuruauit se homo] *om. P*, Et incuruauit *S F W* Sed et hec] *om.*  
*M*, Sed et hoc *S F W* 273 mistice] mysticae *P*, mistyce *S*, mystice *F W* omnes]  
*om. S F W* 274 ualentes] ualent *P* 275-6 Ingredere...maiestatis eius] Ingredere in  
 petram usque maiestatis eius *S W* 275 abscondere in fossa] abscondere fossa *F Vul.*  
 facie] fatie *M*, faciae *F* 276 maiestatis] magestatis *M* quod] quia *P S F W*  
 hortantem] hortanti *F* 277 facie] faciē *W* Mystice] Mistice *M S* 279 in spelunca]  
 in *om. P S F W* 280 uideat] uideant *S F W*, sentiat *Gry.* 281-2 Oculi sublimis...die  
 illa] Oculis sublimes usque in die illa *S, corr.* Oculi, Oculi...illa *W* 281 sublimis] *M*  
*P Gry. \**, sublimes *S F W Gry.* hominis] homines *F* humiliati] humilia *corr.*  
 humiliati *M* 282 Babylonia] Babilonia *F* 283 nullum] nullę *S F W* diuitię]  
 diuitiae *P F W*, diuicię *S* defendent] defendænt *S* 284 nullus] nemo *S F W* Hoc  
 alii] Hec alii *M* 285 iudicii] iuditii *M* comparatione] conparatione *P* diuinę]  
 diuinae *P* glorię] gloriae *P S F W* 286 se] *om. P Gry. \** sentiat] nesciat *S F*  
 287 Quia] *om. Gry.* exercituum] *om. S F W* ultimus] ulcionis *P*, ultionis *Gry.*  
 dominicę] dominice *W*, dominicę irę dies iudicii dicitur *S F W*, irae *F* 288-9 Super  
 omnem...humiliabitur] Super omnem superbum *S F W*, et humiliabitur *om. P*  
 288 omnem arrogantem] omenem arrogantem *M* 290 deprimuntur] deprimuntur *P*,  
 deprimantur *Gry.* 290 Si...dicatur] *om. S F W* de die] diei *M* iudicii] iuditii *M*  
 superbus] superbum *F* significat] significat *M*

291-2 Et super...Basan] Et super omnes cedros Libani *P S F W* 292 cedro] cędro *M*  
 metaphoricę] metaforicę *P*, metaforice *S F W* 293 et quercus] ut quercus *P*  
 294 regnabat] renabat *M* ignominię] *S F W*, ignminię *corr.* ignominię *M*,  
 ignominiae *P* 296 Et super...eleuatos] *om. P S F W* 297 excelsos] excelsi *P*

demonēs] dēmonēs *W* si] *om.* *S F W* 298 iudicii] iuditii *M* 299 Et  
super...munitum] Omnem turrem excelsam reliqua *P*, Omnem turrem excelsam *S F*  
*W* 300 turrium sublimitas] sublimitas turrium *F* nullus] nulli *M*  
301 negociationis] negociationis *P F W Gry.* 302 intolerabili] intollerabili *W*  
303 demergentur] *M W*, dimergentur *S F*, demergentur *corr.* dimergentur *P* Alii  
hęc] Alii haec *Gry.*, Haec alii *P S F W* Babyllonia] Babyloniae *P S W*, Babiloniae  
*F* 304 Mistice] Mystice *P F* murus] muris *corr.* murus *P* dēmoniorum]  
demoniorum *P S F W* 306 Et super omnes] *om.* *P S F W* Tharsis] Tarsis *M Gry.\**  
Tharsis] Tarsis *M Gry.\** 308-13 Et super...percutere terram] Et super omne quod  
uisu pulcrum est usque percutere terram *S W* 308 pulchrum] pulcrum *S Gry.\**  
309 altitudo] *M P Gry.\* Er. Adr. Vul.*, fortitudo *F Gry. Gry.\* Vul.\** 310 penitus]  
poenitus *P* 310-11 In die illa...uespertiliones] *om.* *P F*, *transp. Vul.* 310-  
12 conterentur...a facie] conterentur et introibunt in speluncas petrarum et in  
uoragines terrę a facie *P F*, et... uoraragines terrae a faciae *F*, conterentur et  
introibunt in speluncas petrarum et in uoragines terrae a facie formidinis Domini  
*Ga. Er. Vi. Vul.* 311 quę fecerunt] *M Gry.\**, quae fecerat *Gry. Vul.* 313 Haec] Hoc  
*S F F* 314 Babylonia] Babilonia *F* captiuitate] captiuitate dici putant *P*  
accipiunt] *om.* *M P* 315 quod] *M Gry.*, quę *P*, quae *S F*, *inser. W*  
316 quę] quod *P S F W* ΝΥκτερες] *S F W*, Νικτερες *P*, ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙς *Gry.*, ΝΥκτας  
*M Gry.\** 317 conparantur] co(m)parantur *S*, comparantur *F W* quę] quae *P S F W*  
çęca] caeca *Gry.*, a ceca *P*, ceca *S F W* 318 çęcis] cecis *P S F W* Mysticę]  
Mys(tice) *P*, Mistice *S W*, Mystice *F* naues] nauis *M* Tharsis] Tarsis *M*  
ecclesiam hereticorum] hęretici *M*, aecclesia heretitorum *F*, ecclesia hereticorum *W*  
318-9 significant dogmata] dogmata significat *P S F W* 319 quę] quae *S W*

Aurum et argentum] *omn. Gry\**, argentum et aurum *Gry.* 320 sermones] sermo *P*  
 que] quae *P S F W Gry.* 292 sentiendum] sciendum *P* data sunt et laudandum]  
 et laudandum deum data sunt *P* 323 que] *M W*, quae *P S F Gry.\**, quod *Gry.*  
 324 secundus] *omn. Gry.\**, secundum *Gry.*, secund *corr.* secundus *S* proiciat]  
 proiciat *P W Gry.\**, *corr.* proiciat *P W* 324-5 Quiescite...ipse] Quiescite ab homine  
 usque excelsus reputatus est ipse *S W* 325 haec] hec *S W* que] quae *P F W*  
 uentura] uentu *corr.* uentura *S* 327 halitum] alium *corr.* alitum *S*, alitum *F W*  
 328 et est et] est *P* 330 HIERONIMUS...LIBELLUM] *om. F*, HIERONIMUS...AC  
 PARTE LIBELLUM *W*, HIC PRIMUS FINEM FACIAT PLACET UT LIBER  
 OLIM *P*

## 2. Book II

*Ecce enim dominator deus exercituum auferet ab Hierusalem et ab Iuda ualidum et fortem, omne robur panis et omne robur aquę.* [Haec] secundum Iudaeos non de Babylonia, sed uerius de Romana captiuitate dicuntur. Et ordo est: quia noluitis quiescere ab homine cuius spiritus in naribus eius, sed e contrario sanguinem eius fudistis, ideo haec superuenient uobis. Nihil enim apud Iudęos post passionem domini forte uel ualidum est, sed omnia infirma et languida. Panem autem et aquam pro omni cibo et potu dixit. Mystice panis de caelo descendens aufertur ab Iudaeis et aqua aeternam sitim extinguens.

*Fortem et uirum bellatorem, iudicem, et prophetam et ariolum et senem.* Hoc est, non est fortis uel bellator qui non iugo seruitutis deprimatur, nec a propriis, sed Romanis iudicibus iudicentur. Sed et fortis bellator in lege habens scientiam iudicandi, apud Iudęos non est, sed omnia stultitiae plena sunt. *Prophetam et ariolum* sepe per ariolos futura dicuntur, ut in Balaam diuino legimus. Et est sensus: et uera et falsa a Iudęis pariter auferentur. *Senem* non aetate dicit, sed prudentia et scientia, ut canitia hominum prudentia est.

*Et principem super quinquaginta.* Hoc est quinquagenarius qui quinquaginta militibus praesunt, hoc est apud eos omnis bellatorum dignitas deperiit, cum et portandi arma non habebant potestatem. Mystice Christus est princeps super quinquaginta, id est paenitentium numerum. *Consiliarium*: ut omnia sine consilio a gentes ad nihilum redigantur. *Sapientem de architectis*: Id est ut nulla aedificia prioribus destructis resurgant. *Prudentem eloquii mystici*: Id est prudentem auditorem qui obscuriora discernat, hec ab Iudęis ablata ad ecclesiam peruenerunt:

ut consiliarius Petrus sapiens architectus ut Paulus, prudens eloquii mystici, ut tractatores obscura scripturę tractantes.

25 *Et dabo pueros principes eorum.* Loquente propheta subito deus per prophetam ex persona sua loquitur. Id est pro bonis quę iratus abstuleram, nunc e contrario mala dabo. Ut *Uę tibi ciuitas cuius rex iuuenis* pueros autem dicit rudes, et in scientia paruulos.

*Et effeminati dominabuntur eis.* Id est sine cordis et animi uiribus, sed libidini et deliciis seruientes.

*Et inruet populus uir ad uirum unusquisque ad proximum suum, tumultuabitur puer contra senem et ignobilis contra nobilem.* Pueris et effeminatis dominantibus nullis aetatis uel dignitatis uel scientię ordo seruabitur. Haec autem sub Tito Iudeis contigerunt quando expugnata a Romanis, Hierusalem in tres partes diuisa seditio, et alii arcem et templum, alii inferiorem urbis partem, alii tenuerunt superiorem.

35 *Adprehendet enim uir fratrem suum domesticum patris sui: Uestimentum tibi est, princeps esto noster, ruina autem haec sub manu tua.* Hoc est cybum et uestimentum habes, inclitus et potens es. *Ruina hęc:* Id est miseria nostra tuo sustentetur et defendatur auxilio. Et in electione principum sic seditio erat, dum alii alios dignos putant.

*Respondebit in die illa, dicens: Non sum medicus et in domo mea non est panis neque uestimentum, nolite constituere me principem populi.* Ille in comparatione aliorum quasi locuples putatur, et ideo princeps constituitur, considerans suam paupertatem indignum se esse delato honore testatur nec posse curare languentes, qui se ipsum sustentare uix ualeat. Mystice significat ut qui sine spiritali cibo et ueste sunt, et aliorum uulnera mederi non possunt, etiam inuitati ad principatum non statim consentiant.

*Ruit enim Hierusalem et Iudas concidit, quia lingua eorum et adinuationes eorum contra dominum ut prouocarent oculos maiestatis eius. Agnitio uultus eorum*

50 *respondit eis, et peccatum suum quasi Sodomę prædicauerunt nec absconderunt. Ex sua persona de interitu Hierusalem propheta hæc dixit, et causas reddit blasphemię dicentium: Tolle tolle, crucifige. Agnitio uultus eorum: Hoc est peccata eorum, quę quia ante uultus eorum et oculos semper stabant agnoscunt. Responderunt illi indecenti uindicta et cum omni libertate sine ulla uerecundia; sicut sodomitę*

55 *blasphemię suę peccata protulerunt, et principes Sodomorum dicuntur, quia sodomitia habuere peccata.*

*Uę animę eorum, quoniam reddita sunt eis mala. Dicite iusto quoniam bene, quoniam fructum adinuationum suarum comedit. Hoc est uę illis quia sua scelera receperunt, unde uos qui librum prophetę legistis, laudate iustitiam dei, quia reddidit*

60 *illis quod merebantur.*

*Populum meum exactores sui spoliauerunt et mulieres dominatę sunt eius.*

Hoc est scribę et pharisęi, ut a populo decimas et primitias acciperent, Christum negauerunt, et non solum exactores, sed quia propter libidinem et uoluptatem omnia faciunt, mulieres uocauit eos.

65 *Popule meus, qui beatum te dicunt ipsi [te] decipiunt et uiam gressuum tuorum dissipant.* Hoc est scribę et pharisęi propter diuitias peccatores beatos uocabant, et columnas domus dei et clauem scientię habentes; nec ipsi intrabant, nec alios intrare sinebant.

*Stat ad iudicandum dominus et stat ad iudicandos populos. Dominus ad*

70 *iudicium ueniet cum senibus populi sui et principibus eius.* Hęc de scribis et pharisęis dicuntur, populus autem simplex ab illis deceptus, adhuc populus dei uocatur et ideo iudicatur ut saluetur, non sedet, sed stat, ut illi in uia recta stent. *Ad*

*iudicium*: Id est ut cum illis simul iudicetur, dans eis locum defensionis, si habeant quod respondeant. Inter senes autem et principes apud eos hoc inter erat quod apud nos inter presbiteros et episcopos.

75

*Quare atteritis populum meum et facies pauperum commolitis? dicit dominus exercituum.* Prius propheta nunc autem more prophetali mutata persona ipse dominus corripit principes Iudeorum. *Rapina pauperum*: Id est uel simpliciter egenis uel pauperis spiritu; mystice hæc de principibus ecclesiarum accipiuntur, qui diuitibus peccantibus parcunt et pauperibus plus seuiunt, et substantias ecclesiae in proprios usus consumunt.

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*Et dixit dominus: Pro eo quod eleuatę sunt filię Sion et ambulauerunt extento collo et nutibus oculorum ibant et plaudebant, ambulabant et pedibus suis composito gradu incedebant.* Nunc propheticus sermo ad mulieres Iudeorum conuertitur, ne se alienas putent a crimine, ob quarum luxuriam exactores uineam domini, id est domum Israhel depasti sunt; alii de urbibus Iudę minoribus et uicis metaphoricę putant dici. Mystice de animabus non uirilem duritiam, sed femineam dissolutionem superbiam sequentibus dicitur, sed et mulieribus Christianis hec cauenda sunt.

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*Decalubabit dominus uerticem filiarum Sion et crines earum nudabit.* Id est feminarum uel urbium omnia ornamenta in captiuitate Romana perierunt. Mystice animę quarum peccata crine et ueste ignorantie coram hominibus celantur. Nudabuntur quando *nihil occultum erit quod non reuelabitur.*

90

*In die illa auferet dominus ornatum caltiamentorum et lunulas et torques et monilia et armillas et mitras, discriminalia et perscelides et murenulas et olfactoriola et inaures et anulas et gemmas in fronte pendentes, et mutatoria et pallia et linteamina et acus et specula et sindones et uittas et teristra.* *In die illa:* Id

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est Romanę captiuitatis; *ornatum pedum*, id est calciamenta; *lunulas*, id est in similitudinem lunę bullulas dependentes; *torques* quę ad pectus usque dependunt.

100 *Monilia* uno nomine omnia ornamenta significat; *armillas* brachiorum ornamenta; *mitras* capitis ornamenta; *discriminalia* quibus capilli ab inuicem discernuntur; *periscelidas* ornamenta crurum; *murenulas* quę auri et argenti texuntur uirgulis.

*Olfactoriola* uasa cum aromatibus ad olfaciendum compositis; *inaures* aurium ornamenta; *gemmas in fronte pendentes* quibus ora decorantur; *mutatoria et pallia* ornamenta sunt uestium mulierum, quibus humeri et pectora proteguntur.

105 *Linteamina* quibus lauati induuntur; *acus* quibus ornatorum crinium conpago retinetur, ne in sparsos dissipentur capillos. *Specula* quibus considerant uultum; *sindones*, id est amictoria uittas, quibus crines ligantur; *theristra* pallia quibus Arabię et Mesopotamię operiuntur femineę. Mystic hæc significant uirtutum ornamenta quibus animę decorantur, sed quando ille superbiunt et propriis uiribus et non deo uirtutes deputant. Ab illis spoliantur, quę ita sunt per ordinem:

[*ornamentum calciamentorum*] profectus gressuum in bono; [*lunulas*] ecclesia uel anima a sole iustitię inluminata; [*torques*] mentis intellegentia; [*munilia*] omnium bonorum aemulatio; [*armillas*] opera bona; [*mitras*] spes in Christo fixa; 115 [*discriminalia*] discretio iudicii; [*periscelidas*] munimen progressus a lapsu; [*murenulas*] sensus et sermo scripturarum; [*olfactoriola*] bona fama; [*inaures*] aures custodire a malo auditu; [*anulos*] sigillum Christianę militiae; [*gemmas in fronte dependentes*] diuina ex ore præcepta cum fide crucis; [*mutatoria*] mutatio de uirtute in uirtutem; [*linteamina*] fides [et] castitas; [*acus*] preceptorum destricta regula; 120 [*specula*] scientia scripturarum; [*sindones*] mortificatio uoluptatum; [*uittas*] animi constrictio ne fluat in uanum.



*Et erit pro suaui odore fetor et pro zona funiculus et pro crispanti crine caluitium et pro fascia pectorali cilicium. Pro suaui odore:* Hoc est uirtutum, [fedor] putredo peccatorum. *Pro zona,* ueritatis, *funiculus,* mendacii. *Pro crispanti crine [caluitium]:* Hoc est pro uenustate decoris aperta confusio. *Pro fascia pectorali:* Uirginale uestimentum est, et eum locum possidet in feminis quem rationale in pontificibus. *Cilicium:* Id est squalor uitiorum pro uirginali iustitia.

*Pulcherrimi quoque uiri tui gladio cadent, et fortes tui in proelio. Et merebunt atque lugebunt porte eius, et desolata in terra sedebit. Pulcherrimi:* Hoc est opera iustitię, quia *iustitia iusti non liberabit eum in quacumque die peccauerit. Portę eius:* Id est animę qui enim non omni custodia seruauerit cor suum ingrediente diabolo, et absente sponso lugebunt portę eius. *Et in terrę puluere sedebit:* Hęc autem prędicta secundum historiam de Romana captiuitate dicit, ad urbes Iudęe quas filias Sion prędixit, et quarum bellatores in proelio ceciderunt, et de eadem Sion nouissimę dicit: *Et merebunt usque sedebit.*

*Et adprehendent septem mulieres uirum unum in die illa dicentes: Panem nostrum comedemus et uestimentis nostris operiemur, tantummodo uocetur nomen tuum super nos, aufer obprobrium nostrum. Pulcherrimis Hierusalem in bello cadentibus pro paucitate uirorum, septem mulieres adprehendent uirum unum cupientes habere semen in Sion. Obprobrium nostrum:* Ut est *maledicta sterilis [et]* reliqua. Mystice septem spiritus sancti dona Ihesum adprehendent, quem diu desiderabant, quia nullum alium inuenerunt in quo aeterna statione requiescerent. *Panem et uestimentum:* Hoc est omnia possidebit spiritus sancti gratia, sed in hominibus semper patiabatur obprobrium, nullo uiuente ut spiritus sancti dona poscebant, propterea Ihesu nomen uolunt sibi inuocare, ut quod in lege imperfectum erat, in euangelio compleatur.

*In die illa erit germen domini in magnificentia et in gloria, et fructus terrę sublimis et exultatio his qui saluati fuerint de Israhel. Et erit omnis qui relictus fuerit in Sion et residuus in Hierusalem sanctus uocabitur, omnis qui scriptus est in uita in Hierusalem.* Hoc est carnali Israhel a Romanis contrito, orietur germen Christiani nominis, et terra dabit fructum suum. *Relictus et residuus*: Hoc est reliquię saluefactę apostolos et per illos credentes, quorum nomina scripta sunt in caelesti Hierusalem.

150

*Cum abluerit dominus sordes filiarum Sion et sanguinem Hierusalem lauerit de medio eius spiritu iudicii et spiritu ardoris.* Hoc est peccata per baptismum dimiserit, et sanguinem Hierusalem, id est cum ablutus fuerit ille sanguis quem errans populus super se inprecatus est: *Sanguis eius super nos* et reliqua. *Spiritu iudicii et spiritu ardoris*: Id est quod leuius est lauatur, quod grauius exuritur.

155

*Et creauit dominus super omnem locum montis Sion et ubi inuocatus est nubem per diem et fumum et splendorem ignis flammantis in nocte.* Hoc est Christo ueniente felicitas pristina populo reddetur, ut in diebus Moysi dominus in columna nubis per diem et in columna ignis per noctem precedebat eos; id est ut nec in prosperis nec in aduersis turbentur. Fumus in hoc loco non errorem et ignorantiam sed gloriam significat.

160

*Super omnem enim gloriam protectio et tabernaculum erit in umbraculum diei ab ęstu [et] in securitatem et in absconsionem a turbine et a pluuiis.* *Tabernaculum*: Id est aeclesia, ut *protexit me in abscondito tabernaculi sui, in petra exaltauit me,* super quam fundata ecclesia nulla tempestate nullo turbine concutitur.

165

*Cantabo dilecto meo canticum patrueli meo uineę suę.* Dilectus deo patri filius carmen lugubre fecit, ut est uidens Hierusalem *fleuit super eam, et dixit: Si scires et tu* et reliqua; quod ego cantabo nunc dilecto et miserabili populo meo.

170

*Patrueli meo*: Id est ex origine patrum meorum deducto, qui et uinea illius, id est dei dicitur, uel cantabo deo patri canticum Christi, qui est patruelis meus, hoc est ex eadem mecum gente generatus.

175 *Vinea facta est dilecto meo in cornu filio olei.* Haebraei hunc locum ita edisserunt: uinea Christo plantata est in cornu, id est in loco forti et sublimi; qui uocatur filius olei uel quod dei auxilio sustentetur et eius indigeat misericordia, uel quod gentibus notitiae dei lumen praeberit. Sed et cornu regnum oleum pinguidinem regni significat, per metaphoram uinea populum Iudeorum significat.

180 *Et sepiuit eam et lapides elegit ex illa et plantauit uineam Sorech et edificauit turrem in medio eius et torcular extruxit in ea.* *Sepiuit* eam angelorum auxilio; *lapides* idola et quae cultum dei impedire possunt. *Sorech* secundum Hebraeos genus est optimae uinae uberes et perpetuos fructus faciens. *Turrem*: Id est templum, *torcular*, id est altare fructus hostiarum suscipiens. Mystice quae de uinea dicuntur de anima humana intellegi possunt, quae a deo plantata est in bonum et non uuas, sed labruscas fecit, et postea bestiis tradita diuinum ymbrem doctrinae non suscepit, quia praeterita dona contempsit.

185 *Et expectaui ut faceret uuas et fecit labruscas.* *Expectaui* in tempore uindemiae, id est noui testamenti; *ut faceret uuas*, id est ut crederet. *Fecit* autem *labruscas* pessimos fructus, hoc est blasphemauit, negauit, et dominum crucifixit.

190 *Nunc ergo habitatores Hierusalem et uiri Iuda, iudicate inter me et uineam meam. Quid est quod debui ultra facere uinae meae et non fecerim ei? An quod expectaui ut faceret uuas, et fecit labruscas?* Feci, inquit, uniuersa quae debui: plantaui uineam in loco uberi, circumdedi maceriam, elegi lapides flagella eius  
195 hastilibus subrexi; edificauit turrem firmissimam, in qua fruges reconderem et de qua insidiantes frugibus bestias contemplerer; extruxi torcular, ut exprimerentur in eo

uuę et uinum funderent. Quia hęc igitur feci *Nunc habitatores Hierusalem usque et non feci ei*, et illis tacentibus sibi ipse respondet: nisi in hoc forte erraui quod pro labore meo expectaui ut faceret uuas, et non labruscas quas deserta et inculta uinea adfert.

*Et nunc ostendam uobis quid ego faciam uineę meę: auferam sepem eius et erit in direptionem, diruam maceriam eius, et erit in conculcationem, et ponam eam desertam, non potabitur et non fodietur, et ascendent uepres et spinę.* Hoc est quia non uultis respondere quod scitis, ego pro uobis respondeo indicans quid facturus sim. Omnia bona quę dederam retraham. Hęc sub metaphora uineę de captiuitate Romana et solitudine Hierusalem dicuntur.

*Et nubibus mandabo ne pluant super eam ymbrem.* Nubes sunt propheteę et apostoli, quos Iudęi post passionem domini non habuerunt.

*Uinea domini exercituum domus est Israhel, et uir Iuda germen delectabile eius.* *Domus Israhel* [id] est totus populus decem tribuum in cuius conparatione; *germen delectabile* uocatur Iuda in quo Isaię tempore dei religio et sacerdotes erant.

*Spectaui ut faceret iudicium et ecce iniquitas, et iustitiam et ecce clamor.* *Ut faceret iudicium*, id est uuas, *et ecce iniquitas*, id est labruscas, *clamor* ut *Tolle tolle, crucifige*. Pulchrę hęc nomina Hebraicę inter se respondent: iudicium enim apud eos dicitur MESPAT, iniquitas MESPAAAT; iustitia dei SADACHA, clamor SAUCHA.

*Uę qui coniungitis domum ad domum et agrum agro copulatis usque ad terminum loci; numquid habitabitis soli uos in medio terrę.* Hęc de auaritia principium Iudęorum dicuntur, qui aliorum necessitatem suam faciebant uoluptatem. Mystice de hereticis qui semper noua dogmata ueteribus addunt.

*In auribus meis sunt haec domini exercituum, nisi domus multę desertae fuerint grandes et pulchre absque habitatore.* Id est, *in auribus meis* adhuc resonant hæc domini exercituum, id est uerba quę locutus est deus; hoc est quod post captiuitatem domus multę desertę future sint. Mystice superueniente iudicio hereticorum et philosophorum dogmata ad nihilum rediguntur.

225

*Decem enim iugera uinearum facient lagunculam unam et triginta modii sementis facient modios tres. Lagunculam unam uel batum [unum]:* Id est tres anforas, *et triginta modii*, id est choros Haebraice, *modios tres*, id est oephi. Eadem autem mensura est batus et in liquidis et oephi in aridis. Haec autem dicuntur de nimia sterilitate quę captiuitatem sequitur. Mystice heretici habent uineam, id est scripturam, sed *uinea eorum uinea Sodomorum* et reliqua, et non habentes ueritatis fructus folia uerborum promittunt. Ideo de denario numero, qui perfectus est, et de trigesimo numero, in quo dominus baptizatus est, rediguntur ad oephi, qui in comparatione multiplicis numeri unione constringitur, ut ostendas eos solos esse; id est sine ueritate et Christo.

235

*Uae qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam et potandum usque ad uesperam, ut uino aestuatis. Cythara et lyra et tymphanum et tibia et uinum in conuiuuis uestris, et opus domini non respicitis nec opera manuum eius consideratis.*

Arguit agricolas uineę, qui imminente sterilitate et incendio, luxuriae se tradiderunt non solum in edendo et bibendo, sed in aurium quoque oblectatione et quę uentura sunt non considerant. Mystice omnis perturbatio animę uocatur ebrietas, de uino furoris draconum concepta. *A mane usque ad uesperam*, id est ab adoliscencia usque ad senectutem, qui sic inebriati, et modulationibus, id est oblectationibus occupati fiunt deum in suis operibus non honorificant, uel se ipsos non considerant cur creati sunt.

245

*Propterea captiuus ductus est populus meus quia non habuit scientiam, et nobiles eius interierunt fame et multitudo eius siti exaruit.* Haec historialiter sub Tito et Uespasiano contigerunt Iudæis. Sed et spiritaliter conuenit illis qui famem et sitim uerbi dei semper habent, quia non habent scientiam spiritalem legis et prophetarum. Alii hoc generaliter de Gehenna in qua punietur omnis qui dei scientiam non habuit intellegunt.

*Propterea dilatauit infernus animam suam et aperuit os suum absque ullo termino, et descendent fortes eius et populus eius et sublimes gloriosique eius ad eum, et incuruabitur homo et humiliabitur uir, et oculi sublimium deprimentur.*

Dilatauit ut absque ullo numero et sacietate principes et nobiles Iudæorum deuoraret in perpetuum puniendos. Animam et os dixit, ut ex uerbis humanę consuetudinis insensibilium exprimeret affectum, quod numquam mortuorum multitudine compleatur. Hęc spiritaliter et de omnibus sæculi deliciis deditis, fame et siti bonorum operum morientibus accipiuntur qui in Gehennam detracti, potentiam et superbiam miseria et humilitate mutabunt.

*Et exaltabitur dominus exercituum in iudicio et deus sanctus sanctificabitur in iustitia.* Hoc est cum unusquisque receperit secundum merita sua, tunc exaltabitur deus in iudicio et iustitia, cuius prius iudicium in iustum uidebatur.

*Et pascentur agni iuxta ordinem suum et deserta in ubertatem uersa aduenę comedent.* *Pascentur agni:* Id est sancti in pratis ecclesię non hedi, [et] *deserta*, id est quę ab Iudæis deserta sunt in ubertatem uersa comedet populus gentium. Sed et historialiter abiectis Iudæis de sua terra, uaria multitudo gentium pro illis habitat in ea.

*Uę qui trahitis iniquitatem in funiculis uanitatis, et quasi uinculum plaustri peccatum, qui dicitis: Festinet et cito ueniat opus eius, ut uideamus, et adpropriet et*

*ueniat consilium sancti Israhel et sciemus illud.* Funiculus dicitur longus usus in peccatis protractus et uariis uitis contextus, ut *funiculis peccatorum* [et] reliqua. Hęc autem dicuntur ad principes Iudęorum qui in peccatis durantes usque hodie blasphemant. *In funiculis uanitatis:* Hoc est peccatum facile textitur et inane est, ut

275 fila aranearum sed inde uolentes exire solidissimis uinculis nectit. Plaustrum plenum, hoc est onus peccatorum graue super talentum plumbi. Est autem sensus: uę uobis qui putatis diem iudicii, uel captiuitatem non uenturam, qui dicitis ad prophetam: Usque quo nobis dei minaris iram? Uolumus eam scire iam ueniat. Hoc autem dicunt quoniam eam non putent esse uenturam, sed a propheta simulari.

280 *Uę qui dicitis malum bonum et bonum malum, ponentes tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras, ponentes amarum in dulce et dulce in amarum.* Hoc Iudęi fecerunt eligentes Barabban latronem et damnantes Ihesum saluatorem. Sed et eos significat qui peccatum non putant bono detrahare, et malum laudare.

*Uę qui sapientes estis in oculis uestris, et coram uobismetipsis prudentes.*

285 *Sapientes* scribę et pharisęi mandata dei relinquentes traditiones hominum sequebantur; sapientia secundum stoicos, in diuinis et humanis rebus, prudentia in mortalibus tantum dicitur.

*Uae qui potentes estis ad bibendum uinum et uiri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem.* Historialiter luxuriosos et ebriosos arguit principes; sed et scribę et

290 pharisęi uino draconis inębriati ipsi miscebant et inębriabant populos, ut pari furore contra dominum conclamarent. Mystice uinum uitium quodlibet ut libido uel gula, ebrietas omnium uitiorum perturbatio [est].

*Qui iustificatis impium [pro muneribus et iustitiam iusti aufertis ab eo].*

Ebrietas enim statum et rectitudinem mentis subuertit et auaritia. *Qui iustificatis*

295 *impium pro muneribus*: Id est non causas, sed dona considerantes. *Et iustitiam iusti aufertis ab eo*: Id est pro inopia sanctos pauperes dispicientes.

*Propter hoc sicut deuorat stipulam ligna ignis, et calor flamme exurit, sic radix eorum quasi fauilla erit, et germen eorum ut puluis ascendet*. Id est propter superiores causas superbię et ebrietatis et auaritię, ideo radix malitię eorum redigetur in fauillam et omnis flos et pulchritudo diuitiarum et corporis pulueri comparabitur. Non enim solum ista fecerunt, sed et his gradibus peruenerunt ad blasphemiam, ut legem domini non reciperent, et eloquium sancti Israhel blasphemarent, de quibus predixit: [*Quia*] *de Sion exhibit lex et uerbum domini de Hierusalem*.

305 *Ideo iratus est furor domini in populum suum, et extendit manum suam super eum et percussit eum, et conturbati sunt montes et facta sunt morticina eorum quasi stercus in medio platearum*. In omnibus his non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta. Hoc est quod sermonem sancti Israhel blasphemauerunt dicentes, demonium habet, et: *Nonne hic est fabri filius, idcirco iratus est furor domini* reliqua. *Manum suam*: Id est potentiam diuinam, sed et manus et brachium domini Christus est; *percussit eum*, id est populum suum. *Conturbati sunt montes*: Id est contrarię potestates ut alii dicunt uel illi spiritus qui in ministerio domini sunt, qui puniunt peccatores; sed tamen yperbolice magis dicitur quod magnitudine malorum imminentium etiam montes commoueantur, et cadaueribus mortuorum repleantur omnes plateę urbium. Haec historialiter sub Uespasiano et Adriano facta sunt. Cumque hec facta sint, non est auersus furor eius reliqua, manus eius extenta irascentis et percutientis habitus est.

*Et eleuabit signum in nationibus procul et sibilabit ad eum de finibus terre, et ecce festinus uelociter ueniet. Non erit deficiens neque laborans in eo, non*



320 *dormitabit neque dormiet neque soluetur cingulum lumborum eius, nec rumpetur  
 corrigia calciamenti eius. Sagittę eius acutę et omnes arcus eius extenti, unguļę  
 equorum eius ut silex, et rotę eius quasi impetus tempestatis. Rugitus eius ut leonis,  
 rugiet ut catuli leonum, et frendet et tenebit predam et amplexabitur et non erit qui  
 eruat. Et sonabit super eum in die illa sicut sonitus maris; aspiciemus in terram et*  
 325 *ecce tenebrę tribulationis et lux obtenebrata est in caligine eius. Signum, id est*  
 congregandi nationes ad deuastandam Iudeam; hæc secundum Hebręos de  
 Babyloniis sed uerius de Romanis cum populis Hispanię et Galliarum procul positis  
 dicuntur. Describit ergo sermo diuinus uelocitatem uenientis exercitus, qui non sua,  
 sed domini uoluntate uenit, immo adtractus sit et sibilo illius prouocatus, ideo  
 330 prospera sine offendiculis omnia habuit, et pro cupiditate predandi non dormiuit,  
 sicut sonitus maris, ululatus uincentis exercitus marinis fluctibus comparatur. Cum  
 igitur uenerit Romanus exercitus et tenuerit prædam et non fuerit qui eruat, propheta  
 compacientis affectu iungens se populo ait: Aspiciemus in terram; caelum enim  
 aspicere non audebimus, cuius habitatorem offendimus. Quidam interpres de signo  
 335 crucis et de uocatione gentium ad fidem hæc intellexit, quod nescio quomodo  
 sequentibus non conuenit.

TERMINAT HIERONIMUS LIBRUM DEINDE SECUNDUM.

## 2b. Apparatus for Book II

1-2 Ecce enim...aque] Ecce enim dominator usque aque *S* 1 auferet] *P Gry.*, aufert  
*M Gry.* \* *Vul.* 2 aque] aquae *Gry. Vul.* Haec] *om. M*, Hęc *S* 3 Iudaeos] Iudeos *P S*  
non] *om. P S* Babylonia] Babyllonia *M* 5 haec] hęc *S* Nihil enim] enim *om.*  
*Gry.* Iudeos] Iudeos *P S* 6 uel] nihil *Gry.* 7 cibo] cybo *M* Mystice] mystice  
*sup. Mys P* caelo] celo *S* 8 aufertur] auferetur *Gry.* Iudaeis] Iudeis *P S* aqua  
aeternam] aquam *corr.* aqua *P*, aqua ęternam *S* 9 Fortem...senem] Fortem usque  
senem *S* iudicem] et iudicem *M* ariolum] *M P Gry.* \* *Ga. Vul.*, hariolum *Gry.*  
11 iudicentur] iudicantur *S*, iudicent *Gry.*, iudicant *Gry.* \* 12 Iudeos] Iudeos *P S*  
plena] plęna *M* 13 ariolum] hariolum *P Gry.* sepe] sepe *P*, saepe *Gry.* futura  
dicuntur] *rep. et cancell. S* dicuntur] dicantur *Gry.* ut in Balaam] ut in  
Babyloniam *P*, uel Balaam *scrips. sup. lin.* 13-14 Et est sensus] Et consensum est  
*P*, uel ergo *scrips. sup.* et, uel sus *scrips. sup.* consensum 14 Iudeis] Iudeis *P S*,  
Iudaeis *Gry.* aetate] etate *S* 15 ut] ut est illud *P S* canitia] canicia *M* est] e  
*corr.* est *M* 16 Et...quingenta] principem super quingenta et honorabilem  
uultu et consiliarium sapientem de architectis et prudentem eloquii mystici *Vul.*  
quingenta] *L S* quinquagenarius] quinquagenarios *P* qui quingenta] qui  
quaginta *S* 17 militibus] milibus *S* eos] Iudeos *corr.* eos *P* bellatorum]  
bellorum *S* 18 habebant] habeant *Gry.* 19 quingenta] *L S* paenitentium]  
poenitentium *P* 20 Sapientem de architectis] Sapientem architectum *P S Vul.* \*, Et  
sapientem architectum *Gry.*, sapientem de architectis *Vul.* aedificia] ędificia *S*  
22 hęc] haec *P S* ab] a *corr.* ab *P*, a *S* Iudeis] Iudeis *P S* ecclesiam]  
aecclesiam *M*, eclesiam *S*

23 ut consiliarius] consiliarius ut *P* prudens] prudentem *P*, prudentes *S*  
 24 scripturę] scripturae *S* 25 principes eorum] *om.* *S* 26 prophetam] profetam *P*  
 quę] quae *P* 27 mala dabo] dabo mala *Gry.* Ut] Ut est illud *S* Uę] Ue *P*, Vae  
 tibi terra cuius rex puer est *Eccl. 10:16* iuuenis] iuuenis est *S* 28 et] *om.* *P*  
 paruulos] *inser.* *S* 29 eis] *om.* *S* 30 deliciis] diliciis *M Gry.\** 31-2 Et  
 irruet...nobilem] Et irruet populus usque nobilem *S* 31 inruet] *M P Vul.*, irruet *S*,  
 corruet *Gry. Vul.\** 33 aetatis] ętatis *S* aetatis uel dignitatis] nec dignitatis nec  
 aetatis *Gry.* scientię] scientiae *P* Haec] Hec *S* sub Tito] subito *S Gry.\**  
 Iudęis] Iudeis *P S* 34 expugnata] expugnatam *S* Hierusalem] Hierosolyma *P*  
 seditio] sedicio *S* 35 tenuerunt] *omn. et Gry.\**, tenuerint *Gry.* 36-7 Adprehendet  
 enim...manu tua] Adprehendet enim uir fratrem suum usque sub manu tua *S*  
 36 Adprehendet] Apprehendet *Gry.* 37 cybum] cibum *P S* 38 inclitus] inclutus  
*Gry.* et potens es] es et potens *P* hęc] haec *P*, hec *S* 39 defendatur] defundatur  
*M* erat] sit *Gry.* 40 alios] alios *M* 41 Respondebit...dicens] *om.* *P S* 41-2 Non  
 sum...populi] Non sum medicus usque populi *S* 42 Ille] Ille qui *P* et ideo] ideo *S*  
 44 delato] delata *M* 46 inuitati] inuitatis *S* 47 consentiant] consentiant + *eras.* [fu..]  
*M*  
 48-50 Ruit enim...nec absconderunt] Ruit enim Hierusalem usque nec absconderunt  
*S* 48 Iudas] Iuda *M Gry.\* Vul.\** lingua] ligua *corr.* lingua *M* 50 respondit]  
 respondebit *P Gry.\* Ga. Vul.\** Sodomę] Sodoma *P S Gry. Vul.\**, Sodomae *Vul.*  
*Gry.\** pędicauerunt] predicauerunt *P*, praedicauerunt *Gry. Vul.* 51 hęc] haec *P*,  
 et *corr.* hec *S* causus] cusas *corr.* causas *M* blasphemię] blasphemiae *P*  
 52 Tolle tolle, crucifige] *Ioh. 19:15* peccata eorum] peccatorum *S*  
 53 Responderunt illi] Respondebunt illis *P* 54 sodomitę] sodomite *M*

55 blasphemię suę] blasphemiae suae *P S* 56 habuere] *M P Gry.*, habuerunt *S*  
57-8 Uę animę...comederunt] *Ue animae eorum usque comederunt S* 57 Uę] *Uae P*  
*Gry. Vul.*, *Ue S* animę] anime *P*, animae *S Gry. Vul.* 58 comedet] *P Gry.\* Ga.*  
*Vul.*, comedent *M Gry.\* Vul.\**, comederunt *S Gry. Vul.\** uę] *ue S* 59 receperunt]  
reciperunt *P Gry.\**, *corr.* receperunt *P* prophetę] prophetae *S* legis] *omn. et*  
*Gry.\**, legis *Gry.* quia] quae *P* 61 Populum...eis] Populum meum usque  
dominate sunt eius *S* dominate] dominate *M S*, dominatae *Gry. Vul.* eius] *eis M*  
62 pharisęi] pharisei *M P* primitias] primicias *M* 65-6 Popule meus...dissipant]  
Popule meus usque dissipant *S* 65 ipsi te] *te om. M* 66 pharisęi] pharisei *M P*  
diuitias] diuicias *S* 67 uocabant] (-ur) *eras. M* domus] domu *corr.* domus *M*  
dei] *inser. S* scientię] scientiae *P S* 68 intrare sinebant] sinebant intrare *P*  
69-70 Stat ad...principibus eius] Stat ad iudicandum dominus usque principibus eius  
*S* 70 iudicium] iuditium *M* Hęc] Haec *P* 71 pharisęis] phariseis *S* 72 ut illi] *ut et*  
illi *P S*

73 iudicium] iuditium *M* iudicetur] iudcetur *M*, iudicet *corr.* iudicetur *P*  
74 respondeant] respondant *corr.* respondeant *M* eos] Iudeos *corr.* eos *P*  
76-7 Quare...exercituum] Quare atteritis usque exercituum *S* 76 atteritis] adteritis *P*  
*Vul.* dominus] *omn. et Vul.\**, Dominus Deus *Vul.* 76-7 dicit dominus exercituum]  
*M P Vul. Ga. Vi., om. Gry.* 78 Iudęorum] Iudeorum *M S* uel simpliciter] *uel om.*  
*S* 79 egenis] *corr.* egeni *P* pauperis] pauperes *S* hęc] haec *P, om. M*  
ecclesiarum] eclesiarum *S* 80 diuitibus] deuitibus *corr.* diuitibus *P* plus] *inser. P*  
ecclesiae] aecclesię *M*, ecclesiae *S* 81 proprios] propriis *corr.* proprios *M*  
82-4 Et dixit...incedebant] Et dixit dominus usque incedebant *S* 83 ambulabant] *et*  
ambulabant *M* pedibus] in pedibus *P Vul.* 84 composito] composito *P Vul.*

85 crimine] crimine] S luxuriam] luxuriam P Gry\*, corr. luxuriam P 86 domum] domus S Iudę] Iudaeae P, Iudę S, Iudaeae Gry., Iud(a)e Gry. \* 87 metaphoricę] metaforice P S Mystice] Mystice] M, Mys(tice) P, mystice marg. P

88 dissolutionem] S Gry., desolutionem M P Gry. \* Christianis] Cristianis corr. Christianis M hec] hec P 90 Decaluabit...nudabit] Decaluabit dominus usque nudabit S Decaluauit] S Gry. \* Vul. \*, corr. Decaluabit S et crines] M Gry. \*, et dominus crinem P Vul. Ga. Vi., et crinem Gry. 91 feminarum] uel feminarum P S Mystice] Mystice] M 92 anime] anime M ignorantiae] ignorantie M hominibus] ominibus corr. hominibus S 93 quando] quado corr. quando M nihil...reuelabitur] nihil enim opertum quod non reuelabitur et occultum quod non scietur Matt. 10:26, non enim est occultum quod non manifestetur Luc. 8:17 reuelabitur] reueletur S 94-7 In die illa...teristra] om. P S 94 caltiamentorum] calceamentorum Gry., calciamentorum Vul. Gry. \* Ga. Vi. 95 perscelides] periscelides Gry. 96 inaures] anaures corr. inaures M anulas] anula corr. anulas M, anulos Gry. Vul. 97 pallia] palliola Vul. teristra] theristra Gry. Vul.

98 Romanę] Romane M id est] id corr. id est P 99 similitudinem] similitudine S Gry. \* lunę] lunae P S quę] quae P S usque] om. S Gry. \* 100 Monilia] Munilia S Gry. \* armillas] armillas sunt S ornamenta] ornamentum M 101 discriminalia] et discriminalia P 102 periscelidas] perscelidas M Gry. \* crurum] crurarum corr. crurum S quę] quae S 103 aurium] arium corr. aurium M 105 mulierum] muliebrium Gry. humeri] umeri Gry. 107 dissipentur] disipentur P, dissipent S 108 theristra] teristra S Gry. \* Er. Vi. 109 Arabię et Mesopotamię] Arabiae et Mesopotamiae P Gry. femine] femine M, feminae P Mystice] Mystice] M hec] haec P, hoc S significant] significat S 110 ille] ille] P, illi corr.

ille *S* 111 quę] quae *S* 112 ecclesia] ęclesia *M*, eclesia *S* 113 iustitię] iustitiae *P S*  
*Gry.* intellegentia] intelegentia *M*, intellegentiae *S* 114 aemulatio] emulatio *P*,  
ęmulatio *S* 115 iudicii] iuditii *M* 117 Christianę] Christiane *M* militiae] milicię *S*  
118 diuina] diuine *corr.* diuina *S* pęccepta] precepta *M* 119 fides et] et *om.* *M S*  
destricta] districta *P S*, stringebantur *Gry.*

122-3 Et erit...cilicium] *om.* *P S* 122 fetor] *M Gry.* \* *Ga. Adr. Vul.*, foetor *Gry.* et  
pro crispanti crine caluitium] *om.* *Gry.* 123 Pro suaui] Et erit pro suaui *P S*  
124 fetor] *om.* *M*, foetor *P* mendacii] mendatii *P* 125 caluitium] *om.* *M*,  
caluicium *S* uenustate] uetustate *corr.* uenustate *P* 126-7 Uirginale...in  
pontificibus] id est pro uirginali iustitia *S* 126 possidet] possedit *M*, possedet *corr.*  
possidet *P* 127 uitiorum] uiciorum *S* pro uirginali iustitia] fascia pectoralis  
uirginale uestimentum est et eum locum possidet in feminis quem rationale in  
pontificibus *S* 128-9 Pulcherrimi...sedebit] *om.* *P S* 128 glodio] gladio *Gry. Vul.*  
129 merebunt] maerebunt *Gry.*, merebunt *Gry.* \* *Vul.* porte] portae *Gry. Vul.* et  
desolata in terra sedebit] in terra sedebit *M Ga. Er. Vi.*, et ipsa urbs desolata sedebit  
in terra *Gry.* Pulcherrimi] Pulcherrimi quoque uiri tui *S* 130 iustitię] iustitiae *P S*  
iustitia...peccauerit] *Ezech. 33:12* peccauerit] aberrauerit *Gry.* 131 anime] *S*  
animae *P* 132 terre] terrae *P S* 133 Hęc] Haec *P S* pęcdicta] predicta *M*,  
praedicta *P* secundum] per *P* dicit] *om.* *S* 134 Iudę] Iudaeae *P*, Iudę *S*, Iudaeae  
*Gry.* quas] quasi *P* filias] filia *M* pęcduxit] praedixit *S* proelio] *P S Gry.*,  
proęlio *M*, certamine *Gry.* 135 Et merebunt usque sedebit] *M S*, Et merebunt atque  
lugebunt portę eius, et desolata in terra sedebit *P* 136-8 Et  
adprehendent...obprobrium nostrum] Et adprehendent septem mulieres usque  
obprobrium nostrum *S* 136 adprehendent] *corr.* apprehendent *P*, apprehendent *Gry.*

136 uocetur] *M Gry. Vul.*, inuocetur *P Gry. \* Vul. \** 138 obprobrium] opprobrium  
*Gry.* bello] pello *M* 139 pro] pre *S* adprehendent] adprehendent *M*,  
adprehendent *corr.* apprehendent *P* uirum unum] *omn. et Gry. \**, unum uirum  
*Gry.* 140 cupientes] *M Gry.*, uolentes *P S* maledicta sterilis] *obsc. Vul.*, cf. *Isaiah*  
*31:9 et Wis. 3:13* et reliqua] et *om. M P* 141 adprehendent] adprehenderunt *M*,  
adprehendent *corr.* apprehendent *P* 142 desiderabant] desiderauerant *Gry.*  
143 omnia] *om. P* possidebit] possedit *P*, possedebit *corr.* possidebit *S*, possideat  
*Gry.* 144 semper] *inser. P* patiabatur] paciebatur *P S*, patiebatur *Gry.*  
145 propterea] ideo *P S* uolunt] uoluit *P S*, cupiunt *Gry.* inuocare] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \* Ga.*, inuocari *Gry.* imperfectum] imperfectum *Gry.* 146 compleatur]  
conpleatur *P*, compleretur *S*

147-50 In die illa...in Hierusalem] In die illa erit germen domini usque in uita in  
Hierusalem *S* 147 terre] terrae *P Gry. Vul.* 148 exultatio] exsultatio *Gry. Vul.*  
fuerint] furint *corr.* fuerint *M* 149 Hierusalem] Herusalem *corr.* Hierusalem *M*  
150 carnali] carna *corr.* carnali *S* 151 Christiani] Cristiani *M* 152 reliquie] reliquie  
*M*, reliquiae *P* salufacte] saluēfacte *P S* apostolos] apostoli *M*, per *inser. P*  
154-5 Cum abluerit...ardoris] Cum abluerit sordem *P*, Cum abluerit sordes *S*  
154 Cum] si *Vul.* 155 ardoris] *M Ga. Vul.*, combustionis *Gry.* 156 super se] *inser.*  
post quem *S* inprecatus] inpreatus *M S*, imprecatus *Gry.* Sanguis eius super  
nos] *Matt. 27:25*, Sanguis eius inquit super nos *S* et reliqua] et *om. M* 158 leuius]  
leue *Gry.* quod] et quod *S* 159-60 Et creabit...in nocte] Et creabit dominus usque  
in nocte *S* 159 creauit] *M P Gry. \* Ga. Er. Ma. Vul. \**, creabit *S Gry. Vul.*  
160 splendorem] spendorem *M* 163 errorem et ignorantiam] errorem ignorantiae *S*  
165-6 Super omnem...pluuia] Super omnem gloriam usque ad pluuiam *S* 165 enim]

autem *Gry.* 166 eŝtu] estu *M*, aestu *Gry. Vul.* 167 aecclesia] ecclesiam *P*, eclesiam *S*, ecclesia *Gry.* protexit me...exaltauit me] abscondet me in secreto tabernaculi sui in petra exaltabit me *Psalms 26:5-6* protexit] protexisti *M Gry.\** in petra] et in petra *P* exaltauit] exaltasti *M* 168 quam] quem *S* ecclesia] eclesia *S* 169 Cantabo...suę] Cantabo dilecto meo uineae suae *S* patrueli] *M P Vul.\**, patruelis *Gry. Vul.* meo] *M P Vul.\** mei *Gry. Vul.* suę] suae *P S Gry. Vul.* 170 lugubre] lucubre *P* 170-1 fleuit...tu] *cf. Luc. 19:41* Si scires] Quasi si scires *S* 171 et reliqua] et *om. M* cantabo nunc dilecto] nunc cantabo dilecto *S*, dantabo *corr.* cantabo *S*

174 mecum] *om. et inser. marg. M* generatus] genitus *M* 175 Uinea...olei] Uinea facta est usque olei *S* Vinea] Uinea *P S* 175-6 Haebręi...edisserunt] Hoc est pro Hebreis *P*, Hoc est secundum Hebreos *S* 177 auxilio sustentetur] sustentetur auxilio *Gry.* indigeat] indiget *P Gry.\** 178 notię] *M*, notitiae *Gry.*, iustitiae *P S Gry.\** prebuerit] prebuerit *M* pinguidinem] pinguedinem *P S* 179 metaphoram] metaforam *P S* 180-1 Et sepiuit...in ea] *om. P S* 180 sepiuit] sepsit *Gry. Vul.*, sepiuit *Gry.\* Vul.\** uineam Sorech] *M Gry. Vul.\**, eam electam *Vul.* edificauit] aedificauit *Gry. Vul.* 181 Sepiuit] Sepsit *P*, Sepiuit *S* 182 quę] quae *P Gry.* inpedire] impedire *Gry.* secundum Hebreos] pro Hebreis *P*, secundum Hebreos *S* 183 optime] optime *M S*, optimae *Gry.* uineę] uineae *P S* faciens] facientis *P*, hostiarum suscipiens ÷ *S* 183-4 faciens...fructus] *om. et inser. marg. ÷* facientis. Turrim, id est templum, torcular, id est altare fructus *S* 184 torcular] torcolar *corr.* torcular *P* uinea] uina *M* 185 quę] quae *S Gry.* 186 diuinum ymbrem] dignum imbrum *P*, diuinum imbrem *Gry.* suscepit] suscipit *P* quia] quae *S*



187 pręterita] preterita *S*, praeterita *Gry.* contempsit] contempsit *P*, contempserit  
*Gry.* 188 Et expectaui...labruscas] *om. P S* expectaui] *M Gry.\* Ga. Er. Vi. Adr.*  
*Vul.\**, exspectauit *Gry.*, expectauit *Vul.* Expectauit] Et expectauit *P*, Expectaui *S*  
189 uindemię] uindemiae *P S Gry.* ut faceret] ut *inser. P* 190 labruscas  
pessimos] labruscas id est pessimos *S* hoc est] qui *S* 191-3 Nunc ergo...fecit  
labruscas] Nunc autem habitatores usque labruscas *S* 191 habitatores] *M P Gry.\**  
*Vi. Adr. Vul.\**, habitator *Gry. Vul.* uiri] *M P Gry.\* Vul.\**, uir *Gry. Vul.* et  
uineam] et inter uineam *Vul.* 192 fecerim ei] feci *P Gry.\* Ga. Er. Vi.*, feci ei *Vul.*  
193 expectaui] exspectaui *Gry.* inquit] inquit *P* uniuersa] omnia *P S* que]  
quae *P S Gry.* 194 maceriam] maceria *M*, materia *P* flagella] et flagella *Gry.*, et  
*inser. S* 195 hastilibus subrexi] hastilibus calamisque *Gry.*, calamisque *inser. S*  
ędificaui] edificaui *P S* turrem] *corr. turrim S*, turrim *Gry.\* Er. Adr.* 196 bestias]  
bestiis *corr. bestias S* extruxi] extruxi *P* exprimerentur] expremere[n]tur *P*,  
premerentur *Gry.*

197 uuę] uuae *P S* Quia hęc igitur feci] *M*, Quia haec igitur feci *Gry.*, Quia haec  
ergo omnia feci *P*, ergo hec omnia feci ei *S* 197-8 Nunc...feci ei] Nunc habitatores  
Hierusalem et uiri Iuda iudicate inter me et uineam meam: quid est quod debui ultra  
facere \uineae meae/ et non feci ei *P* 198 et illis] et *om. S* ipse] ipsi *M Gry.\**  
199 faceret uuas] *omn. et Gry.\* Er. Vi.*, uuas faceret *Gry.* deserta et inculta]  
inculta ac deserta *Gry.* 200 adfert] affert *S*, affere consueuit *Gry.* 201-3 Et nunc...et  
spine] Et nunc ostendam usque spine] *S* 201 uobis] *inser. P* uineę meę] uineae  
meae *P Gry. Vul.* sępem] sepem *P Gry. Vul.* 203 potabitur] *M Gry. Vul.\**,  
potabitur *corr. putabitur P*, putabitur *Vul. Gry.\** et non] neque *P Vul.\** spine]  
spine *M*, spinae *Gry. Vul.* 205 que] que *P*, quae *S* Hęc] Haec *P*, Hec *S*

metaphora] metafora *P*, metaforam *S* uineę] uineae *P S* 206 dicuntur] dicantur  
*corr.* dicuntur *M* 207 ne pluant super eam ymbrem] *om. S* ymbrem] *M Gry. \**,  
 imbrem *P Gry. Vul.* Nubes] Nube *corr.* Nubes *M* prophetę] prophetae *S*  
 208 Iudei] Iudei *P* 209-10 Uinea domini...eius] *om. P S* Uinea domini] Uinea  
 enim domini *Vul. Gry. \** domus est] *M Gry. Vul. \*, est om. Vul. Gry. \** Israhel]  
 Ira(he)l] *corr.* Isra(he)l *M* 210 decem] decim *S* 211 delectabile] dilectabile *corr.*  
 delectabile *P* Isaię] Isaias *S* religio] relegio *corr.* religio *P*  
 212 Spectai...clamor] *om. P S* Spectai] *M Gry. \**, Exspectai *Gry.*, et expectai  
*Vul.* iuditium] iudicium *Gry. Vul.* 212-3 Ut faceret] Ut non faceret *corr.* Ut  
 faceret *P* 213 iudicium] iuditium *M* Tolle tolle] Tole tolle *S* 214 Pulchrę]  
 Pulchre *M*, Pulcrę *S* heç] haec *P*, hec *S* Hebraicę] Hebreice *corr.* Hebraice *P*,  
 Hebraice *S* iudicium] iuditium *M* 215 MESPAT] mephat *corr.* mesphat *M*,  
 mesfat *S Gry. \*, corr.* mesfath *S* MESPHAAT] *P*, mesphat *M Gry. \*, mesfaat corr.*  
 mesfaa *S*, MESPAAA *Gry.* SADACHA] *M Ga.*, sadaca *P S Gry.* 216 SAUCHA]  
 sauca *P*, suaca *S Gry. \*, saaca Gry.* 217-8 Uę qui coniungitis...terre] Uae qui  
 coniungitis domum ad domum usque terre] *S* 217 Uę] Ue *P*, Vae *Gry. Vul.*  
 218 habitabitis] habitis *corr.* habitabitis *P* soli uos in medio terre] soli uos in  
 medio terrae *P Vul.*, soli super terram *Gry.* Heç] Haec *P S* auaritia] auaricia *S*  
 219 Iudeorum] Iudeorum *S* dicuntur] *inser. P* qui] quae *P* suam] in suam *P S*  
 220 uoluptatem] uoluntatem *P Gry. \** Mystice] Mistice *S*  
 221-2 haec domini...absque habitatore] *om. P S* 221 multę] multae *Gry. Vul.*  
 222 pulchre] pulchrae *Gry. Vul.* 223 heç] haec *P* que] quae *S* locutus est deus]  
 deus locutus est *P* hoc est] domus multę, hoc est *S* 224 deserte] desertae *P Gry.*  
 future] *om. P S Gry. \*, futurae Gry.* sint] *M Gry.*, erunt *P S* 226 Decem] Decim *P*

*S Gry. \*, corr. Decem P iugera] M Gry. \* Vul. \*, iugea corr. iugera P, iuga S Gry. Vul. 226-7 et triginta...modios tres] om. P S 227 tres] quattuor M S 228 anforas] omn. et Gry. \*, amphoras Gry. triginta] xxxta P 208 choros] corus Gry. Haebraice] Hebreice corr. Hebraice P, Hebraicę S, hebraice Gry. oephi] oefy S, epha Gry. 229 batus] bathus S et oephi] et corr. ton P, et oefy S Haec] Hoc S 230 sterilitate] sterelitate P que] quae P sequitur] P Gry., sequetur M Gry. \*, sequuntur S 231 uinea eorum uinea Sodomorum] Deut. 32:32 et reliqua] om. S 232 fructus] fructum P Ideo de] de inser. M numero] om. S perfectus] perfectus numerus S 233 trigesimo] tricesimo corr. trigesimo P, triginta S, tricenario Gry. numero] numero perfecto S oephi] oefy S 234 unione] unionem S ostendas] ostendat P 236-8 Uae qui...consideratis] Uae qui consurgitis usque consideratis S 215 consurgitis] surgitis corr. consurgitis M ebrietatem] ebrietatem M 237 aestuatis] estuetis P, aestuetis Gry. Vul. Cythara] M P Gry. \*, Cithara Gry. Vul. tymphanum] timphanum Vul. \*, tympanum P Gry. Vul. tibia] tibię P Gry. \* Vul. \* 239 uineę] uineae P S Gry. qui] quod S luxuriae se tradiderunt] se tradiderunt luxorię corr. luxurię P, se tradiderunt luxoriae corr. luxuriae S, luxori(a)e Gry. \* 240 solum] M Gry., tantum P S edendo] uescendo Gry. aurium] auri corr. aurium S que] quae P 241 ebrietas] aebrietas M, hebrietas P 242 adoliscentia] adolescentia corr. adulescentia P S, adulescentia Gry. 243 modulationibus] modolationibus corr. modulationibus P 244 fiunt] uel sunt inser. P 245 cur] quur M 246-7 Propterea...exaruit] Propter ea captius ducetur usque exaruit S 247 fame] famę M Haec] Hęc inser. S historialiter] istorialiter M P 248 Tito et Uespasiano] Vespasiano et Tito Gry. Iudeis] Iudeis P qui] quia S 249 quia] qui*

*S* 250 hoc] haec *P*, autem *S* scientiam] sapientiam *P* 252-4  
 Propterea...deprimuntur] Propter ea dilatauit usque deprimuntur *S* 255 sacietate]  
 satietate *Gry.* Iudęorum] Iudeorum *P S* deuoraret] deuorauit *Gry.*  
 257 exprimeret] expremere *corr.* exprimeret *P* 258 Hęc] Haec *P S* sæculi]  
 saeculi *P S Gry.* deliciis] diliciis *corr.* deliciis *P* 261-2 Et exaltabitur...iustitia] Et  
 exaltabitur dominus usque in iustitia *S* 262 secundum] pro *P*  
 264-5 iuxta...comedent] *om.* *P S* 264 aduenę] aduenae *Gry. Vul.* 265 ecclesię]  
 aecclesiae *M* hedi] edi *corr.* hedi *M*, edi *P*, haedorum *Gry.* 266 quę] qui *P*, quae  
*S* ab] a *S* Iudęis] Iudeis *P* in] et in *M* ubertatem] ubertate *P* populus  
 gentium] *omn. et Gry.\**, gentium populus *Gry.* Sed et] et *om.* *S* 267 Iudęis]  
 Iudeis *P* 269-71 Uę qui...sciemus illud] Vae qui trahitis usque et sciemus illud *S*  
 267 Uę] Uae *P*, Vae *S* 270 ueniat] ueniet *M Gry.\* Vul.\** adpropiet] appropiet  
*Gry.*  
  
 271 ueniat] ueniet *M* 272 funiculis peccatorum] funibus peccatorum suorum  
 unusquisque constringitur *Gry.*, funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur *Proverbs*  
*5:22* et reliqua] *om.* *S*, et *om.* *M* 273 Hęc] Haec *P*, Hoc *S* Iudęorum] Iudeorum  
*P* 274 blasphemant] blasphemantur *P* 275-6 Plastrum plenum] Plaustro plebem *P*  
 277 uę] ue *P*, vae *S* 278 eam] *inser.* *P* iam] *om.* *P* 279 Hoc] *om.* *P* quoniam]  
 quo *S Gry.* esse uenturam] uenturam esse *S Gry.* sed a propheta simulari] sed  
 simulari a propheta *Gry.* 280-1 Uę qui...amarum] Uae qui dicitis usque amarum *S*  
 280 Uę] Uae *P S*, Vae *Gry. Vul.* 281 in amarum] in *inser.* *M* Iudęi] Iudei *P* 282  
 eligentes] elegentes *P S, corr.* eligentes *S* 283 Barabban] *M Gry.*, Barraban *P*  
*Gry.\**, Baraban *S Gry.\** 283 bono] bonum *P*, bona *corr.* bono *S* 274 Uę  
 qui...prudentes] Uae uobis sapientes *S* 285 pharisei] pharisei *P S* traditiones]

tradiciones *S* 286 sequebantur] secuti estis *S* secundum] pro *P* 288 Uae] Ue *M*,  
 Vae *S* 288-9 ad bibendum...ebrietatem] *om.* *S* 289 ebrietatem] aebrietatem *M*,  
 sicera *Gry.* luxuriosos] de luxoria *corr.* de luxuria *P* ebriosos] aebriosos *M*,  
 ebrietate *P* sed et] et *om.* *S* scribe] scribe *M* 290 pharisēi] pharisei *P*  
 inēbriati] inebriati *P S* inēbriabant] inebriabant *P S* populos] *P Gry.*, populum  
*M*, populis *corr.* populos *S* 291 conclamarent] clamarent *P S Gry.\** uitium]  
 uicium *S* quodlibet] id est quodlibet *P* 292 ebrietas] aebrietas *M* uitiorum]  
 uiciorum *S* est] *om.* *M P* 293 Qui iustificatis...ab eo] Qui iustificat impium  
 reliqua *M*, Qui iustificatis impium et reliqua *S* 294 et auaritia] ad auaritiam *P*, et  
 auaricia *S* 294-6 Qui iustificatis...dispicientes] *om.* *P S*

297-8 Propter hoc...ascendet] Propter quod sicut deorat *S*, stipulam et reliqua *inser.*  
*S* 297 ligna] *M P Gry.\* Vul.\**, lingua *Gry. Vul.* flamme] flammae *Gry. Vul.* 299  
 superbiē] superbie *M* ebrietatis] aebrietatis *M*, ebrietate *corr.* ebrietatis *S*  
 auaritiaē] auaritiē *P*, auariciē *S* malitiē] maliciē *P S*, malitiae *Gry.*  
 300 redigetur] redietur *M* 301 comparabitur] comparabitur *P S* 301-2 Non  
 enim...blasphemiam] *om.* *P S* 302 ut legem domini non reciperent] Abiecerunt  
 enim legem domini exercituum *P*, Legem domini exercituum *S* 302-3 et  
 eloquium...blasphemarent] *om.* *P S* 303-4 Quia de...Hierusalem] *Isa.* 2:3 303 Quia]  
*om.* *M Gry.* exhibit] egredietur *Gry.* 305-8 Ideo iratus...eius extenta] Ideo iratus  
 est furor domini super populo suo *P*, Ideo iratus est *S* 305 populum suum] *M Gry.*  
*Vul.\**, populo suo *P Vul.* 308 quod] quia *P* 309-10 et: Nonne...reliqua] *om.* *P S*  
 309 Nonne...filius] *Matt.* 13:55 310 Manum suam] Et extendit manum suam super  
 eum et percussit eum *P* 311 percussit...suum] *om.* *P S* 313 yperbolice] *M P Gry.\**,  
 iperbolice *S*, hyperbolice *Gry.* 314 commoueantur] moueantur *P S* 314-5 et

cadaueribus...urbium] *om. P S* 315 plateę] plateae *Gry.* Haec] Hec *M*  
 historialiter] istorialiter *M P* 315-6 facta sunt] fata sunt *S* 316 Cumque...reliqua]  
*om. P S* 318-25 Et eleuabit...caligine eius] Et eleuabit signum usque in caligine *S*  
 313 eleuabit] *omn. et Gry. Vul. \**, leuabit *Gry. \* Er. Vi. Ma. Va. Adr. Vul.* in  
 nationibus] *M P Gry. Vul. \**, in *om. Vul.* terrę] terre *M*, terrae *Gry. Vul.* 319 erit]  
*M Gry. Vul. \**, ÷ (est) *P*, est *Vul.* deficiens] defitiens *M*

320 dormitabit] dormitauit *M Gry. \* Vul. \** lumborum] *M Gry.*, renum *P Vul.*  
 321 calciamenti] *M P Gry. \* Vul.*, calceamenti *Gry.* Sagittę] Sagittae *Gry. Vul.*  
 acute] acute *M*, acutae *Gry. Vul.* unguļę] unguļae *Gry. Vul.* 322 rotę] rotae *Gry.*  
*Vul.* leonis] leonum *M* 323 predam] praedam *Gry. Vul.* 325 tenebrę] tenebrae  
*Gry. Vul.* obtenebrata] obscurata *P* 326 ad] *om. S* Iudęam] Iudeam *P S*,  
 Iudaeam *Gry.* hęc] haec *P S* Hebręos] Ebreos *P*, Hebreos *S* 327 Hispanię]  
 Hispaniae *S Gry.* 328 qui] quod *M S* 329 uoluntate] uoluptate *corr.* uoluntate *S*  
 adtractus] attractus *Gry.* et sibilo illius prouocatus] *M Gry., om. P S* 330 sine] et  
 sine *P* predandi] praedandi *Gry.* 331 sicut...comparatur] *om. P S* comparatur]  
 comparatur *Gry.* 331-2 Cum igitur...qui eruat] *om. P S* 332 prędam] praedam *Gry.*  
 332-3 propheta conpacientis] et conpacientis *P*, et conpatientis *S*, propheta  
 conpatientis *Gry.* 333 affectu] affectum *S* iungens se] se iungit *Gry.* populo  
 ait] populo ait propheta *P*, populo propheta ait *S*, populo et ait *Gry.* in terram]  
 prophetum *corr.* in terra *S* caelum] celum *M* 334 interpręs] interpres *P S*  
 335 hęc] hoc *P S* 336 non] *om. P* 338 TERMINAT HIERONIMUS LIBRUM  
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## 1 3. Book III

*In anno quo mortuus est Ozias, uidi dominum sedentem super solium excelsum et eleuatum, et ea quę sub eo erant implebant templum.* Sub quo præcedentia dicta sunt, hoc est mortuo leproso rege et regnante filio eius iusto pro eo; deus uidetur in templo quod ille uiuens polluit. *Uidi dominum*, id est mentis oculis, non carnis, ergo non dei natura cernitur, sed uidetur hominibus ut ipse uoluerit. Ut Abraham et 5 Iacob et Ezechiel deum informa hominis, uidisse legimus. *Dominum*, hoc est Ihesum Christum sedentem; *super solium*, id est ut habitum regnantis filii ostenderet. *Et ea quę sub ipso erant*: Non ipse cuius cęlum sedes est, sed quę sub eo sunt implebant templum. Uisus est ergo filius in regnantis habitu, et locutus est 10 spiritus sanctus propter consortium maiestatis et unitatem naturae. Sed et regnante nobis leproso rege mysteria trinitatis uidere non possumus.

*Seraphim stabant super illud, sex alę uni et sex ale alteri, duabus uelabat faciem eius, et duabus uelabat pedes eius et duabus uolabat, et clamabat alter ad alterum et dicebant: Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus exercituum, plena est 15 omnis terra gloria eius. Seraphim stabant super illud*: Hoc est templum qui interpretantur incendentes, significat autem angelorum ministeria ad Christi uoluntatem complendam parata. Alę autem dicuntur pro uelocitate discursus in cuncta, uel quod semper in superioribus habitant. Uelabant faciem et pedes, quia preterita et futura ante et post modum scire non possumus, nisi media quę in sex 20 diebus facta sunt, uel ut fidelibus in dominum ostendant, infidelibus abscondant. Unde et sex alas habent *Sanctus sanctus sanctus*, hoc est mysterium trinitatis in una diuinitate ostendentes et nos ad laudem domini cohortantes; *omnis terra*, id est non templum Iudeorum tantum, secundum alios duo seraphim, duo sunt testamenta quę

de presenti saeculo loquuntur, unde et sex sunt alę et testimonium ueritatis et  
 25 sacramentum trinitatis proferunt.

*Et commota sunt superliminaria cardinum a uoce clamantis et domus impleta  
 est fumo.* Hoc est dum omnis terra impleta est per prædicationem gloria domini,  
 templum Iudeorum repletum est tenebris ignorantię et caligine et fumo. Uel  
 perfumum significat incendium templi quod post quadraginta et duos annos  
 30 passionis dominicę incensum est predicato prius in toto orbe euangelio.

*Et dixi: Uę mihi quia tacui, quia uir pollutus labiis ego sum, et in medio  
 populi polluta labia habentis ego habito.* Felix conscientia, quę tantum in sermone  
 peccauit, et non suo uitio, sed societate populi cum quo loqui sepe cogebatur. Uel  
*quia tacui:* Id est non audaciter Oziam regem impium corripui, ideo labia mea in  
 35 munda et laudes domini cum angelis cantare non audeo, ne mihi dicatur: *Quare tu  
 enarras iustitias [et] reliqua.*

*Et uolauit ad me unus de seraphim, et in manu eius calculus quem forcipe  
 tulerat de altari, et tetigit os meum et dixit: Ecce tetigit hoc labia tua et auferetur  
 iniquitas tua et peccatum tuum mundabitur.* Seraphim pluraliter, seraphin  
 40 singulariter; id est incendens. Calculus autem potest non prunam significare, sed  
 carbunculum, qui ob colorem igneus dicitur. Mystice significat spiritus sancti  
 ignem qui purgat peccata; secundum alios in forcipe duo testamenta significat, quę  
 inter se spiritus sancti unione sociantur.

*Et audiui uocem domini dicentis: Quem mittam et quis ibit a nobis? Et dixi:  
 45 Ecce ego, mitte me. Quis ibit* proponit ut uoluntas præmium consequatur. *A nobis*  
 pluraliter dicit propter mysterium trinitatis, ut est faciamus hominem. *Mitte me* non  
 temeritate dixit, sed pro oboedientia et fiducia, quoniam mundata sunt labia eius.



Et dixit: *Uade et dices populo huic: Audite auditu et nolite intellegere, et  
 uidete uisu et nolite cognoscere. Exceça cor populi huius et aures eius adgraua et  
 50 oculos eius claude, ne forte uideat oculis suis et auribus audiat, et corde intellegat  
 et conuertatur et sanetur.* Domino imperante Isaias prædicit quid in Christi aduentu  
 populus facturus sit. Ergo non est crudelitas dei, sed misericordia unam perire  
 gentem et non uidere ut omnes saluæ fiant et uideant. Quod intellegens propheta  
 aliis uerbis dicit: Domine, precipis mihi loqui populo Iudeorum ut audiant et non  
 55 intellegant saluatorem, et reliqua; si uis impleri iussionem tuam et totum saluari  
 mundum quod et ego fieri desidero, tu *exceça cor populi huius* et reliqua, ne illis  
 uidentibus et intellegentibus, totus mundus non recipiat salutem. Sed et pro  
 magnitudine sceleris eorum paenitentia indigni iudicati sunt.

Et dixi: *Usquequo domine?* Et dixit: *Donec desolentur ciuitates absque  
 60 habitatore, et domus sine homine et terra relinquetur deserta. Et longe faciet  
 dominus homines, et multiplicabitur que derelicta fuerat in medio terre. Et adhuc  
 in ea decimatio et rursus erit in predationem sicut therebintus et sicut quercus que  
 proicit fructos suos; semen sanctum erit quod steterit in ea.* Propheta de suo populo  
 sollicitus inquit, *usque quo domine*, hæc sententia permanebit ut audiens non audiat  
 65 et reliqua. Cui dominus respondit, tam diu non audiet reliqua, donec ciuitates Iude  
 penitus sub Tito et Uespasiano subuertentur [et] reliqua, et nequaquam ut in Iudea  
 prius, sed in cunctis gentibus Iudeorum populus multiplicabitur; quod autem dico  
 multiplicetur, tanta erit infelicitas residui populi ut ad comparisonem prioris  
 multitudinis uix decima pars remanserit. Uel in toto orbe uel in Iudea et rursus ipse  
 70 reliquæ in predationem erunt, quando post annos ferme quinquaginta Adrianus  
 Iudeam predatus fuerit, in tantum ut terebinto et quercui que glandem amiserit  
 comparatur. Postea publicis legibus Iudei prohibiti sunt ingredi Iudeam. *Semen*

*sanctum*: Id est apostolos et qui per eos crediderunt, uel cum omnis Israel saluus fiet.

75 *Et factum est in diebus Achaz filii Ioatham filii Ozię regis Iuda, ascendit Rasin rex Syrię et Phacee filius Romelię rex Israhel in Hierusalem ad proeliandum contra eam, et non potuerunt debellare eam. Et nuntiauerunt domui Dauid dicentes: Consensit Syria cum Ephraim et commotum est cor eius et cor populi illius sicut mouentur ligna siluarum [a facie uenti].* Legimus in Paralipomenon quod Rasin rex  
80 Syrię Damasci, id est Aram uicto Achaz multos de Iudeę Damascum transtulit, et Phacee filius Romelię rex Israel una die centum uiginti milia percussit de Iuda, sed de hoc bello nunc propheta tacuit. Secundum autem refert proelium quo dominus auxiliatus est Hierusalem, ut sub occasione misericordię qua obsessum liberauit populum, filium suum nuntiaret de uirgine nasciturum. *Domus Dauid*: Id est  
85 domus regia, mystice regnante Achaz rege impio rex Aram, qui interpetatur excelsus, id est arrogantia secularis sapientię, et Phacee de Ephraim, id est heretici contra ecclesiam dimicant, consenta neę quam uis inter se ipsos discordant.

*Et dixit dominus ad Isaiam: Egredere in occursum Achaz, tu et qui derelictus est Iasub filius tuus, ad extremum aquęductus piscine superioris in uia agri*  
90 *Fullonis, et dices ad eum: Uide ut sileas, noli timere et cor tuum ne formidet a duobus caudis titionum fumigantium istorum, in ira furoris Rasin et Syrię et filii Romelię, eo quod consilium inierit contra te Syria mala, Ephraim et filius Romeliae dicentes: Ascendamus ad Iudam et suscitemus eum et auellemus [eum] ad nos, et ponamus regem in medio eius filium Tabeel. Haec dicit dominus deus: Non stabit*  
95 *et non erit istud, sed caput Syrię Damascus, et caput Damasci Rasin, et adhuc sexaginta et quinque anni et desinet Ephraim esse populus et caput Ephraim Samaria et caput Samarię filius Romelię. Si non credideritis, non permanebitis.*

Iasub qui interpretatur reliquus et conuertens, in typo populi Iuda, qui erat de duorum regum manibus liberandus, iubetur egredi cum patre in uia agri Fullonis, ubi postea Rapsaces stabat dei populum blasphemans. *Duas caudas titionum*: Id est torrium, uocat Rasin et Phaceę, eo quod in illis finitum sit regnum Syrię, id est Damasci, et regnum Samarię, id est decem tribuum. Quia Theglat Fallasar rex Assiriorum sub rege Achaz Damascum uastauit, et habitatores eius Cirenen transtulit et Rasin interfecit, item Oseę filius Hela interfecit Phacee filium Romelię et regnauit pro illo annis nouem, et uenit Salmanassar rex Assur et obsidens coepit Samariam, et Oseę in nono anno regni eius misit in carcerem, et Israhel transtulit in Assyrios filium Tabeel, qui interpretatur bonus deus, ut uel hominem uel idolum hoc nomine demonstrarent. Post lxxv annos regnum Ephraim cessaturum dicit, quomodo hoc stare potest. Dum xiiii anno Achaz filii Ioatham regnauit Osee super Samariam, et nono anno imperii sui captus sit; regnauit autem Achaz super Iudam annis xvi, post cuius mortem septimo anno imperii sui captus est Oseę, ita ut si ponamus annos Achaz xvi et Osee vii, fiunt anni xxiii uel multum xxiiii. Igitur Hebrei hunc locum ita disserunt, ut Amos qui sub Ozia coepit prophetare, quando Isaias prophetię suę habuit exordium, primus prophetauit contra Israhel dicens: *Israhel autem captiuus ducetur de terra sua*, et prophetare coepit in diebus Ozię ante duos annos terrę motus, qui tunc fuit quando Ozias templum ingressus sacerdotium sibi uindicabat. Quem annum dicunt fuisse uigesimum quintum Ozię cuius reliqui anni sunt xxvii, regnauit enim [annos] quinquaginta duos. Post quem Ioatham filius eius regnauit [annis] xvi, post quem Ezechias regnauit, cuius sexto imperii anno Samaria capta est, qui simul fiunt anni lxxv. Haec per prophetam domino dicente Achaz et populus non credidit. Ideo subiungitur: *Si non credideritis, non permanebitis*, id est in regno uestro, sed in captiuitatem ducemini.

Mystice quamuis Achaz regnaret super Iudam, tamen quia impius erat non in principio aqueductus, sed in extremis finibus piscine superioris morabatur, in agro Fullonis ubi sordes et macule purgabantur. Duae caude ut diximus philosophie et heresis quorum finis exustio est. Qui frustra ecclesiam expugnare incipiunt ut ponant super eam filium Tabeel, hoc est bonum deum; uterque enim ueritatem habere se estimat. Et consilium eorum non stabit, sed interim quamdiu mundus iste stat et ea que mundi sunt, in suis finibus et urbibus dominantur. Cum autem finis hoc est iudicium uenerit; id est lxxv anni et tam mundi res que in lxx significat annis quam omnia que ad quinque sensus pertinent finientur. Tunc uniuersa soluentur que gentiles et heretici non credunt.

*Et adiecit dominus loqui ad Achaz dicens: Pete tibi signum a domino deo tuo in profundum inferni siue in excelsum supra.* Quia tibi, inquit, difficile esse uidetur quod regna potentissima breui temporae finientur, et tu cum populo de periculo libereris, pete tibi signum non ab idolis, sed a domino in profundum uel in excelsum. Uis, inquit, ut terra grandi hiato scindatur et inferi qui in corde terre esse dicuntur pateant, an ut aperiantur caeli? Quod mystice mortem et ascensionem domini significat. Sed et Moyses signum de terra ranas et locustas, [et] reliqua de caelo grandinem et ignem suscepit.

*Et dixit Achaz: Non petam, et non temptabo dominum.* Non humilitatis est, sed superbie. Iussus enim ut peteret, per oboedientiam debuit explere preceptum, sed rex impius et idolorum cultor noluit signum petere et accipere per quod sciebat deum glorificandum esse.

*Et dixit: Audite domus ergo Dauid numquid parum uobis est, molestos esse hominibus quia molesti estis et deo meo?* Prius deus ex sua persona dixit ad Achaz *pete tibi signum*, nunc propheta dicit, *Audite domus Dauid.* Rege impio resistente,

ad tribum regiam sermo conuertitur. Sensus est: Non solum prophetas  
 persequimini et eorum dicta contempnitis, sed presentis et iubentis dei sententiae  
 150 contraitis.

*Propterea dabit dominus ipse uobis signum: Ecce uirgo concipiet et pariet  
 filium et uocabis nomen eius Emmanuhel.* Id est nequaquam multifarie uel multis  
 modis uel per prophetas quod dicitur loquetur, sed qui ante per alios loquebatur,  
 dicit ipse adsum Emmanuhel. Ergo iste puer qui nascetur ex uirgine, o domus  
 155 Daud, nunc a te appelletur Emmanuhel, id est nobiscum deus quia rebus ipsis  
 probabis deum te habere presentem a duobus inimicis regibus liberata. Uirgo  
 Hebraice BETULA dicitur, quod in hoc loco conscriptum non sit, sed ALMA quod  
 et adoliscuntula et abscondita potest dici, ut significet secretam uirginem que  
 numquam uirorum patuit aspectibus.

160 *Butyrum et mel comedet ut sciat rebrobare malum et elegere bonum.* O  
 domus Daud qui nunc te liberat inuocatus et multa post tempora ex uirgine  
 nasciturus: ne eum putes in fantasmata nasciturum, cibis utetur infantie; pannis  
 inuolutus et butyro pastus et melle habebit boni malique iudicium, ut reprobans  
 mala eligat bona.

165 *Quia antequam sciat puer reprobare malum et elegere bonum, derelinquetur  
 terra quam tu detestaris a facie duum regum suorum.* Hoc est dum puer tam  
 paruulus erit ut malum a bono discerne nequeat, et antequam ille tempus egrediatur  
 infantie, terra Syrie et Samarie uastabitur ab Assyriis.

*Adducet dominus super te et super populum tuum et super domum patris tui  
 170 dies qui non uenerunt a diebus separationis Ephraim a Iuda cum rege Assyriorum.*  
 Hic locus per yperbaton legendus est. O domus Daud, auscultaque dico, ut  
 derelinquetur terra Syrie et Samarie a facie duorum regum suorum quos tu nunc

formidas, adducet dominus super te [et] reliqua usque Ephraim a Iuda; adducet  
autem ipsos dies, id est tempora cum rege Assyriorum ut illis subuersis, tu  
175 Emmanuhelis presentia libereris. Aliter isti duo reges Rasin et Phacee in breui  
subuertentur; tuę autem uastationis tempus illud adueniet, quando quod numquam  
metueras Assyrius uenerit. Pręsenti ergo formidine liberat et de futuro tempore  
comminatur.

*Et erit in die illa sibilabit dominus muscę quę est in extremo fluminum Aegypti*  
180 *et api quę est in terra Assur, et uenient et requiescent omnes in torrentibus uallium*  
*et in cauernis petrarum et in omnibus frutectis et in uniuersis foraminibus.* Frustra  
ergo o domus Iuda in pręsenti metuis, semiustos torres sed ignem non habentes;  
scire enim debes quod sibilo suo dominus muscas Aegypti et fluminum eius, id est  
septem dioriges Nili significet uocaturus sit super te. Muscas autem uocat  
185 Aegyptios pro sordibus idolatrię et inbelli populo, apem Assyrios, quia illo tempore  
fortissimum regnum erat et ad bella promptissimum, uel quia omnis fere  
Assyriorum et persidis regio usum habeat sagittarum. Iam non post multum  
temporis ab Aegyptis Iosias rex interfectus est, et Iudei sub acti deinde a Babyloniiis  
capta Hierusalem et templum incensum est.

190 *In die illa radet dominus in nouacula conducta in his qui trans flumen sunt in*  
*rege Assyriorum caput et pilos pedum et barbam uniuersam.* Ergo in Assyriis et in  
eorum rege Nabuchodonosor, qui est nouacula acutissima omnes capillos et pilos  
totius corporis a capite usque ad pedes et decorem barbę quia uirilitatis indicium est,  
radet dominus de Iudea ut nihil forte nihil in ea pulchrum resideat, sed ignominiosis  
195 mulieribus conparentur.

*Et erit in die illa nutriet homo uaccam boum et duas oues, et prę ubertate*  
*lactis comedet butyrum, butyrum enim et mel manducabit omnis qui relictus fuerit*

*in medio terrę. Et erit in die illa omnis locus ubi fuerint mille uites, mille argenteis, et in spinas et in uepres erunt, cum sagittis et arcu ingredientur illuc. Uepres enim*  
 200 *et spinę erunt in uniuersa terra, et omnes montes qui in sarculo sariantur, non ueniet illuc terror spinarum et ueprium, et erit in pascua bouis et in conculcationem pecoris. Id est post Chaldeorum uastationem tanta solitudo erit terrę Iudę ut nequaquam ut prius copiam bouum uel ouium habeant, sed uix rarus habitator unam uaccam et duas oues nutrire possit, non ad arandum sed ad cibum atque*  
 205 *uestimentum; pro inopia enim frumenti et eorum quę terra gignit ad esum lacte et butyro et agresti melle uescentur. Prę ubertate lactis significat quod terra cultorum raritate fertilior sit et pascuis aptior. Et pre hominum paucitate tanta erit uini inopia desertis uineis quę metu hostili non putabuntur, ut singulę uites siclis argenti singulis uix emantur, et tanta erit hostium formido ut absque arcu et sagittis nullus*  
 210 *suum agrum inuisere audeat, et relictis campestribus ad montana confugient, ibique locorum difficultate muniti uix asperos montes manu fodiant, quia boues aratra non habebunt. Et sic rari cultores in montibus uitam miserabilem sustentabunt; cetera pascuis patebunt et absque custode a brutis animalibus calcabuntur. Mistice hęc Iudęis acciderunt qui uix unam uaccam et duas oues habent, munda uidelicet*  
 215 *animalia, quia non solido cibo sed lacte infantiae nutriuntur, et melle uerborum distillanti de labiis meretricis et uinum non habent quod letificat cor, et omnia opera eorum in spinas rediguntur et ab aduersariis in obscuro percutientibus uulnerantur.*

*Et dixit dominus ad me: Sume tibi librum grandem et scribe in eo stilo hominis uelociter spolia detrahe cito prędare. Et adhibui mihi testes fideles Uriam*  
 220 *sacerdotem et Zachariam filium Barachię et accessi ad prophetissam et concepit et peperit filium. Et dixit deus ad me: Uoca nomen eius accelera spolia detrahere festina prędari quia antequam sciat puer uocare patrem suum et matrem suam*

*auferetur fortitudo Damasci et spolia Samarię coram rege Assyriorum.* Rursum sub  
 alia figura partus describitur uirginalis, et dixit dominus ad Isaiam ut non in populos  
 225 proferat noue natiuitatis arcanum, sed describat in isto grandi libro quem nunc  
 legimus, et quia humanis uerbis et stilo hominibus consuetudo dei sacramenta  
 comprehendat. Hoc autem humano stilo scribitur ut puer natus uelociter spolia  
 detrahat [et] reliqua; hoc est ne ultra paciatur regnare diabolum nec mittat angelos  
 uel prophetas, sed saluare mundum ipse descendat. Facit ergo Isaias quod iussum  
 230 est, et adhibet sibi duos testes Uriam sacerdotem qui legis doctor est, et filium  
 Barachię Zachariam quem prophetam fuisse non dubium est, quia ex lege et  
 prophetis Christi natiuitas conprobatur et conuenit nominum interpretatio Urias lux  
 domini, Zacharias memoria domini, Barachias benedictio domini. Exhibuit autem  
 se Isaias dignum spiritu prophetalis et præbuit prophetisę, id est spiritu sancto qui  
 235 Hebraicę genere feminino dicitur RUHA. Spiritu itaque sancto conceptus est  
 dominus. Quidam prophetissam Mariam dicunt ut est: *[Ecce] enim ex hoc beatam  
 me dicent* [et] reliqua. Pręcipiturque Isaię ut puerum qui prius uocabatur  
 Emmanuhel, nunc appellet *accelera spolia* [et] reliqua, de profundo enim captiuam  
 duxit captiuitatem. Et antequam humanum corpus sumeret et iuxta infantiam  
 240 patrem uocaret dominum et matrem Mariam, auferetur fortitudo Damasci [et]  
 reliqua per regem Assyriorum, ut necdum natus populum suum domum Dauid sola  
 inuocatione saluaret. Mistice in anima uirginali dei sermo de spiritu sancto  
 conceptus de aduersariis potestatibus spolia detrahit, et adhuc in infantia et in  
 profectu positus quia nunc ex parte uidet et ex parte quia prophetat priusquam sit  
 245 perfectus et merito uocet dominum patrem et matrem caelestem Hierusalem. Uincet  
 fortitudinem Damasci, id est mundi sapientiam et aufert spolia Samarię, quibus



heretici ecclesiam spoliauerunt coram rege Assyriorum diabolo qui non poterat eis auxiliare.

250 *Et adiecit dominus loqui ad me dicens: Pro eo quod abiicit populus iste  
aquas Siloe quae uadunt cum silentio et assumpsit magis Rasin et filium Romelię,  
propter hoc ecce dominus adducet super eos aquas fluminis fortes et multas, regem  
Assyriorum et omnem gloriam eius, et ascendet super omnes riuos eius et fluet  
super omnes ripas eius, et ibit per Iudam inundans et transiens usque ad collum  
ueniet et erit extensio alarum eius implens latitudinem terrę tuę o Emmanuhel.*

255 Siloa, fons est ad radices montis Sion, qui non iugibus aquis sed in certis horis  
diebusque ebullit, et per terrarum concaua et antra saxi durissimi cum magno sonitu  
uenit. Sensus ergo est quia populus decem tribuum Rasin et Facee subici maluit  
quam stirpi Dauid, quę meo coepit regnare iudicio, faciam eum non his quos elegit  
sed regi seruire Assyrio cuius potentia forti flumini per metophoram comparatur; et  
260 fit apostrofa ad Emmanuhel, id est presentem deum quod in tantum erectus sit  
Assyrius ut etiam terram eius Iudam conatus sit possidere. *Alarum*: Id est ducum et  
in mensi exercitus, mystice omnis hereticus, qui auxilio suo iungit mundi sapientiam  
et expugnare Hierusalem, id est ecclesiam uult relinquens aquas Siloę quę  
interpretatur missus, id est Christi doctrinam tradetur regi Assyriorum, id est  
265 diabolo et in profundum ueniet malorum.

*Congregamini populi et uincimini, et audite uniuerse procul terrę et  
confortamini, accingite uos et uincimini, inite consilium et dissipabitur, loquimini  
uerbum et non fiet quia nobiscum deus. Ó populi Syrię et Samarię infirmos uos esse  
cognoscite, et Emmanuhel pręsente nihil posse contra Hierusalem urbem dei, nec  
270 tantum uos qui uicini estis sed et omnis procul terra cognoscat, et quamuis fortes et  
accincti ad bellum uideamini, non semel sed iterum dicam uincimini; loquimini*

uerbum ut ponamus regem super eum filium Tabeel quod non fiet quia nobiscum  
 deus est. Mystice significat quod fortes persecutores superati sunt ab his qui  
 sanguinem suum pro Christo fuderunt, et post bella pax reddita sit ecclesiis quia  
 275 deus cum illis est.

*Haec enim ait dominus ad me, sicut in forti manu erudiuit me, ne irem in uia  
 populi huius dicens non dicatis coniuratio, omnia enim quę loquitur populus iste  
 coniuratio est, et timorem eius ne timeatis neque paueatis. Dominum exercituum  
 ipsum sanctificate, ipse pauor uester et ipse terror uester, et erit uobis in*

280 *sanctificationem, in lapidem autem offensionis, et in petram scandali, duabus  
 domibus Israhel in laqueum et in ruinam habitantibus Hierusalem et offendent ex  
 eis plurimi et cadent et conterentur et inretientur et capientur. Hoc est pro bonis*

operibus et gratia quam per illam suscepi, uel erudiuit me ne cum populo pari  
 tenerer errore, uel certe fecit me recedere a uia populi huius pessima, et dixit mihi:  
 285 noli duorum regum coniurationem, sed hoc magis considera omne quod loquitur  
 populus iste aduersum me coniuratio est. Tu autem propheta et qui tecum sunt ne  
 timeatis insidias populi, sed dominum qui credentibus in sanctificationem,

incredulis autem in lapidem offensionis erit. *Duabus domibus*: Id est Iudę et  
 Israhel præcipue autem in laqueum et in ruinam habitanti Hierusalem in quo

290 inpingent plurimi et peccatorum suorum uinculis inretiti ducentur in captiuitatem.

Mystice duę familię sunt scribę et pharisęi qui orti sunt ex Sammai et Hellel, et prior  
 interpretatur dissipator, sequens profanus et quod suis traditionibus legis præcepta  
 dissipauerit et maculauerit.

*Liga testimonium, signa legem in discipulis meis, et expectabo dominum qui  
 295 abscondit faciem suam a domo Iacob et præstolabor eum. Hoc est quod duę domus  
 Israhel non susceperunt Emmanuhel est, liga testimonium ueteris testamenti et trade*

discipulis meis, id est apostolis et apostolicis uiris qui euangelium susceperunt, uel  
quia lex apud Iudeos, clausa est ut quod legunt non intellegant. Ideo gentibus  
adsignari iubetur et quia abscondit dominus faciem suam ab Israhel se non  
300 suscipiente, ideo expectabo eum uenturum, et tunc ex alio populo suscipiendum.

*Ecce ego et pueri mei quos mihi dedit dominus in signa atque portenta  
Israhelis a domino exercituum qui habitat in monte Sion. Ecce ego Isaias expectabo  
dominum, et pueri mei, alii uidelicet propheta et filii prophetarum qui non ex  
sanguinibus [et] reliqua, sed ex deo nati sunt qui in signum futurorum dati sunt, ut  
305 illud: Et erit Ezechiel uobis in signum. Mystice Christus est cum apostolis qui  
pueri pro innocentia et natiuitate ex ueteri homine in nouum dicuntur.*

*Et cum dixerint ad uos querite a phitonibus et [a] diuinis qui stridunt in  
incantationibus suis, numquid non populus a deo suo requirit pro uiuis ac mortuis  
ad legem magis et ad testimonium. Quod si non dixerint iuxta uerbum hoc, non eis  
310 erit matutina lux, et transibit per eam corruet et esuriet, et cum esurierit, irascetur  
et maledicet regi suo [et deo suo], et suspiciet sursum et ad terram intuebitur, et  
ecce tribulatio et tenebre dissolutio angustia et caligo persequens, et non poterit  
auolare de angustia sua. Iuxta Hebreos Isaię uox est ad discipulos, cum dixerint ad  
uos id est gentes et populi de quibus predixit congregamini et uincimini, ut quid  
315 prophetas auditis, quid uerbis Isaię decipimini? Querite magis a phitonibus [et]  
reliqua, respondite eis: Numquid non populus a deo suo requirit [et] reliqua. Si uos  
idola uestra que deos putatis consulitis et a mortuis uel mortuorum simulacris de  
uiuentibus queritis, quanto magis nos dominum nostrum per prophetas audire  
debemus? Docet ergo discipulos, et infert ad legem magis et ad testimonium. Hoc  
320 est side aliquo dubitatis uos magis legi et testimoniis scripturarum tradite, in qua de  
gentilibus scriptum est, somnia audiunt et diuinos tibi autem non ita tradidit*

*dominus deus tuus.* Quod si non uestra congregatio quęrat uerbum dei, non habebit  
 lucem ueritatis, sed erit in tenebris erroris. Quę lux pertransibit eam, id est uestram  
 congregationem uel terram et ex omniparte tam de celo, quam de terra tribulatio  
 325 erit, et dissolutio genuum et mentis angustia et caligo oculorum. Mystice Christus  
 dicit ad apostolos et ad credentes ex gentibus. Si dixerint, inquit, patres uestri quos  
 reliquistis phitones quęrite, hoc est uentriloquos pro mercede diuinantes ut in  
 actibus apostolorum ancilla quę questui magno erat dominis suis; dicite: non est  
 ethnicorum diuiniatio sicut nostra quę absque ullo munere profertur ex lege ut *gratis*  
 330 *accepistis* [et] reliqua. Ueniet autem super incredulos famis uerbi dei et postea  
 omnia mala quę secuntur, et tunc maledicent regi suo diabolo et paternis  
 traditionibus, sed et de scribis et pharisęis qui omnia uentris causa faciunt secundum  
 alios potest intellegi. Cum dixerint ad uos scribę et pharisęi ut eos audiatis, dicite:  
 non mirum si uos uestras traditiones sequamini, cum unaquęque gens sua consulat  
 335 idola [sic et reliqua].

*Primo tempore alleuiata est terra Zabulon et terra Neptalim, et nouissimo*  
*adgrauata est uia maris trans Iordanen Galileę gentium. Populus qui ambulabat in*  
*tenebris uidit lucem magnam, habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis lux orta est*  
*eis.* Quia in regione harum duarum tribuum primum saluator pędicauit, ideo ab  
 340 onere peccatorum releuata est. Nouissimo autem tempore adgrauata est fides eorum  
 plurimis Iudęorum in errore permanentibus. Mare autem lacum appellat Genesareth  
 in cuius litore Capharnaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorozaïn sitę sunt, in qua  
 regione dominus maxime commoratus est, cuius pędicationis lucem uiderunt qui  
 prius in tenebris erant erroris. *Umbreę mortis* mors est eorum qui cum operibus  
 345 mortis ad inferos perrexerunt, umbra mortis eorum qui cum peccent tamen adhuc  
 uiuunt.

*Multiplicasti gentem non magnificasti letitiam letabuntur coram te sicut  
 letantur in messe sicut exultant quando diuidunt spolia. Iugum enim oneris eius et  
 uirga humeri illius et sceptrum exactoris eius superasti sicut in die Madian, quia  
 350 omnis uiolenta prædatio cum tumultu et uestimentum mixtum sanguine erit in  
 combustionem et cibus ignis. Ad ipsam lucem quæ orta est hoc est ad Christum fit  
 apostrofa et dicitur ad eum, *multiplicasti gentem*, hoc est: replesti gentes notitia tui,  
*non magnificasti laetitiam*, ut Paulus dolorem sibi dicit esse continuam pro fratribus  
 suis. Cum ergo Christianorum gens de uniuersis nationibus congregetur in fidem,  
 355 tunc laetabuntur apostoli sicut messorum ut *messis quidem multa* [et] reliqua et sicut  
 exultant uictores, ligato enim forte spolia domus eius diuidunt. Tu autem domine  
 iugum oneris eius, id est diaboli, quo graui iugo colla omnium deprimebat, et  
 uirgam qua percutiebat humeros et peccata quasi quoddam tributum sibi reddere  
 compellebat, detraxisti de humeris eorum et tibi liberatos seruire fecisti absque ullo  
 360 exercitu uel effusione sanguinis in abscondita manu sicut olim sub Gedeone de  
 Madianitis fecisti. Quomodo enim uestis quæ humano sanguine cruentata est lauari  
 non potest, sed maculæ cum uestimento foedi cruoris igni conburuntur, sic diaboli  
 uiolenta prædatio et tumultus ac turbæ quibus humanum sibi subiecerat genus  
 Gehennæ ignibus deputatæ sunt.*

365 *Paruulus enim natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis, et factus est principatus  
 eius super humerum et uocabitur nomen eius ammirabilis consiliarius, deus fortis,  
 pater futuri sæculi princeps pacis. Multiplicabitur eius imperium et pacis non erit  
 finis, super solium Dauid et super regnum eius ut confirmet illud et corroboret in  
 iudicio et iustitia amodo et usque in sempiternum. Zelus domini exercituum faciet  
 370 hoc. Ideo diabolus cibus erit ignis aeterni quia natus est nobis de uirgine puer, de  
 quo prædixit Priusquam sciat puer* [et] reliqua. Super humerum eius uel quod

cruce[m] suam ipse portauit uel per humerum brachii fortitudinem ostendit eodem  
Isaia dicente: *Reuelauit dominus deus brachium sanctum suum*. Et qui prius  
duobus nominibus hoc est Emmanuhel uel accelera spolia detrahere uocatus est,  
375 nunc multis uocatur, id est sex nominibus qui separatim legenda sunt: ammirabilis  
et consiliarius et deus fortis et reliqua, pater futuri seculi et resurrectionis quod in  
nostra uocatione completur. *Princeps pacis* qui locutus est ad apostolos, *pacem*  
*meam do uobis* reliqua, et solium Daud quod post captiuitatem Babyllonis fuerat  
dissipatum et confirmabit in aeternum ne promissio dei cassari iudicetur. *Amodo*, id  
380 est incarnationis tempore, *zelus domini* quia ipsi eum ad emulationem  
prouocauerunt in his qui non erant dii, et ipse eos prouocabit ad emulationem in  
gentem que non erat [gens]. Cepit prophetia de puero ex quo dixit, *pete tibi signum*  
et hic finitur.

385 TERTIUS HIERONIMI CLAUSIT HIC UERBA LIBELLUS.

## 3b. Apparatus for Book III

1 In] *om. Gry. Vul.\** mortuus] mortus *M* 1-2 uidi...templum] *om. P S* 2 quę] quae  
*Gry. Vul.* implebant] replebant *Gry.\* Vul.* quo] *om. S* p̄cedentia]  
precedntia *corr.* precedentia *M*, precedentia *P* 4 Uidi] Uidit *M S* 5 ergo non] non  
*inser. P* 6 Ezechiel] Ezechihel *S* 8 quę] que *P*, quae *S* cęlum] celum *P*, caelum *S*  
sedes] sedis *M Gry.\** quę] que *P*, quae *S* 9 sunt] erant *P Gry.* ergo] autem *Gry.*  
10 naturae] nature *M* 11 possumus] *corr.* possimus *P* 12-15 Seraphim...gloria eius]  
*om. P S* 12 alę] alae *Gry. Vul.* ale] alae *Gry. Vul.* 14 dicebant] *M Gry.\* Ga. Ma.*  
*Va. Adr. Vul.\**, dicebat *Gry. Vul.* deus] *M Gry.\* Vul.\**, *om. Gry. Vul.* est] *M*  
*Gry.\* Er. Adr. Vul.\**, *om. Gry. Vul.* 15 stabant] stabat *P* 15 significat] significant *P*  
17 complendam] complendam *P* Alę] Alae *P S* 18 superioribus] suprioribus *corr.*  
sup(er)rioribus *corr.* superioribus *M* habitant] habitent *S* 19-20 et  
futura...infidelibus] *scrips. in eras. M* 19 quę] quae *S* 20 uel ut] uel unde ut *P*, ut  
uel *S* 21 Unde] *om. P* sex] vi *P* habent] habent et clamant *S* 22 diuinitate]  
diuitate *M* 23 Iudeorum] Iudeorum *P* quę] quae *P S*

24 saeculo] seculo *M S* loquuntur] *P Gry.\* Er. Adr.*, locuntur *M S*, loquitur *Gry.*  
unde] undae *S* alę] alae *S* 26-7 Et commota..fumo] Et commota sunt usque fumo  
*S* 28 Iudeorum] Iudeorum *P S* repletum] replaeta *P* ignorantię] ignorantiae *P S*  
*Gry.* 29 quadraginta et duos annos] xlii annum *M*, xL duos annos *S* 30 dominicę]  
dominicae *P*, dominiacę *S* incensum] *omn. et Gry.\**, succensum *Gry.*  
predicato] praedicato *P* 31-2 Et dixi...habito] Et dixi *om. P S Gry.\**, Uae mihi quia  
tacui usque habitu *S*, ...habito et regem dominum exercituum uidi oculis meis *Gry.*  
*Vul.* 32 quę] quae *P S Gry.* 33 sepe] sepe *P S*, saepissime *Gry.* 35-6 Quare tu

enarras iustitias] *Psalms 49:16* et reliqua] *om. S, et om. M 37-9* Et uolauit...mundabitur] Et uolauit ad me usque mundabitur *S 37* quem] quam *M 42* quę] que *M, quae S 43* se] *om. P* unione] unionem *P 44-5* Et audiui...mitte me] Et audiui uocem domini usque mitte me *S 44* a nobis] *M Gry. \*, nobis P Gry. Vul. 45* ego] ego sum *P Gry. \* Vul.* uoluntas] uoluptas *S* pręmium] praemium *P 46* ut est] ut est illud *S 47* fiducia] fidutia *M P*

48-51 Et dixit...sanetur] Et dixit Vade usque sanetur *S 48* dices] dicis *P Gry. \* Vul. \** auditu] audientes *P Gry. \* Vul. 49* uisu] uisionem *P Gry. \* Vul.* Exceęa] Exceca *P, Excaeca Gry. Vul.* adgraua] aggraua *Gry. 50* oculis suis et auribus] oculis et auribus suis *P Gry. \* Vul. \*, oculis suis et auribus suis Vul.* corde] corde suo *P Gry. \* Vul. 51* sanetur] *M Gry. Vul. \*, sanem eum P Gry. \* Vul.* Isaias] Esaias *S* prędicat] praedicit *S 53* saluę] salue *M, saluae S Gry. 54* precipis] praecipit *S 55* et reliqua] et uideant eum et non cognoscant *Gry.* impleri iussionem] implere uisionem *P S Gry. \* 56* exceęa] exceca *P S* et reliqua] *om. S, et aures aggraua et oculos claude Gry. 57* recipiat] recipiet *Gry. 58* paenitentia] poenitentia *P, penitentia ideo S 58-60* paenitentia...relinquetur] *scrips. in eras. M 59-63* Et dixi...in ea] Et dixi usque quo domine usque quo steterit in ea *S 60* habitatore] abitatore *corr. habitatore M* homine] *M P Gry. \* Vul., hominibus Gry. relinqueret] M P Gry. \* Vul., relinquatur Gry. Vul. \* 61* quę] quae *P Gry. Vul. derelicta] deserta M Gry. \* Vul. \** terre] terrae *P Gry. Vul. 62* rursum] conuertetur *P Gry. \* Vul.* erit in predationem] erit in depraedationem *Gry., et erit in ostensionem P Gry. \* Vul.* therebintus] *M Gry. \*, therebinthus P Gry. \*, terebinthus Gry. Vul.* sicut] *M P Gry. Vul. \*, sicuti Gry. \* Vul.* quę] que *P, quae Gry. Vul. 63* proicit] *M Gry. \*, expandit P Gry. \* Vul., proiecit Gry.* fructos] ramos *P Gry. \**



*Vul.* quod] id quod *P Vul.*, quo *S* 64 hęc] haec *P S Gry.* 65 reliqua] Israhel *P*  
 Iudę] Iudae *S*, Iudaea *Gry.* 66 penitus] pęnitus *M* Uespasiano] Uespasiano *P*  
*Gry.\** subuertentur] subuertantur *S Gry.* et reliqua] *om. S*, et *om. M* Iudea]  
 Iudaea *Gry.* 67 Iudęorum] Iudeorum *P*, Iudaeorum *S Gry.* multiplicabitur]  
 multiplicatur *P Gry.\**, multiplicetur *Gry.* 68 comparationem] conparationem *P*  
 69 remanserit] *omn. et Gry.\**, remaneat *Gry.* ipse] ipsae *S Gry.* 70 reliquię]  
 reliquiae *S Gry.* predationem] depraedationem *Gry.* Adrianus] *omn. et Gry.\**  
*Adr.*, Hadrianus *Gry.* 71 Iudęam] Iudeam *P S* predatus fuerit] predtus *corr.*  
 predatus *M*, depredatus fuerit *S*, fuerit depraedatus *Gry.* terebinto] *M Gry.\**,  
 therebintho *P Gry.\**, therebinto *S Gry.\**, terebintho *Gry.* quercui] quecui *corr.*  
 quercui *M* quę] quae *Gry.* 72 comparatur] comparatur *P*, comparetur *Gry.*  
 Iudei] Iudaei *S Gry.* sunt] *om. P* 67 Iudęam] Iudeam *P S*  
 73 et qui] uel qui *S* 75-9 Et factum est...a facie uenti] Et factum est in diebus Achaz  
 usque a facie uenti *S* 75 Achaz] Acaz *corr.* Achaz *P*, Ahaz *Vul.* Ozię] Ozie *M*,  
 Oziae *Gry. Vul.* 76 Syrię] Syriae *P Gry. Vul.* Phacee] Faceę *P Gry.\**, Facee *Vul.*  
 Romelię] Romelie *M*, Romeliae *Gry. Vul.* 78-9 Consensit Syria cum Ephraim]  
 Requieuit Syria super Effraim *P Gry.\**, Requieuit Syria super Efraim *Vul.* 79 illius]  
 eius *P Gry.\* Vul.* Paralipomenon] Paralipominon *M* 80 Syrię] Syriae *S Gry.*  
 Iudęa] Iudea *P S*, Iudaea *Gry.* 81 Phacee] Facee *P Gry.\**, Facheae *S* Romelię]  
 Romeliae *P Gry.*, Romaeliae *S* 75 centum uiginti] cxx *P S* 83 occasione]  
 occasionem *corr.* occasione *S* misericordię] misericordie *M*, misericordiae *S Gry.*  
 liberauit] *omn. et Ga.*, liberabat *Gry.* 86 arrogancia] adrogantia *P* secularis]  
 saecularis *Gry.* sapientię] sapientiae *S Gry.* Phacee] Phaceę *P Gry.\**, Facee *S*  
*Gry.\** Ephraim] Efraim *P*, Effraim *S* heretici] hereti *corr.* heretici *P*

87 ecclesiam] eclesiam *M* neq] neae *P* discordant] discordent *P S* 88-97 Et dixit...non permanebitis] Et dixit dominus ad Esaiam egredere usque non permanebit *S* 88 Isaiam] Esaiam *S* Achaz] Ahaz *Vul.* 89 aqueductus] aqueductus *M*, aquaeductus *Gry. Vul.* piscine] piscine *M*, piscinae *Gry. Vul.* 90 dices] dicis *P* 91 duobus] *M Gry. Vul.*, duabus *P Gry.\* Vul.\** titionum] ticionum *M* Syrię] Syriae *P Gry. Vul.* 92 Romelię] Romeliae *P Gry. Vul.* consilium] consilia *M* inierit] inierint *M Gry.\* Vul.\** mala] *M Gry.\* Vul.\**, malum *P Vul.*, pessima *Gry.* Ephraim] Efphraim *P* Romeliae] Romelie *M* 93 eum] eam *M Gry.\** auellamus] auellemus *M* eum] *om. M* 94 Tabeel] *M P Gry.\* Er. Adr. Vul.*, Tabehel *Gry.* 95 Syrię] Syriae *P Gry. Vul.* 96 desinet] deficiet *M Gry.\** Ephraim] Efphraim *P* Ephraim] Efphraim *P* 97 Samarię] Samariae *Gry. Vul.* Romelię] Romeliae *P Gry.* permanebitis] permanebit *S*

98 Iasub] Jasub *P*, Iesub *S* reliquus] *M Gry.*, relictus *P S Er. Vi.* typo] tipo *M Gry.\** 100 Rapsaces] Rabsacen *Gry.* titionum] ticionum *M* 101 Phaceę] *M P Gry.\**, Phaseceae *corr.* Phaceae *S Gry.\* Ga.*, Phacee *Gry.* Syrię] Syriae *P Gry.* 102 Damasci] Samariae *corr.* Damasci *S* Samarię] Samariae *P S Gry.* decem] decim *P*, x *S* Quia] Que *P* Theglat Fallasar] *M Gry.\**, Theglath Falasar *P S*, Theglathphalassar *Gry.* 103 Assiriorum] Assyriorum *P S Gry.* Cirenen] *M Gry.\**, Cirinen *P*, Cyrenen *S Gry.* 104 Osee] *M S Gry.\**, Osee *P Gry.* filius] filios *corr.* filius *M* Phacee] Phaceę *P Gry.\**, Phaceae *S Ga.* Romelię] Romeliae *P S Gry.* 105 nouem] xi *P S* uenit] uenerit *Gry.* Salmanassar] Salmanasar *S Gry.\** Assur] Asur *P Gry.\** obsidens coepit] obsedens cepit *P*, obsederit *Gry.* 106 Osee] Osee *P Gry.* 107 Tabeel] Tabehel *P S Gry.* interpretatur] interpretatur *P* 108 lxv annos] lx et v annos *P*, lx annos et v *S* Ephraim] Effraim *P S* 109 Achaz] Acaz

*corr.* Achaz *P* Ioatham] Oham *corr.* Ioatham *S* Osee] Osee *P Gry.* \*, Osee *S Gry.* \* *Ga.* 111 septimo] nono *S* Osee] *M Gry.* \*, Osee *P Gry.*, Osee *S Gry.* \* *Ga.* 113 Hebręi] Hebrei *P S*, Hebraei *Gry.* disserunt] edisserunt *Gry.* 114 Isaias] Esaias *S* prophetię suę] prophetiae suae *P S Gry.* 115 Israhel autem...sua] et Israhel captiuus migrabit de terra sua *Amos 7:11* Ozię] Oziae *P Gry.*, Ozie *S* 116 terre] terre *P*, terrae *S Gry.* quando] ut dicunt quando *P*, ut dicuntur quando *S* 117 sacerdotium] sacerdotum *M*, sacerdotum *corr.* sacerdotium *P*, sacerdocium *S* uigesimum quintum] *M Gry.* \*, xxvtum *P*, xxmo quinto *S*, uicesimum quintum *Gry.* Ozię] Oziae *P S Gry.* 118 xxvii] xxuii *M*, uiginti septem *Gry.* annos] *S Gry.*, *om.* *M*, annis *P* quinquaginta duos] *M Gry.*, Lii *P S* 119 annis xvi] *P*, annis sedecim *Gry.*, xui *M*, annos xvi *S* 120 anni] *omn. et Gry.* \*, annos *Gry.* lxx] lxx *M*, Lxx *S*, sexaginta quinque *Gry.* 121 populus] populi *M* Ideo] Unde *Gry.*

122 captiuitatem] captiuitate *P Gry.* \*

124 aqueductus] aquaeductus *P S Gry.* piscine] piscinae *S Gry.* 125 macule] macule *M*, maculae *S Gry.* Duae caude] Duę caude *P*, Duae autem caudae *S*, Duas autem caudas *Gry.* philosophię] philosophia *P S* 126 heresis] hereses *P S* ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* 127 Tabeel] *M Gry.* \* *Er. Adr.*, Tabehel *P S Gry.* 128 estimat] estimant *P S*, aestimat *Gry.* stat] stabit *corr.* stat *P* 129 que] que *P*, quae *S Gry.* urbibus] in suis urbibus *Gry.* 130 lxx] sexaginta quinque *Gry.* tam] tunc *S* que] quae *P S Gry.* annis] *omn. et Gry.* \*, diebus *Gry.* 131 quam] *M Gry.*, quia *P S* que] quae *P Gry.* quinque] v *S* Tunc] Et tunc *S* uniuerse] uniuersa *P S Gry.* que] quae *P S Gry.* 132 heretici] heretici *P S*, haeretici *Gry.* 133-4 Et adiecit...supra] Et adiecit dominus loqui ad Achaz dicens Pete tibi signum et reliqua *P*, Et adiecit dominus loqui *S* 133 Achaz] Ahaz *Vul.* 135 temporæ]

tempore *P S Gry.* finientur] finiantur *S*, finienda sint *Gry.* populo] *omn. et Gry.\**, populo tuo *Gry.* de periculo] *rep. et cancell. S* 137 scindatur] scindet *corr.* scindatur *S* terre] terrae *P S Gry.* 138 mystice] mistice *M*, mysticae *S* 139 et reliqua] et *om. M*, et reliqua multi *corr.* et reliqua *S* 140 caelo] celo *P* suscipit] suscipit *P* 141 Et dixit...dominum] Non petam *P S* Achaz] Ahaz *Vul.* 142 superbie] superbiae *P Gry.* per oboediantiam] oboedientia *Gry.* preceptum] praeceptum *Gry.* 145-6 Et dixit...deo meo] Et dixit audite ergo domus Dauid et reliqua *P*, Et dixit audite ergo domus Dauid *S* 145 domus ergo] ergo domus *P S Gry. Vul.* 146 deus] Dauid *cancell. S* 149 contempnitis] *S Gry.\**, contemnitis *corr.* contempnitis *M*, contemnitis *P Gry.* presentis] praesentis *Gry.* 150 contraitis] contradicitis *P S Ga. Va.* 151-2 Propterea...Emmanuhel] Propterea dabit dominus ipse uobis signum, Ecce uirgo et reliqua *S* 151 Propterea] Propter hoc *Gry.\* Vul.* 152 uocabis] *M P Gry. Vul.\**, uocabitis *Vul.* multifarie] multifarie *S Gry.* 153 per] *inser. S* dicitur] *inser. P* 154 Emmanuhel] Emmanuel *P* 155 Emmanuhel] Emmuhel *corr.* Emmanuhel *M*, Emmanuel *P* 156 presentem] presentem *S*, praesentem *Gry.* regibus liberata] *M Gry.*, liberata regibus *P S* Uirgo] Uigo *corr.* Uirgo *S* 157 Hebraice] Hebraicae *P* BETULA] *M P Gry.\**, *corr.* BETHULA *S*, BETHULA *Gry.* dicitur] appellatur *Gry.* ALMA] ACHALMA *P* 157-8 quod et] quod *P*, quid est et *S* 158 adoliscntula] adulescentula *S Gry.* que] quae *P S* 160 Butyrum...bonum] Butyrum et mel usque bonum *S* Butyrum] Botyrum *P Gry.\** elegere] eligere *Gry. Vul.*, legere *Gry.\** 161 nunc te liberat] nunc liberat te *S*, te nunc liberet *Gry.* 162 putes] potes *corr.* putes *P* fantasmata] phantasmate *P Gry.*, phantasmatae *S*, phantasmate *Gry.\* Ga.* infantie] infantiae *P Gry.*, in infantia

*S* 163 inuolutus] inuoluitur *P* butyro] botyro *P Gry.* \* melle] mellæ *S*  
 iudicium] iuditium *M* 165-6 Quia antequam...regum suorum] Quia antequam sciat  
 puer usque regum suorum *S* 165 Quia antequam] *M P S Vul. Gry.* \*, Prius enim  
 quam *Gry.* elegere] eligere *Gry. Vul.* 166 duum] *M Vul. Gry.* \*, duorum *P Gry.*  
*Vul.* \* 167 paruulus] paruus *M* 168 infantie] infantiae *P S Gry.* Syrię] Syriae *P S*  
*Gry.* Samarię] Samariae *S Gry.* uastabitur] uastanda est *Gry.* Assyriis]  
 Assyris *corr.* Assyriis *M* 169-70 Adducet...rege Assyriorum] Adducet dominus  
 super te usque Assyriorum *S* 155 non uenerunt] nondum uenerunt *M Gry.* \*  
 171 yperbaton] *M Gry.* \*, hyperbaton *P Gry.*, hiperbaton *S Gry.* \* *Er.* que] quae *P*  
*S Gry.* 172 Syrię] Assyriorum *P*, Syriae *S Gry.* Samarię] Samariae *S Gry.*

173 formidas] *omn. et Gry.* \*, reformidas *Gry.* et reliqua usque Ephraim a Iuda]  
*om. S*, et *om. M*, et super domum patris tui Dauid quos numquam habuisti ex eo  
 tempore quo decem tribus a duabus tribubus separatae sunt et regnum in Samaria  
 habere coeperunt *Gry.* 174 Assyriorum] Asyriorum *P* 175 presentia] pŕesentia *S*,  
 praesentia *Gry.* Phacee] Phaceae *P S Gry.* \* *Ga.* 176 tue] tuae *P S Gry.*

177 Assyrius] Asyrius *P* Pŕesenti] praesenti *Gry.* 179-81 Et erit...foraminibus] Et  
 erit in die illa sibilabit usque foraminibus *S* 179 muscę que] muscae que *P*, muscae  
 quae *Gry. Vul.* Aegypti] Aegipti *P* 180 que] quae *P Gry.* 181 in cauernis] *M*  
*Gry. Vul.* \*, cauernis *P Gry.* \* *Ga. Vul.* 182 pŕesenti] praesentia *Gry.* metuis]  
 metuit *M* 183 Aegypti] Egypti *P* 184 septem] vii *P* dioriges] diorygas *P S Gry.*,  
 diorigas *Gry.* \* significet] significat *P S Gry.* \* 185 Aegyptios] Egyptios *P*  
 idolatrię] idolatriae *P S Gry.* inbelli] imbellem *Gry.* 186 promptissimum]  
 prumptissimum *M P* 187 Iam] Nam *P* 188 Aegyptis] Egyptis *P*, Aegyptiis *S Gry.*  
 Iudęi] Iudei *P*, Iudaei *S* Babyloiiis] Babylloniis *M* 190-1 In die illa...uniuersam]

In die illa radet dominus usque barbam uniuersam *S* 190 radet] redet *corr.* radet *P*  
nouacula conducta] nouacula acuta conducta *P*, nouacula acuta *Vul.* \* 192 omnes  
capillos] omnes pilos capillos *P*, pilos *del.* 193 barbę] barbae *S Gry.* quia] quod *P*  
*Gry.*, quae *S* 194 Iudęa] Iuda *P*, Iudaea *Gry.* resideat] resedeat *P Gry.* \*  
195 conparentur] comparentur *S Gry.* 196-202 Et erit...conculcationem pecoris] Et  
erit in die illa nutriet homo usque in conculcatione pecoris *S* 196 prę] prae *P Gry.*  
*Vul.* 197 butyrum] botyrum *P Gry.* \* butyrum] botyrum *P Gry.* \* manducabit]  
manducauit *M Gry.* \* *Vul.* \*

198 terre] terre *M*, terrae *Gry. Vul.* 200 spine] spinae *Gry. Vul.*

201 conculcationem] conculcatione *S Vul.* \* 202 Chaldeorum] Chaldeorum *P S*  
terre] terrae *P S Gry.* Iudę] Iudaeae *S*, Iudaeae *Gry.* 203 unam] id est *S* 204 ad  
cibum] a cibum *corr.* ad cibum *P*, ad cybum *M* 205 que] quae *S Gry.* esum] esum  
*P S*, comedendum *Gry.* 205-6 et butyro] *M S Gry.* \*, ac butyro *Gry.*, ac botyro *P*  
*Gry.* \* 206 Prę] Pro *S Vul.* \* significat] significat *corr.* significat *M* 207 pre] prae  
*Gry.* 208 que] quae *P S Gry.* non] *omn. et Gry.* \*, nequaquam *Gry.* putabuntur]  
potabuntur *M S Gry.* \* singule] singule *M*, singulae *S Gry.* 210 relictis] *omn. et*  
*Gry.* \*, derelictis *Gry.* confugient] confugiant *P Gry.*, confugiunt *S Gry.* \*  
211 muniti] minuti *M* uix] vix *S* fodiant] fodient *S* boues] boues et *S*, et  
*inser. P* 211-12 non habebunt] *om. et* scindere non poterant *inser. P* 212 Et sic]  
Sicubi *Gry.* cetera] *corr.* ceteraque *P* 213 Mistice] Mystice *P*, Mysticae *S* 213-  
14 hec Iudęis] haec Iudeis *P S* 214 munda] mundam *S* 215 quia non] ut nequaquam  
*Gry.* 216 distillanti] stillanti *P S*, quae destillant *Gry.*, distillant *Gry.* \* *Ga. Er. Ma.*  
*Va. Adr.* letificat] *M S Gry.* \*, laetificat *P Gry.* 218-23 Et dixit...rege Assyriorum]  
Et dixit dominus ad me sume tibi librum usque coram rege Assyriorum *S*

219 detrahe] detrahere *M Gry. \* Vul. \** prędare] praedare *Gry. Vul.* 220 Barachię] Barachiae *P Gry. Vul.* 221 deus] *M Gry. \* Vul. \**, dominus *P Gry. Vul.* accelera] adcelera *Vul.* 222 prędari] predari *P*, praedari *Gry. Vul.* sciat] sciet *M*

223 Samarię] Samariae *P Gry. Vul.* 224 Isaiam] Esaiam *S* ut non] ut nequaquam *Gry.* 225 noue] nouae *P S Gry.* arcanum] *corr.* archanum *P*, archanum *S Gry. \* Ga.* grandi libro] grandi *inser. S*, libro grandi *P*, grandi uolumine *Gry.* 226 quia] qui *P* consuetudo] consueto *S* sacramenta] sacramentum *S* 227 comprehendat] comprehendat *S* humano] manu *P* 228 paciatur] patiatu*r Gry.* 229 descendat] descendet *M Gry. \**, discendat *corr.* descendat *P* ergo] *inser. S* Isaias] Esaias *S*

231 Barachię] Barachiae *P Gry. \**, Iebarachiae *Gry.* 232 conprobatur] comprobatur *S* Urias] Vrias *P* 234 prębuit] prebuit *S*, praebuit *Gry.* prophetisse] prophetissae *P Gry.*, prophetisse *S* 235 Hebraicę] Hebreice *corr.* Hebraice *P*, Hebraice *S* genere] generi *S* RUHA] *S Gry. \**, RHUA *M Gry. \**, SHAM *corr.* RUHAM *P* 236-7 Ecce...dicent] *Luc. 1:48* 236 ex hoc] amodo *Gry.* 237 et reliqua] et *om. M*, omnes generationes *S Vul.* Pręcipiturque] Et dicitur *P S*, Praecipiturque *Gry.* Isaię] Isaie *M*, Esaie *S*, Esaias *Gry.* 238 Emmanuhel] Emmanuel *P*

239 sumeret] *M P Gry. \**, assumeret *S Gry.* 240 dominum] deum *P* 240-1 et reliqua] *om. S*, et *om. M* 242 Mistice] Mystice *P S* 243 aduersariis] aduersaria *S* potestatibus] potestate *P S* 244 prophetat] prophetet *Gry.* 245 perfectus] profectus *M* dominum] deum *P Gry.* 246 aufert] *omn. et Gry. \**, *corr.* auferet *P*, auferet *Gry.* Samarię] Samariae *P S Gry.* quibus] qui *corr.* quia *P*

247 ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* Assyriorum] Assiriorum *M* diabolo] diabulo  
*corr.* diabolo *P* 248 auxiliare] *M S Gry. \**, auxiliari *P Gry.* 249-54 Et  
adiecit...Emmanuhel] Et adiecit dominus loqui ad me usque o Emmanuhel *S*  
249 dicens] *M Gry. Vul. \**, adhuc dicens *P Gry. \* Vul.* 250 Siloe] *M P Gry. \* Ga.*  
*Ma. Va. Adr.*, Siloae *Gry. Vul.* quae] que *M* assumpsit] adsumpsit *P Vul.*  
magis] *inser. P* Romelię] Romelie *P Gry. Vul.* 253 omnes] *M Gry. \**, uniuersas  
*P Gry. Vul.* 254 terrę tuę] terre tuae *P*, terrae tuae *Gry. Vul.* 256 ebullit] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \**, ebulliat *Gry.* 257 Facee] Phaceę *P*, Phaceae *S*, filio Romelie *Gry.* 258 que  
meo] qui in eo *P Gry. \**, que me *corr.* que meo *S*, quae meo *Gry.* coepit regnare  
iudicio] regnare coepit *P S*, iudicio *inser. S* 259 Assyrio] Assirio *M* metaphoram]  
metaforam *P S* comparatur] comparatur *S* 260 apostrofa] *omn. et Gry. \**,  
apostropha *Gry.* Emmanuhel] Emanuhel *P*, Emanuel *Gry. \* Ga.* presentem]  
praesentem *Gry.* tantum] tantus *corr.* tantum *S* 262 mystice] mystice *P S*  
263 ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* Siloę] Siloe *S Gry. \* Va. Adr.*, Siloae *Gry.* que] *M*  
*Gry. \**, qui *P Gry.*, quae *S* 264 regi] rege *corr.* regi *P* Assyriorum] Assiriorum *M*,  
Asyriorum *P* 265 diabolo] diabulo *corr.* diabalo *P* 266-8 Congregamini  
populi...nobiscum deus] Congregamini populi usque nobiscum deus *S* 266 terrę]  
terrae *Gry. Vul.* 266-7 et confortamini] *M Gry. \* Vul. \**, et confortamini et  
uincimini *Gry.*, confortamini et uincimini *P Gry. \* Vul.* 268 Syrię et Samarię]  
Syriae et Samariae *P S*, Samariae et Syriae *Gry.* 269 Emmanuhel] *M Gry. \**,  
Emanuhel *P*, Emmanuhele *Gry.* pręsente] praesente *Gry.* nihil] nil *P S*  
271 iterum dicam] iterum duorum dicam *S*, duorum *del.*  
272 ponamus...Tabeel] ponamus regem in medio eius filium Tabeel *Isa. 7:6*  
Tabeel] *M Er. Adr.*, Thabehel *P Ga.*, Tabehel *S Gry.* 273 Mystice] Mistice *S*



274 fuderunt] *inser. P* 276-82 Haec enim...et capientur] Haec enim ait dominus ad me Sicut in forti manu usque capientur *S* 277 quę] quae *P Gry. Vul.*

282 inretientur] inreicientur *M* 283 per illam] pro illa *P*, per illa *S* 284 tenerer] tener *S* uel] Vel *S* 285 hoc] *h corr.* hoc *P* omne quod] quod omne quod *P Gry.*

loquitur] *omn. et Gry. \* Er. Adr.*, loquatur *Gry.* 286 et qui] et hi qui *Gry.* 288 Iude] Iuda *P S Gry. \**, Iudae *Gry.* 289 p̄cipue] precipue *P*, precipue *S*, praecipue *Gry.*, pr(a)cipuae *Gry. \** habitanti] *M Gry. \* Ga.*, habitantibus *P Gry.*, habitatio *S*

290 inpingent] inping[.]ent *M*, impingent *Gry.* plurimi] multi *P S* uinculis] uincula *S* inretiti] inret̃iti *M*, irretiti *Gry.* 291 Mistice] Mystice *P S* due] familie] duae familiae *P*, duae familia *S* pharisei] pharisei *P* Sammai] Rammai *corr.* Sammai *margin. S* 292 dissipator] dissipatur *corr.* dissipator *M* et quod] eo quod *P Gry.* p̄cepta] precepta *S*, praecepta *Gry.* 294-5 Liga testimonium... p̄stolabor eum] Liga testimonium usque prestolabor eum *S* 295 p̄stolabor] prestolabor *P S*, praestolabor *Gry. Vul.* quod] quia *P* due] duae *S*

296-7 Emmanuhel...susceperunt] *om. P* 296 Emmanuhel est] Emmanuhalem *S Gry. \** testamenti] *M S Gry. \**, instrumenti *Gry.*

298 Iudeos] Iudeos *P* intellegant] intellegunt *S Gry. \** 299 adsignari] assignari *Gry.* 301-2 Ecce ego...Sion] Ecce ego et pueri usque Sion *S* 301 pueri mei] *M Gry. \* Ga. Va. Vul. \**, mei *om. P Gry. Vul.* in signa atque portenta] *M Gry.*, in signum et in portentum *P Gry. \* Vul.* 303 prophetę] prophetae *S Gry.* 305 Et erit...signum] eritque Hiezechiel uobis in portentum *Ezech. 24:24* Ezechiel] Hiezechihel *S* uobis in signum] in signum uobis *P* Mystice] Mistice *S* 307-

13 Et cum dixerint...angustia sua] Et cum dixerint ad uos querite usque de angustia sua *S* 307 quęrite] quaerite *P Gry. Vul.*, querite *S* phitonibus] *M Gry.\* Ga.*, phytonibus *P Gry.\* Er.*, pythonibus *Gry. Vul.* a diuinis] a *om. M Gry.\**

308 requirit] requirit *M Gry.\* Vul.\** ac] *M P Gry.\* Ga.*, a *Gry. Vul.* 309-10 eis erit] *M Gry.\* Er. Adr.*, erit eis *P Gry. Vul.* 311 et deo suo] *om. M Gry.\** 312 tenebrę] tenebrae *Gry. Vul.* angustia] *corr. angustiae P*, angusti(a)e *Gry.\* Vul.\**

313 de] ad *corr. de S* Hebręos] Hebreum *P*, Hebreos *S* 314 prędixit] predixit *P*, prędixi *S* 315 auditis] audistis *S* quid] qui *S* Isaię] Isaie *P* Quęrite] Quarite *P*, Querite *S* phitonibus] *omn. et Gry.\* Ga.*, pythonibus *Gry.* 316 respondite] *M P S Gry.\**, *corr. respondete P S*, respondete *Gry.* uos] vos *S* 317 quę] quae *P S* consulitis] consuletis *S Gry.\** uel mortuorum] siue mortuorum *Gry.* 318 quęritis] queritis *P S*, quaeritis *Gry.* nos] *inser. P* dominum nostrum] *M P Gry.\* Ga.*, dominum deum nostrum *S*, deum nostrum *Gry.* 319 Docet] Decet *corr. Docet P*

320 uos] Vos *S* 321-2 somnia audiunt...deus tuus] augures et diuinos audiunt tu autem a domino deo tuo aliter institutus est *Deut. 18:14-15* 321 somnia] omnia *P S Gry.\**

322 quęrat] quaerat *S* 323 Quę] Quae *corr. Quia P*, Quae *S Gry.*, Quia *Gry.\** pertransibit] pertransiuit *P Gry.\** id est] hoc est *Gry.* uestram] uestra *corr. uestram P* 324 terram] terra *corr. terra(m) P* celo] caelo *S* 325 dissolutio genuum] de sono gemituum *P* caligo] caliginem *P*, caligines *S* 327 phitones] *M Gry.\**, phitonas *P Gry.\* Ga.*, pytonas *S Vi.*, pythonas *Gry.* quęrite] quaerite *P* ut] Vt *S* 328 quę questui] *M P Gry.\**, quae quęstui *S*, quae quaestui *Gry.* magno] *om. P S Gry.* 329 ethnicorum] aethnicorum *S* nostra] uestra *P* quę] que *P*, quae *S Gry.* 329-30 gratis accepistis] gratis accepistis gratis date *Matt. 10:8*

330 accepistis] accipistis *P Gry.* \* famis] *M P Gry.* \*, fames *S Gry.* 331 quę] quae  
*P S* secuntur] sequuntur *S* diabolo] diabulo *corr.* diabolo *P* 332 pharisęis]  
phariseis *P S* 332-3 secundum alios] sed aliter *S* 333 intellegi] *inser.* *P* scribę]  
scribae *S* pharisęi] pharisei *P S* ut] *Vt S* 334 unaquęque] unaqueque *S*,  
unaquaeque *Gry.* 336-9 Primo tempore...orta est eis] Primo tempore adleuiata est  
usque lux orta est eis *S* 336 alleuiata] *M Gry.* \* *Vul.* \*, adleuata *P Gry.* \* *Vul.* \*, *corr.*  
alleuiata *P*, adleuiata *S Gry.* \* *Vul.*, releuata *Gry.* Neptalim] *M Gry.*, Nepthalim *P*  
*Gry.* \* *Vul.* 337 adgrauata] aggrauata *Gry.* Galileę] Galileae *P Vul.*, Galilaeae  
*Gry.* 338 umbrae] umbre *M* 339 pędicauit] predicauit *S*, praedicauit *Gry.*  
340 onere] honore *P* releuata] reuelata *P Gry.* \* adgrauata] aggrauata *P Gry.*  
341 Iudeorum] Iudeorum *P*, Iudaeorum *Gry.* lacum appellat] dicit lacum *P S*  
Genesareth] *omn. et Gry.* \* *Vi. Adr.*, Gennesareth *Gry.* 342 litore] littore *P S Gry.* \*  
*Ga. Va.* Tiberias] Tyberias *S Gry.* \* Bethsaida] Bezada *corr.* Bessaida *S*,  
Bessaida *Gry.* \* Chorozain] Chorozaım *P S Gry.* \* sitę] sitae *Gry.* 343 maxime]  
maximę *S* pędicationis] predicationis *S* 334 Umbrę] Umbre *M*, Umbrae *S*  
mortis] morum *corr.* mortis *S* 345 umbra] umbrę *M* 346 uiuunt] uiuent *corr.* uiuunt  
*M*

347-51 Multiplicasti gentem...cibus ignis] Multiplicasti gentem usque ad cibos ignis  
*S* 347 lętitiam] laetitiam *P Gry. Vul.* letabuntur] laetabuntur *Gry. Vul.*  
348 lętantur] laetantur *P Gry. Vul.* exultant] exsultant *Gry.* exultant quando]  
uictores capta praeda *sup. lin. P*, exultant quando uictores capta praeda *Gry.* \* *Vul.* \*  
349 uirga humeri] *M Gry.* \* *Adr. Vul.* \*, uirgam umeri *P Gry. Vul.* illius] eius *P*  
*Gry.* \* *Ga. Vul.* 350 pędatio] praedatio *Gry. Vul.* mixtum] mystum *M* erit] eius  
*M* 351 combustionem] combustionem *Gry.* cibus] cibos *S* quę] quae *P*

352 gentem] gentes *P* 353 laetitiam] laetitiam *corr.* laetitiam *S* continuam]  
 continuum *P S*, perpetuum *Gry.* 355 messis quidem multa] messis quidem multa  
 operarii autem pauci *Matt. 9:37* 356 exultant uictores] exultatio uictorum *P*,  
 exultatio uict *S*, exultant uictores *Gry.* forte] forti *P* 357 diaboli] diabuli *corr.*  
 diaboli *P* deprimebat] depremebat *corr.* deprimabat *S* 358 qua] quam *S*  
 humeros] uniuersos *Gry.* reddere] reddere *corr.* reddere *P* 359 liberatos] liberos  
*M* 360 abscondita] absconditu *corr.* abscondita *S* sicut] ut *P S* 361 uestis] estis  
*corr.* uestis *M* quae] que *M* 362 macule] macule *S*, maculae *Gry.* foedi] fedu *P*  
 igni] igne *P* diaboli] diabuli *P* 363 tumultus] *M Gry.*, tumultuatio *P S*  
 364 Gehenne] Gehennae *P Gry.*, Gehenne *S* deputate] deputate *M*, deputatae *Gry.*  
 365-70 Paruulus enim...faciet hoc] Paruulus enim natus est usque zelus domini  
 exercituum faciet hoc *S* 365-6 principatus eius super humerum] *M Gry.* \*,  
 principatus eius super humerum eius *P Gry.* \* *Vul.* \*, principatus super umerum eius  
*Gry. Vul.* 366 ammirabilis] admirabilis *P Gry. Vul.* 367 seculi] seculi *P*, saeculi  
*Gry. Vul.* 370 aeterni] eterni *S* 371 predixit] predixit *P S*, supra dictum est *Gry.*  
 Priusquam sciat puer] Quia antequam sciat puer reprobare malum et eligere bonum  
*Isa. 7:16* humerum] *M P Gry.* \*, umerum *S Gry.*

372 humerum] *M P Gry.* \*, umerum *S Gry.* 373 Isaia] Esaia *S Gry.*

Reuelauit...suum] parauit dominus brachium sanctum suum *Isa. 52:10*

374 Emmanuhel] Emanuhel *P* 375 uocatur] uocatus *S* qui] que *P* separatim]

seperatim *P* ammirabilis] admirabilis *P S Gry.* 376 deus fortis] deus et fortis *P*

et reliqua] *om. S* seculi] saeculi *P* 377 completur] completur *P* 377-8 Principis

pacis...uobis reliqua] *om. P S* pacem meam do uobis] pacem relinquo uobis

pacem meam do uobis *Ioh. 14:17* 378 Babyllonis] Babilonis *P S, corr.* Babylonis *S*

379 dissipatum] dissociatum *corr.* dissipatum *S* confirmabit] confirmauit *S*,  
confirmet *Gry.* ne promissio dei cassari] ne cassa dei promissio *Gry.* cassari]  
quassari *corr.* cassari *P*, cassari *Gry.* \* 380 incarnationis] ab incarnationis *P Gry.*  
eum] eam *S* emulationem] emulationem *P S*, aemulationem *Gry.*  
381 prouocauerunt] uocauerint *P*, uocauerunt *S* qui] que *S* prouocabit] uocabit  
*P S*, prouocauit *Gry.* emulationem] emulationem *P S*, aemulandum *Gry.* 382 que]  
quae *P Gry.* erat] erant *S* gens] *om. M S* Cepit] Coepit *P S Gry.* \*, Coepta  
*Gry.*, Cepta *Gry.* \* prophetia] propheta *corr.* prophetia *P* dixit] dixi *M* pete  
tibi signum] *Isa. 7:11*, petibis signum *M* 385 TERTIUS HIERONIMI CLAUSIT  
HIC UERBA LIBELLUS] EXPLICIT LIBER III INCIPIT LIBER IIII SUMIT  
PRINCIPIUM HIC QUARTUS NEMPE LIBELLUS *P* HIERONIMI]  
HYERONIMI *S*

## 4. Book IV

*Uerbum misit dominus in Iacob et cecidit in Israhel, et sciet populus omnis Ephraim et habitantes Samariam in superbia [et] magnitudine cordis dicentes, lateres ceciderunt, sed quadris lapidibus aedificabimus, sycomoros succiderunt, sed cedros inmutabimus. Et eleuabit dominus hostes Rasin super eum et inimicos eius*

5 *in tumultum uertet, Syriam ab oriente, et Philistiim ab occidente et deuorabunt Israhel toto ore. In omnibus his non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta et populus non est reuersus ad percutientem se, et dominum exercituum non inquisierunt. Ad id quod coeperat reuertitur, id est euersionem Syrię et Samarię.*

Misit ergo dominus uerbum in Iacob, hoc est regnare uoluit Iudam ut Iacob in

10 *Genesi prophetat, imperii ergo dignitas quę unctione Samuhelis post abiectum Saul cepit in Daud missa in Iacob, hoc est in xii tribus quę olim Iacob uocantur; cecidit in Israhel hoc est non stetit in x tribubus sibimet imperium uindicantibus, de quibus dicitur: *Ipsi regnauerunt et non ex me.* Sciet ergo populus Ephraim et habitantes Samariam qui pro multitudine eriguntur et dicuntur: in nostri comparatione regnum*

15 *Iudę paruum et uilissimum est; itaque illis cadentibus quasi lateribus nos quadro lapide aedificemus nobis domum; eorum sicomoris quę ligna sunt uilia hostili incursione succisis, nos imperium nostrum cędris inputribilibus extruemus. Sciat ergo populus Ephraim quod Syrus qui nunc ei auxilio est in hostem transeat, uel certe contra ipsum Syrum subita bella consurgant, et omnes uertantur in tumultum.*

20 *Mistice misit deus filium suum ad ecclesiam quę priorem populum subplantauit. Cecidit in Israhel, hoc est in hereticos qui deum uidere se iactant. Populum Ephraim et Samariam hoc est custodes legis, et uberes uirtutibus esse se dicunt, et*

qui in sua superbia dispiciunt ecclesiam nitentes auxilio Rasin id est philosophorum, contra quos omnes amici confligent et ex omni parte expugnabitur.

25 *Et disperdet dominus ab Israhel caput et caudam, incuruantem et deprauantem in die una; longeuus et honorabilis ipse est caput, et propheta docens mendacium, ipse est cauda, et erunt qui beatum dicunt populum istum seducentes, et qui beati dicuntur precipitati propter hoc super adoliscentulis eius non letabitur dominus, et pupillorum illius et uiduarum non miserebitur quia omnis hypocrita est*

30 *et nequam, et uniuersum os locutum est stultitiam, in omnibus his non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta. Succensa est enim quasi ignis impietas, ueprem et spinam uorabit, et succendetur in densitate saltus, et conuoluetur superbia fumi. In ira domini exercituum contremuit terra, et erit populus quasi esca ignis. Uir fratri suo non parcat, et declinabit ad dexteram et esuriet et comedet ad*

35 *sinistram et non saturabitur. Unusquisque carnem brachi sui uorabit, Manasses Ephraim, et Ephraim Manassen, simul ipsi contra Iudam, in omnibus his non est auersus furor eius sed adhuc manus eius extenta. Quia illi ad percutientem non reuersi sunt, extendit dominus manum ut disperdat de Israhel caput et caudam incuruantem, id est eum qui recta peruertat. Omnis hypochrita, id est aliud simulans*

40 *aliud agens, promittens castitatem, et uiuens luxuriose preferens paupertatem, et replens marsupium. Et quia ista fecerunt succendetur quasi ignis impietas non ut cultum agri, sed uepres et spinas deuoret et infructuosum saltum in quo fiunt bestię consumat. Superbia fumi, id est sublimitas, omne enim quod in sublime consurgit, superbum dici potest; et erit populus quasi esca ignis quia tanta fuit in eo crudelitas,*

45 *ut nec carissimo germanitatis nomini parceret, sed dexteram referens et contemnens, saturetur in his que sinistra erant dum uoluptatum et malorum patitur famem. Mistice caput et caudam maiorem et minorem, et caudam appellans non homines*

sed iumenta hereticos esse ostendit, quę hoc membro utuntur ad stercora  
 protegenda, et omnis hereticus simulator est. Nec turpis lucri gratia suis parcunt et  
 50 cum semper quę sinistra sunt inuenient, bona relinquentes et in malis immorantes,  
 numquam tamen suis erroribus saturantur, sed carnem brachii sui deuorantes; de  
 populis propter lucra discordant, ut de una heresi duę fiant, et rursus ipsi diuidantur  
 in partes, et quanto ipsi proficiunt ad peccandum, tanto populis deus manum suam  
 extendit ad poenas.

55 *Uę qui condunt leges iniquas, et scribentes iniustitiam scripserunt ut  
 opprimerent in iudicio pauperes, et uim facerent causę humilium populi mei ut  
 essent uiduę pręda eorum et pupillos diriperent. Quid facietis in die uisitationis et  
 calamitatis de longe uenientis? Ad cuius fugietis auxilium et ubi derelinquetis  
 gloriam uestram, ne incuruemini sub uinculo, et cum interfectis cadatis? Super  
 60 omnibus his non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta.* Haec de  
 iudicibus et scribis domus Iuda et Hierusalem dicuntur qui contra legem dei iniquas  
 leges scripserunt, ut est *donum quodcumque ex me est tibi proderit*, ne filii parentes  
 honorarent [et] reliqua. *Dies uisitationis*, id est uel captiuitatis uel iudicii, *manus  
 eius extenta*, id est non finis mali eorum erit extrema captiuitas sed in hostili terra  
 65 gladius domini eos persequetur. Mistice hęc omnia hereticis conueniunt pauperem  
 id est in scientia, uiduę quę uirum deum non habent, pupillum id est sine patre deo.

*Uę Assur uirga furoris mei et baculus ipse, in manu eorum indignatio mea.  
 Ad gentem fallacem mittam eum, et contra populum furoris mei mandabo illi ut  
 auferat spolia et diripiat prędam et ponat illum in conculcationem quasi lutum  
 70 platearum. Ipse autem non sic arbitratus est et cor eius non ita aestimauit, sed ad  
 conterendum erit cor eius et ad internitionem gentium plurimarum. Dicit enim:  
 Numquid non principes mei simul reges sunt? Numquid ut Charcamis, sic*



*Chalanno, et ut Arphat sic Emath? Numquid [non] ut Damascus sic Samaria?*

*Quomodo inuenit manus mea regna idoli, sic et simulacra eorum de Hierusalem, et*

75 *de Samaria. Numquid [non] sicut feci Samarię et idolis eius sic faciam Hierusalem et simulacris eius? Hoc est uę Sennacherib, in manu enim eius indignatio mea ut per eum percutiam gentem falsam, quę inter me semper et idola claudicauit, quę pęccepta se facturam semper mentita est, ipsi pęcipiam ut percutiet et non interficiat ut uulneret et non auferat animam. Ipse modum irę meę transgressus est*

80 *et non tantum in Israhel ad quem directus fuerat, sed in multas gentes dibachatus est, qui superbe erectus dixit: Duces mei et mihi subiecti aliarum gentium reges sunt, et quomodo coepi Charcamis sic coepi et Chalanno; quomodo Arphat sic obtinui et Emath; quomodo Damascus sic mihi subieci Samariam; et quomodo cetera regna quę idola colunt subieci sic Hierusalem et Samariam in quibus eadem*

85 *idola sunt subiciam. Mystice potest significare eos per quos deus ferire et corrigere suos uult si modum uindicte transcendant.*

*Et erit cum impleuerit dominus cuncta opera sua in monte Sion et in*

*Hierusalem uisitabo super fructum magnifici cordis regis Assur et super gloriam*

*altitudinis oculorum eius. Dixit enim: In fortitudine manus meę feci, et in sapientia*

90 *intellexi, et abstuli terminos populorum et principes eorum depredatus sum, et detraxi quasi potens in sublime residentes, et inuenit quasi nidum manus mea*

*fortitudinem populorum et sicut colliguntur oua quę derelicta sunt, sic uniuersam terram ego congregaui et non fuit qui moueret pennam et aperiret os et ganniret.*

Nunc contra ipsum Assur loquitur propheta qui putauerat quod incredibili sapientia

95 *sua omnium possiderit terminos et aperiret os atque ganniret; hoc est tantus fuit terror fortitudinis meę ut ne fletum quidem et gemitum uicti libere proderent.*

Quidam putant haec generaliter contra regnum Assyriorum dici quod post

subuersionem Hierusalem destruendum esset. Mihi autem ex consequentibus contra Sennacherib proprie uidetur comminatio, et *opera in monte Sion* non tantum

100 subuersionem Hierusalem sed obsidionem quando uenit Rabsaces dux Sennacherib, et ea fecit quę in posterioribus idem propheta commemorat. Mystice post Samarię et Hierusalem, id est hereticorum et peccatorum interitum, ipse Assur, id est magnus sensus superbus diabolum subuertetur, nouissima enim inimica destruetur mors.

*Numquid gloriabitur securis contra eum qui secat in ea aut exaltabitur serra*  
 105 *contra eum a quo trahitur? Quomodo si eleuetur uirga contra leuantem se et exaltetur baculus qui utique lignum est.* Contra Sennacherib uel secundum alios Nabuchodonosor dicitur: o stultissime mortalium dei iram tuam putas. Sicut si securis et serra opera quę per ea fiunt dicunt sua arte esse perfecta, et uirga ac baculus leuata ad percutiendum gloriantur a se percussum esse qui percussus est, sic  
 110 et tu quę dei iussione pertegeruntur tuę gloriaris esse uirtutis. Mystice quicquid Assyrie dicitur, hereticis et diabolo refertur qui securis et serra et uirga dicitur, quia per eum infructuosę arbores succidantur et serrentur in duritia et percutiantur non ad disciplinam sed poenam. Heretici quoque suo sensu abutuntur contra eum a quo conditi sunt.

115 *Propter hoc mittet dominatur deus exercituum in pinguibus eius tenuitatem, et subtus gloriam eius succensa ardebit quasi combustio ignis, et erit lumen Israhel in igne et sanctus eius in flamma et succendetur et deuorabitur spina eius et uepres in die una, et gloria saltus eius et Carmeli eius ab anima usque ad carnem consumetur, et erit terrore profugus et reliquię ligni saltus eius pro paucitate*  
 120 *numerabuntur et puer scribet eos.* Hoc est quia fecisti et dixisti quę supra narraui, ideo mittet dominus angelum suum et una nocte centum octoginta quinque milia de tuo morientur exercitu, ita ut potentissimi quos pingues dicit redigantur in

captiuitatem [et] in nihili et secundum Hēbreos inlesis uestibus Assyriorum corpora  
 occulto crementur ardore. Tunc lumen Israhel et sanctus, id est angelus, erit in igne  
 125 et uepres Assiriorum, id est malitię consumerentur, et sicut saltus et sicut Carmelus  
 mons in Galilea nemoribus consitus subposito igne concremantur cito, ita ab anima  
 usque ad carnem omnis Assyrii gloria consumetur. Tunc expoliatus exercitus fugiet  
 et tam paucierunt ut paruus puer eos numerare possit, decem enim tantum ex illis  
 sicut Hebręi tradunt euaserunt. Mystice sanctus Israhel Christus in iudicio saltum  
 130 infructuosum, id est malignos spiritus Gehennę ignibus succendet, et quasi profugus  
 et tortuosus coluber deuitare, tunc poenas cupiet diabolus et qui de eius saltu et  
 confusione fugerunt digni sunt, ut numerentur a puero cuius principatus in humeris  
 eius. Et de hereticorum, id est sterili multitudine pauci resident qui post  
 ecclesiastica dogmata illos sequantur.

135 *Et erit in die illa non adiciet residuum Israhel et hi qui saluati fuerint de domo  
 Iacob inniti super eo qui percutit eos, sed innitetur super dominum sanctum Israhel  
 in ueritate reliquię conuertentur, reliquię inquam Iacob ad deum fortem, si enim  
 fuerit populus tuus Israhel quasi harena maris reliquię conuertentur ex eo.  
 Consummatio et adbreuiata inundabit iustitiam. Consummationem enim et  
 140 adbreuiationem dominus deus exercituum faciet in medio omnis terrae. Residui  
 Israhel qui cum Ezechia obsidebantur in Hierusalem reliquis Iudę urbibus captis,  
 non confident in Assyrios sicut nunc faciunt sub Achaz qui misit nuntios ad regem  
 Assiriorum dicens: *Seruus tuus ego sum ascende et libera me de Israhel*, sed  
 innitentur super dominum in ueritate non falso ut prius sub aliis regibus, sed in  
 145 ueritate ut sub Ezechia factum legimus. Et quia dixit reliquias esse saluandas,  
 transit ad plenam saluationem quę sub Christo in apostolis et per eos credentibus  
 completa est, qui sunt reliquię in comparatione infidelium Iudęorum. Consummatus*

autem id est perfectus et adbreuiatus sermo euangelicus est, qui pro omnibus  
 laciniosę legis cęrimoniis dedit pęcceptum breuissimum dilectionis, et fidei ut est *in*  
 150 *his duobus mandatis pendet omnis lex et prophete.*

*Propter hoc hęc dicit dominus deus exercituum: Noli timere populus meus*  
*habitor Sion ab Assur. In uirga percutiet te et baculum suum leuabit super te in*  
*uia Aegypti. Adhuc enim paululum modicumque et consummabitur indignatio et*  
*furor meus super scelus eorum, et suscitabit super eum dominus exercituum*

155 *flagellum iuxta plagam Madian in petra Horreb et uirgam suam super mare, et*  
*leuabit eam in uia Eęypti et erit in die illa auferetur onus eius de humero tuo et*  
*iugum eius de collo tuo, et conputrescet iugum a facie olei.* Hoc est quamuis

Sennacherib quarto decimo anno Ezechię urbes Iuda munitas capiet et Rabsacen ad  
 te obsidendum mittet, tamen hoc scito quod non gladio sed uirga te percutiet, et

160 pergens contra Taracham regem Eęthiopię et Eęyptios ac mare Rubrum per uiam  
 Aegypti, baculum suum tantum eleuet contra te et ferire non possit. Adhuc enim  
 paululum et reuersus de Eęypto obsidere te cupiens, statim ego indignatus ei,  
 percutiam eum flagello quo quondam sub Gedeone, principes Madianitarum Horreb

et Zebee occisi sunt super petra durissima, id est silice quę Hebraice dicitur SUR,

165 ita ut ex petra et ex rege occiso locus nomen petrę Horreb acciperet. Leuabit ergo  
 uirgam super mare Rubrum pergens contra Ethiopas et eleuabit reuertens ad te per  
 uiam Aegypti, sed statim ut de Eęypto uenerit *auferetur onus eius*, id est potentia  
 eius de te, et *a facie olei* id est dei misericordia conputrescit, uel quod dixit:

*Leuabit super te in uia Aegypti, et rursus leuabit eam in uia Eęypti* sic intellegitur,

170 quod ideo multos se Iuda percussit, et in circuitu Hierusalem urbes eius coepit quia  
 non in deo sed in Eęyptiis habuerunt fiduciam. Mistice precipitur populo ecclesię  
 ne timeat aduersarios qui non gladio sed uirga percutere, id est non occidere, sed

minari permittuntur ut de uia Egypti populus ad dominum conuertatur, et tunc aduersarii flagellabuntur domini iudicio, Madian enim interpretatur ex iudicio.

175 *Ueniet in Haiath, transibit in Magron, apud Magmas commendabit uasa sua.*  
*Transierunt cursim Gabeę, sedes nostra; obstipuit Rama, Gabaath Saulis fugit,*  
*hinni uoce tua filia Gallim adtende Laisa paupercula Anatoth; migrabit Medemena*  
*habitatores Gebim confortamini; adhuc dies est ut in Nob stetur agitabit manum*  
*suam super montem filię Sion collem Hierusalem.* Nunc describit iter Assyrii cum  
180 magna pompa et strepitu redeuntis de Aegypto ad obpugnandam Hierusalem,  
primum ueniens in Aiath et prę nimia festinatione ibi non manens transibit in  
Magron, tantamque capiendę urbis habebit fidutiam ut apud Magmas commendet  
sarcinas suas quasi cito subuersa urbe rediturus. Quibus depositis transibit eam  
cursim et in Gabeę habebit diuersorium; quo paululum ibidem subsistente ut lassum  
185 refoueat exercitum, Rama urbs uicina terrebitur Gabeę Saulis quondam ciuitas  
fugiet. Tunc et filia Gallim quę Hebraicę dicitur BETH GALLIM, ita eiulabit ut  
equorum arbitreris hinnitum. Unde o Laisa et paupercula Anathot diligenter  
adtendite et declinate currentis impetum si potestis, migravit enim de sedibus suis  
urbs Medemena. Uos autem qui habitatis in collibus, hoc enim interpretatur Gebin  
190 tuti altitudine confortamini, id est arma corripite; adhuc tamen supererat diei ut  
stans in oppidulo Nob et procul urbem conspiciens Hierusalem, agitaret manum  
suam atque concuteret super montem Sion uel dispiciens eum et contemnens, uel  
salutans et comminans et admirans quod toto sibi oriente subiecto tam parua ciuitas  
potentię suę audeat repugnare.

195 *Ecce dominator dominus exercituum confringet lagunculam in terrore, et*  
*excelsi statura succidentur, et sublimes humiliabuntur et subuertentur condensa*  
*saltus ferro et Libanus cum excelsis cadet.* Quidam putant hunc locum adhuc de

Assyrio dici quod illo contrito omnes in circuitu nationes subiectę ei subuertentur ut nihil Assyriae potestatis resideat. Metofoyce per saltum et Libanum populum et  
 200 principes significat quidam uero in prologo aduentus domini de Iesse et Daudid, hec prius de passione eius dici uolunt sub metafoya fractę laguncule, quod ideo caro eius morti uolente deo ueluti est: *Percutiam pastorem* [et] reliqua tradita sit ut sublimitas Iudeorum et templum destruatur.

*Et egredietur uirga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet, et*  
 205 *requiescet super eum spiritus domini, spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientię et pietatis et repleuit eum spiritus timoris domini.* Uirgam et florem Iudei ipsum dominum dicunt, pro potentia regnantis et pulchritudine. Nos autem uirgam dicimus sanctam Mariam que nullum habuit sibi fruticem coherentem, florem uero dominum Ihesum, ut *Ego sum flos campi.* *Et*  
 210 *requiescet super eum,* hoc est aeterna habitatione permanebit, *spiritus domini,* id est plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter. Et quomodo idem dei uirtus et sapientia sermo lux et uita et resurrectio, sic spiritus sapientiae et intellectus consilii et fortitudinis et scientię et pietatis et timoris domini nuncupatur. Non quo ipse diuersus sit iuxta differentias nominum, sed unus atque idem omnium uirtutum fons sit, et origo ut  
 215 nec sine Christo quis possit esse sapiens uel intellegens [et] reliqua.

*Non secundum uisionem oculorum iudicabit neque secundum auditum aurium arguet, sed iudicabit in iustitia pauperes et arguet in aequitate pro mansuetis terre, et percutiet terram uirga oris sui et spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet impium, et erit iustitia cingulum lumborum eius et fides cinctorium renis eius.* Hoc est non  
 220 superficiem simulate iustitię, sed internam conscientiam Iude nullius personam accipiens, ut scribis et pharisęis dixit: *Uę uobis hypocrite,* neque secundum auditum aurium; illis enim dicentibus *magister scimus quia uerax es* et reliqua, ille

respondit *quid me temptatis hypocrite?* Iudicabit autem in iustitia pauperes spiritu  
 quorum est regnum celorum. *Arguet pro mansuetis*, id est eos qui apostolos  
 225 conabantur obprimere arguebat uel ipsos apostolos, ut est *Adhuc et uos sine*  
*intellectu estis*. Percussit quoque omnia terrena opera uirga, hoc est uerbo oris sui,  
 ut est non ueni pacem mittere sed gladium, interficiet impium de quo Paulus dicit:  
*Quem dominus Ihesus interficiet spiritu oris sui*. *Iustitia cingulum*, ut est ego sum  
 lux et uia, et ueritas, et fides credentium cinctorium eius.

230 *Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hedo accubabit, uitulus et leo et ouis*  
*simul morabuntur et puer paruulus minabit eos*. *Uitulus et ursus pascentur simul,*  
*requiescent catuli eorum et leo et bos comedent paleas, et delectabitur infans ab*  
*ubere super foramine aspidis et in cauerna reguli qui ablactatus fuerit manum suam*  
*mittet*. *Non nocebunt et non occident in uniuerso monte sancto meo quia repleta est*  
 235 *terra scientia domini sicut aquae maris operient eos*. Lupus prius lacerans fuit  
 Paulus de quo dicitur: *Beniamin lupus rapax*; cum agno, id est Anania a quo  
 baptizatus est, uel Petro cui dicitur: *Pasce agnos meos*. Pardus qui prius non  
 mutabat uarietatem suam, lotus in fonte domini, accubabit cum hedo, non qui a  
 sinisteris est, sed immolandus in pascha domini. Leo quoque prius ferocissimus et  
 240 uitulus et ouis, id est diuites et pauperes, potentes et humiles, reges et priuati pariter  
 in ecclesia commorantur, et a pueris, id est apostolis et apostolicis uiris sermone  
 inperitis non scientia reguntur. Et catuli, id est familie eorum simul coniunguntur,  
 leo quoque non carne sed simplici cibo, id est palaeis uescitur quia sepe homines  
 seculi mistica nescientes simplici scripturarum lectione pascuntur. Infans quoque,  
 245 id est in malitia paruulus mittet manum suam in foramine aspidis et de obsessis  
 hominum corporibus fugat demones; qui autem ablactatus est, et non lacte sed  
 solido cibo utitur, iste in reguli cauernam mittet manum suam, id est in ipsius satane

habitaculum et inde eum extrahit, ut dicitur dedi uobis potestatem calcandi [et]  
 reliqua. *In monte sancto* id est in ecclesia, quę est *ciuitas super montem posita*, et  
 250 quomodo aquę maris operient terram, sic omnis terra scientia domini complebitur  
 quasi quę prius obscurius dixit hic manifestat.

*In die illa erit radix Iesse qui stat in signum populorum ipsum gentes  
 depręcabuntur et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum.* Hoc est tempore illo quo  
 euangelium in toto mundo coruscarit, erit radix Iesse, et qui de eius stirpe  
 255 conscendet in signum omnium populorum ut uideant populi signum filii hominis in  
 caelo, qui habebit cornua in manibus suis in quibus abscondetur fortitudo eius, et  
 erit mors eius gloriosa.

*Et erit in die illa adiciet dominus secundo manum suam ad possidendum  
 residuum populi sui quod relinquetur ab Assyriis et ab Egipto et a Phetros et ab  
 260 Aethiopia et ab Ełam et a Sennaar et ab Emath et ab insulis maris, et leuabit  
 signum in nationes et congregabit profugos Israhel et dispersos Iuda colliget a  
 quattuor plagis terrę et auferetur zelus Ephraim et hostes Iuda peribunt, Ephraim  
 non emulabitur Iudam, et Iudas non pugnabit contra Effraim. Et uolabunt in  
 humeros Philistim per mare simul praedabuntur filios orientis et Idumea et Moab  
 265 pręceptum manus eorum et filii Ammon oboedientes erunt.* Secundo id est post  
 uocationem gentium quę prius in cauda reputatę sunt Israhel in caudam reputabitur  
 ut apponat dominus secundo manum suam, et possideat reliquias populi sui quę  
 fuerint ab Assyriis et Aegypto et omnibus in circuitu nationibus congregatae in  
 fidem; *in insulis maris* occidentalem plagam significat, quę oceani ambitu clauditur.  
 270 Apostoli enim in toto mundo prędicauerunt usque in Persos et Indos et Aethiopiam  
 et Hispaniam. Eo tempore, inquit Isaias, quo haec facient nequaquam Effraim et  
 Iuda qui nunc dissident inimici erunt, sed coniungentur in ecclesia ita ut communi



labore sudent, et uolent in humeros Philistim per mare, hoc est primum maritimis  
 prædicent Palestinę et mare uolucris cursu peragant, ad ceteras nationes ut Paulus ad  
 275 diuersas insulas et prouintias nauibus portatus est. *Leuabit signum*, hoc est signum  
 crucis, et postquam uexillum crucis in gentibus ob salutem totius orbis eleuatum  
 fuerit, tunc Idumea et Moab et filii Ammon omnis uidelicet Arabie latitudo  
 apostolis dabunt manus, ut in locis idolatrię Christi aecclesię suscitentur.

*Et desolabit dominus linguam maris Aegypti, et leuabit manum suam super*  
 280 *flumen in fortitudine spiritus sui, et percutiet eum in riuis septem ita ut transeant*  
*per eum calciati. Et erit uia residuo populo meo qui relinquetur ab Assyriis sicut*  
*fuit Israheli in die qua ascendit de terra Aegypti.* Hoc est linguam quę prius contra  
 dominum blasphemabat et idolatrię præerat; interficiet in fortitudine spiritus sui, hoc  
 est in regno Romano. Regnante enim Caesare Augusto, regnum Aegyptiorum  
 285 morte Cleopatrę destructum est, et omnis Aegyptus in septem riuis percussus est, et  
 Nilus aquarum multarum qui prius uno fluens alueo intransmeabilis erat in septem  
 partes concisus est, ut calciatis pedibus transiretur. Metaphorice per flumen  
 idolatrem et pessimam potentiam que tam fortis erat destructam significat, ita ut  
 alium iudicem ex Romanis habeat Thebais alium Libia alium Pentapolis alium  
 290 Aegyptus alium Alexandria et reliqua. Hoc autem ideo fiet ut residuus dei populus  
 cum uerbo euangelii usque ad extremos, Aegyptios populus perueniet sine  
 impedimento.

*Et dices in illa die: Confitebor tibi domine [quoniam iratus es mihi;*  
*conuersus est furor tuus et consolatus es me. Ecce deus saluator meus, fiducialiter*  
 295 *agam et non timebo, quia fortitudo mea et laus mea dominus deus, et factus est*  
*mihij in salutem.* Hoc est qui prius ex Aegypto per siccum mare pergentes dixistis  
*Cantemus domino [et] reliqua, nunc iterum percusso Aegypto et flumine eius*

arefacto glorificate dominum et dicite, *confitebor tibi domine*, quoniam iram merui et misericordiam consecutus sum; tu es enim saluator meus, id est Ihesus. *Non timebo*, id est idola quę non sunt timenda.

300

*Haurietis aquas*: Hoc est euangelii doctrinam, ut est *Qui sitit ueniat* [et] reliqua.

*Et dicetis in illa die confitemini* [domino inuocate nomen eius, notas facite in populis adinventiones eius, mementote quoniam excelsum est nomen eius, cantate domino quoniam magnifice fecit, adnuntiate hoc] in uniuersa terra. Haec præcipiuntur ab apostolis et reliquis Israhel his qui de gentibus crediderunt, ut derelictis idolis soli domino confiteantur [et] reliqua.

305

*Exulta et lauda habitatio Sion* [quia magnus in medio tui] sanctus Israhel. O Sion exulta et lauda deum tuum quod qui tuus ante uidebatur deus et modica Iudęa claudebatur, nunc omnem terram sua repleuit scientia, mystice Sion id est specula significat ecclesiam in sublimibus collocatam.

310

EXPLICIT INDE LIBER CONSCRIPTUS IN ORDINE QUARTUS.

## 4b. Apparatus for Book IV

1-8 Uerbum misit...non inquisierunt] Verbum misit dominus in Iacob usque exercituum dominum non inquisierunt *S* 1 Uerbum] Verbum *P S* 2 Ephraim] Effraim *P* 3 sycomoros] *P Gry. Vul.*, sicomores *M Gry.\** 4 inmutabimus] immutabimus *Gry.* 5 Philistiim] *M Gry.\**, Philistim *P Gry.*, Filisthiim *Vul.* 8 Syrię et Samarię] Syriae et Samariae *P S Gry.* 10 Genesi] Gnesi *corr.* Genesi *M imperii* ergo] imperiorum *S* que] quae *P S Gry.* Samuhelis] Samuelis *P Gry.\** 11 xii] duodecim *S Gry.* tribus] *corr.* tribubus *P* que] quae *Gry.* uocantur] *omn. et Gry.\**, uocabantur *S Gry.* 12 x] decem *P Gry.*, decim *corr.* decem *S tribubus] corr.* tribubus *or* tribiubus *M* sibimet] sibi *Gry.* 13 Ipsi regnauerunt et non ex me] *Osee 8:4*, Ipsi regnauerunt sed non ex me *P Gry.\**, Ipsi regnauerunt et non per me *Gry.* Sciet] Sciat *M* Ephraim] Effraim *P S* 14 dicuntur] dicunt *P Gry.* comparatione] comparatione *P S* 15 Iudę] Iude *S*, Iudae *Gry.* 15-16 quadro lapide] quadris lapidibus *P S* 16 aedificemus] edificabimus *P*, edificabi *corr.* edificabimus *S* eorum] illorum *Gry.* sicomoris] sycomoris *P*, sicomori sunt *S que] quae P Gry.* 17 cedris] cedris *P S Gry.* inputribilibus] inputrabilibus *corr.* inputribilibus *S* Sciat] Sciet *P S* 18 ergo] eorum *S* Ephraim] Efraim *P*, Effraim *S* Syrus] Syrius *corr.* Syrus *M* ei auxilio] auxilio ei *P*, auxilio eius *S* in hostem] et in hostem *S* 19 Syrum] Syrium *S* 20 Mistice] Mystice *P*, Mistice *corr.* Mystice *S* ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M*, eclesiam *S* que] quae *Gry.* subplantauit] supplantauit *P Gry.* 21 hereticos] hereticis *P S*, haeticos *Gry.* Populum] Populus *P S* 22 Ephraim] Efraim *P*, Effraim *S* Samariam] Samariae *P S* 21 esse se dicunt] esse reddunt *corr.* se esse reddunt *P*

23 ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* philosophorum] philosophiae *P*, philosophia *S*  
 24 confligent] configent *P*, confligenti *S* expugnabitur] conpugnabitur *P* 25-37 Et  
 disperdet...eius extenta] Et disperdet dominus ex Israhel caput et caudam usque  
 manus eius extenta *S* 26 deprauantem] *M Gry. Vul. \**, refrenantem *P Vul.* in] *om.*  
*P Ga. Vul.* propheta] propheta *corr.* proipheta *M* 27 mendacium] mendatium *P*  
 ipse est cauda] *M P Gry. Vul. \**, ipse cauda est *Vul.* beatum dicunt] beatificant *P*  
*Gry. \* Vul.* 28 beati dicuntur] beatificantur *P Gry. \* Vul.* præcipitati] praecipitati  
*Gry. Vul.* adoliscentulis] *M Gry. \**, adulescentulis *P Gry. Vul.* lætabitur]  
 letabitur *P*, laetabitur *Gry. Vul.* 31-7 Succensa est...eius extenta] *om. P*  
 33 contremuit] conturbata est *Vul.* 35 brachi] brachii *Gry. Vul.* 37 furor] foror *corr.*  
 furor *M* 39 peruertat] *corr.* peruertit *P*, peruertit *Gry. \* Er. Adr.* hypochrita]  
 hypocrita *P Gry.*, hypochritę *S*, hypocrita *corr.* hypochrita *M* 40 præferens]  
 preferens *M*, praeferens *P Gry.* 41 marsupium] *M S Gry. \**, marsupium *P Gry.*  
 quia] qui *corr.* quia *P* ista] hec *P S* impietas] impietatis *P* 42 agri] agrum *Gry.*  
 et infructuosum] et *om. S* bestię] bestiae *S Gry.* 44 esca] eşca *P* 45 nec] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \**, ne *Gry.* germanitatis] g(er)minitens *marg. M* dexteram] *M S Gry. \**,  
 dextera *P Gry.* referens] *omn., corr.* deserens *P*, deserens *Gry.* contempnens]  
 contempnens *S Gry. \** 46 quę] quae *P Gry.* 47 Mistice] Mystice *P S*  
 48 quę] quae *P S Gry.* 49 omnis hereticus simulator est] omnes hereticos  
 simulatores sunt *S* 50 quę] quae *P* inuenient] inueniant *P S Gry.* 52 duę] duo *S*  
 53 populis] plus *P*, in populis *S* 55-60 Uę qui condunt...manus eius extenta] Vae  
 qui condunt leges iniquas usque manus extenta *S* 55 Uę] Uae *P*, Vae *S Gry. Vul.*  
 56 iudicio] iuditio *M* causę] causae *Gry. Vul.* 57 uiduę] uiduae *P Gry. Vul.*  
 præda] praedae *Gry. Vul. \**, praeda *Vul. Gry. \** 60 eius] *om. S* 61 iudicibus] iuditibus

*M* Iuda] Iudae *P S Gry.* iniquas] in quas *S Gry. \** 62 donum...proderit] *Matt.*  
 15:5 donum] domum *corr.* donum *M* 63 et] *om. M, inser. P* uel] *om. P S*  
 captiuitatis] captiuitatem *S* iudicii] iuditii *M* 64 sed] sed etiam *Gry.*  
 65 persequetur] *P S Gry. \*, eras. et corr.* p(er)sequetur *M*, persequatur *Gry.*  
 Mistice] Mystice *P S* hec] hec *M*, haec *P* 66 uidue que] uiduae quae *P*, uidue qui  
*S* pupillum] pupillo *S* 67-76 Ue] Assur...simulacris eius] Vae Assur usque  
 Hierusalem et simulacris eius *S* 67 Ue] Uae *P*, Vae *S Gry. Vul.* ipse] ipse est *Gry.*  
*Vul. \** 68 gentem] genitem *corr.* gentem *M* 69 pre]dam] predam *P*, praedam *Gry.*  
*Vul.* ponat] ponam *M Gry. \* Ga. Vul. \** 70 arbitratus est] arbitrabitur *P Vul.*  
 aestimauit] *M Gry. Vul. \**, estimabit *P*, aestimabit *Vul.* 71 eius] eus *M*  
 internitionem] *M P, corr.* internitionem *P*, interneccionem *Gry.*, internicionem *Gry. \**  
*Ga. Er. Vi. Vul.* plurimarum] paucarum *P Vul.* Dicit] *M P Gry. \* Ga. Ma. Va.*  
*Adr. Vul. \*, Dicet Gry. Vul.* 72 Charcamis] *M Gry. \*, Charchamis P Gry. Vul.*  
 73 Arphat] *M Gry. \*, Arfath P Gry. \*, Arfad Gry. Vul.* non] *om. M Gry. \**  
 Samaria] Samariam *M* 75 non] *om. M Gry. \** Samarie] Samariae *P Gry. Vul.*  
 76 ue] uae *P S Gry.* Sennacherib] Sennacerib *corr.* Sennacherib *P* 77 eum] eam  
*S*, illum *Gry.* que] inter] quae inter *P Gry.* que] quae *P Gry.* 78 pre]cepta] mea  
*inser. P*, praecepta mea *Gry.* facturam] faturam *M*, facturum *S* semper] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \*, esse Gry.* pre]cipiam] praecipiam *Gry.* percutiet] percutiat *P Gry.*,  
 percuciat *S* 79 auferat] auferet *corr.* auferat *S* ire] ire *M P*, iracundiae *Gry.*  
 me] meae *P S Gry.* transgressus] *omn. et Gry. \*, egressus Gry.* 80 tantum]  
 t(antu)m *corr.* tantum *P* dibachatus] *M P Gry. \*, corr.* debachatus *P*, debachatus *S*  
*Gry. \*, debacchatus Gry.* 81 superbe] superbie *corr.* superbia *P* 82 coepi<sup>1</sup>] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \* Ga. \*, corr.* cepi *P*, cepi *Gry.* Charcamis] *M Gry. \* Er. Adr.*, Charchamis *P*

*Gry.*, Charchaminis *corr.* Charchamis *S* coepi<sup>2</sup>] *omn. et Gry.\* Ga., corr.* cepi *P*,  
cepi *Gry.* Chalanno] *corr.* Chalannon *P*, Chalamno *S* Arphat] *M P Gry.\* Ga.*,  
Arphad *S Gry.\* Er. Adr.*, Arfad *Gry.* 83 obtinui] obtenui *corr.* obtinui *P* Emath]  
Emaht *M*, Emat *S Gry.\**, *corr.* Emath *S* 84 quę] quae *P S Gry.* 85 potest] *om. S*  
significare] sig(nificat) *corr.* significare *P*, significat *S* 86 uindicte] uindictę *P S*  
87-93 Et erit...et ganniret] Et erit cum impleuerit dominus cuncta opera sua usque  
ganniret *S* 89 meę] meae *P Gry. Vul.* sapientia] sapientia mea *P Gry.\* Vul.*  
90 depredatus] depraedatus *Gry. Vul.* 92 fortitudinem populorum] *dup. lin. 90-2*  
*eras. M* quę] quae *P Gry. Vul.* 93 pennam] *M P Gry.\**, pinnam *Gry. Vul.* et  
ganniret] *M P Gry.\**, atque ganniret *Gry.* 95 possiderit] *M S Gry.\**, possederit *P*  
*Gry.* 96 meę] meae *P S Gry.* ut ne] ut nec *P Gry.\**, et nunc *S*, + etiam *P S*  
97 haec] hec *P* Assyriorum] Assyrię *S*  
  
98 Hierusalem] Hierusolem *P* destruendum] *corr.* destruendum *P*, destruendum *S*,  
destruatur *Gry.* 99 Sennacherib] Sennacerib *corr.* Sennacherib *P* proprie]  
propriae *P Gry.\* Ga.*, proprię *S* 100 quando uenit Rabsaces dux Sennacherib]  
quando Rapsaces...uenit *P*, quando Rapsacis...uenit *S* Sennacherib] Sennacerib  
*corr.* Sennacherib *P* 101 quę] quae *P Gry.* in posterioribus...commemorat] post  
modum legimus *P S* Samarię] Samariae *P*, Samaria *corr.* Samariae *S*  
103 diabolium] diabolus *corr.* diabolus *P*, diabolus *S* destruetur] destrutur *corr.*  
destruetur *S* 104-6 Numquid...lignum est] Numquid gloriabitur securis usque quod  
utique lignum est *S* 105 leuantem] eleuantem *P Gry.\* Vul.\** 106 Sennacherib]  
Sennacerib *P Gry.\**, *corr.* Sennacherib *P* 107 Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P*,  
Nabochodonosor *corr.* Nabuchodonosor *S* putas] putes *M* Sicut si] Si *P*, Sicut  
*S*, Quomodo si *Gry.* 110 tu] tuę *P*, tuae *S* gloriaris] gloria us *corr.* gloriae uis *P*

quicquid] quidquid *Gry.* 111 Assyrie] de rege Assiriorum *P*, de rege Assyriorum *S*  
 hereticis] de hereticis *P* et] *inser. M* diabolo] diabulo *corr.* diabalo *P*  
 refertur] refetur *M* securis] securi *corr.* securis *P* 112 infructuose] infructuose *S*,  
 infructuosae *Gry.* 113 poenam] penam *corr.* poenam *S* Hēretici] Heretici *P S*,  
 Haeretici *Gry.* a] *om. P* 115-20 Propter hoc...scribet eos] Propter hoc mittet  
 usque et puer scribet eos *S* 115 pinguibus] pinguinibus *corr.* pinguibus *M*  
 116 combustio] combustio *Gry.* 119 reliquie] reliquiae *P Gry. Vul.* ligni] ligne  
*corr.* ligni *M* 120 quia] qui *P* que] quae *P Gry.* 121 ideo] propterea *Gry.*  
 centum octoginta quinque milia] clxxxv *P S*, centum octoginta quinque *marg. P*  
 123 captiuitatem] *omn. et Gry. \**, tenuitatem *Gry.* et] *om. M S* nihili] nihilo *S*  
 et] *om. S* Hēbreos] Ebreos *P*, Hebreos *S* inlesis] illaesis *Gry.* 124 Tunc lumen  
 Israhel et sanctus] Tunc Israhel erit sanctus *S* igne] ignem *P S* 125 Assiriorum]  
 Assyriorum *P S Gry.* malitie] malitiae *P*, malicie *S*, malitia *Gry.* sicut  
 Carmelus] sicut *om. P* 126 subposito] supposito *Gry.* concremantur cito] cito  
 concremantur *P S*, cito *marg. P*, uelociter concremantur *Gry.* 127 Assyrii]  
 Assyriorum *P S* expoliatus] exspoliatus *Gry.* 128 tam paucierunt] pauerunt *S*  
 decem enim] x enim *P*, exercitum *S* 129 Hebrēi] Hebrei *P S*, Hebraei *Gry.*  
 tradunt] dicunt *P S* iudicio] iuditio *P* 130 malignos] malignus *S* Gehennē]  
 Gehenne *M S*, gehennae *Gry.* succendet] succendit *S* 131 diabolus] diabolus]  
*corr.* diabalus *P* 132 numerentur] numerantur *P*, numerantur *corr.* numerentur *S*  
 humeris] umeris *Gry.* 133 Et de] Sed et de *P*, Sed et *S* sterili] hostili *P*, diaboli  
*corr.* sterili *S* 134 ecclesiastica] aecclesiastica *M* 135-40 Et erit...omnis terrae] Et  
 erit in illa die non adiciet residuum Israhel usque in medio omnis terrae *S*

135 saluati fuerint] fugerint *P Vul.* 137 reliquię conuertentur] reliquiae conuertentur  
*Gry. Vul.* reliquię inquam] reliquiae inquam *P Gry. Vul.* 138 harena] arena *P*  
*Gry.\* Vul.* reliquię] reliquie *M*, reliquiae *Gry. Vul.* 139 et] *om. P Gry. Vul.*  
 adbreuiata] adbreuiata *Gry.* 140 adbreuiationem] adbreuiationem *Gry.* terrae]  
 terre *M* 141 Ezechia] Ezechia *corr.* Ezechia *S* obsidebantur] obsedebantur *P*  
 Iudę] *omn. et Gry.\**, Iudaeae *Gry.* 143 Assiriorum] Asyriorum *P*, Assyriorum *S*  
*Gry.* dicens] *om. P S* Seruus...Israhel] servus tuus et filius tuus ego sum  
 ascende et saluum me fac de manu regis Syriae et de manu regis Israhel *IV Kings*  
*16:7* libera me] liberante *corr.* libera me *M* de Israhel] et reliqua *P*  
 145 Ezechia] Ezechiam *S* 146 apostolis] apostolos *P S Gry.\** 147 completa]  
 completa *P S* reliquię] reliquiae *S* comparatione] comparatione *P S* Iudęorum]  
 Iudeorum *P*

148 adbreuiatus] breuiatus *S* 149 laciniose] laciniose *S*, laciniosae *Gry.*  
 cęrimoniis] cerimoniis *P S Gry.\* Ga.*, caerimoniis *Gry.* pręceptum] praeceptum  
*Gry.* dilectionis] directionis *M* 149-50 in his...prophete] in his duobus mandatis  
 universa lex pendet et prophetae *Matt. 22:40* 150 et prophete] et r(e)l(iqua) *P*,  
 Israhel *S*, prophetae *Gry. Vul.* 151-7 Propter hoc...a facie olei] Propter hoc hec dicit  
 dominus deus exercituum populus meus usque a facie olei *S* 151 hec] hec *P*, haec  
*Gry. Vul.* deus] *inser. S, om. Gry.\* Vul.\** populus] populus *S* 153 Aegypti]  
 Egypti *P*, Aegypti *Gry. Vul.* 155 Horreb] Horeb *P Gry.\**, Oreb *Gry. Vul.*  
 156 Eęypti] Egypti *P*, Aegypti *Gry. Vul.* humero] *M Gry.\**, humere *corr.* humero  
*P*, umero *Gry. Vul.* 157 computrescet] computrescet *Gry.* 158 Sennacherib]  
 Sennacerib *P S Gry.\** quarto decimo anno] xiiii *S* Ezechię] Ezechie *S*  
 Rabsacen] Rapsacen *P S Gry.\** 159 obsidendum] obsedendum *P* tamen] et tamen



*P*, tandem *S* gladio] gaudio *S* 160 Taracham] *M Er. Adr.*, Tharachan *P*,  
 Tharacham *S Gry. \* Ga.*, Tharacam *Gry.* Ėthiopię] Ėthipoę *corr.* Ėthiopię *M*,  
 Aethiopiae *P Gry.*, Ethiopię *S* Egyptios] Egiptios *P*, Aegyptios *Gry.*  
 161 Aegypti] Egypti *P S* 162 paululum] paulolum *S* obsidere] obsedere *P*  
 163 quo] *omn. et Er. Vi.*, quod *Gry.* quondam] *om. P S* Madianitarum] Madian  
*P S* Horreb] Oreb *P S Gry.* 164 Zebee] Zebeae *S Gry. \* Er.* super] sub *P S*  
 que] quae *Gry.* Hebraice] Hebreice *corr.* Hebraice *P*, Hebrei *S* 165 ex rege] rege  
*P S* petre] petre *M*, petrae *Gry.* Horreb] Horeb *P Gry. \**, Oreb *corr.* Horeb *S*,  
 Oreb *Gry.* acciperet] *omn. et Gry. \* Ga.*, acceperit *Gry.* Leuabit] Leuauit *S*  
*Gry. \** 166 Ethiopas] Aethiopas *corr.* Aethiopias *P*, Aethiopas *Gry.*, Ethiopias *Gry. \**  
*Ga.* eleuabit] *M P Gry. \**, leuauit *S Gry. \**, *corr.* eleuauit *S*, leuabit *Gry.*  
 167 Aegypti] Egipti *P*, Egypti *S* Egypto] Aegypto *Gry.* 168 computrescit]  
 computrescet *P S*, computrescet *Gry.* 169 Aegypti] Egypti *P S* 156 Egypti] Egipti  
*P*, Aegypti *Gry.* 170 percussit] percusserit *Gry.* coepit] ceperit *Gry.*, coeperit  
*Gry. \* Ga. Vi.* 171 Egyptiis] Aegyptiis *P Gry.*, Ėgyptiis *S* habuerunt] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \**, habuerint *Gry.* fiduciam] fidutiam *M* precipitur] praecipitur *P Gry.*  
 ecclesię] aecclesie *M* 172 timeat] timeant *M Gry. \**  
 173 minari] miari *corr.* minari *M* Egypti] Egipti *P*, Egypti *S*, Aegypti *Gry.*  
 174 iudicio<sup>1</sup>] iuditio *M* iudicio<sup>2</sup>] iuditio *M* 175-9 Ueniet...collem Hierusalem]  
 Veniat in Aiath usque collem Hierusalem *S* 175 Haiath] Aiath *P S Gry. Vul.*  
 Magmas] *M P Gry. \**, Machmas *Gry. Vul.* 176 Gabeę] *M P Gry. \**, Gabee *Gry. Vul.*  
 Gabaath] *M P Vul.*, Gabaa *Gry.* 177 adtende] attende *Gry.* Laisa] Laissa *P Ga.*  
 Anatoth] *M P Gry. \**, Anathoth *Gry. Vul.* migrabit] *M Gry. \* Vul. \**, migrauit *P*  
*Gry. Vul.* 178 Gebim] Iabim *M*, Gabin *Gry. \** Nob] nobis *M Gry. \**, Ob *corr.* Nob

*P* 179 filię] filie *P*, filiae *Gry. Vul.* 165 Hierusalem] Herusalem *corr.* Hierusalem *S*  
 180 redeuntis] redeuntes *corr.* redeuntis *S* Aegypto] Egypto *P* obpugnandam]  
 oppugnandam *Gry.* 181 prę] pre *M*, prae *P Gry.* 182 tantamque] in tantamque *P S*  
 capiendę] de capienda *P S*, capiendae *Gry.* urbis] urbe *P S* habebit fidutiam]  
 confidit *P*, confidet *S*, habebit fiduciam *Gry.* Magmas] *omn. et Gry.\**, Machmas  
*Gry.* commendet] commendat *M* 183 rediturus] redditurus *P Gry.\**, redditurus  
*corr.* rediturus *S* depositis] dispositis *P S* 184 cursim] cursum *corr.* cursim *S* et  
 in] in *om. P S* Gabeę] *M S Gry.\**, Gabee *P Gry.* paululum] populo *P S Gry.\**  
 185 Gabeę] *M Gry.\**, Gabeae *P S Gry.\**, Gabaa *Gry.* 186 Hebraicę] Hebraice *S*  
*Gry.* eiulabit] hieiuabit *corr.* heiulabit *P*, heiulabit *Gry.\** 187 arbitreris] arbitrens  
*S* Anathot] *M S Gry.\**, Anathoth *P Gry.* 188 adtendite] attendite *Gry.*  
 189 Medemena] Medena *S* Gebin] *M Gry.\* Ga.*, Gebim *P Gry.*, Gebeim *S*  
 190 tuti] tuti locorum *P Gry.* tamen] tantum *P S Gry.* supererat] superat *S*  
*Gry.\** 191 oppidulo] oppidolo *P* Nob] nobis *M Gry.\** 192 dispiciens] *P S Gry.\**,  
 dissiciens *M*, despiciens *Gry.* eum] eam *Gry.* 194 potentię suę] potentiae suae *P*  
*Gry.* 195-7 Ecce dominator...excelsis cadet] Ecce dominator dominus usque cum  
 excelsis cadet *S* 196 humiliabuntur] humiliabitur *corr.* humiliabuntur *P*  
 condensa] *P Gry. Vul.*, condenssa *M* 197 cadet] cado *corr.* cadet *S* Quidam]  
 Quidum *corr.* Quidam *S* hunc] haec *P S* locum] *om. P S*  
 199 nihil] nil *P* Assyriae] Assyrie *M* resideat] resedeat *P* Metoforice]  
 Metafora *P*, Metaforam *S*, ΜεΤΑΦΟΡΙΚΩς *Gry.*, metaforan *Gry.\** 200 de Iesse]  
*corr.* dei esse *M*, diei esse *S*, dei esset *Gry.\** hęc] hec *M*, haec *P* 201 sub  
 metafora] sed metaforam *S* fractę] fractae *Gry.* lagunculę] laguncule *M*,  
 lagunculae *P Gry.* 202 morti] morte *corr.* morti *M* ueluti] uelata *S*

Percutiam...sit] *om. S* Percutiam pastorem] Percutiam pastorem et oves  
 dissipabuntur *Gry.*, percute pastorem et et dispergantur oves *Zach. 13:7*  
 203 Iudęorum] Iudeorum *P S*, Iudaeorum *Gry.* 204-7 Et egredietur...timoris  
 domini] Et egredietur uirga usque timoris domini *S* 205 sapientiae] sapientie *M*  
 206 scientię] scientiae *P Gry. Vul.* pietatis] *M P Gry. \* Vul.*, timoris domini *Gry.*  
 repleuit] *omn. et Gry. Vul.\**, replebit *Vul. Gry.\** 207 Iudęi] Iudei *P*, Iudaei *Gry.*  
 208 quę] quae *P Gry.* 209 fruticem] fruticem *S Gry.\**, *corr.* fruticem *S* Ego sum  
 flos campi] Ego flos campi et lilium convallium *Cant. 2:1* 212 sapientiae] sapientię  
*S* 212-13 et scientię] *om. S*, et scientiae *Gry.* 213 pietatis] pietatem *S* et timoris]  
*omn. et Gry.\* Ga. Ma.*, ac timoris *Gry.* quo] quod *P S Gry.\* Ma. Va. Adr.*  
 214 fons sit] sit *om. S* 216-19 Non secundum...renis eius] Non secundum uisionem  
 oculorum usque renum eius *S* 216 neque secundum auditum] *scrips. in eras. M*  
 217 aequitate] equitate *P* terrę] terrae *P Gry. Vul.* 219 cinctorium] cunctorium  
*corr.* cinctorium *M* renis] renum *P S Gry.\* Vul.\** superficiem] secundum *inser.*  
*P* simulate] simulate *M* 220 iustitię] iustitiae *P* Iudę] Iudeorum *P*, Iudęorum *S*  
 221 phariseis] phariseis *P* Uę uobis hypocrite] Vae autem vobis scribae et  
 Pharisei hypocritae *Matt. 23:13* Uę] Ue *P*, Vae *S Gry. Vul.* hypocrite]  
 hypocrite *M*, hypochrite *S*, hypocritae *Gry. Vul.* 222 auditum] auditum auditum  
*corr.* auditum *S* 203-4 Magister...es] *Matt. 22:16* 204 quid me temptatis hypocrite]  
*Matt. 22:18* hypocrite] hypocrite *P*, hypochrite *S*, hypocritae *Gry. Vul.*  
 223 Iudicabit] *M S Ga.*, Iudicabat *P Gry.* iustitia] iusticia *S* 224 cęlorum]  
 celorum *P*, caelorum *S* 225 obprimere] *corr.* opprimere *S* 225-6 Adhuc...estis]  
*Matt. 15:16* 226 intellectu] intellectus *corr.* intellectu *S* 228 Quem...sui] *II Thess.*  
 2:8 Iustitia] Iusticia *S* 229 cinctorium] cinctorum *corr.* cinctorium *S* eius]

renum eius *P* 230-5 Habitabit lupus...operient eos] Habitabit lupus cum agno usque maioris operientes *S* 230 hedo] haedo *Gry.* 232 et bos comedent] quasi bos comedet *P Gry. Vul.* 233 ubere] utere *M* 235 aquae] aque *M* maris] maioris *S* operient eos] operientis *P Gry.\* Ga. Vul.\**, operientes *S Gry. Vul.* prius] pias *S* 236 Beniamin] Benniamin *S* Beniamin lupus rapax] *Gen. 49:27* Anania] Annania *P Gry.\** 237 Pasce agnos meos] *Ioh. 21:15* 238 mutabat] mutauit *S* accubabit] *M Gry.\* Ga.*, accubauit *P S Gry.\* Er. Vi.*, accubuit *Gry.* hedo] haedo *Gry.* 239 immolandus] qui immolatur *Gry.*, i(m)molatus *Gry.\* Ga.* quoque] quippe *S* 240 potentes] et potentes *P* 241 ecclesia] aecclesia *M* 242 inperitis] imperitis *P S* familię] familie *M*, familiae *S Gry.* coniunguntur] *omn. et Gry.\**, coniungantur *Gry.* 243 palęis] paleis *P S* 244 seculi] seculi *M P*, saeculi *Gry.* mistica] mystica *P S Gry.* 245 malitia] malicia *P S* mittet] *omn. et Gry.\* Er.*, mittit *Gry.* foramine] fomine *corr.* foramine *M*, foramen *P S* et] ut *P S* 246 demones] demones *corr.* dimones *P*, demones *S*, daemones *Gry.* 247 iste] id est *S* cauernam] cauerni *P*, cauerna *S* mittet] *M P Gry.\* Er.*, mittit *S Gry.* suam] *om. Gry.* satanę] satane *S*, satanae *Gry.*

249 ecclesia] aecclesia *M* ciuitas...posita] non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita *Matt. 5:14* 250 operient] *M Gry.\**, operiunt *P Gry.*, operiant *S* sic omnis terra scientia domini] sic scientia domini omnis terra *Gry.* complebitur] complebitur *S* quę] quae *P* 251 manifestat] manifestet *P* 252-3 In die illa...eius gloriosum] In die illa erit radix Iesse usque gloriosum *S* 252 erit] *omn. et Gry.\**, *om. Gry. Vul.* 253 deprecabuntur] deprecabuntur *P Gry. Vul.* sepulchrum] *M P Gry.\* Ga. Va. Vul.*, sepulcrum *Gry.* 254 coruscarit] coruscat *corr.* corruscarit *P*, coruscaret *S Gry.\** de eius stirpe] de stirpe eius *P S* 255 conscendet] conscindet

*corr.* conscendet *S* 256 caelo] cęło *S* 258-65 Et erit...oboedientes erunt] Et erit in  
 die illa adiciet dominus secundo manum suam usque oboedientes erunt *S*  
 259 residuum] residui *M* Egypto] Aegypto *Gry. Vul.* Phetros] *M Gry.\**, Fethros  
*P Gry.\* Vul.*, Fetros *Gry.* 260 Ełam] *P Gry.\**, Elam *M Gry.\* Ga. Er. Vi.*, Aelam  
*Gry. Vul.* a Sennaar] assennaar *M Vul.\** Emath] Emath *P*, Aemath *Gry.\**  
 262 terre] terrae *P Gry. Vul.* Ephraim<sup>1</sup>] Effraim *P*, Efraim *Vul.* Ephraim<sup>2</sup>]  
 Effraim *P*, Efraim *Vul.* 263 emulabitur] aemulabitur *Gry. Vul.* Effraim] Ephraim  
*Gry.*, Efraim *Vul.* 264 humeros] *M P Gry.\* Ga.*, umero *Gry.*, umeros *Vul.*, humero  
*Vul.\** Philistim] Filisthiim *Vul.* praedabuntur] pędabuntur *P* et Idumea] et  
*om. P Gry.\* Vi. Vul.* 265 pęceptum] praeceptum *Gry. Vul.* filii] fili *corr.* fili *M*  
 Ammon] Amon *P Gry.\** 266 que] qui *P* reputate] reputatae *Gry.* 267 possideat]  
 possedeat *P* 268 Assyriis] Asiriis *corr.* Asyriis *S* Aegypto] Egyp(to) *P*, Egyptiis  
*S*, ab Aegypto *Gry.* congregate] congregatę *S* 269 fidem] finem *P* que] quae *S*  
*Gry.* oceani] ociani *P* 270 pędicauerunt] predicauerunt *S Gry.\**, praedicaerint  
*Gry.* Persos] Persas *P S Gry.* et Aethiopiam] Ełhiopiam *P*, Ethiopiam *S*  
 271 Isaias] Esaias *Gry.* facient] faciant *P S* Effraim] Ephraim *Gry.* 272  
 dissident] desident *M*, desident *corr.* dissident *P* coniungentur] iungentur *Gry.*  
 ecclesia] aecclesia *M*  
 273 sudent] desudent *Gry.* 250 humeros] *omn. et Gry.\* Ga.*, umero *Gry.*  
 Philistim] Phylistim *S Gry.\** 274 pędicent] praedicient *P Gry.* Palestine] ]  
 Palestinae *Gry.* uolucris] uolueri *S* cursu] tursu *S* peragant] pergant *Gry.*  
*r marg. S* 275 prouintias] *corr.* prouincias *S*, prouincias *Gry.* nauibus] nauigibus  
*corr.* nauigis *P* Leuabit] Leuauit *S* 276 uexillum] uixillum *M Gry.\**, uixillum  
*corr.* uexillum *P* 277 Arabie] Arabiae *P S Gry.* latitudo] latudo *corr.* latitudo *S*

278 idolatrię] idolatriae *P S Gry.* aecclesię] ecclesiae *P S Gry.* 279-82 Et desolabit...de terra Aegypti] Et desolabit dominus linguam matris Egypti usque de terra Aegypti *S* 279 desolabit] desolauit *corr.* desolabit *S* maris] matris *S* Aegypti] Egypti *S* 282 Israheli] *M Gry.\* Vul.\**, Israhel *P Gry. Vul.* Aegypti] Egypti *P S* quę] quae *P Gry.* 283 idolatrię] idolatriae *P* p̄erat] preerat *P*, praeerat *Gry.* 284 Caesare] Cēsare *P*, Cesare *S Gry.\** Aegyptiorum] Aegipti *P*, Egypti *S* Cleopatřę] Cleopatre *P S*, Cleopatrae *Gry.* 285 destructum] distructum *P S, corr.* destructum *P* Aegyptus] Egyptus *S* septem] vii *P S* percussus] percusus *corr.* percussus *P* 286 intransmeabilis] intransibilis *Gry.* septem] vii *S* 287 concisus] conscissus *M*, conscisus *Gry.\** transiretur] transieretur *corr.* transiretur *P* Metaphorice] Metafora *P*, Metaforam *S*, tropologice *Gry.* idolatrem] idolatriae *S* 288 que] quae *S* ita ut] Aut *S* 289 Libia] *omn. et Gry.\* Ga., Libya Gry.* 290 Aegyptus] Egyptus *P S* 291 Aegyptios populus] Aegypti populos *P*, Egypti populus *S*, populos Aegypti *Gry.* perueniet] perueniat *P S* 292 inpedimento] impedimento *Gry.* 293-6 Et dices...in salutem] Et dices in die illa confitebor tibi domine usque in salutem *M S*, domine *om. S* 293 dices] dies *corr.* dices *S* 296 Aegypto] Egypto *P S* 297 Cantemus domino] *Ex. 15:1*, canmus *corr.* cantemus *M* Aegypto] Egypto *P*

299 tu es...Ihesus] *om. P S* 274 quę] quae *P Gry.* 301 Haurietis aquas] haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris *Gry. Vul.* Qui sitit ueniat] Qui sitit ueniat ad me, et bibat qui crediderit in me *Gry.*, si quis sitit veniat ad me et bibat *Ioh. 7:37* 303-5 Et dicetis...uniuersa terra] Et dicetis in illa die confitemini usque in uniuersa terra *M S* 305 Haec] Hec *M* 306 p̄cipiuntur] *P S Gry.\**, p̄ciuntur *M*, praecipiuntur *Gry.* apostolis] apostolo *P S* reliquis] *omn. et Gry.\* Vi.,* reliquiis

*Gry.* 308 Exulta...sanctus Israhel] Exulta et lauda habitatio Sion usque sanctus  
 Israhel *M S* Exulta] Exsulta *Gry.* 309 exulta] exsulta *Gry.* quod] quia *P S*  
 modica] modicis *Gry.* Iudęa] Iudea *P*, Iudaeae terrae *Gry.* 311 collocatam]  
 collocatum *corr.* collocatam *S* EXPLICIT...QUARTUS] EXPLICIT LIBER III  
 INCIPIT LIBER V *P*

## 5. Book V-VI

*Onus Babyllonis quod uidit Isaias filius Amos super montem caligosum, leuate signum et exaltate uocem, leuate manum et ingrediantur portas duces. Ego mandauī sanctificatis meis et uocaui fortes meos in ira mea, exultantes in gloria mea.* Vbicumque onus sic ponitur minarum plena sunt quę dicuntur. Ad  
 5 consolationem ergo Iudeorum et Iherusalem quę a Chaldeis et Nabochodonosor subuersa est ruina Babyllonis prędicatur. Mons caligosus Babyllonia est propter superbiam, pręcipiturque uel angelis uel quibuslibet ministris ut iubente deo exaltata nuntiorum manu uentura Babylloni captiuitas prędicetur. Duces sunt Medi sanctificati, hoc est in id destinati ut seruum suum uel columbam uocauit  
 10 Nabuchodonosor. *Exultantes in gloria mea*, hoc est non suis uiribus sed mea ira sublime regnum subuertent.

*Uox multitudinis in montibus quasi populorum frequentium, uox sonitus regum gentium congregatarum. Dominus exercituum pręcepit militię belli uenientibus de terra procul a summitate caeli dominus et uasa furoris eius ut  
 15 disperdat omnem terram.* Mędorum et Persarum cum multis auxiliis impetus ad uastationem Babyllonis describitur, *omnem terram*, id est Chaldeorum.

*Ululate quia prope est dies domini, quasi uastitas a domino ueniet. Propter hoc omnes manus dissoluentur et omne cor hominis tabescet, et conteretur. Tortiones et dolores tenebunt quasi parturiens dolebunt unusquisque ad proximum suum stupebit facies combustę uultus eorum.* Apostrofa fit ad populum  
 20 Babylloniorum ut defleant nec ambigant de ruina Babyllonis dum dominus uastator uenit, et dicit quod unusquisque eorum pauore dissolutus auxilium quęrat ab altero luridam faciem circumferens.



25 *Ecce dies domini ueniet crudelis et indignationis plenus et irę furorisque ad  
ponendam terram in solitudinem, et peccatores eius conterendos de ea. Quoniam  
stellę caeli et splendor earum non expaudent lumen suum, obtenebratus est sol in  
ortu suo et luna non splendet in lumine suo. Et uisitabo super orbis mala et  
contra impios iniquitatem eorum, et quiescere faciam superbiam infidelium et  
arrogantiam fortium humiliabo.* Crudelem dicit diem non merito sui sed populi.  
30 Non enim est crudelis qui crudeles iugulat, sed quo crudelis patientibus esse  
uideatur. Et dicit quod pro ingenti timore mortalibus cuncta tenebrescant et ipsa  
astra suum uideantur negare fulgorem.

*Pretiosior erit uir auro et homo mundo obrizo.* Hoc est pro paucitate  
hominum. Pretiosum autem dicitur quicquid rarum est.

35 *Super hoc cęlum mouebo et mouebitur terra de loco suo propter  
indignationem domini exercituum et propter diem irę furoris eius.* Uel eo sensu  
dicit quo supra de stellis et sole et luna diximus, uel yperbolice, quod elementa  
nimiam iram domini sentiant et contristantur.

*Et erit quasi dammula fugiens, et quasi ouis et non erit qui congreget.*  
40 Babyllonium significat et Chaldejum quod ita pauidus ad inruptionem Medorum  
Persarumque fugiat quasi dammula et ouis rugitum leonis et ululatum lupi.

*Unusquisque ad populum suum conuertetur, et singuli ad terram suam fugient.*  
Capta Babyllone diuersę gentes quibus prius defendebatur ad suas prouincias  
reuertentur.

45 *Omnis qui inuentus fuerit occidetur, et qui superuenerit cadet in gladio.* Qui  
non fugerit mucrone ferietur; qui uero resistere uel reuerti uoluerit, in tantum  
captiuę urbi non proderit ut ipse quoque sanguinem fundat.

*Infantes eorum allident in oculis eorum, diripientur domus eorum et uxores eorum uiolabuntur.* Tanta erit urbis uastitas et uictorum seuitia ut nec innoxie  
 50 parcatur aetati ut cuncti domorum diripiantur opes, et in conspectu maritali uxorum uioletur pudicitia.

*Ecce ego suscitabo super eos Medos qui argentum non querant nec aurum uelint, sed sagittis paruulos interficient et lactantibus uteri non misereantur, et super filios non parcat oculus eorum.* Nunc apertum est quod latebat: nequaquam  
 55 fortes et gigantes angeli intellegendi sunt et demones, sed Medi et Persi quorum erit tanta seuitia ut pro ardore sanguinis effundendi aurum et argentum et opes pro luto ducant. Interficientur paruuli quorum uulnera erunt non minora quam corpora, et pregnantes uteri secabuntur et ad ubera pressos filios crudelis uictor occidet.

*Et erit Babyllon illa gloriosa in regnis inclita in superbia Chaldeorum, sicut subuertit dominus Sodomam et Gomorram. Non habitabitur usque in finem et non fundabitur usque ad generationem.* Quod historialiter accipitur ut sicut subuertit  
 60 deus Sodomam et Gomorram, sic ista in aeternum non habitabitur, sed pro illa Seleuciam et Tesefontem urbes Persarum inclitas fecerunt.

*Nec ponet ibi tentoria Arabs nec pastores requiescent, sed erunt ibi bestiae et replebuntur domus eorum draconibus et habitabunt ibi strutiones et pilosi saltabunt ibi, respondebuntque ulule in edibus eius et syrene in delubris uoluptatis.* In tantum  
 65 uastabitur Babyllon ut nec ad pecorum pascua utilis sit. Non enim tendet ibi Arabs Sarracenusque tentoria, sed inter angustias ueterum ruinarum habitabunt bestiae pilosi uel incubones uel satyras uel siluestres homines, quos fatuos ficarios uocant,  
 70 significat uel demonum genera intelleguntur. Syrene uel demones uel monstra quedam uel certe dracones magnos cristatos et uolantes interpretamur. Quae omnia

signa sunt tantę solitudinis ut pro multitudine dęmonum et bestiarum deserti appetitor non audeat eam intrare.

75 *Prope est ut ueniat tempus eius et dies non elongabuntur.* Hoc est tempus uastationis Babyllonis.

*Miserebitur enim dominus Iacob et eliget adhuc de Israhel, et requiescere eos faciet super humum suam.* Significat tempus quo Cyrus rex Persarum captiuum populum in Hierusalem redire permisit.

80 *Adiungetur aduena ad eos adherebit domui Iacob, et tenebunt eos populi, et inducent eos in locum suum, et possidebit eos domus Israhel super terram domini in seruos et ancillas, et erunt capientes eos qui se coeperant et subiciant exactores suos.* Multos de diuersis gentibus cum Iudęis uenisse conicimus deo Israhel credentes et idola relinquentes. In hoc solum artari uidetur sensus quomodo in terra domini uictores quondam suos exactores in seruos et ancillas possederit, nisi  
85 *sinedocchice, id est totum intellegamus ex parte quod tantę postea felicitatis fuerint ut de diuersis per circuitum gentibus sibi seruorum et ancillarum familias compararent, uel quando in Asueri tempore occiso Holoferne hostilis ab Israhel est caesus exercitus.*

90 *Et erit in die illa cum requiem dederit tibi dominus a labore tuo et a concussione tua et a seruitute tua qua ante seruisti, sumes parabolam istam contra regem Babyllonis et dices.* Ad Israhelem dicitur ut post reuersionem recordetur potentię Nabuchodonosor et miserabili uoce deploret eum, qui ad tantam uenit calamitatem ut uel suis hostibus dignus miseratione uideatur.

95 *Quomodo cessauit exactor, quieuit tributum? Contriuit dominus baculum impiorum uirgam dominantium cedentem populos in indignatione plaga insanabili subicientem in furore gentes persequentem crudeliter conquieuit et siluit omnis*

*terra gauisa est, et exultauit. Uox ista plangentis et admirantis est, Israhelis quomodo qui baculus fuit impiorum et uirga furibunda cuius plaga sustineri non potuit, et qui fugientes crudeliter persequebatur conqueiuit et humiliatus est, et ad*

100 *ruinam eius omnis terra consiluit uocem tantum laetitiae gestientes emittens?*

*Abietes quoque laetate sunt super te et caedri Libani ex quo dormisti non ascendet qui succidat nos. Per abietes et cedros principes gentium significat qui a Nabuchodonosor succisi sunt, qui et ipsi letantes dicunt: Ex quo ad inferna deductus es nullus alius inueniri potuit qui magnos potentesque succideret.*

105 *Infernus subter te conturbatus est in occurso aduentus tui suscitauit tibi gigantes. Omnes principes terrae surrexerunt de solis suis cuncti principes nationum uniuersi respondebunt et dicent tibi. Haec emphaticos legenda sunt et scemę modo non quo facta sint, sed quo fieri potuerint nisi forte animas regum quos interfecit insultantes regi Babyllonio occurrisse credimus. Solatium enim malorum*

110 *est cum inimicos uiderint eadem sustinere.*

*Et tu uulneratus sicut nos, nostri similis effectus es. Detracta est ad inferos superbia tua, concidit cadauer tuum, subter te sternetur tinea et operimentum tuum erunt uermes. Sermo est potentum et principum ad Nabuchodosor in inferno constitutum. Iam non dolemus nos fuisse succisos cum et tu eadem secure*

115 *corrueris. Concidit cadauer sentiens per mortem uilitatem hominis qui dei in te potentiam prefebas.*

*Quomodo cecidisti de caelo lucifer qui mane oriebaris? Corruisti in terram qui uulnerabas gentes qui dicebas in corde tuo: In celum ascendam super sidera dei exaltabo solium meum sedebo in monte testamenti in lateribus aquilonis*

120 *ascendam super altitudinem nubium, ero similis altissimo. Sicut lucifer ardens et rutilus inlucescit sic tuus progressus claro sideri simulabat, qui per superbiam*

loquebaris: Tantam potentiam consecutus sum ut sub pedibus meis superna debeant subiacere, quamuis Iudęi cęlum et astra se uelint intellegi ex eo quod sequitur *sedebo in monte testamenti*, id est in templo dei ubi lex condebatur, *in lateribus aquilonis*, id est in Hierusalem qui in aquilone montis Sion nec tibi caelestia desiderare sufficiebat, sed tanta dementia dei similitudinem tibi uindicabas.

125

*Uerumtamen ad infernum detraheris in profundum lacu.* Quantum plus te eleuas, tantum in ultimum infernum, id est tenebras exteriores demergeris.

*Qui te uiderint ad te inclinabuntur teque prospicient*, subauditur dicentes:

130

*Numquid iste est uir qui conturbauit terram qui concussit regna qui posuit orbem desertum et urbes eius destruxit uinctis eius non aperuit carcerem.* Vox insultantium est quomodo uastator omnium et ipse uastatus sit. Non aperuit carcerem, magna crudelitas erat quod miseris catęnę non sufficerant, nisi illos et tenebrarum horror includeret.

135

*Omnes reges gentium uniuersi dormierunt in gloria uir in domo sua. Tu autem proiectus es de sepulchro tuo quasi stirps inutilis pollutus et obuolutus, cum his qui interfecti sunt gladio et descenderunt ad fundamenta lacu quasi cadauer putridum non habebis consortium neque cum eis in sepultura.* Narrant Hębrei

140

Euilmarodach qui patre suo Nabuchodonosor septem annos inter bestias uiuente ante regnauit, postquam ille in regnum restitutus est usque ad mortem patris cum Ioachim rege Iudę in uinculis fuisse. Quo mortuo cum rursus in regno succederet, et non susciperetur a principibus qui metuebant ne uiueret Nabuchodonosor ut fidem patris mortui faceret, aperuit sepulchrum et cadauer eius unco et funibus protraxit.

145

Et est sensus: sepultis omnibus quos interfecisti tu solus non sepelieris, uel secundum alios sic est omnes animę apud inferos aliquam requiem inuenient tu solus in exterioribus tenebris omnium sanguine pęmeris.

*Tu enim terram tuam disperdedisti tu populum tuum occidisti.* Hoc est eos quos tibi deus in correptionem dederat tu penitus perdidisti. Uel antiquum regnum Assyriorum te contra dominum superbiente destructum est, uel tam crudelis fuisti in extraneos ut etiam subiectos, tibi populos furibundus obprimeris.

*Non uocabitur in aeternum semen pessimorum. Preparete filios eius occisioni in iniquitate patrum suorum; non consurgent nec hereditabunt terram neque implebunt faciem orbis ciuitatum.* Occiso enim Baldasar nepote Nabuchodonosor nullus de stirpe Nabuchodonosor regnauit, sed pro impietate patris tota soboles deleta est.

*Et consurgam super eos dicit dominus exercituum et perdam Babillonis nomen et reliquias et germen et progeniem dicit dominus, et ponam eam in possessionem ericii et in paludes aquarum, et scopabo eam in scopa terens dicit dominus exercituum.* Babilloniam per quadrum dicitur sitam ab angulo muri usque in angulum xvi milia tenuisse, id est simul per circuitum sexaginta quinque milia passuum Herodotus refert. Arx autem, id est Capitolium illius urbis est, turris quę aedificata post diluuium in altum tria milia dicitur tenere passuum paulatim de lato in angustias coartata ut pondus inminens facilius a latioribus sustentetur. Describunt ibi templa marmorea aureas statuas plateas auro lapidibusque fulgentes quę omnia ad iram dei in cinerem rediguntur, et in possessionem ericii animalis quasi spinis induti et quasi scopis trita est, et mundata exceptis enim coctilibus muris qui propter bestias concludendas post plurimos annos instaurantur omne in medio spatium solitudo est.

*Iurauit dominus exercituum dicens: Si non ut putauit ita erit, et quomodo mente tractauit sic eueniet ut conteram Assyrium in terra mea et in montibus meis conculcem eum et auferetur ab eis iugum eius et onus eius ab humero eorum*

*tolletur.* Reuertitur ad presentia hoc est Senacherib regem Assyriorum qui uastauit Samariam et Iudæam de cuius exercitu centum octoginta quinque milia una nocte occisa sunt. Quia poterant audientes dicere: Nos presentem obsidionem patimur iste multis post seculis uentura promittit, ideo de presenti metu promittit liberandos esse.

*Hoc est consilium quod cogitauit super omnem terram, et hæc est manus extenta super uniuersas gentes. Dominus enim exercituum decreuit et quis poterit infirmare? Et manus eius extenta et quis auertet eam?* Omnem terram dicit proprie Assyriorum et omnes gentes socias regis Assyrii. Quicquid autem a domino decretum est nullius uirtute prohibetur.

Mystice quicquid contra Babyllonem dicitur quæ confusio interpretatur, contra uniuersum mundum dici intellegitur, qui *in maligno positus* non tam linguas sed et opera et mentes confundit. Cuius rex Nabuchodonosor, id est diabolus contra dominum superbiens dixit *in cælum conscendam* [et] reliqua. *Leuate signum* magistris ecclesiarum præcipitur ut contra Babyllonem dicturi leuent signum crucis in ecclesia. *Caligosa*, id est sacramentis obumbrata, *posuit enim deus tenebras latibulum suum* [et] reliqua. Exaltat uocem qui de sublimibus loquitur. *Leuate manum*, ut est in omni loco leuantes sanctas manus et ut statim consolentur pauperes. Ingrediantur duces ecclesie portas misteriorum dei, ut habentes clauem scientie aperiant populis. *Sanctificatis meis*, ipse enim sanctificat ministros suos, *sancti estote quoniam et ego* [sanctus sum]. *Fortes*, id est predicatorum, *in ira*, id est ut adnuntient iram meam in peccatores. *Uox multitudinis* [et] reliqua, id est gentium ad signum crucis congregatarum, quæ multitudo in duo diuiditur id est in populos et reges, hoc est in discipulos et magistros, sed una uox est ut est *id ipsum dicatis omnes* et reliqua. *Militie belli*, id est doctores qui disperdunt terrenos contra

scientiam dei se eleuantes, uel angeli qui in fine mundi zizaniorum manipulos  
 incendio preparant aeterno. Ululate agite penitentiam, dies domini iudicii dies uel  
 exitus uniuscuiusque de corpore manus dissoluentur, quia nullius opus dignum dei  
 200 iustitia repperietur [et omne] cor tabescit conscientia peccati sui. *Tortiones* id est  
 quasi uentris, hoc est propria conscientia torquebit eos; ad proximum suum stupebit,  
 uidens eum in isdem tormentis quibus et ipse cruciatur facies combustę ex igne  
 quem sibi succenderant. *Ecce dies domini*, id est iudicii, *crudelis* sic malis  
 uidebitur. *Irę et furoris* quia non est tempus penitentię sed poenarum, peccatores  
 205 conterendos ut deletis sceleribus regnet in terra sola iustitia. *Quoniam stellę cęli*  
 reliqua, id est sidera ad comparisonem diuinę maiestatis lumen suum retrahent, uel  
 p̄nemia angustiariis tenebrata uidebuntur. *Et uisitabo super orbis mala*: Uisitatio  
 enim deus, ut percutiat et emendet. *Et quiescere faciam* reliqua ad hoc enim uisitat  
 uel in iudicio sic erit. *Pretiosior erit uir auro*, in fine mundi Antichristi aduentu  
 210 tanta signa erunt ut uix inueniatur qui non decipiatur, et pro raritate tam pretiosus  
 erit qui uirili animo in fide recta persistat. *Cęlum concutiam* [et] reliqua: Uel  
 historialiter elementa indignatione dei pertransibunt, uel pro habitatoribus eorum  
 dicit. *Quasi dammula fugiens* usque *uiolabuntur*: Hoc est in fine mundi diabolus  
 coluber tortuosus fugient uel magistratus hereticorum conuictus erroris etiam nunc  
 215 fugit, et grex discipulorum ad populum ac terram ecclesie reuertitur et unusquisque  
 eorum in errore quo inuenitur occidetur, in gladio, id est spiritali. *Infantes*, id est  
 qui necdum ad perfectionem erroris peruenerunt, *domus eorum*, id est ecclesie  
 hereticorum, *uxores* id est praua sapientia et peruersa doctrina. *Super eos Medos*  
 usque *oculus eorum*: Madai auctor Medorum fuit, qui interpretatur, mensura uel a  
 220 potente uel forti. Hoc est suscitantur a potenti deo ministre fortitudinis ad  
 puniendos Babyllonios, id est confusos mente, ut in qua mensura mensi sunt



mensurantur eis. *Argentum* id est eloquii pulchritudinem, *aurum* id est acumen  
 ingenii, *sagittas*, id est testimoniis scripturarum, *lactantibus*, id est lacte erroris  
 nutritis. *Et erit Babyllon usque et dies eius non elongabuntur*: Hoc est nullum  
 225 uestigium erit mundane confusionis quę fuit in superbia Chaldeorum qui  
 intepretantur quasi demonia sed erit celum nouum [et] reliqua, et hoc de fine mundi  
 intellegitur de presentis subuersione errorum per doctrinam Christi. Arabs qui  
 interpretatur occidentalis et uespertinus, eum significat qui semper ad finem tendens  
 preteritorum obliuiscitur, uel eum de quo dicitur: *Iter facite ei usque dominus*  
 230 *nomen est eius*. Pastores id est doctores uel angeli qui uident faciem patris, bestię et  
 dracones [et] reliqua id est omnia genera demoniorum uel heretici si de presentis  
 confusione dicatur. *Miserebitur enim dominus Iacob usque et dices*: Iacob id est  
 illius qui uitia subplantauit, Israhel qui mente conspicit deum. *Super humum suam*,  
 id est ecclesiam et terram uiuentium, *aduena* id est multitudo gentium. *Et adducent*  
 235 *eos in locum suum*, id est credentes ex gentibus adducent apostoli et predicatorum in  
 seruos et ancillas, prodest enim malis ut bonis seruiant, et accipiant eos qui se  
 sophismatibus ante deceperant; *exactores*, qui omnia lucri causa faciunt. *A labore*  
*tuo* id est quod contra hereticos pugnaueras, *regem Babyllonis*, id est sermonem  
 hereticorum. *Cessauit exactor usque crudeliter*, id est hereticus uel diabolus qui  
 240 peccatum exigit et poenam *de domo enim dei iudicium incipiet*. Quia pro diuersitate  
 peccantium iudicii ordo disponitur ut qui minus delinquerint ante purgentur  
 nouissimus autem inimicus destruaturs mors. *Crudeliter*, id est non emendare uolens  
 traditos sed occidere. *Quiieuit et siluit usque erunt uermes*: Hoc est ad interitum  
 regis impii, id est diaboli, omnis terra quieuit, abietes et cedri in domini seruitute  
 245 sublimes significat. *Dormisti*, id est morte occisus es non ascendet qui succidat.  
 Uincto enim forti ceteri satellites corruerunt. *Infernus* id est locus tormentorum

sensit aduentum tuum et quasi turbatus et iratus ad te puniendum prosiluit, uel significat eum angelum qui poenis prepositus est. *Qui suscitauit gigantes*, id est terrenis operibus seruientes, *surrexerunt* id est ut quem prius honorabant pro

250 potentia, postea mirarentur in poenis: *Et tu uulneratus es*, id est putabamus nos pro inbecillitate nostra non posse resistere potentię dei et te esse solum qui in tua altitudine permaneres; sed ut rebus ostenditur, *et tu uulneratus es* [et] reliqua. Tinea et uermes uel poenas significat aeternas quas propria gignit conscientia uel suppliciorum materiam quę ex propriis peccatis nascitur. Sicut enim ex cadauere

255 uermes, sic ex materia peccatorum supplicia gignuntur. *Cecidisti lucifer* id est prius lucifer et oriens, inter ceteras stellas fuisti, nunc autem uesper et occidens qui in terram cadens homines uulnerabas; hoc autem dicit Israhel cui misertus est dominus. *Qui dicebas in corde tuo* usque *altissimo*: Uel antequam corrueret ista dicebat cum esset in cęlo, id est firmamento, in cęlum ubi solium domini est

260 cupiebat ascendere, dicitur enim *Cęlum cęli domino*. Uel post ruinam haec loquitur et uerba arrogantię accipienda sunt qui nec precipitatus quiescat, sed adhuc grandia sibi repromittit, et super stellas caeli quę non corruerunt sessurum se iactat. *In monte testamenti*, id est in ecclesia quę de lateribus quondam aquilonis per penitentiam habitatores habet. Nubium, id est sanctorum, et predicatorum

265 ascendere enim super ecclesiam et sanctos lucifer querit, sed et heretici deorsum confluentes cum principe suo excelsos se esse iactant. *Ad infernum detraheris*, id est inuitus ut qui poteras per uirtutes ad excelsa conscendere, per uitia detraharis ad poenas. Et nimia impietate quasi plumbo depressus in profundum demergaris et heretici relinquentes fontem aque uiuę contritos laqueos sibi fodiunt, qui aquam

270 continere non ualeant. *Qui te uiderunt* usque *carcerem*, hoc est qui mente conspicit quomodo diabolus per superbiam de caelo corruit humilitate inclinabitur et dicet:

*Numquid iste est uir.* Id est qui iactabat se esse deum homo esse conuincitur de quo dicitur: *non confortetur homo.* *Terram* id est terrenos homines, *concussit* id est non subuertit, *regna* id est reges quorum corda in manu dei sunt. *Orbem desertum*, per  
275 uitia desertum esse a uirtutibus fecit, *urbes eius destruxit* ut de ecclesia Christi faceret per hereticos sinagogas diaboli. *Uinctis eius* [et] reliqua: Nos omnes uincti et clausi eramus in carcere, donec Christus nos soluit et aperuit carcerem. *Omnes reges usque laci:* Hoc est quibus deus gentes et populos gubernandos commisit, qui concussi et non subuersi sunt quia cor eorum in manu dei erat, unusquisque in domo  
280 sua. Pro diuersitate enim uirtutum diuersę sunt mansiones. *Tu autem proiectus es de sepulchro*, ut nec in morte a cruciatibus quiescas; *quasi stirps inutilis*, id est incendio p̄paratus, *qui interfecti sunt* hoc est cum his quos interficit non habebit consortium sepulture. Alterius enim poenę auctor delicti et alterius qui ab eo compulsus est. *Cadauer putridum:* Pro magnitudine peccatorum terram tuam et  
285 populum tuum id est eos qui tibi sunt crediti gubernandi, ut ipse ad Christum dixit: *Haec omnia mihi tradita sunt* [et] reliqua. Ipse autem interfecit eos nequaquam uiuos domino reseruans sed socios sibi eos p̄parans sepulture ideo non erit nec uocabitur in aeternum. *Semen pessimorum usque progeniem:* Pessimorum non natura sed uoluntate. *Omnis enim qui facit peccatum de diabolo est* filios uestros, id  
290 est cogitationes pessimas et opera mala quę nata sunt ex impiis patribus, id est dēmoniis qui filii ideo trucidantur ne consurgant, et possideant terram a sanctis possidendam ciuitatum, id est ecclesiarum, et qui imperfecta sit hominis uictoria nisi dominus iuuauerit. Ideo ipse dominus surgit ut disperdat filios pessimorum. *In possessionem ericii* [et] reliqua: Ericius est qui in incerto diuitiarum quę quasi  
295 spinę compungunt, gaudet et armatum se non armatura dei sed spinis et peccatis huius mundi confidit. Tales habitatores habet Babylon deserta uirtutibus ubi non est

ager inriguus et fertilis sed paludes steriles et limorę. Ideo clemens deus a sordibus scopauit eam et uehementer terens ad purum usque mundauit. *Iurauit dominus usque ab humero eorum tolletur*: Dum mihi pristini seminis in Babyllone residebit, tunc iuramentum domini complebitur ut conteratur Assyrius in terra eius et in montibus eius reliqua. Hostis enim temerarius, non tantum terram domini et humiliora, sed eos qui uirtutibus proficientes montibus comparantur occupare festinat, sed a domino conculcabitur. Nouissima enim inimica destruetur mors, et tunc auferetur graue iugum Assyrii ut uideant requiem quia bona est terra et uberrima. *Super omnem terram et super uniuersas gentes*: Hic apparet quę dicta sunt non contra unam gentem Babylloniam et terram Chalđęorum tantum sed contra uniuersum orbem et omnes gentes dicta esse intellegi debere.

*ONUS PHILISTIM ANNO quo mortuus est rex Achaz factum est onus istud.*

Mortuo Achaz quartus succedit qui in titulo p̄scribitur Ezechias sub quo omnis liber abhinc usque in finem textitur.

*Ne leteris Philistea omnis tu quoniam comminuta est uirga percussoris tui; de radice enim colubri egredietur regulus, et semen absorbens uolucrum.* Id est ne insultes populo meo quod uirga Achaz fracta sit et baculus qui te ferire solebat morte contritus sit, et coluber interfectus. Pro hoc enim nocentior nascetur Ezechias regulus qui Grece basiliscus dicitur, ut quomodo nulla auis reguli aspectum inlęsa non transit, sed quamuis procul sit eius ore sorbetur, ita et tu ad conspectum Ezechię totus pereas. Et cum te percusserit non terrebis pauperes populi mei qui non diuitiis uel potentia sed in me confidebant, sed propriis p̄ssus angustiis flebis calamitatem tuam et radix tua siccabitur et reliquię tuę consumentur. Mystice mortuo Achaz rege impio qui interpretatur obtentio uel possessio factum est onus uel uerbum istud contra Palestinos. Quod illo uiuente et regnante id est diabolo, nec onus nec sermo

domini contra alienigenas fieri poterat. Nunc autem dicitur eis ne letentur de uirga percussoris contrita. *Quem enim diligit dominus corripit* reliqua, et quasi filios erudit nos uisitans in uirga iniquitates nostras. Quod si quis hoc iugum et hanc uirgam, id est disciplinam abiecerit, primum in cogitatione eius coluber radicatur, de cuius semine pessimo nascetur regulus rex serpentium ut peccatum in opus prorumpat, et tunc occidit homines.

*Et pascentur primogenita pauperum, et pauperes fiducialiter requeiscent.* Qui autem ceruicem Christo subiciunt et sunt pauperes spiritu pascentur per eum qui eos percutit ut emendet, et ingredientur et egredientur, et pascua inuenient, et cum Lazaro requiescent in sinu Abrahe.

*Et interire faciam in fame radicem tuam et reliquias tuas interficiam.* Qui uirgam disciplinę contriuerunt aeternam famem uerbi dei patientur et reliquię eorum interibunt ne quid de malo semine germinetur.

*Ulula porta clama ciuitas prostrata est Philistea omnis, ab aquilone enim fumus ueniet et non est qui effugiat agmen eius. Quid respondebitur nuntiis gentis? Quia dominus fundauit Sion et in ipso sperabunt pauperes populi eius.* Portam dicit pro his qui in porta sunt et ciuitatem pro habitatoribus, dicitur enim urbibus Philistinorum quod lugere debeant ueniente Sennacherib sub Ezechia enim Assyrius inter alias gentes Philisteos uastauit. Qui ab aquilone uenit et subiugatis in circuitu gentibus tempore quo hæc canebantur, fumus ascendebat in altum, id est rumor in populo Philisteos quoque esse uastandos. Et quia dixit *Non est qui effugiat,* uidebatur etiam Iudeos in generali sententia comprehensos. Ideo si quęsierint inquit angeli gentis Assyrię quur solus Iuda euasit, respondite *quia dominus fundauit Sion* [et] reliqua. Mistice intepretatur Phylistiim cadentes poculo, significat hereticos heresi inebriatos quorum os portam dicit et animam quę est uitiorum thesaurus.

Ciuitatem id est malorum cogitationum thesaurus, quę anima ululare debet quia tota in terra prostrata est, nihil sane intellegentię habens, et ideo prostrata quia fumus ex ardentibus diaboli, qui est aquilo iaculis suscitatur, qui oculis noxius et lumine  
 350 contrarius est. Et non est qui effugiet fumi huius agmen; nemo enim absque peccato nec infans unius diei angelis autem cunctarum gentium mirantibus cur sola Sion, quę in sublimibus collocata est fumi huius amaritudinem euasit. Respondetur quod dominus fundauit eam super fundamentum prudentię iustitię fortitudinis temperantię sub quibus nominibus Christus intellegitur. In hac Sion sperabunt in deo qui  
 355 pauperes sunt spiritu.

*Onus Moab. Quia nocte uastata est Ar Moab conticuit, quia nocte uastatus est murus, Moab conticuit, ascendit domus et Dibon ad excelsa in planctum super Nabo et super Medaba Moab ululabit.* Moab prouincia est Arabum cuius metropolis dicitur Ar. Nunc autem composito nomine Hebraicę et Grecę Areopolis  
 360 est. Et Moab prius nimie fuit potestatis cuius uastitas, id est Arabię, nunc prædicatur ab Assyrio et Babyllonio, ab utrisque enim uastati sunt quando Sennacherib captiuauit Israhel et quando Nabuchodonosor subuertit Hierusalem. Ad utrumque enim hostem insultauerat Effraim et Iude. Conuenit autem ut qui nocte de incestu patris conceptus est nocte uastaretur, sed et credendum quia sibi confidebat in muris  
 365 insidiis eam et cuniculis superatam. Ascendit autem domus subauditur regia et urbs Dibon ad idola quę in editis posita sunt. Super Nabo et Medaba nobiles ciuitates ululat tota prouincia; in Nabo enim fuit Chamos idolum qui et Belphegor dicitur. Mystice Moab qui interpretatur de patre uel aqua paterna, significat sapientiam sæcularem qui auctorem habet sensum qui ex dei conditione generatur, ideo uidetur  
 370 de patre nasci, sed quia adulter est, de incestu et spelunca et nocte generatur. Unde et in nocte perit, id est eterno errore, et murus dialectica arte constructus et Ar quod

interpretatur aduersarius, id est sensus sapientię seęularis deo contrarius ecclesiastico sermone superatus et uastatus est. *Domus* id est aduersa sapientię et *Dibon* quę interpretatur fluxus ascendit in excelsa superbię ubi per paenitentiam  
 375 planget in quibus ante peccauit. Et reuera non mendatium stabiliter consistet sed in modum fluminis preterfluit. *Nabo* interpretatur sessio uel prophetia, *Medaba* interpretatur de saltu; significat magistros eorum qui sunt quasi saltus infertilis in quo bestię habitant.

*In cunctis capitibus eius caluitium, omnis barba radetur. In triuiis eius*  
 380 *accincti sunt sacco super tecta eius et in plateis eius omnis ululatus descendet in fletum. Clamabit Esebon et Eleale usque Iasa audita est uox eorum. Super hoc expediti Moab ululabunt anima eius ululabit sibi. Cor meum ad Moab clamabit, uectes eius usque ad Segor uitulam consternantem. Per ascensum enim Luith flens ascendet, et in uia Oronaim clamorem contritionis leuabunt. Aque enim Nemrim*  
 385 *desertę erunt quia aruit herba, defecit germen uiror omnis interiit. Secundum magnitudinem operis et uisitatio eorum ad torrentem salicum ducent eos, quoniam circuibit clamor terminum Moab usque Ad Gallim ululatus eius, et usque ad puteum Helim clamor eius quia aque Dibon repletę sunt sanguine. Ponam enim super*  
 390 *Dibon additamenta his qui fugerint de Moab leonem et reliquiis terre. Barbe capitisque rasura, indicium est magni meroris, super tecta, publicum luctum publica lamenta resonabunt, omnes tam pueri quam senes et matrone pudorem et inbecillitatem extrema captiuitas nesciet. Esebon et Eleale urbes sunt Moabitarum. Esebon in qua fuit rex Seon Iasa Mortuo Mari imminet, significat quod usque ad extremos fines ululauit prouincia expediti, id est fortes ad pugnam. Anima eius, id*  
 395 *est uniuscuiusque uel omnis terra ululauit. Cor meum ad Moab propheta dicit, dolentis affectu uel quod hostes dei creatura sint, uel quod in tantum obprimendi*

sint, ut etiam inimicis miserabiles fiant. *Uectes eius*, id est Moab fines, et robur usque ad Segor quę in terminis Moabitarum [est] diuidens Philistim ab eis quę ad præces Loth seruata est, et Bala uocatur, id est absorta, quod tertio secundum

400 Hæbreos terrę motu prostrata sit et Syro sermone Zoara, Hebreo Segor utroque paruula dicitur. Uitula pro perfecta ætate dicitur. Sicut enim in hominibus tricesimus annus, ita in pecudibus tertius fortissimus est. *Per ascensum Luith* clium itineris quod ducit ad Assyrios, et per hoc significat captiuitatem. *Oronaim* longum est de singulis dicere cum perspicuum sit uel urbium in Moab, uel locorum

405 esse nomina quę deserunt transmigrantes. *Nemrim* hoc oppidum super Mare Mortuum est, salsis aquis et ob hoc sterilibus. Siue autem adlusit ad nomen uel quod ante non fuerat post uastitatem accidit, ut etiam aquę in amaritudinem uerterentur. *Aruit herba* reliqua, hoc est in tota Moab, aquę Nemrim erunt salsę et amarę, et quomodo ibi nulla herba pullulat, sic totam prouinciam siccitas

410 consequetur. *Secundum magnitudinem operis uisitatio eorum*: Id est iuxta morbi magnitudinem erit uastatio. *Ad torrentem salicum*, id est a Babylonię flumina, uel uallem Arabię per quam pergitur ad Assyrios. *Usque Gallim et usque ad puteum Elim*: Urbes et loca sunt Moabitarum. *Quia aquę Dibon* [et] reliqua, ubi prius erat luxuria propter inriguos agros et fontes iugiter manantes, ibi pro multitudine

415 interfectorum riui sanguinis erunt. *Ponam enim super Dibon additamenta*: Quid autem hic dicit, sequenti uersiculo demonstrat: *His qui fugerint de Moab leonem*: Id est et qui fuga lapsi sunt, a bestiis consumantur, uel per leonem regem hostium significat. Mistice Esebon interpretatur cogitationes, Eleale ascensio, Iasa factum uel mandatum, Segor parua, Luith genę, Oronaim foramen maeroris, Namrim pardi

420 uel præuaricatores, At Gallim uituli uel harenarum tumuli, Elim arietes uel fontes, Dibon sufficiens męror. Igitur omnia dogmata ueritati contraria quę in erroris



tenebris nascuntur nocte uastata sunt; ita ut aeterno silentio tacerent, et uniuersa eorum factio ad paenitentiam et lacrimas uerteretur, et omnia de capitibus eorum eloquentiae ornamenta tollentur, ita ut nudi maneant et deformes. In triuis quoque id est deuerticulis suorum errorum accingentur sacco paenitentiae, et super tecta in quibus primum se sublimes esse credebant, et in plateis, id est in uia lata quę ducit ad mortem erit ululatus et descendant in fletum. Tunc intellegent cogitationes suas uanas esse et cassum ascensum superbię quod Esebon et Eleale sonant ut uox eorum auditur usque ad mala opera quę fecerunt et mandatum quod putabant dei propria confessione damnantes. Propterea uectes id est firmi in Moab errorem intellegentes et proficere incipientes, anima eorum ululabit sibi. Ideo propheta compatiens dicit ad eos: *Cor meum ad Moab*, id est ut eos ad paenitentiam prouocarem. Uectes eorum id est firmamenta hereseos, ad Segor id est ad paruulam usque peruenient ac fragilitatem, sed Segor id est parua paenitentia si perseuerauerit ad perfectam salutem perducet quod uitula trium annorum significat. Et per Luith id est genarum lacrimas ad altiora conscendent et quasi meroris foramine clamorem contritionum leuabunt ad deum. Et hoc fiet quia aque Nemrim, id est doctrina hereticorum, quę pardis et preuaricatoribus comparatur deserta erit, et quicquid in sermone eorum uiride uidebatur exaruit. Et ad torrentem salicum ducentur ut nullus fructus in eis maneat. Dicunt enim quod qui hanc arborem in poculum hauserit liberis careat. Clamor circuit id est uel ad paenitentiam prouocantium uel pro errore plangentium, ut perueniant usque ad fontem dominicorum uel fortium quod Elim utrumque significat. Et aquae Dibon arguentur deceptis populis non saluti fuisse sed sanguini, et meroris additamenta dicunt ut qui per plenam paenitentiam de Moab fugerint leonem dei, id est ariel, quem septuaginta posuerunt timeant et principem habeant.

Emitte agnum dominatorem [terrae] de petra deserti ad montem filie Sion. Et  
 erit sicut auis fugiens et pulli de nido auolantes sic erunt filie Moab in transcensu  
 Arnon. Ini consilium, coge concilium, pone quasi nocte umbram tuam, in meridie  
 absconde fugientes, et uagos ne prodas. Habitabunt apud te profugi mei, Moab,  
 450 esto latibulum eorum a facie uastatoris, finitus est enim puluis, consummatus est  
 miser, defecit qui conculcabat terram. Et preparabitur in misericordia solium et  
 sedebit super illud in ueritate in tabernaculo Dauid iudicans et querens iudicium et  
 uelociter reddens quod iustum est. Non est historia, sed prophetia enigmatibus  
 inuoluta et precisis sententiis, de alio loquens ad aliud transit, ne si ordinem seruet  
 455 non sit uaticinium, sed narratio. Et est sensus: O Moab in tali ac tanta uastatione  
 hoc solatium habeto quod de te egredietur agnus qui tollit peccatum mundi qui  
 dominetur in orbe terrarum. De petra id est Ruth quam uocat petram deserti quia  
 Moabite et Ammanite usque ad quartam decimam generationem non ingrediebantur  
 templum, ergo Ruth de Booz genuit Obed, et de Obed, Iesse, et de Iesse Dauid, et  
 460 de Dauid Christum. Ad montem filie Sion id est Hierusalem mystice ecclesiam. Et  
 erit sicut auis [et] reliqua, redit ad ordinem. Cum posuero inquit leonem  
 sequissimum fugientibus de Moab, tunc filie id est uille et ciuitates Moab pauide  
 auolabunt in transcensu Arnon, qui est terminus Amorrhorum et Moabitarum;  
 transcensus autem captiuitatem significat. Ini consilium coge [et] reliqua: Uis  
 465 inquit saluari et misericordiam promereri? In clara luce et aperta fuga populi mei tu  
 quasi nox et umbra esto. Uastata enim Hierusalem et omni Iudea que tibi confinis  
 est ad te populus meus migravit. Esto ei latibulum nec timeas uastatorem quia sicut  
 puluis cito transibit, et miser quia multos miseros faciet aura flante disperiet. Pro  
 miser in Hebreo SOD est, quod et uastator intellegi potest. Et preparabitur in  
 470 misericordia solium [et] reliqua, sensus est secundum Hebreos sublato Assyrio

regnabit Iudę Ezechias uir iustus et retinebit solium Dauid subiecto sibi populo dei iudicans ueritatem. Mystice Moab significat hereticos. Qui fugerint de Moab id est de heresi contempto mendacio in monte steterit ueritatis, erit quasi auis fugiens et quasi pulli [et] reliqua, ne a serpentibus id est hereticis deuorentur. *Filię* id est animę Arnon, quod interpretatur inluminatio eorum quando erroribus relictis ad scientiam transcendunt ueritatis. *Ini consilium* id est nihil sine consilio facias nec omni uento agitaris sed magni consilii angelum quęre, *concilium* id est de errantibus ecclesiam dei. Fac umbram tuam in meridiem, hoc est umbraculum in quo prius quiescebas quod erat tenebrarum, pone inlumine in quo de errore fugientes abscondas. Profugi id est qui dogma sancti spiritus relinquentes suum sensum sequuntur, uastator, id est diabolus cuius potentia post aduentum agni de petra deserti finita est potentia et pulueri comparatur et consumptus est miser qui multos miseros fecit. Conculcabat terram id est eos qui terreni erant. In misericordia solium id est primum hic in misericordia omnes enim sub peccato sumus et egemus gratia dei, sedebit super eum in ueritate dum post reddet unicuique secundum opera sua. Siue igitur hoc regnum in primo aduentu Christi, siue in secundo quando uastator id est Antichristus consumetur accipitur.

*Audiuimus superbiam Moab superbus est ualde, superbia eius et arrogantia eius et indignatio eius plus quam fortitudo eius. Idcirco ululabit Moab ad Moab uniuersus ululabit his qui letantur super muros cocti lateris loquimini plagas eius quoniam suburbana Esebon deserta sunt et uinea Sabama.* Arguit ergo eum superbię quod multo plus elatus sit quam eius fortitudo poscebat, et ideo Moab ad Moab id est populus ad urbem uel metropolis ad prouinciam et tota ululatus terra resonabit super muros cocti lateris sic et Hieremias: *clamabo ad uiros muri fictilis.* Per hęc et pristinam potentiam et repentinam subersionem ostendit. Inter Esebon et

Sabama uix quingenti passus sunt, et metaphorice uineę omnis prouincię significat uastitatem. Mystice significat superbiam hereticorum qui homines ecclesiae habent quasi bruta animalia et contra ipsum creatorem os suum armant, et prophetis et Moysi ac Dauid detrahentes plus arrogantię audent quam eorum patitur fortitudo.

500 Et ideo Moab ad Moab, id est omnes hereticorum et seęularis sapientię diuersitates contra se mugient cum in tormentis fuerint, plagas suas quibus hereticorum iaculis uulnerati sunt. Cogitationes enim eorum quod significat Esebon non ad *ciuitatem dei* quam *fluminis impetus letificat* pertinent, sed ut ad urbem dei pertinere credantur. Suburbana sunt quę tamen dei pręsidio deserta sunt et pręcipue uineę

505 Sabama quę interpretatur adtollens altitudinem quod turrem superbię ad cęlum usque construere conatur.

*Domini gentium exciderunt flagella eius, usque ad Iazer peruenerunt errauerunt in deserto, propagines eius relictę sunt transierunt mare. Super hoc plorabo in fletu Iazer uineam Sabama inebriabo te lacrima mea Esebon et Eleale quoniam super uindemiam tuam et super messem tuam, uox calcantium irruit. Et auferetur letitia et exultatio de Carmelo et in uineis non exultabit, neque iubilabit uinum in torculari non calcabit qui calcare consueuerat, uocem calcantium abstuli.*

510 Seruat metaphoram quam coepit ostendens reges gentium qui uastauerunt omnes uillas castellaque Moab; flagella et propagines populum fugitiosque eius intellege et transitum maris captiuitatem in Babylonem. *Plorabo* ubertate lacrimarum uastitatis magnitudinem propheta testatur, flens uineam Iazer et Sabama et Esebon et Eleale, urbes olim ualidissimas Assyrio potente succisas. *Uox calcantium*, id est hostium quod laetitię tempore captiuitas aduenerit; *de Carmelo*, propter fertilitatem Carmelo comparat, uberrimas urbes de quibus laetitia et fertilitas auferenda fuit.

520 *Non exultabit* [et] reliqua subauditur prior uindemiator, id est Moabitis. Non in

uindemia celeuma cantabit, sed ubique hostilis et uictorum clamor orietur. Mistice domini gentium apostoli et apostolici uiri qui flagella exciderunt ne de aliis heresibus alię nascerentur. Et non solum Sabameę, sed usque Iazer uenerunt queę interpretatur fortitudo eorum, hoc est ad fortissima quoque dogmata hereticorum et dialectica arte constructa in quibus in tantum baccati sunt, ut nouissime errarent in solitudine et quem interficerent non haberent. Et multis occisis flagellis tamen uitio radicis pessimeę propagines, aliqę remanserunt. Mare transierunt, hoc est huius seęculi temptationes, ait ergo propheta. Plorabo Iazer id est fortitudinem eorum et uineam Sabama queę extollit se contra scientiam dei; Esebon id est cogitationes eorum, Eleale, quibus ad excelsa conscenditur. Super uindemiam tuam queę falsa est sicut uinea Sodomorum est de qua domini gentium uuas amarissimas conterunt, et tunc auferetur laetitia hereticorum qua prius gaudere solebant. De Carmelo falso enim heretici spiritualis circumcisionis notitiam se habere iactant, ideo quasi Carmelum eos habere dicit. Non calcauit id est ullus ex pristinis calcatoribus et uox eorum aeterno obmutescet silentio.

*Super hoc uenter meus ad Moab quasi cithara sonabit et uiscera mea ad murum cocti lateris, et erit cum apparuerit quod laborauit Moab super excelsis suis ingredietur ad sancta sua ut obsecret et non ualebit. Hoc uerbum quod locutus est dominus ad Moab ex tunc.* Ne quis putaret prophetam de pressura inimicorum populi sui exultasse ex intimo dolore potentissimam quondam urbem subrutam, lugere se dicit. *Ut obsecret et non ualebit:* Deserta inquit uiribus et propugnatoribus tuis perges ad idola nec in illis repperies auxilium quibus communis tecum uastitas erit. *Ex tunc* id est ex quo creatus sit Moab, uel ex tunc pro antiquo tempore dicit, quod olim diuina sententia ista decreta sint, non quod dei preęscientia uastitatem attulerit, sed quod dei maiestati praenota sit. Mystice uenter

prophete resonauit luctum agenti penitentiam, cocti lateris id est fragilis, non  
 quadrati lapides id est ad destruendae doctrine presidium in quibus prius  
 confidebant. Et quomodo cithara non emittit compositum sonum, si uel una chorda  
 rupta sit, sic spiritalis uenter prophete si una uirtus defuerit, non melos dulce  
 550 resonabit nec ad lateris muros cunctis clamare uisceribus poterit. Cum apparuerit id  
 est frustra fuisse quod laborauit in dogmatibus que excelsa putabat. Ad sancta sua  
 id est que errans sancta arbitrabatur uel ad sanctam ecclesiam intrabit ut sua ea  
 faciet et non ualebit quia non statim perfectam possimus capere uirtutem. Ex tunc  
 id est prohemio in quo dixit onus contra Moab ut quod ibi coeperit hic compleuerit et  
 555 unum sit uerbum id est una sententia.

*Et nunc locutus est dominus dicens: In tribus annis quasi anni mercennarii  
 auferetur gloria Moab super omni populo multo et relinquetur paruulus et modicus  
 nequaquam multus.*

Prophetia ista mortuo Achaz contra Moabitas dirigitur regnante  
 Ezechia sub quo decem tribus a Sennacherib captiuatę sunt. Itaque sicut  
 560 mercennarius solis expectat occasum et diebus ac noctibus finem operis prestatur  
 ut statutam mercedem accipiat, sic post tres annos et Moab Assyrio ueniente  
 delebitur, et uix pauci relinquentur qui subrutas urbes et desertos agros exercent.  
 Potest et de Babylonia captiuitate pređici quod post captam Hierusalem et  
 transitum annorum trium Moab a Chaldejis uastanda sit, uel quod per tres annos  
 565 nulla eis requies danda sit. Mystice sicut misericordia dei in mensura est sic et  
 supplicia mensuram habent suam, qui ergo paruulus est meretur misericordiam.  
 Moab enim externus et non de populo dei sed relicto errore conuersus tribus tantum  
 annis modicus, et ingloriosus relinquitur. Nam sicut decem tribus secundum  
 Ezechielem quando dies pro annis numerantur, subputentur in poenis anni tricenti  
 570 nonaginta quia maiora peccauerunt *potentes potenter tormenta patientur.* Anni

mercennarii quia falsa doctrina pro lucro cuncta facit, *mercennarius enim fugit quia mercennarius est*. Paruulus ut qui multos habuit in errore comites ad paucos redigatur, et post paenitentiam modicus sit in malitia.

575

MYSTICUS ECCE LIBER FINITUR IN ORDINE SEXTUS.

## 5b. Apparatus for Book V-VI

1-4 Onus...gloria mea] ONUS BABILONIS USQUE IN GLORIA mea S 1  
 Babyllonis] Babylonis P Gry. Vul., Babilonis S Isaias] Esaias Gry. super] in  
 Gry. caligosum] caliginosum P Er. Adr. Vul. \*, corr. caligosum P 2 et] M Gry. \*  
 Ga. Vul. \*, om. P Gry. Vul. manum] corr. M 4 Vbicumque] Ubicumque P 4 que]  
 quae P 5 Iudeorum] Iudeorum P Iherusalem] Hierusalem P S 6 Babyllonis]  
 Babyloniae P, Babilonia corr. Babylonia S Babyllonia] Babylonia P S  
 præcipiturque] præcipiturque P Gry. 7 exaltata] exaltata deo P S, deo exp. P  
 8 Babylloni] Babylonis P Gry. \*, Babylonii S, Babyloii Gry. 9 destinati] distincti  
 corr. destinati P, distincti S 12-15 Uox multitudinis...omnem terram] Vox  
 multitudinis usque omnem terram S 12 sonitus] sonitur corr. sonitus P 13 præcepit]  
 præcepit Gry. Vul. militię] militiae P Gry. Vul. 15 Mędorum] Medorum P S Gry.  
 et] atque Gry. 16 Babyllonis] Babyloņię P, Babilonia S, Babylonis Gry.  
 describitur] describitur P Gry. \*, corr. describitur P Chalęorum] Chalaeorum P,  
 Calęorum corr. Chalęorum S, Chaldaeorum Gry. 17-20 Ululate quia...uultus  
 eorum] Ululate usque uultus eorum S 17 quasi] quia P Vul. \* 20 combustę]  
 combuste M, combustae Gry., combustae Vul. Apostrofa] M S Gry. \*, Apostropha  
 P Gry. 21 Babylloniorum] Babylonium P, Babiloņię corr. Babyloņię S,  
 Chaldaeorum Gry. defleant] defluant P ambigant] ambigent P S, corr.  
 ambigant P Babyllonis] Babyloniorum P, Babyloniae S dum] deum M, cum  
 Gry. 22 uenit] adueniat Gry. quęrat] quęrat corr. quęrat M, querat P S, quaerat  
 Gry. 23 luridam] luricam corr. luridam P



24-9 Ecce dies...humiliabo] Ecce dies ueniet crudelis usque humiliabo *S* 24 domini] *om. S* ueniet] *M S Gry. \* Ga. Vul. \**, uenit *P Gry. Vul.* ire] *M*, irae *Gry. Vul.*

26 stellę] *stelle M*, stellae *Gry. Vul.* splendor] *spendor corr.* splendor *M*

expaendent] *expandit P*, expandent *Gry. Vul.* suum] *inser. P* sol] *inser. P*

27 orbis] *omn. et Gry. Vul. \**, orbem *Vul.* 28 eorum] *corr. M* quiescere] *requiescere M Vul. \*, corr.* quiescere *M* arrogantium] *adrogantium Gry. \* Vul.*

30 Non enim est] *Non est enim Gry.* patientibus] *pacientibus M P* 31 pro] *prae Gry.* 33 Pretiosior] *Preciosior P S* et homo mundo obrizo] *om. P S* pro] *p(rae) P*, prę *S* paucitate] *pautitate corr.* paucitate *S* 34 quicquid] *omne quod Gry.* 35-6 Super hoc...furoris eius] *Super hoc cęlum mouebo usque furoris eius S* 35 cęlum] *caelum P Gry. Vul.* mouebo] *M P Vul. \**, turbabo *Gry. Vul.* 36 ire] *irae Gry. Vul.*

37 supra] *prius P S* diximus] *et orbe exposuimus Gry.* yperbolice] *hyperbolice P*, iperpolice *S*, YΠ&PBOΛIKως *Gry.* elementa] *elimenta M P, corr.* elementa *P*, helymenta *S* 38 nimiam] *omnia Gry.* contristantur] *corr.* contristentur *P*

39 dammula] *damula M Gry. \** fugiens] *fugit S* et quasi...congreget] *om. P S*

40 Babyllonium] *Id est Babylloniam P S* Chalđęum] *Chaldeam P*, Caldeum *corr.* Chaldeum *S*, Chaldaeum *Gry.* inruptionem] *corr.* irruptionem *P*, irruptionem *Gry.*

41 dammula] *damula M Gry. \** ululatum] *ululatu S Gry. \** 42 conuertetur...fugient] *om. P S* 43 Babyllone] *Babylonia P S*, Babylon *Gry.* prouincias] *prouintias P*

45 fuerit occidetur] *om. S* et qui...gladio] *om. P S* et qui] *et omnis qui Gry. \* Vul.* 45-6 Qui non] *Hoc est qui non P*, Non *S* 46 fugerit] *fuerit corr.* fugerit *S*

47 captiuę] *P S*, capite *M*, captae *Gry.*, captiu(a)e *Gry. \**

48-9 Infantes...uiolabuntur] *Infantes eorum usque uiolabuntur S* 49-51 Tanta erit...uioletur pudicitia] *hoc planum est P S* 49 seuitia] *saeuitia Gry.* innoxie] *innocentia Gry.*

innoxiae *Gry.* 50 cuncti] *M S Gry.\**, cunctae *Gry.* 52-4 Ecce ego...oculus eorum]  
 Ecce ego suscitabo super eos Medos et reliqua *P S* 52 quęrant] quaerant *Gry. Vul.*  
 53 interficient] *M Gry.V Vul.\**, interficiant *Gry.VI Gry.\* Vul.* misereantur] *M*  
*Gry.VI Vul.* miserebuntur *Gry.V Vul.\** 54 parcat] *M Gry.VI Vul.*, parcet *Gry.V*  
*Gry.\* Er. Adr. Vul.\** 55 demones] daemones *Gry.* sed] sed et *P* Persi] Persę *P*  
 56 seuitia] saeuitiam *Gry.* aurum et argentum] aurum argentumque *Gry.*,  
 argentum et aurum *Gry.\** 57 Interficiuntur] Interficiet *corr.* Interficiet *S* paruuli]  
 hoc est non paruulorum *P S* quorum uulnera erunt non minora] minora erunt  
 uulnera *P S* 58 pręgnantes] pregnantes *S*, praegnantes *Gry.* secabuntur] secabant  
*corr.* secabuntur *P*, secabuntur elidenturque infantes *Gry.* pręssos] pressos *P S*  
*Gry.* 59-61 Et erit...ad generationem] Et erit Babylon et reliqua *S*  
 sicut...generationem] *om. P* 59 Babyllo] Babylon *P S Gry. Vul.* inclita] *M Gry.\**  
*Ga. Vul.*, incluta *Gry.* Chaldeorum] Chaldeorum *P*, Chaldaeorum *Gry. Vul.*  
 60 dominus] *M Gry.\**, deus *Gry. Vul.* 61 ad generationem] *M Gry.\**, ad  
 generationem et generationem *Gry. Vul.* 62 aeternum] ęternum *S* habitabitur]  
*omn. et Gry.\**, habitatur *Gry.* 63 Seleuciam] Seleutiam *P S Gry.\** Tesefontem]  
*corr.* Tesifontem *P*, Ctesiphontem *Gry.*, Tesifontem *Gry.\** inclitas] *omn. et Gry.\**  
*Ga.*, inclutas *Gry.* 64-6 Nec ponet...uoluptatis] Nec ponet ibi tentoria usque  
 uoluptatis *S* 64 requiescent] *M Gry.V Vul.\**, requiescent ibi *P Gry.VI Gry.\* Vul.*  
 erunt] *M Gry.V*, requiescent *P Gry.VI Gry.\* Ga. Vul.* bestię] bestiae *P Gry. Vul.*  
 65 strutiones] *M P Gry.\* Ga.*, struthiones *Gry. Vul.* 66 respondebuntque] *M Gry.V*,  
 et respondebunt ibi *P Gry.\* Ga.*, et respondebunt *Gry.VI Gry.\* Vul.* ululę] ululae  
*Gry. Vul.* edibus] aedibus *Gry. Vul.* syrenę] sirenae *Gry. Vul.* 67 Babyllo]  
 Babylon *P S Gry.* pecorum] peccorum *S* tendet] tendit *P S Gry.\**

68 Sarracenusque] *M Gry. \* Ga. Va.*, Saracenusque *P S Gry.* ruinarum] uinarum *S*  
 bestię] bestiae *P* 70 significat] significant *P* dęmonum] demonum *P S*,  
 daemonum *Gry.* intelleguntur] *omn. et Gry. \**, intellegunt *Gry.* Syrenę] Syrene  
*S Gry. \**, Sirenae *Gry.* dęmones] demones *P S*, daemones *Gry.* 71 quędam]  
 quedam *S*, quaedam *Gry.* cristatos] crispatos *M P* uolantes] ualentes *M*  
 interpretamur] interp(re)tatur *corr.* interp(re)tamus *P*, interpretantur *S*,  
 interpretabimur *Gry.*, interpraetatur *Gry. \** Quę] Que *M*, Quae *P*

72 tantę] tante *M* dęmonum] demonum *P S* 74 ut ueniat...elongabuntur] *om. P S*  
 dies] *M Gry. \**, dies eius *Gry. Vul.* est] *om. S* 75 uastationis] uastationes *corr.*  
 uastationis *M* uastationis Babyllonis] uastationis Babyloniae *P*, Babyloniae  
 uastationis *S* 76-7 et eliget...humum suam] *om. P S* 77 rex Persarum] *om. P S* 79-  
 82 Adiungetur...exactores suos] Adiungetur aduena ad exactores suos *P*, Adiungetur  
 aduena usque exactores suos *S* 79 adhaerebit] et adhaerebit *Gry. Vul.*, et *om. M*  
*Gry. \* Vul. \** 80 inducent] adducent *Gry. Vul.* 81 ancillas] *M Gry. Vul. \**, in ancillas  
*Gry. \* Vul.* coeperant] ceperant *Gry. Vul.* subiciant] subicient *Gry. Vul.*

82 Iudęis] Iudeis *P* 83 solum] *M Gry. \* Er. Adr.*, solo *Gry.* In hoc solum artari  
 uidetur] Angustiatu autem *P S*, Angustiantur *corr.* Angustiatu *S* 84 possederit]  
 possiderint *M*, possederint *P* 85 sinedocchice] sinecdochiae *corr.* sinecdochiae *P*,  
 sinechdochiaie *corr.* sinedochae *S*, ζΥΝΕΚΔΟΧΙΚΩΣ *Gry.* intellegamus] *omn. et*  
*Gry. \**, intellegimus *Gry.* tantę] tante *M*, tantae *Gry.* 87 compararent] compararint  
*P S*, compararint *Gry.*, co(m)pararent *Gry. \** quando] quondam *S* Asueri]  
 Assueri *S Gry. \* Vi. Adr.* Holoferne] *M S Gry. \**, Oloferne *P Gry.* 88 caesus]  
 cesus *P S Gry. \** 89-91 Et erit...et dices] Et erit in die illa cum requiem *S*, r(eliqua)  
*inser. margin S* 89 dominus] *M Gry. \* Vul. \**, deus *P Gry. Vul.* 90 seruitute tua] *M*

*Gry. \* Vul. \**, seruitute dura *P Gry. Vul.* 91 Babyllonis] Babylonis *P Gry. Vul.* ut] et *S* post] *p corr.* post *P* 92 potentię] potentiae *P S Gry.* Nabuchodonosor] Nabochodonosor *S* 93 dignus] dignos *M* miseratione] miserationi *M S* 94-7 Quomodo...exultauit] Quomodo cessauit actor usque exultauit *S* 94 Quomodo] Quomodo *corr.* Quomodo *S* exactor] actor *S* 95 cedentem] *P Gry. \* Vul. \**, cedentium *M Gry. \**, caedentem *Gry. Vul.* populos] populus *corr.* populos *P* 97 exultauit] *M Vul.*, exultabit *P Gry. VI\* Vul.*, exsultauit *Gry.* admirantis] mirantis *Gry.* 98 sustineri] sustentari *S* 100 tantum] tantam *corr.* tantum *S* laetitię] letitię *M*, laetitiae *Gry.* gestientes] gestigentis *S* emittens] emittes *corr.* emittens *S* 101-2 Abietes...succidat nos] Abietes usque succident eos *S* 101 laetate] laetate *M*, laetatae *Gry. Vul.* caedri] cedri *P Gry. Vul.* 102 ascendet] *M P Gry. \* Ga. Vul. \**, ascendit *Gry. Vul.* 95 succidat] succident *S* nos] eos *S* cędros] cedros *P S Gry.* 103 Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P*, Nabochodonosor *S* lętantes] laetantes *P S* 105-8 conturbatus est...dicent tibi] *om. P S* 105 te] *omn. et Gry. \* Vul. \*, om. Gry. Vul.* occursu] *M Gry. \* Ga.*, occursum *Gry. Vul.* 106 gigantes] *M Gry. Vul. \**, gigantas *Gry. \* Vul.* terre] terrae *Gry. Vul.* 107 Haec] Hęc *P S* emphaticos] *M Gry. \* Ga. Er. Ma.*, ea per antiphrasin ΦΑΤΙΚΑÇ *P*, faticas *marg. P*, ea φΦΑΤΙΚΑÇ *S*, eΜΦΑΤΙΚωÇ *Gry.* 108 sceme] *corr.* scematis *P*, scaenae *Gry.* quo] que *S* sint] sunt *S Gry. \** quo] quod *S Gry. \** potuerint] potuerunt *S* 109 interfecit] interfecerat *Gry.* Babyllonio] Babylonio *P S Gry.* credimus] credamus *S Gry. \** Solatium] Solacium *P* 110 uiderint] *omn. et Gry. \**, uideris *Gry.* 111-13 Et tu...erunt uermes] Et tu uulneratus es usque uermes *S* 111 tu] *om. P Gry. \* Vul. \** uulneratus] *M P*, uulneratus es *S Gry. Vul.*

113 potentum] potentium *Gry.* Nabuchodosor] Nabugodonosor *P*,  
 Nabochodonosor *S* inferno] infernum *P S*, inferis *Gry.* 114 secure] *corr.* securi *P*,  
 securi *Gry.\** 115 sentiens] *M S Gry.\**, senties *P Gry.* 116 pręferebas] praefererebas *S*  
*Gry.* 117-20 Quomodo cecidisti...similis altissimo] Quomodo cecidist usque  
 altissimo *S* 117 Quomodo] Quomodo *S* 118 cęlum] celo *P*, caelum *Gry. Vul.*  
 ascendam] *M Gry. Vul.\**, conscendam *P Gry.\* Vul.* sidera] astra *P Gry.\* Vul.*  
 121 inlucescit] inlucessit *M*, inlucescit *corr.* illucescit *P*, illucescit *Gry.*  
 simulabat] simulabatur *P S*, uidebatur *Gry.*

123 quamuis] *omn. et Gry.\**, quamquam *Gry.* Iudęi] Iudei *P*, Iudaei *Gry.*  
 cęlum] caelum *P Gry.* se] *om. S* uelint] uellint *S Gry.\**, *corr.* uelint *S* 125 qui]  
 quę *P* aquilone] aquilone est *P* montis] *omn. et Gry.\**, montes *Gry.* caelestia]  
 cęlestia *S* 127 Uerumtamen...laci] Ad infernum detraheris *P S* 128 eleuas] eleuabas  
*P* infernum] in infernum *S* tenebras] in tenebras *P* demergeris] *corr.*  
 dimergeris *P* 129 ad te inclinabuntur] reliqua *S* 130-1 Numquid...carcerem]  
 Numquid iste uir et reliqua *P S* 132 quomodo...uastatus sit] *om. P S* aperuit]  
 apperuit *S* 133 carcerem] carcere *S* quod] quia *P* catęnę] catene *P*, catene *S*,  
 catenae *Gry.* 134 includeret] includerat *M* 135-8 Omnes reges...in sepultura]  
 Omnes reges gentium usque in sepultura *S* 136 sepulchro] *M P Gry.\* Er. Va. Vul.*,  
 sepulcro *Gry.* 136-7 cum his] *M Gry.\* Vul.\**, *om. P Gry. Vul.* 138 Hębrei] Hebrei  
*P*, Hebrei *S*, Hebraei *Gry.* 139 Euilmarodach] *corr.* Euilmerodach *P*, Euilmerodach  
*Gry.\* Er. Vi.* Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P*, Nabochodonosor *S* septem]  
 vii *S* 140 regnauit] regnabit *corr.* regnabat *P*, regnauerat *Gry.* 141 Iudę] Iudeę *S*,  
 Iudae *Gry.* 142 Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P*, Nabochodonosor *S*

143 sepulchrum] *omn. et Gry.\* Er. Ma. Vi.*, sepulcrum *Gry.* protraxit] traxit *P Gry.*, eius traxit *S* 145 anime] animae *S Gry.* apud] *apu corr. apud S* inuenient] *omn. et Gry.\**, accipient *Gry.*

147 Tu enim...occidisti] Tu enim terram disperdisti et reliqua *P*, Tu enim terram tuam et reliqua *S* tuam] *M S Gry. Vul.\**, *om. P Gry.\* Vul.* disperdedisti] disperdisti *P Gry.\* Vul.\**, disperdidisti *Gry. Vul.* tuum] *om. Gry.VI\* Vul.*

148 penitus] pēnitus *M* 149 dominum] deum *P S Gry.* destructum] distructum *M*, destructus *S* 150 extraneos] *omn. et Gry.\**, externos *Gry.* obrimeris] opprimeres *P Gry.*, opprimeris *S* 151-3 Non uocabitur...ciuitatum] *om. S* 151 uocabitur] uocaberis *P* Prepare] P(rae)parate *P*, Praeparate *Gry. Vul.* 152 suorum] *M Gry. Vul.\**, eorum *P Vul.* 153 Baldasar] Baltasar *corr. Balthasar P*, Balthasar *S Gry.*

Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P*, Nabochodonosor *S* 154 de stirpe Nabuchodonosor] *om. et inser. in marg. S* Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P* regnauit] *omn. et Gry.\**, regnarit *Gry.* soboles] *M P Gry.\**, sobolis *S Gry.\**, suboles *Gry.* 154-5 deleta est] deleatur *Gry.* 156-9 Et consurgam...exercituum] Et consurgam super eos usque exercituum *S* 156 Babyllonis] Babylonis *P Gry. Vul.*

157 dicit] *M Gry.V Vul.\**, ait *P Gry.VI Vul.* 159 Babylloniam] Babyloniam *P S*, Babylonem *Gry.* dicitur] *om. P S* 160 sexaginta quinque] lxiiii *P S*, sexaginta quattuor *Gry.* 161 passuum] pasuum *corr. passuum P* Arx] Arcs *corr. Arx P* que] q(ue) *S*, quae *Gry.* 162 aedificata] edificata *P S* altum] altitudine *Gry.* tria milia] iii *P S*, milium *inser. P* 163 coartata] coartatu *M S* inminens] imminens *Gry.* sustentetur] sustineat *P*, sustentet *S* 166 induti] indu[c?]ti *corr. induti S*

168 spatium] spacium *M* 169-72 Iuravit dominus...eorum tolletur] Iuravit dominus usque tolletur *S* 171 eis] eius *corr.* eis *M* onus eius] *M Gry.\* Vul.\**, onus illius *P Gry. Vul.* humero] *M P Gry.\**, umero *Gry. Vul.*

172 pręsentia] presentia *S*, praesentia *Gry.* est] est ad *P Gry.* Senacherib] *M Gry.\* Ga.*, Sennacerib *P Gry.\**, *corr.* Sennacherib *P*, Sennacherib *S Gry.* 173 et Iudeam] et Iudeam *P S*, Iudaeamque *Gry.* centum octoginta quinque] cLxxxv *P S* milia] *om. P* 174 occisa] succisa *S*, deleta *Gry.* Quia poterant audientes dicere] quia dicere poterant audientes *Gry.* 175 multis] *corr.* multas *P* sæculis] saeculis *P S, corr.* saeculas *P* promittit] promittimus *P*, promittitur *S* 176 esse] esse.

Mystice dum mihi pristini seminis in Babylonia residebit, tunc iuramentum domini complebitur, ut conteratur Assyriis *corr.* Assyrius *uel* Assyrus in terra eius \et/ in montibus eius. Testis enim temerarius non tantum terra domini et humiliora sed eos qui uirtutibus proficientes montibus comparantur occupare festinat, sed a domino conculcabitur. Nouissima enim inimica destruetur mors, et tunc auferetur graue iugum Assyrii, ut uideant requiem quia bona est terra et uberrima *P* 177-9 Hoc est consilium...auertat eam] Hoc est consilium quod cogitauit usque quis euertat eam *S* 177 Hoc est] est *om. Gry. Vul.* hęc] haec *P Gry. Vul.* 179 auertat] euertat *S* proprie] propriae *corr.* proprie *P*, proprie *S* 180 Quicquid] Quidquid *Gry.*

181 nullius] nullus *corr.* nullius *P* 182 *inc. excerpt. Gry.VI* Babylloem] Babyloniam *P*, Babylonem *S* quę] quae *S Gry.* 183 in maligno positus] in maligno positus est *Gry.*, scimus quoniam ex Deo sumus et mundus totus in maligno positus est *I Ioh. 5:19* tam] tantum *P S*, solum *Gry.*

184 Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P*, Nabochodonosor *S* diabolus] diabolus *corr.* diabalas *P* 185 dominum] deum *P Gry.* in cęlum conscendam] In caelum

ascendam *Gry.*; in caelum conscendam *Isa. 14:13* conscendam] consendam *corr.*  
 conscendam *S* 186 ecclesiarum] aecclesiarum *M* præcipitur] precipitur *P S*,  
 praecipitur *Gry.* Babylonem] Babyloniam *P*, Babylon *S*, Babylonem *Gry. VI*  
 leuent] *omn. et Gry.\**, eleuent *Gry.* 187 ecclesia] aecclesia *M* 187-8 posuit tenebras  
 latibulum suum] et posuit tenebras latibulum suum *Psalms 17:12* 189 consolentur]  
*corr.* consolantur *P*, consoletur *S Gry.* 190 ecclesię] ecclesiam *P*, ecclesię *S*,  
 ecclesiae *Gry.* mysteriorum] *om. S* 191 scientię] scientiae *P Gry.* Sanctificatis  
 meis] *corr.* Sanctificatos meos *P* 192 sancti...sanctus sum] ego enim sum dominus  
 deus vester sancti estote quoniam et ego sanctus sum *Lev. 11:44* et ego] *M P*  
*Gry.\**, et *om. S Gry.* sanctus sum] *om. M S* predicatores] p(rae)dicatores *P*,  
 prædicatores *S* 193 adnuntient] *corr.* annuntient *P* 194 quę] quae *P Gry.* 195-6 id  
 ipsum dicatis omnes] id ipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in uobis scismata *I Cor.*  
*1:10* 195 id ipsum] idipsum *Gry.* 196 Militię] Militia *P*, Militiae *S Gry.*

198 præparant] p(rae)parant *P*, preparant *S*, praeparent *Gry.* aeterno] eterno *S*,  
 sempiterno *Gry.* penitentiam] paenitentiam *P S Gry.* domini] domini id est *P*  
 iudicii] iuditii *M* 200 iustitia] iusticia *S* repperietur] reperietur *P S* et omne]  
*om. M S*, Omne quoque *Gry.* tabescit] tabescet *P Gry.* 201 propria] quasi propria  
*P S* ad proximum suum stupebit] unusquisque ad proximum suum *P Gry.\**,  
 Unusquisque stupebit ad proximum suum *Gry.* stupebit] stupbit *corr.* stupebit *M*  
 202 isdem] *M S Gry.\**, hisdem *P Gry.\* Ga.*, eisdem *Gry.* facies] faties *M*  
 conbustę] conbuste *M* 203 succenderant] succenderunt *P S* iudicii] iuditii *corr.*  
 iudicii *S* sic] id est sic *P* 204 uidebitur] *om. S* Irę] irae *Gry.* penitentię]  
 paenitentiae *P Gry.*, poenitentię *S* poenarum] penarum *M S*, *corr.* poenarum *S*  
 205 cęli] caeli *P S Gry.* 206 reliqua] et reliqua *P* comparationem] comparationem



*P*, comparati *corr.* comparationem *S* maiestatis] magestatis *M S*, *corr.* maiestatis *S*  
 207 preñimia] preñimia *S* orbis] urbes *P S Gry.* \* 208 ut] *inser. M* percutiat] *M*  
*P Gry.* \*, pertiat *corr.* percutiat *S*, percutit *Gry.* emendet] emendat *S Gry.* \*  
 reliqua] superbiam *P*, et reliqua *S* uisitat] uisitat ut humiliet *P* 209 iudicio] iuditio  
*M* Pretiosior] Praetiosior *P*, Preciosior *S* fine] finem *M*, consummatione *Gry.*  
 210 raritate] rarietate *corr.* raritate *P S* pretiosus] preciosus *P* 211 Cælum  
 concutiam] Super hoc celum concutiam *P* 212 elementa] alimenta *S* 213 Quasi  
 dammula fugiens usque uiolabuntur] Et erit quasi dammula fugiens et quasi ouis et  
 non erit qui congreget. Unusquisque ad populum suum conteretur et singuli ad  
 terram suam fugient. Omnis qui inuentus fuerit occidetur et omnis qui superuenerit  
 cadet in gladio. Infantes eorum allidentur, in oculis eorum \diripiuntur/ domus  
 eorum et uxores eorum uiolabuntur *P* dammula] damula *M Gry.* \* *Er. Adr.*  
 215 ecclesiae] aecclesie *M*, eccesie *S* 216 occidetur] *corr.* occiditur *P* 217 necdum]  
 nondum *S Er. Adr.* ecclesiae] aecclesia *M* 218-19 Super eos Medos usque oculus  
 eorum] Ecce ego suscitabo super eos Medos qui argentum non querant nec aurum  
 uelint, sed sagittis paruulis interficiant, et lactantibus uteri non miserebuntur, et  
 super filios non parcat oculus eorum *P* 219 Madai] Maida *M*, Madian *S Gry.* \*  
 220 forti] fortitudo *S* potenti] *M S Gry.* \*, potente *P Gry.* ministre] *omn. et*  
*Gry.* \*, *corr.* ministri *P*, ministri *Gry.* fortitudinis] *M Gry.* \* *Er. Adr.*, fortitudines *P*  
*S Gry.*, *corr.* fortitudinis *P* 221 Babylionios] Babyloniae *corr.* Babylonios *P*,  
 Babylonia *S*

222 mensurantur] mensurentur *corr.* mensuretur *P* 223 sagittas] sagistis *P*, sagittis  
*S* 224 Et erit Babylion usque et dies eius elongabuntur] Et erit Babylon illa gloriosa  
 in regnis inclita in superbia Chaldeorum, sicut subuertit dominus Sodomam et

Gomarram, non habitabitur usque in finem et non fundabitur usque ad generationem et generationem. Nec ponet ibi tentoria Arabs, nec pastores requiescent ibi, sed requiescent ibi bestiae, et replebuntur domus eorum draconibus. Et habitabunt ibi strutiones, et pilosi saltabunt ibi et respondebunt ibi ululę in ędibus eius, et syrenę in delubris uoluptatis. Prope est ut ueniat tempus eius, et dies eius non elongabuntur *P* Babyllo] Babylon *P S* 225 mundane] mundanę *P S* Chaldeorum] Chaldehyorum *P*, Caldehyorum *S*, Chaldaeorum *Gry*. 226 intepretantur] interpretatur *M*, interpretatur *Gry*. \* dęmonia] demonia *P S*, daemonia *Gry*. cęlum] caelum *P Gry*.

229 preteritorum] pęteritorum *M*, praeteritorum *Gry*. obliuiscitur] obliuiscetur *corr.* obliuiscitur *P* 229-30 Iter...eius] Iter facite ei qui ascendit super occasum dominus nomen est eius *P Gry*. \* *Ga.*, praeparate viam ascendenti per deserta in Domino nomen eius *Psalms 67:5* 230 faciem] fatiem *M* bestię] bestiae *S Gry*.

231 dęmoniorum] demoniorum *P S* pręsenti] presenti *P S*

232 Miserebitur...dices] Miserebitur enim dominus Iacob et eliget adhuc de Israhel et requiescere eos faciaet super humum suam. Adiungetur aduena ad eos et adherebit domui Iacob et tenebunt eos populi, et adducent eos in locum suum et possidebit eos domus Israhel super terram domini in seruos et ancillas, et erunt capientes eos qui se ceperant et subiciant exactores suos. Et erit in die illa cum requiem dederit tibi deus a labore tuo et a concussionem tua et a seruitute dura quae ante seruisti, sumes parabolam istam contra regem Babylonis et dices *P*

233 subplantauit] supplantauit *Gry*. 234 ęcclesiam] ecclesiam *P*, ecclesia *S* terram] teraram *corr.* terram *M* aduena] aduena *M*, adiungetur aduena *P*

235 apostoli] ad se apostolos *P*, apostolos *S* prędicatores] predicatorum *P S*

236 accipiant] capient *S Gry*., accipient *Gry*. \* 237 sophismatibus] sophimatibus *corr.* sophismatibus *P* ante] arte *P* deceperant] decerant *corr.* deceperant *M*,

deciperant *corr.* deceperant *S* 238 quod] quo *P* Babyllonis] Babylonem *P*,  
 Babylonis *S* 239 hereticorum] heretiorum *corr.* hereticorum *S*  
 Cessauit...crudeliter] Quomodo cessauit exactor quieuit tributum contriuit dominus  
 baculum impiorum, uirgam dominantium cedentem populos in indignatione, plaga  
 insanabili, subicientem in furore gentes, persequentem crudeliter *P* 240 poenam]  
 poemim *corr.* poenam *M*, ponam *corr.* poenam *S* de domo...incipiet] quoniam  
 tempus ut incipiat iudicium de domo dei *I Pet. 4:17* domo] domu *corr.* domo *P*  
 iudicium] iuditium *M* 241 peccantium] peccatorum *S*, peccati *Gry.* delinquerint]  
 deliquerint *S Gry.* ante] ante ante *corr.* ante *S* 242 est] *om.* *S*  
 243 Quieuit...uermes] Conquieuit et siluit omnis terra gauisa est et exultauit.  
 Abietes quoque laetate sunt super te et cedri Libani ex quo dormisti non ascendet  
 qui succidat nos. Infernus subter conturbatus est in occursum aduentus tui,  
 suscitabit tibi gigantes. Omnes principes terre surrexerunt de solis suis omnes  
 principes nationum, uniuersi respondebunt et dicent tibi, et tu uulneratus es sicut nos  
 nostri similis effectus es, detracta est ad inferos superbia tua concidit cadauer tuum,  
 subter te sternetur tinea et operimentum tuum erunt uermes *P* interitum] initium *S*  
 244 abietes] aletes *corr.* abietes *M* cedri] cedri *P S Gry.* 245 non ascendet qui]  
 haec est qui *corr.* nec est qui *P*, Hae est quia *S* 246 Uincto] Uicto *P*  
 248 prepositus] praepositus *Gry.* suscitauit] suscitabit *P S* 251 inbecillitate]  
 imbecillitate *Gry.* potentie] potentia *P*, potentiae *S Gry.* 254 suppliciorum]  
 supplicio *corr.* suppliciorum *P* que] quae *Gry.* 255 Cecidisti lucifer] Quomodo  
 cecidisti lucifer *P* 256 uesper] et uesper *P* 257 hoc] hec *P* 258 Qui dicebas in  
 corde tuo usque altissimo] Qui dicebas in corde tuo in caelo conscendam super astra  
 dei exaltabo solium meum, sed et in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis,

ascendam super altitudinem nubium similis ero altissimo *P* 259 cęlo] caelum *P*  
 cęlum] caelum *P*, celum *S* 260 Cęlum cęli domino] Caelum caeli domino *Gry.*,  
 caelum caelorum domino *Psalms 113:24* haec] hęc *S* 261 arrogantię] adrogantiae  
*corr.* arrogantiae *P* pęcipitatus] precipitatus *corr.* precipitatus *M*, p(rae)cipitatus  
*P*, praecipitatus *Gry.* 262 caeli] cęli *P S* quę] que *M*, quae *Gry.* 263 ecclesia]  
 aecclesia *M*, ecclesię *S* quę] quae *P* quondam] quandam *M* 264 pęnitentiam]  
 penitentiam *P S*, *corr.* poenitentiam *P* 265 ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* quęrit]  
 quaerit *P* 266 se esse] esse se *Gry.* 267 qui] quia *S* 268 nimia] nimis *S*  
 depressus] depressus *P S* demergaris] *corr.* dimergaris *P*, demergeris *S* 269 aque  
 uiuę] deum *inser. S*, aquae uiuentis dominum *Gry.* laqueos] lacos *P Gry.* \* *Ga.*  
*Er.*, laqueos *S*, lacus *Gry.* fodiunt] fodunt *M* qui] qui q(uae) *P* 270 ualeant]  
*omn. et Gry.* \*, *corr.* ualent *S*, ualent *Gry.* Qui te uiderunt usque carcerem]  
 uiderint *P S Gry.*, Qui te uiderint ad te inclinabuntur teque prospicient: Numquid  
 iste est uir qui conturbauit terram qui concussit regna qui posuit orbem desertum et  
 urbes eius destruxit? Uinctis eius non aperuit carcerem? *P* 271 caelo] cęlo *S*  
 corruit] conruit *corr.* corruit *P* humilitate] humilitati *S*

273 non confortetur homo] exsurge domine non confortetur homo *Psalms 9:20* id  
 est non] *om. S* 275 ecclesia] ecclesiis *P Gry.*, ecclesia *S* 276 sinagogas] *M S Gry.* \*  
*Ga.*, synagogas *P Gry.* Uinctis] Uinctos *M* 277-8 Omnes reges usque laci]  
 Omnes reges gentium uniuersi dormierunt \in gloria/, uir in domo sua. Tu autem  
 proiectus es de sepulchro quasi stirps inutilis, pollutus et obuolutus qui interfecti  
 sunt gladio et descenderunt ad fundamenta laci *P* 281 cruciatibus] crutiatis *M*  
 282 pęciparatus] p(rae)paratu[.] *corr.* p(rae)paratus *P* interficit] *M Gry.* \*, interfecit

*P S Gry.*, *corr.* interficit *S* 283 sepulture] sepulturae *P S* poene] peñe *M*, poenae  
*Gry.* auctor] auctorum *corr.* auctor *S* 284 compulsus] compulsus *S Gry.*  
 286 Haec omnia mihi traditi sunt] et dixit illi haec tibi omnia dabo si cadens  
 adoraueris me *Matt. 4:9* traditi] tradita *Gry.* 287 uiuos] uiuens *corr.* uiuos *S*  
 socios] sotios *M S* preparans] preparans *M*, praeparans *Gry.* sepulture] sepulture  
*M*, sepultrae *Gry.* 288 Semen pessimorum usque progeniem] Semen pessimorum,  
 p(rae)parate filios eius occisioni in iniquitate patrum eorum, non consurgent nec  
 hereditabunt terram neque implebunt faciem orbis ciuitatum. Et consurgam super  
 eos dicit dominus exercituum et perdam Babylonis nomen et reliquias et germen et  
 progeniem *P* 289 natura] nature *corr.* natura *P* Omnis enim...diabolo est] qui  
 facit peccatum ex diabolo est *I Ioh. 3:8* 290 que] que *M P*, quae *Gry.*  
 291 demoniis] demoniis *P S* possideant] possideant *P S*, *corr.* possideant *P*  
 292 ecclesiarum] aecclesiarum *M* imperfecta sit] interfecta sit *S*, non est hominum  
 perfecta *Gry.* 293 iuuauerit] iuuerit *P* 294 et] *om. M, inser. P* Erius] Hericus *P*  
*S Gry.\* Er. Adr.* in] *om. P S* que] quae *P*, qui *S* 295 conpungunt]  
 conpunguntur *P* 296 habitatores] habitares *corr.* habitatores *S* Babylon] Babilon  
*S*  
 297 inriguus] irriguus *S Gry.* limore] limore *P* 298 mundauit] mundabit *P Gry.\**  
 298-305 Iurauit...uberrima] *om. h. l. P et transp. lin. 176* 299 Babyllone] Babylonia  
*S*, Babylone *Gry.* 300 Assyrius] Assyriis *corr.* Assyrius *S* 301 reliqua] Israhel *S*  
 304 Assyrii] Assirii *S* 305 que] quae *P S* 306 Babylloniam] Babyloniam *P S*  
 Chaldeorum] Chaldehyorum *P*, Caldehyorum *S*, Chaldaeyorum *Gry.* 307 *expl. excerpt.*  
*Gry. VI* 308 ONUS PHILISTIM] *M S Vul.\**, *om. P Gry. Vul.* ANNO] *M S Gry.*  
*Vul.\**, In anno *P Gry.\* Ga. Vul.* factum est onus istud] factum est onus istud; ne

laeteris Philistea omnis tu quoniam comminuta est uirga percussoris tui; de radice enim colubri egredietur regulus et semen eius absorbens uolucrum. Et pascentur primogeniti pauperum et pauperes fiducialiter requiescent. Et interire faciam in fame radicem tuam et reliquias tuas interficiam *P*, usque interficiam *S* 311-12 Ne leteris...uolucrum] Ne leteris Philistea *P*, Ne leteris Philistea *S* 311 leteris] laeteris *Gry. Vul.* Philistea] Filisthea *Vul.* 313 insultes] insultantes *M* fracta] *omn. et Gry. \**, confracta *Gry.* solebat] solitus erat *Gry.* 314 morte contritus sit] uideatur morte contritus *Gry.* 315 Grece] Grece ipse *S* basiliscus] basilicus *corr.* basiliscus *P* inleſa] inlesa *P S*, illaesa *Gry.* 315-16 inleſa non transit] *corr.* inlesa transit *S*, potest illaesa transire *Gry.* 316 Ezechie] Ezechiae *Gry.* 317 pereas] peribis *Gry.* terrebis] terebis *M* non diuitiis] *M S Gry. \**, non in diuitiis *P Gry.* 318 sed<sup>2</sup>] et *S* preſsus] pressus *P S Gry.* 319 reliquie tue] reliquiae tuae *P*, omnes reliquae *Gry.* 320 impio] impiissimo *P S*, impiissimum *Gry. VI* 321 Quod] Qui *P*, Quia *S*

322 letentur] letentur *P*, laetentur *Gry. VI* 323 Quem...corripit] Quem enim diligit dominus corripit, et castigat omnem filium quem recipit *Gry. VI*, quem enim diligit Dominus castigat flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit *Hebr. 12:6* reliqua] *om. S* 327 occidit] occidat *P*, occidet *S*, occidere dicitur *Gry. VI* homines] hominem *M* 328 Et pascentur...requiescent] *om. P S* primogenita] *M Gry. \* Ga. Vul. \**, primogeniti *Gry. Vul.* 329 subiciunt] subiieciunt *corr.* subiciunt *P* 330 pascua] pascue *corr.* pascua *S* 331 Abrahę] *omn.*, Abraham *Gry. VI*, Abrah(a)e *Gry. VI\* Er. Adr.* 332 Et interire...interficiam] *om. P S* 333 contriuerunt] contriuerint *P Gry. VI\* Ga.* patientur] patientur *P* reliquie] reliquiae *P Gry.* 335-7 Ulula porta...populi eius] XV Ulula porta usque populi eius *S* 335 Ulula

porta clama ciuitas] Ulula clama ciuitas porta *M* est] *om. Vul.* Philistea] Filistea  
*P*, Filisthea *Vul.* 336 ueniet] *M P Gry.V Vul.\**, uenit *Gry.VI Vi. Vul.* Quid] *M*  
*Gry.V*, Et quid *P Gry.V\* Gry.VI Vul.* 337 ipso] *M P Gry.V Gry.VI\* Ga. Ma. Va.*  
*Adr. Vul.\**, ipsa *Gry.VI Er. Adr. Vul.* 338 enim] autem *P S* 339 Sennacherib]  
 Senacherib *P* Ezechia] Ezechie] *corr.* Ezechia *P* 341 hec] haec *Gry.* 342 Et] *om.*  
*Gry.* quia] qui *P Gry.\** dixit] dixerat *Gry.* Non est qui effugiat] Nullus est  
 qui effugiat agmen eius *Gry.*, et non est qui effugiat agmen eius *Isa. 14:31*  
 343 Iudeos] Iudas *corr.* Iude] *P*, Iudas *S Gry.*, Iud(a)eos *Gry.\* Ga. Ma.*  
 comprehensos] *M*, co(m)pr(a)ehensos *Gry.\* Ga. Ma.*, co(m)p(re)hensus *corr.*  
 co(m)p(re)hensas *P*, comp(re)hensis *corr.* comp(re)hensus *S*, comprehensus *Gry.*  
 quiesierint] quiesierint *P*, quaesierint *Gry.* inquit] inquit *corr.* inquit *S*  
 344 Assyrie] Assyrie *M*, Assyriae *Gry.* quur] cur *P*, Vir *S*, quare *Gry.* solus]  
*corr.* sola *P* Iuda] Iudas *Gry.* euasit] euaserit *Gry.* respondite] respondete *P S*  
*Gry.* 345 et] *om. M S* reliqua] *om. S* Mistice] Mys(tice) *P* interpretatur]  
 interp(re)tantur *P*, interpretatur *S* Phylistiim] Philistim *P S Gry.VI* cadentes]  
 cedentes *M S* 346 que] quae *S*  
  
 347 cogitationum] cogitionum *corr.* cogitationum *M* que] quae *P S* 348 sane]  
 sanae *Gry.VI* intellegentię] intellegentiae *P Gry.VI* 350 non] nullus *Gry.VI*  
 effugiet] effugiat *S Gry.VI* 351 cur] quur *M* 352 que] quae *P* 353 prudentię  
 iustitię] iustitiae prudentiae *P*, prudentię iustitiae *S*, prudentiae iustitiae *Gry.VI*  
 temperantię] temperantiae *P Gry.VI* 354 deo] domino *P S* 356-8 Onus  
 Moab...ululabit] Onus Moab usque ululabit *S* 356 Ar Moab] Moab *corr.* Ar Moab *P*  
 357 et] eb *expunct. P* 358 Nabo] Moab *corr.* Nabo *P* ululabit] *omn. et Gry.V\**

*Gry. VI\**, ululauit *Gry. V Gry. VI* prouincia] prouintia *M P* 359 composito]  
 composito *P* Hebraicę et Grece] Hebraice et Grece *M*, Hebreicae et Grece *P*  
 360 nimie] nimiae *P* 361 Babyllonio] Babylonio *P S Gry.* Sennacherib]  
 Sennacerib *S Gry. \** 362 Nabuchodonosor] Nabugodonosor *P* Ad utrumque] Ab  
 utrique *S* 363 Effraim] Ephraim *Gry.* Iude] Iuda *P*, Iude] *S*, Iudae *Gry.*  
 364 conceptus] natus *S* 365 eam] eum *P S Gry. \** cuniculis] cuniculi *M*  
 superatam] superatum *P S Gry. \** 366 que] quae *P S Gry.* in] tres *S* editis] editis  
*P S Gry.* Medaba] Medam *S* 367 ululat] ulula *M*, ululauit *Gry.* prouincia]  
 prouintia *M P* Belphegor] *M S Gry. \**, Beelphegor *P Gry.* 368 Mystice] Mistice *S*  
 368-9 sapientiam secularem] sapientiam secularem *P*, Sapientia saecularis *Gry. VI*  
 369 qui auctorem] *M S Gry. VI\* Ga.*, que auctorem *P S*, quia auctorem *Gry. VI*  
 uidetur] uidetur ergo *S* 369-70 ideo uidetur...nocte generatur] *marg. M* 370 quia]  
 qui *S Gry. VI\**, *corr.* quia *S* 370-1 Unde et] *omn. et Gry. VI\* Er. Vi. Ma. Adr.*, Unde  
*Gry. VI* 371 perit] peritur *P* eterno] aeterno *P*, sempiterno *Gry.*

372 interpretatur] interpretat(ur) *P* sapientię] sapientiae *P* seularis]  
 secular(is) *P* 373 ecclesiastico] aecclesaastico *corr.* aecclesiastico *M* sermone]  
 sermonem *corr.* sermone *P* aduersa sapientię] aduersę sapientię *P*, aduersa  
 sapientia *S*, aduersae sapientiae *Gry.* 374 que] qui *P*, quae *S Gry. VI* superbię]  
 superbiae *P*, superbierat *Gry. VI* paenitentiam] penitentiam *P*, poenitentiam *S*  
 375 mendatium] misticum *S*, mendacium *Gry. VI* 376 preterfluit] praeterfluit *P*  
*Gry. VI* sessio] possessio *S* prophetia] prophętia *M*, profetia *P* 378 bestię]  
 bestiae *Gry. VI* 379-89 In cunctis...reliquiis terrę] In cunctis capitibus caluitium  
 usque leonem et reliquus terrę *S* 379 caluitium] caluicium *M* 380 accincti] accinti  
*M* ululatus] *M P Gry. V\* Gry. VI\* Vul. \**, ululat *Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.* descendet] *M*



*P Gry.V\* Gry.VI\* Vul.\**, descendit *Gry. Vul.* 381 Clamabit] *M P Gry.V\* Gry.VI\* Er. Vi. Adr. Vul.\**, Clamauit *Gry.V Vul.*, Et clamauit *Gry.VI* 383 consternantem] *M P Gry.V\* Gry.VI\* Ga. Vul.\**, conternantem *Gry.V Gry.VI Vul.* 384 Aque] *Aquae Gry. Vul.* Nemrim] rim *corr.* Nemrim *P* 385 desertę] *deserte P*, *desertae Gry. Vul.* 387 circuibit] *M Gry.V*, circumiit *P Gry.VI\* Vul.*, circuit *Gry.VI Vul.\** 388 Helim] *M Gry.V Gry.VI\* Ga.*, Aelim *P*, Elim *Gry.V\* Er. Adr. Gry.VI Vul.* aque] *aquae P Gry. Vul.* Dibon] *M P Gry.VI\* Ga. Vul.\**, Dimon *Gry.V Gry.VI Vul.* repletę] *repletae Gry. Vul.* 389 reliquiis] *reliquis P Gry.V\* Gry.VI\**, reliquus *S* terrę] *terrae P Gry. Vul.* Barbę] *barbae Gry.* 390 meroris] *meroris P S*, moeroris *Gry.* publica] *publico M* 391 matrone] *matrone M* 392 inbecillitatem] *imbecillitatem Gry.* nesciet] *nesciat P* 393 inminet] *imminet S Gry.* quod] *quo S* 394 ululauit] *ululabit P S*, *ululatus Gry.* prouincia] *prouintia M P* 395 ululauit] *ululabit P S* 396 obprimendi] *opprimendi P S Gry.* 397 sint] *sunt corr. sint M* robur] *robor S* 398 que<sup>1</sup>] *qui P*, *quae S* que<sup>2</sup>] *quae S Gry.* 399 preces] *p(rae)ces P*, *preces Gry.* absorta] *absorpta P Gry.\* Er. Adr.* 400 Haebręos] *Hebreos P S*, *Hebraeis Gry.* terrę] *terre P*, *terrae Gry.* Syro] *Cyro M* Zoara] *Zara M S Gry.\** Hebreo] *Hebr(eo?) P*, *Hebraicę S*, *hebraeo Gry.* utroque] *utraque corr. utroque M* 401 Uitula] *Vitula S* 402 tricesimus] *xxx\m(us)/ P*, *xxx S* pecudibus] *pecoribus M*, *pecodibus corr. pecudibus P*, *peccoribus S*, *pecudibus ac iumentis Gry.* tertius] *iii\us/ P* fortissimus] *robustissimus Gry.* 403 cliuum] *cliuium P Gry.\** quod] *quo P* Assyrios] *Asyrios P* hoc] *hec P*, *haec S* 405 que] *quae P S Gry.* deserunt] *dęserunt M* Nemrim] *Memrim S Gry.\** oppidum] *opidum S* 406 ob] *corr. iob M*, *ab P* sterilibus] *sterelibus P* Siue] *Sibi P* adlusit] *allusit S Gry.* 407 aque] *aquae S Gry.* 408 uerterentur]

uertantur *S* reliqua] \et/ reliqua *P*, *om.* *S* aque] aquae *P S Gry.* Nemrim]  
 Memrim *S* 408-9 salsę et amarę] salsę et amare *S*, salsae et amarae *Gry.*  
 409 pullulat] pululat *S* prouinciam] prouintiam *P* 410 iuxta morbi] iuxta(m) orbi  
*P* 411 a Babylonię] ad Babylonię *corr.* a Babylonię *M*, ad Babyloniae *P*, a  
 Babilonię *S* 412 Arabię] Arabiae *P Gry.* quam] que *P*, quę *S* Gallim] Ad  
 Gallim *P S Gry.* 413 Elim] *M Gry.\**, Helim *P S Gry.* aque] aquae *P S Gry.* et  
 reliqua] et *om. M*, *inser. P* 414 luxuria] luxoria *corr.* luxuria *P* inriguos] irriguos  
*S Gry.* manantes] *omn. et Gry.\**, emanantes *Gry.* 415 Quid] Quod *P Gry.*  
 417 consumantur] consumentur *S*, consummentur *Gry.\** 418 Mistice] Mystice *P*  
 interpretatur] interp(rae) *corr.* interp(rae)tat(ur) *P* Esebon] Essebon *P* 419 uel]  
 siue *Gry.VI* genę] gene *M*, genae *Gry.VI* maeroris] meroris *P S* Namrim]  
 Nemrim *P Gry.VI*, Memrim *S Gry.VI\** 420 pręuaricatores] praeuaricatores *Gry.VI*  
 At Gallim] *corr.* Gallim *S*, Agallim *Gry.VI*, Gallim *Gry.VI\** *Ga. Adr.* harenarum]  
 arenarum *P S Gry.VI\** Elim] Helim *P S Gry.VI* fontes] fortes *Gry.VI*  
 421 Dibon] *omn. et Gry.VI\** *Ga.*, Dimon *Gry.VI* męror] meror *P S*, maeror *Gry.VI*  
 quę] quae *P S*

422 tacerent] conticescerent *Gry.VI* 423 paenitentiam] poenitentiam *P*, pęnitentiam  
*S* 424 eloquentiae] eloquentię *S* 425 deuerticulis] *S Gry.VI*, diuerticulis *M Gry.VI\**,  
 deuerticulis *corr.* diuerticulis *P* paenitentiae] pęnitentię *S* 426 quę] quae *S Gry.VI*  
 427 descendant] descendent *P S Gry.VI* 428 cassum] casurum *P S* superbię]  
 superbiae *P Gry.VI* Esebon] Essebon *P* 429 quę] quae *Gry.VI* 430 errorem]  
 errore *P* 431 ululabit] *omn. et Gry.VI\**, ululauerit *Gry.VI* conpatiens] compaciens  
*P*, compatiens *S Gry.VI* 432 paenitentiam] poenitentiam *P*, pęnitentiam *S*

prouocarem] prouocem *P Gry. VI* 433 est ad] ad *inser. M* 434 paenitentia]  
 poenitentia *P*, pēnitentia *S* 435 trium annorum] iii\us/ annus *P*, tres annos *S*  
 436 mēroris] meroris *P S*, maeroris *Gry. VI* 437 aque] aque *P*, aquae *S Gry. VI*  
 Nemrim] Memrim *S Gry. VI\** que] quae *P S Gry. VI* 438 p̄uaricatoribus]  
 p(rae)uaricatoribus *P*, praeuaricatoribus *S Gry. VI* comparatur] conparatur *P*  
 439 uiride] uiridae *S* 441 circuit] *omn. et Gry. VI\* Ga.*, circumit *Gry. VI*  
 paenitentiam] penitentiam *P*, pēnitentiam *S* 442 Elim] *M Gry. VI\* Er. Adr.*, Helim *P*  
*S Gry. VI* 443 aquae] aque *M* Dibon] Dimon *Gry. VI* saluti] salute *M Gry. VI\**  
 444 mēroris] meroris *P S*, maeroris *Gry. VI* dicunt] dicuntur *P S* paenitentiam]  
 penitentiam *P*, pēnitentiam *S* 445 ariel] *M S Er. Adr.*, arihel *P Gry. VI*  
 septuaginta] lxx *P*, Lxx *S*, LXX *Gry. VI*

446-53 Emitte agnum...iustum est] Emitte agnum domine dominatorem usque  
 reddens quod iustum est *S* 446 Emitte] *omn. et Gry. V\* Gry. VI\* Vul.*, Emittite *Gry. V*  
*Gry. VI Vul.\** dominatorem] domine dominatorem *S Gry. V\* Gry. VI\* Ga.*  
 terrae] *om. M Gry. V\** filie] filiae *P Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.* 447 filie] filiae *P Gry. V*  
*Gry. VI Vul.* 448 nocte] *M Gry. V\* Gry. VI\* Ga. Vul.\**, noctem *P Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.*  
 451 p̄parabitur] p(rae)parabitur *P*, praeparabitur *Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.* 452 illud] *M*  
*Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.\**, eum *P Ga. Ma. Vul.* quērens] quaerens *P Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.*  
 iudicium] iuditium *M* 453 historia] hystoria *S* enigmatibus] *omn. et Gry.\* Ga.*,  
 aenigmatibus *Gry.* 454 p̄cisis] precis *P S*, praecisis *Gry.* seruet] conseruet  
*Gry.* 455 tali] tuli *corr. tali S* 456 egredietur] egrediatur *P S* tollit] *omn. et Gry.\**  
*Ga.*, tollat *Gry.* peccatum] *M Gry.\**, peccata *P S Gry.* 457 Ruth] *M Gry. VI*, de  
 Ruth *P S Gry. V* deserti] desertam *P S* 458 Moabitę et Ammanitę] Moabite et  
 Amonite *M*, Moabite et Ammonite *corr.* Moubite et Ammanite *S*, Moabitae et

Ammanitae *Gry. VI* quartam decimam] xma(m) *P*, quadragesimam *S*, decimam  
*Gry. VI* ingrediebantur] ingredientur *P*, ingredientur *S*, ingrediuntur *Gry. VI*  
 459 Obed<sup>1</sup>] Obeth *S Gry. \* Ga.* Obed<sup>2</sup>] Obeth *S Gry. \* Ga.* 460 filię] filiae *P S*  
*Gry.* mystice] mys(tice) *P* ecclesiam] ęcclesiam *M* 461 et reliqua] et *om. M,*  
*inser. P* 462 seuissimum] seuissimum *P*, fortissimum ac seuissimum *S*,  
 saeuissimum *Gry.* filię] filiae *P S Gry.* uille] uillae *Gry.* pauide] pauide *P S*,  
 pauidi *Gry.* 463 Amorręorum] Amorreorum *P S Gry.*, Amorraeorum *Gry. \* Vi. Adr.*  
 464 coge] coge concilium *S* et] *om. M, inser. S* 465 fuga] fugit *corr.* fuga *M*  
 466 Iudęa] Iudea *P S*, Iudaea *Gry.* quę] quae *S Gry.* 467 migravit] migrabit *P*,  
 migravit *corr.* migrabit *S*, transmigrabit *Gry.*, transmigravit *Gry. \** 468 faciet] facit  
*corr.* faciet *P* disperiet] dispereat *P* 469 Hebreo] Hebr(eo?) *P* pęparabitur]  
 p(rae)parabitur *P*, preparabitur *S* 470 Hębreos] Hebreos *P S*  
  
 471 Iudę] Iude *P*, Iudaeae *Gry.* 472 ueritatem] *omn. et Gry. \* Ga.,* ueritate *Gry.*  
 fugerint] fugerit *P S Gry. VI* 473 contempto] et contempto *P Gry. VI* mendacio]  
 mendatio *M P* 474 Filię] Filiae *P Gry. VI* 475 anime] anime *M*, animae *P Gry. VI*  
 inluminatio] illuminatio *Gry. VI* relictis] derelictis *Gry. VI* 476 nihil] nil *P S*  
 477 agitaris] agiteris *P S* quęre] quaere *P* concilium] consilium *P Gry. VI\**  
 478 ecclesiam] aecclesiam *M* in quo] in qua *P* 481 sequuntur] secuntur *M S*,  
 sequebantur *Gry. VI* 482 deserti] *M Gry. \*,* desertum *P S, corr.* deserti *P*, deserta  
*Gry. VI* comparatur] comparatur *S Gry. VI* 483 fecit] facit *P* Conculcabat]  
 Conculcabit *P*, Conculcauit *S* 484 hic] *inser. P* 485 gratia] gratiam *S Gry. VI\*, corr.*  
 gratia *S* reddet] reddat *Gry. VI* 487 consumetur] consu(m)metur *P* 488-  
 91 Audiuimus superbiam...uinea Sabama] Audiuimus superbiam Moab usque uinea  
 Sabama *S* 490 letantur] laetantur *P Gry. V Gry. VI Vul.* 491 deserta] deserte *P* et]

*M P Gry.V\* Gry.VI\* Vul.\**, *om. Gry.V Gry.VI Vul.* uinea] uineam *P Vul.\**, *corr.*  
 uinea *P* 492 superbię] superbiae *P Gry.* 493 metropolis] metropolis *corr.*  
 metropolis *P* prouinciam] prouintiam *P* 494 resonabit] resonabat *M Gry.\**, *corr.*  
 resonabit *M* sic] usque *S* Hieremias] Hereminias *S* clamabo ad uiros muri  
 fictilis] *Jer. 48:31*, *ad om. S* 495 Per hæc et] Post haec autem et *P*, Post haec autem  
 in *S*, Per haec et *Gry.* Esebon] Essebon *P Gry.\* Ga.*  
  
 496 passus] passi *S Gry.\** metaphorice] metaforice *P*, metaforicę *S*, per  
 metaphoram *Gry.* uineę] uineae *P Gry.* prouincię] prouintiae *P*, prouintię *S*,  
 prouinciae *Gry.* 497 Mystice] Mys(tice) *P*, Mistice *S* ecclesiae] aecclesiae *M*,  
 eccl(esi)ę *S* 499 arrogantię] arrogantiae *P* 500 sæcularis] secularis *M P*, saecularis  
*Gry.VI* sapientię] sapientiae *P Gry.VI* 502 Esebon] Essebon *P* 502-3 ciuitatem  
 dei *et* fluminis impetus letificat] Fluminis impetus laetificat ciuitatem dei *Gry.VI*,  
 fluminis divisiones laetificant ciuitatem Dei sanctum tabernaculum Altissimi  
*Psalms 45:5* 503 letificat] laetificat *P Gry.VI* dei] domini *Gry.VI* 504 tamen]  
 tantum *S* p̄sidio] presidio *P S*, praesidio *Gry.VI* p̄cipue] p(rae)cipuae *P*,  
 precipue *S*, praecipue *Gry.VI* uineę] uinea *P Gry.VI* 505 adtollens] attolens *P*  
*Gry.VI* superbię] superbiae *P Gry.VI* cęlum] caelum *Gry.VI* 506 construere]  
 exstruere *Gry.VI* conatur] conetur *Gry.VI* 507-12 Domini gentium...calcantium  
 abstuli] Domini gentium exciderunt flagella eius usque uocem cantantium abstuli *S*  
 507 ad Iazer] aiazer *corr.* ad Iazer *P* 508 relicte sunt] relicte er(unt) *M*, relictæ sunt  
*Gry.V Gry.VI Vul.*, relictæ erunt *Gry.V\** 510 irruit] *M Gry.V Gry.VI*, inruit *P Vul.*  
 511 letitia] laetitia *P Gry.V Gry.VI Vul.* exultatio] exsultatio *Gry.V Gry.VI*  
 exultabit] exultauit *M*, exsultabit *Gry.V Gry.VI* 412 calcantium] cantantium *S Vul.\**  
 513 metaphoram] metaforam *P S*, translationem *Gry.* coepit] coeperat *Gry.*

514 fugitiosque] fugituum *S* 515 Babyllonem] Babilonem *P*, Babylonia *S*,  
 Babylonem *Gry.* ubertate] ubertatem *P* 516 uastitatis] Vastitatis *S* propheta]  
 profeta *P* Esebon] Essebon *P* 517 Assyrio] Asyrio *P* potente] *omn. et Gry.\**,  
 putante *Gry.* 518 laetitię] letitiae *P*, letitię *S*, laetitiae *Gry.* 519 comparat] comparat  
*P Gry.\**, comparet *Gry.* laetitia] letitia *S* 520 uindemiator] uindimiator *P*, iudicio  
*S*

521 uindemia] uindimia *P* ubique hostilis] *omn. et Er. Adr.*, hostilis ubique  
*Gry.VI* Mistice] Mys(tice) *P* 523 alię] alie *M P*, aliae *Gry.VI* Sabame] Sabame  
*P*, Sabamae *Gry.VI* que] quae *S Gry.VI* 525 baccati] bachati *P*, bacchatus *Gry.VI*,  
 baccatus *Gry.VI\**, bachatus *Gry.VI\** nouissime] in nouissime *P S*, in *exp. S*  
 526 occisis] excisis *P*, exciderent *Gry.VI* tamen uitio] tunc uitio *P*, uitium tantum  
*S* 527 radicis] radices *corr.* radicis *S* pessime] pessime *M P*, pessimae *Gry.VI*  
 aliqę] alique *M*, aliquae *Gry.VI* 528 seculi] s(ae)c(u)li *P*, saeculi *Gry.VI* 529 que]  
 quae *Gry.VI* Esebon] Essebon *P* 530 conscenditur] *omn. et Gry.VI\**, conscendunt  
*Gry.VI* uindemiam] uindimiam *P* que] que *P* 531 est] *om. S* 532 laetitia]  
 letitia *S* qua] quia *S* 534 calcauit] conculcabit *P*, calcabit *S* ullus] *corr.* nullus *S*  
 535 aeterno] eterno *S* 536-9 Super hoc...ex tunc] Super hoc uenter meus usque ad  
 Moab ex tunc *S* 537 laborauit] *M P Gry.V Gry.VI\* Vul.*, laborauerit *Gry.VI*  
 super] ab *Gry.VI* 538 ut] et *corr.* ut *P* ualebit] praeualebit *Gry.VI* 540 sui] *om. S*  
 intimo] *omn. et Gry.\**, imo *Gry.* 542 repperies] reperies *P Gry.\* Er. Adr.*  
 543 uastitas] uastatas *corr.* uastitas *M* 545 preŕscientia] prescientia *P*, praescientia  
*Gry.* attulerit] adtulerit *P*, adtulerit *corr.* attulerit *S* praenota] p(rae)nota *M*,  
 prenota *corr.* prenotata *P*, p(rae)monita *S*, praenota *Gry.*, praenotata *Gry.\**  
 Mystice] Mys(tice) *P*, Mistice *S* uenter] uenter meus *Gry.VI*

546 prophete] profete *P*, prophetae *Gry.VI* resonauit] *M S Gry.VI\* Ga.*, resonabit  
*P Gry.* penitentiam] penitentiam *P*, paenitentiam *Gry.VI* fragilis] fragiles *S*  
547 lapides] lapidis *P* destruendae] destruende *P S*, destruentur *Gry.VI*  
doctrine] doctrine *M* presidium] p(rae)sidia *P*, p(rae)sidię *S*, praesidia *Gry.VI*  
548 cithara] cythara *S Gry.VI\* Ga.* compositum] conpositum *P* si uel] uel *om.*  
*Gry.VI* chorda] corda *P S* 549 prophete] profete *P* dulce] *corr.* dulces *S*  
550 nec ad lateris muros] nec ad leteris murus *corr.* ad latericium murum *marg. S*,  
nec ad latericium murum *Gry.VI* 551 laborauit] laborabit *P* 552 que] quae *S Gry.VI*  
ecclesiam] *M S Gry.VI\* ecclesiae P Gry.* 553 faciet] faciat *P S Gry.VI* statim] sit  
*corr.* statim *marg. S* possimus] *omn. et Gry.VI\*, corr.* possumus *S*, possumus  
*Gry.VI* Ex tunc] Exeunte *S* 554 prohemo] *M P Gry.VI\* Ga., corr.* prohemiu *P*,  
proemio *S*, prooemio *Gry.VI* contra] per *S* compleuerit] compleuerit *S Gry.VI*  
556-8 Et nunc...nequaquam multus] Et nunc locutus est dominus usque nequaquam  
multus *S* 557 relinquetur] relinquetur in eo sicut racemus *P Ga. Vul.\** paruulus]  
paruus *P Gry.V Gry.VI Vul.* 558 multus] multos *corr.* multus *P* 559 decim] *M S*  
*Gry.\**, decem *P Gry.* Sennacherib] Sennacerib *P S Gry.\** captiuate] captiuitate  
*corr.* captiuatae *P* 560 expectat] exspectat *Gry.* occasum] occubitum *Gry.*  
prestalatur] prestalatur *P*, prestolatur *S*, praestolatur *Gry.* 561 Assyrio] Asyrio *P*  
562 relinquentur] relinquuntur *M S* 563 Potest et de] Potest ergo et de *P*, Potest et  
ergo *S* Babyllonia] Babylonia *P S Gry.* predici] p(rae)dici *P*, praedici *Gry.*  
564 Chaldeis] Chaldeis *P S*, Chaldaeis *Gry.* sit, uel] siuel *corr.* siue *S*, sit, siue  
*Gry.* 565 requies danda sit] danda sit requies *Gry.* Mystice] Mys(tice) *P*, Mistice  
*S* 566 paruulus] paruus *P S Gry.VI* meretur] merebitur *P*, merebitur *corr.* meretur  
*S* 568 Nam] Non *P S* decim] *corr.* decem *P*, decem *Gry.VI* 569 subputentur]

supputentur *P Gry.VI* 569-70 tricenti nonaginta] *M Gry.VI\**, trecenti nonaginta *P Gry.VI*, ccc xc *S* 570 quia] que *P*, quae *S Gry.VI* 525 peccauerunt] *M Gry.VI\**, peccauerat *P S*, peccauerant *Gry.VI* potentes potenter tormenta patientur] potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur *Gry.VI, Wisd. 6:7* patientur] patientur *M P*

571 quia] que *P*, quae *S* 571-2 mercennarius enim fugit quia mercennarius est] *Ioh. 10:13* 572 Paruulus] Paruus *P S* 573 paenitentiam] penitentiam *P S* malitia] malicia *P* 575 MYSTICUS ECCE LIBER FINITUR IN ORDINE SEXTUS] *om. P*, MISTICUS ECCE LIBER FINITUR IN ORDINE SEXTUS *S*



## Table of abbreviations and conventions

All quotations from the Vulgate will be from the *Biblia sacra* edition listed in this table.

### Short-form manuscripts:

M: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 6296

P: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12154

S: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Cod. Sang. 254

F: Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek 100 Aa 13

L: Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 463

W: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss.

### Short-form editions:

*Abbreviatio*: Josephus Scottus. *Abbreviatio commentarii S. Hieronymi super Isaiam*. Ed. Margaret Silvers. 2016.

Adriaen, *Commentariorum in Esaiam*: Adriaen, Marcus et al. *Commentariorum in Esaiam*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina vols. LXXIII, LXXIII A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963.

*Biblia sacra*: *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pauli Pp. VI. Cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Isaiae*. Ed. Order of St. Benedict. Rome: Vatican, 1969.

Cassiodorus, *Institutions*: Cassiodorus. *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning/On the Soul*. Trans. James W. Halporn. Liverpool: Liverpool

University Press, 2004.

Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*: Cassiodorus. *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*. Ed. R.

A. B. Mynors. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937.

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954-present.

Gryson, *Commentaires I-IV/V-VII*: Gryson, Roger and P.-A. Deproost.

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*Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture*. Grand Rapids, Michigan/

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CLA: Lowe, E. A. *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. 11 vols. + supplement. Oxford:

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Glauche, *Katalog*: Glauche, Günter. *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der*

*Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem*

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St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Cod. Sang. 254

Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Ms 100 Aa 13

Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 463

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 49 Weiss.

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*Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pauli Pp.*

*VI. Cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Isaiae.* Ed. Order of Saint Benedict. Rome: Vatican, 1969.

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